ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
CHAPTER - II

Role of Education in Social Change and Economic Development

Part - I

"Education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization!" Once regarded as an essentially conservative, culture-preserving, culture transmitting institution, the educational system has come to be viewed as a major determinant of social, political and economic change.

There are many reasons for according top priority to education in world and in particular in the developing countries. But some of the major developments in the last five decades which account for this new value attached to education and for shift in perspectives regarding its relationship to society, the economy and the policy are, firstly the large scale entry into the world arena after decolonization of the third world countries and the consequent increase in the demand for education in those countries and secondly the increasing awareness even in the advanced countries about the necessity to continuously educate people to cope with the technological advancement.

Education is also perceived to be one of the instruments of social change in all the developing countries. The whole gamut of literature on social change places high premium on the role of education as the
most important vehicle of social change. However, the emphasis on education in contemporary times does not mean that education was not given its due place in earlier *times.* Scholarly concern with the relationship between education and other fields of social interaction is not new. Since Plato and Aristotle, political philosophers have affirmed principles embodied in the phrases, "as is the State so is the School"1, or "what you, want in the State, you must put into the School."2 In other words political thinkers too recognized the nexus between the educational and political system.

Since the 18th century and *age* of enlightenment in particular the role of education as liberator of mankind has come to be recognized. As 20th century and the age of democracy advanced, the faith in education as the liberator of mankind increased. The views of the conservatives and liberals are apt to be mentioned *here.*

While conservatives essentially believed that the purpose of the education was to preserve and transmit certain values, the liberals believed that the school as an institution can play an important role in social reform for improving the lot of mankind. According to John Dewey one of the noted educational philosophers  

"It is the business of school environment to eliminate so far as possible, the unworthy features of the existing environment from influence upon mental habits ... As society became more enlightened it realized that it was responsible not to transmit and conserve the whole of its existing
achievements but to strive for a better future society. The school is its chief agency for the accomplishment of this end.\footnote{4}

In more recent times the famous Kothari Commission on Education arrived at the conclusion that "what is needed is a revolution in education which will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution".\footnote{11}

However, the limits to this optimism need to be pointed out.

The Marxists' notion is that while education is an effective instrument to bring the desired change, that the educational system itself will only be serving vested interests i.e. status quo is a well known idea that qualifies the optimistic role attributed by Dewey. Then there is another notion, partly the off-shoot of Marxist notion, that formal education organized and promoted by the conventional social system is needed counter productive. The well known de-schoolers such as Beximer, Illich, Holt and Goodman attacked the present forms of education and called for alternatives in education which can lead to transformation of society towards desirable objectives of freedom to enjoy life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for all. Ivan Illich in particular argued that schooling is one of the major means by which status quo is preserved.\footnote{6}

Endorsing the view of Illich, Kurien an Indian scholar brought out nicely how knowledge (and hence education that is geared to imparting
knowledge) *becomes* the cleverest and the most powerful *ally* to the status quo in all societies every *where*.1

Bertrand Russell even earlier has gone further and argued that education in the modern world tends to be a reactionary force, supporting the government when it is conservative and opposing it when it is progressive.1

In the words of Harold Silver, a contemporary scholar education has been seen both as a means of selecting and perpetuating elites. It is discussed in terms of class domination and social control but also of social liberation and progress. It has become more and more prominent in political manifestoes and policies in economic calculation and family discussions, in book shops and in the press. It has also become a major instrument of national policy. Educational systems and educationalists have come together in educational movements, professional conferences and in attempts at educational policy at regional, national and international levels. Education has become one of the most sensitive national responses to economic and political *change*.9

**Education and Economic Development**

If education is regarded as a prerequisite for social change, facilitating reorientation of values through better *understanding* of the environment, human, material and physical, it is also regarded as directly *promotive* of economic advancement also.
The human investment revolution in economic thought initiated in 1960 by Theodore Schultz produced magnificent effect. Education was looked upon as a panacea for all the ills in society. The governments of the world, particularly third world, were convinced of the economic benefits of education. The approach to education was changed from consumption or a device for culture transmission to 'the most valuable investment in mankind' which pays 'the best interest'. Concepts like 'investment in man' and 'human capital' swept into countries' development plans. "Education plans were drawn as part of social and economic development plans." Slogans like 'universal elementary education', 'man power planning', 'investment in man' were heard all over.

Some of the works reviewed here show how education and economic development are inter-linked.

A simple relationship also regarded as universally valid by an increasing number of persons is that education is a prerequisite for economic growth. The acceptance of education as the master determinant of long-term economic growth apart from all its other effects in the development process has become for many persons almost an article of faith. T.W. Schultz himself has said in a paper that except for some pure rent (in earning) for differences in the inherited abilities most of the differences in earnings are a consequence of differences in the amounts that have been invested in people."
Although investment in people consists of such other factors as improvement in health, increasing the output of foodgrains etc. the major component of investment in human beings is in the form of more and better education.

Education is a consumption good and a production good at the same time. Even those Who never exercise any of the occupations for the performance of which they may have received education probably have gained enormously by their educational experience in that they have access to more and different forms of consumption that they would not have had without this education. Of course, the developed countries which do not have to worry about subsistence sector may view the role of education in this perspective. But in developing countries although some returns from investment in education may be expected at all stages of economic development, investment in educational facilities may produce much lower returns at certain earlier stages of economic growth than the application of equal amounts of investment in other forms of capital especially capital constituting the material infrastructure of an economy. For example, the development of more roads or the construction of more dams for increasing the power generation or increasing the irrigated area at early stages of development yield substantially higher returns than equal amounts of investment in education. It is an extreme case of deferred investment.
In terms of net returns on various forms of investment outlay - we may distinguish different phases in a developing country. At certain periods investments in a given set of non-human resources and at other periods investment in human resources bring about a higher sustained rate of growth of average income. However, we must distinguish between not only outlays on investment in human capital against non-human capital but also outlays on different sectors of human resources development (for example, investment in higher education which is what is investment in high level man-power and non-formal education).

Broadly speaking economic development is the result of two factors: the human factor and the non-human factor using the word non-human in a purely technical sense. It is the human factor which contributes a little to more than 50 per cent of economic growth which has taken place in different countries.

Literacy and Economic Development

The UNESCO publication of 1964 described the economic and social aspects of educational planning as a subject which is topical, important and relatively new field of study. Many may argue that literacy may not be the same thing as education, involving various levels and kinds. Carlo M. Cippola in his work 'Literacy and Development' after analysing the interaction between literacy and the industrial revolution came to the conclusion that "Had literacy remained the well-guarded monopoly of a few mandarins, European society would hardly have developed
in the way it did. The industrial revolution was not the product of one or two high priests of science, it was the outcome of the daily dawn-to-earth experiment and tinkering on the part of a number of literate craftsman and amateur scientists. Economic development depends upon several factors like natural resources, technological progress social structure, education etc. Keeping in mind this broad framework, one can say that the growth of literacy and industrialization are to a degree are correlated. There are two perspectives that determine these two. Some say industrialization generates additional resources and needs far more man power thereby facilitating growth in literacy. Others would say that industrialization presupposes a fairly widespread literacy. Countries having a high rate of literacy were those which imported the industrial revolution. Widespread literacy meant not only an elastic supply of literate workers but also a more receptive approach to life on the part of the population.

The western experience by and large shows that a large reserve of literacy constitutes an essential base for industrialization. Industrialization might quicken the pace of literacy but a fairly high degree of literacy would be necessary for industrialization. One hardly stress the point that depending upon their natural resources, technological progress and historical context different countries show different time lags and rates of development. The correlation between literacy and per capita income cannot, therefore, be uniform as between countries or as between different periods in respect of a given country.
More studies have been made to assert that "schooling and level of economic development are highly correlated around the world. For example, Hobinson and Myers (1964) report that about 75 nations GNP per capita correlated .67 with primary school enrolment, .82 with secondary school enrolment and .74 with third level enrolment. McClelland (1966) has shown elsewhere that countries which invested heavily in secondary education on an average developed more rapidly economically a number of years later when the educated population would have reached its peak capacity in the work force. It looks as if more of every kind of education would pay off in the human resources that accelerate economic growth.¹⁶

Correlation between literacy and economic development is thus no longer a matter of vision or hunch but something supported by wide-ranging historical and contemporary social science research.

Delineating on the gains of literacy a Soviet Social Scientist stated that "consideration of the salaries and productivity of different categories of manual and other workers in relation to their educational qualifications, showed conclusively that even the most elementary school education is much more beneficial to a worker than a similar period of practical training at the bench. In making these observations one has to keep in mind several factors such as the age, the professional experience and the technical qualifications. Citing an example the Soviet specialist wrote that elementary instruction gained in one-year of primary education increases a worker's productivity on an average by 30 per cent,
whereas the improvement in qualification of illiterate workers and the increase in their output, resulting from a similar period apprenticeship at a factory is only 12 to 16 per cent a year. The improvement in qualification resulting from one year's education at school, is on the average, 2.6 times greater than that resulting from one year's apprenticeship. After four years of primary education, workers' output and wages are 79 per cent higher than those of the first category worker who has had no schooling. If we combine literacy acquired through formal schooling (broadly first level education) and literacy acquired through adult education involving say a rudimentary instruction of one year, the additional output, it was stated in the article, would be 71 per cent in the former category and 30 per cent in the latter. A more recent and enlightening piece of research by William A. Harzog Jr. on 'Literacy and community Economic Development in Rural Brazil' holds good for India also. He cited 21 variables such as age, schooling, home improvement, income, milk production, farm size, economic knowledge, radio listening, information sources, mass media credibility, change agent contact, social participation, opinion leadership, occupational aspirations, future attitude, achievement motivation, empathy credit attitude, risk orientation, innovativeness and participation and concludes that "for the Brazilian farming sample, community economic level is positively related to community literacy level." The author used a large sample of Brazilian farmers divided into four groupings according to the level of community development.
These findings taken together lend firm support to the suggestion that literacy has played a significant role in the unfinished green revolution in India. States like Punjab, Haryana, parts of U.P., Gujarat, Maharashtra, and the coastal Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala which have registered good results in this regard barring Haryana and other parts of Andhra Pradesh happen to have a percentage literacy higher than the All-India average. Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh which are still practically beyond the Bach of green revolution barring West Bengal happen to have a percentage of literacy lower than the all-India average. Of course, some say that literacy is just one variable, however significant, and that other factors (cultural patterns, irrigation facilities, political conditions etc.) have to be taken into account for arriving at a correct assessment. The observations made by Ziolkowski in his study also deserve mention here. "Great achievements in agricultural development have been brought about in regions where the level of literacy and education ... are high".

In another piece of research 'Education of young farmers and its impact on Agricultural production', the author, J.S. Parolkar has attempted a quantitative correlation between education and production. He found that "Quantitative estimates of the role played by education in increasing production reveals that there is a significant correlation between crop yield and education. Total variation in crop yield accounted for the variables viz, adoption of improved farm practices, participation in extension education activities, per capita land holding and general literacy education
is 67 per cent out of which literacy education alone is responsible for 21 per cent. He added that while in the use of more literacy there may be some deferred but indefinite values, functional literacy would yield quicker and more concrete results. 'It is beyond, he wrote, that a certain level and quality of literacy education background of a farmer has significant relationship with their agricultural production'.

It is not out of place here to mention an Indian study by A.R. Desai and S.P. Paralkar titled 'The Relationship between literacy and Economic Productivity of Industrial Workers of Bombay: A sociological analysis'. The findings of the study indicate that in general literates seemed more responsible to means of working to improve their conditions; literate workers consider themselves much more self-reliant in the important domestic and civic activities like shopping, helping children in school studies, reading newspapers, voting in election etc. Illiterate workers are liable to infringe rules more frequently by their ignorance and have no defence against exploitation etc. Literates showed greater initiative and adaptability in learning new skills, have good acquaintance with the co-operative credit societies and medical benefits and in the opinion of 45 out of 50 supervisors interviewed by one investigator, it was found that literacy instructions would improve the workers' performance by making them aware of the technical and organizational principles at work in the factory and how one's own effort contributes to the total production process.

A more detailed study on 'Economics of Education' conducted by M. Blaug concludes that "the effect of literacy is to provide people with an additional
means of communication. In this way also literacy may contribute to economic development by (1) raising the productivity of new literates (2) raising the productivity of individuals working in association with literates, (3) facilitating and expediting the flow of general knowledge of individuals (e.g., information about health, nutrition etc.) and thus reducing the cost of useful information, (4) stimulating the demand for vocational training and technical education, (5) acting as a device for selecting the more able and enhancing their occupational mobility and (6) strengthening economic incentives meaning the tendency of people to respond positively to a rise in the rate of reward for their benefits.24

However, more recently, there has been departure from the optimism implicit in the correlation between economic development and literacy and education and economic development. The results of empirical research conducted in the developed countries have led to the view that education may in fact have little effect either on productivity or on income distribution.25 Instead, education has been regarded by some merely as a screening device, a convenient but expensive means of labelling people which makes no direct contribution to increased productivity as such.

A less extreme view is that, the schooling confers economic benefits not by improving cognitive ability as such but by inculcating certain habits such as punctuality and discipline that are valued by employees and by society at large.27 Yet, others those belonging to the Marxist school, maintain that the effects of education on inequality themselves
depend on the mode of production within which the educational system operates • • • in a class society education may be a device for perpetuating economic inequality between classes and income groups. **

The other writers who doubted the positive relationship between education and literacy are Bauman and Anderson who suggested that although there are positive correlations between education and economic levels, these connections are loose ones. ²⁹

The thrust of their argument with regard to the literacy was that while literacy up to 30 to 40 percent 'is a prerequisite' to higher per capita income, there was no such correlation over the 70 to 70 per cent range.

Nevertheless, as far as the role of education specifically in the developing countries is concerned, the benefits out of schooling and spread of literacy still generally prevails though this point needs further elaboration.

Chanchal Sarkar a well known analyst and journalist drew interesting conclusions on various aspects of population policy in an article published recently. According to him "A population policy for most people including the policy makers, usually signifies a clinical effort to prevent birth. And here, perhaps as much as any where we are missing the boat. A population policy should mean so much more than a clinical effort. It should be a policy about education, employment, ecology, about the status of women and their opportunities, about instilling confidence in society that progress is possible and desirable. Population policy also touches and is affected by tax law, the law of inheritance, subsidies and allowance,
social service **allocations**, the urban rural balance of development and hundred other areas of economic, fiscal and social policy". He wrote that "literacy (and education) has relevance for most of these things: employment, ecology, status of women, will to improve, urban rural balance etc.

In a perceptive study about the relationship between demographic variables, health services and education in Kerala, Gopinathan Nair observed that the decline in birth rate in Kerala began before the intensification of the family planning programme. He concluded that 'if as our study indicates education together with widespread public health facilities is an essential pre-condition for bringing down the birth rate, it might be **appropriate** to direct more resources to extension of education and public health facilities along with popularization of family planning'.

Education as an essential input for social transformation has also been touched upon by several writers. Notable among those who reflected on this aspect is Paulo Freire. In two outstanding scholarly works 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' and 'Cultural Action for Freedom', Freire showed how education constitutes a critical input in bringing about the desired change or transformation in people which is so necessary for initiating the process of change. Calling for revolution in the process of learning, he suggested that the one way method of teaching must be given up in favour of dialogue oriented education. Characterizing the muteness and putting up with misery by millions of people as 'culture of silence' he called for **conscientization** of people to make them aware of realities surrounding
them and relentlessly fight against exploitation. Education in this connection 'conscientization' he says alone would liberate the poor from exploitation. Richard Shaull in his forward to the book Pedagogy of the Oppressed is right when he wrote that Paulo Freire's work represents a new unity of theory and praxis. It must be said that the contributions of Paulo Freire continue to attract the attention of academics in methods of learning as well as teaching.

Thus the review of some of the studies reveal that education plays a significant role in economic, social, political and cultural development of a country. How much of importance should education be given in a country is debatable to some extent. But by and large the social scientists, analysts and others concerned admit that education plays an important role in the development of a country.

Part - II

Survey of Literature: Review of Studies on National Adult Education Programme

As an emerging field of social science research adult education has not yet established any considerable body of research literature. Much of the research is concerned with localized surveys. Although certain aspects of adult education have been studied in depth, it has not always been to the extent that permits valid generalizations, nor has adult education been adequately conceptualized so as to indicate fruitful lines of investigation. Most of the existing research is descriptive and consists largely of surveys. Local historical studies are almost as numerous as
local status surveys. These studies treat the History of adult education within an area. For example Mohsini's work on adult and community education broadly describes the origin, growth and functioning of Jamia Millia and its place in adult education movement in India.36

Case studies are another form of research in studies on adult education. A prime instance of this is the Gram Sikhan Mohin's experiment in Maharashtra the success of which received a very wide publicity.

The survey of literature on adult education will be presented in two or three main categories of studies.

1) General macro level studies on the evolution of adult education policy in India.

2) Studies of a more particularistic nature relating to the implementation of Adult Education Programme that were in vogue before N A E P came into existence in 1978.

3) Micro level studies on the implementation of programmes under N A E P.

Of these three, this particular thesis is more immediately concerned with studies coming under category three. However, it is felt advisable to refer to other investigations about pre-N A E P programme implementation also.

The main types of studies concerning adult education include participation, organisation, learning process of adults, programme planning,
instructional processes and evaluation. These are also the major areas of research. Many studies were undertaken in each of these areas.

There are studies dealing with evolution of educational policies on India. However, as it is not possible to survey all the literature, the present survey includes a few selected studies.

J.P. Naik in his monumental work on National Educational Policy (1947-1979) studied the evolution of educational policy of pre and post-independent India. Analysing the causes for low achievement in educational field, Naik carried out a comprehensive study which gives a perspective for the development of educational policy in India.

The Report of the Education Commission 64-66 published under the title Education and National Development was a turning point in India's educational history. Over a decade and a half since its publication the educational profile of this country has undergone significant changes. J.P. Naik in his book "The Education Commission and After" thoroughly analysed the implementation of the recommendations of the Educational Commission. Along with the recommendations on other sectors of education, the author has examined the position of the Commission on Adult Education, the translation of the recommendations on Adult Education into National Policy on Education of 1968. Quoting figures pertaining to Adult Education, gathered from various sources, the author concluded that a lesser priority was accorded to Adult Education inspite of Kothari Commission's recommendations to the contrary.
Now an attempt would be made to present a brief survey of literature which (are more particularistic in nature relating to the implementation of adult education programmes that were in vogue before National Adult Education Programme came into existence in 1978. Here again the survey is limited to some studies only.

In an evaluative study of the adult education programme in Maharashtra, the author attempted to measure the impact of literacy component which is the main aspect of the programme on learners. The other objective was to investigate the quantitative spread and qualitative impact of the programme on the life of the people.

Some of the variables which the study included were literacy, social attitudes, participation in co-operatives, change in living patterns, awareness of responsibilities, improvement in economic status, physical standards of life, indicators of increase in knowledge and general I Q level. The study conducted in Wardha District consists of a sample of 250 female learners. The study was conducted in seven blocks. The main findings include:

1. The adult education programme did not bring the expected change in the target group despite the best efforts of the government. The author traced the cause of this to the apathy and indifference of the people towards literacy programmes and also the failure on the part of the organisers of the programme to motivate the adults.
2. The villagers preferred to spend their leisure time in religious and other activities rather than social activities.
3. The Adult Education Programme had not brought any change in the life styles of people.
These findings though discouraging however point out the fact that a mere literacy drive without any relevance to the day-to-day life of adult illiterates cannot bring the desired change in the attitude and lifestyle of villagers.

There are some gaps in this work. Firstly, the author did not probe into the organizational aspects of the programme like the general attitudes of the administrators of the programme, the administrative framework of the programme, instructors' motivation, learners preferences etc.

Johnson in an interesting study touched several policy issues relating to adult education programme. His study is based on secondary data. He stressed the need for a re-alignment in investment priorities in education giving neglected sectors like primary education and adult education programmes a priority. The author vividly portrayed the status of adult literacy programme in Tamil Nadu. Reviewing the performance of social education programme the researcher cautioned the policy makers about the inadvisability of offering economic incentives to attract learners. He implied that unless demand for education is created the adult education programmes will not succeed. The study demonstrated the basic weaknesses of social education programme and offers many suggestions.

The author of this study relatively neglected investigation into various other aspects of an adult education programme like planning, co-ordination and financing. Nonetheless the study raises some important and critical questions about adult education programmes.
Studies on Gram Sikshan Mohini, a programme run on voluntary basis too constitute a part of the survey.

The Directorate of Education, Maharashtra in collaboration with Planning Commission have conducted a survey of the work done under the 'Gram Shikshan Mohini' in order to find out the achievements in regard to the eradication of illiteracy as well as the achievements in the field of all-sided development of the villages. For purposes of the evaluation survey, 63 villages were selected by random sampling, out of 1256 villages covered under the scheme. The people in the sample villages were classified into three categories, namely literates, semi-literates and illiterates. The survey has revealed that there were 43.1 per cent literates, 37 per cent semi-literates and 18.1 per cent total illiterates in the total sample. It was also found that the adults who became literate under the scheme had reported some change in their outlook and in the standard of living. The report recorded the positive impact of the programme on the people of those areas where it has been introduced and fully implemented. However, the report pointed out that unless post-literacy programmes are planned to the neo-literate the whole programme will go a waste.42

Boring the middle sixties the idea of linking education to the development particularly for increasing production gained currency. This was in consequence to the launching of World Literacy Programme with the aim of "increasing productivity by continuing literacy instruction with vocational training in technology - dependant agricultural practices".43
Sponsored by UNICEF and UNDP, the well-known international agencies, this programme coincided with and in many cases provided educational support to what is popularly known as Green Revolution.

In the field of adult literacy, this led to the emergence of the concept and later a programme called functional literacy or work-oriented literacy. Based on this concept, a project called Farmers Functional Literacy was introduced which formed one of the components of the integrated programme of Farmers Training and Functional Literacy. In India, this was sponsored jointly by the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Information and Broadcasting, and Education, it was intended to provide the needed inputs to the farmers engaged in the cultivation of high-yielding varieties of crops.

Initially, this programme was taken up on a pilot basis in selected districts of India and later on it became one of the important non-formal educational programmes.

Studies on Farmers Functional Literacy Programme constitute a distinct category of studies in adult education. Some of the important studies are reviewed here.

This programme, as already pointed out, was implemented in selected blocks throughout the country. The impact of the programme on beneficiaries target groups was evaluated in Andhra Pradesh by Venkataiah in his study. The main objectives of the evaluation are to examine:

1) the level of attainment of literacy skills.
2) the level of agricultural knowledge.
3) the change in attitudes towards agricultural practice.
A schedule was designed to test the reading, writing and arithmetic ability as well to elicit their opinion on changes in agricultural knowledges and general change in attitudes.

A pre-test, post-test experimental design with a time gap of one year was used for investigation. The sample consists of 540 adult participants attending Farmers Functional Literacy Centres. The sample also includes 270 illiterate adults who have not participated in the programme and treated them as participants in the control group. The researcher has chosen certain standard variables like age, caste, and farm size besides their socio-economic status to determine the impact of the programme on the participants.

The following are some of the main findings of this study.

1) The study reported a significant difference in the achievement of literacy between the participants in the experimental group and the participants in the control group.

2) The study found out that the participants in experimental group had acquired significant knowledge in modern agricultural methods compared to non-participants. In other words, the positive impact of the FFL programme has been noticed.

3) The study established the correlation between age and retention ability. So this study proved that the age of the participants was inversely related to the retention ability of the participants.
(4) The study recorded a significant increase in the achievement and retention of literacy skills and in modern agricultural methods with the increase in the socio-economic structure of the participants.

(5) The researcher conclusively proved that the programme had significant impact in changing the attitudes of participants towards modern agricultural methods and literacy and this could be found among all age groups, caste groups, land holding groups and in fact in all socio-economic categories.

Thus the above study reveals the effectiveness of Farmers Functional Literacy Programme.

Khan in another study examined the implementation of the Social Educational Programme in the two States. The field study consists of survey in four districts of Bombay and Mysore states. The study found that the programme was not quite effective and traces the cause for this mainly in the short duration of the instructional time. From this finding he came to the conclusion that unless the instructional time is extended from 100 hours to 200 hours the programme would not result in any appreciable benefit to the illiterate adults. The study demonstrated through empirical evidence the phenomenon of majority of neo-literates relapsing into illiteracy in a short time after the completion of 100 hour programme.

The author further suggested that in order to sustain the interest of neo-literates vigorous efforts be made to distribute literature in simple language on relevant topics to them.
The Functional Literacy Project in Lucknow district was evaluated by the Central Ministry of Education and the Central Directorate of Adult Education. The pilot evaluation study conducted was in the district of Lucknow which is one of the three districts where the programme was introduced for the first time. The study attempted to determine the extent to which the objectives of Functional Literacy were achieved. It was observed in the study that higher the literacy level, more is the retention of knowledge imported and more was the adoption of improved practices in agriculture. This point is of particular significance because it shows the role of functional literacy in agricultural development. The programme attracted a large number of farmers in the age group of 15-35 and the study further proved that the retention level is much higher in this group.

Thus the studies so far discussed had been concerned with investigations into various types of efforts at educating adults.

As the coming of National Adult Education Programme in 1978 was regarded as a crucial landmark in the area of public policy, it was but natural that this programme would receive intense interest from analysts and students of public policy. Even more important is the fact that the policy makers themselves were keen on getting the implementation process evaluated for feedback purposes. As a matter of fact, central Ministry of Education and Social Welfare itself identified six high powered research institutes for undertaking evaluation of the National Adult Education Programme.

These institutions are!

1) Sardar Patel Institute of Economic and Social Research,
   Ahmedabad, Gujarat.
2) Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, Gujarat,
3) Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, Maharashtra.
4) Madras Institute of Development Studies, Madras, Tamil Nadu
5) Indian Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi.
6) A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna, Bihar.

The studies conducted by these bodies obviously form an important part of our literature. It must be remembered that while we call these as official agencies, these are not official in the sense of being studies made by the very agencies that are implementing the National Adult Education Programme but are studies undertaken by expert bodies invited by the policy sponsors to undertake critical evaluation.

The second type of studies undertaken in this category are studies done by individuals and organizations or other organizations and individuals.

We shall review some important studies.


The main objective of the study was to make a quick appraisal of the adult education programme, in terms of assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the programme and ascertaining the impact of the programme on the learners.

The sample of the study consisted of 45 voluntary agencies receiving financial assistance from Government of India to implement National Adult
Education Programme. The total number of adult centres that were selected through sampling are 181 which was 10 per cent of the total number of adult education centres run through voluntary agencies. A total of 530 learners, 65 drop outs, 169 instructors were selected through stratified sampling method. The sample consists of 41 per cent male centres and 31 per cent female and 28 per cent co-education centres. Of the total of 181 centres the study included separate centres for Scheduled Castes (18 per cent) Scheduled Tribes (5 per cent). The daily attendance in centres studied was estimated at 25.3 or 78 per cent. An interesting aspect here is that the report expressed the doubt about the authenticity regarding the attendance. It was reported that about 6.2 per cent of the adult education centres were closed before completing the 10 month period in Gujarat. Only 2 per cent of the enrolled adults were reported to have dropped out of the programme.

A heartening feature of the programme as stated in the appraisal report was that about 60 per cent of the learners in the sample acquired the skills of reading and writing.

The study curiously enough did not throw any light on the educational background of instructors excepting classification by sex. The report was also silent on the training of the instructors.

This study, the first appraisal of N A E P in Gujarat through voluntary agencies, offers many suggestions and recommendations. Some of them are (1) Enhancement in instructor's honorarium (2) increasing the participation of developmental departments' and exchange of experiences in between the voluntary agencies to increase the effectiveness of the programme.
The A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna conducted an appraisal of implementation of National Adult Education Programme in Bihar in 1979. It has selected 19 voluntary agencies for the study. The sample consists of 113 centres (10 per cent) 339 learners, 67 dropouts, and 113 instructors. The study did not include the potential learners and the elite. The sample consisted of a larger number of male centres and a very small number of female centres. About 48 per cent of Adult Education Centres studied were exclusively meant for Scheduled Castes and 18 per cent for Scheduled Tribes. The average enrolment is reported to be 31.1. The percentage of Adult Education centres closed before completing 10 month duration was only 0.2 per cent. The report contains only partial data regarding the educational background of the instructors. About 58 per cent of the instructors underwent training of which less than 21 days in Bihar and the remaining instructors received training for more than 21 days. The study brought out the various problems faced by voluntary agencies in locating centres, identifying learners, recruitment and training of instructors delay in getting the teaching materials as well as delay in release of grants to the voluntary agencies. The study offers many suggestions and recommendations. As most of these recommendations are, more or less, identical to those given by other studies under review, they would be discussed at the end of the reviews of these studies.

3. The Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad conducted its first appraisal of the implementation of National Adult Education Programme through voluntary agencies in Rajasthan. The study was undertaken between July/


September 1979. Seven agencies were selected for the study. The sample consists of 125 Adult Education Centres (10 per cent), 458 learners, 159 dropouts, 223 potential learners, 348 elites and 119 instructors. The break up of adult education centres by the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes is 12.5 per cent, 20.8 per cent and 7.8 per cent respectively which comes to 41.1 percent of the total number of Adult Education centres. The average enrolment in each centre was 27 and the average daily attendance works out to 66.6 per cent. About 18 per cent of the Adult Education Centres were reported to have closed before completion of stipulated 10 months period. The appraisal recorded about 19 per cent dropouts. The study while recording the appreciable achievement of learners as far as literacy component is concerned, commented on the neglect of Functionality and Awareness components.

Further it revealed that majority of instructors (56 per cent) studied upto middle school level. About 41 per cent of the instructors are matriculates and 3 per cent studied beyond matriculation. The study did not contain information regarding the distribution of instructors by their sex. Another omission of the study is about the training programme of instructors. A major finding of the study relates to learners preference for education that was linked to functional aspects like agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, credit facilities and other services. The study recommended for greater involvement of developmental departments in the programme.

4. The Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad has also conducted a second appraisal, with an enlarged sample which consisted of 50 Voluntary
Agencies, 186 Adult Education Centres, 768 learners, 321 dropouts, 464 potential learners, 555 elites and 184 instructors. Of the 186 centres selected 63 per cent are male centres 31 percent are female centres and the rest are mixed centres. It may be recalled here that the first appraisal did not give the division of Adult Education Centres by sex.

The Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other backward class centres constitute about 9.6, 14.6 and 18.4 per cent respectively in the total sample.

The second appraisal recorded increase in the percentage of daily attendance at Adult Education Centres, it did not give information about the closure of Adult Education Centres before the stipulated 10 month period. The educational status of the instructors in the sample is that a majority (56 per cent) have middle school qualifications, 48 per cent fall between VIII and matriculation, and only 11 have above matric level qualification. The report is silent on caste background of instructors, while it gave information about the distribution of the instructors by their sex (75 per cent male and 25 per cent female).

This appraisal too revealed that the National Adult Education Programme in Rajasthan was treated mainly as a literacy programme. Significantly enough the study traced the main reason for neglect of functionality and social awareness components to lack of co-operation from developmental agencies of the government.

5. The fifth important in this series is the one conducted by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay of National Adult Education
Programme in Maharashtra. The study did not confine itself to the role of the voluntary agencies alone. The Centres conducted by the Government agencies and Universities also figure in this study.

A total number of 292 centres were selected through the stratified random sampling method. The sample consists of 292 Adult Education Centres which constitute about 6 per cent of the sample. The data on various aspects of National Adult Education Programme is collected through an interview scheduled administered to 1,102 learners, 232 dropouts, 249 potential learners and 292 instructors. About 58 per cent of the centres are male centres and 23 centres are female centres while combined centre account for 5 per cent only in the total sample. The break up centres by caste shows that 23 per cent of the Centres are exclusively opened for the Scheduled Castes, 17 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes, 9 per cent for other backward classes and the remaining 51 per cent for caste groups in the whole state. It was stated in the report that the enrolment in Maharashtra was slightly higher (30.9 per cent) than the recommended average enrolment of 30 learners per centre.

This appraisal revealed that on an average 6.4 persons per centre constituting 16.5 per cent of the total enrolment dropped out before completing the programme. The sample consists of 17 per cent of the instructors with middle class educational background, 60 per cent between VIII and matriculation and 23 per cent above matriculation qualifications. Regarding the educational background the study shows that educational qualifications of instructors have a bearing on their performance. Delineating
on the caste structure of instructors the report revealed that 24 per cent of the instructors belong to S.C. and S.T. categories. The appraisal pointed out the thin spread of training programmes as it did not result in 100 per cent coverage of all instructors. Whereas the appraisal reports of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu recorded the low priority given by Voluntary Agencies owing to a host of reasons to functionality and social awareness components of National Adult Education Programme, the Maharashtra appraisal points out that some attempts that had been made by some agencies to cover these two components.

One of the important findings of the report is that the infrastructural facilities available in villages were utilised effectively which was largely due to the success in co-ordination between various agencies involved.

The Madras Institute of Development Studies undertook an evaluation of Implementation of National Adult Education Programme in Tamil Nadu in 1980. A large sample (40 per cent) was drawn consisting of 31 voluntary agencies spread over 97 centres.

A total number of 194 learners, 85 dropouts, 97 potential learners and 97 instructors were interviewed with the help of interview schedules. An interesting feature of the adult education scene in Tamil Nadu is the existence of 54 percent of female centres while the remaining 46 per cent are male centres. In rest of the states where appraisals were done the situation was different. About 38 per cent of the total number of Adult
Education centres are being run for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes categories. The study further revealed that on an average 21 adults are enrolled per centre and their attendance is 85 per cent which appears to be a little bit unrealistic considering the attendance reported in other appraisals. Nearly 17 per cent of the centres according to the appraisal have been closed before 10 months duration. The reason as reported was lack of interest on the part of the target group. Coming to the dropout problem the study estimated the rate of dropouts at 30 per cent.

The appraisal did not cover the educational background of the instructors and supervisors. A high percentage (67 per cent) of instructors belong to Scheduled Castes. As far as training of instructors was concerned the report pointed out that a few instructors underwent training very late – after the commencement of Adult Education Programme.

A bright spot of the National Adult Education Programme as revealed through the appraisal was the co-operation received from community for the establishment of Adult Education Centres. A large number of Adult Education Centres were started in public places in villages. This is in contrast to the feature of Maharashtra where it was the government that had to provide locations for the study centres.

Summary:

It can be seen from the review that except for the study by Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, all the other five studies deal with
programmes that were run exclusively by voluntary agencies. Each organization developed its own methodology. The objectives of these evaluation studies as can be seen are not very different from one another. The studies reveal a general satisfaction, with regard to the implementation of National Adult Education Programme through voluntary agencies. They have brought out the inherent weaknesses of the programme. A general inadequacy of these studies may also be mentioned.

Gujarat Report

An examination of the socio-economic, educational, occupational states, and the commitment of the voluntary agencies to the programme would have certainly improved the depth of these studies.

These studies have offered quite a number of suggestions. The Rajasthan appraisal recommended for an increase in the total budget allocation of this programme. Drawing the attention of the policy makers to the meagre sum of Rs. 1704/- allotted to a learner, the report stated that while the government spends about 1 lakh rupees to educate a medical graduate, allotment of Rs. 1704/- to educate an illiterate adult is ridiculously low.

Regarding the success of the National Adult Education Programme the appraisal conclusively observed that about 15 to 18 adults per centre are definitely becoming literate. A few of them were found to be getting something more than literacy. They however, belong to the economically deprived sections of the society**.
The inadequacies with regard to the teaching material were touched upon by the Gujarat evaluation report. It was reported that nearly half of the instructors did not receive teaching material on functionality and social awareness. Thus the appraisal concluded that the instructors were not equipped properly to carry out the two vital components i.e. functionality and social awareness.

Besides the Gujarat appraisal the other appraisals too referred to inadequacies in the supply of teaching learning material. Almost all reports recommended that (1) more teaching, learning materials should be provided to the Adult Education Centres, (2) more primers should be designed to cater to the interests and needs of heterogeneous groups (3) the material should be supplied in time (4) the content of the material should be relevant to specific occupations of the learners.

Most of the studies also referred to problems relating to lack of proper seating arrangements for learners and inadequacy in lighting arrangements. As far as community participation is concerned, Tamil Nadu seem to be only exception, where the community facilities were voluntarily opened up to a majority of the centre. As has already been mentioned better co-ordination with the education department seems to be evident in the case of Maharashtra, for a majority of centres were opened in the Schools. In any case, the involvement of the community seems to be marginal in the first year implementation of N A E P. The Rajasthan study showed that the villagers had helped initially in motivating the learners to join the adult education centres and some of them had even provided space for Adult Education Centres.
The survey of the appraisals studies is not exhaustive. The reports contain some important suggestions relating to the policy behind the programme and thus vindicated their appraisal as a good feedback mechanism to the government. Some of the common features of the programme which have policy implications have been attempted in this survey.

The recommendations made by various agencies are summed up.

0) Preparation of more primers should be undertaken without delay keeping in view the varied and local needs of learners. Supplementary reading material for raising awareness of the learners should be supplied to learners. Steps should be taken to improve physical facilities like lighting regularity should be maintained in the supply of teaching/learning material.

(2) Effective follow-up and post literacy programmes should be organized to prevent the neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy.

(5) Functional education component should be strengthened to satisfy the need of the learners who are interested in learning new skills for improving their earnings.

(4) Vide publicity should be given to various rural development programmes with a view to motivate learners.

(5) Topics under social awareness should be increased especially those which concern them. Here the regional and socio-cultural variations should be kept in mind.
(6) The training programmes for adult education functionaries should be organised in such a manner that it enhances their understanding of N A E P as well as instills confidence in them.

(7) The delay in processing applications for financial assistance for adult education work by voluntary agencies must be cut down to the minimum.

(8) The project level committees should be activized.

(9) The increase in honorarium of the instructor need to be examined.

(10) The well established voluntary organisations at the national as well as state levels should try to identify new and emerging organisations.

A total number of 30 Adult Education Centres were chosen for the study. Further the sample consists of 155 learners (5 per cent), 30 dropouts (1 per cent) and 27 instructors. Among the total number of 3 centres selected 21 centres belong to Scheduled Castes and the remaining are adivasi and other centres.

The study showed that a majority (88 per cent) of the learners belong to agricultural labour. The educational background of the learners families was also investigated and it was found that women in the age-group of 15-35 formed a substantial section of illiterates. Eight per cent of the learners enrolled in adult education centres had been to a school before joining adult education centres. On an average it was found that each learner in this category had spent two to five years in a school.
The reasons for dropping out of the formal education were stated as economic reasons and family pressures.

The report conveys that the learners have expressed satisfaction with the physical facilities available in the adult education centres. The perceptions of the adult illiterates about the benefits of joining adult education centre is as follows:

About 89 per cent of the learners joined the adult education centres only to acquire the ability to read and write. The agency to a large extent seems to have succeeded in its efforts to motivate illiterate adults to attend classes. About 53 learners stated that the instructors were quite helpful in rescuing them in their difficulties while about 47 per cent stated that they experienced difficulties in attending the classes.

The study rated 48 per cent of the sample as good at reading and 41 per cent as satisfactory in writing ability. Classified as good and 62 per cent as satisfactory and in simple arithmetic 24 per cent of learners were categorised as good and 50 per cent as satisfactory. Thus, the overall performance in literacy has been described as fairly satisfactory in reading and simple arithmetic the study indicated the need and scope for improvement.

As far as other components are concerned the study reported that about 71 per cent of the learners reported that there was no increase in their income after they joined the adult education centres while 29 per cent said that there was an increase in their earnings, as a result of the participation in this programme. The study discovered that the functionality component of the programme needed better attention from the agency.
An analysis of the responses to the questions on social awareness component of the programme reveals the favourable reaction of learners to the advantages of family planning and to the benefits of savings. But by and large the learners were ignorant about minimum age for marriage, act on minimum wages facilities available to farmers through such developmental agencies as S F D A etc. The study reported that majority of learners (59 per cent) do not know the minimum age for voting. Awareness about local problems such as drinking water, food and irrigation sources seem to be high among the learners through the capacity to solve the day to day problem is rated quite low. Some of the main difficulties experienced by learners as reported were, lack of suitable study material, trained instructors and short duration of the programme. They suggested a strong follow up programme with greater emphasis on functionality component and supply of useful and relevant teaching material for the success of the programme.

The situation with regard to the dropouts which we noticed as is more or less similar to other states as discussed earlier. In Orissa a majority had stated that they have discontinued owing to family problems. The incentives for their rejoining as stated by them were inclusion of cultural and entertainment programmes, some of them suggested introduction of monetary incentives.

More than 90 per cent of the instructors have no teaching experience. The training programmes organized by the voluntary agencies had reached only 48 per cent of the total learners.
The failure to effectively implement the functionality and social awareness components of the N A E P were traced to lack of co-operation from the development departments of the government. The study also reveals that the learners paid more attention to the lectures delivered by persons from outside. This observation is interesting as other appraisals did not touch upon this.

The report referred to some of the weaknesses of the programme. They are (1) lack of suitable study materials (2) lack of trained instructors and (3) short duration of the programme with no follow up.

The report made several recommendations to increase the effectiveness of the programme. They include (1) paying of more attention to the training programmes of the instructors (2) preparation of need-based curriculum (3) increase in the number of female centres and (4) planning the post-literacy programme well in advance.

The study thus covered almost all facets of N A E P and offered constructive suggestions.

Another interesting study undertaken by a scholar Dr. Haragopal in Warangal district of A.P. deserves mention here. Haragopal in his study investigated the functioning of two Adult Education Centres – one considered to be successful centre and another a failure. This study afforded an opportunity to examine the limited micro-level experience gained so far in the implementation of N A E P. This study also confirmed
the partial achievement of the main components of the programme i.e. more emphasis on literacy component compared to the functionality and awareness of components. The following reasons for the success of Nagaram Adult Education Centre are (1) Readiness of the young persons to invest their time as instructors, resources and energy for the cause, (2) their non-political image (3) relative absence of factional fights in the area and (5) even while the curriculum was literacy oriented it took care to exclude what the investigator termed as controversial issues. In contrast to this in Lambada village an adult education centre was started for economically weaker sections. Initially the response was good but the enthusiasm faded over a period of time and gradually the attendance declined, finally culminating in the closure of the centre.

The causes for this development as investigated by the author were (1) trooping of children into Adult Education Centres and the view of the parents that education is for children and not for them. (2) the weak financial position of the sponsoring organization which could not appoint a regular instructor. (3) the failure on the part of the instructor to converse in their language with the tribal learners. (4) the intervention of elections and the consequent diversion of interest from the programme and learners disinterest.

The study farther pointed out that centres were opened without proper planning. The study concluded that effective survey would have eliminated the crowding of children in one area.
Thus the study emphasises the need for comprehensive planning before starting adult education centres.

The studies by organisations and individuals so far surveyed, provide the background for the present investigation. The appraisal studies were done in respect of five states only. No exhaustive evaluation was done in other states particularly in states like Andhra Pradesh. The present study is a modest attempt to investigate into the process of implementation and performance of National Adult Education Programme in Andhra Pradesh which is one of the most backward states as far as literacy is concerned. But before an analysis of the implementation process is taken, the institutional frame work of the whole programme as conceived by policy makers is described which also provides a backdrop to the analysis that follows.

2. See Plato's *Republic*.

3. See Aristotle's, *Politics*.


11. T. W. Schultz, *Investment in Human Capital in Poor Countries*


17. Ibid.


32. Ibid, p. 333.


34. Ibid, Forward p. 9-14.


37. J.P. Naik, National Educational Policy 1947-77. Indian Institute of Education


41. Ibid.


49. Rajasthan 66%, Gujarat 78%, Bihar 74%, Maharashtra 66%. According to MIDIS report the high percentage of attendance may be due to the advance information sent to Centres regarding their visit.


51. Hargopal G, "Literacy and Education" *Seminar* 1979, pp 30-34.