THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION LITERATURE:

NIGERIAN AND JAMAICAN PERSPECTIVES, 1976-1986

by

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ABSTRACT

Over the last few decades, adult education literature has indicated an increasing interest in the topic of national development. However, in general this literature's conceptualization of "development" is unclear, since it rarely analyses the concept within any explicit frameworks. One purpose of this study was therefore to bring more clarity to the discussion of development as it relates to adult education. An examination of literature on development thought and on the development/education relationship indicated some reflection by the latter of shifts in development perspectives, though the coincidence was by no means exact. Overall, a shift away from the advocation of a linear, Eurocentric development model focussed on economic growth towards more indigenous-based conceptualizations and a greater emphasis on equality was noted. However, this was by no means complete or universal.

Because of the suggestion that indigenous approaches to development are likely more relevant, a second purpose was to deepen understanding of the development/adult education relationship through an examination of its conceptualization in the adult education literature of a specific context--that of West African and Caribbean English-speaking nations. A hermeneutic approach was used to interpret selected literature from Nigeria and Jamaica (considered exemplary of the two regions of the context). The four main questions addressed to the literature were concerned with the emphasis on: literacy education; consistency of national and adult educational goals; reducing inequality; and the need for structural change.

It was found that literacy education was accorded much importance, as was the necessity of harmonizing adult educational with national objectives.

Neither inequality nor structural change was emphasized, and consideration of both was most often indirect. Little autonomy for adult education was indicated.

Since the differences between the two sub-contexts seemed as numerous as the similarities, and since none of the existing development or development/education frameworks seemed totally adequate to either, the importance of indigenous approaches seemed to be confirmed. However, the persistent influence of Western development values and goals (particularly modernization) was also very evident in the literature. This suggested a tension between the more recent trend to indigenous approaches and the continuing pervasiveness of Western models. Further exploration of the nature and effects of this tension was therefore suggested.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

> All the observations sketched out should also be seen in the context
> of the worrisome malaise creeping into debates on development
> thinking, occasioned by the belief that all that can be said about
> development has already been said. While this may be true, the
> question is whether all that *needs* to be said about development has
> in fact been said. (Addo, 1985, p. 13)

During the course of the past thirty years, adult education literature has

reflected an increasing interest in "national development". The educational lexicon

has expanded to include "development education", both in the sense of the study

of issues involved in change within societies and also in the sense of educating

people in industrialized societies about these issues and their global implications.

Most of the adult education literature on development has examined, in

some capacity, the relationship between adult education and development. There

are two general approaches to the scrutiny of this relationship. First, there is an

empirical/practical approach. This approach usually attempts to identify and probe

the concrete manifestations of adult education (and perhaps of specific programs)

as they relate to some predetermined conception of development, whether that

conception be framed in economic, social or political terms. In general,

empirical/practical approaches to examining the relationship between education and

development tend to assume fairly definite meanings for each of these concepts.

(These meanings may differ depending on the perspective taken, but they are

rarely themselves in question. The question usually is: given a certain conception

of development, what is the connection of education--as perceived from the given

philosophical standpoint--to its achievement?)

Within this approach, education can be viewed in two different ways. It can be viewed as an "object" of which more can be obtained by more people once development itself is obtained--that is, as a pseudo-material result of development. It is often also seen as one of the "tools" which will eventually help bring about development, in which case it is seen as more instrumental and thus endowed with its own political and social significance. It is, however, still objectified in that the characterization as a tool implies that it exists in a pure form that can and perhaps should be manipulated to achieve a particular end.

Development as a concept is also usually a given in adult education literature, very little of which has examined it in depth or questioned its adoption (in whatever form is accepted) as an ultimate goal. In other words, the tendency is not to perceive the development concept as problematic for adult education. Development is generally considered to be a "good thing"; hence, there is little concern that the use of adult education as a tool for its achievement might be a negative activity.

The second approach to examining the relationship between education and development is more likely to question the meanings attached to each of the major concepts--indeed, this is generally its purpose. This is the conceptual/theoretical approach which, rather than considering the connection of education to development on the basis of empirical research, approaches it at a more abstract level. Since this approach examines the conceptual relationship between education and development, it is usually perceived as more of a philosophical, rather than a scientific, activity.

One important reason for considering the concerns raised within the conceptual/theoretical approach is that such concerns are more fundamental than

those involved in the empirical/practical approach. The latter presupposes answers involving the conceptual relationship between adult education and development. As indicated earlier, in most adult education and development literature, assumptions, either explicit or implicit, are being made about what constitutes "adult education" and "development". Thus, the conceptual/theoretical approach is useful in considering the conceptual frameworks which underlie the empirical/practical approach.

This thesis will therefore take the conceptual/theoretical approach to examining the relationship between adult education and development. It is recognized that the pursuit of understanding at a conceptual level in an area like this one may be considered to be mere academic hair-splitting. After all, a vast number of words have already been written in development theory, and the concept has been examined and re-examined. Hettne (1982) wonders:

> The concept of development has tended to gain in depth and richness as the ugliness and brutality of actual processes of conventional economic growth are revealed. Should this paradox be explained as some kind of escapism or is there really something to be gained from a merely *conceptual* development of the concept of development? Is not the elaboration of schemes of human needs an insult to the sick in Africa, the starving in Asia and the marginals in Latin America? (p. 89)

If this might be the case in the field of development studies in general, is the criticism even more applicable to an applied field such as adult education? Would it not be more useful to restrict such a field's attention to the more practical aspects of policy and provision--within whatever conception of development had been accepted by the nation in question?

There are several problems with such an attitude. First, as mentioned earlier, it assumes and accepts a view of the development/education relationship

as non-problematic, whereas an examination of the history of education in and for development indicates otherwise. Second, it could only work if the role of education in society in general were undisputed, another easily disproved premise. Third, unless one subscribes to the notion that practice should not be informed by theory, or that no attempt should be made to *understand* the existing theoretical and conceptual underpinnings, this attitude is counterproductive. It could certainly be argued that practice itself is done a great disservice if inadequate attention is paid to such "abstract" issues.

In a 1982 article, Rubenson addresses this last point in the context of adult education research. An understanding of research methodology is not enough:

> unless researchers also try to develop a clearer view of adult education phenomena as well--that is, how they should be conceptualized with reference to criteria of adult education--the discipline will not advance, nor will it be able to serve the field of practice in the way hoped for. (p. 66)

Rubenson thus sees theory in adult education as "an authorized map over the territory" which will ease the translation of research into practical applications.

B. PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The lack of a clear conceptualization of phenomena is evident in the plethora of literature on the development/adult education relationship. This literature rarely utilises explicit frameworks within which to analyse the concept of development; rather, it tends to be only descriptive and eclectic in nature. The concept of development is frequently not defined. Even in those instances where a "definition" is supplied, it is often a technical definition; certainly there is little attempt to examine the concept with anything resembling a critical approach. It

is partly for this reason that the role of adult education in the development discussion, and even the point at which it entered into this discussion, are difficult to ascertain.

One basic purpose of this thesis will therefore be to bring some clarity to the discussion of development in terms both of the development literature and of the conceptualizations present in adult education literature. Is there evidence of a reflection by adult education literature of whatever shifts may have occurred in development thought? Once some clarity exists as to the meanings attached to the concept of development, some insight may be gained into the implications of these conceptualizations for an understanding of the development/adult education relationship. The second purpose will thus be to add depth of understanding to clarity.

C. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

This section will set some parameters in order to establish a framework for this paper itself. Given the complex nature of the topic, some basic questions should also be addressed at this point.

To begin with, the study must have a historical focus. The formal study of development has had a relatively brief history, but this history is very full: as mentioned earlier, the study of development issues has become a subfield of special study within several disciplines, creating in each an intense debate which has in turn been the impetus for a voluminous body of writing. Throughout most of this history, the role of education (and of adult education) in development has also been the object of a great deal of scrutiny. Therefore, while some attention will be given to a recounting of the historical development of the concept of

development, the specific study in this thesis will concentrate on a narrower time frame.

The emphasis will be laid on the ten-year period from 1976 to 1986, for two reasons. First, an attempt to gain clarity would seem most likely to benefit from an examination of the situation in the most recent time period: while there would certainly be value in determining the state of affairs at any earlier period, an evaluation of the current situation would of necessity encompass a recognition of these earlier situations. This is not meant to imply a view that history is necessarily "progressive". This is an issue which certainly underlies any discussion of development, and which will be considered more fully at a later point.

Second, a focus on more recent thinking on development is in keeping with a desire to emphasize as much as possible the perspective of those thinkers indigenous to regions commonly considered to be in need of development. The academic study of development has tended to be somewhat Eurocentric; it is only recently that western theorists have begun to acknowledge that the experience of western industrialized nations may not be applicable to the "developing world". For many, this acknowledgement is manifested in a new emphasis on cultures and on contextually and historically specific and unique modes of development. Thus, there is also a greater recognition of the possibility that the "solutions" in a particular situation are most likely to come from within that situation. A real questioning of the western notion of development is a fairly recent phenomenon--both in the western world and in the "periphery"; such a questioning is yet by no means universal. However, it is becoming more of a trend in development thought and there is therefore more material written from this perspective available than was formerly the case. This increased availability

is particularly marked in the case of indigenous writers. Whether or not such indigenous perspectives were propounded within the nations in question, they were not for the most part likely to be published in the west. Thus it is only recently that a study such as this one has been feasible.

The study should also have a geographical focus. As already stated, the texts to be examined in the second part of the thesis will be representative of the perspectives of indigenous "Third World" writers/educators. These writers could be drawn from a number of different milieus, or one particular milieu could be chosen. Because this will not be a comparative study, it seems wise to avoid the complexities that might result from examining a wide mixture of contexts. There are innumerable variables which may have an effect on the conceptualizations of individuals within any milieu; it is possible only to limit these as much as possible, not to eliminate or even control them. While it is not possible to avoid subjectivity when dealing with a topic such as this one, it is possible to learn much from such subjectivity.

The particular milieu represented in this study will be that of West African and Caribbean nations with a British colonial legacy, and focussing on Nigeria and Jamaica as exemplary of these nations. Keeping in mind that a common experience is never wholly homogenizing, there is still a strong basis for considering these areas to comprise one milieu. Not only have they experienced the same colonial power (and have therefore at least one language in common), but also their populations have a largely similar background, as most of the black population of the Caribbean originated in West Africa. While cultural modifications were certainly effected, there is still likely to be similarity in the imagery evoked--and this imagery will be of great importance to this study.

Another aspect of this topic that should be considered at this point concerns the applicability of literature on education in general to adult education in particular. Should a distinction be made between the two? Certainly there are many credible arguments in favour of making such distinctions; the relationship between schooling and adult education is very much still a matter of debate. However, unless is is very narrowly and specifically oriented to the formal education system, general education literature will be considered relevant to this study. One reason for this decision is that, while much of what is called "development education" is concerned with adult and non-formal education, especially in the areas of literacy, health education and vocational education, an overlap in this literature definitely exists. The division between schooling and adult education is often less obvious, or less sharply-drawn, in the Third World context than it is in industrialized countries.

Another reason to be fairly inclusive of general literature on education is related to the function of education in society--again, a question that will be more fully examined later. While there are those who would argue that adult education does not play a large role in socialization or social transmission, this study will subscribe to the broader view propounded in two articles by Rubenson. In the first (1980) he states:

> we believe that there exists something which could be called a general theory of education and that both pedagogy and adult education rest on this common base. Thus most common principles on the relationship of social structure and social change to education are the same for adult and pre-adult education. (pp. 15-16)

Again, Rubenson elaborates on this idea in his 1982 article:

> adult education may be considered to be a sub-discipline which has the aim of studying the role of adult education in the process of cultural and social transmission ... The functions and processes of

adult education must be seen in relation to the functions of pre-adult education ... the educational process cannot be separated from its social context. (pp. 59-60)

While the complexities of this situation are acknowledged, it is contended that it would not only be difficult in many instances to separate out specific references to adult education, but also unnecessary. The study of the West African/Caribbean context will examine literature that refers specifically to adult education, but the desire to make this examination in the clearest possible light requires a broader treatment of background material.

One more limitation must be noted: there is a certain unease with regards to the use of some of the terms connected with development, as this very use may be considered to imply an endorsement of certain assumptions. However, it would be inappropriate here to offer specific definitions for these terms (such as "development", "progress", "social change", "adult education", to name a few), since the clarification of the various meanings attached to them is one of the central tasks of the study. The terms must still be utilised throughout, but this in no way implies an uncritical acceptance of any of the assumptions underlying these meanings--save, perhaps, that what is being discussed is change of some sort.

D. ORGANIZATION OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

This first chapter serves to set the parameters of the study, in order to establish the framework within which the questions can be formulated. Such questions also cannot be examined without reference to the conceptual frameworks that have been adopted to explain the phenomena connected with development; therefore, the second chapter will comprise a discussion of the literature on

development thought.

To some extent, this discussion will have a historical framework, since in many cases the theories involved are developed at least partly in response to an earlier theory; however, it must be borne in mind that there has been no clear succession of theories in the sense of a paradigm shift--as the discussion in Chapter 2 will indicate. As an example, the dependency theories respond to and criticize modernization theories, but while their articulation may be the reflection of shifts that have been occurring in development thought, they in no way have replaced the earlier theories. The two remain as contending modes of thought.

The general development literature reviewed in this chapter will be drawn from the rather extensive literature on development economics and the sociology of development. While not exhaustive, this review will be as representative as is possible within the limitations of a brief explication of the major approaches in development thinking.

This review will provide the basis for the discussion of views on the development/education relationship, which will be presented in the third chapter. There are many elements that must be considered here. To begin with, it is essential to address the question of whether, in dealing with development, we are looking at a particular case of the education/social change question. This question, of course, asks what the role of education in social change might be.

If development were to be considered as a form of social change, it would follow that a review of the literature on the education/development relationship must consider literature that deals with the role of education in social change. In this regard, different perspectives on the function of adult education in society, as well as different theories of social change and their application to education must

be examined. This examination will of necessity be brief.

After looking at the literature on the role of education in social change, the third chapter will consider literature that deals, explicitly or implicitly, with perspectives on the development/education relationship. By "explicitly" and "implicitly" is meant that this literature may specifically articulate some theory as to the nature of this relationship, or else it may simply deal with that relationship without calling it such. In the latter case, the assumptions underlying the treatment of the relationship would not be explicated, but should be possible to divine from the text itself.

The literature on the development/education relationship will also be examined in the light of the earlier review of literature on development thought. Does the education literature coincide with the various schools of development thought? That is, are there shifts in educational thought on development that reflect those in development thought itself? This review will be carried out in order to fulfil one of the purposes of this thesis, which is to determine and clarify the role adult education has played in the development discussion.

Given the backdrop of a variety of interested disciplines and the diversity of perspectives each may hold both with regards to development and with regards to the relationship between development and education, the identification and analysis of the assumptions and meanings which may form the bases of these perspectives takes on some importance. This point has already been touched upon with respect to taking a theoretical/conceptual approach as opposed to an empirical/practical one. The basic assumptions and meanings identified will influence the direction taken by research that is specifically geared to practical application, and hence the direction of practice itself. While applied research is

certainly very important, there is also a need to clarify and bring together these different perspectives by means of questioning their basic assumptions and the resultant meanings or understandings. Thus, the approach chosen should have an integrative, as well as an analytic function.

This study proposes a philosophical explication of the meanings and assumptions underlying the conception of the development/education relationship as evidenced in adult education literature; the approach taken will be hermeneutic. The particular hermeneutic approach will be described more fully in Chapter 4; at this point it is necessary to say only that it can more accurately be termed an interpretive approach which involves a certain process, rather than a method. This point will also be discussed later. However, proponents of a hermeneutic approach consider it to be more, rather than less than a method.

A hermeneutic approach is considered appropriate for this study for several reasons. To begin with, there has recently been a tendency among many thinkers within the social sciences to move from attempts to model research strictly on the natural sciences to a more interpretive approach. Development theory is an area of concern to several social sciences at once, and each of these disciplines brings its own assumptions and meanings to the study of this area. Education draws much of its knowledge base from all these other disciplines, and adds more assumptions of its own. All of this is complicated even more by the fact that the imagery of development evoked is different in all the various cultural contexts. Such a complex situation suggests the value and importance of an approach which may be able both to clarify and integrate these assumptions and meanings.

This approach, then, will be applied to selected texts from the indigenous

adult education literature of the geographical area specified earlier. Chapter 5 will first of all attempt to explicate the assumptions that underlie the formulation of the development/education relationship in this literature, to examine the imagery evoked and the implications of this imagery. This, along with the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, will fulfil the "clarifying" function of the study. The "integrating" function will be fulfilled through the consideration of the questions of whether there are significant discrepancies in this conceptualization among the writers or whether there are homogeneous patterns, what these similarities or differences may be attributed to and, again, what the implications of these findings might be.

It is hoped that, through looking in some detail at this small sampling of literature, some insight may be gained into the basic assumptions that inform the overall conceptualization of the development/education relationship, with particular reference to adult education. The concluding chapter will offer a summary of the study's findings and will discuss the meanings these findings might have in terms of a greater understanding of this extremely complex area of concern--an area in which it is expected such concern will only increase.

E. CONCLUSION

This chapter has noted the increasing interest within adult education literature in development and its relationship to adult education. It is suggested that there are two general approaches that can be taken to examine this relationship: an empirical/practical approach and a theoretical/conceptual approach. Further, it has been indicated that, since the concerns raised by the theoretical/conceptual approach are more fundamental, this general approach would

be of particular utility in this context because the adult education literature presents no clear conceptualization of the relationship.

The thesis will attempt to bring some clarity to this discussion of adult education and development and to discover how this relationship has been and/or can be conceptualized.

II. FORTY YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT THOUGHT

A. *INTRODUCTION: APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT THEORY*

The complexity of development thought is readily apparent. Many streams feed into it, and it takes many turns; there is no clear progression of development theory. As well, a great variety of interpretations of development theory exist.

Instead of providing the structure and clarity needed for an understanding of the overall development picture, these interpretations often seem merely increase the confusion of ideas. Bernstein (1976) states, "A single body of theory about development is as unlikely to emerge as it is about any other major social theme engendering political conflict and sharp intellectual divergences" (p. 21). These divergences are equally apparent in the literature *about* development theory; certainly, the interpretations are as much ideologically informed as are the theories themselves. Some commentators divide the writing on the Third World into that which tends to offer endogenous explanations for development (or underdevelopment) and that which "breaks out of the endogenous paradigm" for a closer examination of external influences (Roxborough, 1979). Others categorize approaches to development theory as "positive" or "normative" (Hettne, 1982). Some see "mainstream" and "counterpoint" alternatives for development, the former characterized as Eurocentric, and the latter as (potentially) non-deterministic and anti-systemic (Addo, 1985; Friberg and Hettne, 1985). For others, the division is more traditional: approaches to development invoke either the "myth of growth" (capitalist models) or the "myth of revolution" (socialist models) (Berger, 1976).

The foregoing represent only a few of the ways in which approaches to development have been interpreted. The frameworks in which development theory is analysed do not provide an easy means of understanding the situation; terminology is not consistent, and the perspectives taken may or may not have areas of overlap. As Hettne (1982) claims:

> In the social sciences 'paradigms' (if they can be so called) tend to accumulate, rather than replace each other, one reason being that they may fulfil ideological purposes, even after their explanatory power (if there ever was one) has been lost. Thus progress in the social sciences is to a very large extent a matter of subjective views and perspectives ... (p. 10)

For this reason, Lehmann (1979) fears "the study of development ... becoming a ghetto in which embattled ideologies pursue their mutual destruction without offering any prospect of the proclaimed 'new synthesis'" (p. 4).

Although such a synthesis is unlikely, and no definitive approach to the study of development theory seems imminent, the literature that attempts to summarize development thought still provides many frameworks that are potentially useful as reference points. Two such frameworks will serve this purpose for the discussion in this chapter. These two have been chosen because, together, they cover a wide range of thought from two fairly distinctive perspectives.

The first is found in Hermassi's The Third World Reassessed (1980). The author claims that there are four major approaches to development. The first of these is the Liberal Model of development, which is based on three assumptions: first, that development is linear and that each society follows the same route; second, that development is systematic, with changes occurring in all aspects of society (from "attributes of tradition" to "attributes of modernity"); and third,

that development is an endogenous process. The second, or Historicist Approach to development was a reaction to the rigidities of the liberal model. Those who take this approach are usually social scientists who emphasize the historical specificity of each society's experience as opposed to universal processes of development. On the other hand, the Managerial Approach looks at development more narrowly, focussing on the "practical": policy, management and problem-solving.

According to Hermassi, by 1980 all three of these approaches were waning relative to the fourth approach, the Neo-Marxist, largely due to a growing disillusionment with the "traditional" explanations of the causes and processes of development. The various theories within the neo-Marxist approach responded to this disillusionment with a shift in focus from development to underdevelopment--seen as a process generated simultaneously with, and as a product of, the development of the industrialized nations. In other words, underdevelopment was considered a direct result of the processes of capitalism.

Although Hermassi describes four different approaches, he claims that the historicist and managerial approaches are both based on the assumptions and concepts of the liberal model. He further refers to a "polarization" in development studies between the "developmentalist" theorists (those taking any of the first three approaches) and the "dependency" theorists (the neo-Marxists). Hermassi's fourfold typology is most useful in that it provides a guide to the variations in emphasis within the major approaches that he describes. He himself claims to believe that the diversity of development experience cannot be understood through "any single intellectual scheme" (p. 40).

In Development and the Third World (1982), Hettne argues that what

Hermassi calls developmentalist and dependency theories are both situated within a "mainstream paradigm" rooted in a Western evolutionary perspective. These theories can be located along a continuum between capitalism ("Market") and socialism ("State"). The various development strategies of the Western tradition can all be placed along this continuum: Hettne identifies the liberal strategy, the state capitalist strategy, the Soviet model, Keynesianism and neo-liberalism as fairly distinct strategies. They

> are varieties of the basic paradigm, expressing different historical possibilities and constraints. They differ mainly with regard to means (i.e. the relative role of state and market) but as far as the ends (the Western conception of modernity) are concerned, they are all basically similar. The differences as regards means can largely be explained by the specific circumstances in which the strategies emerged. (p. 15)

Hettne distinguishes this mainstream paradigm from its "counterpoint". The latter favours "small-scale, decentralized, ecologically sound, human and stable models of societal development" (ibid., p. 15). While he admits that the counterpoint position is difficult to describe, he nevertheless lists the general attributes of a society based on its principles. Such a society would be *physiocratic* (reflecting ecological concerns), *ultrademocratic* and *structurally undifferentiated*. The counterpoint is seen as not only in opposition to, but also in dialectical relationship with, the mainstream. Like the mainstream, the counterpoint contains both market-oriented and socialist perspectives.

Hettne states that the overall concern of his study is to examine the impact of the Third World on the evolution of development theory. He argues that this theory originated in Western concerns. The confrontation of these concerns with Third World social realities has resulted in "a process of intellectual emancipation" (p. 99), manifested in the increasing indigenization of

development thinking.

The discussion of development theory that follows will of necessity be brief and incomplete, as the territory to be covered is vast. It is hoped that the two analyses described above will act as anchors for this discussion. While neither is totally comprehensive, together they represent two important perspectives on development thought. Hermassi's focusses on the notion of a split between developmentalist and dependency theories, while Hettne's identifies an approach that could be considered "new" in that it had hitherto been granted scant recognition within the development discussion.

B. ORIGINS OF CONCERN WITH THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT

> There can be no doubt that development has become the central organizing concept in terms of which the historical movement and direction of social systems are analyzed, evaluated and acted upon ... It is also the dominant organizing myth of our epoch, taking over the role played by the concepts 'progress' in the Enlightenment and 'growth' in classical economics. (Aseniero, 1985, pp. 54-55)

There seems to be little argument that the notion of development is rooted in a Western world view. The idea of development arose out of the connected concepts of "progress" and "growth", where progress connotes movement in a desirable direction and growth relates metaphorically to biological growth (Almond, Chodorow & Pearce, 1982). These two ideas became identified with each other during the Enlightenment. In the nineteenth century, the concept of evolution was added to the equation. The "doctrine of progress" became the core of theory dealing with the transition from tradition to modernity in the West.

Thus, as Worsley (1984) points out, "Though development is a post-Second World War concept, the whole of human history is the history of development"

(p. 1). It was only after 1945 that the West became very interested in the transition to modernity of the Third World (itself a post-Second World War concept). Decolonization was creating numerous "new nations" and, with increasing polarity between the American and Soviet blocs, the path taken by these nations was a matter of great interest to the industrialized nations. Hettne (1982) notes that development theory began to be developed only after it became apparent that the transition of these societies would not automatically take place as it had in the industrialized countries--in other words, that development problems in the Third World were different from those that had been faced by the Western nations.

Nevertheless, theorists did not believe that the experience of the latter was irrelevant in the new situations. Western societies were considered to be "developed" (generally taken to mean capable of "self-sustaining growth"), and since the post-war economic reconstruction of the West seemed to indicate that the key to development was economic growth, development theorists perceived the West as the obvious model for the rest of the world (Castoriadis, 1984). Modernity, the end product of development (or "modernization"), was perceived to comprise Western social and economic systems, political institutions, and so on.

Since development theory grew out of a number of social sciences, it quite naturally inherited their assumptions about tradition and modernity. The social scientists who were interested in the problem of Third World development were merely extending to a new area the traditional concerns of their disciplines, particularly the concern with developing "a theory of society which would also be a theory of social change" (Worsley, 1984, p. 2). According to Giddens (1982), both Marxist and orthodox sociology are informed by, among others, two

assumptions that have had a particularly strong influence on the unfolding of development theory. The first posits that social change "can be conceived above all as the unfolding of endogenous influences within a given society" (p. 58); the second states that the most economically advanced society is the image of all other societies' futures (ibid., p. 59).

C. THE LIBERAL MODEL

Modernization theories are often considered to comprise a "diffusionist paradigm". Within this paradigm

> development was seen in an evolutionary perspective, and the state of underdevelopment defined in terms of observable differences between rich and poor nations. Development implied the bridging of these gaps by means of an imitative process, in which the less developed countries gradually assumed the qualities of the industrialized nations. The task of analyzing the qualities to be imitated was shared between economists, sociologists and political scientists ... (Hettne, 1982, p. 29)

Once it became obvious that the spread of modernity was not an automatic process, the question of how this "natural" process could best be stimulated and carried out had to be dealt with. This question was a concern of both market-oriented and classical Marxist theories.

The problem with dealing with Hermassi's (1980) liberal model is that, as he himself notes, it is "an ideal-type construction, never fully stated by any contemporary theorists" (p. 19). For the most part, the early development theories based on its assumptions are offshoots of the discipline in question, dealing with particular problems related to the major concerns of these disciplines. According to Lehmann (1979), most of the theorizing was done not by specialists in the study of development, but rather by social scientists making "forays" into this

specialized area. He claims that "modernization theories are adaptations of a specific reading ... of Weber and Durkheim" (p. 4). Economists working in development studies were most influenced by Keynes, who placed increased responsibility for economic growth on government, and by the Harrod-Domar model of growth, which indicated a close relationship between growth and savings and investment. Classical Marxist theorists, of course, were working on applying the principles of Marx and Engels to the developing field of study.

Certain ideas have become particularly associated with this period in the development of development thought. Primary among these, in terms of economics, is the notion of "stages of growth". Rostow (1960) wrote the best-known exposition of this type of theory in relation to Third World development. Again, his stages indicate, in economic terms, the two opposed states of tradition and modernity (what he terms "maturity"). The five stages that all societies must pass through to reach economic maturity are: the traditional society, the pre-conditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity and the age of high mass-consumption. Of course, the entire process is perceived as endogenous. Despite the fact that Rostow's was only one among many stages of economic growth theories, Hoselitz (1960) notes that, on the whole, economists have seen little use in such theories (p. 234). This is partly due to the claim of universal validity. Like the liberal model itself, the stages of growth theory is overly reliant on ideal types.

Nevertheless, the notion of stages of growth led to the attempt to derive "characteristics" of mature or developed societies which Third World societies could strive to attain. Following from this, attention turned to identifying "obstacles" to attaining these when, after the early years of optimism, the

development process did not seem to be unfolding as it should. This shift in attention more or less coincided with a growing recognition that non-economic factors might also be involved. Definitions of development were changing too; they more often included references to the attitudes appropriate to development:

> Development is both more and less than rising real incomes. It has become a platitude to say that development means modernization and modernization means the transformation of human beings. Development as an objective and development as a process both embrace a change in fundamental attitudes to life and work and in social, cultural and political institutions. The difference between economic *growth* in advanced countries, which, of course is reflected in faster 'development' as measured by growth of income per head, and *development* in so-called 'developing' countries is that in the former attitudes and institutions are, by and large, adapted to change, and society has innovation and progress built into its system, while in the latter attitudes and institutions and even policies are stubborn obstacles to development. (Streeten, 1971a, pp. 76-77)

Development was still considered an endogenous process. The developing country had to overcome the obstacles that blocked its path to modernity, which was usually equated with Westernization--since "the content of modernity is given by the experience of those societies which have achieved it" (Bernstein, 1979, p. 78). Above all, this would include an industrialized economy (capable of self-sustaining growth), and also Westernized social, political and cultural institutions, which implied more specialization or differentiation than was present in traditional institutions. Institutions should operate on the basis of rationality. This would apply at the level of individuals as well. Modernization required people with the entrepreneurial spirit, people who were able to fulfil the obligations of a modern society and who would not fear the steps that must be taken to create such a society.

Earlier writing on development tended to identify obstacles that were, if

not material, then at least fairly tangible: lack of capital, lack of education, archaic agricultural systems and/or family structures, and so on. For many, the overriding obstacle was identified as the lack of a "will" to modernity. For example, Hirschman (1958) "diagnosed" the problem as lying not in any one factor, but rather

> with the deficiency in the combining process itself. Our diagnosis is simply that countries fail to take advantage of their development potential because, for reasons largely related to their image of change, they find it difficult to take the decisions needed for development in the required number and at the required speed ... It ... views the obstacles as reflections of contradictory drives and of the resulting confusion of the will. (p. 25)

These contradictory drives were reflected in what came to be known as the "dualism" in Third World societies--the existence of two societies in one, the traditional and the modern. Many theorists began to view the coexistence of these two sectors, and their lack of interaction, as the largest obstacle to development (Streeten, 1971a). In general, they believed that the problem lay with traditional attitudes (particularly within social and political institutions) preventing the more progressive economic elements from realizing their potential. Thus, increasing savings or investment, or infusing capital from outside would not be adequate to stimulate development; attention must also be paid to these social, political and cultural elements.

While those who took what Hermassi labels the historicist approach were still operating under the basic assumptions of the liberal model, they differed from it in that they did not necessarily consider these elements of tradition to be totally inimical to the development process. (In fact, many questioned the very notion that dualistic sectors were in conflict in Third World societies). They entertained the possibility that developing countries could not totally imitate the

experience of advanced countries--and that there might therefore be more than one route to development. As an example of this kind of thought, Gerschenkron (1952) states that "in every instance of industrialization imitation of the evolution in advanced countries appears in combination with different, indigenously determined elements" (p. 26).

Hermassi claims that with these suggestions that the development of a modern society may be compatible with a number of social and cultural systems, the liberal model began to break down and development as an "overall process" began to be questioned (p. 23). However, at the same time as "historicists" were questioning the more rigid tenets of the liberal model, others were applying a more atheoretical approach to the perceived problems of development. Hermassi calls them "managerialists"; in essence, they were not concerned with the philosophical underpinnings of socioeconomic development, but rather simply with strategies to make it happen. The end point was not really questioned. These strategists tended to focus on single objectives, such as industrialization, often without considering the broader societal effects of the policies they recommended. To a large extent, these strategists and policy experts were employed by international bodies such as the World Bank. They do not seem to represent a distinctive body of development theory, but rather a broader technicist approach to the problems of modern society, one based on the assumption that the answer to any problem is to determine how to "do it right".

Eventually, though, even those most committed to the notion of the paramountcy of economic development had to admit that strategies geared towards this alone were not working in the manner anticipated. Seers (1979a) refers to "a well-known, indeed classical, argument that inequality generates

savings and incentives and thus promotes economic growth and employment" (p. 18). By the late 1960s, this argument was given less and less credence, even if only because inequality in many Third World societies seemed to be increasing (rather than decreasing with economic growth, as orthodox opinion had long predicted) and this increasing inequality contributed to a lack of the stability considered so essential to the smooth functioning of the world economic system. "New looks" at "the meaning of development" became common. They tended to reach similar conclusions to those stated by Seers (1979a): "It looks as if economic growth not merely may fail to solve social and political difficulties; certain types of growth can actually cause them" (p. 9).

These new looks were based on the empirical evidence of studies such as that undertaken by Adelman and Morris (1973). So strong were the expectations of modernization, the authors express dismay at their findings:

> The results of our analyses came as a shock to us. Although we had believed economic growth to have unfavorable social, cultural, and ecological consequences, we had shared the prevailing view among economists that economic growth was economically beneficial to most nations ... Our results proved to be at variance with our preconceptions. (p. vii)

They concluded that:

> The frightening implication of the present work is that hundreds of millions of desperately poor people throughout the world have been hurt rather than helped by economic development. Unless their destinies become a major and explicit focus of development policy in the 1970's and 1980's, economic development may serve merely to promote social injustice. (p. 192)

The recommended new focus became referred to as "redistribution with growth", also the title of a report to the World Bank (Chenery, Ahluwalia, Bell, Duloy & Jolly, 1974) which promoted the idea "that distributional objectives should be

treated as an integral part of development strategy" (p. 209). Like Adelman and Morris, the report found that "it is now clear that more than a decade of rapid growth in underdeveloped countries has been of little or no benefit to perhaps a third of their population" (p. xiii). Inequality of distribution was found to be present within countries, within regions and among countries.

Hettne (1982) claims that the new strategy of redistribution with growth represented a modification of previous strategies and not a break with them. It maintained both the sense of optimism with regard to growth and the "social engineering approach to development". Accordingly, the new strategy

> seems to be nothing but the old recipe of balanced growth, extended to cover social development as well. If balanced growth was a difficult endeavour, as so many critics have pointed out, balanced economic and social development as a planning strategy appears rather utopian. To incorporate social objectives in a growth model is a theoretical-technical problem. To attack mass poverty in its concrete manifestations, on the other hand, is a political problem. (Hettne, 1982, p. 28)

The redistribution with growth discussion thus opened up the question of political considerations without really addressing them. Many eventually began to view the reluctance of elites in Third World countries to adopt redistributive policies as yet another internal obstacle to development. However, the discussion did have the effect of broadening definitions of development, such that it was no longer likely to be spoken of in terms of economic growth only.

During the twenty-five years since development had become a major concern, modernization theories had been criticized by those who would still place themselves within those parameters. As a result, development theory had lost some of its innocence and been rethought and modified to include greater social equality as a required component of development. Yet, throughout this time, there

were also dissenting voices that questioned development as a purely endogenous process. These became prominent in the early 1970s.

D. DEPENDENCY THEORIES

While Hermassi equates dependency theories with a neo-Marxist approach, it should be noted that this equation would not be accepted by most of the dependency theorists themselves. Furthermore, much of the criticism of this school of thought comes from a Marxist perspective and, as will be seen, claims that dependency theory is based in the diffusionist paradigm.

However, the dependency approach gained popularity in the late 1960s precisely because it took issue with some of the major assumptions of modernization theories. In particular, it disputed the endogenous nature of development and the idea of a linear and evolutionary progression from tradition (underdevelopment) to modernity (development) (Bernstein, 1979, p. 83). This latter notion posited underdevelopment as an "original state" passed through by all societies:

> If there are 'developed' or 'advanced' countries, they must have at some time been 'underdeveloped', and the question may properly be asked whether and to what extent the past history of the economic development of the more advanced countries can serve as a model for the present and immediate future of 'underdeveloped' countries. (Hoselitz, 1952, p. v)

In opposition to this view, dependency theory claimed that underdevelopment was a historical process, as was development.

While for the most part not professedly Marxist, the dependency school is generally considered to have been originally influenced by neo-Marxism on the one hand, and the Latin American discussion of development generated by the

United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) on the other. ECLA was established in 1948 and was opposed by the United States as it appeared to some as a very radical doctrine; it was certainly a manifestation of economic nationalism. The ECLA strategy for economic development recommended "industrialization based on import substitution, by which the import of various consumption articles was replaced by domestic production. This implied protection during an initial phase and also a certain coordinative function by the state" (Hettne, 1982, p. 41). This strategy became the economic doctrine accepted by many Latin American states.

It was within the ECLA tradition that development as a universal phenomenon was first questioned, and that underdevelopment was first viewed as "a discrete historical process" (Furtado, 1973, p. 34). Furthermore, this process of underdevelopment could be seen as being at least indirectly connected to European economic expansion. According to Furtado:

> underdevelopment is not a necessary stage in the process of formation of the modern capitalistic economies. It is a special process due to the penetration of modern capitalistic enterprises into archaic structures. The phenomenon of underdevelopment occurs in a number of forms and in various stages. (ibid., p. 41)

The "hybrid structures" created by this "penetration" are the root of underdevelopment, for the capitalist structure (and the profit it generates) does not become dynamically integrated with the local ("archaic") structure (ibid., p. 41).

The Marxist writer Paul Baran, another major influence on the dependency school, saw such capitalist penetration as a block to economic growth in the underdeveloped regions (Baran, 1970). His concept of "economic surplus" (Baran, 1957) and its accumulation by various groups would inform much of later

dependency writing, in particular that of Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin. Baran contended that:

> the dominant fact of our time is that the institution of private property in the means of production--once a powerful engine of progress--has now come into irreconcilable contradiction with the economic and social advancement of the people in the underdeveloped countries .... (Baran, 1957, p. xl)

The relationship of the industrialized capitalist world to the underdeveloped regions, far from being one of beneficence, was in reality one of imperialism and exploitation:

> economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced capitalist countries. Supplying many important raw materials to the industrialized countries, providing their corporations with vast profits and investment outlets, the backward world has always represented the indispensable hinterland of the highly developed capitalist West. (ibid., p. 12)

While the two major influences on the dependency school came mostly from economics, the dependency theorists themselves tended to be sociologists, who saw development and underdevelopment in a more sociopolitical light than had modernization theorists (Hettne, 1982, p. 43). There is no *one* dependency position; however, it is possible to identify a number of ideas and theses typical of this school, even though there may be a variety of specific interpretations of each of these.

First, as already mentioned, there is the increased emphasis on underdevelopment as a *process,* and the view that it is strongly related to the process of development--and that both are simultaneous products of the capitalist system. According to some dependency theorists, the capitalist system has penetrated the entire world since the 1500s; therefore dualist notions of

antithetical modern and traditional sectors of underdeveloped societies are false. Development cannot be a question of integrating economies more fully into a capitalist system since the underdeveloped economies are already fully integrated into that system (Frank, 1970).

Second, the dependency perspective perceived obstacles to development to be external, not internal, to the society in question. They were created by the international division of labour, which was now analysed in terms of centre and periphery regions (rather than industrialized and developing nations). Hence, the external obstacles to development were largely the result of a transfer of economic surplus from periphery to centre--implying a relationship of imperialism, the study of which would take on new importance in later development theory (Hettne, 1982).

Because of this transfer, development was a sort of zero-sum game: development in the centre meant underdevelopment in the periphery. According to Frank (1967),

> Economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin. Both are the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of internal contradictions in the world capitalist system. Economic development and underdevelopment are not just relative and quantitative, in that one represents more economic development than the other; economic development and underdevelopment are relational and qualitative, in that each is structurally different from, yet caused by its relation with, the other ... One and the same historical process of the expansion and development of capitalism throughout the world has simultaneously generated--and continues to generate--both economic development and structural underdevelopment. (p. 9)

Frank is probably the most prominent representative of the strain of dependency theory that conceptualizes the Third World situation in terms of "the development of underdevelopment". Many others, such as Cardoso and Dos

Santos, speak of "dependent development". This latter conceptualization is somewhat opposed to Frank's. Frank (1967) argues that the capitalist system was basically made up of metropoles and satellites. The central metropoles exploited the peripheral satellites, which in turn exploited their own sub-satellites, and so on. According to Dos Santos (1976), however, underdevelopment is

> a consequence and a particular form of capitalist development known as dependent capitalism. The process under consideration, rather than being one of satellization as Frank believes, is a case of the formation of a certain type of internal structure conditioned by international relationships of dependence ... (p. 76)

The concept of dependence was now seen as more useful than that of underdevelopment for analysis of the condition of the Third World, largely because it implied a greater emphasis on the victimization of the Third World through its integration into the world system, based as that system was on an unequal division of labour (Hermassi, 1980, p. 31). Like underdevelopment, dependence was perceived in more than one way by various dependency theorists. Dos Santos (1976) defines it as

> a *conditioning situation* in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others ... Dependence, then, is based upon an international division of labour which allows industrial development to take place in some countries while restricting it in others, whose growth is conditioned by and subjected to the power centres of the world. (pp. 76-77)

This meant that dependence determined both the limitations and the forms of development in Third World countries (ibid., p. 78).

Whether the situation was perceived in terms of the development of underdevelopment or of dependent development, dependency theorists tended to feel that, in order to escape this fate, periphery nations needed to disassociate themselves from the world market. This could not be accomplished under the

present conditions within these societies, but rather required a complete transformation of internal structures. In general, this was thought to imply a change to a socialist form of government.

The theories of the dependency school have certainly not escaped criticism; in fact, some would claim that the approach was so weak theoretically that a fairly swift "demise" was inevitable. Interestingly, much of the critique has come from Marxist theorists, who are becoming more and more evident in this field. For them, the major difficulty with the dependency position lies in the fact that it is not different enough from the diffusionist or modernization paradigm. The perspective taken on development is different, but the *content* of development is basically the same. In particular, it is still evolutionistic (Friberg and Hettne, 1985), and uses the same type of reasoning to justify the courses prescribed: "'problems of development' are justified through reference to some empirically inaccessible (albeit utopian) future" (Porter, 1980, p. 130). Bernstein (1979) agrees that dependency theory (or radical underdevelopment theory, as he terms it), despite its attack on conventional development models, fails to break with them theoretically (p. 94).

This theoretical shortcoming is considered to be the reason for the dependency perspective's limited usefulness to the understanding of the dynamics of global processes. Thus, Browett (1980) claims that "the study of unequal development now finds itself trapped in a theoretical *cul-de-sac*" (pp. 95-96). Dependency theory is but the "mirror image" of conventional development theory in that it attempts "to create a new paradigm through direct, polemical opposition to the old (diffusionist) one" (ibid., p. 99). Browett's argument is based on an examination of the "domain assumptions" of both perspectives and the

assertion that dependency simply opposes the assumptions of the diffusionist paradigm without generating any that are truly new. Dependency theory can therefore never have an autonomous theoretical base--a claim also put forward by Bernstein (1979). The differences between the two approaches are seen as ideologically, rather than theoretically based.

Despite the fairly common view that the dependency school failed to establish a separate paradigm of development thought, it is still considered by many to have had a great deal of impact. It is thought to have played an important role in pointing out the weaknesses of the modernization paradigm, to have stimulated the development debate (particularly with regard to the New International Economic Order and new Marxist directions), and to have influenced emerging development strategies such as basic needs and collective self-reliance (Hettne, 1982, pp. 50-53). Perhaps above all, it came out of the "periphery" and was therefore an influence away from the Eurocentrism of development theory to that point.

E. FROM DEPENDENCE TO INTERDEPENDENCE

Post-dependency approaches have tended to emphasize global interdependence; accordingly, one of their expressed purposes is to understand and explain the "dynamics of global processes" (Friberg and Hettne, 1985, p. 214). The concept of interdependence can, of course, be interpreted in different ways, a fact which is evident in the variety of theories and approaches put forward since the mid-1970s.

The world-systems approach is one of the trends that emerged at about that time. This approach, largely identified with Immanuel Wallerstein, has its

origin at least partly in the dependency school, and shares some of the positions of that school. In particular, it claims that the world is capitalist and that the world system has been expanding since the sixteenth century. It differs from the dependency school in that the entire world, rather than the individual state, is seen as the unit of analysis. By posing the world as the unit of analysis, Wallerstein avoids the pitfalls dependency theory fell into with regard to the exact nature of the interconnections between internal and external factors to underdevelopment (Roxborough, 1979, p. 51). Wallerstein does not make the distinction between development and underdevelopment, or central and peripheral capitalism, that dependency theorists make; the world system is "economically unified but politically decentralized" (Alexander, 1980, p. 116). Real change (development) would have to involve the entire world-system and would, in Wallerstein's perspective, require a revolutionary change to a socialist world-government (Friberg and Hettne, 1985, p. 213).

Wallerstein's theory does not emphasize the concept of imperialism as an element in the framework for understanding global processes. However, other world-systems theorists, notably Amin and Emmanuel, see imperialism as the key relationship contributing to "unequal exchange" in the world capitalist system. Production obtains a lower reward in the Third World than it does in the centre, making trade a fundamental aspect of underdevelopment; this unequal exchange is the basis of the international division of labour and is the mechanism for the transfer of surplus from poor to rich countries (Johnstone, 1980).

Although world-systems theories are often considered to come from a Marxist perspective, mainstream Marxist thought has been quite critical of the

world-systems conception of global development. World-systems theory sees the entire world as a capitalist system of exchange, whereas Marxists see it as composed of many different "modes of production", of which capitalism is only one. Within each social formation, several of these modes of production may be present, and the manner in which they are "articulated" (and the extent of the capitalist mode's domination over other modes) is key to the understanding of development.

Marxist theorists would also insist on a larger emphasis on class relationships than is found in world-systems theory. Roxborough (1979) maintains that there are two sets of contradictions and struggles present in underdeveloped countries: the external struggle against dependence and exploitation and the internal class struggle against local ruling classes. The manner in which the two are interconnected is dependent upon the specific social formation in question. Class analysis is therefore an essential element in the analysis of development and/or underdevelopment:

> It is not simply a matter of societies being different merely in matter of degree; they are different in kind, and to explain the transition from one kind of society to another we must deal with structural change ... such structural changes are best explained by reference to the changing relationships between social classes. (Roxborough, 1979, p. 22)

Development, then, implies "transformative change in the structure of the mode of the production of life" (Peet, 1980, p. 2).

Many see a return to a Marxist theoretical framework based on the essential elements of class analysis and imperialism as one of two possible responses to the "crisis in development thought" of the 1970s. The second alternative is "reformism"--attempts to provide a viable "revision of diffusionist

paradigm theory in the light of its previous failures ... and of the critiques levelled against it by the dependency paradigm writers" (Browett, 1980, p. 110). Reformism could include a number of different strategies: examples are the "basic needs" approach adopted by the International Labour Organization, the World Bank's "redistribution with growth" policy, and the United Nations' proposed "New International Economic Order" (NIEO).

According to Streeten (1982), the call for a NIEO originated from three sources: the disappointment of developing countries with the economic and political consequences of development aid, the fact that political independence had not generally entailed economic independence, and the success of OPEC, which seemed to indicate that there could be alternatives for dealing with the industrialized nations.

> In essence, the NIEO is a set of proposals to alter the economic relationships between the states which make most of their income from manufacturing goods and providing specialized services (the industrialized countries) and the states which make most of their income from agricultural produce and/or from mining minerals, have little industrial capacity but are trying to industrialize (the developing countries). The industrialized states tend to be richer than the developing. Current relationships are claimed to make it rather difficult for most developing states to reach the levels of wealth and well-being already attained by the industrialized. (Streeten, 1982, p. 408)

The NIEO's major proposals included stabilization of commodity prices, transfer of resources to poor nations, access of poor nations to technology and markets, reform of the international money system, and, underlying all these, a greater voice for developing nations in the international arena.

Not surprisingly, the idea of the NIEO met with a good deal of resistance from the industrialized nations. Much of this attacked

the logically untenable inference that, because the international economic order, in the sense of the distribution among countries of the world's income and wealth, was unjust, the causes of this injustice are to be found in the nature of the international economic order. (Arndt, 1982, p. 432)

Furthermore, Arndt claims that

the more radical versions of the NIEO platform have reflected an ideological position widely, but by no means universally, held in the Third World, which is generally and on principle hostile to private enterprise and free markets. (ibid., p. 433)

Nevertheless, since the industrialized capitalist nations were themselves experiencing an economic crisis, the need for some kind of compromise was recognized. The 1980 Brandt report was one result of the perceived necessity to offer some *reform* of the international order in order to avoid more profound structural changes (Tomlinson, 1982). The report stressed the "shared responsibility" and "common destiny" of humankind:

We believe that nations, even on grounds of self-interest, can join in the common task of ensuring survival, to make the world more peaceful and less uncertain ... The world is a unity, and we must begin to act as members of it who depend on each other. (Independent Commission on International Development Issues, 1980, p. 47)

Hettne (1982) remarks that the report embodies a Keynesian approach to world poverty, advocating resource transfers from rich to poor countries. The payoff to the rich nations would be the maintenance of the capitalist world economic system, for "the poor will not make progress in a world economy characterized by uncertainty, disorder and low rates of growth" (Independent Commission on International Development Issues, 1980, p. 270). Hettne (1982) claims that "the 'strategy of survival' is in fact a strategy for the survival of capitalism" (p. 73).

This might not necessarily be considered a negative development for the

proponents of the NIEO, for the question of who would actually benefit from the implementation of such a proposal has been raised:

> What do the cries for 'a new international economic order' represent? They express a plea by the classes that control the state in the Third World that their share of the surplus value appropriated from the workers and peasants be increased ... This ... stems from ... the contradictions of their reproduction as classes which play a role in exploitation but cannot accumulate so as to compete effectively in the conditions of contemporary imperialism. (Bernstein, 1976, p. 10)

Thus, while some might see the call for a NIEO as a radical strategy for development, others would locate it among the more conservative attempts at reform.

F. THE COUNTERPOINT PERSPECTIVE ON DEVELOPMENT

While both Marxist and capitalist development theorists were focussing on the world-system, others were beginning to claim that the best approaches to dealing with the "global problematique" were, in fact, *anti-systemic* (United Nations University, 1985). These approaches proposed "another development" or "alternative development". Hettne (1982) calls them explicitly normative approaches to development in that their focus is on the *content* rather than the *form* of development. Mainstream development theory had taken for granted the desirablity of development as the attainment of the characteristics of industrialized societies.

Proponents of "another development" come from the romantic/utopian tradition, and have been influenced by neo-populism, Gandhian thought and Buddhist economics (ibid., pp. 75-76). They question the assumptions of mainstream perspectives on development, particularly the evolutionary thrust of most of these. The old concept of development is seen as itself the cause of problems:

A new stream of thought has emerged in the development debàte in the 1970s ... Alternatives which were considered as utopian no more than a decade ago are now taken seriously, even by members of the establishment. The reason is that more and more people are beginning to realize that it is the development process itself which engenders most of our problems ... If we have all been floating along the stream of evolution, we are now starting to doubt whether it will carry us to the promised land. Instead we hear the roaring from the approaching waterfall. Almost all the traditional indicators of development have changed their emotional loading from positive to negative. (Friberg and Hettne, 1985, pp. 214-15)

Friberg and Hettne call these alternatives the "Green" view, which

assumes that the future is ultimately a product of our own choices. It introduces a normative concept of development which defines development in human terms and it works out a voluntaristic strategy of development, which is ultimately carried out by individual human beings. (ibid., p. 264)

These two authors have attempted to develop a "non-deterministic model of global processes", the major elements of which are consonant with the 1975 Dag Hammarskjold report on development. The Hammarskjold report characterizes development in the following way:

Development is a whole; it is an integral, value-loaded, cultural process; it encompasses the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and well-being. The plurality of roads to development answers to the specificity of cultural or national situations; no universal formula exists. (Dag Hammarskjold Report, 1975, p. 6)

Above all, development should be oriented to meeting human needs ("basic human needs" as opposed to simply "basic needs", the latter referring only to material needs), ecologically sound, and self-reliant. The last point refers to the need for development to be based on each society's strengths and resources. Not only national, but also regional and "collective" self-reliance is implied. Self-reliance is *not* meant to imply autarchy, but rather the right balance of independence and

links with the rest of the world, a goal that requires a strategy of "selective participation" in the international system.

Alternative development ultimately requires a structural transformation of the world system. Such a transformation is envisioned as the cumulative result of the forces of various anti-systemic movements, both in the Third World and in industrialized nations (Aseniero, 1985). Some examples of such movements would be the environmental movement, peace movement, human rights movement, women's movement and solidarity movements (Friberg and Hettne, 1985, p. 258).

> This struggle takes many forms, assumes a variety of names, receives different theoretical formulations, pursues diverse goals through diverse means, and poses a multiplicity of meanings to those involved. But the fundamental principle underlying the great diversity of anti-systemic movements is the same: the refusal by the oppressed and the exploited to continue to suffer the injustice, inequality and degradation that define their social reality within the existing global order, and their struggle for an alternative social order. (Aseniero, 1985, p. 78)

G. CONCLUSION

Despite the obviously ideological nature of much of its discourse, development theory cannot be neatly divided into opposing sides--not even if these are charcterized as "capitalist" and "socialist". Although there are certainly vast divergences, there are also many overlaps. Furthermore, even while old approaches are decried, some of their elements are very resistant to change--indeed, the approaches can be recycled:

> Cultural lags protect paradigms long after they have lost relevance. The neo-classical growth paradigm has been remarkably tenacious--in fact, it still survives in places ... It has not been fundamentally unacceptable to economistic modernisers across a broad political spectrum, including Marxists as well as members of the Chicago school. Above all, as a paradigm it is very simple. (Seers, 1979b, p.26)

Nevertheless, profound changes have occurred in the perception of development, both in the Third World and in the industrialized nations. Are these shifts reflected in perceptions of the relationship between education and development?

III. VIEWS ON THE DEVELOPMENT/EDUCATION RELATIONSHIP

A. THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

Before the role of education in development is examined, the general societal functions that have been ascribed to education should be considered. This area of concern belongs to the sociology of education, a sub-discipline that has as yet had a relatively short life. For the most part, there is a close correspondence between theory about the role of education in society and general sociological theory about the nature of society itself. Thus, there is a traditional structural-functionalist or "consensus" view as well as a "conflict" view of this function.

Education can be seen as a neutral, a reproductive, or a transformative force in society. While a belief in the possibility of educational neutrality does exist among some educators, modern sociology of education is mainly concerned with the latter two possibilities. Whatever may be thought of its knowledge content, education is considered to have some kind of purpose (explicit or implicit) in modern society.

For Emile Durkheim, one of the founders of the sociology of education, this purpose was quite clear, and fairly simple. According to Williamson (1979), Durkheim believed that education was to "consolidate in each successive generation the values, norms and habits of thought which are embedded in its culture" (p.4). It was the socialization process by which children were fitted to their future roles in fulfilling the needs of society. The "function" of each individual would, of course, vary according to "aptitude". This process was essential for the survival of society (Demaine, 1981, pp. 17-18).

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Structural-functionalism, until the 1960s the predominant school in sociology and the sociology of education in North America, was largely influenced by Durkheim, and contained the same notion of education as socialization. Again, this school was based on the concept of consensus. Talcott Parsons, a major voice of structural-functionalism, saw the school class as a social system which functioned as an "agency of socialization" to engender commitment both to the shared values of society (through the mechanism of "internalization") and to the roles allocated each individual in adult society (through the mechanism of "differentiation"). Through this process, the reproduction of the "socio-technical division of labour" was made possible (ibid., pp. 19-27). Education was thus given a large role in legitimating the existing social order.

By the 1960s, this conceptualization was increasingly criticized, largely due to the view that "functionalist theory, particularly as formulated by American scholars, placed undue emphasis on consensus and equilibrium in society" (Karabel and Halsey, 1977, p. 11). New sociological theories of education, rooted in the theories of Marx and Weber, put more stress on conflicting interests in society and hence were often labelled "conflict theories". According to conflict theory derived from the Weberian tradition, education reflected the struggles for power among "status groups" (ibid., p. 31). Since neo-Marxists believed status to derive from class, they perceived the education system as "a crucial element in the reproduction of a division of labor that is itself largely a reflection of the hegemony of the capitalist class" (ibid., p. 33). The function of education was still seen to be reproductive, but, whereas the functionalist viewed this as the reproduction of a properly functioning social system working to the common good, the Marxist saw it as the reproduction of a system of institutionalized inequality.

The means by which this reproduction occurs has been the subject of much Marxist theorizing. Originally, the reproduction of the "forces and relations of production" was believed to take place strictly in the arena of the economic "base" of society. Later Marxist theories would recognize a role for the "superstructure" in the reproduction of the relations of production. The State is considered to be one of the major elements of the superstructure; education is seen as merely an "epiphenomenon" of the State.

However, Gramsci's development of the concept of hegemony beyond the strictly political (and coercive) level would eventually lead to a reconsideration of the importance of education to reproduction (Hall, Lumley and McLennan, 1977, pp. 48-49). As well as the direct political domination of one group by another, hegemony also comprised

> the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12)

Hegemony thus "operates persuasively rather than coercively through cultural institutions" (Entwistle, 1979, p. 12).

Althusser (1972) proposed the "mechanism of ideology" as the major means by which hegemony was achieved. He saw the two major aspects of the State as its Repressive State Apparatus (RSA)--the government, army, police, prisons, and so on--and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The latter included the religious ISA, the political ISA, the legal ISA and the educational ISA, among others (pp. 252-54). Althusser believed the dominant ISA in mature capitalist societies to be the educational ISA. Thus, education would have a prominent role

in maintaining the *status quo* in these societies.

1. The Functions of Adult Education

In general, the sociology of adult education has not been paid as much attention as has the sociology of childhood education--at least not until fairly recently (Jarvis, 1985, p. 3). There has been a tendency to view adult education as more *ad hoc* and less institutionalized and therefore perhaps more neutral in the role it plays. According to Griffin (1983), adult education has usually been conceptualized in terms of technique and strategy, rather than of knowledge and power (p. 38). Moreover, as Keddie (1980) notes, it was sometimes suggested that, because it was based on "meeting the needs" of its clientele, adult education's functions were entirely different from those of schooling (Keddie, 1980). Certainly, schooling's major function of socialization was considered to be absent from adult education except in special cases, such as the "Americanization" programs in the early part of this century and some vocational training programs. In these instances the "pragmatic" intent of adult education was emphasized.

Jarvis (1985) identifies six functions that adult education might fulfil. These are:

> maintenance of the social system and reproduction of the existing social relations; transmission of knowledge, and the reproduction of the cultural system; individual advancement and selection; second chance and legitimation; leisure time pursuit and institutional expansion to fill non-work time; development and liberation. (p. 135)

Each of these functions could be interpreted in terms of reproduction and/or legitimation of the *status quo*. For example, the "second chance" function "is still a function that reinforces the status quo, in as much as the structures of the

social system remain unquestioned" (ibid., p. 143). Or, in the case of "leisure time pursuit", it could be argued that "its latent function is the retention of stability in the social system at a time when many people do not have work to occupy their time and their minds" (ibid., p. 147). Even "development and liberation" might not be the transformative function seemingly implied. This is because it is generally interpreted in terms of *individual* development and/or liberation--development can mean professional or personal development, and education for liberation, whatever its intent, can only work with individuals: "whenever education liberates, it can result in agents who might, but also need not, seek structural reform" (ibid., p. 149).

In recent years, more adult educators have raised the question of the ideological nature of their pursuits. Many of them have been influenced by Paulo Freire, whose concepts of the "culture of silence" and "conscientization" have obvious relevance for adult education as well as for education in general. These educators criticize their colleagues for assuming "a posture of neutrality ... The result is programming which serves our vocational needs and provides indoctrination and domestication of our adults in support of our existing system" (London, 1972, p. 31).

Freire himself was profoundly influenced by Marxism, and the ideas of Marxist thinkers such as Gramsci and Althusser are now finding their way into adult education literature. Indeed, Gramsci "believed the achievement of working-class hegemony to be an essentially educational enterprise" (Entwistle, 1979, p. 111), an enterprise undertaken mainly through the political education of adults. However, adult education seldom fits this ideal. Several writers identify a middle-class bias in adult education, pointing out that working-class adults do not

participate in adult education precisely because of this market-driven orientation. Westwood (1980) claims that "adult education with its middle-class bias ... can be seen to have a much clearer role in maintaining the status quo, engendering a state of consensus and contributing positively to the mechanisms whereby hegemony is maintained" (p. 43) than in challenging bourgeois hegemony through political education for the working-class. The same kind of thinking is evident in Lloyd's (1972) statement that, in adult education's "unreflective serving of middle-class interests, it may become a tool for social control" with the "implicit goal: education to adapt the poor as objects, resources for society" (p. 16).

The writers referred to above would argue that this describes an actual, not potential, situation. However, they would share with Lloyd a belief that society needs to be radically restructured in order to change this situation, and that adult education has a potential role in such a restructuring. Yet if education's major existing role is perceived by functionalists and Marxists alike to be societal reproduction, then the question of how it could also have a potential transformative role must be raised. Here, the operative word may be "potential". The functionalist would see no need to transform the relations of production, but would nevertheless grant to education a role in social change. It would be related particularly to the technological changes that occur as society evolves--again, education would prepare people to "fit" into a changing society, but the basic structure of society would remain largely the same (Karabel & Halsey, 1977, p.9). The Marxists, on the other hand, consider a complete change in the relations of production to be both desirable and necessary. Yet if education is "'condemned' to reflect, justify and reproduce" the existing structures (Pena-Borrero, 1984, p. 3), how can it be considered to have any part to play in

social change?

B. EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Jarvis (1985) states that "education is probably more likely to be affected by social forces than it is to be a force for change, although this does not preclude education from being an agent in structural change", and also that "change is the norm in society" (p. 17). He identifies two major perspectives on the nature of societal change: the first holds that it is evolutionary and the second that it is caused by conflicts within society. Within the first perspective are located Toennies's theory of two ideal types of society, *Gemeinschaft* (homogeneous, rigid, conforming societies) and *Gesellschaft* (heterogeneous, fluid, rationalized societies), as well as Durkheim's notion of societies with either "mechanical" or "organic solidarity" (the latter being more differentiated and individualistic) (ibid., pp. 18-19). Each of these sets can be correlated loosely to "traditional" and "modern" societies, and the theory in each case is that there tends to be an evolutionistic movement from the former to the latter. The conflict perspective is represented most obviously by Marxism, which holds that societies will ultimately move through several stages, culminating in the achievement of socialism. It is also represented by various forms of "radicalism", which may differ as to the desired results of change, but which all envision some sort of structural change and not just reform or rationalization of existing structures.

There have been several attempts towards developing a conceptual framework in which to analyse the role of education in social change, two of which will be discussed here. In the first, Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975)

describe a "continuum of attitudes" towards the role of adult education in change, ranging from "revolution", through "reform" and "maintenance", to "conservation". Placement of attitudes along this continuum is determined not only by the conflict or consensus "interpretations of social interests" (p. 1), but also by "the distinction between value-oriented and norm-oriented perceptions" (p. 3). A value-orientation is concerned with changing the goals or ends of society, whereas a norm-orientation "seeks to retain existing goals although it aims to change the rules that govern the *pursuit* of basic objectives and the detailed operation of basic forms of social order" (ibid., p. 3). It is worth noting one major aspect of Thomas and Harries-Jenkins's interpretation of conflict and consensus theories: conflict theories are characterized as primarily concerned with the interests of "various individuals and groups within society" (ibid., p. 1), and consensus theories with "the needs and requirements of the total system" (ibid., p. 2). While the authors acknowledge the role of ideology in their models (ibid., p. 9), their characterizations remain problematic, for they maintain throughout an emphasis on the "sectional interests" of the conflict model without really questioning the consensus claim to represent the interests of society at large. In fact, they base placement in their four major categories largely with regard to this distinction.

Paulston (1977) offers a perhaps more openly biased approach to the role of education in social change. He states his "predisposition to view ideology, power, and perceived group self-interest as key factors in influencing planning and implementation of basic educational reforms" (p. 371). Given this predisposition, he presents eight theoretical orientations to social and educational change, situated within two paradigms, the "equilibrium" and the "conflict" paradigms. The equilibrium paradigm contains evolutionary, neo-evolutionary,

structural-functionalist and systems theories; the conflict, Marxian, neo-Marxian, cultural revitalization and anarchistic-utopian orientations (ibid., pp. 372-73).

Since systems theory is largely based on evolutionist and structural-functionalist principles and concepts, attention is focussed on these latter two in the equilibrium paradigm. Both regard societies as systems which naturally tend to maintain stability and balance, and posit "the undesirability of all but 'adaptive' change" (ibid., p. 379). In evolutionary theory, societies are viewed as "organisms": as parts of them grow (and progress), other parts will adapt to this growth and grow in their turn. Thus, "education as an 'integrative' structure, functions to maintain stability and changes from 'simple' or 'primitive' forms to more complex 'modern' forms in response to change in other structures" (ibid., p. 376). Many of the earlier modernization theories of development would be the counterpart to this orientation.

Structural-functionalist theories "focus on the homeostatic or balancing mechanisms by which societies maintain a 'uniform state'" (ibid., p. 379). Inequality is seen as "a necessary condition to maintain the existing normative order" (ibid., p. 380) (consistent with development perspectives that claimed inequality led to greater economic growth). Again, education's role in societal change is adaptive: when a need arises in society, the educational system will change in whatever way is necessary to meet that need (for example, placing more emphasis on computer literacy); eventually these "new educational functions" will create changes within society (computer literacy will become the norm, more jobs will require it, and so on) (ibid., pp. 380-81).

Paulston notes that human capital theory, popular in the 1960s and early 1970s, is one of the best examples of an attempt to apply structural-functionalist

principles. This theory, very strongly oriented to economics, emphasized "human resource development" as an investment and means to economic development. Since human capital theory figures largely in the discussion of the role of education in development, it will be more fully discussed at a later point in this chapter.

As noted earlier, the conflict paradigm and its critique of the equilibrium or consensus paradigm has gained increasing prominence in the last twenty years. Whereas the equilibrium paradigm focusses on the maintenance of social harmony through adaptive change only, the conflict paradigm is concerned with change as a neccessary condition for a more just social order. However, different theories within this paradigm differ as to the role which education does or can play in social transformation.

In classical Marxism, formal education, as part of the superstructure that serves to keep the hegemony of the ruling classes intact, "cannot be a primary agent of social transformation" (ibid., p. 386). According to studies like those in Thompson (1980), most forms of adult education also serve this strictly reproductive function. On the other hand, Thompson also claims that "whilst adult education shares the overall insignificance of schooling, if it is to be judged in its capacity to promote major changes, it does not share its total insubordination to the dominant system of values" (p. 27), partly because it tends to be paid less heed by the "system".

This leads back to the question of how change might occur within a social system, short of a revolutionary takeover, if the forces and relations of production are being constantly reproduced through elements such as education. From a Marxist point of view, can education have any kind of positive--in the

sense of changing the *status quo*--effect in capitalist society?

Althusser's notion of ideological state apparatuses--with the educational apparatus dominant--as the means by which the forces and relations of production are reproduced has been viewed by many Marxist and neo-Marxist educators as a realistic analysis of the major function education serves in capitalist societies. However, it has also proved troublesome to those who believe that education also has the potential to be a force for social transformation. Demaine (1981) believes that Althusser's position is theoretically incoherent: "the possibility of transition is excluded since the mechanisms of the reproduction of relations of production always secures the eternal reproduction of the mode of production and the relations of production specific to the mode of production" in question, but "on the other hand Althusser insists on the possibility of transition and on the effectivity of class struggle in transition" (p. 85).

Pena-Borrero (1984) claims that Althusser's theory ignores the role that human beings can play in historical processes. She believes, along with other critics of Althusser, that "the role of education in the process of social change is ... one of making explicit--through awareness--the contradictions existing in social reality" (ibid., p. 5) (a notion to which this discussion will return later in this chapter). Education is "one of the arenas in which the class struggle takes place" (ibid.). This again is related to Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

While Gramsci believed that the task of Marxism was to see the "subaltern classes" establish their hegemony over the present ruling classes, he also felt that "resort to violence by a subaltern class is not a sufficient condition for establishing its own hegemony; this requires a profound change in mass consciousness" (Entwistle, 1979, p. 13). The "counter-hegemonic task" was clearly

an educational one (ibid., pp. 14-15). However, Gramsci also believed that the schools supported "the hegemonic *status quo* (ibid., p. 110); education as a counter-hegemonic force could only be possible in the education of adults, perceived primarily as political education in the occupational context. "Development of working-class consciousness required the education of intellectuals organic to the working class itself ... these would provide leadership in the counter-hegemonic movement (ibid., pp. 112-13).

Thompson (1980) agrees with the necessity of "placing adult education firmly in the context of a stratified society and within the realities of political struggle" (p. 27). This cannot take the form of "remedial" education for the "disadvantaged", education to help them "adapt" or "cope" with a changing society and their role within it. Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983) feel that adult education has lost some of its potential to be an agent for change, precisely because it has become less marginal due to this adaptation function that has been ascribed to it: adult education can no longer be so critical of the system's institutions, since it is increasingly being co-opted by them (p. 3).

Educators writing from a neo-Marxist perspective have tended to take the view that, while education cannot be a primary agent for change, it might still make some contributions to the cause of societal transformation. However, since "the schools of a society serve to reproduce the economic, social, and political relations ... the only way that schools can change these relations is through their unforeseen consequences rather than through planned and deliberate change" (Carnoy and Levin, 1976, p. 4). This idea is based on the "correspondence principle" proposed by Bowles and Gintis, which

> suggests that the activities and outcomes of the educational sector
> correspond to those of society generally. That is, all educational

systems serve their respective societies such that the social, economic, and political relationships of the educational sector will mirror closely those of the society of which they are a part. (Levin, 1976, p. 26)

Nevertheless, change can and does take place, but not due to reform policies; it comes about through the "contradictions" that occur in education as well as in other sectors of society (ibid., pp. 38-39). An example of a contradiction could be the way increased formal schooling creates expectations that ultimately cannot be met (Carnoy, 1976a, p. 278).

In order to capitalize on such contradictions, Carnoy suggests that the school should be viewed as a workplace (a Gramscian idea) in which an "encroachment strategy" could be carried out. The thrust of this would be to organize students, teachers and parents for increasing control over school management. Such a strategy would take full advantage of all contradictions and inefficiencies within the system. The school would thus take its place as one workplace among many, each presumably playing its part in bringing about a change in society (ibid., pp. 280-88).

Approaches to education and change that fall within Paulston's last two categories would disagree with the tendency to equate education with schooling and thus to ignore the transformative potential of education outside the formal system. For the cultural revitalization orientation, education is part of a cultural or social movement and is generally considered to have a large role in advancing the movement's interests among the relevant groups. Very often, the formal educational system is rejected because it is viewed as a means of acculturation to the dominant culture (Paulston, 1977, p. 389).

Zachariah (1986) examines two movements which seek revolutionary changes in society--"to construct a more satisfying culture" (p. 4)--and which

place emphasis on persuasion or education: Sarvodaya in India and conscientization in Latin America. He claims that "revitalization movements usually pay much attention to education, whether informal or formal, precisely because of its perceived ability to change attitudes, values, and behaviors in individuals" (ibid., p. 69).

While Zachariah gives conscientization as an example of a cultural revitalization movement, Paulston places it among anarchistic-utopian theories of social change. This is not really contradictory, for the latter "often share the Marxian goal of radical social transformation, and concerns of cultural revival and revitalization movements for individual renewal" (Paulston, 1977, p. 390). They are "concerned with conflict arising from oppressive institutions and imperfect human nature" (ibid., p. 376). Freire (1972) believes that education fulfils two possible purposes: it is either education for "domestication" or education for "liberation". In the former, which Freire terms "banking education", passive students are integrated into the oppressive social system; in the latter, through a dialogical process, students develop a critical consciousness in which they "problematize" their present reality, resulting in empowerment for both personal and social liberation.

While it has been criticized on many points, Freire's work has been highly influential in educational theory and practice. Illich, another major figure of the anarchistic-utopian orientation, has also had some considerable impact on theory. However, in the practical arena, he is most often considered a purely "utopian" thinker. Illich's conception of social change is based on the idea of a shift from the "manipulative" institutions, of which schooling is the best example, to more "convivial" institutions, over which people themselves would have more

control. This shift presupposes a change in human consciousness towards an awareness of essential human freedom (Demaine, 1981, pp. 94-97).

Changing awareness is also a keynote of work by Adam Curle, whom Paulston also cites as an example of a utopian orientation. Curle (1973) came to the conclusion "that education, *as it is mostly practised*, does not so much free men from ignorance, tradition, and servility, as fetter them to the values and aspirations of a middle class which many of them are unlikely to join" (p. 1). Curle's view is of interest because it in many ways seems to reflect the "counterpoint" in development theory. He advocates a society that "would value equality, justice, compassion, the idiosyncrasy of every human being, the possibility of personal evolution" (ibid., p. 8). This society can be brought about through increasing awareness by means of an education which does not support the system, but which is part of the "counter-system". Curle claims to

> have no patience with those who maintain that the society cannot be changed unless the economic system is changed and the economic system cannot be changed unless the labour unions are changed and the labour unions cannot be changed until the law is changed, and so on. Changes are brought about by people who try to influence the segment of life they are involved with, strengthening the relationships and institutions that promote the counter-system ... (ibid., p. 11)

The process is thus basically anti-systemic.

Other alternatives to restructure education have been proposed, notably non-formal education and lifelong education. Both of these can be conceptualized in contrasting ways, so they do not easily fit within any of Paulston's orientations. Similarly, their perceived relationship with social change is variable.

Since much of the theory on the reproductive function of education has focussed on formal education, it might be thought that education organized outside

the formal system may not necessarily serve this function--though the contributors to Thompson (1980) would argue with this idea. Non-formal education has particularly been advocated by Philip Coombs of the International Council for Educational Development as a less expensive and more logistically workable counterpart of the formal system, especially for rural development in the Third World (Ireland, 1978, pp. 11-12). It is proposed not as a replacement, but rather as an augmentation, for formal education. However, some critics perceive this as a potential problem: a "dual system" can emerge, in which formal education serves the wealthy and middle classes and non-formal education serves the poor. Non-formal education may then simply reinforce existing socioeconomic inequalities.

Whether or not non-formal education can be viewed as a factor in social change depends largely on the kind of social change being sought. As La Belle (1982) points out, "if individuals are in need of basic skills or if society is viewed as a system in need of adaptation, then nonformal education might well be viewed as a contributor" (p. 170). He has little hope that it can make a contribution to social change though, "since access to opportunities is tied so firmly to schooling ... what nonformal education may be imparting is skills but not the cultural characteristics and legitimacy needed for access to the opportunity structure" (ibid., p. 173). Of course, this statement assumes that the "opportunity structures" themselves are not an object of social change; it reflects the predominant "functionalist" view of non-formal education. Paulston (1980) characterizes this as "top-down" non-formal education; he believes that non-formal education can be effective for social change only insofar as it is "bottom-up", with "a dynamic social movement context and movement control" (p. 257). Even so, it has more chance for effectiveness if "it seeks concrete reformist goals ...

that do not radically transcend the parameters of tolerance in any given society"
(ibid., p. 257). The possibilities for non-formal education as a means to liberating
change are thus seen as limited.

The same kind of dual potential can be seen in lifelong education. Gelpi
(1979) notes that

> 'Lifelong education' could result in the reinforcement of the
> established order, increased productivity and subordination, but a
> different option could enable us to become more and more committed
> to the struggle against those who oppress mankind in work and in
> leisure, in social and emotional life. (p. 1)

Ireland (1978) identifies two trends in lifelong education literature: the view
mentioned above, and an "optimistic model" which tends to describe lifelong
education in rather utopian terms. This latter trend is more abstract, and tends
to ignore potential practical ramifications of a lifelong education policy (pp.
22-23).

Both Ireland and Griffin (1983) feel that Gelpi's view of lifelong education
transcends the limitations of these two trends. Griffin claims that "Gelpi's view
of lifelong education is dialectical and is capable of accounting both for the
reproductive and the transformational potential of lifelong education" (p. 186).
Lifelong education, like education itself, can have both a manipulative and a
liberating function. Gelpi (1979) insists that lifelong education's policies cannot be
neutral (p. 2), but he does not believe that it can only be effective in its
liberating function in societies in which revolutions have already taken place
(ibid., p. 11). He believes that social change can take place through "the
co-ordination of grass-roots activities into new systems and cultural movements"
(ibid., p. 4), because "in every society there is some degree of autonomy for
educational action, some possibility of political confrontation, and at the same

time an inter-relation between the two" (ibid., p. ll). He sums up:

> If we think of lifelong education in terms of this dialectic, we shall
> be able to escape the false choice between the idealised approach
> (lifelong education seen as a global new response to the educational
> and cultural needs of our society) and the negative approach (lifelong
> education seen as a new form of manipulation), which is in fact also
> an idealist approach. (ibid., p. 11)

C. EDUCATION IN RELATION TO DEVELOPMENT

The way in which the relationship of education to development is perceived will obviously be affected by the definition of development adopted, and also by the functions ascribed to education and/or adult education in society, particularly as these relate to social change. In the early years of development theory, there was little argument with the notion that development meant economic growth, and that it referred to a universal process. Later, as questioning of this equation became more common, development was often taken to mean economic growth plus more equality within each social system--or sometimes, liberation from oppressive political and economic structures both nationally and internationally. Now there are also some who would question the validity of any notion of development, or who at least would point out that there can be no ideal of development valid for each and every society. In any case, it is now much more difficult to discuss development without considering the question "which development?".

Thus, it would seem imperative that educational literature on development be very clear as to what is meant by the term; unfortunately, however, the meanings are often only implicit. Pradervand (1982) complains that "we are so busy producing documents, documents and documents, we rarely take the time to wonder *what* we are writing about" (pp. 450-5l). He himself suggests that, while

development educators need to be clear on what it is they are discussing, "definitions are nothing more than hypotheses in which are necessarily embedded particular philosophical, epistemological and sociological points of view" (ibid., p. 454), and can only be temporary, given that understanding of the idea will inevitably change. Furthermore, they will vary according to the society in question. All of this will have an effect on the ways in which education is perceived: as Williamson (1979) remarks, educational patterns and responses

> have to be seen as the outcomes of particular *models of development* coming to terms with particular *structures of internal and external constraints* faced by different *types of society* in the grip of their own unique *historical experience*. (p. 25)

Most writers who examine the broad question of the development/education relationship tend to identify two major streams of thought; sometimes these indicate a historical progression and sometimes not. As an example of the former, Adams (1977) categorizes the "changing assumptions ... regarding education's contribution to social and economic change" (p. 298) in terms of the "romantic '60s" and the "cynical '70s". During the first period, expectations of education were high. It was considered a potential miracle worker with a definite effect on economic growth--through the production of technological knowledge and skilled "manpower". It would also develop "traditional" people into "modern" people, and would provide the opportunities that would eventually bring about greater equality (ibid., pp. 298-99). All in all, "education, viewed as an economic investment, a social equalizer, and itself a measure of societal advance, was seen as a high priority in development planning" (ibid., p. 300). Such euphoria contrasted starkly with the views prevalent in the 1970s. By this time many educators and theorists were disillusioned about the earlier expectations: "the

conventional wisdom of the social sciences by 1970 was that economic and political structures generate educational change rather than vice versa" (ibid., p. 301). Some theorists even argued that education acted as a form of "cultural imperialism"; far from reducing inequality, it perpetuated it.

Simkin (1981) identifies a similar shift in perspective, which he relates to the increasing influence of dependency as opposed to modernization theories of development. The dominance of modernization theory during the 1960s fit in with human capital theories then being applied to education in the Third World; together they justified an emphasis on, and expansion of, education. However, Simkin believes that modernization theories were not very clear about the relationship between education and development. He claims that

> the only relevant common ground among the major modernization theorists would appear to be the notion that, during modernization, technological development requires an increasing division of labour, resulting in the transference of many aspects of socialisation from the family (or the tribe) to formal educational institutions. (p. 429)

While educational planning became ubiquitous, "the linkages between educational provision and economic development ... proved to be extremely difficult to specify" (ibid., p. 430). The failure of Third World countries to reach their educational goals led to a greater interest in non-formal education by the early 1970s, and eventually to a decline in the influence of modernization theory.

Nevertheless, Simkin does not claim that dependency theory has *replaced* modernization theory; rather, he sees them as "competing theoretical perspectives" (ibid., p. 435). The dependency perspective does not deal directly with the role of education, so educational theorists have had to develop parallels from the sociology of education:

> Concepts such as legitimation, hegemony, mystification, the social reproduction of knowledge, cultural imperialism, educational colonialism, and many others, have been employed in explanations of how education contributes to Third World dependency. (ibid., p. 436)

Simkin does not believe that the influence of dependency theory is necessarily any more beneficial that that of modernization theory, both because it is no less an "imposition of a Western intellectual tradition onto the Third World" (ibid., p. 438) (at least in its neo-Marxist form) and also because of its limited explanatory power with regard to education. It does not determine whether or not development is possible and therefore leaves the question of education's role unsolved (ibid., p. 438).

Zachariah (1985) asserts that there has been less consensus overall with regard to the role of education in development than has been the case in development economics; hence he does not see these shifts in educational theory as directly related to development theory (p. 2). Rather, he speaks of a "metaphor challenge"--the predominant educational metaphor ("people as clay") of the 1950s and 1960s being challenged by a new metaphor ("people as growing plants") in the 1960s and 1970s. Education was invested with a transformational function in the early 1950s:

> the institutions of schooling had to help forge and support newly created national identities, participate in the task of economic reconstruction, and inculcate new values and attitudes in people. The transformational role assigned to formal education bolstered the view that it had a molding mission. (ibid., p. 4)

The "molding mission" to form the "lumps of clay" was based on several premises: for example, education as an animating and enlightening process, the benefits of universal (primary) education, the necessity of some "wastage" or differential rates of progress, the desirability of educational differentiation, the

superiority of Western experience and the priority of the formal educational system, as opposed to any adult education programs (ibid., pp. 4-9).

The challenge to this metaphor grew out of a crisis that began developing in the mid-1960s. According to Zachariah, this crisis was related not only to the increasing problems brought on by the expansion of formal education (such as urban/rural imbalances, high dropout rates, unemployment of graduates, and so on), but also to a questioning of the role of the U.S. as an imperial power (ibid., p. 11). Western society as an end state was no longer universally accepted; neo-Marxist interpretations of society were becoming more prevalent. Because economic growth seemed to coincide with increasing inequality, some now questioned its equation with "development". The question of "who benefits" became relevant in terms of educational reform, as well as in terms of development itself, where the redistribution with growth and basic needs policies indicated this new concern.

Some maintained a basic faith in education in the face of this crisis; for example, Coombs (1968) proposed reformed systems that would integrate formal and non-formal education and make both more relevant to the economic structures (an idea he would elaborate on more fully in later works). Others began to view it in a different light. The "growing plants" metaphor was based on the following premises: that formal education tends to stifle creativity and to support the existing political hegemony; that education should ideally provide opportunities for people to reach their potential (and that, for this to occur, their material conditions must also be changed); that no society or culture is inherently superior; and that education can play a small role in "promoting genuine learning that leads to the creation of a more humane cultural order" (ibid., p. 15) and in

creating "environments in which incipient forms of new liberating social arrangements can be tried out" (ibid., p. 15).

Zachariah notes a compatibility between the growing plants metaphor and dependency theory, but he does not see this as definitive. Works within this metaphor indicate a concern with human "liberation", which could be interpreted in a variety of ways (Zachariah cites Freire's, Illich's and Carnoy's works as exemplary of the metaphor), not just in terms of dependency. Nevertheless, like dependency theory, this metaphor has encountered some challenges, in particular with regard to the experiences of educational reforms in new socialist states. Educators are faced with the conundrum of how to bring about meaningful change through education when the State still has so much influence, even in the non-formal sector. Given these circumstances, Zachariah's suggestion for a metaphor for the present is "the struggling plant in mostly claybound soil" (ibid., p. 21).

The positions implied by Zachariah's metaphors can also be related to two basic theoretical perspectives identified by Simmons (1980): the human capital, or incrementalist, theory and the structuralist theory. The incrementalist theory holds that education has a definite and positive effect on society. Increased skills and knowledge produce greater labour productivity, leading eventually to reduced inequalities (p. 24). In contrast, the structuralist theory maintains that the purpose of educational systems is to maintain the *status quo*. The educational system is closely connected to the political and economic systems; therefore, "to change or improve, for example, the egalitarian aspects of schools requires an attack not only on education but also on political and perhaps economic life as well" (ibid., p. 25). Simmons does not claim that these two theories have any

particular historical relationship; however, he does state that "in the past few years ... the balance of evidence appears to have tipped in favour of the structuralists' position" (ibid., p. 27).

These two theories quite naturally have opposed outlooks on educational reform in the context of development, and these in turn are associated with two different "development goals". Since the incrementalist school sees education as "relatively independent" of political and economic structures, effective reform is deemed possible with the appropriate technical improvements. The development goal most strongly associated with this school of thought is economic growth. On the other hand, the structuralist theory asserts that real educational reform is impossible without profound political and economic changes. Its development goal is increased equality for the poor in Third World societies.

Not surprisingly, the basic reform proposals of these two schools conflict with each other. The incrementalist school proposes a "dual system", with the majority of the population receiving primary and vocational training and a small minority receiving secondary and higher education. The structuralists would have redistributive changes in economic structures and then "a closer integration between schooling and working", which would involve a longer period of primary education, a period of work, and then a period of part-time work and education (ibid., pp. 236-37). Again, Simmons claims that "the history of educational reform, both in the developed and developing countries, provides weighty evidence for the structuralist position" (ibid., p. 237), for incrementalist reforms have not had the kinds of effects sought.

The divisions in thought about development and education identified by Adams, Simkin, Zachariah and Simmons cover roughly the same ground, with

some variations in theme and emphasis. They can also be seen to correspond to some extent with the equilibrium and conflict perspectives on education and social change. They can therefore form the basis for the following discussion on literature dealing with the relationship of education and adult education to development. Because it is most specifically related to this discussion and because it does not claim a definite chronological progress, the terminology of Simmons's analysis will be used.

1. The Human Capital/Incrementalist Perspective

Human capital theory originated as a response to questions about the efficiency and effectiveness of the massive expansions of formal education in the 1950s, both in industrialized and in Third World nations. In the most famous exposition of this theory, Schultz (1977) declares that education was not only a form of consumption, but also an investment--an "investment in human capital" (p. 313). In this sense, "laborers have become capitalists ... from the acquisition of knowledge and skill that have economic value" (ibid., p. 314). The adequacy of their investment in education and health will determine their eventual incomes (ibid., p. 321). This generalization can also be applied on a national scale:

> This knowledge and skill are in great part the product of investment and, combined with other human investment, predominantly account for the productive superiority of the technically advanced countries. (ibid., p. 314)

The continued expansion of education--politically attractive to many different groups (Karabel and Halsey, 1977, pp. 12-13)--was thus justifiable, since education was definitely a contributor to economic growth. Bowen (1968) identifies four major approaches to measuring education's contribution. The "simple correlation

approach" suggests correlating indices of educational activities with indices of economic activities (such as enrolment ratios with GNP per capita) (p. 68). The "residual approach" attributes to education (and some other "inputs") any increased outputs that could not be accounted for from measurable inputs (ibid., p. 74). The "direct returns-to-education approach" compares the aggregate lifetime incomes of "more-educated" to "less-educated" people. This is also considered to have a direct relation to national productivity (ibid., p. 78). Finally, the "forecasting-manpower-needs approach" projects future economic needs so that educational planners can determine what kinds of training (or human capital) are required to fill these needs (ibid., p. 96). Bowen states that this last approach does not actually *assess* education's economic contribution; however, such forecasting is considered to be a qualitative contribution to economic development.

From the perspective of manpower planning, education could be seen as the "scheduling of flows of human raw material through educational agencies and out into the economy" (Anderson and Bowman, 1968, p. 364). Anderson and Bowman also point out that educational planning must correspond to a society's "stage of economic development". Therefore, resources for development should be concentrated on efficiency because in developing countries equity and efficiency are conflicting ideals (ibid., pp. 359-63).

Of course, the concept of human capital investment was not without its critics. Some argued the differences between physical and human capital investment and the resultant difficulty of applying the capital concept to human beings (Shaffer, 1968). Others mocked the notion that unaccounted for economic growth could simply be attributed to education: Balogh and Streeten (1968) characterized this idea as a "pseudo-scientific formulation" (p. 395). In general,

assumptions about the correlation of productivity and educational investment came under fire, as did the notion that educational investment in the poor would be sufficient to overcome poverty. This latter idea was based on the belief that the labour market functioned so that individuals would be paid according to what their skill was worth:

> On the basis of their reasoning and the assumption that labor markets were workably competitive, the human-capital theorists concluded, in essence, that those who earned little, those who were involuntarily employed part time, and those who ended up with no employment at all were unskilled and unproductive by *definition*. The responsibility of the economic structure itself for low wages and unemployment was rarely considered. (Bluestone, 1977, p. 337)

In the eyes of critics like Bluestone, *job* development was more pertinent (at least in terms of reducing poverty) than manpower training or human resource development. His thoughts are echoed by Foster (1977), who states that "it may be easy enough to increase the output of the schools but it is far more difficult to expand employment opportunities" (p. 362). Educational expansion may or may not have merit, but it would not be functional in the expected manner unless it corresponded with expansion of access to real opportunities in the labour market.

Acceptance of human capital theory in its purer forms was inevitably affected by the "educational problems" that had become very clear by the late 1960s. Simmons (1980) groups these into three major categories: "internal inefficiency" in the educational system (dropouts, lack of resources); lack of correspondence between the "product" of education and what is "needed" in society (in terms of employment and of other elements such as health care); and inequality both of opportunity and of outcomes of education (p. 7). Human capital theory's emphasis on increasing educational spending seemed untenable to most; even those who took the incrementalist approach were less likely to advocate

such measures. Instead they began to look for other solutions to the problems of education and development.

Because they basically believed the aforementioned problems to result from the irrelevance of educational systems to the realities of developing countries, many incrementalists eventually proposed educational cutbacks and the focussing of resources on a short period of primary schooling and vocational training. The idea of non-formal education thus gained an increasing popularity. It could be seen as particularly important because "technical education has become a lifelong process and necessity for an increasing proportion of each nation's labor force" (Coombs, 1985, p. 172). However, non-formal education has been resisted both by the formal educational sector, which fears it will drain off resources, and by those who oppose the dual education system they feel it implies (Simmons, 1980, p. 9). Nevertheless, many theorists still look favourably on a large role for non-formal education, both as a means of alleviating the unemployment problem and as a way to increase educational opportunity and equality for the poorer population without greatly increasing expenditure. Blaug (1980) declares that "the remedy for the school-leaver problem, at least in the short run, lies in the provision of out-of-school education" (p. 152).

In the long run, this and other problems must be overcome through reformative measures; this could be a slow process, but "'piecemeal social engineering' may prove to be the eventual solution" (ibid.p. 152). Not to take such measures could be disastrous, for "in the absence of sweeping readjustments and innovations in both educational and economic systems, the world of education and the world of work will become increasingly unbalanced and maladjusted" (Coombs, 1985, p. 204).

While Simmons (1980) believes that the human capital/incrementalist school

of thought may be on the wane, its assumptions still underlie much of

development policy and strategy. In a 1985 book based on research supported by

the World Bank, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall restate a belief in the assumptions

of human capital theory: "that investment in education contributes to economic

growth" (p. 19), so that

> spending on education is not simply consumption but is investment in
> human capital, and that education is not only a basic human right
> but also a means of enhancing the productive capacity of developing
> countries and increasing the profitability of investment in physical
> capital and basic infrastructure. (ibid., p. 313)

This position is considered to be justified both by research and by the experience

of World Bank projects. Therefore, "the World Bank has expressed renewed

interest in human development, particularly education" (ibid., p. 16). This interest

is reflected in the Bank's pattern of educational investment: investment

concentrated on basic education (both formal and non-formal), vocational education

and teacher training. Psacharopoulos and Woodhall claim that "there is as much

concern with the equity as with the efficiency of educational investment" (ibid.,

p. 5), although they concede that "educational investment cannot, by itself,

equalize incomes and employment opportunities" (ibid., p. 319). However, an

attempt to distribute investment socially and geographically can improve the

present inequitable situation.

2. The Structuralist Perspective

In general, the structuralist school of thought does not view "readjustment"

and "innovation" as adequate to bring about increased equality and decreased

poverty, the development goals it regards as most important. More profound

change is necessary for that to occur. There are differences within this perspective as to how extensive such change should be and what form it should take: theorists coming from a neo-Marxist or dependency point of view argue the necessity of a revolutionary change to a socialist government; others merely desire "liberation" from individual and societal "oppression" to a more humane society.

Much of Carnoy's work is representative of the first position. He (1974) describes education in the present world system as "cultural imperialism". This is the case in the industrialized countries where "schooling was organized to develop and maintain ... an inherently inequitable and unjust organization of production and political power" (p. 3), and even more so in the Third World since

> Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination. It was consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another. (ibid., p. 3)

Carnoy subscribes to the thesis that education in capitalist society functions to reproduce the social relations of production and to minimize opposition to the structure of society. The reproductive function effectively retards economic growth and social development because of its legitimizing effect--elites (and industrialized nations) avoid having to redistribute wealth and thus do not maximize the country's own human and physical resources (Carnoy et al., 1982, p. 42).

The maintenance of poliltical legitimacy is seen as perhaps the most important reason for educational expansion: Carnoy et al. (1982) claim that education is a "symbol of development" and in this sense is demanded as a "public right". Expansion of education is a much cheaper way to ensure this legitimacy than making structural changes would be (p. 54). Less expensive

approaches such as non-formal education are the "standard answer" to the problem of providing education to the poorer classes, but it is less likely to furnish its graduates with employment than is formal training imparting the same skills. Carnoy (1982) concludes that "it is very likely that such training fortifies the class division of labor rather than promoting social mobility for lower-social-class groups" (p. 167). As well, a human capital perspective can *"legitimize the international class structure* by putting the onus on nonindustrialized peoples for failing to manage their own institutions efficiently or to mobilize adequate resources for economic growth" (Carnoy, 1976b, p. 257).

Since "the development process, the educational process, and the schooling process are part and parcel of the same whole" (Carnoy, 1982, p. 171), a radical transformation in the relations of production is necessary before education can be a truly liberating force. However, "expanded schooling could be a force for radical change, particularly if set in the context of political struggles elsewhere in society" (ibid., p. 173) because, again, it could "exacerbate contradictions" inherent in the political system. The "legitimacy gap" between what education symbolizes and the reality of what it can actually deliver is even greater in Third World countries than in the industrialized nations. While "one of the principal functions of schooling in Third World countries is to substitute for political rights and for increased material consumption" (ibid., p. 173), this eventually leads to political tensions--which governments tend to try to resolve by making concessions to the groups they feel to be most dangerous to their stability (Carnoy et al., 1982, p. 64).

These ideas are echoed by Bowles (1980), who claims that in Third World countries

the expansion of the capitalist mode of production undermines the traditional mode, and thus tends to weaken the political and ideological forces which served to perpetuate the old order. The capitalist class is thus faced with difficult problems of reproduction as well as production. (p. 213)

As a result, "the ever-present contradiction between accumulation and reproduction must be repressed, or channeled into demands easily contained within the structure of capitalist society" (ibid., p. 215). Education has played an important role in such "channeling" strategies; it acts as "both recruiter and gatekeeper for the capitalist sector" (ibid., p. 215). As recruiter, it produces the necessary labour force and, through the "correspondence principle", reproduces the social relations of production (ibid., p. 216). As gatekeeper, it balances meeting public demands for educational expansion with increasing credential requirements (ibid., p. 217). Educational policy is thus used as a tool to limit potential workers. The clash between pressures from the poorer classes and the desires of the "capitalist classes" to maintain hegemony results in a dual education system. The need to preserve the capitalist class structure thus effectively limits education's contribution both to economic growth and to socioeconomic equality.

Bowles believes that, "as part of a popular movement to challenge the class structure and the uneven development of the capitalist social formation", educational programs could promote social equality (ibid., p. 226). He cites Freire's work as one example of this possibility. However, he concludes that

to discuss these possible functions of education, in the absence of rebellion against the capitalist order, is worse than idle speculation. It is to offer a false promise, an ideological palliative which seeks to buy time for capitalism by envisioning improvements where little can be secured, and by obscuring the capitalist roots of inequality and economic irrationality. (ibid., p. 226)

In response to analyses like those of Carnoy and Bowles, Velloso (1985)

warns against a simplistic interpretation of dependency leading to the view that education may do little more than eternally reproduce an unequal system. On the contrary, educational

> institutions are viewed as a dialectical unity, in which the movements that reproduce patterns of inequality and domination occur simultaneously with the production of equalizing and counter-domination effects ... The education system, as any other social system, is not completely determined from the outside. It possesses a certain degree of autonomy in its interactions with society at large. (p. 212)

Much of what has been written from the structuralist perspective about education and development does not take the specifically revolutionary stance of dependency or neo-Marxist approaches. These works are representative of structuralist theory in that they are most concerned with reducing poverty and inequality and recognize a need for structural change of some sort--though not necessarily a revolutionary change to socialism. They generally stress education as a transformative agent contributing to the attainment of cultural autonomy and to liberation from oppression. In terms of development theory, they probably correspond most fully with thought that emphasizes the interdependence of societies and reform of political and economic structures both within and among societies.

These educators do not define development strictly in economic terms and therefore see education as more than an investment. Development is "defined in wider, more humanistic terms" (De Vries, 1973, p. 234) and the roles of education and adult education, as well as their goals, are also viewed very differently: they are "liberalizing process[es in which] success is measured in humanistic returns such as individual freedom and increased knowledge and awareness" (ibid., p. 234).

Many of the participants in the 1976 International Conference of Adult Education and Development in Dar es Salaam express this kind of sentiment. Kidd (1978) remarks that, despite the possibilities for confusion regarding the meanings of both development and adult education, there was at least a growing consensus regarding both:

> Everyone accepted some notion of 'balanced development'; that there is a component or aspect of adult education in every economic or social or political project, that adult education can never remain neutral about the issues of development, that the institutions of adult education should enlarge and focus their energies on development tasks which are of such importance that delay cannot be tolerated. (p. 7)

The conference's "Design for Action" specifies what kinds of "development tasks" carry this importance. They would be strategies that are oriented to meeting basic human needs, that, through increased participation, lead to more egalitarian societies, that create and support structures and infrastructures allowing productive work and individuals' control over "their lives and their environments" (Hall and Kidd, 1978, p. 287).

Adult education is to become "a more central component of development" (ibid., p. 287). Indeed, Stensland (1976) suggests that "in all development there is an educational core ... Whether overtly or not, *development always is interwoven with education*" (p. 68). He criticizes the human capital perspective both because it oversimplifies the relationship of education to economic and social processes and because it avoids the issue of what ends educational investment should lead to (ibid., p. 70). Since development and education are perceived as "related processes of purposeful and organized change" (ibid., p. 74), the idea of causal relations between the two should be replaced by an emphasis on an "integrated approach". This can be achieved partially through adult education that functions to promote

"participation *in* development and preparation *for* development" (ibid., p. 79) and partially through increased emphasis on non-formal education and its integration with the formal education system. Furthermore, consciousness-raising for self-reliance and control, rather than remedial programs, should be the main focus for adult education (Kidd, 1978, p. 10).

Even granting that some structural changes need to occur, the notion of integrating adult education into national development plans seems to presuppose some faith that existent governments are also committed to a "balanced development". Referring specifically to his own country, Senegal (a "revolutionized" society), Cisse (1978) declares that in development "the role of catalyst belongs to the State" (p. 55) and "the foremost authority in charge of development is the State which serves the interests of all the people" (ibid., p. 56). The State must also develop educational plans for development. Rahnema (1978) is more sceptical about the goodwill of most governments in this regard:

> It is naive to believe that a liberating, human-centred, equality-oriented education system can operate or succeed within a society geared to different and conflicting objectives. It is equally naive to suppose that an elite-ruled, technocratic and modernizing society will for long tolerate an education system which threatens to become a powerful instrument of internal subversion. (p. 66)

A humanizing and liberating education needs to be nurtured by a society committed to humanistic principles, but "few countries are prepared to adopt such a revolutionary and 'radical' position" (ibid., p. 66).

Rahnema is no more optimistic about the potential of lifelong and non-formal education in the absence of profound structural change. This potential has often been overestimated: a "liberating" education can at most be a "catalyst" for societal transformation, and then only if it is "an integral part of

a much wider effort to achieve social and economic liberation" (ibid., p. 64).

Paulston and LeRoy (1980) agree that non-formal education has tended to be

used to further "the priorities set by the dominant ideologues in society" (p. 6).

Furthermore, models of non-formal education which stress human resource and

manpower development assume "that governments are benevolent and

magnanimous enough to mandate the structural changes required to maximize the

development and utilization of human resources" (ibid., p. 9) and also that, if

they were willing, they would be able to do so, given "the context of

international dependency relationships" (ibid., p. 9). Any change promoted will be

incremental and in the interests of the society's elites (ibid., p. 12). Paulston and

LeRoy do not believe in the necessity of revolution for development, however:

> Formal schooling in conservative/liberal societies will no doubt continue
> to reproduce social and economic relations and minimize deviance, and
> so too will the vast majority of nonformal educational programs.
> Thus if one seeks to ascertain under what conditions educational
> programs can significantly contribute to structural change in
> conservative/liberal societies, the most fertile area for inquiry will be,
> we contend, in those large-scale collective social class and ethnic
> efforts using alternative NFE programs. (ibid., p. 19)

These would be "locally initiated NFE programs to help facilitate the aims of

collective movements seeking to negotiate new personal and collective identities

and behaviors, or seeking to alter structural arrangements in order to alleviate

specific perceived grievances" (ibid., p. 5).

Duke (1987) is also cautious about adult education's potential contribution

to "authentic" development. He notes that, despite professed interest in increasing

equality, "the 'old paradigm' of development through infrastructure investment,

with a spoken or unspoken assumption that wealth and benefit will trickle down

to all sectors of the community, prevails unchecked" (p. 323). Since the

contribution of adult education to development depends largely on the meaning ascribed to development, in the context of the "old paradigm", it may only serve to increase inequalities. In the findings of studies on adult education and poverty commissioned by the International Council for Adult Education, it was generally the smaller, non-governmental programs that had explicitly social change or conscientizing goals (ibid., p. 324). Duke also cautions that "in some circumstances adult education is virtually ineffectual"--for example, in disaster-stricken areas or those under very repressive regimes (ibid., p. 327).

Many adult educators concerned with development endorsed the concept of the NIEO as a prerequisite to the restructuring necessary for liberating development. Although the Brandt report and similar documents gave little attention to education, their educational implications were discussed nevertheless. The Brandt report was criticized for its apparent implication that education was irrelevant as both a means to, and an end of development (Williams, 1981). However, the "basic needs model" recommended by the report suggested a reorientation of educational, as well as economic, priorities and programs (Gordon, 1982, p. 97).

Allen and Anzalone (1981) argue that the "basic needs doctrine" is part of a "new orthodoxy" in development thinking (including calls for "redistribution with growth" as well as for the NIEO), which questions some of the hypotheses of traditional development theory without necessarily rejecting it. The authors fear that "the basic needs doctrine is perhaps too closely linked to a prevailing technocratic view of the world--a view that reduces complex social, economic, political, and cultural issues to the category of 'technical' problems" (ibid., p. 216). This reductionism also besets the notion of "education for basic needs",

which tends to become identified with "basic education" to impart the minimum skills necessary to function in society. Allen and Anzalone suggest that "the problem of human needs is more complex than the basic needs doctrine seems to recognize" (ibid., p. 224).

In addition to those who question the optimistic view of education as a contributor to either socioeconomic or human development/liberation, there are some who reject as negative values both education and development, as they are commonly understood. Illich (1984) believes that the bond between education and development (which he calls "E & D") "is becoming an evil of an unrecognized kind" (p. 5). The assumption of scarcity underlies this bond:

> Both the inner void that calls for educational furniture and the scarce environment that must be softly and steadily turned into economic values are two politically homogeneous illusions ... E & D are mighty motors creating scarcity: expanding the assumption of it, intensifying the sense of it and legitimising institutions built around it. (ibid., p. 12)

Illich describes two possible negative responses to this bond, the "yellow signal" and the "red signal". Those who "see yellow" believe it necessary to slow down the growth of E & D, although this growth remains the goal--as in the "new orthodoxy". They "have not lost faith in education as a basic necessity and hope to provide it in a better form and to more people ... [but] while they continue to hope they have learned to question yesterday's fundamental 'verities'" (ibid., p. 6).

Illich criticizes this position because it questions "means and goals" but cannot question "fundamental assumptions"; analysis of these is left to those who "see red" (ibid., p. 8).

> The red light stands for a methodical prejudice that urges us to a continued comparison of an institution's stated purpose and its

directly counter-purposive effects ... In the red light education directly threatens non-formal learning by legitimating the removal of learning opportunities from the environment and by training people to depend on programmed information. (ibid., p. 7)

The term "development" must take on a new meaning if it is to preserve any significance: it should indicate "a changeover from growth to a steady state" (ibid., p. 9).

Curle (1973) does not think that education and development are necessarily evil, but does insist that both need to be drastically rethought. Development should create a society that ensures conditions of safety, sufficiency, satisfaction and stimulus for all human beings (pp. 118-119). Education for this kind of development would need both economic and cultural/social goals and both indigenous and universal elements (ibid., p. 120). It would emphasize "building the capacity to achieve sufficiency" (ibid., p. 120), as well as the development of awareness and would work towards the transformation of the system into the counter-system. "Education for liberation is education which is itself liberated from an improper servitude to a system which values it less for what it contributes to the mind of man than for its service to his greed for power and possessions" (ibid., p. 128).

D. CONCLUSION

The perception of education's relationship to development is influenced by many factors, the functions ascribed to education and the meaning given to development being the two most obvious. While many views on the role of education are always simultaneously evident, the prevailing opinion has shifted several times: from a relative disregard of education to an almost evangelical

belief in its power to cause economic, social and political change, to an acknowledgement of its negative and/or counterproductive capacities, to the belief that, while it is not nearly so powerful as once thought, it may still have some positive role to play.

To some extent, this progression of views can be related to the development of development thought, although it often lags behind the latter and takes a tangential line. The period of disregard coincides with the belief that development would be a naturally occurring process. Human capital theory fits in well with modernization theory. Neo-Marxist denunciations of the reproductive role of education are consistent with dependency perspectives on development. Much of the non-Marxist structuralist educational thought seems to be in the tradition of interdependence and reform approaches to development. Even the counterpoint perspective on development can be recognized, at least in part, in the essence of some educational literature--certainly in Illich's and Curle's. To a lesser extent, the social and ethnic movements discussed by Paulston and LeRoy could fit into this category, as could writings dealing with basic needs, to the extent that they concentrate on "human development" rather than "manpower" needs.

None of this is very clearly defined; again, there is considerable overlap among perspectives on the nature of the development/education relationship. Still, there are definite connections between development theories and theories about education's role in development. The shifts in approach (as well as the "resistances" to such shifts) evident in the former are indeed reflected in the latter, at least to some extent.

IV. THE INTERPRETIVE APPROACH OF THIS STUDY

A. INTRODUCTION: THE INTERPRETIVE TURN

This chapter will comprise an explanation of why a hermeneutic approach to literature on adult education and development can be considered conducive to the development of a deeper understanding of the situations involved. It will begin with a discussion of what has been called the "interpretive turn" in the social sciences, that is, the increasing interest in non-positivistic attitudes and methods of analysing data. The nature and development of modern philosophical hermeneutics will then be explicated briefly. Finally, the specific process that will be used in the interpretation of texts in Chapters 5 will be described.

Giddens (1982) notes that social science in the English-speaking world has been unfamiliar with the term "hermeneutics" until very recently (p. 1). He attributes this unfamiliarity to the domination of Anglo-American social science by what he calls the "orthodox consensus": "views of social science drawing their inspiration from positivistic or naturalistic philosophies of natural science" (ibid., p. 1). According to Giddens, the orthodox consensus had three major elements. First, positivistic philosophy was the accepted framework for analysis, emphasizing the belief that the social sciences should be modelled on the natural sciences. Second, the methods of social science were profoundly influenced by functionalism. Third, the content of the social sciences was dominated by the concepts of the "theory of industrial society" (or "modernization") (ibid., pp. 1-3).

With regard especially to the first of these elements, Popkewitz (1984) further points out that "a particular and narrow conception of science has come to dominate social research. That conception gives emphasis to the procedural

logic of research by making statistical and procedural problems paramount to the conduct of research" (p. 2). The definition of "empirical" is narrowed so that it tends to mean that which is quantifiable. "Objectivity", to which positivistic science is committed, is likewise given a narrower meaning: it refers to a procedural rather than a philosophical characteristic (ibid., p. 21). As a result, "many ... consider only those questions and problems that conform to [science's] procedures rather than ... having methods and procedures respond to and develop from theoretical interests" so that "the root assumptions about the world embedded in scientific practices are not examined but are crystallized" (ibid., p. 21).

Giddens (1982) considers the orthodox *consensus* to be no longer in existence. It has been undermined both by unexpected "transmutations in the social world itself" and also by "critical attacks" upon its basic assumptions (p. 3). The latter have come both from within the social sciences, in the form of the critique of functionalism, and from philosophy:

> The principal philosophical development of the twentieth century is the thoroughgoing attack on the subjectivism of modern thought with its foundation in self-conscious reflection and on the corresponding reduction of the world to an object of scientific investigation and control. (Gadamer, 1976, Linge's introduction, p. xli)

Rabinow and Sullivan (1979) also note "the almost de rigueur opposition of subjectivity and objectivity" in the social sciences, as well as in the natural sciences (p. 5). The social sciences have since their beginning sought the status of "paradigmatic science", in which they would have achieved the methodological "maturity" of "hard" sciences, thus ridding themselves of their "dependence on value, judgment, and individual insight" (ibid., p. 1). This elusive expectation has contributed to the present crisis in social science. As a response, the "interpretive

turn" is seen to involve a refocussing of attention: "the aim is not to uncover universals or laws but rather to explicate context and world" (ibid., p. 13).

Interpretation will go beyond the analysis of scientific objects to an understanding of the underlying problems of human existence. As the theory of interpretation, hermeneutics is particularly relevant to the study of these problems as they are revealed in linguistic texts. A text should not be viewed as "an object we understand by conceptualizing or analyzing it; it is a voice we must hear, and through 'hearing' (rather than seeing) understand" (Palmer, 1969, p. 9). Such an understanding is "both an epistemological and an ontological phenomeneon ... not a scientific kind of knowing which flees away from existence into a world of concepts; it is an historical encounter which calls forth personal experience of being here in the world" (ibid., p. 10).

B. PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS

The term hermeneutics originally referred to techniques for the interpretation of biblical texts. This remained its status until the early nineteenth century, when Schleiermacher conceived of it as the "scientific" study of understanding, involving systematic and coherent principles, rather than simply as a collection of *ad hoc* rules (Palmer, 1969, p. 40). Later in the same century, Dilthey attempted to establish hermeneutics as the methodological foundation for the *Geisteswissenschaften* (which can be loosely translated as the "human sciences"); he hoped to make it the counterpart to the methodology of scientific explanation of natural phenomena. The two sciences were perceived as entirely distinct; thus Dilthey saw a dichotomy between the "explanation" that occurred in the natural sciences and the "understanding" of the human sciences. The latter

had to be based in the consciousness of human "historicality", and was unconcerned with causality as such (ibid., pp. 101-105).

According to Howard (1982), three "forces" are largely responsible for the formation of present-day hermeneutics. The first of these was a reaction to Kantian epistemology, and particularly to the views that all "logics of inquiry" must follow the same pattern and that the subject in all such inquiry is essentially ahistorical in relation to the object of analysis and can thus take on a point of view external to it (p. 8). The second of these forces was the work of Dilthey, building on Schleiermacher. As a result of their contributions, the hermeneutical problem began to be perceived as a basically epistemological (what constitutes reliable knowledge in the human sciences?), and hence philosophical one, rather than a purely practical and methodological one, as had previously been the case (ibid., p. 11). Dilthey presented hermeneutics as "a metatheory of the understanding of life-experiences as they are given in linguistic expression" (ibid., p. 22). It may still be understood in this way today, although the hermeneutical *problem* is now perceived differently by many thinkers.

The third force shaping modern hermeneutics was its response to logical positivism. Logical positivism emphasized the possibility of discovering general laws for the operation of all phenomena--and therefore, the applicability of the scientific model to all areas of inquiry. Although there is more than one understanding of hermeneutics in existence today, all modern hermeneutical theories share a rejection of this "monomethodological thesis" (ibid., p. 32) and its reduction of all understanding to explications of causal relationships.

Ricoeur (1981) sees two basic movements in the history of modern hermeneutics. The first of these is the movement from a "regional" to a

"general" hermeneutics. This was the shift from hermeneutics as a set of techniques used to interpret isolated texts to hermeneutics as a generalized philosophical theory of interpretation; it was accomplished through the work of Schleiermacher and Dilthey. The second is the movement from an epistemological to an ontological preoccupation, a transition that has occurred with the twentieth-century work of Heidegger and Gadamer. With this transition, the task of hermeneutics is seen in a different light: rather than a major concern with the "knowing relation between subject and object" and particularly with the avoidance of misunderstanding of texts, there is a questioning of the *conditions* of understanding, that is, a questioning of the foundations of epistemological hermeneutics (Hoy, 1982, p. 47). Ontological hermeneutics is thus not primarily concerned with developing a methodology for the human sciences; rather, "it will dig beneath the methodology in order to lay bare its foundations" (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 55). Furthermore, the subject-object dichotomy is effectively denied, for "the foundations of the ontological problem are sought in the relation of being with the world and not in the relation with another" (ibid., p. 55). The understanding that results from the hermeneutical process is itself "a condition for the possibility of human experience and inquiry" (Hoy, 1982, p. vii).

Thus, in the ontological hermeneutics of Heidegger and Gadamer, there can be no "presuppositionless" or "one right" interpretation, no "absolute standpoint" from which to enter into interpretation, for the interpreter is never free from "the *ontological* condition of always already having a finite temporal situation" (Gadamer, 1976, Linge's introduction, p. xlvii) within which the object of interpretation, the text, has its "initial meaning". Thus, the interpreter always has a non-objective (in the usual scientific sense) relationship to the text.

However, the inevitable "prejudice" is not simply a regrettable fact, the impact of which should be lessened as much as possible. Gadamer (1976) argues that prejudice should also be seen as a positive force in interpretation:

> Prejudices are not necessarily unjustified and erroneous, so that they inevitably distort the truth. In fact, the historicity of our existence entails that prejudices, in the literal sense of the word, constitute the initial directedness of our whole ability to experience. Prejudices are biases of our openness to the world. They are simply conditions whereby we experience something--whereby what we encounter says something to us. (p. 9)

It is these prejudices (or "prejudgements" or "preknowledge") that allow a dialogue to take place between the interpreter and the text. "Interpretation ... institutes a circular movement between the interpreter's expectations and the meanings residing within the text. These limiting 'forestructures' are the prejudices that work toward understanding" (Howard, 1982, p. 147).

Understanding thus takes place by means of the "hermeneutical circle", rather than through a linear, methodical approach. Meaning is unfolded through a part-whole-part process: some preunderstanding of the whole is necessary in order to understand the parts; in turn, the whole cannot be thoroughly understood without an understanding of the parts. Both interpreter and text are active participants in this process, which takes the form of a question-and-answer dialogue. The assumptions of the interpreter challenge the text and are in turn challenged by it. The interpreter is thus not a detached observer and analyst, but instead a partner in a dialogue. The interpreter's own "historical situation" is as much at play as is the situation being interpreted. A deeper "self-understanding", in the sense of an understanding of the situation out of which interpretation occurs, is as much the goal of interpretation as is the understanding of the text and the meanings which underlie it.

In understanding a text, then, the interpreter is not primarily engaged in an act of reconstruction of the world of the text--although this may be a necessary part of the process (Palmer, 1969)--but rather in an act of *mediation* "between the text and all that the text implies" (Gadamer, 1979, p. 147), particularly for the "world" in which the interpreter is situated. What occurs is a "fusion of horizons": the creation of one common horizon or view of the meanings in question from the partial and limited horizons of both the text and the interpreter. This new understanding did not exist before (Palmer, 1969, p. 209), but has been created through the tension between the interpreter's "familiar" situation and the "foreign" situation of the text (Gadamer, 1979, p. 155).

Given the non-empirical nature of hermeneutical processes, it is not surprising that critics have raised concerns that the understanding produced by them may be subjectivistic and relativistic. Hoy (1982) argues that it is at least possible to avoid "radical relativism". In a radical or subjectivistic relativism, there is no possibility of rational discourse: the meaning of the text would be taken to be its meaning to the interpreter. However, there is also a *contextual* form of relativism, in which interpretation is dependent on its context--which can include interpretive frameworks, concepts, and so on. There is no unquestionable method, or context, but all cannot be equally justified, and the interpreter must provide reasons for the choice of one context over others (Hoy, 1982, p. 69). Gadamer's position is that the conditioning context of interpretation is comprised of the "preunderstandings" arising from the interpreter's "hermeneutical situation" (ibid., p. 70). These can be made conscious, through self-reflection, for the purpose of justifying the interpretation.

Although interpretation will inevitably be "partial and contextual", it can nevertheless lay some claim to validity. Gadamer (1976) draws a parallel between hermeneutics and the tradition of rhetoric, and states that the "theoretical tools" of the former are largely informed by the latter (p. 24). Both are "argumentative disciplines". Like rhetoric, hermeneutics defends a truth based on probability, on "that which is convincing to the ordinary reason", rather than on demonstrability:

> Convincing and persuading, without being able to prove--these are obviously as much the aim and measure of understanding and interpretation as they are the aim and measure of the art of oration and persuasion. (ibid., p. 24)

Hermeneutics is thus in the tradition of the coherence theory of truth, a theory no less philosophically valid than the correspondence theory of truth espoused by scientific empiricism.

C. INTERPRETIVE APPROACH OF THIS STUDY

Although critical of any methodology's claim to epistemological status, Gadamer's work is not "anti-methodological"; it

> wishes to make clear, beneath method, the fundamental conditions for truth's coming to light not simply as the result of a technique--of something that the *subject* does--but as a result of something that 'happens to us over and above our wanting and doing'. (Howard, 1982, p. 122)

In this sense, "the task of philosophical hermeneutics" must be seen as prior to methodology *per se* (ibid., p. 126).

The process employed in this hermeneutical task must then be phenomenological--descriptive of the interpreter's experience (not conceptual knowledge) of the text itself. Rather than attempting to master or control the

phenomenon, the interpreter will be "seized" and "altered" by the text, in that openness to the experience of the text will create a new hermeneutical situation (Palmer, 1969, pp. 248-49). At the end of the process, a new set of preunderstandings will have emerged.

The process of interpretation thus begins with "reflections on the preconceptions which result from the 'hermeneutical situation'" in which the interpreter is found (Gadamer, 1979, p. 150). These preconceptions must then be "legitimated", which may mean simply determining their "origin and adequacy" (ibid., p. 150). One set of preunderstandings present in the case of this particular study will be the point of view resulting from the surveys of development and education literature carried out in Chapters 2 and 3. Another set would include the patterns of thinking developed by the interpreter's own tradition and culture (even as these have been modified by exposure to different traditions). Although these may be more difficult to identify accurately, they are the basis of the expectations which the interpreter brings to the task.

The interpreter sketches a picture of the whole text as soon as an initial meaning begins to appear. To the extent deemed necessary, the reconstruction of the world of the text will constitute part of this sketch. Describing the initial picture can be seen as "nothing other than elaborating a preliminary project which will be progressively corrected in the course of the interpretative reading" (ibid., p. 149).

It is in this manner that "legitimate prejudices" can be seen as "aids to understanding". The distance between interpreter and text (whether temporal, cultural, or of any other sort) may serve to allow the text's meaning to emerge, but in order for this to occur the interpreter's expectations or prejudices must be

exposed and thus put at risk of being falsified. The prejudice or forestructure that the interpreter has in mind at the beginning of the process is used

> as a question addressed to the texts. If the texts resist the question addressed to them, then [the] 'forestructures' are exposed in their limitations. If the texts respond in a new way to this new question, then the historical limitations of the text are overcome. (Howard, 1982, p. 134)

In the case of the texts on adult education and development that will be interpreted in this study, there is an expectation that the assumptions on which the individual works are based will be similar enough that questions can be addressed to them as a whole. If this should prove an inadequate preunderstanding, its rejection will still have a positive effect in that it will open up a new line of interpretation (Hoy, 1982, pp. 77-78).

Since the hermeneutical process is dialectical, the text must be allowed to become a "full partner" in dialogue. In fact, "the hermeneutical experience should be led by the text", although the interpreter must help the text to "speak" (Palmer, 1969, p. 244). This can be achieved through keeping in mind that the task of interpretation is understanding and not analysis; the latter would place the text in the position of an object for study (ibid., p. 244). In attempting to truly understand the text, the interpreter must remain open to the text and allow it to pose its own question. Howard (1982) explains that the basic question put by the text does not ask what the author originally intended, but instead "What truth shows up if my 'prejudices' and yours confront each other on the occasion of this text?" (p. 149).

Throughout this dialectical process, there is also a constant movement between "the whole conceived through the parts which actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole which motivates them" (Geertz, 1979, p. 239). Thus,

the interpretation of the West African and Caribbean texts will alternate between a general and a more specific focus. At the end of this "advancing spiral" of questions asked and answered, the "fusion of horizons" results; this is the creative moment of the interpretive process.

The interpretation ends where it begins, with "the 'thing itself'" (Gadamer, 1979, p. 159). However, while the text itself does not change, the understanding, and therefore the hermeneutical situation, of the interpreter does. The meaning of the text must be made explicit in light not only of its own horizon, but also in light of the interpreter's horizon. "Application" is always involved in interpretation. This "does not mean applying something *to* something ... but is rather a question of perceiving what is at stake in a given situation" (Hoy, 1982, p. 58). In this study, this application does not take the form of an appropriation of past meanings by the present, but of an appropriation of meanings attached to adult education and development in one context and tradition by another context and tradition. It is hoped that the fusion of horizons will lead to a new and deeper understanding of the assumptions underlying the conceptualization of the development/adult education relationship.

V. NIGERIAN AND JAMAICAN ADULT EDUCATION LITERATURE

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter undertakes the interpretation of selected adult education literature from West Africa and the West Indies, with the focus on Nigeria and Jamaica† from 1976 to 1986. As stated in the preceding chapter, the hermeneutic process should begin with the justification of the context, that is, of the preunderstandings from which the interpretation will proceed. This justification consists of the interpreter's reflection on, and consequent expression of these preunderstandings and the bases on which they rest.

In order to better understand this process, it may be helpful to consider an example of a less justifiable preunderstanding. One such might be the assumption that Nigerian adult education literature would not emphasize the reduction of inequality, based on the premise that all Nigerians are wealthy since Nigeria is an oil-producing nation. It should be noted that the assumption is not unjustifiable because it is "incorrect", but because it is based on a very questionable premise. In fact, the assumption itself *could* be justified if it were based on more credible premises. To be judged credible, a premise would simply have to meet the conditions of logic that would make it appear possible to the "ordinary reason", given the knowledge available to the interpreter. Proceeding on the basis of preunderstandings such as the above example would take the interpretation in a direction likely to be misleading, and would ultimately result

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†Some of the literature on the latter nation takes a broader British Caribbean point of view--there seems to be more basis for a generalized point of view in this region than in West Africa. However, these texts will be considered only insofar as they can be related to the Jamaican situation, and will be referred to as the "Jamaican literature".

in a less "valid" interpretation.

What, then, are the initial preunderstandings (or assumptions) of this interpretation? The basic premises and the assumptions following from them are arrived at in the course of the interpreter's initial "sketch of the whole". The next section will present this sketch.

B. THE CONTEXT

The interpreter's initial assumptions are based partly on the analyses of developmental and educational thought presented in Chapters 2 and 3 and partly on some limited background reading on the areas in question. It is also expected that the interpreter's cultural and personal patterns of organizing and analysing this type of information will be in play.

Some basic information considered potentially relevant to the interpretation can be outlined here. To begin with, both Nigeria and Jamaica have the largest national population in their respective regions. (Of course, the numbers are vastly different: Jamaica has a population of approximately 2.5 million, whereas estimates of Nigeria's population range as high as 100 million). Among the populations of both there exist large disparities both in socioeconomic status and in educational attainment. There is high unemployment and a rural/urban split with regards to most of the commonly supposed benefits of prosperity and development. The illiteracy rate in both nations is high, though considerably more so in Nigeria, where it is estimated at around 80% of the adult population. The figures for Jamaica are more disputed, but do not seem to range much higher than around 50%.

As already noted, English is the official language of both countries, as

they were both British colonies, gaining independence in the early 1960s--1960 for Nigeria, 1962 for Jamaica. Since independence, there has been a considerable amount of political instability in both nations, though this is quite different in character. Nigeria's national governments have been preponderantly military, with only two brief periods of civilian rule. Jamaica has maintained a parliamentary democracy; instability has taken the form of wide swings in support for the two major parties and in political violence between the supporters of these parties. In the international arena, both are "non-aligned" states.

Economically, both Nigeria and Jamaica could be said to fit into the "neo-colonial" mould. They are both still mainly resource-based economies (oil in Nigeria and bauxite in Jamaica); in both countries, the most important economic sectors are heavily influenced and dominated by foreign interests. It would be safe to say that both are definitely capitalist-oriented economies, though there is a stronger degree of "democratic socialist" influence in Jamaica, at least in the realm of social policy.†

In many of the above points, Nigeria and Jamaica could be considered fairly typical of Third World nations. However, neither is among the very poorest of the world's countries. They can be considered to be middle-income Third World countries, part of the "semi-periphery" rather than the "periphery", strictly speaking.

The interpretation's initial preunderstandings can best be described as a set of expectations with regards to the emphases and concerns articulated in the literature. To begin with, it is expected that the attitudes (implicit or explicit)

†The democratic socialist influence in Jamaica was at its strongest during the 1972-80 Manley government. A description of this government's policies is found in Manley (1982); this may be of considerable interest, given Manley's return to power in February, 1989.

towards development and the development/adult education relationship will reflect not one of the orientations discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, but rather a mixture of elements from several different orientations. Specifically, some elements of the dependency/neo-Marxist critique of development and of education's reproductive functions are likely to be present, as is the influence of the interdependence/non-Marxist structuralist perspective. As well, the concerns of the earlier modernization/incrementalist perspective will probably be evident.

Such a mixture is expected because of the political and economic situations of the two countries. They know the experience of neo-colonialism and foreign ownership and possess many of the political, social and economic difficulties and dilemmas typical of Third World nations struggling in the periphery or semi-periphery of the global economic order. At the same time, they have to this point chosen to follow a more or less "capitalist path", and must therefore, as nations, have some commitment to capitalist values and ideology--though they follow this path with less ease than do the industrialized nations.

It is therefore expected that emphasis will be placed on adult education as a "tool for development"--as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. As a corollary to this, there should be some concern with adult education's potential role in the reduction of inequality. Since illiteracy is generally considered to be an indicator of poverty and underdevelopment, and since both countries have high illiteracy rates, it is also expected that considerable attention will be paid to adult literacy education.

Following from these expectations, four questions have been formulated. First, how much importance is accorded to adult literacy education and what is literacy's significance to development? Second, is a harmony assumed (and

considered beneficial) between adult educational and national aims and objectives? Third, is the reduction of inequality a major concern of adult education and, if so, what is adult education's perceived role in this task? And fourth, what degree of importance is attached to "structural change", either internal or international, and what role is adult education expected to play in this regard?

It is difficult to convey on paper the sense of the interpretive process. There is a continual shifting from the general to the more specific which cannot easily be expressed without appearing forced. This shifting happens within the discussion of each question and also when each new question is considered. The insights gained from the examinations of the previous questions can alter the original expectations with regards to the new question. After all of the four questions have been considered, the cumulative results will hopefully give some insight into the broader, underlying questions: what functions are attributed to adult education in these societies? and what orientation towards development and the development/adult education relationship seems to be represented?

The question involving adult education and literacy will be considered first because it is felt that in such a concrete and "practical" issue many assumptions lying at the root of the other questions may be uncovered.

C. THE INTERPRETATION

1. Adult Education, Literacy and Development

Looking at the literature as a whole, it is undeniable that literacy education is accorded much importance, if only because of the amount written about it. Indeed, several of the articles examined deal mainly with the specific

question of literacy. Literacy campaigns and their attendant problems are the focus of three articles (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982; Oduaran, 1984; Omolewa, 1984); the impact of literacy education on women is the major concern of one other (Ellis, 1984).

While not focussed on literacy education in particular, many of the other texts still refer to it as the basis of all adult education endeavours. A survey of adult educators (Okeem, 1985) regarding the nature of programs offered in Nigeria and the problems they face indicated that literacy education was the one type of program offered in every state. Anyanwu (1978) and Fasokun (1980) stress the importance of literacy education efforts to the potential success of national agricultural programs.[†] The problem of overcoming the difficulties of communicating health education to illiterate populations is considered by Osuhor and Osuhor (1978). They concede the necessity of a primary preoccupation with literacy in adult education programs, while maintaining that health education could be incorporated into literacy training (p. 65). Most of the other works at least refer to illiteracy as one of the "major problems" of their countries; only two make no specific reference either to illiteracy or to literacy education.

While the importance of literacy education is overwhelmingly acknowledged, the idea that it should involve more than teaching reading, writing and simple arithmetic skills is also strongly advocated. Thus, "functional" literacy rather than basic literacy is the goal. Omolewa (1981) defines functional literacy as "traditional literacy (reading and writing) and a programme of education geared to social, political and economic development of an area" (p. 41). The latter component involves the ability of learners to apply their learning to the new situations

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[†]In these two articles, respectively, Nigeria's "Operation Feed the Nation" and "Green Revolution", neither of which was particularly successful.

confronting them. Literacy training must be linked to the learner's "economic activity"; however, "it should be borne in mind that functional literacy is more than production-oriented literacy" (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, p. 80). It "must be linked with the fundamental needs of the learners, namely food, habitat, clothes, and health" and must therefore occur within a framework of lifelong education (ibid., p. 81). Taking this idea one step further, Musa (1985) claims that literacy "becomes meaningful only to the extent that such competencies facilitate the acquisition and effective utilisation of political literacy skills" (p. 118). Gordon (1985) echoes this emphasis on "political literacy", claiming that literacy education must give people "the basic skills that will enable them to participate in national life" (p. 47).

Because of the stress on functionality, it is usually recommended that literacy training be one part of some kind of "fundamental adult education" program, or that attention be paid to "post-literacy" programs. Literacy education should "serve as a prelude" to "education geared to the emancipation of the individual, community and society in general" (Omolewa, 1981, p. 91). In more pragmatic terms, Akinde and Omolewa (1982) advocate two stages for the Nigerian literacy campaign: "the first would be to educate every adult into literacy in the mother-tongue; the second stage would be to provide training in vocational skills" (p. 90). Similarly, functional literacy is considered as the first step of Jamaica's "reclamation education"; the other two are basic skills training and then more advanced technical training (Gordon, 1985, pp. 48-49).

The lack of a high level of functional literacy is generally seen as an impediment to national development. Significant progress in raising this level must either precede or accompany the development process. Illiteracy is referred to as

one of "the most critical indicators of under-development" (Mair, 1978. p. 44), as well as an "Achilles heel, weakening and inhibiting ... social, economic and political development" (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, p. 79). Gordon (1985) cites a Jamaican government statement that describes illiteracy as an impediment to national progress because it restricts the human resources available for development (p. 50).

If high levels of illiteracy are viewed as a negative factor in development, the opposite also holds true. Functional literacy is perceived as a "requirement" for (ibid., p. 3) or "concomitant" of (ibid., p. 58) development, and as an "inescapable infrastructural necessity" for cultural development (Nettleford, 1978, p. 142). Omolewa (1981) ascribes a great potential to literacy. It "has been identified as one of the essential ingredients for obtaining personal, community and societal development and growth" (p. 87). It is "an important tool" for liberation for those who have newly become literate (ibid., p. 30). Furthermore, a well-developed literacy program has the capacity to bring to the developing country "the miracles existing in the advanced countries" (ibid., p. 43).

Although it is easy to see general patterns with regards to the overall importance accorded to functional literacy in development, there are also some clear differences in the treatment of literacy education in the literature of the two countries. To begin with, while the Jamaican literature acknowledges the importance of literacy education, it does not show the same level of preoccupation with or sense of urgency towards the subject as does the Nigerian literature. The necessity of literacy education appears more as a "given", a basis for other concerns requiring more particular attention. The problems to be overcome do not seem to be perceived so much as the immense obstacles they appear to be in

the Nigerian literature.

This difference in the sense of urgency is very evident in the imagery employed. The Jamaican imagery is much less extreme than the Nigerian. In reading the Nigerian literature, it would be difficult to miss the images of war and battle and, to a lesser extent, of disease. It tends to refer to the attempts to reduce illiteracy explicitly as a "war", a notion reinforced by the name of the national literacy programs: the "National Mass Literacy Campaign". (In contrast, Jamaica's program is called the "Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy"). The images of war carry over into the discussion of the means by which to execute the "campaign". Okeem (1985, p. 255) and Omolewa (1984, p. 58) call for concerted efforts at "mass mobilization". "Propaganda" is necessary to generate the proper spirit of "sacrifice" and effort in the service of "national greatness" (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, pp. 85 & 82). In order for such propaganda to be effective in motivating the general public, it must appeal to "national ideals" (in the case of Nigeria, these would be national unity and economic self-reliance) (ibid., p. 85). Above all, this is not a war in which peace should come without victory. Omolewa (1984) decries a situation in which "more time is spent on peace talks than on planning effective moves" (p. 62). There are a few state "battalions" which are digging in to "sustain their command", but "the overall National Mass Literacy Campaign is in desperate need of a field commander" (ibid., p. 62).

If illiteracy is an enemy, this enemy is often also described in terms of disease. It is "endemic" in underdeveloped areas (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, p. 72), a part of "the disease posed by ignorance and lack of enlightenment" (Omolewa, 1981, p. 98) that needs to be "eradicated" or "wiped out".

None of this imagery of war and disease is evoked in the Jamaican literature. Here, illiteracy is simply a "problem" that nations must make a "concerted effort to come to grips with" (Gordon, 1985, p. 49). There is even evidence of some disagreement as to how serious the problem is. (This disagreement may, of course, be reflective of differing definitions of "literacy"). Ellis (1985) claims that the Jamaican literacy level is at least comparatively high for the Third World, although a special national literacy program is still needed (p. 78). On the other hand, Gordon (1985) declares that Jamaica possesses "a legacy of widespread illiteracy" that hampers its development program (p. 47). His reference to the need to plan strategies to attract "hardcore illiterates" suggests, however, that the resistance of the illiterates themselves may be a factor in the illiteracy rate.

The difference in extremity of imagery can certainly be related to differences in the magnitude of the problems and obstacles to be overcome in the progress of literacy education (and perhaps somewhat to a military "mindset" created by military governments in Nigeria, but absent in Jamaica). Nevertheless, some types of specific implementation problems referred to are the same. For instance, the question of language is of some significance in both countries. Nigeria is faced with the difficulties of a multilingual society. Each state may have several indigenous languages, though English is the official national language and literacy in English has decidedly more status than literacy in the local languages (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, p. 86). Akinde and Omolewa claim that the choice of a policy regarding language of instruction is a political as well as a pedagogical issue, beset by the same dilemmas that plague the setting of national language policy (ibid., p. 87). However, they do not believe that it is necessary

to decide upon one language in either instance, and feel that Nigeria's literacy program should aim at literacy in the mother tongue (ibid., p. 90).

In Jamaica, the language question is rather different in nature. Here, there is no question of literacy education in any language other than English. However, Gordon (1985) mentions the "radical viewpoint ... that English should be regarded and taught as a second language" because "standard English, the formal language, is not clearly understood or used by the majority of the population", who use their "creole" language (p. 211). The cultural, as well strictly educational, implications of this neglect of the population's "learning needs" is of increasing concern to Jamaican educators.

There is one "obstacle" to effective literacy education that is of great concern to the Nigerian writers but seemingly less so to the Jamaicans: the lack of government "commitment" to the reduction of illiteracy. There seems to be little questioning of the sincerity of the various governments' statements of commitment to literacy education and support for the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL), which is considered to be meeting with at least some measure of success (Gordon, 1985, p. 58). Far from decrying a general lack of government concern, Gordon avers that the 1972-80 government, at least, was overly optimistic in its "ill-considered commitment to achieve total literacy in four years" (ibid., p. 50).

The comments in the Nigerian literature are of a vastly different nature. They are fairly scathing in their condemnation of recurring government disinterest, which is often in contradiction to stated aims and priorities. Omolewa (1984) complains that the military government that took power in 1984 had not listed "the eradication of illiteracy" as one of its priorities (p. 55). He feels that

lack of government (or political) commitment is likely the major reason for the failures of Nigeria's literacy campaigns, for strong government involvement has played an important role in successful campaigns, such as those in Cuba and Tanzania (ibid., p. 57). Okeem (1985) also believes that "the lack of political will" underlies all other constraints (such as lack of funds, material resources, personnel, and so on) (p. 253). Moreover, Oduaran (1984) attributes to this lack of commitment all the problems that plague Nigerian literacy education, and states that it is caused not by benign neglect, but rather by "overt inaction characterized by callousness" (p. 169). According to Omolewa (1984), the government's "slow and half-hearted approach to the elimination of illiteracy" (p. 58) is not likely to change unless the state and/or federal governments obtain revolutionary leaderships, which might introduce the essential element of ideology into the literacy campaign. The promise of economic gain is not enough (ibid., p. 60).

Thus, while it is evident that the adult education literature of both Nigeria and Jamaica links literacy to national development in a fundamental way, the experience of the two nations is sufficiently different to effect marked differences in emphasis. Certainly, Nigeria would seem to be in a far more serious situation, with its massive population *and* massive illiteracy rate. Its progression of literacy campaigns has met with little success, despite the urgent pleas of its educators and perhaps because of the neglect of successive governments with different interests to pursue.† On the other hand, Jamaica, with a much smaller population, much higher literacy rate, and an at least

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†At present, attempts to eradicate illiteracy seem doomed to failure. The campaign that began in 1982 has also failed, and yet another one was launched in 1988 (Omolewa, 1988, p. 46).

moderately successful literacy program, appears to be in a better position not to dwell on the problems of illiteracy. Instead, more attention can be devoted to other issues of development, though the claims that literacy is essential to development are no less pronounced.

2. Harmony of Adult Educational and National Objectives

The literature considered here indicates an assumption that "development" is the overall national goal, though what comprises national development may vary from nation to nation. The individual goals expressed by the state are thought to collectively form this overall goal. Most of the writers examined put a great deal of effort into emphasizing the ways in which the educational objectives of adult education programs are at least implicitly based on, and therefore compatible with, these goals of national development. The belief indicated is that, in pursuing its own educational objectives, adult education is at the same time contributing to the ultimate realization of the national goals. The stress on literacy education as a necessary tool for development is an example of this.

The concord of adult education and development aims is explicitly confirmed by Gordon (1985):

> It has to be recognized that the purposes of adult education in the developing world are at least in some ways different from those in developed countries ... in the developing Third World countries, adult education is increasingly regarded as primarily a tool for development ... (p. 3)

Adult education must therefore be "more a national than a personal undertaking" (ibid., p. 8). Omolewa (1981) also states the belief that "the furtherance of development and growth" is "the primary concern of adult education" (p. 13) which, in order to be relevant in Nigeria, "must seek to serve not only the

individual but the wider society as well" (ibid., p. 87).

Accordingly, adult education must be compatible with government development policy. Okeem (1985) suggests that there is a consensus to the effect that, in order to be successful, Third World education systems (including non-formal systems) "must be within the stated policy of the government, supported by appropriate legislation" (p. 246). Omolewa (1981) concurs that adult education must "address ... itself to the priorities established by the government as guidelines for development" (p. 87). The same position is evident in the Jamaican literature, particularly in exhortations for adult education to "continually reorient [itself] to better serve the national objectives of the Caribbean" (Gordon, 1981, p. 58) as these change with changing government priorities.

In Nigeria, therefore, it is recommended that adult education programs be based on the guidelines of the 1977 National Policy on Education (NPE) and its more recent modifications. These in turn are based on the national objectives stated in the Second National Development Plan (Okeem, 1985, p. 240). The NPE was the first policy of its kind in Nigeria (Akinde & Omolewa, 1982, p. 79); Okeem (1985) suggests that it might indicate the government's new realization that education is essential to the attainment of the national objectives (p. 240).

There seems to be more comprehensive (and explicit) policy on adult education in Jamaica. Adult education was officially included in educational policy in 1966, and has been an integral part of educational planning since then (Gordon, 1985, pp. 17-20). It would seem that the goals of adult education are viewed as an extension of the goals of the formal system. This would fit with Ellis's (1984) observation that the government's new economic goals at the beginning of the 1960s "necessitated a re-evaluation and expansion of the formal

education system to meet new needs of increased production, economic growth and national development" (p. 45). However, since the formal system was often seen as inadequate in its promotion of development, it was felt that more attention should also be paid to adult and non-formal education.

In both countries, many adult education programs clearly seem tailored to meeting the needs both of specific government projects and of broader government concerns. Again, in general these concerns are all considered to be contributors to the overall goal of development. The discussions of adult education's role in Nigeria's Operation Feed the Nation and Green Revolution provide an example of the former type of situation. The role of adult education was, above all, to help farmers understand the best ways to implement the government policy (Anyanwu, 1978, pp. 21-22). In this regard, literacy education was particularly useful in that it could enable farmers to read the policies for themselves and could also "prepare the ground for an effective introduction of technology into the farms of Nigeria" (ibid., p. 23).

Aside from its role in meeting the needs of national projects and campaigns, adult education is also expected to contribute to the solution of problems in areas of continuing concern. In its skills training aspects it is certainly expected to help ease unemployment in both Nigeria and Jamaica--and "to foster in workers the proper attitudes for the modern working world" (Gordon, 1985, p. 47). Skills training for increased production and decreased unemployment is discussed in some detail in Omolewa (1981) and Gordon (1985).

In some instances, adult education is thought to include community development (eg., Okeem, 1985); in others, it is considered an instrument for community development. The Jamaican literature pays considerably more attention

to this aspect of adult education. Gordon (1985) states that Jamaica was among the first Third World countries to have an institutionalized community development program, of which "grassroots adult education" has always been an important component (p. 139). Community development has been viewed as "essential to decolonization" (ibid., p. 138), a process still considered to be a national development objective. In the Third World the term generally describes the whole of the collective processes whereby communities "improve" their conditions and are thus "integrated" into overall national development plans. The organization responsible for Jamaica's community development program "has always related adult education and community development to national objectives" which "have changed with governments" (ibid., p. 139). As always, responsiveness to government objectives is the first consideration for these programs.

In much of what has been discussed so far, there is at least an implication that adult education's role tends to be seen in terms of "human resource development". The Nigerian literature does not usually refer to this process as such, but the emphasis on literacy and skills training as the basis for national development certainly reflects the view that posits human beings as the most valuable resource for Third World nations and as the essential building-blocks of their development. Thus, Urevbu (1985) states that "it is widely accepted that national development begins with education and training of people" (p. 323). (His own particular argument involves the need to train more indigenous scientists and technologists). Akinde and Omolewa (1982) also argue that "for Nigeria, the primary aim is to foster national unity, and its pedagogical objective is to provide education such that the individual will be a useful citizen" (p. 87).

The emphasis is the same in the Jamaican literature, but it is somewhat more explicit. Gordon (1985) explains that it is now recognized that human resource development must "take a parallel place" with natural resource development; this recognition is the reason for a new stress on building skills at all levels (p. 89). Human resource development is also described as "one of the classic objectives in the framework of development strategy", and education is essential to the realization of this particular objective (Nettleford, 1978, p. 93). Critiques of development efforts emphasize this aspect of development as well. Ellis (1984) claims that the Caribbean nations' "greatest resource is their people" and therefore "the question of how this human capital is harnessed and used is crucial to the economic growth and development process of each country" (p. 45). Of particular concern to both Ellis and Antrobus (1980) is the situation of women and "the barriers that inhibit their full involvement in the process of development" (p. 60). Increased adult education provisions would be necessary in order for Caribbean women to fulfil their potential as contributors to their countries' development (Ellis, 1984, p. 46). However, such provisions would have to focus as much on women's role as producers as on their reproductive role (Antrobus, 1980, p. 60).

In Jamaica, cultural development is seen to be linked to human resource development, and is thus considered another essential factor in national development. In the Nigerian literature, there is no specific reference to cultural development; however, there are many references to the need to build "national unity" (along with economic self-reliance, one of the two "national ideals") and it could be assumed that there would be some cultural elements to such efforts. More specifically, Musa (1985) declares that "what is missing from national life is

... a personal-cum-public conscience ... an identifiable positive national trait that is characteristically Nigerian" (p. 118). He further states that the lack of a sense of national identity means that "there is not yet a desirable political culture to guide national development" (ibid., p. 125).

A considerable amount of attention is given to the need to strengthen national identity, and to the place of cultural development in this task, in the Jamaican literature. Jamaican governments have emphasized cultural development as a part of national awareness and have instituted policy regarding its importance in "total" education (Gordon, 1985, pp. 65-66). Nettleford (1978) believes that cultural identity should have the same priority as political independence and economic self-sufficiency in the decolonization processes of nations like Jamaica (p. xv), for "cultural development is but one aspect of the overall development imperative too frequently seen in terms purely of economic growth and political modernisation" (ibid., p. 83). It is seen as an integral part of the indigenization process that, it is hoped, will banish the sense of inferiority that seems to be a legacy of Jamaica's colonial past. Cultural development is thought best linked to overall national development through educational policy (ibid., p. 90).

"Nation-building" is a term often used synonymously with "national development". However, "education for nation-building" is frequently equated with citizenship education or political education. As such, it is a subject of some concern in the literature. Okeem (1985) asserts that a growing recognition of adult education's potential contribution to nation-building is manifested in the fairly recent phenomenon of national adult education programs (p. 242). The Nigerian literacy campaign is obviously a part of this phenomenon, and it has

already been noted that literacy is considered to be strongly linked to "personal, community, and societal development and growth" (Omolewa, 1981, p. 87). However, Musa's (1985) belief that basic literacy skills are meaningful only insofar as they lead to the development of political literacy skills leads him to propose a political education program which would heighten Nigerians' "national consciousness" and make them aware of their political rights and responsibilities (pp. 120-122).

Similar programs of political or citizenship education appear to have been part of Jamaican adult education for some time. In particular, university adult education has had a "self-imposed guideline of 'education for nationhood'" (Gordon, 1981, p. 52). The University of the West Indies Extra-Mural Department's citizenship education programs changed as the political agenda of Jamaica changed. For instance, at the time of independence, there were programs to educate the public about the new constitution and the nature and implications of the independent government; after the 1972 change of government, there was a public education program on democratic rights and responsibilities (Gordon, 1985, pp. 161-162). Interestingly, Gordon notes that, during the period 1962-1972, "mutual suspicion existed between the government and the University, which latter was perceived as a purveyor of alien and subversive ideas" (ibid., p. 163). This would seem, then, to be one area in which the general harmony of governmental and educational aims is not always present. Gordon notes that the department's public education program has been suspended, but feels that its "partisan" positions had eroded its influence in any case (ibid., p. 180).† However, he does claim that

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†Incidentally, Gordon points out that the West African universities did not develop this same kind of "education for nationhood" commitment. He believes this may have been because "British university education" was "grafted" onto the indigenous culture in West Africa (ibid., p. 167).

there is evidence that

> the ease and success with which Caribbean territories have
> progressively assumed greater consititutional responsibility with
> increasing administrative and political responsibility was facilitated by
> the Department's nation-building programs. (ibid., p. 167)

According to Shorey (1983), in order to enable people to participate fully
in national life, education should not only help them to understand "the structure
and functioning of the society in which they live" but should also encourage
them to think critically about their society (p. 59). He admits that, in making
this assertion, he is "assuming that the society is one which really wants
thinking citizens rather than robots" (ibid., p. 59). This may not be a
particularly safe assumption, even though similar statements of ideal aims can be
found throughout the literature examined, and perhaps even in government
policies on education. It is interesting to consider that, despite the almost .
universal agreement of the authors examined here that adult educational
objectives should match national ones, and the apparent attempt to link
practically all aspects of adult education programs to some of these overall goals,
there is also a ubiquitous complaint of "low priority" given to adult education. It
seems that adult educators put a great deal of energy into attempting to
convince their national governments that their objectives are in harmony, but to
little avail.

What are the implications of this situation? One inescapable possibility is
that, while adult educators may *believe* that their ultimate goals are the same,
their interpretation of development may, in fact, be quite different from their
governments'. Another is that, even if the goals are identical, the governments
may not hold adult education to be as important to their realization as the adult

educators claim it to be. These are possibilities which could not possibly be verified in this study. However, they have added another aspect which will affect the rest of this interpretation.

3. Adult Education and Inequality

Given the preceding discussion, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the reduction of inequality would be a major concern of the adult education literature only to the extent that it was a specific national objective. Overall, little explicit or direct attention is paid to the issue of inequality in the literature; as a corollary, the role adult education might play in reducing inequality is also seldom addressed directly. However, a concern for the fate of those who are "disadvantaged" in a variety of ways is evident in much of what is written, and this could certainly be taken as an implication of concern about inequality *per se*. It is certainly possible that these educators, in their desire to emphasize the consistency of educational and national goals, are not willing to jeopardize the potential goodwill of the government by "overstepping" their bounds. To state goals that go beyond (at least in terms of explicitness) those of the government could be interpreted as implicit criticism--and in general it appears that adult educators do not want to be in conflict with theiir governments if they can avoid it.

Whether or not they would like to deal with objectives more explicitly focussed on the reduction of inequality, the adult educators whose work is examined here seem willing to work within the national guidelines set. They may believe that some or all of the objectives that *are* stated may encompass the goal of reduction of inequality--in other words, that a "trickle down" principle

may be in operation. Adult education may then be working towards the reduction of inequality through playing its part in the achievement of these other objectives. This kind of belief is suggested in most of the literature.

What kinds of national aims do seem to hold the promise of reduced inequality? This is in some ways a difficult question to answer, since aims are often couched in very vague terms--and since governments could easily argue that *all* their aims are directed towards forming a society in which conditions conducive to equality will be created. However, with regards to this particular question, it is probably wise to disregard those objectives--such as "economic growth and self-sufficiency"--which do not at least imply the development of a will towards equality. (It has certainly been seen that economic growth in itself has not only failed to reduce inequality but also in some cases has increased it).

With this in mind, there appear to be two relevant national objectives among those stated in Nigeria's Second National Development Plan of 1981. These are "the bulding of ... a just and egalitarian society" and "a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens" (Okeem, 1985, p. 240). However, the military government that took over in 1984 announced its priorities as the maintenance of unity and stability, better management of resources and the economy, self-sufficiency in food and raw materials, and the eradication of corruption (Omolewa, 1984, pp. 55-56). These latter would seem to imply that the two objectives listed above, while perhaps worthy and important in the long run, would definitely have to wait until other things had been accomplished.

Nigerian adult education literature certainly acknowledges the "imbalances" in Nigerian society, but is more than cautious when making claims in this regard. Little direct reference is made to the stratification of society, to possible

reasons for this stratification, or to possible means of addressing it. Nevertheless, the presence of inequality is attested to by the literature's overwhelming orientation to the problems of providing educational opportunities to those members of society who have previously "missed out" on them. The task then is to make these provisions attractive to the government, through the promise that they will eventually maximize these individuals' contributions to national development.

The recognition of poverty and inequality as major problems to be specifically addressed seems to have been more pronounced in Jamaica. Nettleford (1978) refers to "the declared thrust of the popularly elected government since 1972 towards 'social justice, equality and participatory democracy'" (p. 124) and to "the positive thrust since the early seventies towards a Jamaica that will serve the common man and have the country's institutions of growth reflect this thrust" (ibid., p. 48). He himself is explicit enough about the socioeconomic and cultural inequities in Jamaica and their roots. Of course, he is writing during the period of power (1972-80) of the government to which he refers, a government avowedly "social democratic" in principle, and this may make a difference. However, Gordon (1985) remarks that "all recent Jamaican governments to varying extents have sought to accelerate" the process of changing the inequitable structure of Jamaican society (p. 20), implying that they have all had "social democratic aspirations", at least to some degree (ibid., p. 27). It is therefore not surprising that there is considerably more frequent and more specific reference to socieconomic injustice and inequity and societal stratification in the Jamaican literature as a whole than there is in the Nigerian literature. Nevertheless, the major theme of adult education primarily as a means to increasing educational

opportunities occurs in the literature of both countries.

As has been noted, the increase of educational opportunities "for all" has been declared a prerequisite for national progress--especially to the extent that such opportunities help people acquire the skills considered necessary to increase their "productive" capacities and to develop them into "useful" and responsible citizens. There is almost as much emphasis on the benefits of education to the individuals themselves. It is stressed that adult education can bring to disadvantaged adults the chances they missed out on earlier--chances to improve their status and quality of life. In general, the literature seems to suggest that this is the main way in which adult education could eventually help to reduce inequality.

Thus, Omolewa (1981) claims that "adult education is the only tool that can truly guarantee equality of educational opportunities for all Nigerians" (p. 2); it "helps to salvage the waste in the formal school system" (ibid., p. 7). In so doing, adult education

> transcends the business of obtaining bread and butter. It involves the enrichment of one's knowledge. It can also be used for the liberation of the recipients from the bondage of political and social inequalities. (ibid., p. 66)

This is usually considered likely to be achieved through the adult learners' "bettering" of themselves through their increased knowledge and skills. As Omolewa (1984) points out, it is the economic advantages of literacy education that are generally stressed (p. 60). However, Akinde and Omolewa (1982) note that it is wise to be cautious in promising these advantages (p. 84).

Given the Nigerian literature's preoccupation with literacy, it is not surprising that much of the discussion of equality of opportunity and its potential

benefits of improved living standards focusses on the provision of literacy education for all. Illiteracy is, of course, viewed as the primary impediment to greater opportunities in the economic and social world.

In Jamaica as well, there is an emphasis on adult education's role in "increasing the opportunities, scope, and educational provisions for the underprivileged 'sufferers'" (Gordon, 1985, p. 187). Shorey (1983) notes that the aim of continuing education is to enhance individuals' quality of life as much as it is to gain their contributions to societal development (p. 59). Ellis (1985) claims that increased educational opportunities, along with other "social changes", have brought about improved socioeconomic status for many people in the Caribbean (p. 77). The provision of literacy is again given a major place in this effort, as JAMAL's program is said to be "clearly designed to provide the disadvantaged with basic skills deemed crucial to economic (and social) self-advancement" (Nettleford, 1978, p. 55). With these basic skills in place, adults may not only be more "employable", but also more able to effect changes and to deal with those changes occurring in society (Gordon, 1985, p. 110). These are expected to be the generally positive changes that should be forthcoming from Jamaica's improved (and modernized) condition and from the altered social structures being sought.

The literature of both nations mentions regional and rural/urban imbalances in educational opportunity as particularly pertinent. Women's education is also a matter of concern. However, the latter receives a fairly perfunctory treatment in the Nigerian literature; Omolewa (1981) merely mentions that "the situation of the education of women is particularly disturbing" (p. 39), and the rest of the literature examined here says little, if anything, more.

The interest in women's education in Jamaica has already been mentioned. Gordon (1985) gives as one of the most important reasons for this interest the fact that "especially in low-income groups, many households are headed by women, who therefore have the sole responsibility for their economic maintenance" (p. 134). Although Ellis (1984) notes that literacy rates are higher among women than among men in the Caribbean, she stresses that this should not provide an excuse to "overlook women's special educational needs", as existent women's programs are rarely "planned with any long-term objectives in mind, nor do they address the fundamental issues of women's relationships to the larger developmental and social issues" (p. 48). According to Antrobus (1980), the aforementioned emphasis on women's reproductive role "has placed 'women's programmes' within the social welfare sector" and excluded them from the economic sector (p. 60).

There is no discussion of possible reasons for the inequalities and disparities in educational opportunities in Nigeria. One could conjecture that many of today's inequities stem from disparities in regional wealth along with a system of local elites that developed in the colonial era; however, the writers whose work is examined here do not discuss these possibilities. On the other hand, considerable attention is given to this question in the Jamaican literature, evident in the recurring theme of education to help people understand socioeconomic structures. It is clear that race is considered an important element in the equation of socioeconomic and cultural inequality. Gordon (1985) comments:

> The structure of the early Jamaican society has largely determined the structure which exists now ... Basically, colour, class, and race have been synonymous, with whites at the top of the pyramid and reflecting European culture, the Chinese and 'light-skinned' ranking next, and the blacks on the bottom reflecting 'folk culture'. Attainment of universal adult suffrage in 1944 conferred political

power on the predominantly black population, but the legacies of colonialism persisted. (p. 20)

The process of indigenization of Jamaican culture is thus of great importance because, in Jamaica

> economic exploitation went hand in hand with cultural subjugation by way of deracination, psychological conditioning around to a superordinate-subordinate determinism in the European-African relationship, systematic cultural denigration and institutional colonization. (Nettleford, 1978, p. 2)

Thus, indigenous cultural development is needed to cause a "revaluing" of the African side of Jamaican culture, so that the attitude that sees only the manifestations of "European" culture as "legitimate" will be changed. Such a revaluing is "the requirement of the self-confidence that some 90% of the people of Jamaica must have in order to become the resourceful productive citizens they are required to be for effective national development" (ibid., p. 71). As has been seen, both formal and adult education are considered essential to this kind of cultural development. While

> the separation of cultural experience rooted in collective tradition. from the process of formal education is part of the alienation and schizophrenia that grip the nation in its search for identity[,] (ibid., p. 95)

the incorporation of indigenous cultural values and "sensibilities" into educational programs could contribute much to the alteration of attitudes and the benefits that may follow from this.

Except insofar as it is considered as a means for individuals to "better" themselves, adult education seems to be ascribed an indirect role in the reduction of inequality. It is considered to be a contributor to or facilitator of the "changes" that will hopefully bring about a more egalitarian society. The question

of change is thus closely linked to the question of adult education and inequality.

4. Adult Education and Structural Change

The literature as a whole frequently mentions "social change". This is certainly a term that can be taken to have a variety of meanings, and the meanings ascribed to it here are most often left implicit. However, it is fairly safe to claim that the greater percentage of the time the authors have in mind the kinds of changes that a society inevitably must undergo in the process of modernization or development. Sometimes this carries an implication of changes towards a more egalitarian society, but this is most often couched in terms of equalizing opportunities to share in the benefits of modernization--seldom in terms of redistribution of wealth or of a deliberate dismantling of the social, economic and political structures already in place. The question under consideration now is mainly concerned with the literature's treatment of social change in the latter sense. However, because this issue is not often addressed directly and explicitly, the possible implications of some references to the former will also be examined.

The Nigerian literature makes almost no direct reference to any potential for deliberate transformation of the structures governing where the benefits of development go, but several remarks in the Jamaican literature appear to fall into this category. Mair (1978) refers to the "Tanzanian philosophy" in which "the goal of the national good replaces the unrestrained right of the individual to operate within a free market system guided by the law of maximum profit", a principle she feels is most valid in Third World societies (p. 42). Gordon (1981, 1985) claims in more than one instance that "social and economic restructuring" is seen as a necessary component of "nation-building" in Jamaica. He offers

some concrete examples of government efforts in this direction--for instance, attempts to change "patterns of land ownership and use" (Gordon, 1985, p. 118) and to increase workers' share of control in their companies (ibid., p. 126). He also admits that these efforts have so far met with minimal success.

In 1978, Nettleford was certain a "revolution" was underway in Jamaica,

> a continuing dynamic revolt against external political and economic domination, against internal exploitation reinforced by the ascriptions of class/colour differentiation, against the dehumanizing evils of poverty and joblessness, disease and ignorance and in defiance of all that would conspire to perpetuate among us a state of dependency and self-repudiation--in short a process of decolonisation of self and society by the conscious demolition of old images and the deliberate explosion of colonial myths about power, status and the production process. (p. 181)

And in 1985, Gordon was calling for a "mass education movement", which would be "the central agent for revolutionary transformation of the society" (p. 186).

Nevertheless, concern with structural change is generally more indirectly stated in the cases of both Nigeria and Jamaica. For instance, such a concern may be found by implication in the many Nigerian references to the need for "political will" and to the issue of "ideology". The belief that a lack of political will or government commitment is the major obstacle to a successful literacy campaign (and other adult education programs) has already been described. In addition, Omolewa (1981, 1984) and Oduaran (1984) both cite examples of other Third World nations where literacy and adult education movements *have* been relatively successful--in particular Tanzania, Cuba and Ethiopia. It is claimed that these nations are characterized by political commitment; it could as easily be claimed that they are characterized by "socialist" forms of government. Omolewa (1981) suggests that an answer to the question "what contributions has adult education to make to the much needed drive for economic and political

emancipation of all the peoples of the country?" (p. 88) may be held in Nyerere of Tanzania's model of adult education. Adult education's goals should be to liberate "from all social, political and economic constraints", both in terms of internal inequities and of external domination (ibid., p. 88).

The lack of government commitment is deemed the major factor in Nigeria's inability to implement such a model. The idea of political will also seems to be linked to that of ideology. Omolewa (1984) concludes that a mass literacy program "in a nation devoid of ideological orientation and lacking in a popularist approach to the elimination of illiteracy has a limited chance of success" (p. 56). The several references to Nigeria's lack of a "national ideology" seem to indicate the equation of ideology with only "socialist" or "radical" ideology.† For instance, Omolewa avers that "Nigeria requires at least a revolutionary party or a revolutionary leadership" in order to mount truly successful adult education programs (ibid., p. 60). Both Omolewa and Oduaran (1984) cite Kano State as a potential model. Kano, governed by a "revolutionary and socialist inclined" party, has had literacy and other adult education programs that are much more successful than those anywhere else in the nation.

These observations are hardly a clarion call for profound structural changes, however. Indeed, for the most part they are quite vague or tentatively expressed. Furthermore, there are warnings against going too far with attempts to motivate people. While Akinde and Omolewa (1982) state that there is a "minimum social change" which must occur in order for mass education to succeed, they also caution that promises of benefits must be made with care: "It

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†It certainly seems clear that the Nigerian government does operate out of a distinct ideology--a capitalist one--but an examination of the uses of this term is beyond the scope of this study.

is necessary to avoid assigning as rewards for literacy, features which depend on other political and social reforms such as the restructuring of society and the redistribution of income" (p. 85). They (and the other Nigerian authors) do not specifically state whether or not such changes *should* occur--and certainly give no indication that they see adult education as a potentially causative factor in bringing them about. Their concern is rather to ensure that such benefits as can accrue from literacy and adult education will not be jeopardized by disillusionment (ibid., p. 84).

A concern with structural change could also be inferred from discussions of adult education for "critical thinking", "democratization" and "consciousness-raising". For instance, Musa (1985) focusses on the need for education about political rights and responsibilities and seems to base his suggested program on a kind of Freirian approach. The purpose is to encourage a broader and deeper democratic participation (beyond simply voting in elections) than is currently encountered. Omolewa (1981) also cites the potential of liberal education to foster critical thinking, but points out that Nigerians' standard of living must be greatly improved before this type of education can become widespread. Before then, the "basic needs" of the masses are too compelling to allow for resources to go towards realizing what he obviously considers a less necessary goal (pp. 81-82).

Although they too emphasize the priority of basic education, the Jamaicans seem more inclined to view this kind of "consciousness-raising" as a part of such basic education. Thus, Shorey (1983) argues that teaching people "to look critically at their society, to ask searching questions about it and to get some real understanding of its strengths and weaknesses" is an essential part of adult

education (p. 59). The stress on "education for nationhood" seems to fit into this niche as well. While political independence was the main focus for much of this education until recently, now

> political independence has been achieved and much effort is being directed towards ensuring financial and economic self-determination while restructuring society. Ideas relating to decolonization, liberation, and socialism are likely to be the main concern of the Caribbean peoples and governments during the eighties and well into the future. (Gordon, 1985, p. 168)

The new "rallying cry" may be "education for liberation", and this will be largely concerned with creating a "new consciousness among the people" of their specific identity and situation (Gordon, 1981, p. 56).

Structural change can refer as well to alterations in international relationships. As already seen, "decolonization" is a catchword in the Jamaican literature. The term is not particularly prominent in the Nigerian literature. However, the stress on the need for economic self-reliance--the second national ideal, after national unity, according to Akinde and Omolewa (1982)--seems indicative of the same general attitude, though it certainly does not imply the range of processes covered by "decolonization" as it is used in the Jamaican literature. The several citations of Nyerere also emphasize the economic aspects of independence, as do the exhortations regarding adult education's potential role in the government's agricultural programs for self-sufficiency (Anyanwu, 1978; Fasokun, 1980).

The Jamaican writer Mair (1978) also focusses on self-reliance, but goes a little further than her Nigerian counterparts. She insists that developing countries must come to terms with the "dependency syndrome" and suggests that they

> unhinge themselves from existing international economic arrangements at the same time that they construct their own on a foundation of

collective self-reliance. (p. 40)

With respect to this process, education "in its widest meaning" is crucial, since it must be used to reinforce the new national goals as it has in the past reinforced "the colonial establishment" (ibid., p. 40). This means that the

> educational infrastructure--like the developmental models it supports--has to be re-shaped once its essentially political character and purpose are identified and fully understood. (ibid., p. 41)

The need for "a relevant educational structure rooted in a relevant philosophy of development" (ibid., p. 42) is echoed in Nettleford's (1978) discussion of cultural development. Just as the cultural education of "Jamaicans of African descent" to a sense of pride in their heritage must be the "top priority in the 'raising of consciousness'" (p. 204), so alternatives to development models that assume Western values (such as the overriding importance of industrialization) must also be found (ibid., p. 218). Insofar as a "socialist solution" is deemed appropriate, it too "must be expected to accommodate variables as are dictated by the realities of Caribbean history and experience (ibid., pp. 194-195).

The development of an indigenous science and technology is viewed as part of cultural development. Both Urevbu (1985) in Nigeria and Gordon (1985) in Jamaica argue the importance of training for indigenous personnel, as "only by the application of science and technology can the quality of life of the poorer nations be improved" (Gordon, 1985, p. 172). However, again Nettleford (1978) warns that "the 'universal' goods of scientific and technological development must be made to work within the framework of political and cultural experience specific to this or that people" (p. 217). Objective realities, such as limited natural resources and the exploitation of transnational companies, must be

creatively dealt with; these are "the imperatives of change in the groping Third World and these imperatives have a way of transcending ideological boundaries" (ibid., p. 218). Routes that are unique to each nation, neither strictly capitalist nor strictly socialist, may be most appropriate.

Although adult education is described as "the main agency for social change" in many developing countries (Gordon, 1985, p. 3) and as "a weapon for effecting change" (Omolewa, 1981, p. 12), it is clearly most often the case that its role is perceived more in terms of a response to change. For instance, because of the rapid changes Jamaica has been undergoing,

> adult citizens need to be taught how to initiate, direct, and control change and also how to prepare themselves to accept and adjust to change and its consequences. (Gordon, 1985, p. 110)

In Nigeria, functional literacy education is pursued in order "to enable [the people] to participate effectively in the evolving version of the Nigerian democratic process" (Musa, 1985, p. 117) and to help them to take their place in the nation's changing economic situation. And adult education programs "must also help women to understand and cope with their changing role, status and relationships in terms of the rapid changes taking place" (Ellis, 1984, p. 47).

Whether the "social change" under discussion refers simply to the changes of modernization and industrialization or whether it means structural change for equality or freedom from external domination, it is clear that adult education is not seen as an instigating factor. It may serve to "raise the consciousness" of people, but, at least as far as these writings are concerned, it certainly has no subversive function. On the contrary, adult education seems above all to be expected to respond to the shifts in political, social and economic winds.

D. THE LITERATURE AND DEVELOPMENT/EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Although there are many differences in emphasis and degree, the major role of adult education in these two societies, insofar as it can be determined from an interpretation of their adult education literature, seems to be very similar. Whether it is discussed in terms of literacy or skills training, human resource development, or citizenship education, adult education's main role seems to lie in its capacity to respond to national objectives, whatever these may be. At least the literature indicates an apparent overriding need to try to persuade the respective governments that adult education does have this capacity. Even where the objective is some kind of "social change", it is usually only whatever kind of change the government is promoting. Yet there are some puzzling points in this analysis.

There is certainly evidence in both situations that adult educational and national objectives may not always be harmonious. First, even when governments express a belief in the importance of adult education, their professed interest does not seem to be matched by support--either moral or material. Indeed, many obstacles are placed in the way of adult education programs. Second, while voicing only a fairly toned-down criticism of this lack of support, the literature still manages to imply a level of concern (particularly with inequality) beyond that to which the government might want adult education to adhere. The possibility that adult educators may tend to interpret "development" differently or to value certain aspects of it, such as equality or autonomy, more highly than do their governments seems somewhat more likely than that a true paradox exists: that the objectives of both parties are entirely consistent, despite the fact

that their words and actions seem to do anything but convey a sense of harmony.

Of course, it is impossible to ascertain which is the true situation (or whether both are true to some degree) through an interpretation of the literature. Perhaps it is impossible even for the principal players in these situations. What can be said is that, even if these educators do desire structural change to overcome inequalities, they still seem to feel they must focus on the "practical" issues such as literacy education, for the role of adult education in such structural change is perceived to be at most an indirect one.

Expectations regarding the development perspectives that might be represented in the literature do not seem to have been entirely borne out, perhaps partly because of this need to be cautious in discussing objectives. Certainly there is an interest in "modernization", and in adult education's potential for developing the "human capital" necessary to this process--though there is also evidence of dissatisfaction with this perspective and of a somewhat broader view. On the other hand, there is little critique of education's reproductive functions, and what there is is usually directed at the formal system, not at adult education. Adult education is still perceived as a means to overcoming the reproduction of inequalities reinforced by formal education--particularly through its opening up of educational opportunities for those who might otherwise "miss out" on them. There is no evident concern that in doing this adult education may itself be "legitimating" governments which have no intentions of radically altering the society's structure of rewards.

The dependency and interdependence/non-Marxist structuralist perspectives can be seen in the concern for "self-reliance" and "self-sufficiency", but this is

not prominent. The Jamaican literature written during the period of the 1972-80 government is the most openly critical of dependency and neo-colonial relations; otherwise, the nation's desire for caution in this regard seems to be reflected in the adult education literature. In terms of internal structural change, the degree of consideration is more variable. The Nigerian literature does not deal with the question directly at all and, while the Jamaican literature occasionally directly expresses the need for such change, it too more often addresses it in a fairly indirect manner and is generally vague with regards to the nature of the desired changes.

On the whole, although the modernization/incrementalist perspective is most evident, none of the frameworks that have been devised in which to view the development process and education's role in this process seem to be clearly represented in this literature. This could certainly be interpreted as an indication that these frameworks are inadequate to the specific contexts in question. Each nation appears to have its own agenda, one that does not necessarily fit well with development theory as it has thus far been articulated. This would seem to be in accord with the observations made in Chapter 1 regarding the relatively recent recognition of the need to cede to indigenous conceptions of development.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study was undertaken at least partially from a sense of frustration with the state of the literature in an area of great personal interest. All too frequently, it seemed that the relationship between adult education and development was a question about which "much is written; little is said". It was hoped that, as a result of the research for the thesis, some more definitive connections might be established among what appeared to be fairly scattered (and often confusing) elements.

Thus, two purposes were set for the study. The first was to attempt to bring more clarity to the existing discussion of adult education and development. This was to be done on a conceptual/theoretical level, under the assumption that clarity at this level would also potentially shed more light on empirical/practical issues. The second purpose was to add some depth of understanding to the topic, through an examination of some of the implications of conceptualizations of the development/adult education relationship in a specific context.

A. SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The first purpose was undertaken most specifically in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 comprised a survey of development theory, while Chapter 3 examined the ways in which the development/adult education relationship has been viewed. The points at which the latter seemed to be connected to or reflective of the former were also noted.

In the course of the overview of changes in development theory since the 1940s, it was noted that the major change involved a shift from conceiving of development purely in terms of economic growth to recognizing that, alongside

such growth, development should also involve the reduction of inequality or poverty. Even the modernization perspective was modified and broadened to include aspects such as "redistribution"; dependency and interdependence approaches tended to have equality as their major development goal. In addition to this shift, the history of development thought also revealed an increasing criticism of the tendency to "Eurocentrism", as well as a questioning of the very concept of development itself--and certainly of its easy applicability to all Third World nations, regardless of specific context. However, it was also noted that, despite all the changes that *have* occurred, many elements steadfastly resist change, and continue to influence development strategies throughout the political stratum--one such element being the "classical growth paradigm".

The particular meaning attached to "development" was found to be one of the major factors influencing perceptions of the development/adult education relationship as discussed in Chapter 3. The other major factor considered was the function in society ascribed to education in general and to adult education in particular. In general, this function is viewed from either a consensus (or equilibrium) or a conflict perspective, with education considered to be either a reproductive or a transformative force. In terms of education's role in development (considered as a form of social change), approaches were generally found to fall into two categories, which could be labelled the human capital or incrementalist and the structuralist perspectives. The former sees education as an institution which can be reformed so that it can work within the existing structures of society to bring about the benefits of development, and is most associated with the development goal of economic growth. The latter, on the other hand, maintains that political, economic and social structures must

themselves change before educational reforms can have any hope of working towards the major development goal of increased equality.

While there appears to be no definite correlation between the different views on the development/adult education relationship and development theories, these views can still be seen to fit more or less into one or another of the development perspectives. Thus, the incrementalist perspective is consistent with modernization theories, while the structuralist perspective is in accord with dependency or interdependence approaches that focus on the goal of increased equality. Even the questioning of development as a value is echoed in the writing of some educators, who are equally uncertain of the value of education, such as it is. Yet, as is the case with development theory, even with a shift in prominence from incrementalist to structuralist positions, the influence of the former has decidedly not disappeared.

The fourth chapter explicated the interpretive approach that would be used in order to take a closer look at the implications of this discussion in a specific context--West African and Caribbean English-speaking nations, with a focus on Nigeria and Jamaica as exemplary of the two regions of the context. A hermeneutic approach was chosen, largely because it emphasizes a "fusion of horizons" between interpreter and text: the interpreter does not claim any first-hand experience with regards to the regions examined. In a hermeneutic approach, the interpreter's own expectations or preunderstandings are the starting-point for the interpretation and continue to form an integral part of it. The interpretation is thus carried out in a way that requires an openness to what the text is "saying", while at the same time also valuing the interpreter's own point of view.

The interpretation was described in Chapter 5. In order to determine what functions were perceived for adult education in society and what conception of the development/adult education relationship was most influential, four main questions were posed to the adult education texts under consideration. These questions were concerned with the significance of literacy education, the degree of consistency between adult educational and national goals and objectives, the emphasis on reducing inequality, and the emphasis on a need for structural change.

With all four questions, there were differences as well as similarities between the two sub-contexts. Literacy education was given considerable attention and was considered of great importance to the development process in both, but this was most pronounced in the Nigerian literature--not surprisingly, given that country's much higher illiteracy rate. Whether or not a harmony of objectives truly existed, the literature certainly attempted to persuade the reader that it did, despite (or perhaps because of) a lack of government support, which again appeared to be a greater problem in Nigeria. Overall, there was less emphasis on inequality than had been expected, but more in the Jamaican literature than in the Nigerian. The same situation was found with regards to the question of structural change. For both of these last two questions, the subject was more often indirectly than directly addressed.

These findings seemed to indicate that the need to demonstrate consistency with national objectives tends to dictate the role that adult education will take, in both its reproductive or potentially transformative functions. If adult education has any autonomy, there is little indication of it here. As for development perspectives represented, elements of most were found. However, none of the

frameworks that have been delineated appears to answer adequately the concerns either of the region or of the two countries.

B. LIMITATIONS

Other than those set out in the first chapter, the limitations of this study fall mainly into two categories. The first group has to do with the scope of the analysis of the development and development/education thought in Chapters 2 and 3. In both cases, the amount of literature is vast; the analysis here has been necessarily brief and selective. Some lines of inquiry have not been tapped at all--for instance, the feminist critique of development, an increasingly influential approach to the issue which could easily be the basis of another entire thesis.

The second set of limitations are those connected with the nature and scope of the interpretation. It has already been noted that all interpretations are incomplete and that they are also subjective in the sense that they encompass the interpreter's vision as well as that of the text and can only be validated through their persuasiveness rather than through demonstrability. This interpretation is also limited in terms of the literature examined. Only that literature which was readily available was considered, in part because this was thought to be more reflective of the usual situation that would be presented to someone looking for insight into a foreign "horizon". This is in keeping with a hermeneutic approach.

The limitations of interpretation also mean that it may be very difficult, or even impossible, to make any claims to "certainty". For one thing, it is not known how much influence the political situation has on what is written (although it can be assumed that there is *some* influence): whether what is left

unsaid is more important than what is said, or whether what is said is deliberately misleading. However, the point of hermeneutic interpretation is not to recreate an author's intention, but to create a new understanding, and the very consideration of such possibilities can certainly contribute to such a new understanding.

C. DISCUSSION OF IMPLICATIONS

Certainly, the expectations that began the interpretation were transformed in some ways. For instance, the expectation of similarity between the African and Caribbean sub-contexts was only partially confirmed; there were definitely at least as many differences as there were similarities. There are many possible explanations for this. One compelling set of reasons is that, in Jamaica, both the implications of the colonial experience and the path taken since independence were strongly influenced by the development of an entirely new culture there, by the legacy of slavery, and by the separation of the black population from the African context. The differing geo-political realities of the two regions are likely another important factor.

The case of the legacy of slavery provides a good example of how one of these factors can result in a different emphasis in the adult education literature of the two countries. The slave trade, as part of the overall "drain" of African resources, certainly has had a long-term impact on African development. The removal by the metropolitan powers of substantial quantities of both natural and human resources was one large factor in the underdevelopment of Africa (Rodney, 1972). In the West Indies, of course, the impact of slavery was quite different in nature. Kincaid (1988) speaks of "an appropriate obsession with slavery" (p.

43). Yet she does not perceive a widespread recognition by West Indians of the "relationship between their obsession with slavery and emancipation" and the current situation in which they still in many ways allow themselves to be exploited (ibid., p. 55). The Jamaican literature's emphasis on cultural development is probably largely a result of this historical development.

Whatever the combinations of factors that lie at the root of these various differences, what they point to is the unarguable importance of contextuality. Specifically, approaches to development and to the development/adult education relationship should be informed by the realities of the particular context in question. However, despite the seemingly inadequate (or at least incomplete) applicability of the existing approaches to the contexts examined here, these approaches still appear to have a great deal of influence.

This is especially so with regards to the concept of "modernization", which still carries an implication of "Westernization". In much of the literature examined in this study, the acceptance of Western-based development and educational goals is quite apparent. The Nigerian authors base much of their critique on Western notions that may be quite irrelevant to the Nigerian situation. For instance, they decry the lack of "a sense of national identity", but do not consider the point that the nation-state and the kind of "nationalism" they presumably seek are both European constructs (Giddens, 1987). While nation-states have been created in Africa, a sense of national identity does not necessarily follow.

Some kind of cohesive identity might be more likely to emerge from the tapping of at least some of the traditional elements in society. Omolewa (1981) devotes a chapter to traditional education in Nigeria. Here, he expresses a desire

not to romanticize the past: traditional education systems were too closed and limited to offer much to the reality of modern Nigeria (pp. 23-28). Omolewa is probably right to be wary of glorifying the traditions of the past. Certainly, the traditional systems could not fully accommodate the realities of present-day Nigeria. Nevertheless, it does not seem wise to go too far in the other direction. The educational goals espoused by the Nigerian writers do not seem to take traditional education into consideration at all. Rather, they focus on another concept that at this point has much more meaning to Western industrialized societies--literacy. In this regard, Allen and Anzalone (1981) point out that

> The uncritical commitment to literacy as a prerequisite for all other learning ... represents a basic misunderstanding of both cognition and culture ... an education for basic needs would have to treat the role of literacy in the learning process not as a prerequisite ordained by external sanction but as a possible educational goal that becomes meaningful for people at such time that it relates to the social frameworks of satisfaction for their needs. (p. 223)

In Jamaican literature too, a denigration of traditional ways of thinking, as opposed to Western ways, is sometimes apparent. Gordon (1985) states that "the cultivation and development of a scientific attitude on the part of our people will do much to reduce the incidence of careless thinking and mindless mediocrity which, sad to say, afflicts most members of the Jamaican population" (p. 174). Of course, the "scientific attitude" is a Western value, and therefore more conducive to the achievement of that other Western value, modernity. Because modernity is a Western condition that grew out of the context of Western traditions, African (or other indigenous) traditions may be viewed as inimical to its realization.

The possibility of a reconciliation between traditional culture and values and the desire for the benefits of modernization should be explored, especially by

indigenous researchers. This would probably entail a rethinking of the applicability of "modernity" (as it is presently understood) to the contexts in question. The questions of possible roles for adult education in such a reconciliation and of relevant adult educational goals should also form a part of this exploration.

The relationship of adult education to political structures should also be more specifically examined. It has been assumed here that the political situation has some influence on what is written, but what is the exact nature of that influence? It is recognized that such research is potentially both a "dangerous" and a difficult activity. It would probably require a much closer proximity to the context in question than exists in the present study, since it is likely that most of the adult education literature that gets published is more reflective of "establishment" viewpoints than not. If this is the case, the picture of adult education that emerges from the literature may be only a "partial" one.

In that they continue to exert considerable influence on indigenous Third World thought about development and adult education (and, indeed, have become a part of this thought), the existing models for conceptualizing the development/adult education relationship should not be "abandoned". It seems likely that more indigenous conceptualizations will continue to incorporate various aspects of these models. They should not, however, go unquestioned in any examination of this relationship. When approaching the question of adult education and development, it is important not to have too fixed an idea of what *should* be the case. Flexibility, an awareness of the assumptions operating, and a sensitivity to the specific context are essential.

In summary, there appears to be a tension between the fairly recent trend to indigenous approaches to development and the persistence of Western

development values. The nature and effects of this tension, particularly as these relate to adult education, need to be specified and better understood.

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