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CONSEJO INTERNACIONAL
PARA LA EDUCACION DE ADULTOS

***Educación de Adultos y Empresas Comunitarias en el Desarrollo.
Adult Education and Community Enterprises in Development.***

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, JULIO DE 1978



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INTERAMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL MEETING ON
ADULT EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES IN DEVELOPMENT

San José, Costa Rica

July 3-6, 1978

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NOTE

This volume includes all the works presented at the international technical meeting on Adult Education and Community Enterprises in Development. An effort has been made to have this document ready for distribution at the meeting; a revised and edited version will be available at a later date.

A separate document with the conclusions will be presented at the end of the meeting.

INTRODUCTION

The Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the International Council for Adult Education, and the Organization of American States together organized the international technical meeting on Adult Education and Community Enterprises in Development, in San José, Costa Rica, from July third to sixth, 1978.

The presentations made at the inaugural session, especially the one by Dr. José Emilio Araujo, Director General of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, establish the general framework for the meeting and explain the basic manner in which adult education concepts are related to associative enterprises and self-management community enterprises.

The meeting was organized into four panel discussions. The first deals with the new forms and models of social organization for production, on the conceptual level as well as that of the Latin American experience with associative enterprises.

The second panel deals with adult education as related to work, emphasizing the concrete experiences obtained in several countries. This is not to say that the works contained therein do not possess solid conceptual foundations, or are related to the organization models for production.

The third panel summarizes the experiences obtained by the Organization of American States in the field of adult education, through the Regional Educational Development Program.

The last panel discussion centers on the interesting subject of responsibilities in education. This type of action simultaneously involves governmental and non-public institutions. The manner in which this modality is resolved proves crucial, for the activity's global orientation, beneficiary groups, and relationship between adult education and work.

The conclusions obtained will be presented at the end of the meeting, and should carry a more complete approach to the problems as well as lead to the formulation of more efficient policies for their solution.

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I. INAUGURAL SESSION

**Inaugural presentation by the Secretary-General of the International Council
for Adult Education - Dr. J. Roby Kidd, July 3, 1978**

I know that I speak for all members and friends of the International Council for Adult Education when I tell you how privileged we feel to be meeting in the beautiful country of Costa Rica. We have many reasons to be gratified but I will mention only one, that at an early stage in the development of ICAE, when it was small and virtually unknown, the first regional office for the ICAE was established in San Jose through the generosity and at the headquarters of "Instituto Centroamericano de Extension de la Cultura" (ICECU). This is an example of the hospitality of Costa Rica to adult education.

Our satisfaction is trebled because our colleagues here are from all of the Latin America countries. We have travelled far; from Japan, from Iran and India, from Zambia and Kenya, from Europe and North America, from the South Pacific, to share with you and learn about ideas, concepts and social development that emanate from this region.

Ten days ago I was addressing a university group in Caracas and was asked what seemed to me to be significant contributions of Latin America to the world. How can you choose a few from so many? I almost mentioned football, but I remembered that you did not invent that universal game, you just play it superbly well. What I did refer to were two matters of great consequence.

First, your contributions from Latin America to the theory and practice of development - particularly of workers, urban and rural, and of education as central strategy in accomplishing economic and social and cultural and political goals.

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The second was your remarkable record in race relations; with very few exceptions your people have not been blighted by the terrible affliction of race hate and in this you have been an example to the world.

Here in San Jose we are collaborating directly with our friend in the Interamerican Institute for Agrarian Sciences, IICA, and the Organization of American States in plans for an extraordinary conference and later the ICAE will hold its own annual board meeting. For us it is an honour to be associated with IICA and the OAS. On the face of it, there are considerable differences between and among these organizations - in size, resources and importance, and in organizational form, but we do share deeply our goals - our purpose of working with men and women everywhere, particularly the disadvantaged, the workers in our industries and the millions of rural workers, for whom adult education can become an instrument of growth and freedom. Adult Education is not a privilege reserved for a few; it is a life-given and life-renewing force for all.

To our Honorary President, Julius Nyerere, development has one main objective, to make men free, capable and self-reliant. We believe that certain structures and methods help in the process of development and have been learning from the officers and scientists of IICA, some of the most practical and productive ways of ensuring economic and social progress for everyone. We have come to San Jose because we have much to learn from our partners in OAS and IICA; we will return to our homes in countries all over the world with new insights, heightened experience and renewed conviction.

For two or three years the officers of the ICAE have been noting with the keenest approval and admiration the growing concern for, and activity by the OAS, in culture and adult education. We see this as an indicator that great developments are coming in adult education throughout the region because the OAS has so often been the instrument through which growth has come to the region. The relations of ICAE with OAS have progressed so well that we anticipate that a formal agreement between them will be signed here in San Jose.

While the resources of the ICAE are very modest, we have been delighted to share with you, and build a communication system so that your ideas reach out throughout the world.

In my country it is customary often to drink a toast to absent friends. While representatives of fifty countries are here today, we have colleagues in scores of other countries who regret their absence, who wish to send greetings to our hosts and who will study assiduously the papers and recommendations that will arise from this conference. It will be a pleasure to send them copies of the papers because of the high calibre of these written contributions. The excellent quality of these papers, mainly prepared by our Latin American colleagues, is convincing evidence of the statement I made earlier, about the contribution by Latin Americans to the art and science of development.

In a public library I first encountered a book on Simon Bolivar when I was ten years old and he became a boyhood hero. I first saw the waters of the Caribbean in 1952 and, on that initial visit, heard the name of José Martí - teacher,

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was
 the cold air hitting my face. It felt like a blanket of
 silence. The trees were bare, their branches reaching out like
 skeletal fingers against a grey, overcast sky. I took a deep
 breath, the air tasting like salt and earth. The ground was
 covered in a thin layer of snow, the kind that melts
 quickly but leaves a soft crunch underfoot. I walked
 slowly, my boots sinking slightly into the snow. The
 world seemed so quiet, so still. I could hear the
 faint rustle of leaves in the distance, the occasional
 chirp of a bird. It was a strange feeling, a mix of
 solitude and peace. I had never felt like this before.

The snow was soft underfoot, and the air was so
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learner, patriot, Martyr. For me, Marti has summed up many of the truths about education by and for people. On the walls of a school in Havana I found the following words and I offer them for your consideration at this conference.

"To educate is to offer to every man all the results of human labor that has preceded him. Education consists, in part, of turning a man into the summary of the living world, from the beginning of time until the day that he is born. It makes it possible for every man to achieve at the level of his own era, so that he may surpass and not fall behind the best achievements of his time."

Friends and colleagues from all parts of the world, we are here to celebrate the achievements of our Latin America hosts, to learn from them and share with them.

Best wishes for our work together!

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Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the International Council for Adult Education in San Jose -- the capital of this country -- gives us an opportunity to meet once again with people from all over the world who are dedicated to the education of people who, for different reasons, were partially or totally deprived of educational opportunities according to their specific needs and circumstances. It also provides the opportunity to recognize the efforts of the people and government of Costa Rica, dedicated to popular education in its different forms and levels of achievement. This recognition is made on behalf of the General Secretary of OAS and specially on behalf of the Interamerican Council for Education, Science and Culture, which has been contributing through its Regional Program for Educational Development with many and significant projects in the field of Adult Education.

Education designed to meet the needs of the adult population is part of the social commitment to fulfill the right of all people to have access to the benefits of their own education according to their specific conditions of age, character and expectations, in an effort to remove the socio-economic obstacles which impede its achievement; the necessary relationship between an education that responds to the national reality of students and their autonomous social development; and the opportunity for a man - in full exercise of his fundamental rights - to share in the benefits of culture, science and technology.

In short, adult education allows man to have a wider consciousness of himself in order to face his natural and social environment. Consequently, to be effective, adult education requires the correction of unfavorable situations for physiological or socio-economic reasons, which is only possible through a coherent policy for all the concerned sectors. Special emphasis must be given to the cultural dimension of adult education, which implies the transmission, the re-creation and the generation of man's expression of the cultural values of the whole society. Furthermore, adult education programs for different levels are an explicit example of the general concept of permanent education,

that is to say, a function which does not end at childhood or adolescence, but continues through all the stages of human life.

In the field of adult education, in spite of the diversity of existing situations in Latin America, there is an increasing interest in developing renewed and innovative programs. One of the most critical issues at the national level is the need for human resources. The number of professionals working on the planning, organization and evaluation of adult education programs is certainly limited. On the other hand - and in general terms - there is a lack of specialists available to satisfy the growing needs and demands of this complex educational service. Many countries are still using programs and teaching methods derived from the formal system, which leads to a conventional primary school for adults. Adult education, theoretically, has the potential to incorporate in its system elements of educational technology, in spite of its limited achievements. There is a wide road for Inter-American cooperation in accomplishing the task, - which is already begun - of exchanging strategies, policies, systems, procedures and materials, as well as in disseminating research and the results of pilot or experimental projects.

There is an imbalance between the explosion of scientific and technological knowledge and the type of conventional education, which is inadequate for man as a thinking being in an increasingly technical society.

There is also an imbalance between the phenomenon of the growth in man's expectations for democratic participation, information, social mobility and aspirations for more and better education in all the social sectors, and the reality, where even the expansion of the educational systems as channels of social mobility retain the elitist character of a privileged situation.

It is also necessary to acknowledge the growing awareness that the simple expansion of formal educational systems, without far-reaching transformations, is insufficient to solve the problems of adult education in pedagogical matters, as well as in financing and training for work.

An adjustment has not been reached between the growing requirements of the various social sectors' demand for education in order to participate in the transforming function of society's processes of change and the actual reality of the educational systems which are not always prepared to assume that role.

In spite of the efforts made to eliminate illiteracy, there are about 40 million Latin Americans in that category. Consequently, there is a need to rethink the problem and to propose an adequate education for minority groups, while respecting the cultural personality of those groups.

In connection with this, there is a need to provide content, programs and specialities in adult education which are relevant to the reality, the potential development and the specific context characterizing the country or region of the participants. This relates education to the general strategy of national development. This will be particularly useful in considering the special situation of countries with recent colonial backgrounds.

In this context, the initial dimension of educational opportunities can take the form of preferential support for actions which reaffirm and enrich the educational services designed for the peasant population, giving priority to the indigenous population and to the marginal urban zones.

Actions should also be considered to bring back those students who have dropped out of school, for the purpose of giving them basic education or work-oriented education, or up-dated education in the case of people already in labor service.

The incorporation of educational procedures to bring about more personalized forms of instruction and education is becoming more widely accepted.

Simultaneously, there is more emphasis on the education of parents in order to support the learning of their children, as well as their own learning. On the other hand, the use of the vocational and professional skills of community members is considered an important educational resource and their participation in the process is encouraged.

It is also considered important that recovery actions be undertaken in countries with high levels of illiteracy. These may take the form of Non Formal Education in marginal sectors, in rural and urban habitats as components of integrated adult education (health, hygiene, nutrition, work, and programs of "open education" using mass media); extension of educational centers with formal and non-formal modalities in grassroot organizations (factories, enterprises, sport clubs, rural cooperatives, religious groups, labor unions).

Actions of re-organization and innovation oriented to countries with middle or moderate rates of illiteracy include the structure of information centers, the dissemination of educational information for all levels, ways of meeting the needs of the economically active population while at the same time encouraging the formation and actualization of educational agents for adult education through formal and non-formal modalities.

For all of this it is necessary to develop programs of non-formal and "semisystematic" adult education through mass media (radio, film, TV, newspapers, journals, etc.), as well as to develop the formation of human resources through integrated adult education with emphasis on the planning, programming and execution of non-formal educational actions.

I am sure that this meeting of leaders in the field of adult education, apart from continuing the unfinished effort designed to clarify and disseminate the concepts which inspire this wide field of educational activities, and while most concerned with the problems of contemporary society, will be a new high point for those who are interested in a better knowledge of the education required by our countries, who are dedicating their capacities to research, innovations and professional education to help those who must work at giving the adult people of the world the instruments and educational resources they lack.

In this way the OAS's interest has been to permanently support and participate in projects directed towards educational development in general, and of adult education in particular, through the Regional Program of Educational Development. Precisely, our participation in this Meeting is a sign of our commitment.

Here, in America, you will have the opportunity to meet with colleagues and friends. You will have the opportunity to teach us about your experiences and to learn about what we have been doing in facing the needs of wide sectors of our population, who fight for better living conditions in the context of more just and humane societies.

Thank you.

**Presentation by the Executive Secretary for Education, Science and Culture of the OAS,
Dr. Eduardo González Reyes, July 3, 1978**

ADULT EDUCATION, COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Dr. José Emilio G. Araujo

San José, Costa Rica
Julio, 1978

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ADULT EDUCATION, COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Dr. José Emilio G. Araujo

Ladies and Gentlemen:

First of all, I would like to extend a warm, fraternal welcome to our home. From now on, we hope you will come to feel that it is your home as well.

On behalf of my colleagues, and myself, I would like to express our very real pleasure at your visit to this beautiful, peaceful and hard-working country, where invaluable experiences in social progress and equitable distribution can be observed, along with an active economic and productive development process which benefits the large majority of the national population.

I am pleased to inaugurate this International Meeting on Adult Education and Community Enterprises in Development. I take this opportunity to share with you some of the observations which we have been evolving on this subject during recent years, at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Although we do not claim to represent a unanimous Latin American opinion on the matter, I feel that we do reflect some of the more important advances in the field to date.

First, why do we link the concepts of adult education with those of associative enterprises, or self-management "campesino" community enterprises?

For years, our countries have been seeking useful models of institutional organization which would make large-scale education of the adult working population possible. Much of this effort has been directed toward defining the nature of this type of education, and at differentiating it from simple training, freeing it from the more formal -and in this case inapplicable- schooling patterns. We have erred greatly in the course of our work; frequently we have been misguided by the concepts and mechanisms established in highly urbanized industrial societies where many of us have received our formal education and professional socialization. We have worked hard at raising literacy levels, but inevitably this has been a marginal endeavour, when we fail to consider that it must be an integral part of the total person, his environment, his particular working conditions and needs, or the productive structure in which he lives. We have also worked in technical training, which has had, at most, a mechanistic orientation toward the labor market, where it is distorted once again by our urban perspectives. Our countries have used models for agricultural extension and technical training for the rural worker, which have been borrowed from very different agricultural and historical situations, and which have only had positive results -from a productive point of view- when we have been able to generate similar distributive processes. Even here, though, classical agricultural extension and training programs have failed when they are confronted with reductions in the economic scale of an agrarian enterprise, or when they must face up to large-scale and flexible

expansion in response to different production conditions, new production systems and other important variables.

With only a few important exceptions, we have not been very successful in transferring unconventional education models based on modern means of communication to the rural environment. Along with the technical and cost problems, which we are gradually becoming aware of, in Latin America very few of these experiences have produced much in the way of continuity in enriched materials, of significant duration, and of relevance to the problems and needs of the rural population at all levels. In other words, there have been a number of programs of this type which have produced interesting results for certain groups in the rural population, but only for more or less limited periods of time. We know of few programs which could serve simultaneously as permanent sources of relevant educational experiences for broad sectors of the population.

Let us note in passing, that the progressive stratification of the urban labor markets has permitted the active development of this type of work, with the urban as well as the migrant populations.

In this long process of institutional learning, by trial and error, we have discovered a number of constant factors, which are undoubtedly similar to the findings of all those working in this field in developing countries. However, none of these factors really contain any findings of value which could not have been predicted from the beginning.

One constant, to begin with, is the fact that no educational program for the adult worker population can be successful in a permanent, systematic manner, unless this group perceives, simply and directly the relationship between the educational program their everyday work, and the solution to the problems which they wake up to every morning and take to bed each night. Programs of a generic nature, approached from an urban perspective, have been unsuccessful in practically every case we know of in the rural milieu.

The only cases where we have observed full acceptance of such programs, even with these characteristics, are those in which the 'campesino' clearly perceives definite opportunities for a brighter future in the city.

A second constant, of profound implication but difficult to solve, is the all too frequent fact that those who design and carry out education programs for the rural adult population often have little understanding of the people involved. Rarely do they come to know and understand the nature of rural labor and the conditions these people face. Even less do they understand 'campesino' problems in their diverse manifestations, or the complex and incomplete perception of these very problems by the rural worker himself, or the 'campesino' family.

A third factor, perhaps not so constant as the others, is the relative isolation in which rural adult education programs are conceived and developed, considering the situation in some of the national institutions. With very few exceptions, there is no formal or functional relationship between these

programs and those which provide technical or support services for production purposes, or even with other educational programs in a given country. Thus, a program aimed at raising literacy levels, for instance, may find upon entering a community that the local school or agricultural extension agency already has a similar program underway. Conversely, a formal educational institution, which has decided to initiate a systematic adult education program in a given community, may well find that other institutions already have similar programs underway, but, lacking the same sense of immediacy towards problems and needs, they are being conducted in a more or less mechanical manner and without due evaluation or adjustment to local conditions.

Finally, we restate as a constant, the difficulty encountered by our institutions in consistently developing relevant curricular content for the education of the rural worker population. We are frequently left with the feeling that adult education programs are assimilated into the rest of the country's education programs. As a result, they lose perspective of the target population and of the methodological implications of organizing education activities specifically for a rural worker population. Perhaps even more important is the marked tendency to concentrate on abstract educational objectives, which are progressively further removed from the productive and social circumstances and the working and living conditions of the rural population.

We believe that this last point contains the origin or basis of the constants mentioned previously: this distancing from reality results in a misguided perception of many adult education programs in which they are considered to be a little use to the potential beneficiary population. This also makes it difficult for programs to attract and hold technical personnel possessing sufficient familiarity with living and working conditions in the field. It also complicates institutional linkages, creating difficulties for the continuous production of relevant material for the support of work processes and the solution of problems which, in the final analysis, are insufficiently understood.

This synthesis of what we have learned in recent years leads us, in the case of Latin America, to link adult education with productive enterprises in rural settings and, within these, the community enterprise system. We are convinced that the community endeavor, as we shall see immediately, provides an adequate response to many of the rural development problems in Latin America, from both a productive and a social organization perspective.

Hence, they provide a solid starting point for programs which, by definition, should be based on concrete experiences and pre-tested, valid solutions to recognized problems.

From a rural and agricultural development point of view, the economic organization of agriculture in family units -with rare exceptions- has not generated enough surplus to modify the land tenure structures at a sectoral level. For this reason, the majority of the rural population functioning as family production units, has been unable to maintain acceptable standards of living. Because of these same problems of scale, developing basic services and production support activities proves too costly to be extended to a significant

of the potential beneficiaries.

Because of this type of production unit and of the minifundia situation in general -an extreme form of the same problem- the property model of large land holdings still persists in many countries. These take the form of the so-called latifundia or large estates of low productivity in social and economic terms, and as commercial agricultural enterprises. In most cases the latter are devoted to export production, combining high productivity with low efficiency in terms of the entire society. Both the large estate with low productivity and the commercial agricultural enterprise depend strongly on the existing abundance of available labor, due to the low level of efficiency and output of the family unit and minifundia alternatives.

Based on IICA's experiences, we have come to the conclusion that the possibility of significantly improving living and working conditions for the majority of the rural population is directly related to the transformation of the family of minifundia unit. From this perspective, the rural development process will only become a reality when the majority of the population is actively involved in productive activities within modern entrepreneurial units, where they obtain remuneration for their work on a scale which truly reflects its value.

In our opinion, and paraphrasing some of the works produced at IICA, the modern enterprise is characterized by the following:

- a. The adequate utilization and combination of the different factors of production;
- b. the size of the enterprise, considered in terms of economies of scale;
- c. the existence of economic and social objectives related to the enterprise's productive activity;
- d. the adoption of technological levels in accordance with these objectives;
- e. the access to, and utilization of, necessary inputs within each technological level;
- f. the existence and rational utilization of control systems for productive activities, as a means to help ensure that the objectives be met;
- g. the rational utilization of surplus, in an effort to maintain acceptable reinvestment levels.

Although these elements can help to characterize the concept of 'modernization', from the enterprise point of view, we still believe it necessary to consider some of them from the viewpoint of the society -the production system, if you will- in which the enterprise functions.

Thus, for example, 'rationality' in the use and combination of the different productive factors is established by taking into account their relative abundance or scarcity, at regional and sectoral as well as enterprise levels. Social and economic objectives cannot be established in a vacuum; rather, they must form part of broad national policies on issues such as income, prices and the balance of payments.

From this perspective, a 'modern' enterprise would combine and contain the elements listed, as much from the enterprise viewpoint as from the perspective of society as a whole.

Under these conditions, the percentage of 'modern' enterprises identified with traditional agriculture is greatly reduced, as is the number of 'modern' enterprises among commercial agricultural establishments, when the external elements listed are lacking. Excluded from the concept then, are subsistence agricultural units and those whose very size makes necessary the sale of a high percentage of the available family manpower, such as the banana enterprise which progressively substitutes capital inputs for labor (under these circumstances which contradict the real availability of factors) or the extensive livestock enterprise, at a time when land has become scarce and there is increasing pressure to use it intensively.

Analysis of the Latin American experience with associative enterprises shows that (within the conditions and limitations mentioned previously):

- a. Once organized, these enterprises can become 'modern' agrarian enterprises;
- b. organizations of these enterprises can be an efficient form of overcoming entrepreneurial limitations for the traditional farmer;
- c. finally, it is possible to obtain similar or higher efficiency and productivity levels than those obtained in commercial agriculture, in its present form of organization.

This experience indicates that associative enterprises can and should be considered a practical option for improving the entrepreneurial structure of sectoral production units. As is true for other models, especially commercial agriculture, the associative enterprise is in a position to contribute to the growth of sectoral production under economically and technically efficient conditions.

In contrast to other production units, associative enterprises are able to reach these levels of production, productivity, and efficiency, with concomitant improvements in the volume and distribution of income to workers in the sector, and thereby in standard of living.

The community enterprise, as a modern business, contains three additional elements:

In economic terms, these enterprises attempt to rationalize the use of productive resources (land, capital and labor) through their optimal utilization.

Such rationality requires both technically efficient production units and an economically efficient system over all.

In social terms, the label of 'community' refers to the organization of a human group which shares specific objectives and goals, and is fundamentally cohesive and unified in its actions. Community thus implies the existence of: a) shared perceptions; b) shared values; c) accepted norms; d) coordinated and integrated actions for achieving these stated objectives.

From a political point of view, the term 'campesinos' characterizes the members of these enterprises: this term is applied to all members of an economically active population, with low economic and political status who do not own or control production factors. Thus 'campesinos' are the marginated population in rural areas, regardless of their classification in specific sociological terms as: minifarmers, squatters, tenants and share-croppers, hired hands, colonists wages laborers, or beneficiaries of agrarian reform.

This type of enterprise may be found in Latin America, as a result of agrarian reform processes in Mexico, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Panama, and Honduras. They also appear in Costa Rica to a lesser extent and, more recently, in Jamaica and Guyana.

The main characteristics of this kind of enterprises are described as follows: As defined, the members are 'campesinos'; rural workers whose quantity and quality of resources prevents them from attaining a satisfactory standard of living. Membership is maintained through contribution, in the form of work, to the functioning of the enterprise. Surplus goods are distributed according to the measure of work contributed and, in the majority of cases in Latin America, the members may not freely dispose of the enterprise's assets. The task of managing production units is assigned to a governing body organized by the members themselves. Lastly the main objective of 'campesino' community enterprises are not only to raise productivity and production levels, but also, more importantly, to foster the development of each member's potential, and that of his family.

Within this framework, we believe that the organization of associative enterprises, as the driving force behind rural development, can be used as a basis for adult education programs in rural areas. Furthermore, by seeking solutions to recognized problems of this segment of the population, and by making the economic activity of the adult 'campesino' viable, this approach will lead to a permanent alleviation of the persisting constant factors we describe above.

We have also concluded that the task of community enterprise organization is, in all its stages, an essentially educative experience. It would be impossible to organize a group of 'campesinos' or to ensure their organizational success, in terms of organization, production, and management, without an adequate educational strategy. In this sense, just as it is impossible to develop a successful adult education program without solving basic rural development problems, it is impossible to plan a strategy for the latter without basic educational support activities.

We are not attempting to generalize too dramatically from this presentation. Neither can we be sure that this is the only solution to rural development and adult education problems. We present these ideas to you as one viable alternative for solving some of the problems which have been great concern to us all for many years. We present them, also, as a Latin American contribution to the world-wide debate on these subjects, in the belief that their analysis from a perspective different from ours will continue to enrich our observations and experiences.

I conclude my presentation by reiterating our warmest welcome to Costa Rica and to our House of American Agriculture. Our best wishes for the success of this meeting.

Thank you.

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II. PANEL No. 1

NEW FORMS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

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NEW MODELS FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF

PRODUCTION: AN ALTERNATIVE

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NEW MODELS FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF
PRODUCTION: AN ALTERNATIVE

Ernesto Liboreiro

The objective of this work is to present a new type of social organization for production which tends to overcome the limitations encountered by present forms regarding economic growth, distribution of income, and direct worker participation in the decision-making process.

It consists of three sections. The first will establish what exactly is meant by social organization for production. The second identifies the social organization forms which predominated in Latin America and the Caribbean until the end of the 1950's, as well as their consequences. The last section will deal with the social organization forms evolved in the '60's and 70's, presenting a brief statement of their problems and accomplishments, to date. Finally, some reorientations are suggested for potentializing the alternatives evolved in the past two decades.

1. The concept of social organization for production

In this section we shall establish what is meant by social organization for production, since the concept may have many and diverse connotations of which some are inappropriate to the purposes of this paper.

The concept includes five elements:

- a) The relationship between the means of production and the various agents who intervene in production. By 'means of production' we refer to all the organic and inorganic materials which contribute to production, except for human resources. The category includes: lands, bodies of water, forests, irrigation channels, machinery, equipment and tools, warehouses, transport vehicles, etc. The productive agents are those persons who, through different functions, also contribute to production. Some of the relationships of the means with the agents of production that take place are: owners, tenants, salaried workers, small farmers,
- b) The level of development of the productive forces. The productive forces include the means of production and the labor force. Each historical epoch and place has a corresponding level of development (in quantity and quality) of its productive forces. This level is manifested in: the techniques used, the numbers of economically active persons in the population, amounts of natural resources, etc. These forces are not static; they change over time, evolving generally, toward a greater complexity, quantity and quality.
- c) The priority assigned to the various kinds of goods and services in a country, including agricultural products. This priority can be formulated and concretized in a given country, or simply be the result of actions by several social groups within the existing social context.
- d) The level of participation in decisions on what, how, and where to produce, where and when to sell, etc.

- e) The manner in which the benefits of production are distributed, By this we refer to the personal and functional distribution of income, among different groups, and based on the function of each in the production process.

There are several links between the five concepts expressed. For example, there is little doubt that the relationship between the means of production and the various agents determines the possibilities for participation in the decisions of these and in the distribution of income. In a similar way, the income distribution in a capitalist economy determines to a large extent, the effective demand and the priorities established for production, by those who control the production units.

This broad concept of social organization for production permits an analysis of the manner in which different forms of social organization foster a development process which involves economic growth, an equitable distribution of income, and an effective participation in decisions by the entire population. The concept also allows us to study social organization models at the micro and macro-economic levels. To limit ourselves to an analysis of organization models in productive units would hinder us from studying the problems encountered on other levels of social organization, and would fall into the conceptual belief that a definition of the most appropriate productive units is enough to stimulate development. On the other hand, to limit ourselves to a macro-economic vision would keep us from realizing the crucial importance of the forms of organization used in the productive units, which actually comprise the basic nuclei of social organization for production.

2. Forms of social organization for production which predominate in Central and South America and the Caribbean, and their consequences

The brief outline to be presented here and in the following section will utilize material from the first section.

In a large majority of countries of the region, a considerable dichotomy appears: on the one hand we have a minority of persons controlling the means of production, and on the other, a majority with control barely over their own labor, scarce means of production. In the agricultural sector these last groups are: rural workers without lands (RWWL) and small farmers (SF).

Logically, participation by the RWWL in decisions regarding production, marketing, financing, etc, is practically nonexistent, since they control only their own labor. Furthermore, at not being able to complement this with any means of production, they loose even this meagre control, being forced to sell it to the highest bidder.

A similar situation occurs for small farmers. Although they are not an homogeneous group, the quantities and qualities of their productive resources generally suffice only for satisfaction of the farmer's needs and those of his family, and production is carried out primarily with family labor. These limited resources impose limits for access to credit, technology, inputs, and product markets. The possibilities for participation are thus considerably

narrow, being tied to their immediate sphere of action.

Restrictions in terms of means of production and participation in decisions influence, to a great extent, the income levels and standard of living of these strata in the rural population. The concentration of income corresponds to the concentration of the means of production.

This income distribution has an important impact on the type of goods and services produced, since different income groups have different consumption patterns. Even though relatively large segments of the rural and urban population do not have the means to satisfy their basic needs, including those of nutrition and education, a major part of world production is directed at satisfying the needs of social groups with high or middle income levels, needs which cannot be considered of a vital nature. Thus unequal distribution of income creates differentiated markets that originate a disparity between the production pattern that is socially necessary and the existing ones.

This situation, taken together with the slow growth in world demand for food (in part, influenced by this fact) contribute to generate the relatively slow growth of the agrarian sectors in underdeveloped capitalist economies, in comparison with other sectors of these economies whose social usefulness are doubtful, considering their degree of development.

The scarce stimuli introduced to the agrarian sector has affected the levels of incorporation of new techniques and inputs, as well as of investment in the sector. The development of the productive forces has been stunted, to a great extent, by the distribution of the means of production.

Unfortunately, there is little adequate information available on the distribution of the different means of production in the rural sector. However more is known about the distribution of one of these, which is land. This knowledge is important not only because of the fundamental importance of its role from an economic, political, and social point of view, but also because there seems to be a close correlation between ownership of land resources and of the other means of production.

An analysis of the information obtained in recent censuses reveals that those countries with models for social organization as defined previously, possess, in Central and South America and the Caribbean, two basic types of land distribution: polarized and atomized.

The majority of countries are included in the first type. A large percentage of the total production units controls a small percentage of the total land surface available for agriculture. Simultaneously, a small number of production units which represents only a small portion of the total, controls a high percentage of the land available for agricultural purposes.

Differences are encountered within the countries with a polarized land distribution. The polarization is more evident in some countries, where 50% of the production units control less than 5 hectares, while production units with over 500 hectares, control over 50% of the land surface. In other countries, one must take into account units of more than 5 hectares and less than 500, in order to speak of more than 50% of the production units and 50% of the land surface involved.

Haiti is the most important case of an atomized distribution. 96% of the production units possessed less than 5 hectares each in 1971, and included 77.4% of the total lands. Although there is some degree of concentration, the polarization is far less extreme than in the cases of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Uruguay, etc., included in the preceding category.

In spite of these differences, the slow growth of agricultural production as a whole (there are agrarian subsectors where growth has been fast), unequal income distribution, the consequent low income and standard of living conditions, and the lack of participation have generated a series of conflicts which have induced changes in the social organization of production in the majority of the countries.

3. Forms of social organization of production developed in the 60's and 70's

The low rate of increase in export values, the high costs of agricultural imports (in other cases) increase in food prices, pressure of the population on the land in rural areas, (which has caused invasions of farms in some countries), the profitability of expanding industrial markets, the exodus toward urban areas and the consequent dangers for the dominant groups, etc., have led these groups to consider the convenience of adopting changes in the social organization for production. Development needs of capitalism in the entire economy have demanded certain changes to solve some of these conflicts.

Within this context, the creation of diverse associative models has been visualized as a more efficient manner of increasing physical production, carrying out conservation practices for saving natural resources, increasing the level of permanent and transitory employment of human resources, diminishing the pressure of RWL and SF on the land, facilitating the supply of services, from a technical and economical point of view., etc.

In other countries, such as Cuba and Chile, reorganization of the agricultural production process did not occur as a means of accelerating the capitalistic development of the sector, or solving its conflicts in order to permit capitalistic development in the economy as a whole. The attempt was to increase production, but at the same time to improve, in drastic measure, the distribution of income and participation, through a massive distribution of the means of production. New organization models for production units also evolved in these countries, and association also evolved as a fundamentally important element for the new units.

A third case is that of Peru, where the distribution of the means of production was strongly emphasized within the agricultural sector, for the purposes of increasing production, improving income distribution, and raising the levels of participation by rural workers and small farmers in the decision-making process. At this time the government proclaimed a search for different organization models; rejecting the capitalist model and the creation and strengthening of a state sector as the backbone of the agricultural sector.

Whether for the ends of production efficiency, improvement in income distribution, or increasing the participation of the poorer strata of the rural population, the fact is that in many countries of Central and South America and Caribbean, associative forms of production have begun (1) to operate with varying degrees of importance. Some of these countries were mentioned previously (Chile, Peru, Mexico, and Cuba); others have also begun experiments with these forms, i.e., Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala and Paraguay.

It is quite difficult to generalize on the basic characteristics of associative production enterprises, due to the great diversity among the models applied. Nonetheless, the following features can be identified as primarily important:

- a) They are comprised predominantly of rural workers without lands and/or small farmers;
- b) The distribution of economic surplus generated by the enterprise has been carried out, basically, in proportion to the work contributed by each member;
- c) The land and other means of production are worked, predominantly, in community efforts. This means that plowing, planting, and harvesting are effected without identification of individual parcels. This does not exclude situations where individual parcels are worked in some areas, next to those which operate collectively;
- d) Their members have achieved considerably higher levels of participation than those achieved before collectivization.

They have been particularly effective in increasing the income levels of enterprise members, giving them greater job stability, improving their standard of living, improving income distribution within the enterprises, and increasing the participation of rural workers without lands in the production process. Less important impacts have been made in terms of physical productivity, class solidarity, raising the levels of economic activity and employment in the zones in which they have operated, and increasing the participation of women in decisions. Of the objectives stated perhaps, the one accomplished to the greatest degree is that of equitable income distribution within the enterprises.

Considering the results obtained, the lack of an adequate framework for their operation, the lack of sufficient guiding experiences, and the error of the past, associative enterprises can be favorably evaluated and considered to be a necessity for any on-going rural development strategy. However it may be said, as a mathematical condition does, that these are necessary condition but not a sufficient one.

(1) To simplify the analysis, we have identified the period of relatively important evolution of these forms as the 60's and 70's. We cannot, however, fail to mention the importance of models developed in Mexico several decades ago.

Associative enterprises for production are a basic element in the rural development of the region. This model may allow processes which include significant increases in production, equitable income distribution, and high levels of effective participation. Other organization models for productive units allow fulfillment of one or two of these objectives but not all three at once. Capitalist development by the Prussian route (large production units) leads to high efficiency levels but a highly unequal distribution of income, and almost nonexistent levels of participation. State production units lead to an equitable income distribution and high production growth rates, but they seem to be unable to achieve progressively increasing levels of participation by their workers. Self-management production enterprises, along with their inherent incentives for achieving high growth rates and constitutionally established equitability in income distribution, offer greater possibilities for increased participation in the decision-making process.

However, as past experience has demonstrated, a development process, in order to involve the three connotations described, requires changes in the social organization for production, beyond those effected in the production units.

In the first place, self-managing associative enterprises must control an important portion of the agricultural means of production. Although isolated experiences are of value, they cannot ensure a significant impact. It is difficult to establish, off-hand, what the proportion of resources should be; they should control sufficient resources to provide the agricultural sector with the principal dynamic for its actions, while the other models included in the system are relegated to secondary importance.

A second condition, frequently ignored, is that modifications must occur in the priorities assigned to the agricultural sector. At present, it is considered of secondary importance in terms of the accumulation of capital. If this is not modified it will prove extremely difficult to implement expansion processes in the sector, either through capitalist organizations (in large or family units), or through different socialistic models.

A third condition is that the model be defined in such a way that decisions regarding production are increasingly the responsibility of enterprise members, at the expense of a decreasing participation by State officials.

Of major importance, from various points of view, is the accomplishment of training programs which involve social as well as administrative and technical-productive aspects. Training is a crucial instrument participation. Without it, economic and social development proves impossible.

**MODERNIZATION OF THE TRADITIONAL FORMS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE OR
TRANSFORMATION OF THE AGRARIAN STRUCTURE.**

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**San José, Costa Rica
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MODERNIZATION OF THE TRADITIONAL FORMS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE OR
TRANSFORMATION OF THE AGRARIAN STRUCTURE.

Joao Bosco Pinto,

Traditional Forms of Mutual Assistance in Latin America

In several countries in Latin America, one can find among working peasants several forms of mutual assistance or communal work. In Central America, in the Andes and especially in the Caribbean region, there are a large variety of associative forms of work. In Haiti, for example, the most important of these are the Coumbit, the Colonne, the Squad, the Societé and the Sang. In the Dominican Republic, the Combite and the Sangue are often used. Another very important form of communal work, dating back to the Incas, is the Minga (or Min'ka, as it is called in Bolivia) in the Incario countries.

Several studies have been made in Haiti on these traditional forms of communal work. The IICA has sponsored several studies by anthropologists Laguerre and Murray. These studies describe in detail all the possible forms and uses of mutual assistance in the Haitian countryside and in the city, where they can also be found.

Nevertheless, the majority of these studies are of a descriptive nature and the analysis is based upon an anthropological-cultural approach; in my opinion, such analyses are insufficient to show how the traditional forms fit in the present production system in these countries, and even less can they show them in their historical perspective and in the framework of their possible use in a developmental process.

This paper, which is a synthesis of a larger one in preparation, endeavors to adopt a sociological and structural approach, which would facilitate the understanding, not so much of the appearance of such forms, but rather of their survival within a mode of production to which they appear as anachronistic.

Survival of the Traditional Forms of Communal Work

The traditional forms of communal work (Coumbit, Minga, Colonne, Squad, Mutirao and others) represent the relationships in the production processes previous to the capitalist mode of production. As there exists a certain structural correspondence between working and ownership relations, these traditional forms of social organization of work correspond to communal and not private forms of land tenure. Indeed, in the Incario, as well as in the primitive tribes populating the Caribbean islands, private property of land, that most important factor of production, was not known: the Caribbean islands had just come out of the stage of fruit-picking, and the production was limited to a few edibles. In the Incario the land was owned by the Inca and the communities were entitled to exploit it collectively.

The destruction of the primitive tribes during the first century following

the conquest of the Caribbean area brought about the substitution of the slave labor of African origin to indigenous manpower; but the degree of productive development of these tribes was barely higher than that of the American indigenous population which were not familiar either with the status of private property. When Haiti became independent, a large part of the land was distributed in small parcels to the former slaves: a similar phenomenon happened in most of the Caribbean area at the time of the abolition of slavery during the 19th century. Thus, throughout this region one can find in the traditional forms of social or communal organization of work, working relations corresponding communal, non-private ownership of the land.

But we are now in the 20th century. The capitalist system has expanded to a world level and the Caribbean countries, with the exception of Cuba, are a part of that system. How is it possible that these traditional forms survive in a system whose relations of ownership are defined by the status of private property and whose main working relations develop in the framework of the contract system?

From the very beginning, one should note that the traditional forms of mutual assistance in work are not equally disseminated in the social structure: indeed, they are characteristic of the group of small producers, which own or do not own land, and which we generally call the "campesinos". They do not pertain to the entrepreneur's group, nor to the large plantations which are typical of enclave economies (sugar cane and banana).

In other words, they survive along with a small mercantile production system which is characterized by a large amount of small production units, most of which are geared to local marketing. It is not by sheer coincidence that forms of small mercantile production prevail precisely in those countries which are to be found on the outskirts of the world capitalist system and which are being called by some the under-developed nations.

To be able to understand, therefore, this survival of pre-capitalist forms of work in the capitalist framework, it is necessary to analyze more closely the process of socio-economic formation of those Latin American countries which are situated, precisely, on the outskirts of the system: it is indispensable to study our process of general development, and within it, the process of development of Latin American agriculture. In this paper, we can only sketch an analysis which would require much more time than is available.

The Socio-economic Formation of Latin America

The conquest of Latin America in the 16th century plunges the region into the capitalist mode of production, precisely at a time when the latter finds itself at the initial the small mercantile production stage, that is to say, when both urban and rural production was carried out within small almost artisan-like units, producing for a specific market. Nevertheless, this stage of the system falls within the framework of the private property of the means of work and production, and when transferred to the Latin American countries, it is faced with forms of communal work relations corresponding to the indigenous type of production. One should add to this that the relations of property were still strongly influenced

by the feudal institutions, as Spain and Portugal, lesser developed countries, were at a stage of transition further removed from capitalism than other countries of the European continent. If we add to this some ingredients of the slave system, we will find a rather complex socio-economic formation, which is the product of multiple historical factors which still exist, with variations, in the majority of the countries of the Caribbean and of South America.

We have tried, in another article, to determine why we place the countries of the southern hemisphere and of the Caribbean on the outskirts of the system and why we try to analyze the type of relations existing between the center and the periphery. (cf. _____)

For working papers, we are interested in knowing the following: what made possible the survival of these traditional forms, of mutual assistance which seem so anachronistic in respect to the modern forms of working contracts? But before that, we should find out why there are still on the periphery forms of small mercantile production when these also correspond to the initial stages of the capitalist system, stages which have been abandoned long ago in the centre of the system in favor of industrial and even post-industrial stages.

It has always been asserted that when the capitalist mode of production prevails, it dominates systematically the pre-capitalist and non-equitalist relations in production.

Apparently the facts are showing this thesis to be wrong: in effect, in the majority of countries where small mercantile production prevails (quantitatively and territorially), not only the latter has not been dominated but, on the contrary, it seems to maintain itself. This cannot be explained by some outstanding resistance of the peasants to the fenestration of capital by rather by the special characteristics of the model of development which is characteristic of the periphery countries. In the above mentioned article, we made a more detailed analysis of the development models prevailing in the centre and in the periphery of the system and we shall only refer to it briefly, inviting those interested to the longer text.

It seems correct to observe the existence of two models or forms of development pertaining to the system:

- 1) in the central countries, industrial development reaches beyond its limits and penetrates into the countryside, as agrarian capitalism per se;
- 2) in the countries in the periphery of the system, development is strongly centered in the urban zones while the small mercantile production keeps predominating in rural production areas.

In the first model, private ownership of the land takes the form of large exploitation units, closely associated to large capital investments and advanced technology. Through the market the agricultural entrepreneur gets rent for the land which flows from the urban-industrial sector to the entrepreneurs sector, besides participating in the average profit rate. Working relations are of a

contractual nature, the capital is largely organic, class relations tend to polarize themselves between the entrepreneur and the agricultural worker. In this model non-capitalist forms of production or those which are characteristic of the initial stages of the system (i.e. family property or family farm) tend to be totally eliminated.

In the second model, private property of land is characterized by the polarity between latifundia and minifundia in which predominates, nevertheless, quantitatively speaking, the mass of working peasants. The latter does not have access to capital or to technology, he almost always produces at a high cost for an internal market. The very size of his exploitation prevents him from lowering the costs. This producer does not receive rents for the land, he is rarely capable to refund capital investments and, in general, does not participate in the average profit rate. All he can do is to recover his and his family's labor investment. But as this is his only way to survive, he is forced to produce, even if only to ensure his subsistence. Not only does this model permit that the land rental which should flow from the urban sector to the rural be intercepted but, furthermore, it makes sure that, through the market and price mechanism, there will be a constant transfer of profit from the urban sector to the rural sector. Indeed the small producer is no more than a nominal owner, a mere piecework laborer, a home worker. It is obvious that this model is centered on the development of the urban sector (and of the groups or classes which make it up: exporters of agricultural goods, commercial, financial and industrial sectors). In fact production and the surpluses of the rural sector finance the development of the urban sector. The prevailing working relations are, in this model, the input of individual work on the part of the producer and of his family, share-cropping relations and the survival of forms of communal organization of work, of the *Coumbit*, *Minga*, *Mutiras*, and other types.

Why does this second model apply especially to the countries at the periphery of the System? In the first place, because it facilitates the concentration of surpluses in the urban sector where are based those sectors of the bourgeoisie most directly linked to the central countries, and in the second place, because this model reproduces at the national level the relations of unequal exchange which characterize the system as a whole: the rural sector and particularly the majority sector - the peasants - constitute a national periphery, the centre being constituted of a commercial, financial and industrial urban sector. As the latter is connected with and dependent on the centre of the International System, the two reasons merge into one.

We now can speak of the traditional forms of communal work or mutual assistance and understand how its survival was possible, notwithstanding its apparent incompatibility with the capitalist system and especially with individual and private ownership of the land.

The peasant, this small owner of a kind and in fact home worker, has used all the traditional forms to survive and particularly associative work whenever he needs to gather enough manpower to avoid the irremediable loss of his productive function. Work is his only real belonging, the same being true for his family, his friends and relatives. In reality mutual assistance is a way to resist self-destruction, a form of class resistance through the use of free or cheaper labor,

in order to be able to survive as a producer.

Whenever he can depend upon an institutionalized form of credit (not the usurar credit of the intermediaries which is very efficient but fatally expensive) the peasant literally ceases to use the traditional forms of mutual assistance, contracting salaried manpower or simply using the communal forms in order to dispose of a larger amount of manpower when specific stages of the productive cycle make it necessary. (ie sowing, harvesting, when laborers receive their normal daily pay plus meals). In the same way mutual assistance also becomes limited in other non directly productive fields like the building of roads, of housing facilities, community centres, etc. This shows how these cooperative forms do not fit with the individual ownership of the land, since they originated in more social, although pre-capitalist, ownership relations.

Modernization of the traditional forms of associative work?

Modernization means that a certain type of productive forces or productive relations, which the system makes obsolete, are modified so as to adjust to a specific stage of the general development of that system. Now, we have seen that the traditional forms of associative work or mutual assistance are incompatible with the individual ownership of the means of production, since they correspond to collective ownership. In Latin American agriculture what predominates in matters of ownership is the individual land tenure. This form of ownership in fact has turned out to be a tragedy for the small producer. Fragmentation and atomization of the land has led to the fragmentation of production and also to the individualization of the producer. These fragmented property and production have weakened the social power of the majority group of the small producers, preventing their participation in the social administration and making easier their exploitation within the system. This explains why the survival of the traditional forms is marginal to the process of individualized production and why it has managed to survive only as a form of resistance and self-protection. As credit and technical assistance are made available to him, the peasant progressively abandons the last remnants of cooperation implicit in the forms of mutual assistance, as he starts contracting salaried manpower. Nevertheless, neither credit nor technical assistance are a guarantee that the increase in production will benefit the producers.

On the contrary, there is evidence that this availability of technology through credit brings the peasant to a greater degree of *endeldednen* as the mechanisms of the market in fact deprive him of his earnings, because of increased production.

Thus it seems illusory to seek modernization of these forms of work when the very structure of production remains unchanged. What is necessary is not modernization nor the transformation of the structure of agricultural production in the periphery countries. This transformation requires, as a necessary first step the change in the structure of use and ownership of the land. This is in fact what has been called the Agrarian Reform.

In Latin America the Agrarian Reform, but for rare exceptions, has not been conceived as a radical transformation of the structure of agricultural production

but as a simple distribution of land. Furthermore, in the majority of cases, the organization of new production units has maintained the system of small agricultural production units. In this respect it has been planned and implemented to maintain the small mercantile production system, which is the curse of the peasantry. As a consequence, it has contributed to the individualization of the producer, to his weakening as a class and to its exploitation by the sector of the national bourgeoisie centered in the cities. In many cases this has resulted in abandoning progressively the new parcels and in the reconstruction of the large exploitation units (concentration of the land) in the hands of the capitalist entrepreneurs.

The associative forms of production as a development strategy in the peasant sector

(*) Since about a decade a trend of transformation of the agrarian structure has been in process in Latin America, on the basis of a socialized organization of production. This form of production would result in the creation of large production units under the control of the producer themselves. These "peasant communal enterprises" represent a social organization of the productive process, self-managed and placed under the control of a specific social group; they are a part of larger self-management forms leading to a broader social concept which we will call "self-management".

The associative forms of production can be conceived as a development strategy of the peasantry, a direct break from small mercantile production, and the basis for common ownership and a fair distribution of surpluses and profits according to the work performed. In such a system the forms of mutual assistance or communal work would stop being a handicap, a remnant of previous systems, and become a full and integral part of a socialized process of production.

We have already defined what is meant by a peasant community undertaking, one which does not need to limit itself to production but which could cover all aspects of this productive process before, during and after. Self-managerial forms can be created in services, credit, technical assistance, marketing of the products, etc. Only thanks to a concrete and true participation of all workers in everything which has to do with production, change, distribution and consumption, as well as in all decisions relating to their socio-political life, is it possible to transform the structure of the Latin American agricultural production. The associative forms of production, the self-managerial forms of organization of the peasants are only steps or stages in a broader process: that of social self-management through which the marginalized classes take hold progressively of the control of social administration through concrete forms of organization in all fields.

(*) See Analisis científico de las Empresas Comunitarias Campesinas, Desarrollo Rural en las Americas, (4) 3, 1972, p 236-ss

The associative forms of production (or, if one prefers, the communal peasant undertakings) in the first place affect the fragmentation of land and production and the isolation of the individual producer-worker; through the socialization of work they introduce the existing progressive seed into the forms of mutual assistance. The socialization of property and labor also results in socializing the fruits of work. Furthermore the associative forms of production bring forth the socialization and redistribution of social power within the enterprise and democratize its administration.

When reaching adequate sizes and proportions the associative undertaking allows for resisting competition from other private enterprises, for a larger control over certain natural elements and for the incorporation of adequate technology. Because of the reasons mentioned above, the small producer is deprived of all these advantages.

In synthesis, the solution does not consist in modernizing the traditional forms of mutual assistance but in transforming the system of small mercantile production, so as to affect production as a whole and give the peasants the capacity to control, for their own benefit and in a progressive but efficient way, everything which has to do with the productive process, making him capable of resisting exploitation to which he was condemned by his very form of production.

Much has been said, specially in extension circles, about the individualism of the peasant. While it is true that this attitude or ideological characteristic can often be found among small producers along with other traits such as lack of discipline, opportunism, etc. this should not be a motive for scandal; we know that the concrete living conditions of people determine their thinking, attitudes and behaviour. The peasant, once his land becomes fragmented, his production atomized, himself an isolated producer, cannot be anything but an individualist. Nevertheless, the very survival of the forms of mutual assistance shows how lasting and alive his sense of solidarity and co-operation can be. Once peasants become aware of a historic class sense as well as of the permanent appropriation of the produce of their work by other sectors of society, they soon seek forms of self-management and of economic organization which make it possible for them to defend their interests with some chance of success and to surmount the individualistic attitudes which the fragmented and individualistic system of production has plunged them into.

It is important to point out that in many countries the first peasant communal enterprises are being promoted and organized by the peasant themselves, against the opinion of civil servants and without the recognition of Governments. It takes years for them to obtain the legal recognition and the laws which can ensure their development.

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**THE COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE AND OTHER TYPES OF PRODUCTION
COOPERATIVES IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

LEOPOLDO SANDOVAL

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THE COMMUNITY ENTERPRISE AND OTHER TYPES OF PRODUCTION

COOPERATIVES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

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I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present a general overview of the 'Campesino' Community Enterprise movement throughout the Central American Isthmus and to provide up-to-date information on the magnitude of this movement, in terms of the number of existing enterprises, the number of families involved, the land area covered and cultivated by the enterprises, production and volume of operations., etc. In addition, information is provided on the progress achieved and the problems encountered during the development of these enterprises over the ten years they have been in operation throughout this region. Information is also given about IICA and PRACA activities carried out in this field, and about some to be initiated soon.

The information provided in this paper has been obtained from a number of research studies, surveys, and other works conducted by several national and international agencies, but emphasis is being given to the work undertaken by the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, (IICA) and in the case of Honduras, by the National Agrarian Institute of that country, with its 'Campesino' Training program, PROCCARA. In addition, a number of opinions are offered by the author, based on his personal observations over the past ten years as Agrarian Reform Specialist at IICA and Director of the Agrarian Reform and Rural Development Training and Studies Program for the Central American Isthmus, PRACA.

Those wishing more in-depth information on the technical, juridical, administrative, organizational and instrumental aspects of the 'Campesino' Community Enterprise may find it in the book 'The Community Enterprise' edited by Dr. José Emilio G. Araujo, Director General of IICA. The book contains a set of excellent papers and an extensive bibliography on the subject. In the case of the Honduras enterprises, more information may be obtained from the detailed study carried out for the National Promotion Bank by the firm 'Inversiones y Estudios S. de R.L.; and from the PROCCARA report on the first 46 months of work.

II. Background

Given the characteristics of the economic, social and political structure of the Central American countries, Agrarian Reform (1) is absolutely essential for develop-

- (1) Agrarian reform, here, is conceived in terms of the Conceptual Framework for Agrarian Reform in Latin America, a joint declaration prepared by IICA and FAO on Rural Development and Agrarian Reform. The document was approved and accepted by the Eleventh Regional FAO Conference for Latin America, and the VI Inter-American Conference on Agriculture.

ment purposes. This fact has been acknowledged in a number of studies conducted by international agencies (2) and in the diagnostic studies undertaken by national planning agencies in different countries.

During the sixties, nearly all the countries in Central America prepared agrarian reform laws and announced their decision to put agrarian reform into effect. However, the efforts undertaken in these countries, in their agrarian reform and colonization programs, did not produce the results expected.

There are a number of reasons for not having attained the originally established objectives, such as: the lack of political backing to implement agrarian reform; the lack of financing for agrarian reform agencies; the fact that 'campesinos' were granted marginal lands; the lack of adequately trained technical personnel; the lack of training for 'campesinos' and the lack of technical and credit assistance. Even acknowledging all these problems, the results obtained were far below the amount of effort and financing invested in these programs. The main reason for this lies in the system of land grants and production used by the countries as their model for agrarian reform, that is, the breaking up of lands and the granting of small family agricultural units or holdings to small farmers without entrepreneurial capabilities. This has led to a reversal of the process: a reconcentration of land, or the use of land in a few hands, and a resurgence of the minifundia situation resulting from breaking up the land into small parcels.

These reasons, and many others of an historical, technical or recurring nature, have produced new land tenure and production structures in Central America, as well as new types of 'campesino' entrepreneurial organization which are demonstrating their effectiveness, despite the short period of time they have been functioning as an integral part of the new agrarian structures, this may well be the most effective agrarian reform model and may prove to be the means to the economic, social and political development of the Latin American countries. In its deliberations, the Agrarian Reform Executives of the Continent acknowledged it as such, at their IV Inter-American Meeting, held in Panama in May 1972. (3) These new systems of land tenure and production and 'campesino' entrepreneurial organization go by different names in the different Central American countries: Agrarian Reform Cooperatives, 'Campesino' Leagues, Sub-sectional Agencies, Associative and Community Enterprises, in Honduras; Cooperative Agricultural Production Farms in Guatemala; 'Campesino' Community Associations in El Salvador; Community Enterprises in Costa Rica; 'Campesino' Settlements and Agrarian Boards, in Panama. Nonetheless, the characteristics they share may be grouped under the generic term of 'Campesino' Community Enterprises, as conceptualized in the Panama Declaration at the meeting mentioned above.

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- (2) See 'Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Rural en Centro America' (Land Tenure and Rural Development in Central America), study prepared by experts from ECLA, FAO, ILO, CIDA, IICA and SIECA.
 - (3) "Final Declaration of the IV Inter-American Meeting of Agrarian Reform Executives". IV Inter-American Meeting of Agrarian Reform Executives, Panama, May 1972. IICA Publication Series: Conference Reports, Courses and Meetings, N°3, pg. 31.

There is growing interest in all the countries for this type of 'campesino' entrepreneurial organization system, and new groups are being organized daily to acquire and work the land as a community endeavor.

The dynamics of the process, since it got underway in Central America (Guatemala) and Honduras in 1967, Panama in 1969, El Salvador in 1970, Costa Rica in 1970) have far surpassed original expectations and have outdistanced the ability of the agencies involved in its implementation, to provide adequate technical assistance. From the promotional stage, the process has leapt to another stage, involving a tremendous demand for the mass of technicians and 'campesinos'; for assistance in preparing projects; for advisory services in administration and accounting; in training business managers for the enterprises, etc., which has definitely opened up a number of broad possibilities for adult education, as an organized mass education process directed toward solving the problems which face the 'campesinos' themselves.

Much has been said of the need for help with credit, technical assistance and training for small farmers, as a basic condition for overcoming their difficulties, and for fostering an accelerated development process in the under-developed countries. However, this type of help is very difficult to provide when it is necessary to work with hundreds of thousands of small, isolated, minifundista farmers who possess no entrepreneurial capabilities. Hence, the need to promote associative enterprises for the 'campesinos' is imperative so that they may make the most of economies of scale, and obtain access, economically and socially, to credit and technical assistance and a just remuneration for their work. This refers not only to a primary agricultural production aspects, but also to the aggregate value of marketing and industrialization processes, which are difficult to get underway without an adequate foundation of entrepreneurial organization.

The possibility of joining the worker, owner and administrator into one legally recognized body, as a collective production unit, has made the 'campesino' community enterprise an ideal instrument for adult education, in the broadest sense, and hence, the most appropriate instrument for improving the standards of living for the 'campesino' masses.

This has proved to be true, in practice, with several hundred enterprises that have developed over the past decade in the Central American region. Special mention should be made here of the Guanchías Cooperative, Ltd., the first to be established in Honduras, and one of the first in Central America.

It is an excellent example of how the community enterprise model can raise the standards of living for the 'campesino', when self-management and participation are employed, as well as the social capitalization of surplus production.

This is not the place to go into detail on the origin, development and tremendous progress achieved over ten years by the Guanchías Cooperative, which despite some failures and the criticisms, could well serve as a worthy example for the rest of Latin America.

The levels of economic and social capitalization attained by the enterprise, and the services it now provides its members and, to some extent, the rest of the community, are well worth emulating.

Moreover, since it was the pioneer enterprise, it has served as a model and example for other agrarian reform programs in Honduras, as well as for other countries in Latin America.

III. Present situation of the community enterprises in Central America

There are presently over 1300 enterprises in the countries of the Central American Isthmus, involving approximately 42,000 families, on over 362,000 hectares of land.

Preliminary figures taken from a PRACA study made in 1977 indicate the results, by country. These figures are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Number of community enterprises by country, members and surface area owned. Central America 1977.

Country	N° of Enterprises	N° of members	Surface Area Has.
Guatemala	23	5,833	91.481
El Salvador	19	1,142	3.090
Honduras	497	14,087	95.344
Costa Rica	14	423	5.051
Panamá	161	5,007	74.816
TOTAL	714	26,497	270.283

Although the survey was to have covered all existing enterprises, this was not possible in Honduras and Panama, the two countries with the largest number of enterprises. In Panama, information was obtained on 161 of the 270 enterprises which have been reported in other documents. In Honduras, advantage was taken of the study done for the National Promotion Band by the firm 'Inversiones y Estudios S. de R.L.', which covered 497 enterprises. Data from this study are given in this paper.

A study made in Honduras by PROCCARA-INA at the beginning of 1975 to evaluate the effect of Decree N°8 (4) during the years it was in force, encompassed all the settlements established as a result of that decree.

The research study included 623 settlements, and the information finally tabulated was for a total of 552. Of the 135, 846 manzanas (or 95,000 Has.,) 79.8 percent of the land was granted and/or utilized on a communal basis; 12.6 percent on an individual basis, and 7.6 percent on a combined, or mixed basis.

In Honduras, National Agrarian Institute authorities estimate that the number of enterprises in that country had reached 1058 by May 1978. If we use the averaged figures of the two studies mentioned above as a basis for calculating the surface area involved and the number of families benefitted, it may be stated that, for Honduras, this type of enterprise involves 30,000 families which own about 188,000 Has. of land. Other PROCCARA reports indicate that the agrarian reform process has benefitted over 44,000 families.

The volume of the 'campesino' community enterprise movement may seem low, when compared with the same parameters for the total number of farms, farmers and amount of land involved for the entire agricultural sector of Central America. However, if we compare the information from 1965 when there were no enterprises of this nature, with those of 1970 when there were 124, and of 1977 when the number has surpassed 1,300, the progress achieved proves significant.

In 1970, PRACA made a survey of the enterprises which existed at that time.

The data obtained appears in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of 'Campesino' Community Enterprises, Number of Members and Surface Area under Cultivation. Central America 1970.

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- (4) Decree No. 8, issued on December 26, 1972, is famous in Honduras, as a law imposing rent, as an emergency, transitional measure while Law Decree No. 170, the Agrarian Reform Law, was being prepared. This Law was finally enacted on January 14, 1975.

Country	No. of Enterprises	No. of Members	Surface Area under Cultivation Has.
Guatemala	7	909	1.225
El Salvador	5	451	865
Honduras	59	2.514	4.879
Costa Rica	3	284	1.007
Panama	50	2.104	1.500
TOTAL	124	6.262	9.476

As the purpose of this paper is not to make an exhaustive analysis of the 'campesino' community enterprises that exist in Central America, only some overall figures, by country, will be given here, although preliminary figures are now available from a survey conducted by PRACA in 1977. Table 3, therefore, gives the overall figures for the Central American countries, on total surface area involved, amount under cultivation, production value, number of tractors, amount of fertilizer used in 1976-1977, and amount of credit obtained by the enterprises. The information will give a general overview of the increasing importance of campesino community Enterprises in the region, over the ten years of their existence.

An important, and positive aspect of the development of the community enterprise movement is the possibility, in some cases, of undertaking large Integrated Rural Development projects, since a number of enterprises already exist in a given region.

This is the situation with nearly all the cooperative farms of INTA, Guatemala, those of Bajo Aguán, Guanchías, San Manuel, Isletas and Masica in Honduras; those of the first Agrarian Transformation project in El Salvador, and of the Monte Oscuro Valley and the Barú Zone in Panama.

Table 3: 'Campesino' Community Enterprises: Total Surface Area; Area under Cultivation; Production Value, Number of Tractors, Amount of Fertilizer Used and of Credit Obtained. Central America 1976-1977

Country	Total Surface Area- Has	Sarea under cultivation Has.	Production value US \$	No. of tractors	Fertilizer Used qq	Fertilizer Amount of Credit US \$
Guatemala	91.481	3.493	1.734.503	-	2.282	--
El Salvador	3.090	1.677	2.276.675	5	15.895	505.650
Honduras	95.844	41.893	27.156.936	289	29.381	9.315.598
Costa Rica	5.051	1.903	1.913.990	18	10.668	551.847
Panama	74.817	14.565	5.375.847	76 (*)	47.704	2.980.347
TOTAL	270.283	63.531	38.457.953	383	105.930	13.353.442

* Most of the agricultural mechanization services in the Panamanian settlements were provided by the National Machinery Office of the Ministry of Agricultural Development.

IV IICA Actions

Since 1969, IICA and PRACA have been doing considerable work in the field of research, promotion and training in this type of Enterprise, including case studies, seminars, meetings, courses and publications (5), as well as reciprocal training trips. Largely as a result of these efforts, the model of 'campesino' community enterprises has been accepted as an instrument for changing agrarian structures, and has been adopted as an agrarian development policy in most of the countries of the Central American isthmus.

As a result of a 'campesino' community enterprise case study conducted by IICA and FAO in 1973, it was possible to detect those aspects which hinder the development of enterprises, as well as the more positive ones. On the positive side, mention may be made of the greater ease with which 'campesinos' were able to obtain land, the increase in production and productivity and job opportunities for their members, participation in surplus production and in the decision-making process, and the social capitalization of the surplus. Problems detected which are hindering development include inadequate man-land ratios the inability of national agencies to solve training problems, failures in social and productive organization the lack of medium and long-term projects, rudimentary and inadequate accounting systems, weak administrative systems, deficiencies in the legislation enacted to foster the development of enterprises, the lack of understanding in certain political and technical circles about the importance of this type of entrepreneurial system and, in some cases, a distortion of the philosophy of this type of enterprise, as a result of the lack of training.

A detailed diagnostic study of the physical, economic, administrative and social aspects, conducted in 1977 by IICA in Panama, singled out these and other problems in the 'campesino' settlements of that country.

An Inter-American Meeting of Community Enterprise Experts was held in Chile, in May 1973, as a result of one of the recommendations made at the IV Inter-American Meeting of Agrarian Reform Executives. A number of conclusions and recommendations were made there on the Internal Structure of Enterprises, and Legal and Institutional Factors.

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- (5) Special mention is made here of the book 'The Community Enterprise' already referred to in the Introduction of this paper, which contains several articles published in the journal 'Desarrollo Rural en las Americas', edited by IICA, and other material used in courses and conferences on this subject. Recently (June 1978), IICA published a book by Hector Murcia on the 'Administration of Associative Agricultural Production Enterprises', of considerable value for up-dating information on that particular aspect which has been a serious problem for the development of community enterprises.

As a result of the resolution approved by the Board of Directors, IICA established a 'Campesino' Community Enterprise Training and Studies Program in 1974.

In June 1975, the First Central American Meeting of 'Campesino' Community Enterprise Directors was held in Panama, as a PRACA activity. The meeting was an evident success, as a result of the extensive participation, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, of the director-participants, and the nature of the conclusions drawn about different topics under discussion by the working groups.

In addition, the basic principles for the Confederation of 'Campesino' Community Enterprises for the Central American Isthmus were established at this meeting. The Confederation was formally established on June 30, 1977, at the Second Meeting of 'Campesino' Community Enterprise Directors. (6)

In July 1976, IICA held an International Seminar on 'Fostering Associative Forms of Production in Rural Environments', at the CEDAL headquarters in Heredia, Costa Rica, in collaboration with the German Foundation for International Development (DSE). The papers presented and conclusions drawn were published jointly by IICA and DSE in a special document. This publication includes the papers presented at the seminar, information on the progress achieved and experience acquired in community enterprises in several countries of the continent, and the conclusions arrived at by the working groups on a number of aspects, such as the objectives, characteristics, advantages, and obstacles to associative forms of production.

In December 1977, PRACA held a seminar on 'The Analysis and Evaluation of Experimental Laboratories', with the following objectives:

1. To analyze and evaluate the results of laboratory techniques, with the aim of making a more effective instrument available in the struggle to transform the socio-economic realities in the countries of the region.
2. To collaborate on the development of a theoretical framework for experimental laboratory techniques for the organization of 'campesino' enterprises.
3. To develop the methodological aspects of experimental laboratory techniques.

Mass training techniques for the organization of 'campesino' community enterprises are dealt with under a separate heading in this paper, due to their

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- (6) Several Reports and Proceedings of these meetings are available, which contain the presentations, conclusions of the working groups, and the Constitution and Statutes of the Confederation.

unique importance. (See V: Experimental Laboratories)

The papers presented at the Seminar by Honduran and Costa Rican specialists are being revised, as are the conclusions and recommendations, for publication in a special book.

During 1977, PRACA carried out an Economic Survey of the 'Campesino' Associative Enterprises throughout the Central American Isthmus. Preliminary figures of this survey were given in Chapter III.

Thanks to the successful endeavors of IICA with the government of the Netherlands, grant of Dutch Florins 1,850,00 has been approved (a little over US\$800,000) for a Project in Support of 'Campesino' Community Enterprises in Central America. The project will get underway on October 1, 1978, with the following objectives:

- a- To help the Agrarian Reform and Settlement agencies in the Central American countries and Panama in their work to establish and develop 'campesino' community enterprises, particularly as they pertain to organization, administration and training.
- b- To foster and collaborate on the formulation and development of 'campesino' community enterprise projects at local, regional, national and multinational levels, so as to facilitate the appropriate channelling of funds to finance integral and integrated rural development projects.
- c- To reinforce IICA and PRACA actions already underway in the fields of training, research, and promotion, with respect to 'campesino' community enterprises.

It is hoped that the strengthening of 'campesino' community enterprises, through the fulfilment of the above objectives, will contribute to increased production and productivity, to improved rural social organization, to enhanced entrepreneurial capabilities, increased income and employment opportunities, and therefore, to the general development of the countries of the Central American Isthmus.

V. Experimental laboratories

The experimental laboratory is a practical, realistic exercise which consists in a group residential study situation, where of all the members, a given social group, participate in devising an adequate organizational structure. The main result expected from this type of experience is the introduction or consolidation of a certain level of 'organizational awareness' in the group of participants. A awareness in this context is understood as the ability to perceive problems,

identify their causes, and take into account the need for proposing planned actions which permit the social groups to transform their destiny. (7) With respect to training organizational teams for 'campesino' enterprises, the Experimental Laboratory is a technique for mass training developed by Dr. Clodomir Santos de Morais, on the basis of successively applications since 1954.

Most of the experiences were conducted by this author, in collaboration with a group of young Honduran professionals, between 1973 and 1976, when he served as International Director of PROCCARA, at the national Agrarian Institute in Honduras. During that time, PROCCARA conducted 126 laboratories and INA conducted 350, under PROCCARA supervision.

Over a thousand 'campesino' enterprises have been organized in Honduras, within the Agrarian Reform process between 1973 and 1976, thanks to the application of this mass training technique.

The Experimental Laboratory provides us with an innovative teaching methodology which fosters dialogue and encourages critical participation and reflection, generating new working and organizational ideas in the group participants. With this methodology, it is hoped that large sectors of our populations will involve themselves in the socio-economic transformation by society. Moreover, this methodology allows for the participation of persons from any social sector or strata, in other words, it is a process which does not require that participants have accumulated given levels of knowledge, particularly those transmitted by the institutional education systems. (8) At present, Experimental Laboratories are being conducted in Mexico, Panama and Costa Rica, on a more or less permanent basis. The National Autonomous University in Heredia, Costa Rica, is a scientific institution which has given considerable attention to practicing, analyzing, evaluating and improving this training technique, using it at the university as well as the 'campesino' level.

(7) Pérez, Ma. E. and Camacho, Ma. A. in 'El Laboratorio Experimental de Santos de Morais: Consideraciones sobre algunos aspectos metodológicos y teóricos'. Proceedings, Seminar on the Analysis and Evaluation of Experimental Laboratories. PRACA/IICA, San José, Costa Rica. December 12-16, 1977. (The Experimental Laboratory of Santos de Morais: Some considerations about several methodological and theoretical aspects.)

(8) Ibid.

This chapter on Experimental Laboratories is included with the aim of providing information about the working of this training technique for those who are not familiar with its philosophy and objectives, since it concerns a methodology or technique which greatly facilitates the organization of 'campesino' community enterprises.

Anyone interested in further information on this subject should refer to the excellent papers presented by Honduran and Costa Rican specialists who have worked with this technique, and have contributed to its development. (See the reference to the papers in the Seminar Proceedings, footnote N°7). In addition, the papers prepared by the author of this method, Dr. Clodomir Santos de Moraes, are required reading, particularly with reference to his Theory of Organization.

VI. Conclusions

1. Given the nature of the economic, social and political structure of the Central American countries, Agrarian Reform is absolutely essential for their development.
2. Agrarian Reform efforts throughout Central America, particularly in the sixties, were not very successful due mainly to the model used for distributing and working the land in most of the countries, that is, the family-size agricultural unit.
3. Over the past ten years in Central America, a number of different types of associative production enterprises have been developed, some times under different auspices within the same country, but which may be qualified as 'campesino' community enterprises, in generic terms. This model would seem to be the one which best responds to the need to solve the problems of marginality for the 'campesino', and therefore, would seem to be the best working model, to date, for agrarian reform programs in these countries.
4. At present, there are over 1,300 enterprises throughout Central America, involving approximately 42,000 families which own over 362,000 hectares of land, of which 70,000 hectares are under cultivation, with a production value of more than 40 million dollars.
5. One of the mass training techniques being utilized to train 'campesinos' in the organization of community enterprises is the so-called 'Experimental Laboratory', the end-product of which is the incorporation of a certain level of 'organizational awareness' in the group of student-participants. This training technique has been used to a great extent in Honduras, and to a lesser degree in Costa Rica and Panama. The results obtained to date are promising for those who are interested in organizing 'campesino' community enterprises.

6. Over the past several years, IICA has been interested in and has actively engaged in fostering interest, research, and training, in support of the development of 'campesino' community enterprises.
7. The community enterprise is felt to be a basic social nucleus which facilitates all adult education processes.

**ADULT EDUCATION AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
OF PRODUCTION IN THE RURAL AREAS**

HUGO FERNANDEZ

**San José, Costa Rica
Julio, 1973**

ADULT EDUCATION AND ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CF PRODUCTION IN THE RURAL AREAS

Hugo Fernández*

The organization of human communities has been linked historically with their access to resources, their distribution and the nature of the technology available to transform them into material or consumer goods.

The different combinations of these elements in Latin America - which are in no way totally independent of one another - contribute to explaining the origin and evolution of the prevailing land tenure and farming patterns. Their study also clarifies the intrinsic rationality of the various forms of labor organization during specific moments in history, and the conditions under which such labor is bought and sold.

In Central America, for example, it is no accident that the 'enclave' plantation system and extensive cultivation units co-exist together with the minifundia and subsistence agriculture, relegated for centuries, to lands of inferior quality. Both types of cultivation - latifundia and minifundia - constitute a unique phenomenon in which the living and working conditions in the latter, guarantee the permanent availability of cheap labor for the former. Due to the size and the quantity and quality of its basic stock of resources, the minifundia agriculture or subsistence unit is farmed by a family group, on a scale too small to accumulate capital and thus expand. In these cases, the family is forced to sell part of its labor in order to fulfill basic consumption needs that could not be satisfied by merely farming the family's agricultural plot or unit.

Common-use technology in the latifundia-minifundia relationship has been based for hundreds of years on the availability of inexpensive labor. The stability of this type of technology is the result of maintaining a stable combination of productive elements, characterized by unequal distribution of land resources, inability of most of the production units to accumulate capital, discriminatory access to productive services and incentives, and the existence of an almost unlimited labor force with reduced, predictable remuneration.

This situation, with logical variations between the different regions and countries of Latin America, repeats itself with considerable regularity. Some of the constant elements evident to the most superficial observer, are the following:

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- a. The minifundia and subsistence agriculture models have arisen, historically, from the accumulation of great segments of land dedicated to export production and the relegation of large sectors of the population to lands of inferior quality.
- b. A large part of the food consumed domestically is produced by small farmers and the minifundia.
- c. The minifundia and small holdings show a marked tendency toward fractionalization, due to hereditary subdivisions and partial sales.
- d. Expansion of the agricultural frontier tends to reproduce the predominant land tenure and farming patterns of the traditionally occupied areas.

The concept that the small producer and the mini-farmer are highly individualistic in nature, is deeply ingrained in many Latin American countries, and in many cases, is a fair appraisal of the situation. Nevertheless, without attempting to explain the phenomenon in detail, it seems obvious that the risk level acceptable to this level of farmer is so low, that it instills in him a great attachment to his property, and makes him little inclined to depend on others, except those who pay him a salary to provide his family with basic consumer goods.

This concept of 'individualism' in the 'campesino' and agricultural wage laborer is perfectly consistent with the economic rationale of the latifundia-minifundia relationship, as long as it helps to maintain those conditions which allow the survival and prosperity of extensive land cultivation. A breakdown of this 'individualism' could generate economies of scale, facilitating the accumulation of capital, and modifying the cost opportunities of wage labor. If this happens, significant changes can occur in the effective availability of productive factors, which will in turn require modifications in their combinations, making the large-scale farming model economically obsolete and comparatively less profitable.

Partly because of this 'rationale' of individualism from the dominant groups' viewpoint, and partly because of the adoption of institutional models from 'developed' nations, the state infrastructure of services and production incentives in the majority of the countries tend to reinforce the concept. The agricultural extension and technical assistance services are organized to provide support to individual producers (this is inefficient as well as expensive, so coverage is minimal); credit is designed to help individual farmers with sufficient collateral (and therefore largely beyond the reach of the small farmer, tenant farmer and rural wage laborer and the associative forms of production and land tenure; legislation to encourage and protect the associations is very restrictive and formalistic (therefore excluding a large number of groups and associations from land tenure and farming activities; as they do not conform to the laws, they cannot be considered legal entities to receive government productive services and incentives.)

Government education programs, in all their forms and modalities, reinforce the concept of 'individualism'. Education has always been considered one of the few means - perhaps the only one - for social and geographical mobility, changing economic activities (from farming to services or trade, for example) and for improving the standards of family living. From this point of view, placing a child in a formal education program becomes an investment for the 'campesino', with fairly predictable results in the short run. In most cases, the first children are incorporated into the family labor pool in order to ensure the maintenance of the acceptable risk level for that family group. The family can then make a 'profitable' medium-term investment by sending one or more of the younger children to study. This also ensures potential diversification of family income sources, with possible increases, and a reasonable perspective of improving their overall living and working conditions, at least for some of the next generation. With these characteristics, formal education transforms itself into a 'push' mechanism for rural migration, closely related to its occupational and cultural perspectives which are totally unfamiliar to the rural way of life and agricultural labor.

Also within this perspective is the concept of formal education as an individual endeavor in which greatest success is achieved when the learner gives up his own environment, and migrates to the cities.

Adult education programs, in general, have similar problems: their curricular content are irrelevant to the needs and characteristics of the productive system of which the learner is a part; they are designed as an 'individual endeavor' whose very success depends upon the increasing capacity of the worker to abandon farming activities; if technical training for production is included, the social and economic context of production is ignored, such as the study of the viability and use of alternative technologies; they seldom provide substantial changes in the social organization of production, by fostering progress in associative production or marketing. Most of the adult education programs either indirectly support the maintenance of the existing production structure and discourage its evolution towards more advanced forms of social organization, or become irrelevant to income and labor conditions of the 'campesino', small farmer, minifundista or salaried worker.

Many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have interesting backgrounds and tradition in associative labor. In spite of the fact that the economic rationale of the colonial and neo-colonial periods progressively limited these models of organization, it is still possible to find some traces of relative importance which daily acquire new relevance for designing equitable development strategies.

Haiti is one of the most interesting examples of the above-mentioned phenomenon. A research project of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences (IIICA) has demonstrated the existence of several basic models of social organization for production, both of a permanent and transitory nature. Among the latter are 'campesino' organizations with

collective organization of labor successively working each of the parcels, in cooperation. The organizational mechanics of this type of labor vary considerably in the different regions of the country (mountains and plains, for instance), as well as with the cultivation of predominant crops of the regions. The organization and division of labor also change within the individual land-holding, depending on the type of farming to be done, the size of the farm, etc.

This basic form of organization, with all its modalities and variations, encompasses the individual farming tasks themselves, as well as the 'sale' of services - the development of specific farming skills - to farmers who are not members of the association. This sale takes place under a variety of conditions, and can range from the 'managerial' decision of the association to the decision of only one of its members to use his time to farm another 'campesino's' land, charging for his work and retaining a substantial part of the remuneration received.

Most noteworthy among the transitory labor organizations is the 'combite'. This consists of a gathering called by a 'campesino', for his friends and neighbors and neighboring associations to work his land parcel for a day on specific agricultural tasks, in exchange for food, ~~beverages~~ and music provided by the 'combite' organizer. As in the preceding case, this labor organization model varies according to the region and the task.

There is some controversy over the origin of these organizations (and of the rest) in Haiti. Without necessarily sharing the opinion of those who say they are of recent date, there are two significant facts of interest: First, with the independence of Haiti, when the owners and managers of the great colonial plantations were expelled, the majority of the production units remained intact; each of the plantations continued as a unit, farmed and managed collectively by its previous slaves, without subdivision of the lands.

The phenomenon of subdivision only occurred several decades later, reaching a climax with the occupation of the country by the United States of America. As in other Latin American situations, once the unit of production is destroyed and the land subdivided, the process of fractionalizing the land further continues, and is not easily reversible.

The second significant fact concerns the growth and importance of the labor associations and other social organization models of production, gradually supplanting the previous types of collective production units in importance, and prevail with unmitigated force until the present.

One aspect which supports these models of labor organization, is the ritualistic character assumed by much of its operations. This ritual, and the tremendously stratified and complex internal structure of the permanent organizations, without doubt constitutes a 'unit of knowledge', efficiently developed and transmitted during the socialization

process. This serves as a basic and systematic education for every Haitian, and reinforces alternative labor organization models, contributing to their adaptation in time and space.

Haiti is not the only place where these types of labor and production organizations appear spontaneously. In the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, for example, IICA has identified three main organization models. These have existed in this country for a long time, and show no signs of weakening as a result of agricultural modernization; on the contrary, there is evidence that they may well become the basis for the expansion of agricultural frontiers, and a paradigm for generalized establishment of new forms of land distribution, production organization and the provision of production services and incentives.

It has been possible to establish that the people of Guyana, of Amerindian origin, have vast traditions of community labor, covering all the agricultural work required for cultivating a given area, from clearing and preparing the land, to the harvest and even the distribution of the product.

The inhabitants of African origin, in certain regions of this country, also seem to have developed a system, in this case a combined system in which they farm individual parcels as well as having more or less permanent organizations based on the extended family model. These organizations are responsible for a number of different tasks, ranging from occasional mutual help in working the individual parcels of the members, to the cooperative managerial cultivation of specific areas and crops. The latter is usually undertaken in addition to the attention given by each member to his own individual farming activities.

Also in this country are the descendants of the laborers brought from India, who form self-help cooperative associations and enterprises, involving all the features of these types of organization existing in more developed countries. However, unlike many, these organizations include the purchase of inputs, sale of products, purchase and sale of services, credit, etc., in addition to the production aspects per se. Due to the very dynamics of this set up, and its total incorporation into the market economy, the formal component of these organizations is marked. They are accepted and typified by current laws, and are recognized as legal entities that trade productive services and incentives with certain advantages, even with individual producers.

In other parts of America, such as Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, the traditional forms of community labor still prevail, and in some cases include the common ownership of land. These will not be described in detail, as there is extensive literature on the topic. However, it is important to stress the important historical continuity in the evolution of these organization models, especially with respect to the division of labor for specific agricultural tasks.

The main differences consist in the existing degree of self-management in these models during the time of the Incas, the colony and the consolidation of the post-colonial latifundia-minifundia system which still prevails in many countries.

Peru has recently begun a strong agrarian reform program in which the distribution of the land has been carried out on the basis of collective self-managing 'carpesino' units (the 'SAIS' or agricultural social interest societies). The basic concept of the SAIS includes some elements of the traditional forms of collective land tenure and labor organization, and establishes an organization model which is consistent with the requirements of management, scale, technology, etc. of a modern agriculture with integrated objectives in terms of the quality of income and living standards of the workers, and of production and productivity.

The self-management dimension of the SAIS is one of the crucial elements of the model, and is intended to function as a link between the democratic government of the enterprise, the maintenance of the more valuable and functional productive and organizational traditions and the integrated development of a modern agricultural sector, that is competitive and able to be self-reliant as to the basic food needs of the country.

As in Peru, where an important experiment to discover social organization models for production as alternatives to the latifundia-minifundia system is underway, many other countries of the region may also restructure their agricultural sector, starting with a modernization - that is functional - of some of the traditional productive structures of the community genre.

The Dimension of Education in the Development of Associative Agriculture

Following the brief description of labor organizations in Haiti, it was noted that the ritual involved in their organization and operation effectively involves them in the socialization processes - especially the socialization of labor - of the 'campesinos' of the country. Perhaps this fact has assured, in Haiti, the survival and dynamic adaptation of these organizations to the changes in the land tenure system, population growth, changes in the ecology, the introduction of new technologies, etc. In most of these cases, the socialization process fulfills the function of assuring the continuity of a society, and within this context, assimilates and adapts those social processes which are most important and functional to its survival.

This function is rarely fulfilled by the overlapping of more complex educational processes, such as formal education sponsored by the government or by private, religious or commercial organizations. This type of education usually acts as the multiplier matrix of the productive structure and, consequently, of the prevailing relations of production. In this role, it also reproduces the axiological apparatus of a culture, justifying and perpetuating these relations of production.

Since this form of education is also one of the main channels of mobility available in society, it is desirable in itself for the 'campesino' family, even when its form and content disrupt the basis of socialization, the value-support system, and cultural unity.

From this point of view, and with very few exceptions, almost all formal education in Latin America has undermined the traditional forms of organization for land tenure and farming, substituting them with paradigms from other productive and cultural situations. By promoting the models of the Spanish 'hortelano', the American 'farmer', the British 'peasant' or the French 'paysan', with their characteristic forms of production and labor, with their own values and traditions, the educational systems have given way to a comparison of the Latin American models with paradigms of essentially different categories.

It has not only suffered from the need to show something 'unattainable' in concrete terms (because the processes for expanding frontiers and accumulating capital are different, etc.) but has strengthened and supported the latifundia-minifundia system and the quasi-feudal exploitation of wage labor systems that accompany and characterize it.

Even worse is the case of those educational systems in which the form and content of the message are of urban extraction and orientation; in these, the base of the traditional models of organization and labor is undermined, and the process of adaptation and modification is constrained. Moreover, they foster migration from the rural areas, a disdain of manual labor, and instill a distaste in the 'campesino' for his work and way of life.

In Latin America, the structured systems of adult education, in all their forms and modes, had no better success. Their form and content, in many cases, respond to the preconceived ideas and value judgements of government officials that consider these programs to be a 'delivery of services' associated with - in the best of situations - a vague and amorphous concept of 'equity'.

It is not necessary to elaborate on literacy programs, for example, due to the existence of many studies that clearly show their limitations and failures, as well as the few and limited successes achieved in this field over the past two decades.

The case of programs to 'train' the 'campesino' in order to 'modernize' his agricultural methods is perhaps less well known. Most of these programs have been based on premises and models similar to those described for formal education. The majority of these attempt to find the formula that will allow them to convert an indian from the Andean sierras into a 'farmer', through the incorporation of technology. Apart from the cultural absurdity involved, these schemes encounter other difficulties:

no attempt is made to alter the structure of production; the physical base of 'campesino' resources is inadequate; expensive technologies are developed and recommended, which are out of reach for the majority of the 'campesinos'; efforts are made to raise incomes by increasing the productivity of the surface unit, without taking into account existing obstacles - known to the 'campesino' - in the regular marketing channels; drastic and rapid changes are encouraged without considering that the level of risk which the 'campesino' can assume - since he has no other source of income - will never allow him to adopt these technical recommendations.

It is only fair to acknowledge that not all adult education programs, whether 'literacy' or 'training' endeavors, make all these mistakes simultaneously. A paper of this nature, due to its very briefness, can exaggerate the problems. It is also fair to recognize that a number of countries in the region, such as Peru, Haiti, Costa Rica, Guyana and Cuba are actively seeking and testing adult education programs conceived and designed precisely to overcome the differences and mistakes described.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that with very few and notable exceptions, rural adult education programs have not been designed to reinforce the consolidation and modernization of production and labor organizations, and from our point of view, this is their greatest failing and probably the main obstacle to success, to date.

Alternative Models for the Social Organization of Production

In spite of having dealt so briefly with the traditional organizations of production and labor, it can easily be observed that the only constant factor in the region (and even then, not evident in some countries) is the tradition of association. The different forms of associations however, vary considerably from country to country, and even between the regions of each country.

It would be absurd, therefore, to propose the existence of an alternative model of social organization for production that would satisfy all the characteristics of the production structures and that would encompass all the traditional forms of organization.

IICA has examined the experience and productive history of several countries in the region, and is now in the process of developing a global approximation to the self-managed 'campesino' community enterprise (associative) as an alternative 'direction' for the social organization of production. The key phrase is 'self-management'. To the degree in which the democratic structure of the enterprise model and the organization and social division of labor is incorporated within the scope of the self-management concept, the possibility increases for each enterprise to assume and combine the traditional forms of organization in keeping with the specific characteristics and expectations of the group of workers in an enterprise. The means to evolve and transform the enterprise and its structure increase with changes in

the expectations of its members. There are some elements of a more or less rigid nature within this concept of self-managed 'campesino' community enterprises. Among them are:

- a. The production structure of the enterprise is established on the basis of the real availability of production factors, especially the availability of manpower among its members.
- b. The enterprise's internal and external social relations of production are different from those that support the latifundia-minifundia system.
- c. The contribution of each enterprise member is calculated in terms of labor rather than capital.
- d. All enterprise decisions (economic, in terms of production, savings, reinvestment, etc.; social, building of homes, schools, health centers, and others) and the definition of objectives and priorities are democratically agreed upon.

Paraphrasing some of the publications of IICA specialists on these enterprises:

"Some of the main characteristics of these enterprises are as follows: their members are 'campesinos' and rural laborers in general, whose resources (quantity and quality) do not allow them to attain satisfactory standards of living. The members prevail as such, only as long as they contribute to the enterprise. Surplus are distributed in accordance with the amount of work contributed, and in the majority of Latin American situations, the members are not free, individually, to dispose of the enterprise's assets. Self-management is asserted in the organization of its government, which is based on the participation of all its members."

"Three elements (economic, social and political) characterize the definition of this type of enterprise in the agrarian reform process.

In economic terms, these enterprises seek to rationalize the use of productive resources - land, capital and labor - through their optimal utilization. This rationalization implies both technically efficient production units and an economically efficient system as a whole.

From the social point of view, the term 'community' refers to the organization of a human group that shares specific objectives and goals, that is basically cohesive and unified in its actions.

Community, therefore, implies the existence of: a) common perceptions; b) shared values; c) accepted norms; and d) coordinated and integrated action to pursue previously established objectives and goals.

From the political point of view, the term 'campesino' characterizes the members of these enterprises; this term is applied to all members of the economically active population with low economic and political status, who do not own or control the production factors. Thus, 'campesinos' are the marginal population in rural areas, whatever their classification in specific sociological terms, such as: mini-farmers, squatters, tenants, share-croppers, hired hands, colonists, wage laborers or beneficiaries of agrarian reform."

From this point of view, then, and as a specific condition for the organization of this kind of enterprise within the agrarian reform process, IICA specialists have been stressing that:

"In economic terms, they allow a greater number of 'campesinos' to benefit from the agrarian reform or colonization programs, within the same period of time and the same budget, by accelerating the land-granting process, reducing the cost of breaking up land-holdings and the building of needed infrastructure (roads, fences, silos, electricity and others).

They also guarantee better family incomes due to the possibility of benefiting from more appropriate economies of scale in the use of machinery, irrigation, pest and surface controls (which is not possible at the family farm level). Furthermore, a more frequent and continuous access to technical and credit assistance institutions is made feasible because the farms are larger. They also provide a more competitive position toward existing oligopsonic structures in the purchase of agricultural goods, or toward oligopolies for the sale of agricultural inputs, while accelerating the processing of agricultural products, due to the increased volume of production. In 'campesino'-managed community enterprises, individual expenses are reduced due to the use of consumer economies of scale for the supply and recreation of the enterprise members (community-run kitchens, dining-rooms, entertainment, transportation to the villages, and other services), and since family incomes are much more stable due to a greater diversification of commercial crops."

Support Requirements to Guarantee the Success of 'Campesino'-managed Community Enterprises

In view of the existing production structure in many of the countries of the region, it is unrealistic to think that 'campesino'-managed enterprises can be established, survive and achieve success during the initial consolidation period. These enterprises must receive concrete support in order to survive this initial period. Some specific examples of these support needs are as follows:

- a. development and appropriate, timely transfer of technology, consistent with the actual availability of productive resources (land, capital, labor) within the enterprise. The costs of this technology must be such that they allow the price of the end-product to be competitive with that of other enterprises in the economy.
- b. A minimum availability of capital resources in order to allow the enterprise members to obtain an income equivalent to a regular salary, during the first stage of establishing the enterprise, and prior to its first sales.
- c. Minimum availability of credit - in cash and kind - that will make minimum investments in production and social infrastructure possible, whose recovery is impossible on a short term basis.
- d. Assistance in development of production plans that will make efficient use of productive resources and guarantee a maximal net income for the enterprise.
- e. Assistance in the development and implementation of managerial systems which assure the democratic nature of decision-making in the enterprise, as well as its efficient economic performance.

Each of these requisites needs an educational component for its fulfillment:

- a. The process of identifying technological needs and the development and transference of accomplishments in this field can only be conceived as an educational process involving permanent interaction between enterprise members and the agricultural researcher; not developing knowledge for its own sake but rather as a result of work with the 'campesino' consistent with enterprise needs.
- b. The use of capital and credit require the design and establishment of systems for accounting and controlling the utilization of resources. Traditional accounting systems may not be - and in many cases are not - useful in an enterprise that is managed democratically, and which combines its productive resources differently. Once again, designing and implementing these systems is an educational process.
- c. It is also an educational process to design the production plans of an enterprise. This implies interaction between the technicians and its members, in order to identify and classify its resources, project its potential, and determine its most efficient manner of utilization.

- d. The consideration of alternative forms of enterprise organization and management also constitute 'education', insofar as it implies identification and analysis of the experiences of other enterprises, the design of suitable models or adapting already existing ones, and analysis of their use in terms of the end objectives of the group as a whole, and of its member families and individuals.

Final Considerations

After having examined some of the experiences presented in terms of social organization of production and labor, it is possible to propose an alternative for organizing and directing adult education programs.

In brief, the process of rural adult education in Latin America can be conceived in terms of identification of the most functional community mode of 'campesino'-managed enterprises, taking into account the restrictions imposed by the prevalent structure of production; support to organize this type of enterprise; identification of the difficulties and problems which limit their success; and the organization of educational activities that will assure success by eliminating these problems and difficulties.

Within this concept, then, education programs are not developed for the 'campesino' but with them, on the basis of interaction. These programs are not evolved on pre-conceived ideas; they are established instead, on the basis of real problems in their lives and work. The beginning and end of these programs are not established a priori, whether the purpose is to up-grade literacy levels or to assure training; instead they evolve together with the development of the economic enterprise and labor of its members.

We will only know when adult education will cease being what it is today, when, together with the 'campesino'-managed enterprises, we discover what they understand education to be.

III. PANEL No. 2

ADULT EDUCATION AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

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PROBLEMS IN ADULT EDUCATION AND 'CAMPEÑO' ORGANIZATION

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San José, Costa Rica

Julio, 1978

PROBLEMS IN ADULT EDUCATION AND 'CAMPESENO' ORGANIZATION

Francisco Oliart

1. This document deals with adult education strategies and their relation to the problem situation of 'campesino' organizations at the Latin America level.

Therefore, it refers to a specific situation from which it may not be possible to generalize.

First, the formulation of an adequate informal 'campesino' education policy could only be made through a critical analysis of the socio-economic and political situation of our continent. From a general perspective, this situation could be defined through three basic, closely inter-related aspects:

- a) the increasing economic, cultural and technological dependency of Latin America countries.
- b) the marked concentration of economic, social, political, and cultural power in the hands of a minority group.
- c) The existing causal relationship between the above mentioned phenomenon and the land tenure system.

As a consequence of those characteristics, the great majority of the population is marginated from ownership of the means of production, benefit of the goods and services produced in society, and active participation in the making of political decisions which affect their future.

This increasing marginality has been manifested in production models, which in turn generate social, political and juridical structures oriented toward the defense and perpetuation of these models.

In a similar manner, these generate ideological conceptions and cultural values to legitimate and justify the structures, which are internalized by the population during the socialization process.

2. The education system prevalent in rural areas of Latin America is the result of the situation described above. In effect, the education model is determined by the requirements of the system which simultaneously considers education both a product and an essential instrument for its survival. As such, the system is characterized by:

- it takes on an elitist context and orientation, transmitting knowledge values, and norms of no relation with the needs and situation of the majority.
- it functions in authoritarian and paternalistic patterns
- works with insufficient resources to meet the needs of the population

- more specifically, the education programs implemented in rural areas display the following attributes:

- i. educational experiences, whether institutionalized or not, have been organized without following a national policy for integral development of the 'campesino' masses as part of a national endeavor.
- ii. several tested programs have made discriminations and restrictions favoring certain social strata to the detriment of others.
- iii. educational efforts are oriented more toward correcting the effects or symptoms than eliminating the causes of backwardness and underdevelopment.
- iv. program orientation are sometimes individualist rather than community, thus contributing to the development of competition and rivalry instead of cooperation and mutual help.
- v. many education programs emphasize the increment of productivity over personal development, which illustrates their conception of man as an instrument at the service of the dominant classes.

In several cases, education programs are carried out sporadically or experimentally, without evaluative or follow-up mechanisms through which a more thorough transformation could be effected.

In synthesis, in formal 'campesino' education, with some exceptions, has not received decisive and complete support from the governments, receiving only their peripheral attention, inconsistent with the crucial importance of rural development and the magnitude of the task implied.

3. In view of the panorama briefly described, a new educational policy should be created, oriented toward a more adequate conception of the man and the development of education as a factor in the transformation of man and society.

Education should focus on man as the subject of development his social community. It should be oriented toward a total development of man not only through satisfaction of his basic needs, but through fostering his responsible participation in political, economic, social and cultural decisions and actions.

Thus education would be considered one of the most important agents for social change, which requires that it meet two essential conditions:

- a) derive its guidelines from a structural and historical analysis of social reality.
- b) be actively involved in the broad framework of a general project which sees a more just society with equal opportunities for personal fulfillment.

The perspective indicates that in formal education, as one of the many elements generative of structural change, should be complemented with other elements of change. The most important of these is 'campesino' organization into groups or institutions, which are capable of creating pressure for achieving shared goals.

This perspective also establishes that informal education goes beyond the purely educative sector, being closely linked with the activities of other sectors of the community. Thus, for the sake of greater effectiveness, an inter-relation of the institutional levels of the educational system should be fostered, as well as integrating the system into the activities and programs of the agrarian and industrial sectors.

This coordination is essential, in view of the need to qualify the work and of the increasing demand for training by the rural populations, that they may improve their income and, consequently, their standard of living.

For all these efforts, it is fundamental that informal 'campesino' education abandons its previous charitable and paternalistic nature and adopt the criteria of education as fostering the increase of community self-reliance and solidarity.

4. The 'campesino' organization as a formal expression of the 'campesino' struggle is also a consequence of the land tenure system. The concentration of property typologizes several patterns of land tenure and consequently three types of 'campesinos' appear: the near-landless 'campesino'; the salaried 'campesino'; and the landless and non-salaried 'campesino'.

These three classes of 'campesino' are established in the 'campesino' organization process, at three historical and empirically tested moments. The first, with the occurrence of the land struggle; subsequently, in the struggle for consolidation, and third, at the moment of political struggles for change. 'Campesino' organization is thus the instrument for going from emotional and desperate motivation to coherent motivation for the economic struggles. This 'campesino' organization has three possible types:

- community or service organizations
- 'campesino' enterprises for agricultural production and,
- classical organizations for political actions.

'Campesino' enterprises, though involving a set of useful elements from the point of view of production and productivity, are an instrument to stimulate 'campesino' organization in its successive and ascendant periods. If awareness is interpreted as organization, with respect to the contradictions of the production process and cognitive efforts with the benefits possible through organizations, then it is important to point out that in formal education should be oriented toward organizations according to the following specific objectives:

5. Specific objectives informal 'campesino' education

- a. To help the campesino understand his situation, to consider them problematic, to identify the structural causes, to determine in an autonomous and solidary manner, the most appropriate decisions, and to be responsible for the consequences of his actions.
- b. To stimulate, in consequence, of this view of his personal and social situation, awareness of the strong relationship of the individual with the national structures and with the Latin America context, so

that, knowing and analyzing the usual development process, he is able to develop attitudes coherent with his crucial role in national efforts for change.

- c. To seek the alteration of social awareness in the 'campesino', not only toward its content but toward the entire structure, facilitating the development of a critical, free, flexible and broad social conscience receptive to change and to solidarity with others.
- d. So as to permit the transformation of the attitudinal structure, to foster and educational frame of reference in which the function teaching-learning process will always occur on the basis of a genuine dialogue between the educator and the student, starting from familiar situations through the contribution of 'campesinos' and counselors to the process.
- e. To possess a socially developed conscience to help the 'campesinos' in their search for new cooperative relations to replace the old patterns of subordination, domination and oppression, historically imposed by the feudal and capitalist production systems.
- f. To make all these possible, to stimulate the formation and strengthening of basic organizations, through which 'campesino' may obtain political training and solidary power which will provide them participation in decisions at the local, regional, and national levels, for defense of shared interests, support for de-concentration of the means and benefits of production, and a more equitable distribution of cultural benefits.
- g. To achieve 'campesino' dominion over the production process, the administration and distribution of the goods produced; obtaining not only increased participation in the management of his own community, but higher incomes and family standard of living, as well.
- h. To this end, to improve the technical-agricultural-industrial capacity of farmers to raise production and rationalize the use of his products.
- i. To contribute also, to the knowledge of the rural population on the convenience of more scientific practices, in health, sanitation, nutrition and recreation, for his well-being and life enjoyment.
- j. To foster the understanding, practice, and development of local culture, defending native values and fostering the creation of new community values, for forming a truly Latin American culture, liberated and solidary in favor of Latin American integration, strong in defense of shared interests and against the invasion of alien cultural forms.

**EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL
TRAINING FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT ENTERPRISES**

Luis Flores Quirós

**San José, Costa Rica
Julio 1978**

**EDUCATIONAL FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL TRAINING
FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT ENTERPRISES**

Luis Flores Quiroz

Introduction

Attention given to the educational needs of 'campesinos' requires careful planning and on very specific terms. Criteria which are valid for planning education for other sectors of the population are inadequate when it comes to planning 'campesino' education, partly because the 'campesino' is subject to a set of very different conditioning factors to those which condition the rest of the population, and partly because the processes of change presently underway in our countries are generating rather specific requirements for the economic and social behavior of our 'campesinos'.

The basic criteria to be used to orient 'campesino' education actions must be carefully identified, with the help of the social and psychological sciences, so as to draw up appropriate, pertinent educational plans, using properly founded training criteria.

It is frequently accepted fact that the basic objective in planning education of children, is to foster the development of their personal potential on the assumption that when they are adults, they will make adequate use of these abilities to incorporate themselves into society. Based on these assumptions, educational plans tend to be based on a pre-concieved idea of man's potential and the characteristics of a child, and as a result, a decision is taken about what should be done in school to ensure that the child become what it is assumed he should be.

The planning of adult education, however, must also be based on other criteria, since the adult has all the elements of his personality and social behavior already well defined, and because his behavior, within society, has already led to the forming of an image of him by other adults. In such a situation, then, any modification in personality and in behavior will imply a change in the adult's self-image and will tend to alter his relationship with others.

Moreover, the image which society forms of the individual is an almost imposed characteristic, since the relationships between adults are regulated by laws, regulations, agreements, and ethical principles of general acceptance, whereby no adult may arbitrarily change his behavior: should he deviate from customarily accepted behavior patterns, he will be reprimanded by the which society has created for such purpose.

However, there is another side to the coin, since society may well at given moments, to change the behavior of certain individuals in the search for improvements within society itself. This is the case of 'campesino' education: our societies have decided that the behavior of this segment of the population should no longer remain static, but should be changed, so as to adapt to new social exigencies.

Since the behavior of the adult 'campesino' is governed largely by the characteristics of his personality, and the image which he has of himself and of society, the idea of society requiring new modes of behavior will mean that he has to change his personality and his self-image. To facilitate these changes, society submits him to several educational processes which, in these circumstances, are really re-educative in nature.

This type of situation can be dangerous particularly if one considers that, in actual fact, what is being sought is to change the behavior of 'campesinos' to meet new standards which have been set by other persons, certainly a form of domination. To educate, in the sense being analyzed here, is equivalent to conditioning certain individuals to submit to a set of normative regulations to which they have not contributed.

There does not seem to be any other acceptable alternative, however, since society requires that we submit to the normative standards in force. In this type of situation, the only way in which education planners do not turn into instruments of domination, is to plan the educational process with care, ensuring that all actions involved strengthen the capacity of those being educated, to reason on an individual basis, to criticize, to create and to decide. This will help assure that education does not become a definitive imposition, but will serve rather as a transitional prop reinforcing the process of acquiring knowledge, of developing skills and abilities, and of strengthening the capacity to make decisions.

Nonetheless, the intervention of educators will always leave its mark. Any change will inevitably be affected by what actually was dealt with, and what was not, in the educational activities. The powers of decision will be applied, based on the knowledge and abilities imparted in the educational programs. This is why the content of educative actions must be very carefully selected and combined, so as to assure that the 'campesino' have access to the basic elements necessary to be able to think and make a decision, on his own.

In our case, one of the basic criteria for defining the content of 'campesino' education is to offer all the elements needed to judge just what society expects from them. If society decides to undertake 'campesino' education because a new, different type of 'campesino' behavior is needed to attain social improvements, then the 'campesinos' must be trained to understand these social processes, their causes, mechanisms and conditioning factors, in order to comprehend and assess the new kind of behavior expected of them: to decide about their adoption or modification, and to act accordingly.

This is, of course, based on the assumption that those of us responsible for planning 'campesino' education already possess a very clear vision of just what social processes involve our actions, and based on this, take the necessary decisions when planning.

Our responsibilities would not be so great if the 'campesinos' were in a position, and possessed the real and practical capacity to take their own educative decisions. This situation does exist in some places, though in relatively few in Latin America. Unfortunately, it is usually up to the planners to make these decisions.

1. Education and 'Campesino' Improvement

Education programs for 'campesinos' are conceived of as one of the instruments utilized for improving their situation: raising their productivity, increasing their consumer opportunities, improving the relationship they have with other members of society, and, in general, to raise the quality of rural life.

As an instrument for such, each education program must adjust to the objective it aspires to. In other words, the most important factor for defining and education program is to specify how its efficiency will be guaranteed as regards the improvements which are sought for the campesinos.

Obviously, educative actions are not enough to achieve the improvements being sought, as the present situation of 'campesinos' is not caused solely by their lack of education. Many other diverse causes intervene, which must be dealt with through diverse actions.

Taking into account the diversity of causes, the need has been manifested for organic planning in the utilization of the various instruments which will be employed in combating these causes, in order that accomplishments be coherent and complementary.

Each one of these instruments has its limits, determined by its very nature, and a sphere of influence which also depends on the circumstances. Because of this, it is necessary to clearly identify the possibilities and scope of influence of each educational instrument, in order to plan and program their optimum utilization.

2. Education as an Instrument

It is often thought that educative actions have intrinsic value per se; any educative actions under any circumstances is favorable to its target group. This value placed on education is based on the idea that learning is an inborn feature of the human being, especially for the adult, for whom any new knowledge must be beneficial. Nonetheless, when this educative action is incorporated into a plan with more complex objectives of improving the 'campesino' situation, we must revise our appreciation of education for its own sake, and give priority to its instrumental value.

With this revision we seek to expand the scope of educative actions within development plans, rather than the opposite, as it may have seemed. Past experience has shown us that often, under the assumption that education is intrinsic in value, the objectives are spent in this orientation and the planned products of education are not utilized for social, economic, cultural, and political achievements. In other words education is considered a consumer good and its levels are indicators of standards of living, or the result of other economic and social actions; with this perspective, education is only considered an input of the other processes.

This explanation was elaborated in order to demonstrate that desired social and economic results require that desirable educative actions be undertaken in a given manner and at a given time.

The approach described leads us to propose that the planning of educative actions for 'campesino' improvement include all those actions required by the process, and once these are established, other educative actions be included as far as available resources allow.

3. Limitations on the Influence of Education

Having defined education as one of the instruments for 'campesino' improvement, we will study its limitations within this context; that is to say, we will study the limitations of education as a contributing factor rather than as an end in itself.

We undertake this study not so much to free educators from the responsibilities which would overcome them, but to visualize those products which do depend upon them, and which are their obligations. This analysis would also allow us to perceive those conditions to which educative action must be adjusted.

These limits have their origin in the very nature of the educative action and its relationship with societal features and social change processes.

An improved quality of life for the 'campesino' population is being sought. This means that a new form of society is sought, where the presently existing sociological category of 'underprivileged campesinos' no longer exists. This requires basic in-depth changes in our societies, since the social and economic characteristics of the 'campesino' category are structurally linked to those of all the other categories in society, and are thus interdependent. Changes of this magnitude require the alteration of the living conditions in the other categories, as well as modification of the social, economic, political, and cultural structures.

In all societies there are mechanisms which facilitate the improvement of certain individuals or groups. In all of them the acquisition of education is one of the instruments used by individuals or groups to improve their situations. This betterment possibility has given birth to the idea that education is an effective means of improving one's life situation. Based on this idea, many families make considerable sacrifices in order to educate their children.

In urban environments, where the workers change jobs with relative frequency, advancement opportunities go to those who possess higher education levels, and the educated are more easily able to ascend or improve their situations, as compared to the uneducated.

However, this objective advantage of the educated does not give sufficient reason to conclude that education is a factor for social advancement. What has been produced is a privileged situation for the educated, unfavorable for the uneducated. This effect, in societal terms, is more discriminatory than progressive.

In rural areas, where occupational changes tend to occur with less frequency, it is more clearly visible that education is not a sufficient factor in itself for improvement; as a consequence, a considerable proportion of the educated emigrate to urban areas, in a 'brain drain' phenomenon.

This is the most important of the inherent limitations of educative actions: its social repercussions depend not on itself, but on the socio-economic context in which they are carried out. The social consequences of educative actions depend more on the occupational mobility of a zone than on the technical-pedagogical orientation they assume.

In any case, education always functions as liberator, accelerator, or stimulator of social processes and those individuals who have been included in the education process tend toward a different behavior than of their previous actions. In this sense, educative action can be considered an intrinsic mobilization. However, education in itself is not alone in indicating the orientation to be taken in this mobilization. Other circumstances will define whether the mobilization will be oriented toward up-grading certain individuals, groups, an entire social category, or society as a whole -or whether it will be oriented toward the exacerbation of dissatisfactions, toward protest, and toward conflict.

4. Principal Factors Conditioning the Influence of Education

Improvement of living conditions of the educated depends, in our societies, on the employment opportunities which will be opened to them. Where better working conditions are generated for the educated and only a few are educated, these will progress and the rest will remain in relatively unfavorable conditions. Where better working conditions are generated for all and all are educated, education will acquire the value of a factor for social advancement. Consequently, where education is effected for the few or for all and none can find better employment opportunities, an awareness and acceleration of a crisis is underway.

This simple reasoning process* allows us to see that the context for employment opportunities must be defined before planning educative actions, as it will be this which establishes their results, independently to a certain extent, of the educators' intentions, the objectives attributed to the education program, the quality of the reaching methods, and, to a very limited extent, to the curricular content.

It also shows us that if we wish to clearly define the objectives of educative actions, we shall have to interpret our educative intentions through existing socio-economic conditions, so as to decide whether we are educating in order to incorporate certain individuals or groups to the present employment structure, to provide up-grading skills for the entire 'campesino' category to adjust to a new employment structure being generated, or if we educate in order to stimulate the crisis situation and the processes of change through the pressure of a population which cannot find adequate job opportunities. Consequently, it will demonstrate that if better working conditions are not foreseen, educative actions will not directly contribute to bettering living conditions for the educated, and instead will accelerate the

* Applicable when applied to adult education for 'campesinos' in underdeveloped countries, since it is different in developed countries or when working with children.

functioning of other social processes.

Nonetheless, we claim that the objective of our actions in education is to improve the 'campesino' situation. If we keep this objective, the extent of our accomplishment will be clearly projected in a study of the occupational conditions. This projection is made originally in quantitative terms, but assumes a qualitative orientation in the following manner:

- a) If there are few opportunities for better employment, education will only be able to prepare a few persons to take advantage of these. Under these circumstances, if more persons are educated, the 'surplus' will not improve their situation and will have to seek other solutions or create conflicts with those who are able to progress.

In these cases, the results of education are ambivalent, socially invalidating the stated educational objectives.

- b) If the employment situation is completely modified in order to generate better opportunities for all 'campesinos' it is then possible to apply the objective of bettering conditions for all through education.
- c) If no possibility for improving employment opportunities is projected it would be irresponsible to attribute the objective of improving the 'campesino' situation to education(*).

We can state the following as a conclusion to our analyses: if we wish to establish the betterment of the quality of 'campesino' life as the main objective of 'campesino' education, the educative actions must be programmed within more complex plans which include these factors necessary for creating better employment opportunities for the target population.

Occupational possibilities are the result of a set of other factors, among which the most decisive are the distribution of property and means of production, the type of organization of the enterprise, the availability of capital, the types of productive activity carried out, and the kinds of technology used. All these factors will indirectly determine the social significance of the educative actions and should be taken into account when planning education actions.

In other words, the educative actions will take on the character we desire of them when they are carried out within plans which include actions for modifying entrepreneurial organization and the other factors described, in order to generate new and better employment opportunities for all rural workers.

5. The Possibilities of Influence of Education

The human species is the only one on earth with the capacity to define its objectives, perceive its limitations, and plan coordinated actions which can neutralize or reinforce one another in the achievement of objectives for the benefit of all. Humanity has been able to multiply its strength millions of times, to dominate nature through manipulation of the very forces of nature. This immense potential has been acquired by humanity over centuries, and education has been the principal mechanism whereby that which has been created by each generation is passed onto, and improved by, its successors.

Based on this potential, humanity has dominated all other species, has modified the environment and ecology, permitting us to reproduce in measures far exceeding those established by ecological conditions, and to survive in less than adequate places and climates.

However, this possibility of creating conditions which improve on natural conditions cause humanity to maintain norms for conditioned behavior, respect for conventions, the repression of certain tendencies and cultivation of complex and unspontaneous skills.

In particular, the need for erradicating certain plant and animal species and disproportionately increasing others, and for transforming natural resources into consumable goods, have caused man to create specialized techniques and roles, to such levels of complexity that there practically are no self-sufficient individuals or groups left. We all feel the need to interact, and this interaction acquires a world-wide dimension.

The efforts of humanity to organize have proved as intense as the efforts to dominate nature. Many socio-economic organization models have been produced, modified, and destroyed in attempting to achieve one which will allow men to live and reproduce according to their own objectives and based on their control over nature. Considerable disparities still exist as regards the objectives and organization models for achieving them, although our epoch is increasingly characterized by pluralistic tendencies, the acceptance of disaccord and respect for individual property.

Education also assumes a transmissory and accumulatory role for socio-economic organization. Education allows men to understand what has been created by their predecessors and contemporaries, to create and contribute themselves, and allows the development of skills which require that they act as an organized group and allows perception of objectives proposed by others, and the formulation of their own objectives.

The development of the social sciences in recent decades is generating a very important possibility for humanity: it is allowing us to understand, with increasing objectivity, the tendency of social forces to implement certain planned controls, analagous to the control exerted by humanity over the forces of nature.

Obviously, the matter is of a different nature, and the possibilities of controlling these forces and planing their interactions are qualitatively different. Furthermore, humanity still resists acceptance and recognition of determined tendencies and social forces because ethical, religious, or magical meanings are attributed to them, just as occurred for natural forces in other times. Some some social sectors still feel morally obligated to combat the study of certain social phenomena, as in other times they prohibited the dissection of human cadavers. There also exist in our societies mechanisms which act in benefit of certain individuals and these attempt to block any attempt at correction, by pressuring the underprivileged.

We can extract elements from this panoramic vision of the progress made in Education. By education we mean all those actions carried out to train the members of society, so they may:

- Develop necessary skills for doing the work required for transforming natural resources into consume goods; understand existing techniques and contribute to the creation of new ones.
- Understand the distribution of labor and the norms for interaction, and base their behavior upon this understanding.
- Understand the prevailing norms of social organization and contribute to their refinement.
- Understand the objectives accepted by others and decide whether they will assume or modify them.

These same objectives can be formulated in other terms, in order to visualize the dimensions in which education operates:

- a) Education transmits knowledge of production techniques, organization of productive activity, organization of trade, distribution of labor, social organization models, and objectives of societal life.
- b) Education develops the capacity to evaluate the norms and models of exiting organization forms, to become aware of their objectives, and to establish a position toward these, deciding on acceptance or modification.

Each generation has felt the need for its members to be educated in these three dimensions: historical analysis, however, reveals that educative actions have not been conceived in order that all human beings may benefit in all three dimensions. In almost all preceding generations, and our own as well, education has been discriminatory in nature, denying the majority attention to the development of conscience, selectively meeting out the transmission of knowledge and discriminatorily conditioning the development of skill, to the extent that some are taught to carry out the tasks while others are educated in skills to direct the organization of society and to define the objectives for all.

This discriminatory concept of privileged education for certain individuals allows these to take full advantage of the goods which we are presently able to produce; at the same time, it is unfavorable to the interests of humanity as a whole: not to foster the development of skills and creativity in the majority of the population means that their potential contribution will be reduced and thus world levels of production must remain low.

The consequences are not only quantitative. They are qualitative as well: since the decisions on productive activities are made by the few, they are of an orientation favorable to the minorities in power, and ignore the production needs of the majority. In the present orientation of world production, large quantities of superfluous goods are produced while we face a visible scarcity of food. This phenomenon, in other terms, involves millions of men and women dedicating labor and time to the production of goods which will not benefit them. From the educational point of view, this analysis reveals that many millions of human beings have not been taught to understand the organization of economy, or to participate in decisions for the purpose of re-orienting them toward a more advisable end.

Humanity must rationalize the use of its labor: re-orient decisions regarding production; foster the participation of the majority in decisions as a mechanism for their rationalization, with education assuming the responsibility for training people for this purpose.

6. Participation as a Process in Educative Decisions

Participation is visualized as the social mechanism which will be able to decisively act toward re-orientating productive activities and rationalizing the use of the labor force toward the majority's interests. This will permit us, on a philosophical level, to define one of the main objectives for Education: preparing all human beings to contribute to the creation and operation of new forms of organization and decision-making mechanisms in the economy, which will allow an adjustment of productive activities to humanity's needs. Obviously, the importance of this objective is functional and does not discard the other objectives for educative action.

Nonetheless, the line of reasoning we have taken to arrive at a definition of this objective should not lead us to the erroneous conclusion that we can visualize the relationship between Education and participation through philosophical considerations. On the contrary, these considerations are merely an abstraction of the sociological study of the processes by which participation is becoming a characteristic of our historical period.

Since initiation of the prevalent enterprise model, in which ownership of capital is identified with ownership of the enterprise and the product, mechanisms have been generated to limit the power of decision held exclusively by capitalists. The basic characteristics of each of these mechanisms given below:

a. The first mechanism established for this purpose was the workers labor union. Unions, through social pressure, attempted to influence the decisions of owners, that they would not all be favorable exclusively to the proprietor, but benefit the workers in some aspects as well. In many cases, there was conflict and disruption of productive actions, and the proposals made did not always guarantee significant improvements for the workers. Its major limitation, lies in its assumptions based on already established enterprises, with an organization model already established and in production, according to the orders of the proprietor. For this reason, labor movements have not contributed significantly to the rationalization of production, though they have obtained some important benefits for workers.

b. Other types of mechanisms appeared later, giving more participation to workers in deciding upon the use of surplus wealth generated in the enterprise. "Profit participation" appeared, at different times and in varying percentages. Thus, worker aspirations were linked with the interests of the proprietor for obtaining high profit levels. This mechanism was put forth by the labor unions, and a description of its limitations are similar to those in a.

c. A third type of mechanism requires giving the workers participation assigning participation to the workers in ownership of the enterprise, through the sale shares. The first cases consisted of direct agreements between proprietors and workers, by which the enterprise sold shares individually to the workers who wished to buy them. Thus, profit participation was

made automatic and the amounts involved were determined by the quantity of money which a worker was willing to invest in shares. Obviously, if the individual earning power of the workers is compared with the volume of capital with which the majority of enterprises are very small, since the quantity of shares which he could buy will always be less than the quantities held by the original owner.

d. This mechanism did achieve, in some areas, a qualitative modification --when the governments designated given percentages of annual profits for the purchase of shares by the community of workers, even to where the worker organization controlled 51% of the shares and thus had true power over the enterprise. Theoretically, this mechanism allows workers to use the enterprise's assets in a favorable manner, especially by investing capital surplus in the creation of new productive activities and employment opportunities, better suited to their interests.

e. In recent decades, another mechanism has gained strength in Latin America, stimulated by agrarian reforms. It involves the transference of ownership rights to the workers, through the formation of associative enterprises on collective land allocations.

These enterprises have taken very different names and differences in organization or operation exist among them; they share the characteristic of operating in a self-management model and fostering the equal participation of all its members in the decisions, work, and enjoyment of benefits. Some analysts consider this type of participation to be the most equitable in terms of participation.

f. However, more complete forms appeared later which have opened new possibilities for participation. Social interest agricultural associations, begun in Peru in the past ten years, also consider coproprietors those workers who do not work enterprise lands or receive individual salaries, but who participate in all the decisions and orient them toward their own interests. Perhaps its most important result is that of guaranteeing that the capital accumulated in large enterprises be invested in promoting the socio-economic development of neighboring communities, particularly in the generation of new employment opportunities, going beyond the level of "the land belongs to ... who work it" to the level of "capital at the disposal of those who need it".

g. With the completion of land allocation processes, another type of participative mechanism is being generated. In those countries where it can be clearly seen that lands will not be available for allocation because a growing number of persons have become eligible, or because all cultivable land was already allocated, new forms of 'campesino' organization have begun to be utilized for fostering new productive activities through enterprises of an associative and self-management nature. In Mexico, 'ejido' enterprises have begun functioning for mining, touristic and industrial activities, and even in cases where enterprise lands continue to be farmed individually. Their members who do not own lands continue to work 'ejido' lands. In these cases, participation is granted not through ownership of lands but through membership in the organization; 'campesino'

organization thus goes beyond agricultural activity, to a multi-faceted entrepreneurial dimension, without losing the characteristics of being self-management enterprises with equal participation by all in the decision-making process.

Apart from these seven types of mechanisms, our societies have witnessed the appearance of other participative mechanisms which are not directly linked to the economic activities of 'campesinos', but which contribute to establishing participation as a characteristic of our historical period. The education system has begun to reflect some of the tendencies when students were given participation in the governments of universities, and participative processes were set in motion on other educational levels. The churches have decreased the rigidity of their hierarchies, creating or reactivating participative assemblies, adopting modern languages, etc. Even public administration agencies have undergone modifications in order to accommodate participation by the interested public, thus decreasing the autonomy of its directive officials in the making of decisions.

7. Education and Participation in the 'Campesino' Associative Enterprise

The fact that Latin America is where this tendency toward participation applied to entrepreneurial activities is being developed is of significance. Perhaps the general impression given, that agricultural enterprises provide fewer possibilities for obtaining large profits explain to some extent, the possibility of implementing new types of entrepreneurial models. Similarly, the interest of large industrial producers, particularly the exporters of consumer goods, find the rural enterprise model to be a means whereby the worker participates increasingly in the product of the enterprise, and therefore can purchase more, assuring expanded markets. It should also be stressed that considerable pressure is being brought to bear by the 'campesinos' themselves to improve their standards of living, and by the insistent denunciations and proposals of the intellectuals and ideologues.

The modular ideal is for the 'campesinos' to assume the responsibility for managing these new types of enterprises, that is, the historic responsibility of operationalizing those enterprise models which unite the principal tendencies of our day. This responsibility is being given them at a moment of world crisis as regards respect to the lack of food products, and the increasing demand for agricultural inputs for industrial purposes.

All this is a responsibility for the sector of the population least served by the educational services. We should not forget that the highest illiteracy rates are in rural areas, and opportunities for higher education and business training are provided only in the more urbanized areas of each country. Most of the rural workers have never had the opportunity to know a businessman personally, and have no idea of how or what it means, to run a business.

Certainly, one can always find several 'campesinos' who can run an enterprise; we can also find some persons with entrepreneurial experience and groups with experience in the collective use of commonly owned resources. But what is not easy to find, is groups of people trained to run self-management enterprises in a collective manner, within current capital market conditions, or taking into account the markets for inputs and outputs, work and international trade.

Hence, the main purpose of education is to provide support at this level: to train 'campesinos' to run their enterprises: within this new orientation, providing them with the necessary knowledge, developing their skills and strengthening their ability to criticize, create and decide matters on their own, as well as to change their behavioral patterns in line with the requirements of the newly adopted model of organization.

8. Education, participation and improving employment conditions in rural areas

Returning to our original point of analysis, we are reminded that the basic intention of our education actions was defined in terms of contributing to a better way of life for the 'campesinos'. In point 4 of this paper, we mentioned that this depends largely on the conditions in which education is included: in economic activities; how the 'campesino' deals with the enterprise in compensation for his contribution of work and dedication.

We also indicated that employment conditions depend mainly on how the ownership of the means of production is distributed, the types of entrepreneurial organization, the size of the enterprises, the availability of capital, the type of productive activities undertaken, and the type of technology used.

In point 5, within the general tendency toward participation we analyzed the effect of granting land to 'campesinos', and of implanting new self-management enterprise models which are run by the member-worker group.

In this type of situation, generated largely by agrarian reform, it is possible for the 'campesino' to decide how to condition the other factors affecting their employment: they could form associative enterprises and integrate several of these enterprises into large operative units. Decisions as to the size of their operative units, in turn, would have an effect on the possibilities of accumulating capital and receiving credit. They could also decide whether they undertake some diversification of their productive activities to assure greater aggregate value of their products, or whether they exploit other natural resources to generate more employment opportunities. They can also decide on what type of technology is advisable and convenient, taking into account their aspirations to attain increased profits or surplus and to generate more employment.

Using these mechanisms, then the beneficiaries of agrarian reform, may acquire the potential to decide for themselves, concerning what to do about those factors which condition their employment situation, and hence their standard of living.

However, this is at the level of potential. Agrarian reform practically eliminates the limitations faced by the 'campesino' with respect to their basic means of production, land. For this access to land to effectively contribute to improved standards of living means that the 'campesino' must act on the other conditioning factors, and readjust them, to his interests. This is the same as saying that agrarian reform creates one of the necessary conditions, but it is up to education to create the other conditions needed to assure that the 'campesino' contributes to his own improved standard of living.

To this end, then, it is not enough to train only a few individuals, as we are interested in improving the conditions of all the "campesinos", and because the associate enterprise model puts the responsibility on the entire group, since participation is the principal mechanism by which to avoid the reappearance of discriminations and privileges.

At this level of analysis, a relationship of mutual conditions is visualized, between the model transformation process and the educational process. Both are essential factors for improving the conditions of the 'campesino' and both are inter-dependent. If the position of the 'campesino' does not change within the enterprise, education will not serve as a factor to ensure improvements. Similarly, if the 'campesino' is not trained to run an enterprise adequately, the transfer of ownership of the enterprise and its reorganization will not produce the desired results.

Moreover, this relationship of mutual conditions, is not uniform. At given moments, certain changes in the enterprise will be necessary to facilitate specific educational actions, while at other times, certain educational results will be considered essential before specific changes in the enterprise organization can occur; the joint planning of the organizational readjustments and educational actions is therefore an essential feature.

9. Education and Management in 'Campesino' Associative Enterprises

Much can be learned from the above analysis, which can be directed towards planning educational actions. First of all, the 'campesinos' must be trained, if the new types of enterprise models are to be implemented.

The new model implies participation in the decision-making process and is based on the assumption that all enterprise members will be in a position to participate. Therefore, education must not be limited to training a few managers, but should rather be based on fostering basic managerial skills in everyone.

Two types of management education activities are needed for each enterprise:

- a. Managerial training for all members, so they may participate in the decisions related to the type of enterprise, the integration of enterprises, the use of capital, the types of productive activities to be undertaken, and the types of technology to be adopted.

To this end, the educational activities would include:

- i. Information about the possible models of organization, their limitations, possibilities and individual requirements.
- ii. Information about other enterprises in the zone, particularly those which have relation to the productive activities of the enterprise.

- iii. Analysis of the possibilities, advantages and requirements for integration with other enterprises.
- iv. Analysis of the natural, human and capital resources of the enterprise, and study of possible alternatives for diversification
- v. Analysis of available financial possibilities: their requirements, advantages, and disadvantages.
- vi. Analysis of the different types of technologies applicable to the productive activities selected; their effect on the employment levels of the enterprise members, and on the generation of new employment possibilities, as well as their effect on the productivity, production, and generation of income, and its distribution among the members.

It may seem exaggerated to hope that all members of all 'campesino' enterprises acquire basic training in all the areas described; however, such training is an essential prerequisite to assure their effective participation, and to guarantee that due attention is thus given to the interests of the enterprise members. This really, is little more than an educational interpretation of the demands of our societies, to convert 'campesinos' into entrepreneurs. In addition to basic training for decision-making purposes, "campesinos" must learn some basic techniques for evaluating the implementation of the collective decisions, in order to maintain some level of control over their own directive members.

- b. Specialized training for those enterprise members who have been elected to directive positions. In addition to the basic, general managerial training, they will also require certain skills in the management of other techniques, in order to:
 - i. Operationalize and direct the implementation of the adopted decisions.
 - ii. Guarantee the adequate functioning of the different components of the enterprise.
 - iii. Complement guide and evaluate personnel training aspects
 - iv. Regularly present accounts and reports to the pertinent agencies and propose needed changes or adjustments.

It should be stressed that a large proportion of the existing cases are beginning to ignore the need for education, despite the fact that it is evidently a major requirement for assuring the adequate operation of these types of enterprises. In these cases, the lack of 'campesino' abilities is being masked by the direct or indirect imposition of managers or administrators supplied by the State, on the justification that this action guarantees production. If this procedure is not clearly established as being of a transitional nature only, and is unaccompanied by education actions, the step will unfortunately end up by negating the implementation of self-management and participative models. At the same time, it would be inadvisable to wait until the 'campesinos' are adequately trained before creating an enterprise. A more probable situation then, is to train the 'campesinos' in managerial aspects during the first stages of the enterprise, rather than prior to its existence, on the understanding that the personnel provided by the State will be responsible mainly for the educational component, as well as guaranteeing the smooth operation of the enterprise and production. Thus, the situation of the 'campesino' would be defined in two stages of managerial training: in the first, with the aid of external managers, and in the second, while already undertaking managerial activities.

10. Education and technology in 'campesino' associative enterprises

The problem of technical training and specialization at 'campesino' associative enterprises is a different one than that found in traditional capitalist enterprises. In a capitalistic enterprise, the owner of the capital is also owner of the enterprise and therefore of the end product; he will therefore direct all his technical decisions towards attaining a product -in quantity and quality- which will bring him increased returns. If to increase profits means that workers must work during hours that do not suit them, with tools which are awkward and techniques that they **r e j e c t** in arbitrarily contrived groups, the owner will likewise decide to do so. If the workers complain, his response will consist in negotiating with them to accept the working conditions he has decided on, in exchange for other types of compensations such as additional pay or special services.

When the enterprise is controlled by the workers, this type of solution tends to lose its practicability; the workers conclude that nothing can compensate for unsatisfactory job conditions, and therefore decide to try and ensure that their tasks will not be disagreeable, awkward exhausting, or of low prestige. This situation in many 'campesino' enterprises, has resulted in the discriminatory distribution of tasks, where non-enterprise personnel is hired to do the work that is disagreeable to the new entrepreneurs. At other, more wealthy enterprises, new techniques and machines are used to free the workers of these disagreeable tasks.

Planning technical training in this type of situation, then, no longer requires the study of only those requirements for the desired product, and to train the men to attain this product, but must also consider the conditions imposed by the workers to attain the product, selecting those techniques which meet both conditioning factors, and making them available to those who will be using them. In line with the concept of participation, then, it is no longer a matter of considering technical training as a process where a technique is imposed on the worker; it is a question of selecting and adopting those techniques which will help the workers attain their selected product.

Once the techniques have been selected, the necessary knowledge for developing the needed skills, may be imparted using customary teaching resources, since this area of worker training has been most highly developed by the educational systems.

Although this point has been dealt with many times the typed teaching personnel for the technical training should be stressed. We have frequently emphasized the need for education to be the responsibility of the 'campesinos', insofar as possible. Technical training should also be included into this concept, since the adoption of a given technique is not achieved independently of the overall 'campesino' personality. The techniques which each 'campesino' uses have been learned through familiar and communal means of transmission, and the ways in which they are applied are carefully observed by the other members of his group.

To learn a technique and then teach it, is a source of prestige and authority in the 'campesino' communities, and the pertinent repercussions of this on the organization of work and the distribution of tasks should not be ignored. The presence of foreigners in a community, trying to introduce new techniques, may enter into conflict with the roles assigned by the community to certain individuals, and may result in the rejection of a proposed technique. Careful planning of the introduction of techniques is therefore needed, taking into careful account those individual, normative rules of behavior which exist in every community, and will continue to be in force even when the community is beginning to take on the characteristics and rationale of an enterprise.

This sort of problem could be ignored by previous enterprise owners, since the workers had to accept the contractual conditions; upon becoming a community enterprise, however, given norms governing the inter-personal relations and communal authority are being strengthened, although they may not be a requirement of entrepreneurial organization. Hence, so as not to break the cultural patterns, it may well be more practical to propose new techniques through those individuals which the community has accepted as its technical authorities, and who will also probably be elected to the corresponding authoritative positions in the new entrepreneurial organization.

Again it should be stressed that the introduction of technologies selected by the technologists, is not the principal function of education. The technologists will, of course, have to guide the process during the first

stages of the operation of a new enterprise, with the aim of guaranteeing production. But it is more important for them to cultivate a technological rationale in the 'campesinos' capable of acquiring the ability to evaluate the results of applying each technique, so as to modify or reject and replace it. Generally the advantage obtained from a technique depends more on the way in which it is applied than on the technique itself. Moreover, several cultural factors intervene in the application of a technique, which can encourage the use of given techniques, with more effective and efficient results in the hands of certain groups, than perhaps other, theoretically better techniques.

11. Education and Organization in 'Campesino' Associative Enterprises

Although 'campesino' associative enterprises have been defined as production organizations, that is, in economic terms, this definition does not include all the pertinent characteristics. Since these enterprises are associative in nature, to assure the collective participation of all the workers in the decision making process, the enterprise is also a social organization. Since these are also self-management enterprises, composed of individuals linked by certain common group interests, they are also considered basic social units. Moreover, since the idea is to structure a new different type of model, these enterprises serve as examples of a new kind of organization, requiring cultural readjustments in their members and in the set of institutions involved, in order to assure their proper functioning.

During the process of forming this type of enterprise throughout Latin America, we have noted that the possibility of the joint participation of workers in the decision-making process has converted this new type of organization into an instrument capable of defending their common interests and, if they join forces, becoming a new political force serving a sector of the population which generally had no previous access to political action of any kind.

In sum, then, these enterprises are basic social organizations with productive functions which seek to satisfy the interests of a given sector of the population ('campesinos') and which can assume the functions of political organization, governed by norms and value scales which differ from those traditionality in force.

Their development, from an organizational point of view depends on the coherence with which they assume their various responsibilities; the main difficulty is to conceive and get into operation, all those components needed for the different internal and external functions.

In some places, there has been a segregation of the different functions with some associative enterprises emphasizing some of the functions, while ignoring others. A clear example of this is the Mexican 'ejido' which has attained very sophisticated levels of socio-political organization, but has not been able to establish economic units, and in some cases, has even ruptured economic unity by distributing the ejido lands for exploitation as small family units, and in some cases, the State has interfered in the participation processes and the definition of the enterprises as autonomous socio-political units, with the aim of guaranteeing collective but efficient and effective

cultivation of the land. In still others, the enterprises have become strong entrepreneurial units, attaining significant levels of production and productivity and income, but have paid little attention to any aspect other than the common interests of the members, abandoning all political functions.

It is still too soon in Latin America, to be able to properly appreciate the impact of these new organizational models on the existing models of economic and political organization in our rural milieu (in Europe it was several decades before the capitalistic model of the enterprise was able to disrupt the organizational models of the feudal society, imposing a free-enterprise system which defines the capitalistic society). We are unable to appraise the rate of growth of the different processes generating the participation of the different social, political and economic institutions in our countries. Moreover, we still cannot tell how the processes of cultural change will evolve, as a result of the generalized adoption of the 'participative' organization models.

However, it has been possible to ascertain that production in rural areas can successfully undertaken by the so-called associative enterprises, and that this type of model productive organization is having positive economic, social and political results, of benefit for large sectors of our populations.

Under these circumstances, then, education for organization must assume strategies directed towards assuring that the new 'campesino' entrepreneurial organizations assume responsibility for all the different functions. Our responsibility will consist mainly in planning and implementing those educational actions needed for each enterprise and group of enterprises, for each stage of development, so that they may learn about and assume their productive, social and political functions, in all dimensions, without neglecting any of the basic functions. This is an essential prerequisite for producing cultural changes needed to assure their adequate operation.

Educational activities should not be restricted exclusively to technical and managerial aspects. They should also include information for the development of abilities and skills of a social and political nature, and of the ability of their members to comprehend the social and cultural norms and to evaluate and perfect them.

It is inadvisable to evolve a training format in organization, of universal application. An educational program must be created for each case, using those methods and new procedures compatible with the expected models of participation.

The essential element is that the 'campesinos' themselves insofar as possible, must also participate in planning education for organization purposes; at first they may contribute little, but as they gradually learn more, they should finally be able to take charge of the whole process.

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A CONCRETE EXPERIENCE IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION:

THE CASE OF PERU

Boris Yopo

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A CONCRETE EXPERIENCE IN NON-FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION:

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Critical Framework

Formal education systems have entered a period of acute crisis, in both a qualitative and quantitative sense. (*) It is not our wish to deny the basic validity of the school or university, which, however, also require in-depth examination, but to restate and expand the horizons of what should be the true nature of education: it should be a continuous, progressive and permanent process, with social and cultural applications; which assists in upgrading considerable marginal sectors of society to acceptable living conditions, allowing for the development of a basic of ethical and moral existence.

Both schools and higher educational institutions, in their present philosophical, organizational, and management orientations and practices, contribute very little to the solution of the serious problems which confront modern societies when they attempt to overcome their chronic underdevelopment within a given historical period. In actual fact, constitute part of the "establishment" located as they are within the framework of that superstructure which cooperates to maintain the status-quo and to maintain the underviable inequalities in socio-economic conditions which exist on levels and scientific terms at the same time... In other, perhaps cruder but no less realistic, educational strategies presently in effect serve only to "grease the wheel of the system".

(*) The following works make reference to the matter:

1. Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich y Pierre Furter, Educación para el Cambio Social, Buenos Aires, Tierra Nueva, 1974.
 2. Paulo Freire e Iván Illich, Diálogo, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Búsqueda; 1975.
 3. Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society, San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970 (Título en francés: "Une Société Sans Ecole", París: Editions du Seuil, 1971) (Traducido al Español, Barcelona: Barral Editores, S.A. 1973)
 4. Ivan Illich, En América Latina: ...¿Para qué sirve la Escuela?, Buenos Aires Ediciones Búsqueda, 1974.
 5. A.S. Neill, L. Kohlberg, L.S. Vygotski y A.N. Leontiev, El Aprendizaje Social: La Base Psicológica de la Socialización, Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 1971.
 6. Everett Reimer, La Escuela ha Muerto, Barcelona: Barral Editores, S.A., 1973. (5a. Ed.).
- A. Salazar Bondy, La Educación del Hombre Nuevo, Bs. Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1975.
- Manuel Salvat et al. La Educación Permanente, Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1973
- Tomás A. Vasconi, "Contra la Escuela", Sociedad y Desarrollo, No. 2 Abril-Junio, pp. 5-26, 1972
- Banco Mundial, Educación: Documento de Política Sectorial, Washington, 1974

The school is viewed as a selecting mechanism and, above all, as a means for social advancement (1); nonetheless, neither to these functions is fulfilled efficiently and democratically. Thus, the education system can be considered an enormous machine which classifies, labels, and maps out the individual's future (2), through highly questionable processes.

In view of this situation, it is evident that a restructuring is needed, in both the philosophy as well as in the organization and methodology of the educative task. This should not be circumscribed within physical bounds nor removed from the real world which becomes progressively more critical of it. New models committed to the creation of a new social order involving greater justice and equality should be applied.

Perhaps few persons are aware that the education is permanently creative process, and, as such, should dedicate its strength and dynamic potential to the generating of a new, unified social being, which is capable of seeking solutions to the major problems which contribute to our contemporary world crisis.

Thus, the most imperative task for the moment is to search out new forms and methodologies for the educative endeavor. The reforms which have already occurred do not provide a solution to the system's critical situation. The change must be structural, radical, and clearly directed toward the large majority -who are legally and by design the victims of a clearly unfavorable historical process. Education, considered in this dimension of personal liberation, and consistent with the integral development of the total human being, should function as a factor of change in a bold and creative manner. This applies in particular to those countries where commendable efforts can be observed for radically altering the kinds of production and distribution of services available to the social community. I believe that the experience and efforts in Peru are especially deserving of attention.

Philosophical Principles

I have sketched below a series of philosophical and ideopolitical principles for adult education in rural areas of Peru, which more concretely define the actual situation which prevails in those areas. These principles will also serve as the bases for implementing a totally new plan of action which, though it has not been adhered to completely -due to many highly complex factors- reflects a serious and commendable effort to break away from traditional education processes.. In fact, it can be stated that considerable progress has already been made.

(1) Tomás A. Vasconi, op. cit. p. 6

(2) W.R. Warner, R.J. Havighurst y M.B. Loeb, who shall be Educated, New York Harper & Brothers, 1954.

(*) This chapter has been based on: Julio Carrasco, "Educación de Adultos en Areas Rurales", extractado de "Educación de Adultos en el Contexto de la Revolución Peruana", DIGEBALYC-74, Lima.

For several reasons, the education of adults in rural areas is one of the greatest challenges facing Peruvian education systems. In the first place, the 'campesino' population is the largest sector in the country, and agricultural activity is one of the most important resources both in terms of income and basic food production for the national economy. Furthermore, new educational demands are being generated, due to the volume of resources and dimension of the problem. Many facets of the situation must be faced: the lack of usable practical and theoretical precedents in the approaching solutions of problems; the burden of administrative and political structures and, finally, the modifications which are invading the field, as a result of the structural changes already carried out. All of these contribute to a vast and complex field of work which requires a capacity for creative responses which is as yet, not sufficiently developed, and which in many cases is hindered by, or violently conflicts with, traditional administrative structures which persist, or with new structures which, in some cases, have inherited the bureaucratic failings of their predecessors.

Whole of the rural areas is thus made up of a heterogeneous set of situations which possess particular, idiosyncratic features but which share one common characteristic: they constitute exploited and marginal sector within the social framework of Peru, reflecting to a greater or lesser degree, the situation which exists in the majority of Latin American countries.

This basic characteristic is a result of the historical process of domination differed in these areas, and provides a specific example of the national problem. It is one and the same, and its roots can be traced to the same explanations. Thus, all efforts to resolve it should be aware of this perspective, so that the conditions and causes which have generated it can be radically altered. If the main cause of a problem has been the existence of an oppressive and exploitative socio-economic system, education must be directed toward destroying system and creating a new, different, superior, and integral one.

Given the fact that education cannot in itself totally modify the existing system, it must integrate itself into other activities and processes which can achieve this transformation, with the purpose of supporting, directing, and deepening these modifications in order to contribute to an over-all change in the system. Such is the origin of any revolutionary or structural change process.

From this perspective, then, economic transformation and political change are highly related to the education process. In other words, education cannot remain on the sidelines of change in society, in the structure of work, nor in the process of transferring political power presently operates in this country; neither can education ignore these changes without the risk of becoming totally removed from the reality in which it operates, as though it were set in a huge vacuum totally lacking the dimensions of commitment.

The specific case of adult education in rural areas does not involve a different modality, but is, rather a special activity directed toward discovering adequate forms for implementing the various facets of the education system for adults, taking into account the particular characteristics of rural areas by bringing them within the framework of the new Peruvian education system, whose guidelines are extremely interesting.

Because of this, adult education in rural areas establishes very concrete action parameters, as follows:

1. The real historical conditions which provide its context cannot be ignored.
2. Development and structural change processes in rural areas must be oriented and, especially, integrated within the agrarian reform process.
3. The inhabitants of rural areas must be liberated, through cultivation of their critical conscience along with active, constant community participation.
4. Education must be closely linked with work, the basic economic activities of the inhabitants of rural areas.

Thus presented in broad outline, a concrete form of expression must be found, which in each case will take on the particular characteristics of the specific milieu in which it exists. Nonetheless, its significance and implications will be given in more detail, as follows:

1. Education, to be effective, must acknowledge the real historical conditions in which it exists. This means it must take into account the entire set of socio-economic relationships in which and individual is involved, with the clear understanding that they are the result of an historical process which has generated the inequitable situation of marginality, oppression, and exploitation. Physical conditions differ: the 'campesinos' of the Sierra Sur in Peru are located along the lake shores, where the minifundia model prevails; this situation differs from that of the ethnic groups in the rain forest areas, while both exist under very different conditions from those of the campesinos along the northern coast or in the fishing villages on the littoral coast.
2. Simultaneously, we must take into account that the unequal progress of structural changes which are modifying historical conditions (Agrarian Reform, Fishing Reforms, Native Rain Forest Community Laws, oil extraction in the east, etc.) is generating new situations, which are sometimes conflictive or contradictory in nature, and that these modifications are frequently opposed by powerful groups, interested in maintaining and defending the previous situation. These groups often confuse the base populations and keep them from identifying and recognizing their own interest. To this must be added the action or lack of action of state agencies and their administrative or political officials, which contradicts the participative thrust of the revolutionary process and becomes an obstacle to its progress. This also requires a clear awareness of the existence of forms of organization and participation of the base populations which must find adequate channels for their speaking out and defending their interest at higher levels, since, within these populations there exist factions which work against cohesiveness and which must also be taken into account.

In sum, we must be sensitive to any manifestation or appearance of a socio-economic phenomenon, in order to analyze it, discover its orientation, and, depending on the circumstances, defend or combat it.

By directing education toward development and structural change in rural areas, it would be impossible not to integrate it within the processes

which modify the relationships controlling the means of production, assets, and the whole production process; the long-term availability of adequate inputs, and the marketing, distribution, and consumption of the goods and services produced by society. This involves struggling against the specter of underdevelopment and its causes in an effort to overcome the oppression and marginal circumstances of the large majority of the people. For this effort to be a success, there must be an in-depth understanding of the negative manifestations of these processes, the mechanisms employed, as well as the steps it is possible to take to overcome them in various fields (production, marketing, etc.), before attempting to integrate the step into the educative process. Within the existing framework, an understanding of the legal ordinances and their regulations is a prerequisite. Also in order to establish education programs.

This parameter has some important implications. First, it implies that rural adult education cannot occur exclusively in one sector, as it goes beyond the institutional boundaries of any individual, isolated endeavor. Thus, it requires coordinated action from all the sectors, in an integrated fashion.

The actions carried out to date have had little success, in this sense. Public sector activities in favor of development in rural areas, face serious problems in terms of coordination. Several factors contribute to this difficulty, such as: the regionalization of the country which has been affected differently by each sector, the strategy and progress of each, which differs by zone and region; the proliferation of coordinating agencies which, when they function, have little decision power due to their non-executor nature; and, lastly, the many interpretations of what coordination means, ranging from financial support, to the distribution of the population by sector.

3. Contributing to the liberation of the inhabitants of rural areas through cultivation of their critical consciousness and active, continuous community participation, can be taken to mean an implicit acknowledgement that adult education in rural areas is, in essence, a self-educating or self-liberating process, carried out by the participants of the education system, in this case the 'campesinos'. Thus, the actions of state agencies should be based on a support and promotion orientation which will raise levels of consciousness and organization, through its orderly and enlightened participation in structural change activities in several sectors of society. This requires that the public sectors adopt a new focus where previously they have been concerned with the more necessary and urgent participation of the base populations of their institutions. Education activities should then foster an objective view of the exploitation, oppression, and marginal existence experienced by rural inhabitants in the past. They should recognize, explain, and voluntarily assume the responsibility for transforming these conditions, with full knowledge that this involves a collective effort in an organized fashion, since individual solutions do not have far-reaching success.

Curricular content, in accordance with these demands, will provide an indispensable instrument in this liberation process; these cannot, however, be imposed from outside by planners, programmers, or other technicians who deny the right of those involved to make the pertinent decisions in the change process.

4. Closely relating education with work means that the diverse economic activities basic to each area, and which differ between and even within zones, must be taken into account. This is true not only in relation to the type of activity carried out, but to take into account the technological level of production development and the status of the workers in the social structure. This status is basically determined by the conditions in which they work (seasonal or steady employment; socio-cooperative -non membership; communal-non-communal; field workers; foremen; administrative; riverbank-native; etc.). These conditions are a concrete expression of the socio-economic system which historically generates them.

According to these factors, rural education should be based on the same real world factors as is the work. It should not only attempt to integrate, link, or provide terms of reference, but it should use work as the anchoring point for defining its technological levels and forms of organization. Those elements which can contribute to a more just economic system should be conserved, while avoiding the indiscriminate introduction or imposition of external elements which could destroy the particular technology of an area, or change the structure or composition of existing relationships.

When we relate education to work, in the case of adults, we mean integrating it into their entire life, since work is their main and often sole preoccupation. Work exists, not only as their source of economic income, but as a means of self-realization and participation in the change and transformation of their society. Education is traditionally of primary importance, when the people can relate it -sometimes distortedly- to their work. Conversely, when education has no real relationship with their work, or when it ignores the work condition, it cannot be considered more than an alien unreal activity which lacks meaning or importance.

So far, all these aspects have been dealt with in a schematically separated manner, as general guidelines for rural adult education. In practice, these factors cannot be considered independent of one another; rather, they are so deeply integrated among themselves that it is impossible to separate them. The separation previously established was made for purely formal purposes. It is possible that, far from contributing to a clearer picture of the matter, these guidelines may confuse or cloud the existing one by hindering the perception of the close relationship between them.

Methodological and Teaching Dimension

The following deals with certain methodological and teaching issues which must be taken into account in adult education, in order to bring the activity into focus with the philosophical stand being taken.

For most of us, the need for rural adult education involves: an evident fact, an objective undeniable reality. Although I fully concur with this, it is wrong to conclude, almost automatically, that the "most necessary" educational services to be provided would be the following: literacy levels, work training, nutrition and health education, etc. Although these are not disputable facts; low literacy and attendance levels, high drop-out rates, etc., exist; the conclusion is not obvious. It serves in great and ample measure, a fact often ignored for obvious reasons, to maintain the status-quo.

The fact that we perceive the problem thus does not mean that all "objectively" share our perception. The 'campesino' in particular, as the inhabitant of rural areas, does not follow our line of reasoning or perceive 'his' need for receiving an education, either objectively or subjectively. The "subject" of the education process does not see the need for it, or have any awareness of its usefulness. We are the ones convinced that he must be educated, and are thus imposing our education on to him, as that body of knowledge we think he needs to learn - a process referred to in anthropology as acculturation or enculturation.

This process in itself presents a problem which will come to generate new difficulties: the rejection of or indifference to education attributed to 'campesinos'. These perceived difficulties often result in the formulation of misguided policies on the matter, as has so often occurred on our continent.

The first error is the new form of cultural domination or imposition through which we (the technicians, experts on the subject) intrude upon the 'campesino ethos' in order to offer our generous services to those who have not had access to the privileges of our culture.

The second error is the value we place on the education which we have received or prepared for them. We consider it the only valid form of education, we maintain blind and absolute faith of a messianic nature in the education which we offer as lifesaver which will ward off the specters of ignorance and backwardness. Their opinion on the subject does not matter, nor do their wishes. Our desire is to save them, by means which are "good for them" which will bring them closer to our reality, to our mentality, toward our values.

This attitude of imposition and manipulation finds its polar opposite in total abstention, a form of populist demagoguery, which decrees blindly that the people know, that the people are innately cultured, and that it is only necessary to wait until the consciousness of their need for education arises spontaneously before taking action. Both positions are dangerous and false. Both ignore reality and limit the possibilities of becoming, or even of being, for the 'campesino' who exists as a concrete, historical being with his own limitations and potentialities. Furthermore, both erroneously consider education an independent variable in the socio-economic structure, denying its dialectical nature.

To overcome this conception, it is essential to base activities on the "felt" needs of the population, those which comprise its fundamental problem situation, as they are perceived by the people themselves. From this base, and through actions directed towards problem solution, an education can be developed which, when linked to or generated by these transforming activities, can contribute to their progress. (We can state that, though the actions carried out are not formal educative actions "strictu sensu", they do possess an undeniable educative character and potential.

Thus, education will evolve, not be carelessly imposed it will be linked in actual fact with work and structural change, and will take forms which are consistent with education and the objectives, interests, and concrete needs of each case.

This permanent task of relating education with the concrete life-situation of the inhabitants, is considered the most realistic way of facing the search for an authentic education on the part of the rural inhabitants, and those who live in the marginal areas bordering large cities.

This is not simply an exercise in motivation, nor a form of "creating the need for education" among them. It refers to a so-called educational promotion, oriented toward integrating education in rural and marginal areas into the context in which they operate, that they may act in accordance with this context, develop through the organized actions of the base population, and establish its own management and organizational forms. Education must overcome the narrow limits of a forced bureaucratization which disjoints and displaces the educative task from the interests of the inhabitants, by constraining them through formalization -whether through formal schooling or otherwise- which ignores the creative capacity of the target population and the potential education found in reality and the factors which comprise it.

This education system, divided into degrees, levels, and modalities, proves to be a valid formula for general organization in terms of administration, but is not the best form for implementation at the level of the base population in rural and marginal urban areas. Such divisions are maintained by fractionalizing what is in actuality an integrated whole, and will create difficulties for community participation in the management of education and self-management, as it introduces facets which are multiple and difficult for the campesino to understand. He will tend-for as long the present situation persists -to identify and limit education to the school-yard, considering it far-removed from reality, as his attendance would require that he sacrifices part of his time and his effort (or that of his children) which are urgently needed in his work. These become even more urgent and necessary when we consider that not only his subsistence but his possibilities of emerging from the marginal situation in which he exists, depend upon his work effort.

It is necessary, then, to generate new forms of management and organization of educational services in rural areas that will allow for the integration of educative efforts of different sectors for the benefit of the community as such, establishing the administrative divisions necessary for its efficient functioning. The links between Primary Education and Basic Vocational Education are very unclear, as, for example, in the case of child care. To guarantee adequate infant care, it is necessary to educate the parents. The same dilemma occurs with Basic Regular Education and Basic Vocational Education. Young persons in rural areas are from early youth put to work according to their capacities; the formal criterion of Basic Vocational Education of admitting only young persons over 15 years of age and adults ignores this reality and thus limits the possibilities of many young persons and children to receive education, or causes them to avoid it (through absenteeism and dropping-out). We could continue presenting such examples, which would demonstrate that the education process is far more complex than it appears to many.

Thus, since one characteristic of our national educational system should be its flexibility, these arbitrary divisions cannot be applied rigidly, and as their limiting and abstract nature becomes apparent, they will become susceptible to modifications, to the point where progressively better organizational models are developed for the system. In sum, the education system has a concrete purpose, and should be adjusted to it, rather than vice versa as has occurred in the past.

A vitally important problem for rural adult education is the fact that almost all the activities carried out to date in the country are based on a methodology whose theoretical framework corresponds exactly, either implicitly or explicitly, to the ideology and interests of the dominant class. In this sense, the present problem of working without a theoretical framework for the actions being carried out must be confronted. Their elaboration requires a different reality-orientation in order to formulate the theoretical-practical guidelines for the educational endeavor, within the stated framework of the Reform and its ideopolitical orientation toward the revolutionary process.

However, two advantageous factors are contained in this fact. On the one hand, there exists a given framework provided by the Reform, which opens new perspectives in the field of rural adult education; on the other, there exists the possibility of capitalizing on previous experiences, which analysis can reveal conceptual errors which must be overcome; there is also the development of some past achievements, on the basis of which new valid theories and methods can be constructed for the rural reality in the country. This task, or its culmination, cannot be thought of in immediate terms, or short-run time periods. It is impossible to set a time limit for formulating a theory and methodology which is applicable to all rural areas of the country, if one takes into account the human and technical limitations involved in the task.

The successive development of experiences and their consequent analysis and systematization permits the discovery, through practice, of the most workable theoretical framework and the methodological guidelines which best adjust to the reality and achievement of the objectives set forth. This will require the progressive refinement of initial formulations, as processes of structural change become more firmly implanted, overcoming existing conditions and limitations, and generating new actions which are more conducive to creative work.

Some progress has been made in this sense. The traditional learning methods applied to adult education, that it must go from the simple to the complex, from the specific to the general, from the concrete to the abstract, from the immediate to the distant, no longer function rigidly. Abstraction levels among adults in the majority of cases goes beyond the prejudiced views on the matter. They possess, through their experience, different levels of abstraction which allow them to understand abstract realities and categories even when they do not express them in academic or technical terms. When they do not have knowledge on the matter, they are able to achieve it with a minimum of stimulus, progressing far more rapidly than is assumed in official documents and formalized textbooks.

Their comprehension of complex realities is much greater than what is commonly assumed. The erroneous conception that their view of reality is simple and one-dimensional breaks down when they are able to confront relationships between phenomena. At the point where they cannot satisfactorily explain the situation they react by dealing with it acting upon it in order to discover its internal dynamics, its real essence, until they achieve adequate comprehension and a firm understanding.

The terms immediate and mediate in their perception are more relative than an eminently geographic criterion would have them. Like for the reason given above, their sense of the immediate goes beyond the framework of its close-by reality, and thus, in given circumstances, the immediate, to them, can mean the relationship between their fertilizer problems and the world energy crisis, between their wage problems and the current prices of their products on national and international markets.

Much of this has to do with the role played by mass communication media, whose truly negative effects on education have inspired a number of remarkable and deeply critical studies.

In short, the simple, the immediate, the concrete and specific do not pertain to their understanding of the world and do not possess the value or meaning which the pedagogical jargon commonly attributes to them. While their manner and rhythm of learning require an empirical point of reference, the latter does not need, in many cases, to be as simple, concrete, and specific, since their capacity for reasoning, their level of awareness and their accumulated life experiences --though unsystematically-- give them starting points and varying learning methods through which they deepend their knowledge, not in a lineal and gradual manner, but through leaps forward and steps backward, which exclude the existence of a uniform constant.

What does become clearer in time is the fact that their own way of learning, surmounting any intellectualist conception, rests on action, on work, on the transforming praxis as the source of knowledge. In it or through it, they develop their skills and know-how and acquire notions and practical knowledge which, through a systematization and abstraction process, come to constitute their culture and their science. It is this accumulation of practical and empirical knowledge, based on reality and on their activities, which is disregarded by the "messianic" and basically elitist and class approach to education, which attempts to impose on them, through erroneous methods, a culture and a science which are foreign to them, under the guide of a universal science, of a more advanced knowledge of a superior culture.

In innumerable cases, the imposition of any forms of education which have been developed without taking the level of evolution of given rural areas into account, and which correspond to other interests, has resulted only in introducing harmful elements in these areas. This can produce the destructuralization of a community (as in the case with migrations in highland areas and, the de-adaptation of forest communities to their environment) or the depletion of their natural resources, thus creating a situation which is worse than the previous one, destroying their economy or reducing it practically to destitution and marginality.

This educational policy, with its absolute ignorance of their specific learning methods, resulted in establishing asymmetrical and unilineal relations in the educational process, thus attempting to transfer the curricular content designed for one group onto another; in other words, using the only teaching method corresponding to this conception of education, that is to say directly transmitting knowledge already defined with reference to a praxis foreign to that of the target group. Since this form of education did not fit with their ways of learning, the "progress" made was minimal, very slow, and in some cases, nonexistent. This led to the easy conclusion that "indians" have a congenital inability to learn --an idea which in its varying versions is widely diffused and accepted in Latin America, and which many people still regard as valid.

At this stage, the task which must be faced is that of overcoming this idea in practice, and of combatting it in theory. To accomplish this, efforts are being focused on the experimentation of a work-oriented methodology based on the following principles:

1. The starting point for educational practice should be action capable of transforming reality, understood in terms of social praxis: basically, work and the conditions under which it takes place.
2. The basis of education "as such" is the reflecting about (analysis and evaluation of the action and of its results) and the permanent study (research) of reality and its changes.
3. There exists a dialectical relationship --neither logical nor mechanical-- between analysis and action. They are mutually determined and developed, and the dynamics of this movement enrich the educative process, which modifies and improves man as the subject of change, and reality itself as the object of transformation.

More About the Conceptual Framework

A completely new kind of education is being developed within the ideological context of the Peruvian Revolution, more particularly within the Educational Reform. This has been acknowledged at national and international levels by many organizations and by public and private agencies.

This situation implies a global approach to education. Traditionally, the educational process was understood to be the means of transmitting the knowledge and values of the 'educator-teachers' to the 'educating-students', in a totally vertical-partermalistic relationship. It was believed that there was a fund of accumulated trust-worthy scientific knowledge, humanity's inheritance, which was constantly developing, thanks to the endeavors of the different strata of the intellectual elite. The task then, was to disseminate this knowledge and to deposit it in the heads of the "ignorant", in Paulo Freire's words. In this way, education was reduced on the one hand to magistral-type teaching and on the other, to the assimilation of the knowledge while was being imparted in an authoritarian manner to the students. The knowledgeable-ignorant dichotomy predominated, wherein the ignorant served merely as an object to be taught rather than as an active participant in the educational process....Teach-learn: education was this and only this.

The Peruvian Educational Reform (REP) refuses and rejects this concept and its practical consequences (cultural, economic, political and social).

In the first place, the REP believes that knowledge and values are neither universally valid nor neutral, but rather that they are always a part of a given socio-economic structure. This is certainly evident in the case of Peru: the knowledge and values in force before the revolutionary process got underway were based on western culture and were subject to a system of internal domination.

In the same way, the REP is aware that new knowledge and values are appearing, which previously did not fit into the pre-established scheme, and are the direct product of the transformations which have taken place. The economic theory, for instance, was conceived in function of private enterprise and the maximization of profit. But now, new knowledge is being developed with respect to the previously despised state enterprise and the self-management enterprise.....and not just new knowledge, but also new values and norms of human solidarity.

To the REP all this implies that knowledge and social values are not abstract concepts, existing for ever and in an independent manner but rather that they are always closely linked to determined groups and classes, to their interests and aspirations, and to their concrete situation.

For the REP, then, this means that the social groups and classes produce their own knowledge and values, in accordance with their activities in the different areas of social life: work, experimentation and scientific research, artistic life, political activity, etc. Thus, the Sierra farmers need and develop largely different knowledge than those along the coast; the industrial-trades unions have a praxis different to that of the 'campesino' unions, while an entire world separates both from business men.

Hence, in its endeavors to focus and correlate education with the theory of knowledge briefly sketched above, the REP considers that education can no longer be conceived as a transmission of knowledge, nor as an action isolated from the social praxis of people.

On the contrary, education is really education -and not alienation- when it is conceived as a process of producing knowledge and values directly linked to the social praxis and when participants are teachers as well as learners since all contribute with their ideas, experiences, criticisms and work.

Theory and praxis, then, are part and parcel of one process. Education and work, and education and social transformation are no more than different aspects of a single, integrated process which cannot be split up into parts.

This integral education then, encompasses not only the field of knowledge but also the development of man as a whole who utilizes his ability to rationalize, perceive, feel and react, all within an historical framework. It does not visualize man as an individual, but as a part of different social units to which he belongs: his family, working group, study group, social class, nationality, etc.

In turn the educational effort of society is directed toward the constant development, an improved orientation and systematization of the educative action thus conceived, and which may be of a formal or non-formal nature.

The promotion of education in rural areas endeavours to adopt this concept and to give it a specific shape, creating an appropriate method, resting on the following bases:

1. Transforming action
2. Research
3. Evaluation.

These three dimensions function as moments of one structural whole, and it is important to stress its indivisible nature, because, if it were broken, the method would lose its value.

The driving force of the method is the transforming action, around which the whole educational process revolves. The transforming action

refers as much to work, to production -which basically is the transformation of nature- as to social transformation, that is, actions of structural change, and lastly to the actions of scientific and artistic experimentation.

The realization of any of these three types of action by the base groups, will generate new knowledge and values, but not in a automatic manner. The group must also make parallel efforts at the level of their conscience.

The implementation of these actions requires, implicitly, a very serious theoretical effort, so as to set the conceptual parameters which will lead to giving concreteness, in practice, to the basic assumptions.

In addition, the advisability of any action proposed in the group should be studied, along with the possible consequences and implications for that group, the pertinent conditions and resources needed, the socio-economic situation of the region, and of the group members. This set of actions give shape to the research, which should necessarily be carried out as a way to assure feedback into the process, and to correct any deficiency that may have been detected.

Similarly, each action needs to be evaluated, so as to learn every possible thing from the collective experiences. This evaluation would encompass the different aspects of the transforming action, including the pertinent research, as well as the persons and groups involved in that action, whether directly or not.

The research and evaluation are actually the strictly educational aspects of this promotional process, which will gradually acquire its own dynamics, as it advances and establishes itself. Thus, a dialectical link is established between the three aspects, research, transforming action and evaluation, each of these moments reinforcing the others, with repercussion on the theoretical level of the group.

In fact, it is the group which finds itself involved in this dialectical movement, in such a way that it will undergo a transformation. From an initial agglomerate of individuals having a very individualistic point of view, and being very receptive to the ideology of the dominant class, it will become a united group, with a high historical-social awareness, confident in their combined knowledge and values and in their ability to face their problems. The illusion that this is possible, and that every effort must be made to find individual solutions to personal or family difficulties, will have been surpassed thanks to the awareness of an existing structural relationship between all the specific problems. The solution cannot be individual in nature, but rather it must be collective, since the whole process can be distorted and return to stereotypes and traditional guidelines.

At this stage, it may be perceived that the historical-social awareness of a group or a class does not have an exclusively political dimension -although this may be the most important as long as domination and exploitation of some over others prevail- but that it also means to possess, to develop and perfect knowledge in the most diverse fields, as well as values which lead to the full development of man in society, within a world of total participation.

Implementation

As may be observed, the basic guidelines of the Educational Reform process are available, but in many cases an adequate methodology for its implementation was and still is lacking. Hence, the need to translate the new principles into operational formulas for their field implementation, since educational reform cannot occur or progress, if the methods and techniques utilized still respond to a different socio-political context.

In fostering education in rural areas, the need for pertinent technical-pedagogic instruments and methodology is evident, so as to be able to translate the concept into practice, that is, to make it fully applicable.

1. National Encounter

The Rural Education Services Unit of the Ministry of Education, included a National Encounter of Coordinators into its Operative Plan for 1976, as part of personnel training, in which IICA participated in an advisory capacity and with some financial leading.

The encounter was a residence/study period which took place from September 20 to 25, 1976 at the Micaela Bastidas Vocational Center, Ancón, about 40 kilometers from Lima. Thirty-eight professionals attended the meeting, broken down into the following:

Coordinators and Promoters (*)	25
RESU staff members (Min. Educ. Headquarters)	5
Support personnel (" " " ")	3
Guests and Delegates	4
IICA Specialist	1
TOTAL	<u>38</u>

a. Objectives

Encounter objectives were as follows:

- i. To exchange and systematize working experience.
- ii. To take stock of the contribution of Coordinators with a view to formulating the 1977 directives, and the new program strategies for the 1977-78 biennium.
- iii. To compile complementary information for the diagnosis of Education in rural areas, particularly in those where the program has been successful.

b. Accomplishments

With respect to the first objective, the coordinators and promoters were able to present their experiences, listen to that of others, and to analyze and discuss them. Three of the more significant experiences were selected for systematization and publication, concerning three actual situations and the different approaches used with different grass root populations (forest, sierra and coast).

With respect to the second objective, several valuable comments were noted and were instrumental in modifying some of the guidelines and work proposals originally formulated by the central unit (Min. Educ. in Lima).

For the third objective, some valuable information was provided by both Coordinators and Promoters, which enriched the work undertaken by the unit. This data referred to progress achieved in the agrarian and educational reform, the functioning of agricultural and other types of organizations.

c. Final Appraisal of the Encounter

The study of the experiences presented at the Encounter was an important contribution to the orientation of the program. On the one hand, it showed the diversity of equally valid, but different approaches and experiences, which were in accordance to the requirements and possibilities of each situation. Throughout, it was clearly established that promotional educational work requires a more direct, in-depth and permanent integration with the economic activities of the grass root population and its more immediate problems, as an essential requisite to being accepted, understood and appreciated by its members. At the same time, it indicates that the development of educational activities based almost exclusively on the structure of the educational system, or on plans prepared by sectoral agencies, are not largely accepted by the peasant

(*) The role of Coordinator is:

- a. To provide support and advice to the Promoters;
- b. To provide support and advice to the executing agencies in the education sector, on matters related to educational services for rural areas;
- c. To coordinate the educational actions with the agricultural development agencies;
- d. To conduct a follow-up and evaluation of the work of the Promoters;
- e. To inform the central unit (Min. Educ.) of the development of the educational promotion programs.

The role of the Promoters is:

- a. To back-stop the agricultural agencies, in general terms, with respect to their autonomous consolidation;
- b. To identify the educational requirements of the peasant population;
- c. To provide advice and support to the Training and Difussion Secretariats, of the Agrarian Federation and Leagues;
- d. To foster the participation of the peasant population in the educational actions.

population, since these actions rarely respond to its real and immediate needs. Moreover, the experience acquired in the implementation of this program, with respect to the agricultural organizations, had different aspects. It is assumed that work in support of an agency, with the aim of attaining its organic consolidation, is not foreign to the sector insofar as it is a form of the educational action pertaining to the aims described in the General Law on Education. What is essential in this are the different aspects related to the more correct overall strategy needed at a given historical moment, as well as the way in which to adapt this overall strategy to the different characteristics of each agricultural group being served. These aspects have been correctly dealt with as far as the program is concerned. However, since this is not the only or main element of the work with agricultural organizations, its action has frequently been limited, hindered and on occasions questioned or rejected, by other programs and agencies.

A detailed study of the experiences demonstrated for instance that, in most cases, bureaucratic-type actions in support of the agricultural organizations is completely justified, because of their situation and of the conditions in which the work, but also in view of the fact that to be able to collaborate with them, it is essential to respond first to the immediate requirements (as felt by them) so as to gain their confidence by the manner in which the program responded to matters which, in the opinion of the organizations' leaders were at that time of the greatest importance. Many other aspects of apparent irrelevance shown how small details in work such as ours, can become strong conditioning factors or constraints hindering the attainment of the objectives set forth.

The range of experiences presented, and the lack of time available as well as other concomitant factors, prevented an exhaustive discussion of each and every situation described. Nonetheless, the Encounter had positive results, not only in meeting objectives but furthermore, in terms of the considerable contribution it made toward improving the training of personnel and assuring a broader vision to the workers of the Central Unit concerning program actions, its orientation and the criteria to be used to upgrade its implementation.

2. Field Mission for Follow-up on the SEAR Program

A field mission was undertaken during a second stage of the program, with the following objectives and accomplishments:

a. Mission Objectives

- i. Follow-up on Program actions;
- ii. Advisory services to the field staff on the SEAR Program;
- iii. Verify the installation of the CNA-Education Joint Committees, and progress achieved on the Agreement;
- iv. Provide support where necessary to the selection of new personnel;
- v. Follow-up on the multi-sectoral teams which provide support for the Federations.

b. Actions Undertaken

- i. Coordination meetings with staff of this and other sectors;
- ii. Working meetings with Promoters, Coordinators and Technicians from the Regional and/or Zonal Offices;
- iii. Visits to the sites where actions are underway;
- iv. Working meetings with members of the agrarian organizations.

c. General Program Progress

i. Implementation:

In most cases, it has been noted that little information is available about the program, and that few efforts have been made to implement them, and the resources to do so are somewhat precarious. Nonetheless, the following achievements have been made:

- The establishment of specific agreements between the Educational Zone Offices and the Agrarian Federations to develop education programs: Huánuco, Huarán, Huancayo, Puquio, Pomabamba, Huancavelica, Cuzco and Juliaca.
- Several experiences have been undertaken, on the integration of the different levels of the System: at Huancayo, Puno, Pomabamba.
- The development of several means for assuring the participation of the community in the management and implementation of the educational programs.
- The integration of promoters into the dynamics of the Agrarian Federations.

3. Compliance with Directive N° 14 DS-76

The Directive regulates the establishment of the joint CIA-Education Committees. So far it has been complied with in only a small number of Zones. Reasons identified for its lack of effectiveness are:

- Lack of adequate information provided to the agrarian organizations;
- Over-worked directors;
- Turnover in directors;
- Negligence on the part of the sectorial functionaries;
- Rescinding guarantees with respect to meetings.

4. The Work of the Promoters and Coordinators in Support of Agrarian Organizations

The RESU Promoters and Coordinators work is accomplished through the following actions:

- Counseling the formulation of work plans,
- Counseling on the organization of seminars and other events,
- Diffusion of the Education Reform and of legal ordinances,
- Channeling the procedures for assuring educational needs,
- Support on holding Fairs and other public ceremonies,
- Support given with office work and document processing.

5. Main Difficulties

- Diffusion of information about the CIA-Education Agreement and Directive N° 14-DS-76,
- Constitution of the Joint Committees,
- Erroneous interpretation of the Promotor's functions,
- Lack of financial resources for transportation facilities and per diem expenses for Promotors and Coordinators, permitting them to do their work properly,
- Lack of harmonization between the action plans of the agrarian organizations and those of the Education sector organisms,
- Insufficient intra-sectoral coordination.

6. Measures to be Taken

- a. Prepare a brochure for directors, containing suggestions about overcoming identified difficulties (RESU).
- b. Determine the necessary transportation facilities and per diem resources, so the Promotors and Coordinators can do their work properly; petition to the agrarian organizations to provide resources and facilities for this purpose;
- c. Revise the work strategy for 1977.

7. General Appraisal of Program Progress

The Field mission was able to judge the progress being made, in overall terms, as follows:

- It was observed, on the one hand, that sectoral staff were seriously concerned about the need to up-date educational services in line with peasants requirements, and the need to open up possibilities for the participation of agrarian organizations in the educational process.
- On the other hand, there was a noticeable awareness in the work undertaken by the organizations, of the need to ensure the participation of organized peasants in the educational process.

However, it was also noted that there was some resistance to and lack of comprehension of the need for this participation.

Observations

The implementation of an education reform is perhaps one of the more complex situations which can be found in the rural sector. Frequently, deficiencies are detected which, if noted in time, should be analyzed so as to identify the causes and see about overcoming them. An identified deficiency, therefore, should be dealt with as a challenge, and not as one more reason for considering the program as a failure.

Although the theoretical foundations of the education reform in Peru were correctly formulated in response to the development process underway in that country and in line with the new values, it is endeavouring to create, certain significant shortcomings have been identified in several aspects of its implementation. In this respect, both the Encounter and the Field Mission (Follow-up) have served to single out and correct many of these negative aspects, by the introduction of a series of corrective measures.

Operational Workshop on Educational Promotion in Rural Areas

As a way of keeping up with the work at field level, it was decided at the Ancón Encounter to hold a Workshop on Educational Promotion in Rural and Frontier (Peruvian Amazon) Areas. This was successfully held from December 7 to 14, 1977, in Iquitos and other frontier areas, that is, in the Sixth Educational Region.

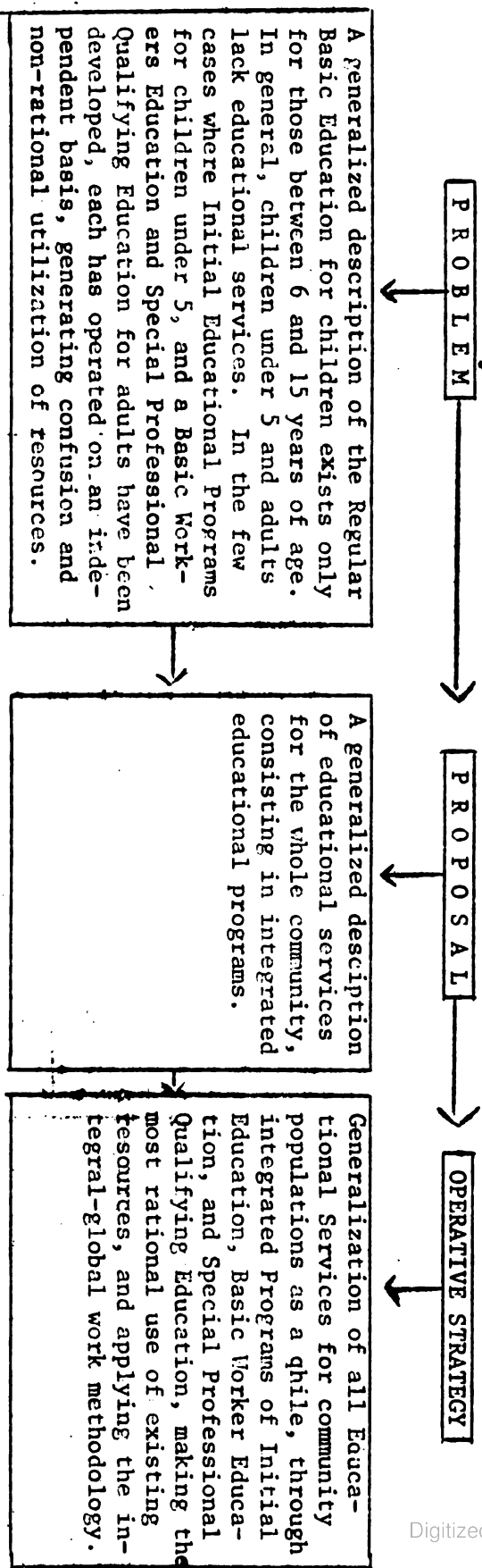
As already discussed above, the process of educational reform implementation requires a continuous process of research, planning and action, using strategies and techniques which responde adequately to the situations which are being created in the course of the educational work within the framework of its aims, objectives and goals.

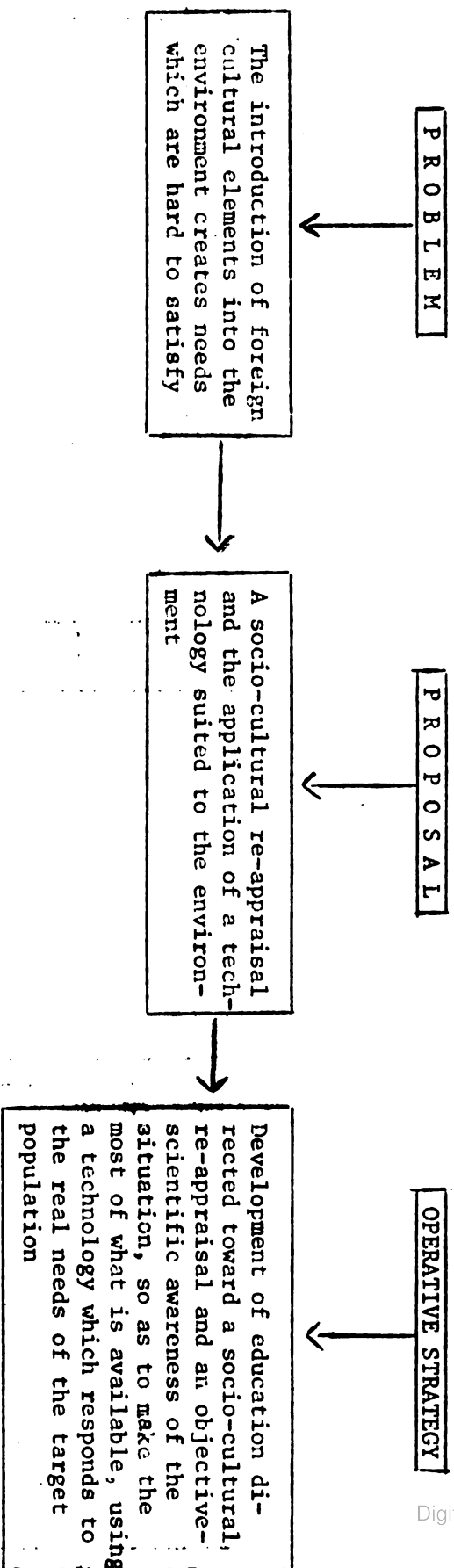
A first draft of a Manual has been published as a result of the Workshop, which describes the whole educational methodological process, based on the concepts described in this paper. The Manual is made up of the following sections:

1. Framework for Orienting the Work in Education - A Synthesis

Eighteen graphs are presented at the beginning of the Manual, which would be expanded as the work progresses, from one stage to another. Two of these graphs are presented on the next pages, by way of example.

FRAMEWORK FOR ORIENTING THE EDUCATIONAL WORK - A SYNTHESIS





2. Basic Guidelines for the Implementation of the Educational Work

- a. Extension of the educational services to the whole community, based on the development of integrated programs.
- b. Development of Education in and for associative production work.
- c. Progressive application of non-formal education.
- d. Application of a methodology directed toward the accomplishment of educational functions within the existing process of change.
- e. Planning educational work by means of Integral-Curricular Programming.
- f. A socio-cultural re-appraisal and the application of the technology most suited to the environment.
- g. Production and use of educational materials, suited to reality.
- h. Production of simple and appropriate furniture for group work.
- i. The allocation of technicians in the NEC's and of Promoters in the sub-NEC's, as residents.

By way of example, point 2.d. on 'The application of a methodology directed toward the accomplishment of educational functions within the existing process of change', is developed below.

Application of a Methodology Directed Toward the Accomplishment of Educational Functions Within the Existing Process of Change

1. Basic Guidelines for the Implementation of the Educational Work:

- a. The main function of education is to contribute to the present process of change.
- b. The main objective of education in rural areas is to promote the liberation of the Peruvian peasant.
- c. To attain this, it is necessary to instill a mental change and new attitudes inspired by the will to assume a new role in keeping with reality, so as to become the agent of social change with resulting improved standards of living.
- d. To this end, it is necessary to apply in practice a methodology assuring that education plays its role in the present process of change.

2. Guidelines Directing the Educational Work

The functions of education within the existing process of change, is as follows:

- an interpretation of the existing situation
- a projection of the future situation, with the characteristics being sought
- a strategy to assure progression from the present to the future situation. These constitute the basis for the following educational process:

a. With respect to the existing situation, the educative process, in response to and stimulation of the population, motivations will be based on the following questions:

-What is the present situation? The answer guide us toward the following educative process:

- Permanent research studies, in order to take stock, understand and interpret socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena, as well as the properties, characteristics and inter-relationships of the persons and objects which surround us.

Examples:

- to know, understand and interpret socio-economic facts: alcoholism, unemployment, lack of food, low production, lack of transportation, marketing, disease, individualism, work, family disintegration, destruction of useful animals and plants, etc.;
- to know, understand and interpret natural phenomena: rain, thunder, night and day, growth of the rivers, river seepage, cold, heat, etc.;

- to know, understand and interpret the properties, characteristics and relationships of:

Plants: medicinal, industrial, nutritive, harmful or poisonous.

Animals: useful for nutrition, industry, medicine and those which are harmful or poisonous.

Objects and materials, useful and dangerous, etc.

-Why does this situation exist? The response leads us to the following educative process?

- Permanent research studies, in order to know, understand and interpret the causes of the socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena, as well as the possible causes of the properties, characteristics and relationships of the persons and objects which surround us.

Examples:

- to know, understand and interpret the causes of alcoholism, lack of foods, unemployment, low production, diseases, lack of transportation, marketing, and so on;
- to know, understand and interpret the possible causes of the medicinal value (rubber, auburo, cedar, barbusco, yute, etc.), of their nutritive value, of the harmful or poisonous factors, etc., as well as the causal factors of useful and dangerous objects and animals.

-What are the effects or consequences of the situation? The response direct us toward the following educative process:

- Permanent research studies, in order to know, understand and interpret the positive or negative effects or consequences of the socio-economic facts or phenomena, as well as the properties, characteristics and relationships with the persons and objects which surround us.

Examples:

- to understand and interpret the effects or consequences of alcoholism, lack of foods, unemployment, diseases, etc.;
- to understand and interpret the effects or consequences of the rain, the growth and seepage of the rivers, etc., etc.;
- to know, understand and interpret the effects of medicinal plants, etc., of useful animals and objects, as well as the consequences of the plants, animals and dangerous or poisonous objects, etc., etc. Thus, we have knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the medicinal effects of the sangre de grado, the consequences of snakebite, etc.

Where does this situation prevail? The answer leads us to the following educational orientation.

- Permanent research studies to find out whether socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena are produced at the local, regional, national, Latin American, or world community level; as well as to find out whether the properties, characteristics and relationships are specific or general as refers to persons and objects, and whether they exist as the local, zonal, national, Latin American or world community levels, to discover which are shared and which are different, and why.

Examples:

- to find out whether the lack of foods, the diseases, unemployment, etc. are produced in our local community? in other neighboring communities? in the zone? in the region or rain forest? in the other regions of the country? in other countries? in the world?
- to find out whether the rains, growth and seepage of the rivers, day and the night, etc., etc. are produced in the local, zonal, regional, national, Latin American or world communities.

Since when does this situation exist? The response orients us toward the following educative process:

- Permanent research studies in order to know how long these socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena have been in existence at the local, regional, national, Latin America, and world levels; that is, to understand the socio-historical background; to understand, also, when and for how long the situations which surrounded us have occurred, as well as their properties, characteristics, and relationships with the socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena.

Examples:

- to know when and for how long a time have occurred alcoholism, lack of foods, diseases, unemployment, work, etc., etc., in our environment as well as in other countries and in the world;

- to know when and since when the rains, the growth and seepage of rivers and other natural phenomena have existed;
- to understand since when the plants, persons and objects observed around us have existed, what they have been like, utilized for, and their relationship with socio-economic and natural fact and phenomena -whether there existed more animal and plants of a useful nature in the past, and why they no longer exist.

-Will this situation persist? The answer directs us toward the following educative process:

- The permanent analysis of the socio-economic facts and phenomena and of the useful and harmful living beings and objects.
- The permanent analysis of alcoholism, nutrition, unemployment, diseases, work, marketing, production, transportation, etc.
- The permanent analysis of the properties, characteristics and relationships of plants, animals, and socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena.
- The permanent analysis of the benefits and drawbacks attributable to the rains, the growth and seepage of rivers, the sun, the moon, etc.

During the entire educative process, objective material will be employed as well as graphic and scenic ones, in order to fulfill the pedagogical principle of learning by doing, within a permanent participatory research action of cooperative work which avoids the rigid classroom situation, rote memorization, and all the failings of the traditional education system.

This conclusion, based on the answers to the above six questions, lead us to take stock of the causes which have brought the situation about, integrating it into the general context, its backgrounds, and socio-historical projections. It involves a scientific-objective understanding of the socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena, in relation with the properties and characteristics of persons and objects. It involves, intimately, knowing who we are, what we feel, and what elements can be used for the solutions to the problems and satisfaction of needs, while working for a change in the situation.

b. With respect to a proposal for a future situation with the desirable characteristics. The educative process, in responding and stimulating permanent analytical activities on the part of the population, will be based on the following guiding question:

-How should we respond to this situation? The answer guides us toward the following educative process:

- Permanent analysis should be employed through rational and technical use of resources, search for alternatives which will make possible the solution of problems, satisfaction of needs and the determination of the project or activity to be executed.

Example:

- nutrition, expressed as a basic subject for debate: "Let us improve our nutrition".

An analytical discussion will be held with and among adults, children, youth, relatives, and neighbors, on how to improve our nutrition. How we come to understand our land, its plants, animals, other objects and the socio-economic and natural facts and phenomena, we shall use this knowledge creatively to seek feasible and easily applicable alternatives. Field work have shown that the population decides upon projects for the small communal agricultural. The creative sense is stimulated by application of this model.

c. With respect to a strategy for transition from the present situation to the future. In responding to and eliciting of the permanent cooperation of the population, the educative process will be based on the following question:

-How is the project to be carried out? The answer leads us toward the following educational process:

- To foster cooperative endeavors on a permanent basis, and through mutual help and continuous teamwork, to use of the most efficient technology in harmony with the environment; those which will contribute to solve the problems, face the needs and seek better living conditions in the framework of social change.

Example:

- put the communal exploitation into operation through the cooperative work of children, adults and the general population, to help solve the community's nutritional problem, then use it as a model for other communities of the zone, within the framework of national and regional development.

This situation will bring about an understanding of the technologies which are most appropriate to the environment, as well as stimulate a cooperative spirit.

Final Observations:

While the philosophical, ideopolitical, theoretical and conceptual framework is quite complete, the methodological dimension will require major creative efforts through successive corrections, modifications and refinements which must respond to unforeseen problems produced by the complexity of the rural environment. Thus it becomes obvious that the education process is never complete or static. It must engage in constant regeneration in adapting to the multiple circumstances which are closely linked with the characteristics of development, or those which determine development. This dimension must incorporate an important feedback mechanism, in order to seek out the facts of socio-economic-cultural life to analyze them and explain them scientifically.

We cannot ignore the fact that education is a permanent process, and, as such, permanent factors should be incorporated into its execution as well as in its planning. These permanent factors include: scientific and technical rigor, continuity of follow-up, and the creation of instruments and methodologies suitable for the conditions in the region, which also introduce a clearer perspective of the role of education in responding to future needs.

Thus, the education process is linked to a policy which ultimately conditions its finality. As the social finality results from a permanent research process, it can be said, epistemologically, that education is a permanent and dialectical process which should link theory to practice, and through knowledge of concrete reality, to improve known theories and methodologies employed. Thus, theory, practice, and methodology are a tripod for educational endeavors or, according to some leading educationists, a theory-practice.

A similar Workshop is projected for July, 1978 for the Cuzco-Puno axis, an environment which is very different from the eco-social and economic conditions of the Amazon Zone.

Lima, June, 1978.

IV. PANEL No. 3
THE REGIONAL PROGRAM
OF EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT OF THE OAS

**PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES OF ADULT EDUCATION
IN LATIN AMERICA**

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**San José, Costa Rica
Julio 1978**

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PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES OF ADULT EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

This paper tends to give a general view of the problems and perspectives of Adult Education in Latin America, within the program orientations defined in the biennial Regional Program of Educational Development of Organization of American States.

The Educational Function

Education is a complex phenomenon, as complex as society itself and the individuals who make it up. From the point of view of society, it is one of several functions responsible for providing feed-back to the others. Education helps bring about constructive behavioral changes in the learner by awakening his latent potential. It strengthens his mental processes, provides him with information and tools for making valid judgments on which to base decisions, act, investigate, analyze, express, evaluate, and criticize; and trains him to take part in the formulation of social goals in the community of which he is a member, and in the selection of means conducive to these ends. Education awakens his curiosity and produces critical thought.

Subject of Education

Under this approach, Adult Education is also centered on the individual learner and, in accordance with contemporary thought in education, puts its accent more on learning than on teaching: learning about the world and others, taking an active role in society, and "developing" through development based on criticism. Knowledge is not just the accumulation of information, but rather a personal and collective creation of the self and the conditions around oneself, based on the understanding and transformation of the individual. These notions involve changes in the exercise of the teaching function, one not restricted to the transmission of knowledge but one that should train the learner to discover, integrate and select the information available to him. The teaching function changes with a recognition that the student is an active agent in his own education.

Diagnosis

The denial of educational opportunities to a person or sector of society is unacceptable in terms of justice and prevents or limits the right to the development of the individual.

Education and Legislation

Constitutions and laws that recognize and regulate the right to education should be followed by constructive steps to help those with physiological or nutritional disadvantages or those who are disadvantaged because they were born or grew up in economic and social surroundings where there was poverty and want. A remedy to these situations requires a coherent policy in economic, social, health, and other related areas.

Education and work

There also exists a basic right to creative, non-alienated work, inseparable from education, which should provide the individual with the knowledge, skills, abilities, aptitudes, and values that will enable him to become a thoughtful participant in the education and working world and thus contribute to the common good.

Education and Culture

Adult Education embodies a deep cultural dimension. The principle that recognizes a dignity and worth in each culture that must be respected and preserved calls for an educational contribution that ensures the transmission, growth, and importance of these values.

Continuing Education

By renewing educational approaches, the harmonious interaction of its agents, the idea of continuing education --the notion that education does not end with youth but accompanies the individual throughout his life --may become operational, and educational action must be channeled, through specific community participation mechanisms in the agricultural, nutritional, health, and other areas towards the ideal of a city or society that educates every individual and the whole individual.

Education and Curriculum

Through the learning process and in acquiring constructive behavioral habits, the learner is opened to new social opportunities and is given the equipment to participate actively in them. It is the task of education to expedite and direct this process, seeing to it that each member of society develops as a free, aware, and creative individual in his family, in his political and social decision making, in his work a producer of goods and services, in his contacts with art and science, or in his use of leisure time. The realization of this ideal requires policies that encourage an expansion of educational opportunities and transformation and changes in curriculum covering these areas of human activity.

Obstacles for Education

Although the situation varies considerably throughout Latin America, there is a growing interest in renewing adult education programs. The greatest limitations in this area have to do with personnel cadres. The group of professionals in charge of planning, organizing, and evaluating adult programs is very small. In general, there is a lack of educational experts to meet the growing demand for this complex educational service. In many countries, teaching programs and methods from the formal system are being used in reshaping elementary learning for adults. Adult education theoretically has the potential for using educational technology in their systems, but little has been done. There is a broad field for Inter-American cooperation in efforts already under way to exchange adult education strategy, policies, systems, procedures, and materials, and to disseminate research and the results of experimental or pilot projects.

There is an imbalance between the revolution in scientific and technical know-how and a traditional-type education that is inadequate for a thinking individual in a constantly more technical society.

The maladjustment between growing aspirations for democratic participation, improvement and progress and the aspirations for more and better education on the part of all social sectors, as opposed to the reality of educational systems which are expanding significantly in numbers and seemingly channel social mobility, but in fact are still elitist and privileged. Add to this a growing awareness that more expansion of formal education without deep-rooted change is an insufficient remedy for the problems of education as far as teaching, funding, and preparation for a job are concerned.

No adequate solution has yet been accomplished between the growing demand from a number of social sectors for education to aid as an instrument of change in societies that are in the process of change, and the reality of educational systems that are not always ready to assume this function.

In spite of all efforts to eradicate it, illiteracy affects 40,000,000 million Latinamericans. Therefore, there is a need to program adequate forms of education for minority groups and to give consideration and pay due respect to the activities of the various ethnic groups of the continent.

Vocational Education

Vocational education is mainly urban and mainly directed to the education of young men. In the rural areas it is rare and poor. It is paradoxical that agricultural vocational education is less developed and has a lower attendance in countries with a predominantly rural economy. Programs offered are not the best to answer genuine development needs, which causes a feeling of frustration among people going through the vocational programs when they are unable to find the job they expected on the labor market. Teaching methods tend to be theoretical and overlook the idea

behind Education. Human resources studies, which might help to orient the programs, are non-existent or inadequate, with some exceptions. When they do exist they are not properly used in laying out the systems.

Professional Training

Professional training, defined as "any activity that enables a person to acquire or develop knowledge, ability, skills and aptitudes to hold a position or be promoted, whether or not for the first time, in any branch of economic activity," attempts in the short run to meet the demand for semi-skilled, skilled, and specialized labor, as well as middle-level technicians.

Adequacy

Related to the above is the need to bring curriculum, programs, and the major areas of study offered by the educational system into line with the conditions, potential, and problems affecting the country or region in which such studies will be put to practical use. This links education to a nation's overall development strategy. Countries with a recent colonial past are in a special position and should reflect in their educational reforms the values and interests of their national societies.

Based on the above, priority as far as making available educational opportunities is concerned, must be given to projects that will aid people in rural areas, including the indigeneous population, and expand and improve education services for the farmers; will aid people living in disadvantaged urban areas; will attempt to reclaim student dropouts at different levels of education, for the purpose of providing them with a basic education and job education, and will attempt to reach members of the labor force who wish to continue their training.

Each time is more acceptable to incorporate educational methods so learning may become more personalized to include parallel preparation of parents to support their children while they are learning and at the same time renew parents' knowledge, or include parents for the dual purpose of their children's education (facilitators of learning) and their own learning and to include sharing and use of the professional vocational skills of the members of the community as a teaching resource.

Also, projects involving remedial activities in countries with a high rate of illiteracy; informal educational activities in disadvantaged rural and urban areas about the components of integrated adult education (health care, hygiene, nutrition, work and social action); "open education" programs using mass communication means; expansion of formal and informal education centers in grassroot organizations (factories, businesses, sporting clubs, rural cooperatives, religious groups, trade unions).

Special emphasis is given to projects involving innovations and reorganizational approaches for countries with an average or moderate rate of illiteracy, e.g.:

- Trial information centers involving the distribution of educational information for all levels, types and requirements of the working adult population.
- Training and updating of educational agents to carry out educational activities for adults in formal and informal settings.
- Informal and parasystematic adult educational programs using the mass media (movies, radio, television, newspapers, magazines, etc.)
- Training of human resources in integrated adult education emphasizing training for planning and programming informal education activities.

Education and Development

Education, science, technology, and culture form part of the broader framework composed of the harmonious and integral development of society and seek a reaffirmation of national identity and the encouragement of the creative abilities of the individual. Any development plan in these areas should take this higher goal into account and this requires a definition of the kind of society we want in the future. Education is an individual right and every human being is entitled to have equal opportunities in every phase of development. Autonomous social development requires that the education provided be attuned to the conditions of the country in which the student will later be living so that he may become an active agent of integral development.

This concept of development centered on the individual involves an overall view of a society in which the goal is for men to live in peace, freedom, and justice, fully exercising their fundamental rights and sharing the benefits of culture, science, and technology. It also involves a development process focused from the perspective of the most disadvantaged, and is thus conceived as a transition from poverty, scarcity, unemployment, lack of sanitary conditions and minimum housing, malnutrition, illiteracy, and lack of educational opportunity to better, more dignified living standards. Viewed from this angle, it has been said that adult education and development in the final analysis involve man's growing awareness of himself and his ability to govern himself, his surroundings, and his society.

**COLOMBIA
OPEN UNIVERSITY PROGRAM FOR
RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS**

By Luis Bernardo Peña Borrero

**San Jose, Costa Rica
Julio, 1978**

**COLOMBIA
OPEN UNIVERSITY PROGRAM FOR
RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS**

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Introduction

Colombia's present social and economic development plan is mainly aimed at improving the standard of living of the poorest 50% of the population and, in special, of those living in the country's rural areas. The development plan comprises a coordinated set of strategies from different sectors such as industry, business, agriculture, health and education.

In rural areas of Colombia, 48.4% of all primary school age children have no schooling. Of every 100 children entering the first grade, only 65 urban and 8 rural school age children complete the last year of primary education. Very few alternative educational opportunities exist for Colombian children that are not able to attend school or who drop out from the formal system. Only 4% of Colombian primary school teachers have university education and merely 43% hold teaching certificates. This means that there are at least 80,000 primary school teachers in need of training.

Colombia's development plan considers that fostering the extension of primary school, especially in rural areas is a task that cannot be delayed. Distance teaching can be a means to enable the government agencies and the universities to serve those people who, due to special circumstances, cannot benefit from educational services.

Since 1974, the Universidad Javeriana of Colombia has developed an Open University Program whose objective is that of offering innovative programs for training educational agents in areas of special contribution to the country's development, utilizing a distance teaching system. It is intended to not only increase coverage but to improve to a large extent the quality of education.

The Javeriana Open University Program consists of an integrated multimedia system of printed written materials sent by mail, two weekly television classes with national coverage, organized groups with volunteer monitors and individual question and answer services by correspondence.

In its first stage, the Program offers continuing education courses for nearly 2,000 primary teachers living in the country's rural area or in places distant from urban centers, who do not have other opportunity to acquire professional improvement. In future stages, the Program will offer training courses for other educational agents, especially in the health area, which has urgent needs, particularly in the rural areas. Paper presented to the Workshop on Distance Teaching and Rural Development, Dartington Hall, Devon, England, 3-9 September 1977.

By means of a formative evaluation system, JOUP has made important adjustments to some components of the model. However, an in-depth cost/effectiveness evaluation of the entire system and of its separate components is needed before it can be expanded and adopted on a wider scale, as planned by the university and, eventually, by the National Open University System. JOUP is seeking funds to conduct this research.

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT RURAL EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA

A. Education and Development in Colombia

Colombia's present social and economic development plan is mainly aimed at improving the standard of living of the poorest 50% of the population and, in special, of those living in the country's rural areas. The development plan comprises a coordinated set of strategies from different sectors, such as industry, business, agriculture, health and education. Unless there exists a minimum adequate education, the impact of the various actions shall be not only partial but superficial and, therefore, transient.

The improvement of the living conditions of a broad sector of the population necessarily supposes a greater participation of the latter in all aspects of national life. Education is the minimum requirement for this participation to be present at all levels (1).

In addition, it seems that the social profitability of investing in primary education is greater than in any other educational level. Speaking in purely economic terms, a good primary education may substantially increase the labor force productivity in a country and, consequently, its income.

In Colombia, due to the rapid population growth, to the high rate of school dropouts, and to the poor quality of the education imparted, especially in rural schools, all efforts that have been made in the past to increase the coverage and efficiency of the educational system have had a very relative success (2).

One of the reasons for the high school dropout rate might be the gap between school objectives and programs and to the population's actual needs, especially

(1) Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Plan de Desarrollo Social, Económico y Regional 1975-1978, Bogotá, 1975, p. 152

(2) *Ibid.* p. 153

of those who live and work in the rural areas. There is a lack of coordination between educational services and those services offered in other sectors such as health, nutrition, technical assistance and services supporting community development (3). These schooling deficiencies have certainly been influenced by the poor academic and pedagogic quality of the teaching staff, which is greatly due to the lack of training and continuing education programs.

Colombia's development plan considers that "fostering the extension of primary school, especially in rural areas, with the purpose of reducing the differences in educational opportunities which exist between rural and urban areas" is a task that cannot be delayed (4). The educational sector programs want to go beyond building schoolhouses and increasing enrollment rates; they are, above all, a qualitative action aimed at training and improving primary school teachers, especially in the rural areas, who are responsible for orienting and guiding the only school education that many Colombian children will ever receive.

B. Teacher training: a national priority in Colombia

In spite of the fact that a good percentage of Colombian children will receive no other than primary education, this level is given little emphasis, in the urban area in 1973, 22.5% of all primary school age children had had no schooling. In rural areas, 48.4% were unable even to attend first grade.

Retention levels in the primary schools are critically low, particularly in rural areas: of every 100 children entering first grade, only 62 to 67 urban and 8 rural school age children complete fifth grade (the Colombian official primary years of schooling are five). Even given the fact that education should not be limited to that of in-school only, very few alternative educational opportunities exist for Colombian children that are not able to attend school or who drop out from the formal system.

One of the main factors regarding the low retention ratio can be attributed to the inadequate academic training of primary school teachers. Only 4.15% primary school teachers have university education; 43.12% hold teaching certificates; 36.53% have a non-educational high school degree; and 6.21% have only completed primary education. In 1973 in the rural area, 68% had no degree at all and 52% had not been ranked. According to a recent statement made by the Minister of Education of Colombia, there are at least 80,000 primary school teachers in need of training that would enable them to adequately fulfill their responsibilities (5).

(3) Ibid. p. 154

(4) Ibid. p. 155

(5) EL TIEMPO, June 17, 1977

The teaching responsibilities of a rural school teacher -who is most often the poorest trained- are aggravated by the fact that of 20,700 rural schools, 80% are one-teacher and one-classroom schools. That single teacher is not only responsible for directing the learning of a considerable number of children but of different grades simultaneously.

C. Distance teaching for teacher training

A large segment of Colombia's primary school teachers do not have access to the existing limited number of educational centers offering continuing education programs for strengthening and up-dating teacher knowledge and skill. This is particularly true for rural teachers who very often are unable to attend short courses held most commonly in urban centers. It is recognized by both the government officials and the university professors that the courses offered are unrelated to the needs of students in the classroom (6).

Distance teaching can be a means of utilizing educational technology to enable the government agencies and the universities to serve those people who, due to special circumstances, cannot benefit from educational services (7).

Distance teaching systems may serve to introduce important changes in the teaching-learning process:

- To open communication channels which enable the bridging of geographic distances and the provision of study opportunities to people living in places distant from the educational centers.
- To generate new strategies of continuing education through which both study and work activities can be integrated.
- To significantly modify the teaching methodology by incorporating systematic models for designing instruction.
- To reduce costs in the conventional education.
- To create open education systems that can reach new audiences, with no age restrictions and with no rigid academic schemes.

(6) Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Política Educativa Nacional, Reforma Educativa, 1976

(7) Educational Technology is not limited to the use of mass-media or sophisticated hardware. It is the application of scientific knowledge to the solution of practical problems, in this case, to the design of systems within which the educational instruments themselves acquire a purpose.

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III. THE JAVERIANA. OPEN UNIVERSITY PROGRAM FOR TEACHER TRAINING

A. Background

In 1972, the School of Education of the Universidad Javeriana initiated a television program for teachers called "Education for New Men".

In 1974, a decision was made to integrate T. V. within a multimedia model, in which television became a component coupled with instructional modules, group processes, individual and correspondence tutorials. In 1975, the JOUP started a new T. V. program on a weekly basis which was called "Open University". The success of the program is such that teacher enrollment has risen from the initial 300 enrolled for the first year to the current 2,000 covering most of the country's geographical departments.

B. Target population

The JOUP covers rural, semi-rural and marginal urban teacher/educational agents who, in most cases, do not have access to other educational opportunities. At present, nearly 2,000 teachers are enrolled in the Program. It is a very heterogeneous population with respect to pre-requisite behaviors, age (between 20 and 62 years), and because it is located practically in all geographic regions of the country. 88% of the student/teachers are female.

Not all the students can benefit from all the media. Colombian television covers only 20% of the rural area and only in places where there are electric power services. For this reason, JOUP will soon integrate radio within the multimedia system.

C. Program objectives

1. General

To develop innovative programs for training educational agents in areas of special contribution to the country's development, utilizing a distant teaching system. It is intended to not only increase coverage but to improve, to a large extent, the quality of education.

2. Specific:

- to diagnose the specific training problems facing rural primary school teachers;
- To design and implement a distance teaching model geared to the socio-cultural and economic conditions of Colombia;
- To evaluate the cost/effectiveness of the distance teaching model in providing solutions to these problems and in making available to rural teachers high quality opportunities for continued training;
- To provide the Ministry of Education and other national and regional agencies with recommendations for the delivery and administration of an open university service in rural areas.

D. Instructional System

The instructional process centers around "instructional modules"; these are curriculum units with a structured sequence of learning experiences that have been designed to enable the student to achieve predefined objectives. The instructional module consists of a set of activities systematically prescribed for different media: programmed written materials which are sent by mail, television, group discussions, face-to-face and correspondence tutorials and, in the future, radio.

1. Written materials

The programmed instruction materials are structured for individualized learning with some tutorial support. Each programmed lesson includes specific instructions, flowcharts, learning objectives, additional learning activities, materials, definition of new terms, self-administered criterion-referenced tests, and a form for requesting tutorial services by correspondence or counseling. Written materials are printed in offset in an attractive format and are mailed to each student/teacher who participates.

The main problem in the design of these materials is that of adapting both the contents and the language to the characteristics of the population.

2. Television classes

The television classes are planned to complement the instructional modules with visual demonstrations; simulation games; classroom exercises; films; slides, etc. Two television classes produced by JOUP are transmitted weekly for 30 minutes by the National Television Network (INRAVISION).

3. Interaction nuclei

There are centers where the project students meet to receive the televised classes, to group study the instructional modules, and to exchange experiences related to their participation in the project or their teaching experiences. The nuclei function in rural schools premises that collaborate free of charge and comprise 10 - 50 teachers from different schools. Weekly group meetings are organized by an "animateur" who may be elected from and by the group.

Periodic intensive short courses are organized and held at the university to train the animateurs of key importance to the success of the project. The socialization processes at the Centers help to negate the feelings of isolation; bring about group identification and mutual collaboration, and enrich the educational experiences. At present, JOUP has more than 60 nuclei throughout the country with the participation of nearly 50% of the student/teachers.

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4. Tutorials

The tutorials provide the JOUP students with academic and general guidance and counseling. The tutorials classified according to the type of consultancy request are:

- Academic tutorial - related to questions on the information contained in the instructional modules and television classes.
- Non-academic - general questions not directly related to content. This tutorial guidance is included due to the expressed felt needs of the teachers wishing counseling on such as work related problems, primary school students learning difficulties, teacher relationships with parents, etc.

Tutorials are provided in the following two ways:

- By correspondence

The teacher fills out and mails in the form specially developed for this purpose and included within the package of instructional modules. Project personnel at the university answer and mail it back to the participant.

- Face-to-face

Teacher participants periodically meet with university project personnel on an individual and/or group basis in the field.

In addition, tutorial guidance is provided to the rural teacher/agent monitors during the intensive short courses offered at the university. Tutorials are considered as one of the most valuable feed-back methods, and they have contributed to an increasingly better adaptation of the Program to the needs of the population. At present, it is one of the processes which take more time.

E. Courses offered by Open University

In its first stage, JOUP offers continued education courses for teacher training in the areas of Methodology, Mathematics, Language, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences. These traditional areas of primary education are receiving a new approach according to recent curriculum innovations but, above all, according to the educational needs of the country. This is JOUP's basic concern.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities related to the business.

2. It then goes on to describe the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups.

3. The document also covers the role of technology in data collection and analysis, highlighting the benefits of using software tools and automation.

4. Finally, it discusses the importance of data security and privacy, and provides recommendations for how to protect sensitive information.

5. The document concludes by emphasizing the value of data in making informed business decisions and improving overall performance.

6. It also provides a list of resources and references for further reading and research on the topic.

7. The document is intended for business owners, managers, and anyone interested in learning more about data collection and analysis.

8. It is a comprehensive guide that covers all aspects of the data collection and analysis process, from planning to implementation and reporting.

9. The document is written in a clear and concise style, making it easy to read and understand for anyone with a basic knowledge of business.

10. It is a valuable resource for anyone looking to improve their data collection and analysis practices and make better business decisions.

11. The document is available for free download and is a great starting point for anyone interested in data collection and analysis.

12. It provides a wealth of information and insights that can be applied to a wide range of business situations and industries.

13. The document is a must-read for anyone who wants to stay ahead of the competition and maximize their business potential.

14. It is a practical and actionable guide that provides step-by-step instructions and examples to help you get the most out of your data.

In future stages, the Program will develop continuing education courses in other areas and a different levels, ranging from the training of other educational agents working in rural areas to refresher courses for university professionals. At present, JOUP is working together with the Departamento of Planeacion Nacional (National Planning Department) in the design of a training course for rural health promoters in nutritional education aspects. This program will be part of the Plan Nacional de Alimentación y Nutrición (Food and Nutrition National Plan).

F. Formative Evaluation

An evaluation of the achievement of learning objectives has been made for each student in each one of the lessons by correspondence. The outcome analysis has been used to prescribe remedial instruction to the students who do not attain certain objectives and to introduce modifications into the initial design. It is considered that this formative evaluation process will enable an ever increasing adaptation of the program to the characteristics and needs of the population. It is possible to locate learning problems with respect to specific objectives thanks to the uses of systems models for the design of instruction.

V. PANEL No. 4

**THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL
AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN ADULT EDUCATION**

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THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL

AGENCIES IN ADULT EDUCATION :

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

by **John Cairns**

**San José, Costa Rica
Julio, 1978**

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THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL

AGENCIES IN ADULT EDUCATION.

• ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

by John Cairns

My subject today is "the role of governmental and non-governmental agencies in the design, implementation and financing of adult education institutes". I will concern myself with adult education rather than adult education institutes, and I will sketch these issues in an international context.

Despite the expansion of adult education during recent decades, the fact remains that in all countries, developed and developing, socialist and capitalist, the vast proportion of education expenditure is confined to the formal system and concentrated largely in the early years of life. Education is in fact still seen by most societies not as a part of life, but as a preparation for life. When we look at the allocation of public funds for education, we find that in most countries, 95 per cent or more of public funding goes to the formal sector, designed to prepare young people for the adult world. On average, adult education is lucky if it receives more than one or two per cent of public educational funding. Unfortunately, the massive financing of formal education for youth is itself not the solution to either educational or developmental problems. On average in the Third World, despite the extraordinary linear expansion of education since the early 1960's, only about 50 per cent of primary age children participate in primary schooling. Because of acute budgetary constraints in most Third World countries, this figure is unlikely to increase significantly in coming years.

The fact is that even on a quantitative basis, the expansion of formal schooling cannot provide an answer to the Third World's basic educational needs, since education as it now exists cannot keep up with population expansion. Adult illiteracy figures indicate that, in Africa, approximately three-quarters of all adults are still illiterate; in Asia, approximately 50 per cent; in the Arab States, about three-quarters, and in Latin America, about one-quarter. These figures are in fact conservative. In rural areas, and among women, percentages are considerably higher. Furthermore, the absolute number of illiterates is rising inexorably as year after year more young uneducated youth enter the adult world. Between 1950 and 1970, for instance, adult illiteracy at a world level increased from 700 million to 783 million. All indications are that by the year 2000, despite our extraordinary scientific and technological development, we will reach the figure of at least one billion adult who are completely illiterate. It is also clear that functional illiteracy, which is the important issue, is much higher still, but no really reliable data exist, and there is no internationally applicable definition. Added to all this is the widely admitted fact that much of the education that is provided - and to which only the relatively privileged members of many societies have access - is itself dysfunctional and lacking in relevance to any rational development priorities.

These matters of course are not new. They have been discussed ~~interminably~~ during recent years. I quote them simply to make clear the need for increased support for adult education to allow it to do the job which it can and should do, as a full partner with formal youth education. A proper recognition of the role of adult education would enable it to maximize its contribution to development. It would also provide a more balanced and rational allocation of resources across the entire educational front, something which is essential if we are to make any serious attempts to implement the concept of lifelong education.

Let me now give a few specifics which relate education to employment. The Population Reference Bureau has estimated that between the present year and the end of the century, the world's labour force will increase by over 800 million people. Given existing world unemployment, totalling between 300 and 500 million, the International Labour Organization has estimated that well over 1,000 million new jobs will have to be created at a world level by the year 2000 to avoid massive world unemployment with the disastrous social and political upheavals which would ensue. In Asia, by the year 2000 - only 22 years from now - the labour force is expected to grow by 509 million adults, a 51 per cent increase from the present. In Africa, labour force growth will be 121 million, a 74 per cent increase; In Latin America, 96 million, or an 87 per cent increase. Many developing countries will in fact double their labour force between 1978 and the year 2000. Comparable figures for the industrialized societies are, North America, 30 million, a 28 per cent increase in labour force by the year 2000; the USSR, 20 million, or 50 per cent; Europe, 30 million, or 14 per cent.

When we consider the relation between education, in its present form, and employment, few people indeed would argue that formal schooling has more than a limited answer to this problem. In the developing countries where the situation is most serious, and where the dysfunctionality of formal schooling is perhaps most apparent, the obvious strategy in education and job creation is to move towards non-formal education, the extension of various kinds of skill training programs, the strengthening of family farm operations, improvement of rural and farm credit arrangements and marketing facilities, and the development of rural infrastructure and small rural based industries --all of this within the context of a labour intensive approach to employment and economic development.

This is precisely the area in which adult education has a significant role to play. As we know, one of the characteristics of adult education - at once a strength and a weakness - is that in many countries, much of its creativity, its energy and its potential lie in the non-government sector. Admittedly, this varies from country to country, but certainly in many societies, the main grass roots activity and the dynamism of adult education come from the non-government networks of associations and agencies. By their nature, they provide a flexible, creative contribution to education and to development. Since non-government organizations tend to have low overhead costs, to be highly diversified in terms of their expertise and their areas of involvement, and to be able in many countries to work effectively at local levels, they have certain operational advantages seldom available to governments or to formal school systems.

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Given these facts - the need for wider support for adult education, the still largely untapped potential of non-government organizations within adult education - why is more not being done? In particular, why do governments and funding agencies not recognize more fully the services which adult education organizations can provide to education and to development? The fault is partly our own. As a profession, or as a movement, we as adult educators have not yet really gained attention at the highest levels of decision making and resource allocation. I say this despite the gains in recent years, and despite the interest in adult education which is now being shown by many governments. Support for adult education means in many cases support for the non-government organizations which can do the work; unfortunately, governments are still reluctant to do this on a large scale. This is tragic, for such an approach excludes the major contribution which voluntary associations, which are becoming increasingly strong in most countries of the world, can make. What is needed in most countries is to expand fruitful co-operation between government and non-government agencies in the development of adult education for maximum benefits to society at large.

Let me be more specific about certain steps that might be taken:

First, by adult education associations and non-government agencies themselves. It is to everyone's advantage that adult educators, ~~through their~~ associations and institutions, become more conversant with and involved in national development planning at government level. Only through such involvement can adult education play the role it should in the development process. Such co-operation will make available for development the enormous range of skills and expertise in all areas of adult education which exist within non-government agencies. In simple terms, this means that in most countries, adult education associations should be in close touch with ministries of education, ministries of agriculture, ministries of public health, etc., in terms of the needs of those governmental organizations, their future planning and implementation of their programs.

Related to this, but somewhat separate, is the utilization of the assistance potentially available from international (primarily U. N.) agencies. Much of this is channelled through the Country Programming Exercises associated in most societies with national development planning. This exercise is normally co-ordinated by the Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Program in each country. It brings together the multilateral financing and the multilateral programming which represent a component within the national development plan. It is essential that adult education associations become familiar with the process, primarily through increased knowledge of the U. N. D. P. Country Programming operations themselves, and through increased participation in the development planning which takes place in their own societies. My point is that within national development planning, from U. N. sources, and to some extent from bilateral aid programs, there are, in principle, considerable resources available for adult education - in practice, adult educators must make their case, prepare proposals and involve themselves in the action.

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For example, rural development, an area in which adult and non-formal education should be a significant component, is now a major priority in most bilateral aid organizations and in most U.N. specialized agencies which deal with development. Given the world food situation, rural development is likely to be of importance for the rest of this century. Unfortunately, the increasing number of rural development programs which are now under way seldom have an adequate adult education component. Why not? Primarily because adult education associations themselves and governments have not sufficiently pressed the role of adult education upon the funding agencies, nor have they in most cases prepared the coherent programs by which adult education is integrated into rural development. It is only through the preparation of such programs, which by necessity must involve adult educators working in the planning teams themselves, that the large scale funding available to, and necessary for adult education can be obtained.

Let me look at another level - that of government resource allocation. Given existing budgetary constraints, it is unlikely that funds can actually be taken from formal education and allocated to adult education, whether governmental or non-governmental, in any significant amount. Whatever the country, and whatever the form of government, cut-backs in the formal education system are politically difficult, if not impossible. I do not even say they are advisable. Where then, at national level, is increased public funding for adult education to come from?

I would argue that as educational funding increases as a function of increasing G. N. P., a higher proportion of that increase be allocated to adult education and much of this to the non-government sector. This is simple, practicable, and relatively painless - but it will not come about unless government become much more aware of the fact that adult educators, through their organizations, skills and expertise, can make important contributions to the development needs of society. And government will only become aware of this - and willingly allocate funds - if adult educators press their case strongly.

I would also argue that in many countries, government support should first concentrate not on programs, as is normally the case, but on the development of the adult education infrastructure, institutions, training centres, etc., as required at national and local levels. The development of adult education structures in Tanzania is an excellent illustration of this approach. For both government and non-government organizations, the right course is not to leap enthusiastically into ad hoc, improvised programs, but to strengthen the institutions and organizational systems which will allow the society to carry out whatever type of programs are necessary, in respect to changing development priorities.

I have argued that governments and/or funding agencies become more aware of the potential of non-government organizations in adult education, because they offer one of the best ways for societies to move forward in a rational and equitable development process. In view of the population and unemployment projections which I have mentioned, given the relative dysfunctionality of a considerable amount of formal schooling and the extraordinary difficulty of changing this in view

of the inertia which is built into much of the educational bureaucracy, adult education and non-formal education do offer a reasonably hopeful approach to many problems which otherwise appear insoluble. Furthermore, if the experience of the past decade has shown anything, it is the need for the participation of people themselves in their own development and that of their society, Adult education is the avenue by which such participation can be obtained.

It is true that we can have development without people, and certainly without adult education. By relying solely on high technology, capital intensive industrialization and large scale mechanized export agriculture, we can achieve a certain type of development, regardless of the educational levels of the mass of the population which is excluded from the development process. Under such an approach - which I am presenting in an extreme form - the people become the problem. The question then is: what do we do with the people? But if we wish reasonably balanced development, we are talking about development with people. We are concerned with people as the basic resource, with the contribution made by people, the role of people, the skills, the resources, the energy which people themselves can contribute to the resolution of their problems and to the building of their own future and the future of their societies. In all of this, the key is adult education.

From the point of view of governments therefore, adult education associations and voluntary organizations represent an immense and still largely un-utilized resource. Through direct support, cost sharing, matching grants and other formulas related to particular societies, the contribution of adult education can be obtained. In the Scandinavian countries, in Western Europe, in Canada and the United States, a large proportion of all adult education is implemented not directly by governments, but from the private sector and from voluntary agencies, funded in a variety of ways. The important point is that provision of adult education services need not require a massive governmental bureaucracy; in many countries it may be achieved through co-operation between government and non-government agencies and by utilizing and strengthening the networks and the grass roots contacts which the non-government organizations have already developed. In this type of co-operation, India, with its mass of active voluntary agencies is an excellent example.

It is apparent that government funding and support can take many forms and that, in addition to government and non-government agencies, various para-statal organizations can play important roles and be supported in innovative ways. In Brasil, the MOBREAL program is largely funded from proceeds of the Soccer Pool. Municipalities in which MOBREAL operates make contributions to local programs to match funding received from MOBREAL Central. MOBREAL as a foundation operates with a flexibility, speed and a mobility which would be difficult for a normal government department within a national bureaucracy. MOBREAL in one way, and the development of adult education in the Scandinavian countries in another way, are only a few examples among many of how national adult education needs can be met by governments acting in creative co-operation with voluntary agencies, foundations and other organizations.

The first part of the document is a preface. It is written in a simple, direct style. The author explains the purpose of the work and the scope of the investigation. He mentions that the work is based on a large number of experiments and observations. He also states that the results are presented in a clear and concise manner.

The second part of the document is the main body of the text. It is divided into several sections. The first section discusses the general principles of the subject. The second section describes the experimental methods used. The third section presents the results of the experiments. The fourth section discusses the implications of the results. The fifth section concludes the work.

The third part of the document is a list of references. It includes the names of the authors and the titles of the works cited. The references are arranged in alphabetical order. The list is comprehensive and covers a wide range of sources. It provides a clear and concise list of the works consulted during the preparation of the document.

The fourth part of the document is an appendix. It contains additional information related to the main text. It includes tables, figures, and other data. The appendix is organized in a logical and systematic manner. It provides a clear and concise presentation of the supplementary material.

The same case can be made for research. In most countries, there is need for much more applied research in adult education and related areas. There is need for much more training. Much of this can and should be carried out by non-governmental agencies which in many cases already have the expertise and the personnel available.

Let me conclude. I have indicated that the major development thrust in recent years has moved towards the rural areas and a labour intensive grass roots approach. In view of statistics already cited, this movement is likely to accelerate in the coming decade. The need for more adult education is obvious, as is the challenge to adult education organizations. The job for those of us who are adult educators is to make it clear that we, as adult educators have skills and expertise to offer to society at large, which society greatly needs. Our job is to strengthen our own associations, to develop our skills, to increase our participation, so that in fact we can provide the services of which we have the potential. The job of governments and of funding agencies of all types is to appreciate more fully than in the past that governments should not and cannot do all the work - that the non-government organizations and associations have skills, resources, abilities which are directly in line with the needs of the coming decade.

The question to ask about development, I submit, is not what to do with people - in other words, how do we use technology, machinery and capital to solve the problems of people? This is a false dilemma. The real question is - how do we create conditions whereby people themselves are seen as the major resource in development; whereby people themselves are encouraged and helped to solve their own problems and to create their own future? It is here that the non-government organizations in adult education have their role.

**THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN ADULT EDUCATION - THE NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

**by Knute B. Buttedahl
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**San José, Costa Rica
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THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ADULT EDUCATION IN THE NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE.

by Knute B. Buttedahl

Adult education in the United States and Canada is a local, grassroot phenomenon. It is not a division of a national ministry of education and it is not administered by the central government. In both Canada and the United States the experience has been similar. Adult education has developed as a complex mixture of private and public, of national and local organizations, with the large proportion of systematic adult education being organized by non-government organizations.

In terms of money, the involvement of government is massive. In addition, private foundations such as Carnegie, Kellogg, and Ford Foundations have facilitated the development of adult education. However, much of this money is directed to community agencies and voluntary organizations to assist them in developing programs for special clientele or to meet a particular need.

The role of government has been largely stimulative and supportive of local endeavor. It has not been the role of government to provide adult education services. This task has been left to non-government community groups.

As a recent development, the United States and Canada now have in each state or province at least one individual who has leadership responsibility for adult education. These "directors of adult education" perform a number of stimulation, coordination, and need assessment tasks in addition to the management of some government funds. However, much of adult education remains as a community-based, voluntary activity operated by non-government organizations.

The concept of voluntary associations and non-governmental organizations in every area of human endeavor is very deep-rooted in the United States and in Canada. It dates back to the early settlers who, being far removed from their European homeland, had to develop complete self-sufficiency in a strange new environment.

For example, some of the earliest adult education was performed by religious organizations who taught literate skills for the purpose of reading the bible. Vocational training and apprenticeship were the early manifestations of adult education; soon to be followed by study groups, newspapers, libraries, theatres, and museums.

Some of the major voluntary associations were organized over 125 years ago - the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); the United States Agricultural Society, the National Trade Association, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Education Association, the Farmers' Institutes. All carried on adult education programs as their primary activity.

A brief review of some of the larger segments of adult education activity in the United States and Canada will provide testimony about the non-governmental nature of adult programming.

One of the largest areas of adult education activity is found in business and industry. It is common practice for all medium and large size firms to establish a special training and development department to train their workers and to develop the management skills of their executives. Much of this educational activity takes place in the factory or office, but employees also are sent to take part in training and development courses at other institutions.

The whole system of public libraries and museums is a strong and important force in adult education. The public library traditionally has been a self-service institution which designed catalogues and indexes to enable the reader to help himself or guided the reader in an individual reading program. In more recent times the public library began getting involved in group discussion methods such as Great Books Discussion, Heritage Programs, and Great Decisions Programs. They now have added films and recordings to their collections and have begun to develop services for clearly defined groups; for example, the handicapped, women, the new literate, the aged, labor, etc. Discussion groups, lectures and concerts, displays and exhibitions, film showings, all are now a part of the North American public library.

Workers education or labor education takes place within over 200 national and international unions. It is directed towards those unionists who are active in their organizations, whether as volunteers or as paid staff. Labor education is directed toward increasing the members' competence to function in the union as well as toward developing an understanding of broad social problems.

In the United States and Canada, private entrepreneurs also have become heavily involved in organizing adult education activities. Any moderate-size community is certain to have a number of private proprietary schools teaching vocational and business skills, human relationship and personal development, handicrafts and hobby skills, as well as academic subjects.

In addition to these commercial schools, there are hundreds (and possibly thousands) of private consultants in adult education who are prepared to design and conduct adult learning activities for a specific client. These individual consultants have had training or experience in adult education and see the demand growing for continuing education.

Another phenomenon of the United States and Canada is that almost every local community has an adult education program under the public school administration and usually called "night school". These programs normally are conducted in the evening using the regular school buildings. Public school continuing education enrolls more adults than the regular elementary and secondary day program.

Historically citizenship education has loomed large among the various segments that make up the adult education picture. In the late 1800's and early 1900's both the United States and Canada encouraged a huge program of immigration to exploit the western frontier. Wave after wave of immigrants poured into both countries. They came from almost every part of the world. The integration of these people, numbering many, many, millions, into a new culture became one of the greatest adult education challenges of all time. New organizations, societies, and community groups sprang up to meet this challenge and many remain active today.

All these descriptions concern activity undertaken, in the main, by non-governmental and voluntary organizations. In order to understand the immense scope of this North American phenomenon, we might list a sampling of those organizations involved in adult education. You will recognize many familiar names.

(A) Among the youth organizations, who have trained thousands of adults recruited as volunteer leaders, we will find the YMCA, YWCA, the Young Mens and Womens Hebrew Association, 4-H Clubs, Boys Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Campfire Girls, Little League baseball, and soccer clubs.

(B) Many health and welfare agencies have emerged: the American and the Canadian Red Cross, Alcoholics Anonymous, associations in both Canada and United States for Tuberculosis, Family Service, Safety, Mental Health, Public Health, to name a few. All engage in large programs of public information and education.

(C) A number of voluntary agencies have been particularly concerned about self-improvement, social service, and advancement of the status of women. These include countless Women's Clubs, Associations of University Women, Junior Leagues, Altrusa, League of Women Voters, Women's Institutes, Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire, National Council of Jewish Women. Since the UN Women's Year, literally hundreds of new "status of women" organizations have been organized.

(D) A large number of very prominent economic organizations also carry on active programs of both education and persuasion. These include labor unions, agricultural societies, Associations of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce, cooperative and credit union leagues, the Junior Chambers of Commerce.

(E) Some organizations promote the welfare and education of children through the education of parents. The Parent-Teacher and Home-School associations are widespread and it is a rare primary or secondary school which does not have such a group organized among its parents and teachers.

(F) There are numerous professional societies which are deeply involved in the continuing education of their members - the Medical Associations, associations of social workers, lawyers, engineers, teachers, librarians, accountants, and let us not forget the adult educators.

We have barely scratched the surface in listing the most common and widespread voluntary organizations found in North America. Without these kinds of organizations, much of our health, education, and welfare services could not exist. They are as essential to the Canadian and the American way-of-life as is transportation, agriculture, industry, or government. And they are essential to adult education.

In summary we can state:

1. Adult Education has developed as a response to grass roots needs and demands. It has not been imposed from on top.
2. The institutions of adult education in the United States and Canada have typically emerged in response to specific needs.
3. There has been no national design for the continuing education of adults. Rather, adult education programs have emerged at the local level to meet specific needs.
4. Typically and historically, government has not become involved in organizing adult education programs, but government does provide financial support to community agencies to organize programs for special clientele and in specific areas of need.
5. Historically in the United States and Canada, adult education needs have been met by non-government organizations established for other purposes. Consequently, adult education has had a secondary status in most institutions. But adult education programs have still been able to gain stability and permanence within these non-government organizations.
6. It has been the tradition to meet most community and individual needs through the organization of voluntary, community-based societies and with a minimum of government involvement.
7. Although government has been increasing its role in funding and in coordination, there is no evidence that it will usurp the traditional role of the local community to provide for the continuing education needs of its citizens.

**THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES
IN THE DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND FINANCING OF ADULT
EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS**

Newton L. Proffitt

**San José - Costa Rica
Julio, 1978**

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THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN THE DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND FINANCING OF ADULT EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

There is the popular thinking that EDUCATION is political. The supporting argument being that it is Education that creates politics or political thinking. Yet, paradoxically, it is the political will that sets the stage for the design, the practice and the development of Education.

It is accepted, too, in several quarters that politics is life, for it is argued that it is life and living which give rise to politics. Yet, and again paradoxically, it is politics that direct life and living.

Based on these premises,, there appears some linkage of Politics, Education and all that goes towards life and living. It may be concluded then, that to give meaning and purpose and fullness to life and living, the agents or agencies of Politics and Education must necessarily have a relation of mutual responsibility and interdependence; each playing a role, different in character and quantum perhaps, yet subscribing to the general design and implementation of the national development thrust.

During the last two years or so, Adult Education has moved on, particularly in the developing countries, from the fringes and periphery of the education wheel near to the axis, largely, it must be conceded through UNESCO's remarkable document, that masterpiece on "Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education" Adopted by the General Conference at its nineteenth Session in Nairobi, 1976.

Further, the ICAE itself spared no pains in urging its member organizations as well as individuals to request, insist on, and in other ways encourage their governments to take action on, lend support to, and implement the "Recommendations". At least in the Caribbean, there came out of this the initial break-through in 1977, when for the first time ever, the Standing Committee of Ministers responsible for Education in the Caribbean, agreed to establish National Adult Education Associations in their territories; and then they went farther to give the green light to the Caricom Secretariat to propose the design, structure and cost of a Regional Adult Education Body.

Even though finance has been a major problem in the implementation of UNESCO's "Recommendation", in many developing countries, there is the suspicion that many decision makers find it difficult to identify and mobilise the expertise required to initiate the implementation of the proposals. It is fortuitous, if not by studied design, that the topic to which this Panel addresses itself has been chosen in the hope that out of the discussion practical guidelines that may assist in removing doubts and solving the problems may arise, though bearing in mind, no single solution or method of approach can meet the varying needs of the many territories. The "Recommendations" of UNESCO stated "if indeed Adult Education is to be purposeful, then it must be planned and executed on the basis of identified needs, problems, wants and resources as well as defined objectives."

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several paragraphs and is mostly unrecognizable due to low contrast and blurriness.

The Role of Governmental Agencies in Design

- (1) Before setting out on what should be the role of Government or Governmental agencies, it may be well to state the overriding proposition that "Government should have Responsibility but not Control." I suspect this will lead to rather enlightening debate.
- (2) The first role of Government and its agencies is to accept, appreciate and promote Adult Education as an integral part of the Education System.

One excuse given for the failure or unwillingness of Governmental agencies to see it this way, is that many see Adult Education as an extension of the University programme catering to those beyond the grass root level, earning certificates but not directly subscribing to the solution of the problems of finance, employment, health, production and a full awareness of the national goals, policies and programmes.

- (3) Another role of Government is to use its Extension Services in lending support to and collaborating with Adult Education Institutions in the designing and execution of programmes which fall within their portfolio or for which they have the expertise.
- (4) The creation of a National structure is a role for Government. Government has both the authority and the machinery to establish a national Organization from the plethora of agencies, groups and institutions involved in the teaching and training of Adult. Such an organisation may well act as an umbrella, strengthening cooperation among the constituents, facilitating co-ordination of programmes, minimising unnecessary repetition and overlapping with the consequent wastage of resources, and filling gaps that might have existed without such coordination.
- (5) Support for the Regional Structure is yet another Role of Government.

Many developing countries, and metropolitan countries as well have been grouping for the purpose of strengthening and protecting various areas of interests and concerns, not least of these being Trade and Defence, and to a lesser extent Education - Formal Education. The new concept of Adult Education as the vehicle for peaceful, rapid, revolutionary changes qualifies it for a place on the agenda of Regional Cooperation. But then this rests on the political will.

The Role of Non-Government Agencies in the Design

Non-Government agencies, public, private and voluntary all have a tremendous and by far a more diversified role.

- (1) Public and private agencies, industrial and commercial, whether by legislation or out of concern for their own success through a better educated and trained work force, should ensure that systematic and meaningful training programmes be made available to all levels of workers.

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(2) Voluntary agencies have the opportunity of filling the gaps, those outside the interest of other bodies, and not served or insufficiently served. The unemployed, the housewife wanting to be trained to acquire skill to supplement income, or in child care and home management; the aged wishing to do something to bring fresh enthusiasm in life, those preparing for retirement, the disadvantaged. All these come within the scope and influence of voluntary organisations in the field of Education and training.

IMPLEMENTATION

The Central Government

(1) The Government in order to win effective support must declare to all concerned the Broad Education proposals to meet its socio-economic plans - long term and short term.

(2) The Governmental agencies, e.g. Ministries, must themselves initiate activities in keeping with these proposals.

(3) Government and its agencies should provide technical assistance as well as encouragement to non-government organisations working towards the proposals in support of them, and make available to Adult Education institutions, accommodation and equipment outside the normal working hours.

(4) Government should enact and enforce Legislation assuring that public and private industrial and commercial concerns contribute to adult education by budgetting for it and ensuring that the allocation is faithfully spent.

(5) Government having established the National Coordinating Body, composed of leaders or representatives of Adult Education Agencies, should provide staff, equipment and materials to ensure the proper functioning of the establishment.

Non-Government Agencies in Implementation

Private and Public Non-Government agencies should

(I) Seek to programme their education and training activities, not merely to secure proficiency in the specific job requirement, but include or cause to be included an awareness of the socio-economic and political milieu in which the enterprise operates and the contribution the enterprise as an entity makes or should make to the national development.

(II) When invited, they should be involved or lend support and technical assistance for the furtherance of the work of Adult Education Institutions.

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(III) Where reasonable arrangements can be made, they should make sections of their plants and equipment available to Adult Education bodies outside normal working periods.

(IV) They should facilitate work-study attachment schemes of Adult Education Institutions.

(V) To their own employees, they should grant incentives and facilitate mobility or promotional opportunities to employees who have improved their knowledge and skill through Education and Training.

Voluntary Agencies in Adult Education should

(I) Accept representative membership when nominated or appointed to district and subregional development Councils, Local Authorities and National Committees.

(II) Be ready and willing to act as Brokers in Education and Training by identifying available expertise and involving them in Adult Education programmes.

(III) While not neglecting planned programmed activity, they should be open to ad hoc projects meeting requests whenever and wherever they are made.

FINANCING

Government:

i) Since Government must take responsibility for all Education and since it is hoped that Adult Education must be an important part of the system, then it devolves on Government to make the financial provision to ensure that the attainment of goals is not hampered through lack of finance.

ii) Government should enact legislation requiring a certain percentage of the budget of Public and Private enterprises be allocated to Adult Education agencies outside those already set up by the enterprises, since this makes possible critical analyses of these enterprises.

iii) Local Authorities should include in their budgets provision for Adult Education in their own districts.

iv) External Agencies through National Commissions for UNESCO or other National Agencies with international ties, should be invited to contribute to special programmes of Adult Education particularly so in Evaluation, Assessment and Research.

Non-Government Agencies:

1. UNESCO has special provision for Non-Government Organisations in Adult Education and through National Commissions this source of finance should be tapped.

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2. The receipt of financial assistance from Government should not preclude NGOs from making moderate charges for some programmes executed by Adult Education Institutions in the interest and at the request of other organisations.
3. Perhaps the greatest financial asset to NGOs is the system of voluntary work by tutors who receive honoraria and not salaries or wages.
4. Linkages with other organisations on programmes often include shared expenses and may improve the assets of the agencies.
5. The use of accommodation, equipment and to some extent materials of formal institutions also minimises the expense of many technical and other programmes, and it is without doubt highly beneficial to Adult Education Institutions to develop rapport not only with these formal Institutions but also with industrial and commercial establishments to enlist support in these categories.

UNIVERSITIES

Little has been said about the role of Universities. In fact this paper seems to sponsor the cause of Non Formal Education, and hardly hints at Formal Education for Adults, in which class I think, the University, except for its Extra Mural Department, belongs. This, of course, is open to question.

There is the important question regarding the autonomy of Universities in some developing countries, particularly so where Government contributes all or the greatest portion of the University's funding. This is a subject of concern in some quarters and I should hope that the Panel will include it in the deliberations.

Conclusion:

It must be appreciated that these are broad suggestions, perhaps biased on the side of developing countries. They may prove useful or rational in some areas under some systems of Government, while in other areas, they may well be impracticable and totally worthless. One thing is assured however: "Everything is possible if we know how." It devolves then upon the adroitness, the perseverance, the pertinacity and doggedness of Adult Educators to mobilize the kind of support for Adult Education in gaining successful acceptance of the fact that economic and social progress will be limited unless Adult Education has a place of importance in the system. Above all we need that kind of support to succeed in creating the political will that expresses itself in purposeful and concrete action in the furtherance of Adult Education.

1. **Introduction**
 This report discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records in a business organization. It outlines the various methods used for data collection and storage, and the challenges associated with these processes. The goal is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of record-keeping and to identify areas for improvement.

2. **Methods and Procedures**
 The data for this report was collected through a series of interviews with key personnel in the accounting department. The interviews were conducted over a period of two weeks. The data was then analyzed using statistical software to identify trends and patterns.

3. **Results and Discussion**
 The results of the study indicate that there is a significant need for more efficient record-keeping systems. Many of the current methods are outdated and prone to error. The discussion focuses on the various factors that contribute to these problems, such as lack of training and inadequate resources.

4. **Conclusion**
 In conclusion, the study has shown that there is a clear need for more modern and reliable record-keeping systems. It is recommended that the organization invest in new technology and provide training for its staff to ensure that all records are accurate and up-to-date.

5. **References**
 The following references were used in the preparation of this report:

Smith, J. (2010). *Accounting and Finance*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
 Jones, M. (2008). *Business Management*. London: Routledge.
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6. **Appendix**
 The following table provides a summary of the data collected during the study:

Method	Frequency	Accuracy
Manual Entry	High	Low
Automated System	Medium	High
Hybrid System	Low	Medium

7. **Notes**
 The data presented in this report is based on a sample of records. It is not intended to be a definitive statement on the overall state of record-keeping in the organization.

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It is essential to ensure that all entries are supported by proper documentation and receipts.

3. Regular audits should be conducted to verify the accuracy of the records and identify any discrepancies.

4. The second part of the document outlines the procedures for handling disputes and resolving conflicts.

5. It is important to establish clear communication channels and protocols for addressing any issues that arise.

6. The document also provides guidance on how to maintain confidentiality and protect sensitive information.

7. Finally, it emphasizes the need for ongoing training and education for all staff members involved in the process.

8. The document concludes by reiterating the importance of transparency and accountability in all business operations.

9. It is hoped that these guidelines will help to ensure the highest standards of integrity and professionalism.

10. Thank you for your attention and cooperation in this matter.

11. Sincerely,
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12. [Name]
[Title]

13. [Address]
[City, State, Zip]

14. [Phone Number]
[Email Address]

15. [Fax Number]

16. [Website]

17. [Social Media Links]

18. [Footer Information]

19. The following table provides a summary of the key findings from the recent audit.

20. It is noted that there were no significant discrepancies identified in the financial records.

21. However, there were several areas where minor adjustments were required to ensure accuracy.

22. These adjustments were primarily related to the timing of certain transactions and the classification of expenses.

23. The overall financial position of the organization remains strong and stable.

24. It is recommended that the management team continue to monitor these areas closely.

25. The audit also identified several opportunities for process improvement and cost reduction.

26. These recommendations are detailed in the accompanying report and should be implemented as soon as possible.

27. The audit team would like to thank the management and staff for their cooperation and assistance throughout the process.

28. We are confident that these findings will help to enhance the organization's financial health and operational efficiency.

29. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions or need further clarification.

30. Sincerely,
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31. [Name]
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32. [Address]
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