ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE: Some Reflections On Supporting Non-Formal Education For Development

Reginald Herbold Green

Development means liberation. Any action that gives (the people) more control of their own affairs is an action for development ...

- Mwongozo (Guidelines), TANU

The purpose of society is man ... to serve man there must be a social organisation ... conducive to the greater production of things useful for the material and spiritual welfare of man. It may well be a function of society to organize and sustain efficient economic organisations and productive techniques, even when ... unpleasant or restrictive ... But ... when the demands of "efficiency" and "production" override men's need for a full and good life, then society is no longer serving man, it is using him.

- Julius K. Nyerere

I.

Organization and Finance: Necessary Nuisances

Organization and finance - much less writing about them - will not create non-formal education capable of helping workers and peasants, aged and unemployed, women and minorities liberate their consciousness, their economic circumstances, their social condition or their political status. Organization and finance are means - and subsidiary means at that. Much reorganization - especially by administrative science experts and management consultants - is an escape from facing problems that have little to do with organizational structures. More

money is an equally uncertain panacea - per capita expenditure on NFE does not seem very closely related to coverage, quality and output.

However, without organization very few activities flourish widely - and none can relate to central government financial, personnel and development priorities without fairly integrated organizational systems of some kind. Equally, without finance, motivation and ideals will be frustrated by lack of personnel, equipment, materials and physical facilities. Finance and organization may be rather like water supply and environmental sanitation - neither very dramatic nor, to the non-specialist, very interesting and not guaranteeing very much by their presence but only too disastrously influential when absent.

They are similar in two more respects - impure water leads to epidemics and the environmental sanitation system suitable for London is neither appropriate nor practical for a Ghanaian village (and vica versa). Good organization cannot cause developmental NFE, bad organisation can prevent it. The needs - in terms of funds and of organization - of NFE for Calgary and an Inyuit village, for Windhoek and Tuvalu, for Liverpool and rural Bihar are quite different.

II.

Premises, Parameters, Working Definitions

To write sensibly and at modest length about organization and finance requires specification of what one supposes to be the goal or programme they are to support. Like efficiency organization and finance can usually be constructed, operated

and evaluated only in respect of the object to which they relate not as abstract entities or self justifying systems.

For the purposes of this paper:

- a. non-formal education is defined to comprehend all education outside the formal primary-secondary-tertiary system and its variants such as technical and correspondence colleges;
- b. the purposes of NFE are taken to include consciousness raising, primary literacy and its cognates, vocational skills, community building skills, capacity of previously excluded, oppressed, exploited or isolated groups (communities, classes) to organize themselves and act to advance their own welfare;
- c. therefore NFE is perceived as related to basic human needs as perceived by those participating in it and to national needs as perceived by dominant national decision takers and set out either in a formal national plan, a series of policy statements, or revealed preference through their actual decisions. (If these two sets of needs are in radical conflict a not unknown situation problems far beyond organization and finance or the scope of this paper ensue.);
- d. as such NFE is necessarily within a specific sociopolitical and political economic context (quite possibly
 several contexts within one state or even one town).

 The dominant influences flow from those contexts as
 they inform the participant and decision taker perception

of needs for and goals of NFE to organization and finance not in the other direction. (This is not to deny a feedback - really ineffective organization and totally inadequate or incompetently used finance can quickly create a perception of NFE as ineffective.);

the divergence of problems of organization and finance e. flowing from different national contexts may not be as great as is sometimes supposed. Participants in serious, broad coverage NFE programmes are usually dominantly persons who have been excluded, exploited and oppressed whether wilfully or by neglect. NFE usually suffers both from inadequate coordination and from overadequate imposition of coordinated "standards". Attempts to relate to perceived participant needs and to established holders of personnel and purses, to liberate through use of hierarchical bureaucracies, to discriminate positively and inclusively in favour of the underprivileged without reinforcing their exclusion and stigmatization are common problems. They are not limited to poor or new, fragile or peripheral states but are equally critical (and equally unresolved) issues in rich industrial states.

III.

Some Modest Goals

The perfect organizational system, like the perfect society, does not exist within the compass of any NFE administrator's decision taking horizon. Nor does the organizational system without built in stresses - the most

- 5 -

one can seek is to recognize them and to try to ensure that they operate as creative tensions not mutually destructive contradictions. The goals of the educational or financial administrator should (like those of a plumber) be modest not in the sense of attempting only the easy or accepting the sixteenth best but in that of realizing that perfection (as opposed to improvement) is an illusion and that changes in organization and finance will need to flow from the changes in programme goals more often than suits administrative convenience.

In the light of the working definitions of NFE in the previous section some of the more critical modest goals include:

- a. making strategic planning (how many, where, in what topics, through what programmes, when, using what institutions - personnel - finance) possible; while increasing
- b. effective determination and choice of programmes by participants including accepting diversities of choices;¹
- c. coordinating implementation to avoid gaps and genuinely wasteful overlaps (e.g. the all too common failure to perceive that agricultural extension is a branch of education as much as of agriculture) and to ensure workable interrelationships (e.g. building up rural library networks in the footsteps of literacy, ensuring that radio campaigns have expert media, education and subject personnel involved in their preparation); while also defending

- d. the ability to innovate, be responsible for and build self reliance in respect of their programme, by a wide range of national, local governmental, community, employer and voluntary bodies; 2
- e. providing support where, when and as needed including expertise in programme and supporting material design and in research and evaluation to all participating bodies (community or national, voluntary or state), while also encouraging
- f. diversity, experiments and local control over NFE; 3
- building up adequate personnel with appropriate qualifications to participate in NFE work; while paying more than lip service to
- h. making maximum use of all motivated individuals with relevant contributions to provide and avoiding turning NFE "teaching" into a large, full time, "professional" cadre duplicating the greatest weaknesses of the formal educator cadres; 4
- ensuring that adequate finance (governmental or other)
 for priority programmes (again governmental or other)
 is provided; while limiting
- the degree to which ease of financial administration and the relatively greater resources of the central government come to dominate NFE priorities as opposed to participant goals and programme priorities determining institutional channels and financial procedures.⁵

Selected Aspects of Organization

This section is not inclusive. Organization to include, consolidate, channel and make effective participant perceptions of needs and of programmes is critical. Beyond that assertion and endorsing finding ways of ascertaining these perceptions via grassroots participation on all NFE implementing, planning and evaluation bodies, it cannot be treated here because it is integrally linked to much broader issues of political participation and of worker and peasant control over and power to discipline decision takers, professionals and functionaries. The same holds true of national planning which can hardly be discussed as a sub-topic under NFE organization.

Six aspects of organization will be touched on: strategic, personpower, operational, programmatic, supporting services and financial (resource):

a. strategic organization is basically a framework for coordinated NFE planning (including review and revision) by all involved institutions. It is most uniformly important at national and community (town, village, rural district) levels but may be almost equally critical at state, provincial, district or island levels in some contexts. This aspect of organization should make possible fitting together four basic sets of inputs: potential and actual participant demands, national (or sub-national) development goals, existing NFE programmes, new NFE proposals, to arrive at strategic identification

of main activities and institutional responsibilities - an NFE section of annual and multi year development planning articulated broadly by programme, institution and location.

b. personpower organization has two broad aspects participants seeking primarily to learn and resource personnel (who hopefully will learn but have quite specific inputs to provide). The first aspect involves identifying who (groups, individuals, communities) need and seek what types of NFE where and when. second requires identifying availabilities and gaps in persons with subject matter (e.g. disease control for cocoa, child and mother care, French for Swahili speakers, political participation), supporting (e.g. book design, radio programme development, printing) and communications (e.g. discussion group leading, literacy teaching, skill development, agricultural or health extension) skills and capabilities. The availabilities must perforce influence what initial NFE programme building is and the gaps lead to personpower development for both full and part time, care and supporting service personnel. Research and evaluation organization needs as one of its main goals to feed findings back to personpower organization both as to participant performance and perception and also as to specific resource personnel performances and problems.

- c. Operational organization depends on what bodies are responsible for implementing NFE. A Ministry, a branch of an international voluntary agency, UNESCO, a diocese, a village council, a women's group in a deprived urban neighborhood will not (and neither could nor should they) organize NFE in the same way. Beyond the points of the previous section on what organization of NFE should seek to achieve (allow) and the stress on maximum access to decision taking, implementation and review for participants and field (literally or classroom or discussion group) resource personnel there is little to be said in general. Perhaps, however, the need for diversity depending on the operating body is one of the organizational points most in need of repetition because it is so readily forgotten especially in the context of otherwise desireable coordinated strategic planning!
- d. programmatic organization crosscuts strategic and operational. Some programmes e.g. a national campaign for environmental sanitation or a local campaign to build health via pure water, nutrition (including food growing and storage) waste disposal, parasite eradication, general health education require detailed planning and parallel, interlocking implementation by several implementing bodies and possibly in several geographic locations. In such cases one institution should be primarily responsible (e.g. perhaps the public health division of the Ministry of Health in the one case and a village council in the

second) for administration, coordination and supervision with clearly defined responsibilities and forums for consultation for all institutions involved. In general these organizational frameworks should be limited to the programme in question and terminate automatically on its conclusion. Coordinating organizations only too readily multiply until their participants have no other functions and, equally critical, operating personnel no longer have any real relation to the coordination organization.

supporting organization relates to ensuring that specialized e. services are available to and used by operating bodies. E.g. agricultural extension can benefit by printed, graphic, radio and audio-visual materials. However, agricultural personnel are unlikely to be media experts (or vica versa) and need both to have the supporting services made available and to be given some education in their potential uses and limits. Printing and duplicating (e.g. wall newspapers), audio visual (including tapes made by participants and circulated to other groups and to "experts"), libraries are among the more evident and general examples of specialized services for which organizational channels to and from NFE bodies are needed. However, other cases will arise e.g. nutrition education in NFE frequently suffers because no parallel agriculture input to facilitate actually growing the new dietary items is provided.

f. resource organization is needed within each of the preceeding organizational aspects. It involves first identifying what real resources (e.g. meeting places, resource personnel, books, slide projectors, shovels, wood for carpentry) are needed and what is already available. Then it goes on to mobilization (acquisition) of the balance of the real resources and finally to drawing up financial requirements from which institutional financial and physical budgets can be derived, bargained for, implemented, controlled and evaluated.

V.

Real Resource Requirements: Mapping and Minimizing

Resource planning for NFE should begin with real resources. In the first place one cannot implement a programme with money unless personnel, meeting places and material are available and in the second one cannot produce a credible financial requirement unless and until one has articulated real resource requirements and how these are to be met.

In one sense of course even beginning with physical resource requirements is a mistake. The starting point is desired outputs - whatever NFE participants seek to acquire. From that the next step is to identify programmes and only then proceed to work out what resources they will need. In NFE as in other areas there is a real danger of making budgets which justify inputs (money, personnel, buildings) for their own sake or for programmes and not in terms of outputs or proxies for output. Again one purpose of research and evaluation

should be to build up useable and determinable proxies for output less crude than enrollment, less speculative than opinion surveys and more precise than general levels of output or health.

If NFE is perceived as a central means of meeting participants' basic human needs and national development targets, the requirements will be substantial. In a country of 10,000,000 the projected enrollment might be of the order of 2,500,000 to 3,000,000. This - given adequate coverage of isolated areas and of topics with high importance to participants or communities but not mass enrollment would require 75,000-100,000 "classes". At three hours average per "class" per week 225,000-300,000 meeting place hours would be required. At e.g. one book, four pamphlets, six pencils and two writing pads per participant further plausible overall requirements can be projected for articulation and refinement.

The nature of these magnitudes has three implications. Imagination is needed to see how they can be met in human and physical terms - adding 25,000 full time teachers is likely to be quite unfeasible no matter how much finance is provided. Similarly maximum use of existing facilities (including salaries) is needed to make the NFE financial budget politically credible. Finally some radical additions to facilities will be needed in fields well beyond educational contact points or Ministries of Education. For example:

a. using primary school teachers, public and private sector middle and high qualification personnel and anyone with competence in a field for which participants

have an interest as a part time teacher can radically reduce personnel requirements (as well as financial);

- b. for part time programmes (presumptively usually evening or non-working day) there should be little need for new buildings - primary schools, clinics, community centers, mosques, churches normally have space not used at the relevant periods - a very major saving indeed on capital costs (as well as limiting real construction resource pressures);
- c. printing 3,000,000 books and 12,000,000 pamphlets for direct NFE programmes (and presumptively perhaps half as many more for supporting libraries and work related programmes) per 10,000,000 population is likely to require major expansion not only of educational writing and editing capacity but also of printing and publishing unless the state is both rich and marked by high levels of readership.

As a result, the NFE real resource and financial budgets are likely to be quite different in breakdown from those typifying formal educational systems. Salaries of teachers and places to meet will normally be markedly lower as a proportion of expenditure. Supporting materials (from seeds for agricultural courses to newsprint or videotape for community communications workshops) and equipment (similarly from ploughs through typewriters to tape recorders) will normally need to take a higher share either than in formal education budgets or in most present NFE budgets. Finally related expenditure - e.g. the writing, editing, printing and publishing chain - will need to go well beyond NFE

proper and well beyond what is normally covered in most sectoral formal education budgets.

A Few Key Areas

Five specific resource clusters may require special - albeit brief - specific mention:

Personnel requirements fall into four categories: full time, part time, related and supporting. Ideally the vast majority will be in the middle two categories with NFE an additional role entered into at modest remuneration with other motivations (including status and public image as well as more selfless ones) playing a significant motivational role. Full time programmes - including teaching all NFE personnel and organization - will require full time staff. Related personnel are those in fields such as agricultural extension, public (or preventitive or parmedical) health, community development recreation, youth who should certainly be perceived as involved in NFE but are also engaged in existing substantive programmes unlikely to be integrated into education as such however broadly defined. Supporting personnel include those in media, printing and publishing, specialized facility or equipment production and maintenance. All personnel for NFE require specialized education - especially those with formal education teaching qualifications.

<u>Places</u> should pose problems only for year round full time programmes - e.g. folk colleges, service units - eg libraries, NFE personnel training centres and supporting services - e.g. media centres, printing houses. For the

bulk of programmes it is programatically feasible and financially essential to use workplaces, schools (including secondary, technical and tertiary to secure access to laborataries and workshops), general community and religious meeting places, clinics other government buildings outside their normal hours. For genuinely needed buildings there is a need to avoid shabbiness - NFE will not prosper if seen as a poor relation of "real" education - but an even greater one to limit structures to programme needs, a requirement education in general fails to meet rather notably with NFE's better performance to date probably related to less money as much as to sounder thinking.

Media are critical NFE resources both within programmes as such and in creating an environment in which NFE is desired and participants can build on their NFE experience by reading, listening, seeing for self education and recreation, leisure, pleasure and skill enhancement. Newspapers (including community wall or mimeod variants), audio visual (including closed circuit sets and simple cameras which allow "class" or community tape making), books/pamphlets (hopefully with graphic illustrations both to help learning directly and to break up the arid expanse of page after page of uniform type and certainly with channels such as community and workplace libraries to make them generally available), radio (especially when linked to supplementary materials and local discussion groups) are among the main media. All tend to be in scarce supply, not very oriented to NFE and often remarkably imitative of the least satisfactory aspects of industrial economy media in a majority of Developing Commonwealth countries.

Materials needed vary from programme to programme e.g. slates and pencils for literacy, pipes - pegs - lines for simple surveying and village layout, spades - cement - hoes for environmental sanitation (including pit latrine building). Unfortunately the articulated requirements are often not worked out with care (e.g. applied agricultural practice programmes with reading material, but no tools, seeds, plants, fertilizer) and are usually either initially underbudgeted or the first areas to fall victim to budget cuts. These are penny wise, pound foolish savings of effort or money - NFE must be applied not theoretical and without adequate materials it inevitably cannot be truly applied.

Research and evaluation is intermediate between an aspect of organization and a real resource. To be truly effective evaluation needs to be integrated into programmes so that results in output (not only cost) terms become known automatically and in time to revise procedures or programmes which are not working as intended. The natural desire not to exhibit ones failings (a desire unfortunately buttressed nationally by most resource transfer bodies and international expert agencies which often exhibit the aversion in a near pathological form when their own programmes are involved) can be countered by the equally natural desires to remedy them promptly and to build on ones successes - both impossible without built in evaluation. It is after all relatively silly - especially in educational terms - to plan what is to happen in detail then fail to collect data to see what is

happening and finally to commission detailed detective exercises to see what did happen. Research, like evaluation, should not be the monopoly of programme operators but again much is most effective if integrated into ongoing operations and at least partially action oriented. While particularly true of new and experimental programmes seen as candidates for revision or expansion, generalization or elimination these points also hold for ongoing bread and butter (or rice and sauce) NFE - what is examined can usually then be done better and what is appropriate in 1978 should not be so in 1988 if development really is being achieved.

VI

Finance: Mobilization and Coordination

Unfortunately, identifying what the actual resource requirements of a programme are and converting them into money terms does not, even after care is taken to limit calls on resources, and the problem of financing. In the first place there is never enough money or real resources for all programmes which could be justified were there no financial constraint. Further, the fitting together of real resources and finance is very often not a simple exercise. Third resource mobilization (real or financial) is not a zero sum game - some routes reduce and some increase either resources or the cost of the programme.

The first problem is not unique to NFE. Ultimately it resolves itself into a combination. First of convincing relevant decision takers - whether Treasuries asked for $2\frac{1}{2}$ %

of their recurrent budgets (a quite high proportion for NFE unless very broadly defined), primary school teachers asked to devote eight hours a week to NFE programmes or radio stations asked to allocate 20% of broadcast time and adequate personnel to educational programming - that NFE is of adequate priority to justify the allocation both absolutely and compared to what will have to be cut out - constables or offices, leisure or part time work, music or political speech coverage - to allow NFE to have the resources sought. Second determining what cuts can be made with minimum damage to goals when the maximum attainable resource allocation falls short of that sought.

The second topic is beyond the scope of this paper depending as it does on the substance of NFE and the needs which are central in a particular context. The first turns on four factors:

- a. demonstrating that NFE is critical to the person or body with the resources e.g. that it will meet specific development goals (for the Treasury or Cabinet), that teaching will provide income and standing with the community (for the primary school teacher);
- b. presenting a convincing case that care has been taken to avoid unnecessary resource demands and to include all costs (overexpenditure of money is unpopular with Treasuries, attempted "overexpenditure" of personnel leads to gaps in programmes);
- c. building a record of past achievement on which to

base claims as to future performance - again in terms relevant to the decision taker approached;

d. serving participants' goals in a way which leads to a "constituency" willing and able to express its support to officials, agencies, mp's and parties.

Fitting The Pieces Together

No NFE strategy is likely to involve only one agency.

Nor are all participating bodies likely to list their programmes as NFE e.g. agricultural extension and health/nutrition education by paraprofessional and professional staff associated with clinical or environmental programmes are very unlikely to appear as NFE (or even E) in formal budgets. Equally not all institutions and agencies will share a common budget (federal, state and local government, community organizations, voluntary agencies).

A strategic budget - physical and financial - for all NFE is desireable because it gives an overview of relationships among different segments and also of the different financial and real resource capacities and requirements of different units. It is unlikely to be useful to treat such a sketch as a formal operational budget draft or even to carry it out in the detail needed for such a budget.

The key (and in almost all cases dominant) source of finance should be the central (or state if NFE is at state level in a federal system) budget. This is a matter of necessity, a serious NFE strategy requires resources beyond

the capacity of other institutions. If other institutions (local government or community, voluntary agency or employer) are better placed to mobilize personnel and/or facilities then they should receive financial transfers to allow them to do so. Certainly economies of scale are usually greater in raising funding for core programmes than in programme operation, mobilizing personnel or securing funds for associated or experimental programmes.

Mobilization is critical because using brute financial force is both expensive in money terms (e.g. building new "classrooms" instead of using community, voluntary body, primary school space) and reduces the range of participation possible (e.g. a full time professional teacher cadre versus part time "volunteers" paid honoraria or supplementary wages combined with a limited full time staff) in ways increasing real resource costs, probably damaging the quality of the NFE and endangering diversity and responsiveness to participants' perception of their own needs. That side of the financial problem is really an organizational one - keeping the tensions between coordination and participation, efficiency and diversity, professionalism and enthusiasm creative.

On the other hand, mobilization of external funds - by agencies or governments - needs rather more systematic attention in the light of national NFE priorities than it has usually received. First it has usually been too donor initiated and articulated with inadequate perception by anybody how it did or did not relate to overall national and community efforts. Coordination is critical even in respect

to voluntary bodies - random solicitation abroad by all and sundry is not likely to be efficient in maximizing receipts nor in relating to participant needs. Second many governments have not given enough priority to seeking funds for NFE (at least judging by the startling response some who have encountered with offers exceeding their "bargaining" draft requests). Third, the ways in which foreign resources (funds, personnel or physical resources) can best be used to fill gaps deserves serious not random attention. This is especially true because in most countries much equipment (e.g. audio visual, typewriters, printing presses) and some materials (e.g. paper, books) must be imported and for imports finance in the form of foreign exchange has distinct advantages.

VII

Some International Aspects

NFE is not a field in which international organization of programmes proper nor replication of one country's organization in another are plausible goals. Even in respect of finance, national sources should normally be basic - use of local resources, flexible structures, diversity and nationally or locally devised programmes do not fit readily into most aid patterns.

That said, there are a number of aspects in which NFE organization and finance can benefit from international cooperation. In respect of organization these are by no means necessarily from North to South, Tanzanian experience may well be relevant to the United Kingdom or Highland Papua New Guinean to Arctic Canadian programmes.

- a. Conferences and workshops at various levels from field

 (or street) workers down to Ministers and on different

 special sub-areas from radio and audio visual through

 agricultural extension. (Quite probably organization

 and finance would rarely be a central theme for a

 conference or workshop but a supporting theme in many.);
- b. exchange of personnel again at all levels and in all specialties among participating countries and organizations whether on study visits or more extended operational plus operational research assignments;
- c. preparation and dissemination of materials on local, national and cross national experiences not so much as guides to action but rather to stimulate and catalyze thinking and action by readers with partially divergent but partly similar contexts, backgrounds and problems;
- d. provision of funds, personnel and materials when requested - to support and be integrated into national or local efforts with special emphasis on areas new to the requesting country in which the cooperating personnel have some experience;
- e. joint programmes especially among small countries in one region or in respect of cross country evaluation and research in which economies of scale or of variegated backgrounds are likely to be high.

These five areas are all ones well within the broad field in which the Commonwealth should be able to be one effective medium for co-operation. The first three require flexibility, capacity to respond rapidly to expressed needs, acceptance that exchanges are multi-directional not simply

rich to poor. The fourth again requires thought and recognition of TCDC (technical cooperation among developing countries) as well as standard N-S TA potential rather more than large sums of money. The last may be particularly relevant to Pacific, Caribbean and Southern African Commonwealth regional sub-groupings.

NOTES

- 1. e.g. see diversity of views over whom villages should select for folk college courses cited in Y.O. Kassam's conference paper The Folk Development Colleges Programme in Tanzania.
- 2. On the dangers of manipulation via coordination see M. Mbilinyi, "Basic education: tool of liberation or exploitation?", Prospects, Vol. VII, No.4, 1977.
- 3. e.g. In the folk development colleges case strengthened personnel and finance also meant recentralization with rather uneven district and village involvement in programme control Y.O. Kassam, op.cit.
- 4. The countries with large, mass oriented, rapidly executed NFE programmes e.g. Vietnam, Cuba, Mozambique, Tanzania have not depended primarily on full time, professional NFE teaching cadres.
- 5. Again Mbilinyi and Kassam, opera cita, illustrate the substantive links which come with access to finance especially when the financial source is concerned with effective use of tu funds.
- 6. For a detailed discussion see R.H. Green, Adult Education in National Development Planning: Notes Toward an Integrated Approach, Deutscher Volkschuchschul-Verband (Konstantinstrassee 100, 5300 Bonn2)/International Council for Adult Education (29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario) 1977.
- 7. The complex and multi institutional nature of a major campaign's organisational side is shown in B. Hall, The Structure of Adult Education and Rural Development in Tanzania, Institute of Development Studies at University of Sussex, Discussion Paper No. 67, 1975 and B. Hall and T. Dodds, "Voices for Development: The Tanzanian National Radio Campaigns", International Extension College, Broadsheet No. 6, 1974.