UNICEF IN EDUCATION:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

UNICEF HISTORY SERIES
MONOGRAPH IX

THE AUTHOR

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UNICEF AND EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

FOREWORD

An ambivalent attitude towards education marked a large part of UNICEF's first 40 years. It was not until 1961, 15 years after its birth, that UNICEF Executive Board directives made it legitimate for it to assist education programmes at the primary and the secondary level. Until then, only limited support for involving teachers in such "proper" UNICEF fields as the promotion of health and nutrition of children was permissible. Even after 1961, some key members of the Board remained skeptical of UNICEF's involvement in education. Among all areas of UNICEF concern, perhaps the largest number of reviews, studies and reports presented to the Executive Board throughout the years were on education - in an attempt to allay doubts, justify UNICEF's position, and delineate its policies.

It is curious that there should be such soul-searching about UNICEF's role in education since few would doubt the central importance of education in enhancing the welfare of children - both as a service in its own right and as a means of improving the effectiveness of other basic services.

It arose perhaps from a Cartesian view of education as a sector which was seen as something separate from the health and wellbeing of children; and from projecting this view into an international division of labour between UNICEF and other agencies, particularly UNESCO. A reluctance on the part of some Board members to recognize the "import" of the evolution of UNICEF from an emergency relief agency to the principal development arm of the United Nations for the benefit of children and women was also a factor. Concern about spreading UNICEF's limited resources too thinly, the "drop in the ocean" argument, was certainly a recurring theme in education discussions in the Executive Board meetings.

The questioning and probing which resulted in the numerous studies and reports to the Board helped UNICEF find its own particular niche in the wide world of educational aid. As H.M. Phillips' account shows, this niche was the potential for a unique contribution to promoting basic education for children, youth and women through a pragmatic choice of formal and non-formal means of education - both as a discrete basic service and as a life-sustaining flow that nourished all other child survival and development activities. The International Concil for Educational Development reports on non-formal education, presented in two successive years in 1973 and 1974 to the Executive Board which, along with a companion report commissioned by the World Bank, developed into a series of widely circulated publications, were landmarks to establishing the special educational role of UNICEF and promoting internationally a wider view of education, including formal and non-formal approaches. Qualms about UNICEF educational aid had by and large subsided by this time. Not being a channel for major resource transfer to developing countries, it was evident that UNICEF could fill selectively only some critical technical and financial gaps in education in the context of promoting policies and actions for meeting children's needs. In line with UNICEF's general advocacy role in matters pertaining to children, UNICEF also could help mobilize support for appropriate policies and actions in education nationally and globally.

In recent years UNICEF has been advocating in countries and promoting internationally the prospect of accelerating a child survival and development revolution. As articulated first in the State of the World's Children report 1982-83, this occurred through a strategic combination of affordable technologies and recent improvements in organizational capacities in most developing countries, This emphasis has brought again to light the important role of education in supporting and sustaining the accelerated, intensified and mass-scale programmes to protect and promote the survival, health and welfare of children.

Evidence has been mounting to show that education of parents, particularly of mothers, is the single most important factor in reducing mortality of children, irrespective of socio-economic contexts. Female literacy had, therefore, been identified as one of the ingredients of an effective child survival programme. Baisc education, particularly for women, may very well be the next strategic priority for UNICEF within the framework of this abiding concern for strengthening basic services for for children, thus attracting resources and managerial attention on a scale currently being devoted to selected child survival and health measures.

H.M. Phillips is uniquely qualified to tell the story of UNICEF's education programme as it developed through four decades. He was a prominent actor himself in the unfolding drama for most of this period - first as a member of the UK delegation to the Executive Board, then as an official of UNESCO, and finally as a consultant who prepared one of the many education reports for the Executive Board. We are grateful to him for agreeing to record this story.

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Representatives in China

INTRODUCTION

The author of the monograph expresses his thanks to Mr. Jack Charnow, organiser of and contributor to the UNICEF History Project, for his help in supplying the documentation on which the monograph is based. His thanks go also to Mr. Ahmed, who was senior educational adviser to UNICEF during the last few years of the period covered, for his comments on the text during its preparation.

In addition, it is to be noted that any history of UNICEF in Education is bound to be also part of the history of UNESCO, since the first 10 years of UNICEF's work in the education sector were undertaken under a joint programme with UNESCO. UNESCO documentation has therefore been drawn upon. After the establishment in 1972 of a revised educational policy more suited to UNICEF's functions, UNICEF continued to benefit from UNESCO's expertise in a programme of its own, set up with the help of UNESCO and conducted with close cooperation between the two organisations.

The reader will notice that there is some difference in the interpretation of events in Mr. Ahmed's Foreword as compared with the text of the monograph, though there is no disagreement on his suggested strategy for UNICEF's next step. The unresolved differences of interpretation arise from different angles of perspective. This is illustrated by the question whether the delay in the Executive Board's decision to enter the education sector is due, as the Foreword, suggests to "an ambivalent attitude to education"; or was it, as most of the Board felt and the author records, a judicious piece of decision making? Since this difference of angle of perspective applies to other monographs in this series, it is useful to pause on this example.

The 1950s happened to be a very remarkable decade for the health sector. The new antibiotics and vaccines were becoming available for mass use and together with new technologies of disease prevention began a major demographic change. Between 1950-55 and 1975-80, life expectancy at birth in the developing countries rose from 42.9 years to 55.1 and crude birth rates fell from 42.9 to 33 per cent*. Quite apart from the human factor, this change had a crucial impact on the possibilities of achieving universal primary education and on the enrolment ratios of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as on the per capita income from which to finance educational development.

UNICEF with its great experience in medical aid rightly seized the opportunity to make its maximum contribution to the health sector. By the end of the 1950s the new resources that made it possible to call the 1960s the UN Development Decade were appearing on the scene and education could become one of the priority sectors. Education like penicillin saves lives, but it takes longer to do so.

* UN Population Studies, New York 1981, No. 78

Accordingly, a proposal was made to the Board by UNICEF's Executive Director, in agreement with the Director-General of UNESCO, that UNICEF should aid the education sector at the primary education level. The proposal included a statement on the legal basis for action explaining the restriction to primary education. However, UNICEF had been making a survey of the overall needs of children, and a process began of amplification of UNICEF's functions. Thus Board members talked in favour of secondary education being aided, so far as it was for services ancillary to UNICEF's as in its constituent General Assembly Resolution. In 1961 the Board made its decision to aid both primary and secondary general education*.

This caused unease among members and observers who thought it odd that UNICEF aid should be given to children who already had a full primary education when there were so many children without any education at all, and this point of view came to the fore as the decade advanced until we find the Swiss delegate saying (E/ICEF/SR. 370 p.47): "From the Board's debates during the preceding year it appeared that other delegations had expressed the same views as his own. They had urged that education programmes be reserved chiefly for young children and limited to primary education. Similarly the magnitude and urgency of work aimed at meeting vital needs was too great to allow the diversion ofpart of UNICEF's funds to secondary level science and mathematics education or dental care programmes. Such programmes might be described as luxuries."

By 1971 this unease was general and was combined with a widespread anxiety that the development strategy of the First UN Development Decade had set economic targets only and that social targets such as the reduction of poverty had been neglected. The economic targets had been largely attained but social indicators had regressed. This led to UNICEF in conjunction with UNESCO working out a revised educational aid policy which focussed on educational poverty and so brought UNICEF back to its original task of alleviating the conditions of children. A feature of the revision was the introduction of the concept of basic education to meet minimum essential needs, which grew into the general aim of basic services in all of the sectors influencing the well-being of children and mothers unserved or under-served by the services of their communities or their states.

Over the period of these events, the Board is recorded in the monograph as making, on the whole, a series of judicious decisions, to the extent that they were not simply "vetting" the applications for aid by governments of developing countries who were themselves making the judicious decisions in conjunction with UNICEF field staff. Delegates, while not often themselves educators, usually had good briefs from the Ministries of Education and the level of the debate was high. There was also a good understanding of the necessity for a broad approach to children's needs, but at the same time one with boundaries so that funds raised for children were not diverted to other laudable but not sufficiently related issues. Thus the documentation does not support the suggestion in the Foreword that the Board was "ambivalent".

* The word "aid" is, of course, a brevity for cooperation assistance.

UNICEF's statistics looked at from the angle of timing and balance between education and health are of particular interest. They show that the fear of some delegations that UNICEF's entry into education might be at the expense of its vital work remaining to be done on health services and nutrition was well founded. The amount of UNICEF's educational aid over the period 1970-79 was six times as large as for 1960-69, whereas aid to health services was just over three times, and for nutrition under twice as large.

Since UNICEF's total non-emergency aid increased by only around 3 per cent in the period, aid to education must have expanded by an internal shift in the use of its funds. After 1980, UNICEF's educational expenditure stabilised whereas expenditure on health services and nutrition expanded as before in the period 1980-85, a period when total UNICEF long term aid only increased by one half.

The reason for the health and nutrition sectors growing much faster after 1980 than the expansion of UNICEF's longer-term aid as a whole was the appearance of a second revolution in the field of health, initiated by UNICEF, "the child survival and development revolution", under which a massive immunisation campaign and a number of other measures could, it was estimated, reduce by half the death rate among children under five who were dying at the rate of 40,000 a day.

The reason for the exceptional expansion of UNICEF aid to education in the 1970s (at a time when it might have been expected to suffer a reduction because of the stopping of its aid to secondary education), and its later stabilisation, seems to have been the education sector's own revolution in 1972 and 1974 in favour of basic education for the least privileged of the world's children.

In these circumstances Mr. Ahmed's suggestion that the next strategic priority for UNICEF in education should be basic education, particularly for girls and for women, undertaken parallel with the child survival and development revolution, and treated as one of the principal resources, appears very sound and very timely. It is supported by research showing the impact of parents' education on child health and well being.

It is important to note that both the mother's and the father's education have an important measurable effect on child mortality, according to research (see p.69-70 of the monograph), but the mother's has twice that of the father.

By education the research means predominently the education the parents had in their childhood at school since the population coverage of education for adults has been small, and literacy in the population at large has been obtained in school. A useful addition to the series of assessments that UNICEF has made would be one dealing with the impact of its newly expanding programme of adult non-formal education upon child health. This could well be carried out as part of the cooperative programme with UNESCO.

As regards the relative roles of UNICEF and UNESCO referred to in the Foreword, it is true that the functions of UNICEF are more of a humanitarian nature than UNESCO's. Nevertheless, there is no evidence in the documentation of education being seen as something "separate from health and well-being of children". On the contrary, the standard work on health education in schools was produced under a UNESCO programme of the 1950s, with the collaboration of the WHO, and the title of the Report of UNESCO's International Commission on Educational Development of 1972 was "Learning To Be".

It is natural that, when a fund is created, people with special concerns want it used, for quite laudable reasons, for those special concerns. This is true of education. Some people are deeply interested in the importance of pre-school education, others in the pre-employment training of adolescents, some have more faith than others in the possibilities of non-formal education, and some stress that the welfare of children depends preeminently upon their mothers' education. Since it is not possible to tell in advance which women are going to be mothers, the concern becomes one for UNICEF aid to the education of women in general, in addition to the ordinary priority UNICEF gives to girls' education. While all these laudable considerations are being debated, the children who cannot get into school because there are insufficient places or teachers wait outside the school door with their despairing mothers, who are liable to say 'get the children into school and talk about these things later'.

The Executive Board has a difficult task. Not only does it have to face the problem of timing and balance between the sectors, but also the problem of how far to extend into the activities which are child related rather than direct aid to children. If every new extension were accompanied by new resources, there would be no problem, but this is not possible to ensure with any certitude in a Fund dependent on voluntary contributions. UNICEF's public relations experts may have some research on this matter. An interesting indicator, which may have some relevance, is that when the Development Committee of the OECD, whose members provide the bulk of international development aid in their bilateral programmes, considered strategies relating to Basic Human Needs as part of their development policies, they felt that public opinion would react favourably to a shift towards basic needs and this would make possible support for higher aid levels*/.

* DD-571 14 November, 1977

I. THE EARLY YEARS

The period prior to 1961

At the end of the Second World War there were millions of children, many of whom had lost their parents and homes, who were living in conditions of malnutrition, disease, and severe social distress in areas heavily affected by the damage and destruction of the war. Many of these children were helped at first by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) and by voluntary non-governmental organizations. But is soon became clear that a special official emergency fund for children was required and UNICEF was set up in December 1946 as an intergovernmental organisation of the United Nations, financed by voluntary contributions from governments and private sources.

Its first concern was with child health and nutrition, maternal and child care, and the severest forms of child distress in the war-stricken countries of the United Nations. Later, it covered the ex-enemy countries and countries not affected by the war, but whose children needed emergency aid, and extended the scope of its assistance to a wider range of factors affecting child welfare. In 1953 it ceased to be a temporary emergency agency and was made a continuing part of the United Nations system of organisations.

So long as UNICEF was a temporary emergency organisation, it was reasonable for aid to the education sector to be left out of its function. An emergency agency's resources obviously had to go to the sectors where action could yield the quickest and most tangible results, such as saving the lives of children by the provision of medication and medical equipment and supplies to defeat malnutrition and disease. Education was vital because ignorance can also be the cause of death and disease, but the education process is a slower one. Thus, it was not until UNICEF became a continuing organisation concerned not only with emergencies but also with the longer-term problems of child welfare and development that the inclusion of aid to the education sector became a live issue. Even so, eight years of hesitation elapsed before a positive decision on the issue was taken by the UNICEF Executive Board in 1961. In the meantime UNICEF had, in cooperation with UNESCO, worked on materials for the introduction of health and nutrition into the school curricula in a number of countries and, while refraining from aid to the education system as such, assisted a few countries with teacher-training for that purpose.

In the September 1958 session of the Executive Board, a member of the Board raised the question of UNICEF aid for primary education programmes, and during the Board's discussion much interest was expressed by various members in this possible extension of UNICEF's activities. The Board accordingly requested the Executive Director to prepare a study on the subject, in consultation with UNESCO, for submission to its next session.

This study[1/] was discussed by the Board in March 1959. It recommended that UNICEF aid, which would mainly be for the training of teachers, should be extended on request, progressively and with caution, up to a maximum of $250,000 in 1959 and a maximum of $500,000 in 1960. If experience proved to

be favourable, larger sums might be included in allocations for future years. The aid was to be given within the framework of projects in community development and nutrition currently assisted by UNICEF, or as part of projects already assisted by UNESCO, for example, UNESCO's major project in Latin America to promote primary education, or it could be embodied in new projects.

The study answered the queries which some members of the Board had raised in the 1958 discussion as to the constitutional propriety of UNICEF aiding the education sector by including a section headed "Legal Basis for Action" which stated, "The task of UNICEF is to support programmes designed to alleviate the conditions of children, within the framework of existing United Nations activities for promoting the economic and social development of under-developed areas (General Assembly resolution 417 (V) of December 1950), taking into account the suggested priorities established by the Economic Council)." It went on to point out that the Council had "listed the development of free and compulsory elementary education as a priority programme" (Economic and Social Council Resolution 451 A (XIV) of July 1952).

The Director-General of UNESCO, in a statement to the Executive Board, welcomed the proposal and pledged the cooperation of UNESCO in the form of educational advice and technical assistance for the use of UNICEF funds to aid primary education. Many different views were expressed in an intensive debate, but the Board's agreement was only to including teacher training related to the existing sectors of UNICEF assistance and was adopted as follows:

> Considering that the age-old needs of children arising from hunger, disease and ignorance are interrelated and that each evil is part cause and part effect of the others, the Executive Board welcomes the report of the Executive Director (E/ICEF/R.632), believes that UNICEF should concern itself with certain aspects of the struggle against ignorance, and thanks the Director-General of UNESCO for his advice and assistance to the Board in its consideration of this question. In view of the limited resources at the disposal of UNICEF, the Executive Board:
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> Considers that the activity of UNICEF in the realm of primary education should be confined at this stage to improving the standard of training of primary school teachers of both sexes in order to strengthen UNICEF's work in connexion with its traditional fields of interest, such as health, nutrition, hygiene, home economics, etc., and to the extension of UNICEF's existing assistance to primary schools in such fields in the light of developing needs.

> Decides that the Executive Director should be authorized to consider, in consultation with the competent specialized agencies, requests from Governments for assistance on the above lines; and be asked to submit a limited number of trial projects for consideration at a future session of the Executive Board, with full details, including initial and continuing costs.
>
> Recommends that these trial projects should, so far as possible, be within the framework of already existing programmes such as those aided by UNESCO, FAO, WHO, or UNICEF itself.

The main opposition to aid to the education sector came from delegates who were of the opinion that it would spread UNICEF's modest resources too widely, since much further progress was required in the existing sectors that UNICEF served. Others felt that because of the huge size of the educational needs UNICEF aid could only be a drop in the ocean. Others considered that additional educational aid should be given by agencies with larger funds, e.g., the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (UNEPTA), and UNESCO where the technical competence lay, rather than by UNICEF. Thus the Board decision limited aid to training teachers in health, nutrition and in the traditional sectors of UNICEF activity.

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The 1961 UNICEF Board decision

However, during the next two years the thinking of the Board took on a wider perspective in the light of events and trends that came to a head at the end of the 1950s in the matter of strategies for the development of the under-developed countries and regarding child development. The 1950s had seen an unprecendented large inflow of multilateral and bilateral funds into aid for development. Assessments and evaluation of development projects begun early in the decade were beginning to become known, and many of them clearly showed the ancillary role of the educational factor in the operational success or failure of projects in the various development sectors. Further, the first major UN report on development measures, prepared by five of the world's leading economists, had urged that investment in human resources was the first priority.[2/] Some of the local projects where the particular importance of education had been demonstrated were in the sectors traditionally aided by UNICEF such as health and family life needs. This lessened resistance that had been based on the view that expenditure by UNICEF on education would be at the expense of further progress in its work on health and nutrition.[3/]

Further, in the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations and in UNICEF as well as among governments, there had evolved a strong sense of the necessity of dealing with "the whole child", a position which had become

incorporated in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1959. In addition, a new factor had emerged on the Board itself which was growing pressure from the beneficiary countries to have a greater range of options as to the type of aid they could have from UNICEF (within, of course, its constitutional functions), so as to select items that fitted in best with their own perception, country by country, of their particular priorities.

As a result, the question of aid to the education section no longer stood on its own, but became part of a total review of the whole needs of children and whether the type of assistance UNICEF was giving needed revision and extension. To facilitate such a total review, the Board asked the Executive Director to produce a preliminary survey of total urgent needs of children in all sectors in consultation with the UN Specialized Agencies and some beneficiary governments. This survey and the Executive Director's recommendations were debated by the Board in May 1961. As regards the education sector, the Board reported that:

> Many representatives stressed that education was as vital an aspect of children's needs as were health and food, and that this field of potential assistance should not be overlooked. Some delegations urged UNICEF assistance in this field, particularly to the newly independent countries of Africa. While it was generally recognized that more emphasis should be laid on training teachers in health and nutrition education, it was believed that wider forms of assistance, in association with UNESCO, might be developed, covering selected phases of primary education where the Government accorded education a high priority in its plans for the improvement of child welfare. In some countries it might be desirable to assist secondary education with a view to remedying the shortage of candidates who could be trained to provide children's services.
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> In the wider field of preparing children and young people for the responsibilities of adult life, UNICEF should pay attention to the possibilities of providing help in programs for youth guidance, prevocational and vocational training, and job placement. Close cooperation with the ILO would be necessary in all such activities.4/

The report went on to list examples of new or extended fields for UNICEF aid considered of high priority by governments, in which education appeared as follows under the heading of "Preparation of Child for Adult Life":

(i) Certain aspects of elementary education;
Training of normal school instructors;
Teacher training;
Training of home economics instructors;

(ii) Certain aspects of agricultural education (nutrition, production at village level);
Training of agricultural extension service agents.

(iii) Certain aspects of vocational training for various occupations (handicrafts and industry);
Preparation of pilot projects for vocational training programmes in rural areas for children of rural inhabitants where land and agricultural facilities may be in short supply;
Training of extension service workers.

For these three types of operations, aid could be considered for:

Equipping centres for teacher training and for vocational schools;
Equipping field demonstration and training centres and areas;
Production of school materials and teaching aids;
Aid in form of honoraria, stipends, teaching, grants, etc.

(iv) Aid to pilot youth centres, including:
A vocational guidance section;
A section to prepare youth for certain occupations and to give refresher courses for young workers.[5/]

These examples included, it will be seen, activities in education (for which UNESCO was the UN specialized agency) and in the field of vocational training (the ILO), and agriculture (FAO). The Board made it clear that the examples given in each of the subject areas were illustrative. It was also clear that some of them (e.g., agricultural extension agents) were well outside UNICEF's main province. The Board report stated that projects which extended UNICEF's aid into new types of assistance would need the "endorsement" of the appropriate cooperating specialized agency. Moreover, since the new type of aid would not be based on established criteria of the Board, it was suggested that governments should be informed that the approval of the Programme Committee could not be anticipated to the same degree as in the case of projects falling under the more clearly established criteria of the Board.

The general objective of the Board was to introduce greater flexibility into its criteria in the light of the differing needs of various governments. This objective was obtained, but many problems were left unresolved, as the future showed, in the case of education. The Board's decision was phrased as follows: "That assistance to projects benefiting children need not be restricted to UNICEF's past fields of activity, but that the Executive Director should be permitted flexibility in proposing new types of aid such as those listed, where recipient countries gave a high priority to such assistance." From extreme caution in 1959, the Board had moved in 1961 to what a number of its members considered to be too wide a scope for its educational assistance.

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State of education in developing countries

Before going on to describe UNICEF's actual programme carried out in cooperation with UNESCO as it took place over the years 1961 to 1972, it is good to show the then state of education in the developing countries. This can best be presented by the statistics in the following tables:

Table 1 [6/]

Percentage enrollment of children of primary school age, 1960

Africa	37
Asia	50
Latin America	60
Arab States	38 (included in figure for Asia)

The percentages given cover both sexes. The lag in the enrollment of girls can be seen from Table 2. The percentages shown in Table 2 are the proportion of girls in the regional enrollment figures for both sexes in Table 1.

Table 2 [6/]

Females as proportion of total primary enrollment

Region	1960/61	1964/65	1967/68
		(Percentages)	
Africa	37	38	40
Asia	37	38	38
Latin America	49	49	49 (1970)
Arab States	34	35	36

The percentages in Tables 1 and 2 relate to enrollment and do not reflect how many of the children enrolled actually stayed in school long enough to complete the full primary course, which in most countries was then six years. As regards completing the full six-year course, the UNESCO data for 1960 showed that only 62 per cent of the boys enrolled (all regions taken together) finished the course and only 52 per cent of the girls, and that much of the drop-out occurred after only the first year.[7/] These regional and world-wide figures obscured many variations between countries but they showed the magnitude of the human distress involved. They indicated that there were

tens of millions of boys and girls growing up to be illiterate adults who had never had the advantage of a minimum of basic schooling, or who had never been to school at all, who were, in short, deprived of the human right to a primary education as set out in the UN Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. This posed the question, to which we will revert shortly, as to why the UNICEF Executive Board agreed to aiding the second level of education, the pupils in which had by definition already attained a complete primary education.

The gravity of the educational situation of the early years of the 1960s was added to by the fact that it was a period of a high rate of growth of the child population, prior to the heavy reduction which took place in a the seventies, as illustrated by Table 3:

Table 3

Average percentage population increase 8/

Age	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85 (estimated)
0-4	3.1	2.6	2.2	2.0
5-9	2.6	3.3	2.8	2.2
6-11	2.5	3.2	3.0	2.5

The situation as regards illiteracy in the developing countries as at 1960 and ten years later is indicated in the following table, showing an increase of 56 million, nearly all of them females:

Table 4

Estimated number of illiterates in developing countries around 1960 and 1970 8/

		Millions
Around 1960		
Males		295
Females		405
	Total	700
Around 1970		
Males		306
Females		450
	Total	756

If one turns now to the qualitative factors, the situation was also disturbing. Much has been written about the failings of the educational systems that existed then, the prevalence of abstract curricula unrelated to local needs, the lack of any teacher-training for a large proportion of the teaching staff, the traditional methods of teaching by rote with an insufficient concern with promoting problem-solving capacities, the shortage of inspection staff, etc. A "cri du coeur" of an educational consultant in a poor developing country, cited by Frank Method in a chapter in "Education and Development Reconsidered,"[9/] is worth quoting: "When I contemplate the primary school...the first thing that strikes me is not that it is a rote learning institution rather than a problem-solving activity-oriented one. The most obvious shortcomings are: (a) the building is falling down and the roof leaks; (b) the teacher is an untrained teacher and in any case had gone to market and his class is unattended; (c) the last time a supervisor visited the school on a professional visit was nine-and-a-half months ago; (d) there are three English books among 35 children and no arithmetic books; (e) the teacher does not have a copy of the syllabus for the course; (f) six-year-old children in the first grade are learning in a language that is quite strange to them and comprehend little of what is being said." This picture of a rural school in one of the ex-colonial territories emerging into independence in the early 1960s illustrates the hard core of the problem at the rural village level.

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UNESCO's educational programmes and policies

It will be recalled from the above that the UNICEF Executive Board, in opening the door to the financing of projects in the education sector in 1961, ruled that to be accepted such projects must have the "endorsement" of the "technical agency", which meant UNESCO with, on occasion also, the ILO and FAO. To understand how this collaboration evolved over the ten years from 1961 to 1972, we must therefore see what the situation was in UNESCO in the matter of educational aid policy and executive skills since this had a decisive influence on the course of events.

At the opening of the fifties UNESCO had gone to work very actively to help to implement the right to free and compulsory primary education contained in the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. A world-wide campaign in favour of primary education was launched in 1950 and a number of important UNESCO-inspired projects were prepared in the years that followed, one was the Latin American Major Project for Primary Education, and the other, the so-called "Karachi Plan." The latter consisted of a detailed set of recommendations made in 1960 by a regional UNESCO conference of Asian Ministers of Education to achieve universal primary education in their countries by 1980. This plan covered the financing and the educational logistics of the process of creating universal primary education in the countries of Asia and was the first of its kind, but for reasons we explained below, it was superseded by the Asian model of 1965 which covered all educational levels.

Aid to primary education was not, of course, UNESCO's unique or principal preoccupation. Like the Ministers of Education of its member governments, UNESCO was occupied with whole education systems covering all levels and age groups, and science and technology. UNESCO was also the executive agency of the United Nations for the application of its technical assistance funds for aid to the education sector, and the share of education in these funds had risen by the end of the fifties to as much as 14 per cent of the total, as compared with much lower percentages in later years. This high proportion was due partly to the dynamism of the UNESCO effort, and partly to the great interest of the newly independent countries in creating, as soon as possible, the necessary cadres of administrators, executives, and skilled workers and managers to replace the departing colonial cadres.

Much valuable aid was given to higher and second-level education in the developing countries as well as to primary education. Most of this assistance was for the linear expansion or the improvement of the productivity of the standard forms of education which the developing countries had inherited from the colonial powers. Governments were not in the mood for innovation but rather for rapid educational growth for the purposes of nation-building, and this was also the mood of the governing bodies of the international agencies.

An exception to this was the innovatory UNESCO action, taken in support of the community development programme of the United Nations Social Affairs Department for the promotion of "fundamental education", a simplified form of overall education at the community level covering basic living needs. This innovation had some striking successes as well as failures. However, the UNESCO Executive Board, reflecting the prevailing mood among countries in favour of expanding the conventional school system, rejected this concept and instructed the Director-General not to use the term "fundamental education" in UNESCO documents [10], though ten years later the UNESCO Board was urging the need for educational innovation.

The work on "fundamental education" has considerable resemblance to that being undertaken by UNICEF under its basic education/basic services and non-formal education programmes and, as there are lessons to be drawn from history, it is perhaps well to pause and comment further upon it. UNESCO had the good fortune in the 1950s to have, as the Director of its Social Sciences Department, the Swedish sociologist Alva Myrdal (later to win a Nobel Prize), who had earlier been Director of the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations. Under her leadership UNESCO produced, with the help of leading experts, a major contribution to the thinking and practice of the rapidly growing development effort of the UN and the international community, much of which still holds the field today, including the work on fundamental education.

The UNESCO Social Sciences publication of 1953, "Cultural Patterns and Technical Change", edited by Margaret Mead and which had a very large circulation stated, "The task of Fundamental Education is to cover the whole of living. In addition, it is to teach, not only new ways, but the need and the incentive for new ways." And, "If the new education is to fill the place of the old, it has to cover all areas of living," and, "In many countries new fundamental education is carried on by teams including social workers, graduate nurses, agricultural assistants, home economists, hygienic experts."

This programme received substantial funding from the newly established technical assistance resources of the United Nations. It had a strong social science backing and was designed to influence the attitudes toward development in rural villages, and to educate teachers and leaders in self-reliant activities which would be transmitted to the population to raise living levels. Its main weakness was a failure, despite that backing, to assess how difficult it would be for education to produce development without a number of other factors also being at work (though once they are present its contribution is always indispensable and can be huge); and also in some of its projects it took an unduly optimistic view of the social forces at work in communities in backward areas. There was also a tendency to train educators and at the same time not to provide ladders for them into the career system so that the teachers left for other work soon after they had been trained.

Another weakness was that it was one thing to set up a project with much enthusiasm and initial success, but quite another to ensure its self-sustained persistence over the years. A number of good projects under the programme disappeared without a trace after the external aid ceased. On the other hand, a number of less ambitious projects firmly rooted in local conditions and motivations usually based (as in similar voluntary agency projects) on the devoted services of dedicated community leaders and teachers, showed greater power of endurance. This programme petered out after a few years as it was considered not showing sufficiently effective results and it had encountered opposition from the educational establishment. But it was later revived in a somewhat different form following the UNICEF/UNESCO review of 1972/73 and the resultant policy of concentrating on basic education and non-formal education at the first level, as discussed in the next chapters.

But the most significant and lasting innovation of the period was the major change that took place in educational planning - significant because it revised the conceptual basis of educational planning and was translated into practical action through the construction and acceptance by governments of a

series of educational development objectives, covering the main developing regions of the world. It concerned the role of education in economic development. Economic growth was normally seen to result from combinations of the prime factors of capital, labour, land and technology, though research had already disclosed a large further influence which had become known as the "the residual factor". The new event was the evidence from research results which appeared in the late fifties that a great part of the residual factor was education, not simply in the form of productive manpower as in the human resources approach, but also including general education at all levels and specialities.[11/]

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Regional models and targets

UNESCO's Executive Board responded quickly to these research results, and in 1960 it set up an Analysis Office on the Role of Education, Science and Culture in Development which was staffed by five senior economists from different regions and social systems. UNESCO then convened in the early sixties a series of regional conferences of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Overall Development Planning in each of the countries of the four main regions of the world. UNESCO's Education Department and Statistics Office, supported by the newly formed Analysis Office, and with advice from education experts from the region, submitted to these conferences models for the development of the education sector detailing recommended growth rates for the different levels and types of education for the sixties (which had been declared The First Development Decade by the United Nations), and beyond in the case of targets such as the achievement of universal primary education.

In the case of Asia, for instance, the previous plan (the Karachi Plan mentioned earlier) was adjusted both in order to correspond with the different Asian countries' economic potential, and to obtain a balanced overall expansion of the educational sector as a whole, taking into account the needs and development priorities with respect to all the educational levels and types (The Asian Model).

In all of the models accepted by the governments at these regional conferences, higher growth rates were targeted for second-level education than for primary education, though the latter still remained a long-term target of high importance as the educational level which had the moral status as a human right. The emphasis on second-level education was due to the manpower needs of their economies for the purposes of economic development, and because the whole process of national building required additional middle- and higher-level manpower.

The growth rates for the different levels of education in the various regions contained in these regional models for 1965-70 were:

Average annual rates of increase in enrollment 1965-70 set as targets in the UNESCO Regional Models[12/]

	AFRICA	LATIN AMERICA	ASIA
1st Level	5.93	4.58	6.10
2nd Level	13.08	12.96	9.66
3rd Level	11.71	6.35	7.86

An advantage of these models was that they reflected not only aspiration but also feasible possibilities, since they took into account the logistic as well as the financial constraints on the expansion of educational systems. Generally it was found, contrary to previous opinion, that the principal constraints were logistical (e.g., the time taken to train teachers, to produce textbooks, and to build and equip sufficient schools) rather than financial.

This pointed the way to the main strategy of UNICEF's educational aid, which was to give most of its aid to items like teacher-training and supplies that would break bottlenecks and have a multiplier effect.

The experience of UNESCO, which not only included major efforts aimed at the establishment of universal primary education world-wide but also covered the planning of the whole of the education sector, became an important influence on UNICEF's educational programme throughout the next decade. Linked with the particular organizational characteristics of UNICEF, its high degree of decentralization to the field and the flexibility of its operations (inherited from its past as an emergency agency), and with the rising demands from governments for educational aid, UNICEF's educational work expanded rapidly after the 1961 decision.

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Reservations about UNICEF's role in secondary education

It has already been mentioned that a number of Board members felt at the time of the 1961 decision that the definition given by the Board of the scope of UNICEF's educational aid was too wide. Criticisms were also made retrospectively of the Board's decision and centered around UNICEF aid to secondary education. Attention was drawn to the masses of children lacking primary education and suffering the serious hardship of growing up to be

illiterate adults. It was maintained that UNICEF's role was to give aid to projects combining both humanitarian and development objectives and that children in secondary education had already obtained the human right to education defined in the UN Charter of Human Rights as "compulsory primary education". UNICEF aid to secondary education (which was in any event a responsibility of other agencies) would reduce its resources available to alleviate the condition of the children in greatest need.

What appears to have happened was that the Board had been influenced by the targets set for the First Development Decade by the United Nations, which were established about the same time as the Board was studying the question whether or not to include education as a subject for future UNICEF aid. These were economic development targets based on rates of growth of gross national product. It was not until the latter part of the First Decade that it began to be widely appreciated that these targets needed revision or supplementation since they were being largely reached without corresponding social gains in the reduction of poverty.

In the matter of education, the United Nations Proposals for its Second Development Decade prepared in 1970 by its Development Committee of economists under the Chairmanship of Jan Tinbergen made the following statement:

> "In principle, priority should be given to those elements which are conducive to acceleration in the rate of over-all growth. However, there will be cases necessitating a sacrifice in the pace of growth in order to prevent social injustice. There will also be cases where the immediate impact on the rate of growth is uncertain but the long-run necessity is clear; as already mentioned, education is typically such a case. On the other hand, it should be recognized that without an adequate rate of growth the action for transforming the society will be jeopardized."13/

But the actual proposals for the education sector made by the Development Committee were still focused almost entirely on national economic growth, and it was not until 1973 that it was officially suggested that the International Development Strategy "might be amended to include specific recommendations that governments should aim to bring their populations above a poverty datum line."14/ UNICEF had already moved to implement such a strategy in its 1972 policy review of its educational aid when it adopted, just one year before the issue of the UN International Development Strategy of 1973, the principle of focusing its aid on bringing as many children as possible above a minimum basic level of education (i.e., above an educational poverty line).

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II. THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF UNICEF COOPERATION IN EDUCATION, 1962 TO 1972

Steady expansion

After the Executive Board decisions of 1961, governments moved rapidly to take advantage of the greater flexibility of criteria for UNICEF assistance, especially in the field of education. In the years immediately following the decision to include education, on the average about 10 per cent of total UNICEF allocations went to education annually. This figure rose to 14.5 per cent in 1967, and 69 countries had by then been educational beneficiaries and, by the end of the decade, education was taking 23 per cent of UNICEF's annual commitments. In 1972 education received 27 per cent. The following table shows the changes in allocation to the main sectors over the period 1960 to 1971, indicating the high rate of growth of the percentage allocation to education accompanied by a decline in the health and nutrition allocation percentages.

Table 5 15/

UNICEF assistance (commitments) by main sectors

Sector	(millions of US dollars)			Annual average 1960 to 71 (percentages)		
	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1971	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1971
Health	20.4	21.0	31.0	59.0	54.0	52.0
Nutrition	7.7	4.1	5.5	22.0	11.0	9.0
Child welfare	1.1	1.6	3.6	3.0	4.0	6.0
Education	3.4	8.9	14.1	10.0	23.0	23.0
Other long-range aid	1.0	1.7	4.2	3.0	4.5	7.0
Emergency aid	0.9	1.4	1.6	3.0	3.5	3.0
Total	34.5	38.7	60.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Commitments include projects to be financed from trust funds.

The number of schools and educational institutions that had received UNICEF equipment between the start of the programme and 1970 can be seen from the following table:

Table 6 16/

Number of schools and educational institutions that had received UNICEF equipment as of end 1970

	Africa	Asia	Eastern Mediterranean	Europe	Latin America	Total
Primary schools	8 498	16 754	13 007	943	11 288	50 490
Secondary schools	1 003	3 651	368	-	95	5 110
Teacher-training institutions	510	1 393	223	3	425	2 550
Other education institutions	373	152	14	-	15	550
TOTAL	10 384	21 950	13 612	946	11 823	58 710

In terms of numbers of teachers who had received some training with UNICEF stipends the cumulative number as at 1967 and 1970 is shown in the next table:

Table 7 17/

Number of teachers who received some training with UNICEF stipends

	Cumulative number as at end 1967			Cumulative number as at end 1970 (estimated)		
	Primary	Secondary	Total	Primary	Secondary	TOTAL
Africa	30 019	242	30 261	57 865	1 196	59 061
Asia	12 918	1 993	14 911	46 856	15 373	62 229
Eastern Mediterranean	4 316	-	4 316	9 509	142	9 651
The Americas	15 061	2	15 063	28 658	8 417	37 075
TOTAL All Regions	62 314	2 237	64 551	142 888	25 128	168 016

We will now discuss the various categories and modalities of aid which characterized the first ten years of UNICEF's educational aid which was undertaken throughout with the close collaboration of UNESCO. It would not be possible from a period of twenty years or more to assess the success of many individual projects because in few cases are there evaluative histories extending over this length of time. Accordingly, we have relied mainly on the annual reports of the Executive Director to the Executive Board [18/], the Board debates and decisions, and general assessments like those undertaken in 1968 which were made by UNICEF and UNESCO jointly, and that made especially for the Board on pre-vocational training.[19/]

We have selected, for the purpose of more detailed discussion, the following subjects of UNICEF expenditures: (1) the training of teachers, teacher educators, and educational supervisory staff and administrators; (2) the provision of educational supplies and equipment, which was the major modality used, taking up two-thirds of the total expenditure; (3) curriculum development; (4) preparation for adult life, which was taken by the Executive Board as being practically synonymous with pre-vocational training, the subject area which consumed almost all the resources under this heading; (5) science education. A discussion of these categories is concluded by comments on UNICEF's education aid programme as a whole during its first ten years of activity.

:Teacher training

The largest part of UNICEF's cooperation, other than in the supply of materials and equipment, was devoted to increasing the quantity and quality of trained teachers so as to permit the much needed expansion of primary school enrollments. Field reports indicated that some teachers in the least developed countries had not mastered the subjects which they themselves had to teach and lacked even basic skills in multiplication and division. After 1968, when a Joint UNICEF/UNESCO review of UNICEF-funded educational aid took place, more emphasis was placed on the qualitative side of teaching, including the development of better educational teaching materials and the training of teacher-trainers and the equipment for teacher-training colleges. The methods of work used by the programme included financial help through stipends, grants and fellowships to increase the number of participants in training courses, both in-service and pre-service, seminars organized by Ministries of Education for that purpose, and through the provision of expert advice by UNESCO personnel, and of material supplies from UNICEF.

Aid to teacher-training colleges included the introduction of new methods and instruction media, and the principle of learning by doing. A field report from Thailand of an inspection of this work stated, "The visiting team was particularly impressed with the amount of activity that was going on at the teachers' colleges...the campuses are like beehives." The presence of the UNICEF/UNESCO personnel, apart from the advice and material aid supplied, gave moral support to the enthusiasm of the educators and administrators of the developing countries who, in the sixties, brought about rates of educational expansion that had never before been equalled, nor has been since.

The initial success in the UNICEF-funded teacher-training work led to extending the training of supervisors of education administrators and staff concerned with educational planning. In Honduras, for instance, by 1969 sixty per cent of the supervisory personnel had been trained with UNICEF support at the Higher School of Education. In 1970 UNICEF helped, with UNESCO's collaboration with the introduction of a uniform curriculum for all of the teacher-training institutes of Ecuador, and was working in the same direction in several other countries. An important practical component of the training was the process of demonstration, and experimental primary schools were set up or strengthened with UNICEF assistance. In Uganda, Botswana, Tanzania, and in Korea and Afghanistan, for instance, considerable amounts of organizational, technical and financial aid were provided for the training of teaching staff and educational personnel, and smaller amounts of aid were given to many other countries which opened bottlenecks in the supply of materials and expertise, or provided needed technical assistance.

By the end of 1966 some 55,000 teachers, supervisors, and other educational personnel had received both pre-service or in-service training with UNICEF aid in more than 550 teacher-training schools and 8,900 associated primary schools, according to the Report of the UNICEF Executive Board for June 1967.

:Supplies and equipment

When UNICEF entered the area of educational aid it brought with it a great deal of experience in supply matters, based on its original role as an emergency agency and its long concern with health and nutrition where supplies play a particularly vital role. The main items included: paper for the printing of textbooks and teacher guides and, in some cases, printing presses, various durable supplies for use in classrooms, books, globes, maps and charts and visual teaching aids, typewriters and stencilling machines for teacher-training centres, certain key elements needed to build schools with local voluntary effort, tools and equipment for pre-vocational training and vehicles for supervisory personnel, science kits and apparatus and materials suitable for teaching at the upper primary and lower secondary level, and simpler "toy" versions of them for the lowest levels to engender a primary interest in science. The building up of the local capacity to produce these items and the supply of key parts from abroad when necessary, in cases where more sophisticated instructional aids were required at the higher second level, were also important items of UNICEF aid.

The following tables (Table 8 and Table 9) show the distribution of UNICEF aid for supplies and other types of aid, and for different geographical regions during the periods 1961-1967, 1964-1967, and 1968-1971.

Table 8

UNICEF allocations to education projects by region and types of assistance 1961 - 1967 20/
(in thousands of $US dollars)

	Africa	Asia	Eastern Mediterranean		Europe	The Americas	TOTAL Percentages
Supplies and equipment	4 028	7 619	1 607	322	1 140	14 716	55.2
Transport	746	589	264	20	390	2 009	7.5
Fellowships administered:							
by UNICEF	8	29	2	--	--	39	0.2
by specialized agencies	13	210	--	2	--	225	0.8
Training grants	2 779	1 127	664	--	2 554	7 124	26.7
Project personnel:							
National	84	122	13	--	32	251	0.9
International a/	1 545	701	37	--	38	2 321	8.7
TOTAL	9 203	10 397	2 587	344	4 154	26 685	100.0

a/ In 1967, 166 man-months of international project personnel were provided: 72 in Africa, 81 in Asia and 12 in the Americas. In addition 24 man-months were provided for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. International experts participation on a part-time basis in 1967 were as follows: Africa 8; Asia 4; Eastern Mediterranean 7; and Latin America 9.

Table 9

Commitments for education: 1964-1967 and 1968-1971 by region and types of aid
(in thousands of $US dollars)

	Supplies (a)			Other types of aid (b)			TOTAL		
UNICEF region	1964-1967	1968-1971	Percentage Change	1964-1967	1968-1971	Percentage Change	1964-1968	1968-1971	Percentage Change
Asia (c)	13 738	16 839	23	1 917	2 818	43	15 709	19 657	25
Africa (d)	7 031	12 350	76	3 343	6 334	89	10 374	18 374	80
Latin America	920	3 523	83	2 602	2 188	(-16)	3 522	5 711	62
Eastern Mediterranean (e)	2 492	1 826	(-27)	679	1 263	86	3 171	3 089	(-3)
Europe	15	--	--	--	--	--	15	--	--
Interregional	--	--	--	300	225	(-25)	300	225	(-25)
TOTAL	24 196	34 538	43	8 895	12 828	44	33 091	47 366	44

a) Including ocean freight.
b) These consist of stipends for trainees (within the country), hororaria for teachers and instructors, fellowships for training outside the country, cost of project personnel, etc.
c) Bangkok, Delhi regions.
d) Abidjan, Lagos, Kampala regions and Algiers area.
e) Beirut region and Ankara area.

The Joint UNICEF/UNESCO assessment made in April 1968 of UNICEF-aided educational projects reported that: "A tendency was found in several of the countries to use the supply guide lists as catalogues and to pay comparatively little attention to the guidelines they contained, with the result that non-essentials, which it is just 'rather nice to have', were seen carefully preserved for their prestige value, in a number of schools." Cases are also noted of equipment "...which had been requested in the disappointed hope that by the time it arrived, there would be adequate accommodation in which it could be used and teachers capable of instructing in its use." "On the whole however," the assessment concludes, "selection was found to be not too far wide of requirements and of the possibility of use."21/

The same assessment report also urged that the current science guide list in use should be reviewed. In the three years since it had been issued, "New developments in the teaching of science which were then in embryo have since grown apace..." Increased use, it was suggested, should be made of the modern trend towards simpler apparatus and teaching by discovery methods. Further, good use should be made of equipment that could be produced, with help for that purpose, inside the countries needing it in order to secure continuity and prevent long-term reliance on supplies from abroad. In this connection there were also reports that in some cases the equipment supplied for the manual arts part of the curriculum were too heavy and incompatible with local use.

One of the distinctive features of UNICEF's aid in the form of materials and supplies is that the supply is usually planned to be part of a package of aid which may include teacher-training, curriculum development, the spread of science teaching and improvement of teaching methods, efforts to bring more girls into the school system, encouraging the building of schools by voluntary local effort, etc., and various other UNICEF objectives. The problems of time and motion involved did not free the process from difficulties. All supply agencies had to face logistic problems from time to time, e.g., equipment arriving before the experts who were to demonstrate its use had arrived, or the materials arriving after the specialist had left who was to train the teacher colleges in their use, delays owing to materials being stuck in customs, or changes being made in specifications, or delivery delays due to strikes or obstacles outside the control of UNICEF. UNICEF had, during this period, a modest share of these problems, though fewer perhaps than many agencies because of it had more experience. An important feature of its success was the degree to which it was able to use its supply work as leverage for its total function as well as meeting urgent needs or opening bottlenecks.

Since nearly three-quarters of UNICEF resources was going into supplies and equipment, its potential leverage was considerable for the purposes of implementing UNICEF's overall aid policy. Inevitably, most supplies went into linear expansion of the existing system which, in the First Development

Decade, was imposed by the great urge towards quantitative growth. The Joint UNICEF/UNESCO assessment of progress made as in 1968 and the guidelines it produced shifted to some degree the direction of UNICEF aid towards qualitative factors, but it was still geared mainly to the requirements of the traditional systems.

The figures given below in Table 10 shown for the two periods 1964-67 and 1968 to 1971, indicate that when added to each other, the supply of materials and equipment took up seventy per cent of UNICEF's committed funds for education (i.e., $58.7 million), while other types of educational aid amounted to $21.7 million. This high percentage remained practically unchanged, and even increased after the change of policy in 1972 (to be described in Chapter III) which phased out aid to secondary education (except for health and nutrition teaching) in order to concentrate UNICEF assistance on the first level of education. This can be seen as follows:

Table 10 [22/]

UNICEF educational aid (Commitments)
(in thousands of US dollars)

(1) Period	(2) Supplies and equipment[a/]	(3) Other	(4) Total	(5) (2) as percentage of (4)
1964-67	24 196	8 895	33 091	70.3
1968-71	34 538	12 828	47 356	70.3
1975-79	94 005	33 721	122 724	77.0

[a/] Including ocean freight.

The main change that took place in the composition of the totals in column (2) was the reduction of the more sophisticated materials and equipment needed for science teaching at the second level and for pre-vocational training, and their substitution by more materials and equipment needed at the first level, and by supplies and equipment needed for the expansion of non-formal education. Regionally, the main change over the years 1961-71 (see Tables 8 and 9) was the reduction of disparities between the amounts committed to the various regions which did not seem to correspond with the severity of their educational needs.

:Curriculum development

This subject area is one of the most important and at the same time elusive areas that the UNICEF/UNESCO Cooperative Programme entered. While a great

deal of research and experimentation had been undertaken on this matter by educators and educational psychologists in many countries, the major part of it was more applicable to secondary education and to the primary cycle in the developed countries, rather than to differnt conditions and cultural requirements in the developing countries. The process of curriculum development was a slow one. The publication of UNESCO's International Institute of Educational Planning on this subject in the series Fundamentals of Education Planning[23/] states that effective curriculum development has to be thought of as requiring "decades rather than years" of curriculum reform. A number of pilot schools were established with UNICEF aid to try to draft curricula for the ruralization of the curriculum (e.g., in Dahomey a considerable amount of practical agricultural teaching was introduced) and in a number of countries, experiments were made with food production in school gardens. But generally, the UNICEF/UNESCO Cooperative Programme did not have the resources, nor go on long enough in time, to claim to have made a significant impact on this item.

A good many obstacles were encountered, and what started as an intention to replace a traditional curriculum with one incorporating more modern concepts and techniques often only resulted in the insertion of additional subjects in over-burdened syllabi taught with insufficient material supplies and teaching skills. The UNESCO/UNICEF guidelines of 1968 were critical of the lack of progress made. Some improvements followed, but the fundamental issues were never really attacked until after the adoption in 1972 of the amended educational policy, which defined more clearly than before the educational aims and target groups for UNICEF aid.

:Preparation for life and pre-vocational training

Under the heading of "preparation for life", the 1961 decision of the UNICEF Executive Board had included a large range of items from which governments could select their priorities, and which the Programme Committee of the Executive Board could support - provided they had the endorsement of the UN technical agencies. Accordingly, the Board had long debates on the age-old question regarding the extent to which education should be practical or general, and how one might develop curricula that would be a suitable balance between the two. We have already, in the section on curriculum development, commented on the nature of this problem and the unlikelihood of finding quick solutions. Undoubtedly, by the end of the decade there were, as a result of UNICEF's aid, more school gardens and tools in a number of schools, a greater number of practically-minded textbooks in use prepared with due regard to the local environment, which had been printed and prepared by Ministries of Education with UNICEF's and UNESCO's technical and financial help. Certainly there was by 1970 more teaching of science and practical learning from experimentation for which UNICEF/UNESCO help was in part responsible, but for any generalized change to have occurred, more time and resources would have been required, along with the creation of many more economic opportunities for the use of practical skills based on job opportunities. There was, however,

plenty of room for the teaching of "living skills", in the sense of the knowledge required for a more productive and fuller life in the context of the local environment and its opportunities.

The concept favoured by many Board members and the ILO as UNICEF's major possible contribution under the heading of "preparation for adult life", was that of pre-vocational training. This subject area had the attraction of being innovatory, and a sum of $2.6 million dollars was spent on it, mostly in the form of a pilot project (pilot projects being one of the aid modalities specially recommended by the Board) covering several countries. UNESCO recommended the use of the formal education system as the main instrument to be used for pre-vocational training, organized so as to have close links with employers and their need for trained workers.

Philip Foster's well known work, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning",[24/] had not yet appeared when UNICEF's pre-vocational activities began. Foster's work undermined many people's hopes of using the school systems of the developing countries as major producers of the countries' skilled manpower. He favoured instead "special vocational institutes being created in particular cases where their endeavours can be closely meshed in with on-the-job training and the actual manpower requirements indicated by the market for skills".

The basic problems of formal vocational schools may be listed as follows: they are expensive, their teachers must have industrial or agricultural experience as well as being well-trained teachers; such people are hard to find and do not fit in with the educational career system; and it is difficult to foresee skilled manpower requirements. Further, the teachers, when adequately trained, often leave quickly for better paid posts in industry. Moreover, employers often prefer either to use apprenticeship schemes, or to take school leavers who had completed primary or secondary school education and train them themselves.

The idea of general preparatory pre-employment teaching in school, as distinct from training, however, usually commanded employers' support, so long as it was accompanied by adequate basic education. The labour flooding into the urban slums from rural areas was often very hard-working and willing but usually had no notion of the simple routine of factory life, and was often largely illiterate.

On the general question of preparation for adult life, the opinion of the UNICEF Board favoured using UNICEF's assistance in order to include more subjects of study which were of a practical nature in the primary and lower secondary education curricula and, in particular, to giving more aid to science education including specially provided science equipment well adapted to each educational level with an accompanying increase of teacher-training in science.

As regards pre-vocational education there was more doubt expressed because of the difficulties we have already mentioned. In addition there was hesitation because of the lack of UNICEF experience in this field where the main responsibility rested with UNESCO and the ILO, and because those agencies themselves had not yet evolved many successful activities in this field.

Nevertheless, a number of projects were adopted and some were modestly successful. As regards agricultural education, for instance, UNICEF assisted with the FAO in the development in Algeria of an innovative project to attach agricultural teaching colleges to a number of primary schools in rural areas. On the completion of the primary school course, pupils could enter these colleges by competitive examination where they received a three-year basic course in the theory and practice of agriculture.

Thereafter the pupil could either specialize for a fourth year or could proceed to national agricultural colleges. UNICEF also helped some other countries in this respect, e.g., Sierra Leone and Yemen, in cooperation with the FAO. These courses, like those for pre-vocational training in industry and arts and crafts, were limited to pupils who had already completed the full course of primary education.

A number of the pre-vocational training activities aided by UNICEF (in conjunction with UNESCO, the ILO, and the FAO) were less well organized than the above example from Algeria, and not many of the pupils obtained later full vocational training nor found employment in the vocations in which they had had the preliminary training. Among the obstacles encountered were those already listed as liable to occur in this category of project. There were, however, some successful ventures that were aided where apprenticeship was involved and the link with industry was strong, e.g., the establishment by Costa Rica of a National Institute of Apprenticeship.

The largest and most ambitious programme funded by UNICEF in this field was an experiment with five pre-vocational training projects with the participation of UNICEF, the ILO and UNESCO, and the governments of British Honduras, Costa Rica, India, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic. These were regarded as case studies which might become pilot projects and be copied and multiplied elsewhere. The total cost was just over $2 million.

The UNICEF Board had submitted to it in 1969 an assessment of these projects which had been endorsed by, and in effect organized by, the ILO with the help of UNESCO and the financial backing of UNICEF.[25/] They had been in operation for several years. The assessment, made by consultants and the UNICEF secretariat, took the view that it was not possible, as a result of the experiment, to recommend any simple formula for the future. What the assessment offered was a set of guidelines for governments and international organizations for future action, which would have to be adapted to the needs of each country. What was now required was the practical application of those principles by applying more resources to this type of project. Some

delegations expressing themselves in very general terms were favourable to this conclusion, and it was shown in the Board's report as having been adopted with, at the same time, recognition of the difficulties involved in such projects, and an appreciation of the frankness of the Assessment Report.

However, in the course of the debate, the Board also heard some strong criticism of the project and this led ultimately to less and less UNICEF participation in pre-vocational training. The FAO delegate stated that the impression derived from the assessment document "...was that the goals were over-ambitious, costs higher than anticipated, the needed staff not available, and related support not forthcoming." The United Kingdom Delegate said that the assessment, while thorough and candid, showed how experimental the pre-vocational training projects were at present. He added that the projects were valuable, but a proposal for an increase in their number should not be put forward until more experience had been accumulated. The Australian delegate also voiced similar criticism and added that, "Two major problems seemed to have arisen in connection with the schemes described. First, the schemes had operated with insufficiently definite objectives. Secondly, their concepts of basic skills were exceedingly loose. Without a clear definition of the skills and goals aimed at, it was difficult to ensure effective action."

The ILO representative stated that one of the conclusions of the assessment was that there was an urgent need for large-scale action in the field of pre-vocational training in the developing countries. That conclusion had also been supported by the ILO Governing Board in February 1969 when it had approved the report of the above-mentioned meeting of experts.

The Executive Director of UNICEF stated that, because of the complexity of the issues involved, it had not been possible nor would it have been appropriate to recommend any simple formula for the future. It was best, therefore, to offer a set of guidelines which were intended to ensure that future pre-vocational training would be planned and carried out in the broad perspective of national problems and national development goals, and to proceed to the practical application of those principles. He was convinced that much greater attention should be given in the future to strengthening the pre-vocational components and the pre-vocational orientation in the ordinary school system. He also believed that a greater effort was required to ensure that girls had acccess to pre-vocational training.

The project in India attracted favourable attention due to the fact that it produced some important reflections by the Indian Government and the team on the complex problem of how to make an impact on the mass of Indian children who dropped out from primary school, of whom only an insignificant fraction were likely to receive any organized further education or training. The assessment stated, "A first priority would be to clarify the relationship of pre-vocational training both to the general education system and to the system of vocational training." It said there was "...widespread concern over the

fact that the unit cost of training in the present pre-vocational centers for children after the fifth primary school year was high compared with training in other educational institutions." Figures given were "5 times as much per pupil as in other general education."

The delegate of the Soviet Union stressed the magnitude of the task and remarked that "Pre-vocational training was meaningless if, as the report indicated was the case in British Honduras, employment opportunities were not open to pre-vocational school graduates and possibilities of higher vocational training did not exist."

The United States delegate stated that "The problem of providing pre-vocational training was one of the least tractable problems UNICEF had to face, and the report had to be commended for its candour. It did not gloss over the difficulties or pretend that the programmes evaluated in it were anything more than the merest beginning."

UNESCO maintained its recommendation, and the minutes summarizing the Executive Board's view of the assessment record the UNESCO representative as saying, "UNESCO would prefer efforts in that field (pre-vocational training) to be linked with the existing school structure rather than have separate institutions established for pre-vocational training."[26/]

The debate on this subject was a lengthy one and, although a good number of delegates remained enthusiastic, UNICEF participation faded over the years and UNESCO and the ILO went ahead using resources other than UNICEF's.

:Science education

Both developmentally and pedagogically, the field of science education was one in which the UNICEF educational aid programme of the sixties, carried out with the cooperation of UNESCO, made a successful and lasting impact. Starting at first with teacher training and supplies and equipment on conventional lines for schools in developing countries, most of which were based on European models, it went on to pioneer new teaching and learning methods well related to the local environment and the production of cheap science-teaching equipment. While continuing to provide more sophisticated equipment which countries did not produce themselves, this pioneering action helped them to extend the teaching of science to a wider range of grades of schooling, going down to the early primary ones in order to inculcate the elements of a scientific approach in the early stages of a pupil's development of the process of reasoning. Science-teaching, because of its use of equipment, was also a particularly favourable area in which to stimulate greater pupil participation in the work of the class, and encouraged learning through pupils themselves acquiring knowledge rather than listening to teaching which they repeated by rote. It is related that UNICEF staff would sometimes go into schools and ask science teachers, "Why haven't you broken more test tubes?" If no test tubes were broken, it was usually a sign that they were safely and uselessly locked up.

This work, like the aid to general primary and secondary schooling, was mainly broken into relatively small but catalytic projects spread over 60 or 70 countries over the ten-year period. One project, however, needs special mention because of its unusual size and importance, namely the UNICEF contribution to the Indian Science Education Plan. This plan was worked out between the Indian Government and UNESCO in 1964 by ten UNESCO experts (9 from the USSR and 1 from Sweden) with a counterpart staff of 15 Indians. In 1967 UNICEF allocated $2.5 million for two years, to which the government of India made a matching contribution of $3.6 million. The total government expenditure was planned at around $23 million, including contributions from the states.

In India the plan was organized by the National Council for Educational Research and Training. The ten UNESCO experts had begun in 1964 to produce, in cooperation with the Council, textbooks, teachers' guides, curricula, and other instructional material both in English and Hindi, and designed 150 items of simple science equipment for self-contained physics and chemistry kits. Much of the material for these kits could be obtained from the local bazaar and put together on the spot. All of the written material and equipment was first tried out in 50 sample schools.

UNICEF in 1967 offered support for a period of five years with the supply of laboratory equipment and library books to some 6,000 key teacher-educator and teacher-training institutions, and science kits and equipment for 12,750 primary, middle and secondary schools. UNICEF also aimed to bear the cost of grants to 25,000 teachers while they underwent two month refresher and in-service training courses. Funding for the printing of the instructional material produced by the Council (NCERT) and its translation into India's main 14 regional languages was also to be provided by UNICEF. The UNICEF material along with the Council's instructional materials were initially to be introduced into 30 primary and 30 middle schools in all the Indian states and territories.

It is clear that this project was launched on a much more solid basis than that on pre-vocational training which we described in the preceding pages. UNICEF's aid, however, never came to full fruition on the scale originally envisaged. This was partly because of delays in the formulation and support for the project and because UNICEF in 1972 eliminated its policy of aiding science teaching in middle and secondary schools and decided to concentrate on basic education at the first level. Nevertheless, in 1971, UNICEF's commitment to science education in India amounted to $3.6 million (see Table 12). In the science teaching programme, as elsewhere, there were also occasional problems which arose in the supply of equipment which evoked critical comment from the Joint UNICEF/UNESCO Assessment of 1968. These have been commented upon already in our section on supplies and equipment.

:Other aspects

The range of matters covered by the UNICEF-aided educational programme of the period was of course wider than the five selected items above, which we chose

for comment in detail, because many of them were themes that permeated the UNICEF activities on which action was taken wherever the opportunity appeared. A major theme, for instance, was the overall view of the child, which meant that UNICEF aid to curriculum reform sought a proper place for health and nutrition to be included in the syllabus.

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Women and girls

Special attention was given to the education of girls and mothers which meant that action was taken to ensure that a high proportion of the aid for the training of teacher-educators and teachers and of equipment for teacher-training institutions went to increasing the supply and skills of women teachers.

In 1970 the Board considered an assessment of projects for the education of women and girls for family and community life, particularly through organized women's movements.[27/] The guidelines prepared as a result recommended that, in addition to knowledge and skills for better child-rearing and home improvement, projects should place greater emphasis on increasing the capacity of women to participate in community life and development and to raise their income-generating capacity through better skills. This matter was taken up in more depth in 1974 and 1975 in connection with the International Women's Year of 1975, and in a report prepared for the United Nations Decade Conference.

Although it was not until 1973/74, following the 1972 policy review and the debate on the ICED Report in the 1974 session of the Executive Board, that UNICEF launched its present substantial programme of non-formal education under that title, there had been considerable activity in the sixties that was similar in type, although much less extensive than at present. Particular items were: out-of-school education for children in "clubs" or other voluntary forms of association favouring the social and educational development of children; non-formal education and training for adults associated with the care of children and family life welfare and the child's social environment; courses in home economics and population education; and a certain amount of education for community development in association with other social agencies.

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Textbook production

The production and distribution of textbooks was also a major subject of educational aid in which UNICEF participated and has been commented on in the section on supplies. This aid ranged from supplying printing presses or paper to assist local production, to providing books from abroad when local facilities did not exist, and to giving technical assistance or financial aid for the writing and layout of the texts.

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Audio-visual media

In the foregoing we have been concerned with matters where UNICEF played a special and sometimes unique role, but throughout the period it was engaged in the staple work of educational aid to primary and secondary education, common to all educational aid agencies in the form of technical assistance, to increase educational productivity by improving methods of teaching. UNICEF aid was given along with other agencies to projects for using television for school education on a nationwide scale as, for instance, in the Ivory Coast. Work was also done to spread the use of audio-visual methods to support the teaching of key items in the syllabus, and in some schools experiments were made with mastery learning, programmed instruction, learning from peer groups, though most of the effort went into conventional channels since the governments wanted rapid expansion accompanied by simple visible improvements on standard lines.

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Education as part of country programming

In the latter part of the sixties UNICEF introduced for all of its programmes, including education, the system of country programming. Under this system the UNICEF staff met with country representatives from the various Ministries in informal working parties and helped governments to establish a programme spread over several years containing needs that UNICEF might be able to meet, with the approval of the Executive Board, which were linked with the government's present and future activities in favour of child welfare and development. Governments found this exercise useful for their own internal planning. There were no Ministries looking exclusively after the interests of children or representatives on overall national planning commissions with that role, and UNICEF by working with the representatives of the different Ministries was able not only to give coherence to its own aid to any particular country and prepare it in advance, but also to exercise informally a coordinating and forward-looking influence in the beneficiary countries on measures, direct and indirect, to aid children.

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UNICEF/UNESCO assessment, 1968

The Joint UNICEF/UNESCO assessment of 1968 showed that the programme committments for that year amounted to $8.8 million, i.e., 27 per cent of the total programme allocations. Up to that time about 800 teacher-training schools had received aid and about 12,700 associated primary schools for practice teaching. Around 62,000 teachers, supervisors, and other educational personnel had been assisted in training or re-orientation courses. The local production of teachers' manuals, teaching aids and textbooks had also been aided.

The Board reported that:

> "The assessment confirmed the value of UNICEF aid. At the same time Board members appreciated the frankness of the assessment and the fact that it did not gloss over defects and deficiencies. For example, it was found that in some cases educational plans had been too ambitious: the need for realistic planning was stressed. The assessment also identified a number of problems in instituting curriculum reform, including the conservatism of teachers and parents. Although the training of teachers had been given major attention in the projects, the measures taken for in-service training of the many untrained teachers were sometimes inadequate. More attention to pre-service teacher-training was also needed. The study also stressed the continuing need to extend and improve education in rural areas and to provide girls equal access to education."

As regards the guidelines proposed, the same report of the Board stated:

> "A number of specific proposals were made in the guidelines for future aid. These included more support by UNICEF for educational planning and curricula reform. Proposals were also made regarding certain problem areas: educational wastage; the quality of education in rural areas; technical and vocational education; special education for children with physical or mental handicaps; and early childhood education. The assessment suggested more attention by UNICEF for the 11 to 15-year age out-of-school group and to the education of girls and young women. The use of new educational methods and techniques to foster innovation was another area for which greater UNICEF aid suggested."28/

The ensuing debate showed that reactions within the Board to the assessment and guidelines were mixed. Some delegates spoke of them with approval. Others repeated previously expressed views that the proportion of UNICEF aid going to education was too high and detracted from resources to aid nutrition and health. Several delegations believed that UNICEF aid to education should concentrate mainly on younger children and be limited to primary education. The comment was also made by others that the guidelines did not make sufficiently clear what the UNICEF priorities for the improvement of education were, and that UNICEF should continue to strive to ameliorate its criteria of selection and planning methods.

On the question of concentrating on younger children, it was clear from various reports that a number of small countries were using UNICEF education aid to cover the needs of their educational systems as a whole, viewed from a national development angle rather than being specifically related to the

special needs of children. The delegate from Guinea, for instance, stated during the debate that the UNICEF programme in Guinea as of December 1968 included eight agricultural colleges in the second cycle with 4,318 students, five technical colleges in the third cycle with 3,696 students, and five teacher-training schools providing training for 1,341 prospective teachers.

During the sixties attention was drawn in UNICEF debates and among government authorities to the importance of pre-school education, especially by delegates expert in child psychology, and some limited UNICEF activities of a study and promotional type were started in this field. But there was not sufficient backing from governments because of the cost involved and the feeling that action was premature while large gaps existed in primary education. It was not until the middle seventies that UNICEF assistance of any size was given to this area, though there were some pioneer projects such as the project in Puno Province in Peru. This will be taken up further in our next section which is on the seventies.

The areas of activity given priority by the proposed guidelines were: 1) aid to educational planning (an item not approved by the Executive Board in its decision on the guidelines), 2) curriculum reform, 3) training of teachers and teacher-education, 4) the strengthening of national supervisory services, 5) action to reduce wastage, rural education, and increase female enrollment, and steps to raise enrollment ratios and to help disadvantaged groups, 6) development of non-formal education, 7) educational aspects of health and nutrition, 8) improvements and innovations in methods and techniques of education.

At the time of the 1968 Guidelines, the human resources method of planning depending on the manpower approach was in process of decay owing *inter alia* to the negative evaluation made of the OECD Mediterranean Project,[29] and UNESCO's International Institute of Educational Planning was already rewriting the materials for its training courses in terms of a wider approach. The Board rejected the suggested guideline on aid to overall educational planning (rather than planning of specific aspects of individual projects) and decided it should be left henceforth to UNESCO.

More promising was the guideline that UNICEF/UNESCO assistance to projects should be "viewed by national authorities as an opportunity to concentrate resources on enterprises of an innovatory character," though there was little progress to report in the next few years on this measure. The guidelines also suggested that the design of projects distinguish between long-term or strategic principles and the short-term or tactical consideration.[30]

The Board agreed that where there had been a consensus in the debate the Executive Director would be guided by it, and that within the next two or three years some of the unresolved issues should be considered by the Board as a part of a reassessment.[31]

In general, the result of the guidelines was to give increased emphasis on education as a preparation for life rather than on academic aspects, to some degree to stimulate non-formal education and to adapt curricula in the schools towards practical subjects. In the field of teacher-training, the guidelines resulted in more attention to the training of teacher-educators, and to greater emphasis on qualitative factors along the line, rather than on quantitative expansion as before.

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General factors leading to the reassessment

UNICEF's contribution had grown steadily over the period, and while it was necessarily a modest one, it was far from being "a drop in the ocean" as its critics had at first feared, since its action struck at critical points - such as the training of teachers. The table below shows that at the end of 1970 an estimated 168,016 teachers had received some training with UNICEF stipends.

If we assume the average class consisted of 40 pupils and the training given the teachers to have been effective, we see an impact upon 6.7 million children potentially.

Table 11 [32/]

Number of teachers who received some training with UNICEF stipends

	Cumulative number as at the end of 1967	Cumulative number as at the end of 1970 (estimated)
Primary	62 314	142 888
Secondary	2 237	25 128
TOTAL	64 551	168 016

As the decade came to an end and figures for 1971 appeared, we observe a considerable leap forward in allocations to secondary education, as in the following table, due mostly to two large allotments: India for second level science education, and Nigeria for rehabilitation in the aftermath of the Biafra conflict. The former, together with the emphasis on quality in the 1968 Guidelines, ran contrary to the growing interest in the international community in the importance of meeting the minimum basic needs of children at the primary level, many millions of whom were growing up into illiteracy.

Table 12

Distribution of UNICEF commitments to education 1968-1971
(a) (in thousands of $US dollars)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1968-1971
Primary	6 702	4 333	6 266	8 912	26 213
Secondary	3 277	1 041	2 767[a/]	5 421[b/]	12 506
Undifferentiated [c/]	2 709	1 202	1 198	3 538	8 647
TOTAL	12 688	6 576	10 231	17 871	47 366

(b) (in percentages)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1968-1971
Primary	53	66	61	50	55
Secondary	26	16	27	30	27
Undifferentiated [c/]	21	18	12	20	18
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

In worldwide terms the seventies opened with a fall in the growth of primary school-age enrollments as shown below in Table 13:

Table 13 [33/]

Annual percentage increase in enrollments
all developing countries

	1st Level	2nd Level	3rd Level
1965-71	4.4	7.6	10.2
1970-71	2.8	7.1	19.5

The year 1971 was itself a black year for universal primary education prospects as the 2.8 per cent enrollment increase was accompanied by an estimated 3.3 per cent population increase in the population of the development countries for ages 5 to 9. Nevertheless, there had been progress during the decade of the sixties in the enrollment of children of primary school age and, despite the rapid population growth taking place, the percentage enrollment had, by 1970, risen as indicated in Table 14 which follows.

[a/] Including $1.4 million for Nigeria rehabilitation.
[b/] Including $3.6 million for India science education.
[c/] Mixed primary and secondary education.

Table 14 [34/]
Percentage enrollment of children of primary school age attending school at any level

Region	1960	1970
Africa	34	48
Asia	50	59
Latin America	60	78
Arab States (included in figures for Asia)	38	61

Most of this increase took place in Africa and the Arab States where the starting base had been very low, yet the worldwide situation remained a grave one. Around 1970 there were some 300 million male illiterates and some 450 million female illiterates. During the decade, the number of male illiterates had increased by 11 million and the number of female by 45 million.

Retention rates had also shown little improvement. The percentage of children in the developing countries aged 6 to 11 who remained in school 6 years after enrollment, in the case of boys between 1960 and 1970, fell from 62 to 60 per cent; in the case of girls it rose 52 to 54 per cent.

It was in light of these events and trends[34/] as well as the specific educational factors explained earlier that the Executive Board called for a more fundamental review of UNICEF assistance to education and this was undertaken in 1972. Changes were proposed in 1972 which were agreed to both by the UNICEF and UNESCO Executive Boards, and new guidelines were issued which are valid to this present day, including important supplementary guidelines on non-formal education, a subject which, as we shall see in the next section, was reviewed by the Board in 1973 and 1974.

In this section we have shown how UNICEF's educational aid programme was related to the international design of development delineated in the strategy of the First Development Decade of the UN. In the section which follows we show how UNICEF helped to create and implement[35/] the new strategy adopted for The UN Second Development Decade, by which time UNICEF had acquired a wider experience in the education sector working with UNESCO's cooperation.

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III. UNICEF COOPERATION IN EDUCATION, 1972 TO MID-1980s

Reassessment and revision of UNICEF's educational policy, 1972

As was seen in the previous section, some members of the UNICEF Executive Board and outside observers had, at various times during the sixties, expressed concern that UNICEF's programme of educational assistance was extending itself over too wide a scope, and was including some items requested by governments that could be challenged as being not wholly consistent with UNICEF's general assistance policy. It was not contested that, for instance, the provision of equipment and training funds for science teaching in secondary schools for the benefit of adolescents who had already successfully completed their primary school education, was a highly valuable form of development assistance in full keeping with the letter and spirit of the UN First Development Decade. Nor was doubt raised as to the generally high level of technical skill being applied to this area of assistance through UNESCO's cooperation. The problem was whether this fitted in best with UNICEF's mandate which was humanitarian as well as developmental, and whether or not such areas of work might rather be left to other sources of development funds, especially because during the sixties there had been a manifold increase of educational aid financed both multilaterally and bilaterally and the total was continuing to rise. At the same time the number of educationally deprived children, i.e., those not receiving a basic minimum of education at the primary level, was estimated at several hundred million.

Thus the report of the UNICEF Executive Board for its 1971 session, at which the debate on the 1968 Joint UNICEF/UNESCO Guidelines was reopened, records: "The Board felt that important issues had been raised which it did not have time to discuss fully at the session." The Board therefore agreed with the proposal of the Executive Director to make a further review of UNICEF policy on aid to education at its 1972 session.

Accordingly, in March 1972, the Executive Director sent to the UNICEF Executive Board two documents [36/]: (1) a review prepared by a consultant (previously the Director of UCESCO's Analysis Office of the Role of Education Science and Culture in Development) which analyzed the state of education from both the angle of economic development and that of social and humanitarian objectives, and recommended the phasing out of assistance to secondary education in favour of increased aid to the primary level, especially to basic education, formal and non-formal, for educationally deprived children; (2) a set of proposals for action in this sense prepared by the secretariat of UNICEF in collaboration with UNESCO and submitted for the approval of both UNICEF's Executive Board and that of UNESCO.

To understand the two Boards' acceptance of a new policy, which was at the time a major change and which today remains the basis for UNICEF's educational aid, we need to have in mind the results of the First UN Development Decade and the new assessment then taking place of action in favour of development which the United Nations had defined as both economic and social.

While the First Development Decade had been a success to the extent that the majority of the developing countries had attained the objective of a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent of gross national product, it was found that the benefits had not extended downwards to reduce mass poverty and had tended to remain in the higher or middle level groups in their societies [37]. The report of the Secretary-General setting out the "Proposals for Action"[38] in the First Development Decade had stated that it took for granted that the increment in income should be "wisely used for the benefit of the poorer sections of the population" and "should result in a degree of social progress which is at least in balance with the rise of aggregate national income," but this had not happened. This same failure to reduce serious economic and social inequities was also true of the educational progress made in many developing countries - the growth rate of primary education lagged considerably behind that for secondary and higher education, and an absolute increase in the number of illiterates had taken place owing to population growth, though the overall literacy ratio for the developing countries had risen somewhat. Moreover, in many developing countries, while up to four-fifths of the children became enrolled in primary schools, only half, and sometimes fewer, completed the fourth year, about four years being the time normally needed to acquire literacy and at least a minimum of basic education for simple living needs.

The disappointing performance of the First Development Decade in the areas of social equity and income distribution led a number of development agencies to insert anti-poverty programmes into their development aid. The governing authorities of the World Bank, for instance, wanted to know before approving projects where the benefits were going to go, and how many low-income families would be affected by the project.

The World Bank's Annual Report for 1973 stated: "The greater emphasis on objectives of social equity is reflected in several of the educational projects which have been financed in the last five years. Both actual operations and studies reflect a new strategy with greater stress on people in the traditional-transitional section which have hitherto been left outside educational systems. The aim is to find appropriate ways to promote both economic growth and social justice." Later, in 1976, the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, which contained the main providers of bilateral aid, adopted a recommendation that its members should insert anti-poverty projects into their aid programmes.

There had also been some changes in the economic role that education was playing. The priority given to secondary and higher education in the first stages of education expansion and nation-building (as reflected in the targets set by the governments of developing countries in the UNESCO regional models described earlier in Chapter I) had, no doubt, been the proper course of action at the time for those countries themselves to take. But circumstances were changing and unemployment among secondary school-leavers and

over-production at the higher level was appearing. Studies comparing the rates of return on the three different levels of education had been made by leading economists in various countries and showed that in most developing countries investment in primary education had the highest economic return of any of the levels.39/

The new policy orientation was summarised as follows:

(a) The general assistance policy of UNICEF was defined as being "focused upon collaboration with developing countries in their efforts to plan and implement effectively national welfare and development programmes for children and adolescents. Within this context the resources of UNICEF were to be directed increasingly to assist countries to improve the situation of children deprived of a basic practicable level of services and opportunity, particularly those in rural areas, urban slums and shanty towns, and in the least developed countries."

(b) UNICEF aid would thus be concentrated upon a more restricted type of target population than before. However, since the number of educationally deprived children in the developing countries not receiving a basic minimum of education could be estimated at several hundred million, further criteria of an operational nature were needed to select projects in formal and non-formal education for UNICEF assistance. Important considerations in this new effort should be a focus upon innovation and qualitative improvement, and local readiness for a given project. Emphasis would be given to "field-level experimentation", followed by support to widespread diffusion of those activities which proved particularly successful.

(c) Viable ongoing activities outside the scope of this modified orientation of UNICEF-funded educational aid would not be abandoned but would be progressively redeployed, or UNICEF's aid replaced by other sources of aid or internal resources.

(d) In the field of education reform, a number of items were emphasized: (1) support of efforts to develop a more integrated primary school programme, such as the relation of science courses to such fields as nutrition, health and practical subjects; (2) encouragement towards curriculum development activities to improve the child's living skills in his present and future environment. While certain common standards might be maintained throughout a country, rural education should contain a special practical component to prepare the child to develop the rural environment rather than to swell the numbers of the unemployed in the towns; (3) endeavours to reduce drop-out and excessive repetition of grades should be assisted, and the difficulties leading to this widespread phenomenon be attacked.

(e) As regards the training of educational personnel the coverage should include the pre- and in-service training of supervisors and teachers, and a variety of specialists in such fields as guidance, child psychology, audio-visual media and curriculum development. Assistance should be selective and follow a priority order "based on the multiplier effect within the framework of primary and out-of-school education."

(f) UNICEF should encourage governments to develop new and more flexible forms of education and training, including non-formal education particularly, to reach unemployed and uneducated youth, and should offer to support experimental projects designed to provide pre-vocational instruction to adolescents, as well as courses for parents, particularly mothers, who serve as the first educators of children.

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Redefinition of main areas of UNICEF support

The main areas of UNICEF support to be given to implement the newly defined policy were to be:

(a) educational planning geared to the new policy;

(b) organizational innovations, including out of school (non-formal) education and the use of the new media;

(c) pilot projects;

(d) out-of-school education, especially for girls and mothers;

(e) training of educational personnel;

(f) school environment improvement and increased links with the community;

(g) local financial support for teachers to attend training courses, and aid in the provision of supplies or in their local production;

(h) educational technology, design and production of instructional materials and textbooks pertinent to their target population;

(i) integration of educational and health-oriented programmes;

(j) revision of standard lists of the equipment UNICEF could supply;

(k) contributing, where there is a scarcity of qualified personnel in government service to plan and execute a project, to the financing of project coordination and personnel who should normally be nationals of the countries assisted;

(l) exceptionally international consultants and experts could be financed by UNICEF to help with project preparation, implementation, or evaluation;

(m) improvements in evaluation, especially built-in evaluation from the start of a project, should be assisted by UNICEF as well as ex-ante project identification and feasibility studies;

(n) additional staff would be required for the above purposes and in order to strengthen and intensify the cooperation between UNICEF and UNESCO.

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Modalities and operational guidelines

As regards procedures for project choice, the Board agreed that: "The choice of projects to implement the new policy will be based upon the position of the governments concerned and on UNESCO's educational advice, together with UNICEF experience concerning the needs of children and the policies adopted by the UNICEF Executive Board." The words "endorsement by the technical agency", used in the 1961 decision of the Board, was replaced by "UNESCO's educational advice." It also recommended that deeper methods of analysis be applied to new projects and the staff to be strengthened for this purpose.

The modalities and guidelines were:

(1) training of specialists in the types of educational planning and management required for the stated objectives;

(2) experiments in the field and pilot projects which, if successful, could be diffused; directed at new approches to providing basic education;

(3) reduction of drop-out and repetition and closer relation of education to the needs of the child's environment;

(4) training of educational personnel linked to curriculum reform. Priority among them would be (a) teacher educators, (b) education specialists, including supervisors, (c) primary schoolteachers and teachers giving out-of-school education. In-service training should be aided to secure its incorporation as a regular part of education systems;

(5) experimental out-of-school (non-formal) projects such as prevocational instruction of adolescents, courses for parents, and education and training of girls and women.

A fuller set of guidelines, based on the Board's decisions and with examples of specific types of action, was prepared by the consultant who prepared the review submitted to the Board, in the form of an internal UNICEF guide for action in the field 40/. In order to help the field staffs of the two agencies to move in step UNESCO circulated this guide to its own field staff, together with some additional material which was related to UNICEF's special interest in education in the areas of health, home economics, and family welfare, and for coordination purposes UNESCO used the assistance of the same consultant for this purpose.

In the debate in the UNICEF Executive Board there had been full support for the new policy orientation and the guidelines, though a few delegations had felt that the scope of action for UNICEF under the guidelines was still too general, and several delegations, while recognising the need for some basic reforms, had cautioned against over-emphasis on innovation. Also several delegations had voiced some caution in regard to non-formal education. Interest had been expressed by members of the Board in the expected discussion on the agenda of the 1973 Board session of the report and recommendations on non-formal education that had been commissioned from the ICED. The approval of the revised policy and guidelines by the UNICEF Board was followed by the general approval of the UNESCO Board.

The two Executive Boards, while approving the revised policy as above, did not make detailed recommendations regarding the new and more flexible forms of education mentioned, or regarding the content and organisation of primary education, beyond those listed above. These were matters for governments to decide in the light of their own conditions and requirements. The consultant's review which the Boards had before them had, however, discussed some of the possibilities. It stated: "There appear to be two requirements of concern to UNICEF's comprehensive view of the child. The first is the provision of literacy and numeracy, as minimum basic requirements, and some education in health, home economics, and civic responsibilities. The second is some form of pre-vocational education."

"The former might normally consist of at least four years of primary schooling, or its equivalent where other educational patterns might exist. The latter might require about a year of post primary education, the objective of which would be to follow through the basic education with some pre-vocational and civic training. This is needed to provide the further knowledge and behavioral attitudes required for participation in the economy through jobs, self employment, vocational training, or other forms of self betterment. It will also be necessary to provide basic educational facilities at the later stage of childhood and adolescence for those who were deprived of it. This education would be formal or non-formal, or mixed. The starting age for the period of four years of primary schooling at the commencement of the process of basic education could vary with local conditions, but the process should be completed by the age of 15."

It was added that, because of UNICEF's concern with child health, nutrition, and home economics, its assistance might also cover the inclusion of these subjects in second-level education. It was also suggested that the non-formal education given to children and youth who had missed schooling should normally be used to supplement the formal system, "with the necessary educational ladders and bridges between the two."

The review cited results of some UNESCO-sponsored research in India showing that four years of primary schooling or the completion of Grade III of adult education were the normal take-off points for permanent literacy. It also gave information furnished to UNESCO at various times by the USSR showing how it had, over the years, obtained universal literacy in its developing Asian Republics with a four-year primary school cycle using advanced teaching methods, and adopting innovations in the organisation of education.

The review also discussed action to reduce the heavy rates of drop-out in the developing countries due mainly to poverty but caused also by the prevalence of curricula which did not have a sufficient degree of relevance to local needs. Some interesting examples of action taken to reduce wastage taken from innovatory projects in India, Mexico and in backward areas of the USSR and the USA were set out as indications of possible measures.

To some extent drop-out was remedial, as the examples showed, by action taken within the existing organisation and content of the standard six-year primary cycle. However, drop-out rates were also a reflection of the degree of realism with which education authorities had fixed the length of the cycle, a length which varied between four and eight years over the range of developing countries. It was also an indicator of the extent to which educational systems were unable to provide a minimum of basic education organised in such a way as to suit the availability of children of the poorest families, to whom the expense, and loss of services in the home, involved in four years of schooling were considerably less than those of six or more years. For this and other reasons, a number of countries had recently shortened the length of their primary course.

The policy of providing at least a minimum of basic education for all children was seen as having to be implemented within the framework of standard programmes for Universal Primary Education (UPE). The UPE programmes aimed to cover all children including both the target group on which the revised policy was to be concentrated and those who were to go up the education ladder to secondary education, and the review gave many examples of government efforts assisted by UNICEF directed at the target group as part of UPE programmes.

Accordingly, it was obvious that the revised policy did not mean the cessation of aid from UNICEF to the standard forms of primary education. As we shall see in the later part of the monograph, UNESCO and UNICEF later set up an intensified programme of cooperation between the two organisations resulting from a UNESCO initiative presented under the rubrics of "Education for All", and "UPEL" (Universal Primary Education and Literacy).

The principal achievement of the revised policy was to redeploy about 40 per cent of UNICEF educational assistance away from second-level education towards assisting the alleviation of the education problem of the poorest of the child population. A redeployment of such a high proportion of resources is hard to parallel in the history of cooperation for development.

At the working level this redeployment was scarcely a welcome one for the Departments of Ministries of Education and those of UNESCO, which had been intensive users of UNICEF assistance for their second-level science equipment programmes. The change was, however, brought about smoothly because of the coordination achieved by governments which had seats on the Executive Boards of each of the agencies, and by the skills of the two secretariats in presenting the issues. Further, a considerable supporting influence to the Board's revised policy was the work of UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education under the chairmanship of Edgar Faure, whose report was published in 1972 (with the title "Learning To Be") and contained the recommendation: "Universal basic education in a variety of forms depending on possibilities and needs, should be the top priority for educational policies in the 1970s."

But the chief reason for the change was the growing concern of governments with the insufficiency of the UN strategy of the First Development Decade, in terms of reducing the world-wide poverty in the developing countries, and their aim to work out in each of the sectors of development a more social- and human-oriented strategy for the Second Development Decade. Similar action was taken in the health sector in 1978, described by the Executive Director of UNICEF as the "monumental development" at the Alma Ata Conference, "at which UNICEF and the World Health Organisation articulated the basic health concept and gave momentum to primary health care and the objective of Health for All by the Year 2000."

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UNESCO participation

As part of the reassessment, the two Executive Boards decided to make provision from UNICEF funds for a UNESCO staff member specializing in the subject matter of the revised UNICEF programme to be stationed at UNESCO Regional Offices. Their full-time task was to give technical advice and help to the UNICEF staff working on educational projects in the field, an arrangement which became of great use to the programme.

A UNESCO advisor and liaison officer had been placed, at UNESCO's expense, in UNICEF headquarters in New York since 1962. Until 1982, when an education advisor was employed by UNICEF within its newly created Division of Programme Development and Planning, this UNESCO advisor served as the technical expert on call to UNICEF headquarters on educational matters. After 1982, UNICEF's own advisor and the UNESCO advisor constituyed the total technical staff in education at UNICEF headquarters. The reach of this rather slim technical capacity in New York (though reinforced by the Director of UNICEF's Programme Development Division who had been previously a Minister of Education in his own country, where he had organized large-scale literacy projects), extended to the field offices through collaboration with the UNESCO-UNICEF Cooperative Unit in Paris, the Regional UNESCO-UNICEF advisors, and UNICEF programme and project officers in country offices with special responsibility for education work.

UNICEF also decided to assist in the financing of the Cooperative Unit at UNESCO Headquarters, composed of UNESCO staff, with the full-time function of promoting cooperation between the two agencies and the spread of knowledge and information among educators as regards the subject matter of the new programme from both a practical and a research angle. An open forum for the circulation and discussion of materials and examples covering the technical and practical aspects of the programme was created by this unit in the form of a journal with the title "Notes, Comments..." which is still in active operation. Contributions are received from field workers, local participants in projects, and planning personnel, as well as from leading specialists in the fields of work involved. This unit has developed a particularly valuable degree of practical knowledge and information on experiment and experience relating to the first level of education, both formal and non-formal.

At the general policy level, cooperation was less easy since the two organizations had different constitutions and mandates (e.g., just as UNESCO rejected the term "fundamental education" in 1960 (see Chapter I), so in the seventies it avoided using the expression "basic education" in its documentation). Mindful of its duties to the promotion of second, technical, and higher education, it preferred the expression "basic cycle of studies". Further, the UNESCO Executive Board and General Conference did not adopt the concepts of basic needs and basic services approved in 1976 by the UN General Assembly, which made UNICEF the lead agency for promoting the concept of basic services. This appears to have been due not to lack of humanitarian feelings, but to the great number of tasks that UNESCO was constitutionally committed to perform which did not fall into the category of basic needs.

The ILO definition of basic needs was as follows (from ILO ISBM 92-2 1976): "Basic needs, as understood in this report, include two elements. First, they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, are obviously included, as would be certain household equipment and furniture. Secondly, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities... The satisfaction of an absolute level of basic needs so defined, the report continues, should be placed within a broader framework -- namely the fulfillment of basic human rights..."

There was a noticeable absence of reference to cultural needs, which was no doubt one of the points that struck UNESCO. In this respect it is interesting to note that, in the case studies of what local populations of developing countries regarded as basic educational needs (a large number of such case studies were made by various educational aid agencies as a result of the adoption of the basic education policy), the cultural factor appeared in one form or another, e.g., in one of the INNOTECH studies the item: "knowing how to do some of the more elementary steps in the local folk dance" appeared in the short list.

Towards the end of the 1970s, a latent disatisfaction of the United States and the United Kingdom governments and a number of others with the management methods of the Director General of UNESCO and what they described as the "politicization" of the work of the organisation came to a head, and the two leading English-speaking countries left the organisation. This, together with criticisms made by other countries which were large suppliers of educational aid, caused UNESCO's role as an educational assistance agency to be much reduced. In 1979 the member of the OECD Development Assistance Committee provided twenty times as much extra-budgetary funds to the WHO as they provided for UNESCO and seven times as much to the FAO (see p. 139 of the DAC Chairman's Report 1980).

This is part of the history of UNESCO and not of UNICEF, but a constant theme at the UNICEF Executive Board has been the importance of coordination and partnership with UNESCO. The effect on UNICEF's operational procedures that arose from the UNESCO's loss of most of its field posts is among the subjects dealt with later in the section on UNICEF's operational methods.

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Non-formal education

Under the heading of "A Wider Conception of Education"[41], the 1972 policy review, which had accompanied the joint proposals of the UNICEF Executive Director and the Director-General of UNESCO, had drawn attention to the important but neglected area of non-formal education.[42] Almost the whole of the budgets of Ministries of Education, and of UNICEF's aid hitherto, had gone to formal education. Non-formal education activities had, for a considerable time, found their place in UNICEF activities, but were usually sponsored by other sectors dealing with matters like health, mother and child care, the only connection with the school being the use of school premises or part-time teachers in out-of-school hours. Little had been done by education ministries to regard non-formal education as an instrument to support the formal system by, for instance, giving recuperation courses for youth who had not attended school, or had been drop-outs before attaining literacy. Successful examples existed of non-formal education for this purpose, and they were often part of community development activities, but they were usually the result of individual initiatives of non-governmental organizations or were carried out officially by other social sectors (e.g., health authorities).

What was needed was a greater use of non-formal education to complete the full pattern of education systems. Frequently, the objection of ministries and of parents, was the dislike of a dual system, though they covered different age groups, but there was also evidence that these objections diminished when projects showed useful results not otherwise attainable. The subject of non-formal education had recently been given much attention by research groups such as the International Council for Educational Development, and interesting proposals were being produced. The Board had accordingly included non-formal education as one of the instruments to be used to implement the revised policy (see (c) on page 40 and (5) on page 41).

The 1973 session of the Executive Board of UNICEF had before it an interim report on this subject prepared by the International Council for Educational Development.[43] The ICED report suggested a broadened educational strategy which would strengthen non-formal education to help the formal system in its work of spreading elementary education among the vast rural populations.

Types of projects would be classes organized for youths and adolescents lacking a basic minimum of education. With "crash courses" or steady part-time attendance they could acquire elementary literacy and a basic minimum of primary knowledge. Other types would be extensions or creations of the type of non-formal education UNICEF was already assisting in particular specialist fields. With the addition of literacy classes and elements missing from the basic "package" of knowledge[44] necessary for elementary living skills, these loosely knit efforts at the community level could be broadened with UNICEF support.

Among these might figure informal meetings of mothers at the village level that might have grown spontaneously at first in the form of 'clubs', but which later had been given a more organized character by the participation of volunteers in the teaching of literacy with meetings on the school premises outside of teaching hours. Similar efforts would be directed to aiding pre-school and day-care centres and nurseries, school-based extra-curricular activities such as scouting or young farmers clubs, sports and recreational groups, learning centres associated primarily with health or nutrition or family life counseling. More ambitiously, it might mean thorough full-time programmes giving drop-outs a second chance to reintegrate themselves into the formal system, giving the successful ones equivalency of qualification with primary school diplomas, and even broadening into pre-vocational training for adolescents who were idle between the world of school and the world of work, when circumstances were propitious for this kind of project, which was not always the case.

The Board had an extensive and, on the whole, favourable discussion but inconclusive debate on the ICED report. It asked the Executive Director to continue discussions with the other interested organizations both in the United Nations system and outside it on the recommendations in the report, and to explore with a few of the governments with which UNICEF was cooperating in the field whether they would like to begin the steps recommended by the ICED for governments, e.g., the inventory of present action and measures needed for the preparation of personnel for the extension of non-formal education services. UNICEF would be prepared to provide aid to a few countries for that process.[45/]

This decision was, as events showed, unduly cautious, as a good deal of interest in the possible extension of non-formal education into broader areas of education than those it presently served was already current in the international community and among governments, although it was in relation to adults rather than youth and children. The World Bank was financing a series of studies by the ICED[46/] and considerable literature was beginning to appear, mostly in the form of case studies, though there were few who believed that, despite a widespread interest in possibilities of innovation, it would be possible to do more in the next ten or twenty years than to double or treble the size of the present current non-formal education effort which represented not more than around 3 per cent of the total educational effort of typical developing countries.

But it was generally recognized and demonstrated by examples that its greatest utility was at the rural community level. Combined with other measures to raise living levels, it could not only spread minimum standards of education in the adult population of greater importance for child health and welfare, e.g., among mothers, but also interact with the other social efforts at work in the villages in a way that would greatly increase their effectiveness.

This applied particularly to programmes like land reform, family planning and the improvement of family life, home economics, improving the status of women, and the development of community self help projects. Examples had shown that education could often be a motor force covering a whole range of items of social action, not only in rural areas but also in the poor populations accumulating in urban slums and shanty towns who were not covered by, or who had dropped out of, the prevailing social services and the existing education system. An ICED paper by Manzoor Ahmed[47/] setting out an approach to this issue had already been used in the guidelines for field offices prepared as a result of the 1972 policy changes.[48/]

The matter duly came back to the Executive Board in 1974 and, in the light of the intervening consultations, it was decided to go ahead with a limited number of cases. Non-formal education then grew in amount over the rest of the decades as shown below in Table 15.

TABLE 15

UNICEF expenditure on non-formal education
(millions of $US)

1960-69	1970-79	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
2.5	27.7	8.5	8.5	8.3	10.2	10.6	11.5

These figures do not include a substantial number of non-formal education projects in the other sectors which UNICEF had been assisting for many years (such as health, social welfare, education of women in child care). Most of these activities continued to be listed in these other sections.

During the Board discussion a number of caveats had been expressed[48/], some of them included in the ICED reports themselves, particularly that non-formal education should be organized in a manner complementary to the formal system and should not be segregated from it, and others not included such as that there should not be a denigration of the role of the formal system or "an implicit conclusion in favour of a major reallocation of resources from formal to non-formal education" (UNESCO representative) and that, as the ICED itself had stated, in many cases the establishment of new non-formal institutions was not to be recommended.

Commenting on the discussion of the ICED reports to the UNICEF Executive Board, Ms. Black, in her history of UNICEF (The Children and the Nations, UNICEF p.322) writes: "UNESCO was decidedly frosty." This overstates the position since the UNESCO Executive Board had already approved, in the 1972 policy revision the development of non-formal education as part of the UNESCO/UNICEF cooperative programme. The UNESCO reaction was rather that the ICED presentation gave the impression of introducing something new which might be thought to be a panacea. It did not take sufficiently into account the long history of the subject with which the UNESCO specialists were familiar. The historical background was essential, as it would show the risks as well as the advantages of the action proposed, and would discuss projects and programmes that had failed and why, as well as existing projects.

In this connection the United States delegate to the UNICEF Board, while praising the report as carrying great conviction, said it "might have been subtantially enriched, however, if the authors had studied the experience of the Soviet Uniuon during the past 50 years, which provided an extraordinary base for evaluating the various approaches to be applied to rural education."50/

The delegate of the USSR was listened to with much interest though he did not give an exposition of the experience of the Soviet Union, since this was available in many reports that had been supplied to UNESCO, but made comments on the two reports which had been presented to the Executive Board by the ICED. He said of the reports that "The authors had adopted, perhaps unwittingly, a negative attitude to the possibilities of the formal education system. No doubt they were anxious to underline the positive aspect of non-formal education and perhaps they viewed the possibilities of the present formal education system in the developing countries to be static; they viewed the possibilities of that system in the light of the present high rate of population growth. The authors apparently held out little hope of an acceleration of social and economic development in the third world and could not see any effective means of improving formal education and adapting it to the real needs of the village. They were by no means right in that view."

At the same time he confirmed his delegation's approval of the development of non-formal education, adding that the report would also be improved by the inclusion of an analysis of the success and difficulties encountered by educational programmes in the developing countries and UNICEF's educational activities.

The representative of UNESCO congratulated the ICED on providing a systematic conceptual framework for many ad hoc and uncoordinated learning activities under the name of non-formal education.

The implementation of the revised policy 1972-1976, examples and statistics

During the four years that followed the adoption of UNICEF's new policies in education the phasing out of secondary education aid took place as planned. By 1975 out of a total expenditure of $25.4 million for educational aid, only appproximately $1.1 million was spent at the secondary level, mainly in middle level schools relating to health and nutrition education, farming, and village trades. A total of $3 million was spent for non-formal education in those four years and $21.1 million for primary education.

Direct UNICEF assistance extending coverage of educational systems by providing additional places was usually given by special action, taken after wars or natural disasters, or exceptional circumstances such as the creation of newly independent states. Population coverage was also extended into remote and disadvantaged areas (e.g., in the Philippines). The number of school places was also increased by providing materials for the construction of extra school rooms, and supplying for the construction of schools by the voluntary effort of the local population items which could not be obtained locally such as roof trusses, roofing materials, etc. An increase of effective coverage was also brought about by giving paper for textbooks and assistance in textbook production and distribution, and in aid for the construction of school furniture, teaching materials in general, and repair and rehabilitation of school buildings.

The largest example of the latter was the assistance given for the rehabilitation of school buildings and provisions of furniture and equipment during the four years 1973-1976 in the Indo-China peninsula destroyed during the Vietnam War, UNICEF aid going to the children of both warring parties. Some $6 million was committed from general resources for that assistance and some $23 million from special contributions. A further example was Bangladesh to which $3.7 million was committed from regular resources during 1973 to 1976 with $800,000 from special contributions.

A variety of means were also employed to help to increase the output and attendance at the existing schools, notably by the reduction of drop-out as a result of improvement in the quality and relevance of the teaching, and the reduction of the repetition of the same grade by numbers of pupils who could not qualify for the following grade. Drop-out was also attacked at parent and home level (as in Thailand) by making closer links between the schools and the community authorities. The short supply of women teachers leading to inadequate educational facilities for girls, called in some countries (e.g., Nepal) for special women teacher-training colleges with hostels to which UNICEF contributed aid. Further, in some cases UNICEF assisted the introduction of national or local languages as the new first language of instruction (e.g., Burundi, Zaire).

There is not much that an external aid agency, whether multilateral or bilateral, can do directly about the population coverage of the school system, though it can help in making the coverage more effective by aiding the reduction of drop-outs and repetition of grades through qualitative improvement of the teaching; yet population coverage is what universal primary education and the human right to receive it is about. The educational geography of the world shows that the population coverage of primary education increases with the increase of per capita income, but there are also differences due to the nature of the countries' social structures and internal political backgrounds. Costa Rica, for instance, a country of relatively small land holdings and a more egalitarian distribution of wealth, had a wider primary education coverage than its neighbours. The Marxist-Leninist policy countries usually had a particularly large coverage, but sometimes suffered serious sacrifices in other social sectors to achieve it.

The budgetary pattern of primary education also limited what could be done by external aid since around nine-tenths of its current expenditure were for teacher salaries, in which aid agencies do not normally take part in view of the dependency it would create.

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School coverage and curriculum reform

In curriculum reform a positive step taken at the primary level was the insertion of suitable forms of science teaching which, prior to the 1972 re-assessment, had been mainly at the second level. Since 1972, when UNICEF had assisted the major science-teaching project in India as described in Chapter II, science teaching was extended to the primary level with emphasis on teaching aids made in the school itself from local materials. Some other countries, including the Philippines followed suit, utilizing UNICEF assistance. During 1974-1976 around $2.2 million was committed to Pakistan for assistance in implementing their new educational policy with special attention to the updating of the curriculum, the training of teachers and supervisors, decentralizing planning and training to the provincial and district levels, including three-quarters of a million dollars for paper for textbooks. In the Sudan during 1972-1975, $2.2 million was committed by UNICEF for fifteen primary teacher-training colleges and an innovative In-service Education Training Institution. A further $1.12 million was added for paper for textbooks for the primary cycle.

UNICEF's aid also extended to educational management and administration usually involving decentralization, greater participation by local authorities and by the people, and relating it to area development programmes as in Burma, Madagascar, Nepal, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea and Senegal.

Commitments by UNICEF by purpose and type of educational aid for the year 1975 were shown in the Executive Director's General Progress Report to the Executive Board, as in Table 16 which follows:

TABLE 16

1975 expenditures for education by purpose and type of assistance 51/

	Supplies and Equipment	Training grants, project personnel, etc.	Total
	(in thousands of $US)		
Primary education			
Curriculum development	1 094	320	1 414
Teacher training	2 992	2 239	5 231
New patterns of organization	281	97	378
Textbook and teaching aids	2 593	315	2 908
Other	9 431	1 810	11 241
Subtotal primary education	16 391	4 781	21 172
Secondary education	1 075	35	1 110
Non-formal education	2 200	876	3 076
TOTAL	19 666	5 692	25 358

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Non-formal education projects and examples

As regards non-formal education, by 1975 the policy of extending aid for non-formal education on a wider scale was beginning to be implemented. Guatemala, for example, established, with the cooperation of UNICEF and UNESCO, a National Out-of-School Education Board, and Indonesia a Technical Coordinating Committee for extending non-formal education to children and adolescents in disadvantaged zones which eventually became a separate Department of Non-formal Education under a Director General. Some other countries, including Pakistan and Bangladesh, had UNICEF assistance for studies of the possibilities of non-formal education being extended.

Examples of projects of non-formal education approved in the first years following the decision included:

(1) Studies and pilot projects in Burma for teaching practical skills to primary school drop-outs in addition to the renovation of formal schooling;

(2) The training of women in the fields of health, nutrition, and family and child care in the agricultural extension centres of Chad. These women in turn could educate other women in their home villages;

(3) Non-formal education centres for out-of-school adolescents in Ethiopia, especially for girls and women; women's education in home economics and child care; schools run by farmers' associations; training centres to teach community skill and village better-living technologies;

(4) Village learning centres in Indonesia for children who were out of or who had never had formal education, ages 7 to 15, mostly girls. UNICEF assistance was mostly for instruction of the trainers who would in turn train the teachers at the learning centres. The UNICEF contribution was just over $1 million for the period 1975-1979;

(5) A project of pre-primary education called "initial education" in Peru for children aged 3 to 5;

(6) Upgrading of teachers of Koranic and nomadic schools in Somalia.

The examples given above illustrate the type of UNICEF aid given to non-formal education after the 1972 revision of policy and the increase in non-formal education as a substantial supporting instrument of policy since 1974.

Details of the expenditure between 1975 and 1979 on both formal and non-formal education and the subject items they covered are shown in Table 17.

These figures indicate the acceptance and degree of use by beneficiary governments of the changes in UNICEF assistance policy made in 1972 and their further development in 1973 and 1974. The orientation towards basic education was helped by the adoption in 1976 of the overall basic services strategy by the UN General Assembly which, as indicated earlier, also designated UNICEF as the lead agency for the promotional work. This strategy sought to develop simplified types of social services to serve poor populations not yet covered by the national systems, making use of local para-professional skills in the villages and shanty towns for the purpose of mobilizing self-help where resources were lacking, and aiding local community development projects.

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TABLE 17

Distribution of UNICEF co-operation in education by subcategories of expenditure for education, 1975-1979

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
	(in thousands of $US dollars)				
Formal primary education					
Teacher training and curriculum development	6 645	6 365	7 056	9 750	10 679
Supplies and equipment	4 085	3 263	3 770	6 526	6 489
Non-supply assistance	2 560	3 102	3 286	3 224	4 190
Textbooks and teaching aids	3 139	2 391	3 285	7 189	5 720
Supplies and equipment	2 824	2 143	3 107	6 889	5 405
Non-supply assistance	315	248	178	300	315
Other	11 388	4 863	8 988	7 533	10 189
Supplies and equipment	9 481	3 865	8 294	6 488	5 874
Non-supply assistance	1 907	998	694	1 045	4 315
TOTAL	21 172	13 619	19 329	24 472	26 588
Formal secondary education	1 110	499	238	212	241
Non-formal education					
Women's education and training	856	1 839	2 404	2 932	3 960
Supplies and equipment	614	1 313	1 423	1 697	2 469
Non-supply assistance	242	526	981	1 235	1 491
Pre-vocational training	1 415	892	992	1 622	2 794
Supplies and equipment	376	790	879	1 186	2 783
Non-supply assistance	1 039	102	113	436	11
Youth leaders training, etc.	792	427	280	300	268
Supplies and equipment	534	276	204	218	221
Non-supply assistance	258	151	76	82	47
Literacy	12	64	16	146	355
- Supplies and equipment	11	49	10	100	259
Non-supply assistance	1	15	6	46	96
TOTAL	3 075	3 222	3 692	5 000	7 377
GRAND TOTAL Supplies and equipment	19 664	12 170	17 876	23 258	23 704
GRAND TOTAL non-supply assistance	5 693	5 170	5 383	6 426	10 502

Flow of external aid from all sources for primary and non-formal education

On the Executive Board at this time there were still a few delegations which viewed UNICEF's educational aid with caution because they feared it would continue to grow and that this would be at the expense of UNICEF's work on health and nutrition and mother and child care; or they believed that in principle it was an encroachment on UNESCO's work and that of other educational aid agencies, even though the UNESCO Executive Board had welcomed UNICEF's role as complementary to its own.

The period of the seventies was one in which there was a remarkable increase of educational aid. Between 1970 and 1975 bilateral educational assistance for all levels taken together rose from $730 million a year from the OECD countries in 1970 to $1,545 million a year in 1975. Multilateral aid to education had also doubled from $241 million a year to $521 million a year over the same five years. These increases were felt by some to strengthen the argument that UNICEF could divest itself of its work in formal education at the primary level and concentrate upon problems of the younger child, such as pre-school education, and increase the effort made in the fields of health and the reduction of infant mortality. Thus the Board at its session of 1976 requested the Executive Director to provide for its 1977 session a report on the flow of educational aid to primary and non-formal education from all of the various official sources of assistance, and on "the subtantive aspects of UNICEF's participation therein."

The study[52/] showed that only 6 per cent of the total of bilateral and multilateral aid was going to the primary level and amounted to $145 million. Developing countries as a whole were spending around an annual $14,000 million on primary education in 1975, about half of the total of their recurrent educational budgets. About half of the annual total of $145 million of external assistance for the primary level was provided by the multilateral agencies. Of this half (approximately $70 million), UNESCO executed for the UNDP an operational programme of around $2.5 to $3 million for primary education, while that of its regular budget which dealt with general and normative aspects of primary education was annually about $4 million. The two major multilateral agencies operating in this area were the World Bank Group with $28 million for primary education in 1975 and $15 million for non-formal education at the primary levels, and UNICEF with $21.9 million in 1975 for formal primary and $7.5 million for non-formal primary level education. The World Bank Group aid complemented that of UNICEF because it consisted of loans and long-term credits for capital expenditure though these were often accompanied by some related technical assistance.

The criticism made earlier that UNICEF's aid was a "drop in the ocean" arose from comparing its annual $25 to $30 million with the $14,000 million spent by the developing countries. This was fallacious because the $14,000 million of the recurrent educational budget was made up by teachers' salaries to about 90 per cent. What UNICEF aid did was to reinforce the small part of the

remainder of the budget (usually 3 or 4 per cent of the total) which would be used for organizing and improving the education system, for training staff and supervisors and teachers, for increasing output by better methods of teaching, for opening bottlenecks in supplies that were delaying progress, and for planning the development of primary education, including how non-formal education could best be used.

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UNICEF's operational flexibility

While UNICEF has been fortunate throughout its educational aid programme to have the technical help of UNESCO at its side, and in the front line of operations through its staff in the regions and at the country level allocated to assist the UNICEF-funded programmes, UNICEF kept its own flexible organizational pattern at work in the actual operations. This was not only an administrative, but also a substantive, factor in UNICEF's role in the area of educational aid. This was particularly so during the mid-seventies when UNESCO and the UNDP, working on a quite different organizational pattern from UNICEF's, were struggling with severe bureaucratic difficulties. The Director-General of UNESCO, in his 1973 Report on the Activities of the Organisation about the UNDP-UNESCO programme, referred to "the complexity and unwieldiness of the procedures followed," and appealed for "more flexible project implementation and more imaginative programming." He also referred to "the rigidity and seemingly excessive detail required by the present project documents."

The difficulties that UNESCO was encountering in operational work were not only bureaucratic but also practical, and the UNESCO Executive Board asked its Special Committee to make a study of the problem in the field. Its report[53/] stated:

> "Is it that these countries are not aware of the importance of education in the development process? Is it that they do not have the knowledge to exploit the possibilities of aid from UNESCO, the working methods and administrative procedures of the Organisation being too complex? Or is it that this aid tends to be too sophisticated, not geared enough to real situations and the most basic and urgent needs?"

The answer to the last of the questions was, in the view of many of UNESCO's professional staff, that UNESCO's project generation methods were too abstract. It was therefore a disappointment to them to read in December 1979 UNESCO's "Provisional Guide for the Preparation of Technical Cooperation Projects"[54/] prepared at UNESCO headquarters and sent to the Regional Offices for distribution. The Guide stated, "The theoretical approach to identifying objectives is to proceed from the general to the particular." It had useful things to say about the need for flexibility, but also said, "A project can only be flexible if it is a part of a clearly defined national educational policy." In general, its weakness was that it applied the techniques of systems analysis to what were quite small external inputs which

were incapable of causing harmful imbalances in the education system as a whole. The total of UNESCO-executed operational projects in the field for the two years 1979-1980 amounted to an expenditure of $92.6 million. The number of projects, including carryover from previous years, was 416. Of this biennial expenditure, 27.5 per cent went to educational policy and planning. Literacy took only 1 per cent and adult education 0.5 per cent, population education 4.8 per cent, etc.[55/]

The same year the Report of the Joint UNDP/UNESCO Evaluation Team [56/] appointed by the UNDP Coucil to assess a sample of educational projects executed for the UNDP by UNESCO had made its appearance. It stated that "Most of the problems arising in the course of project implementation seemed to trace back to defects in the original design." It added that "At the time the projects in the sample were being prepared, the principal efforts were expended on defining and justifying desirable objectives without always verifying whether they were in fact achievable." Referring to the UNDP Guidelines on Project Formulation which spoke of "the systematic character of a well-defined project" which should contain "its internal logic", and to the UNESCO Guide's attachment to systems analysis, the Report referred to the desirability of avoiding "an excessively dogmatic application of this analytic tool." The Evaluation Team argued that "reality is too complex" and "projects are extremely permeable to outside influences."[57/] Thus, it was that UNICEF's assistance from UNESCO came primarily from the professional educational skills of its staff, and the breadth and depth of its educational expertise, rather than from its executive methods.

Commenting on the trend in UNICEF's operational procedures, the then head of the UNESCO/UNICEF Cooperative Unit in UNESCO wrote in the UNESCO Journal Prospects in 1983: [58/]

> "Elaborate procedures of the past were suddenly replaced by an exceedingly simplified 'country profile'. Programming ceased to be a specialist operation. Greater ad hocism in the selection of small projects became evident (whether fitting into the overall national strategy of educational development or not). In implementation too, such projects called for minimum technical assistance of professional experts...
>
> "...UNICEF justified such quick action on the argument that the national professionals knew what they needed. The UNICEF country representative became the ultimate judge of whether a request of national professionals was valid or not. Being left in such a position, the judgement varied from representative to representative.
>
> "There was no longer a uniform approach in UNICEF to utilizing UNESCO expertise in education. UNESCO, too, lost most of its field posts both as countries showed increasing reluctance to receiving long-term resident experts and funding agencies experienced financial difficulties. In any case, the UNESCO field experts were mostly in subject areas other than primary, pre-school and non-formal education in which UNICEF was now concentrating...

"...The need to review the principles and modalities came to be recognized in 1979. Consultations at the level of the two Secretariats resulted in a meeting of the two Executive Heads in April 1982...

"...A significant outcome of the meeting of the two Executive heads is the identification of universalizing primary education and eradication of mass illiteracy as the principal area of cooperation."

In reflecting upon the UNESCO Provisional Guide of 1979, it is well to remember that it is one thing to adopt certain conceptions at an agency's headquarters, but it is another thing to ensure their being applied in the field. Many UNESCO field staff continued to assist on a more pragmatic basis the governments they served, when this was what the governments assisted wanted.

The process of educational aid is not an easy one owing to the variety of circumstances and policy in the different countries and because of the problem of "absorptive capacity". In 1977 the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, which contains the major bilateral educational donors, held two major meetings on the subject of meeting basic human needs and on the problems of project preparation, including the constraints of "absorptive capacity" in the beneficiary countries. It wisely proposed that aid agencies should not only give assistance to the administrations in the developing countries to improve absorptive capacities, but also reduce the constraints of their own procedures, the task of adjustment resting with the donors as well as the recipient countries.

It is interesting therefore, in illustration of UNICEF's "flexible approach", to quote from a memorandum of the Deputy Executive Director to UNICEF field offices in 1976 which states:

"UNICEF should take account of the factors usually cited as enriching a country's 'absorptive capacity' by examining possibilities of circumventing them by changing the form of assistance offered by UNICEF. Thus 'absorptive capacity' should be seen as related to the form of UNICEF assistance and also the administrative arrangements proposed. Sometimes the country's administration appears weaker than it really is because our standard project structures and mechanisms do not fit local customs.

"Commitments should be shorter than for regular assistance. The Representative needs to be able to test, probe or try out the possibilities of different forms of project assistance, and the efficiency of linking with various established groups. In districts where administration is weak, assistance should be as simple as possible and designed to get along without much administrative support. This covers all types of projects that villages can run or maintain themselves."

These extracts[59/] give the flavor of UNICEF's pragmatic approach. The UNICEF procedures for generating programmes and their component projects may be summarized as follows: Contacts are maintained by the field offices with high-level national officials on governmental and UNICEF priorities, and on government plans. Where the latter are well developed, and where UNICEF has also made the necessary country study to be able to take a view on the government plan, a programme of assistance is framed corresponding with the priorities of both (or with such compromises as the situation merited), and a medium-term programme is possible. Otherwise it is necessary to proceed with targets of opportunity to construct the country programme. Following these higher-level discussions, "task forces" are usually set up of the national and international officials involved (or more informal arrangements with relatively small projects) including those co-operating in UNICEF programmes and, in the case of education, UNESCO. The results are turned into a programme for discussion by a preview meeting involving Headquarters' participation.

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Assessment made for Executive Board of the application of UNICEF's educational policy 1972-1980, with examples

The 1977 Board session, after discusssing the Executive Director's study, concluded that the general lines of UNICEF assistance policy should be maintained for primary education and non-formal education, especially as a component of basic services. The Board noted, however, that the report did not conduct an assessment of the application of this policy, and requested that an assessment should now be prepared for submission to the Board's session of 1979. It also stated that "It would be appropriate in the future to give more attention than in the past to encouraging exploration and development of measures to meet the educational needs of pre-school children."

The assessment took somewhat longer than expected and did not appear until May 1980.[60/] A selection is given below of the main points made in the assessment:

1) UNICEF expenditure for education ($34 million in 99 countries in 1979) had been increasing in dollar terms but somewhat less than inflation. Out of the $34 million, $27 million went to primary and $7 million to non-formal education. The amount going to non-formal education had the greatest increase over the last four years, having doubled since 1975. Expenditure for women's education and training had increased nearly five times in the same period. Other inputs to non-formal education were contained in other programme categories, e.g., health. The percentage of educational expenditure in the total of UNICEF programmes in all sectors had fallen somewhat and was at 13 per cent in 1979.

2) UNICEF had helped the speed and quality of educational development, but usually it had been assisting a process of incremental growth as large-scale reforms had been attempted in only a few countries;

3) Support for teacher-training, including the introduction of systematic in-service training, and continuing training through distance courses by correspondence and radio, had been a major component of UNICEF aid together with building national capacity to produce teaching aids, especially textbooks;

4) A few countries had been helped with women's hostels at teacher-training colleges, but much more action was needed for the education of girls, the illiteracy rate among women being one-third higher than among men;

5) Not much progress had been reported in the introduction into curricula of education on health, food and nutrition, water use, and child-rearing;

6) There was growing interest in pre-school education and some interesting beginnings had been made but there were as yet few viable models that the developing countries could afford;

7) Popular involvement in non-formal education was widespread, but was rare in the management of primary schools, but very much needed for community development purposes and in order to help to provide the additional resources required for increases in enrollment;

8) The flexibility of UNICEF's decentralized planning and implementation was commented upon favourably;

9) There had been some innovatory programmes and inputs which were very imaginative, but many had been conventional and most countries' progress had been incremental. The need had clearly emerged to encourage and support the convergence of non-formal education activities in the various sectors which UNICEF aided (health, nutrition, water, etc.) among the sectors themselves and with formal schooling;

10) The policies decided upon in 1972 and 1974 were well accepted and being applied, though with different degrees of technical skill in different regions and countries. The East African and Central American regions were cited for the high quality of their work; but additional technical support was required elsewhere from UNICEF and UNESCO staff and the use of local expertise. The evaluation also referred to "frequent references in country reports to UNICEF supplies being too complicated." The help of national authorities was needed to test and agree on simple specifications, and "more support was needed to countries' management and logistic capacity."

11) Because of UNICEF's concern with survival, care, protection, and development of the child, UNICEF should support measures to strengthen a comprehensive approach through all the sources and channels of information and education in village life, including more attention to out-of-school children;

12) Literacy should receive more attention and be given by out-of-school projects for adolescents and youths who had missed school or dropped out too early;

13) Other themes that should have received greater attention were the development of the young child, community involvement, the improvement of monitoring, cooperation with other agencies, and the engagement on UNICEF staff of several more people with professional qualifications in education.

At its 1980 session the Executive Board gave its acceptance to the general view of the assessment report that the policy laid down in 1972 for basic education, and in 1974 for non-formal education, was still valid and, on the whole, satisfactorily applied. In more detail it requested that more attention be paid to finding suitable ways of aiding pre-school education, wherever circumstances were favourable and resources available. It also asked for more attention to the design of equipment supplied, in order to meet criticism that it was too complicated.

At the general policy level it stressed two points. First, it reasserted that UNICEF should focus upon the reorientation of the primary school so as to make it more widely accessible to underserved children, and secondly that UNICEF aid should be directed to the strengthening and building of educational components (including literacy activities) in the range of basic services that were provided for children and families, the education of women in particular being seen as a strategic means for promoting the welfare of children and mothers.

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Continuing UNICEF aid in the 1980s, education and infant mortality, role of girls and women

Thus by 1982, when UNICEF entered its twenty first year of educational assistance, its aid policy was firmly established after its application had weathered the test of the assessment. Formal and non-formal education together accounted for 15 per cent of total UNICEF programme expenditure during the period 1981-1983. For the three years 1981 to 1983 the average annual amount of commitments for primary education was $33 million, the breakdown of which is shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18

Breakdown of UNICEF commitments for primary education by field, 1978 - 1983

	1978-1980	1981-1983
	(millions of $US)	
Training	21.2	21.9
Textbooks and teaching aide	18.7	17.6
Curriculum development	22.9	17.4
New patterns of organization	3.2	5.6
Other	18.4	36.6
TOTAL	84.4	99.1

The UNICEF aid for education not only aimed to favour the educationally needy and disadvantaged children in the child population as a whole; it was also aimed, to a large degree, at the poorest countries, as shown below in Table 19.

TABLE 19

UNICEF expenditure on education by categories of countries 1981-1983

	1981	1982	1983	1981	1982	1983
	(in thousands of $US dollars)					
Category I(a) Least Developed Countries	10 103	8 011	9 808	4 715	3 519	4 086
Category I(b) Small Countries under 500,000	307	198	101	145	41	120
Category I(c) Countries in temporary difficulties	2 598	3 335	8 658	143	482	279
Category II Low-Income Countries	1 186	829	756	297	447	535
Category II Other Countries	7 565	4 706	5 430	2 820	3 426	4 342
Category III Higher-Income Countries	3	30	43	89	6	5
TOTAL	21 762	17 109	24 796	8 209	7 921	9 367

The scope and variety of the UNICEF education assistance programme during the last few years is illustrated by the examples which follow:

UNICEF cooperation with the Nigerian primary curriculum development process illustrates how a comprehensive approach evolved incrementally over a number of years. With the declaration of the Government's universal primary education policy in 1976, the enrollment doubled very quickly and the decline in the instruction became a cause for concern. The Government sought UNICEF support particularly in the improvement of teaching of science. UNICEF (along with UNESCO) supported the preparation of teaching guides, science equipment and the establishment of science workshops in 600 schools in the Mid-Western State (now Bendel). Materials were produced, tested, printed and retested and a kit was provided for each school. In 1978 and 1979, UNICEF focused on the mathmatics curriculum and an integrated science curriculum. New curriculum and instructional materials were produced and field-tested. In 1981, UNICEF provided financial support to the Nigerian Educational Reseach Council for organizing seven workshops for reviewing and revising the curriculum in social studies, home economics and English. At the same time, UNICEF provided funds for preparation of textbooks, teachers' guides and training aids for science and mathematics and the printing of 120,000 copies of the new science curriculum developed earlier. Thus over a period of five years, a comprehensive overhaul of primary curriculum was carried out with UNICEF support.

In 1982 teacher-training programmes included orientation and special courses for administrators in Afghanistan, Burundi, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Thailand, Morocco and Yemen Democratic Republic.

Nineteen countries in 1982 received supplies and equipment for teacher training such as instructional aids, dormitory and refectory supplies, office equipment and tools for vocational and practical subjects. Transport was provided to ten countries, five of them in Central West Africa. Special workshops for teachers were organized in Ethiopia in connection with the introduction of new agriculture and technology materials in the primary school. Similarly, seminars were arranged for teachers on new nutrition and hygiene contents in the primary curriculum. Workshops for the purpose of general planning, review, materials development and pedagogic orientation related to curriculum reform were organized in Bangladesh, Republic of Korea, Pakistan, Thailand, Bhutan, India, Burundi, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Yemen Arab Republic.

An example of the integration of teacher-training and curriculum development is the Cross River Demonstration Primary School project in Nigeria. Five demonstration schools had been set up to serve as models for encouraging children's creativity, self-expression and manipulative skills by focusing on small learning groups and "activity-based, people-centred learning". Each school is linked to a teachers' college and the Educational Resource Centre in Cross River held workshops for teachers and supervisors in addition to helping in producing instructional materials.

A number of teacher-training programmes developed highly flexible and innovative approaches in response to the challenge of serious shortages of qualified teachers. A case in point is the Zimbabwe Integrated National Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC), assisted jointly by UNICEF and UNESCO. This programme used an unconventional combination of short and intensive residential courses and supervised practice teaching reinforced by a correspondence course. This mixture permitted the existing limited training facilities and staff to produce several times more teachers at a substantially lower per capita cost within the same time span compared to the traditional full-time institutional courses. In 1981, 1,540 students in two intakes completed a 17-week residential course. This course was then to be followed by ten terms of supervised teaching with an in-service correspondence course, interspersed with four 3-week vacation courses and a final residential term. The entire training programme would run four years - the same duration as that of the conventional teacher-training course. Follow-up reports from satisfied headmasters indicated a high level of motivation and performance on the part of the trainees.

Other innovative efforts include the use of radio broadcasts for in-service teacher-training as in Nepal, Yemen Arab Republic and Nigeria; and special projects for encouraging women to take up primary teaching as in Nepal, particularly in remote areas where enrollment of girls is especially low.

In Bangladesh and Pakistan non-formal education reinforces the formal programmes at the primary level. In a pilot project in Bangladesh, 50 primary schools were being developed into community learning centres for children, youth and women. Food production was introduced in primary schools with UNICEF providing agricultural kits and supplies for duck and poultry raising. Mahalla schools (informal neighbourhood schools) and mosque schools were supported by UNICEF in Pakistan to encourage larger enrollment at the primary level. Examples of "second chance" programmes would include voluntary primary night schools in Burma and accelerated primary-level courses for older youths in Afghanistan.

In Morocco, practical training at the primary level was supported by helping establish school canteens and gardens, cooperatives of students and teachers, and voluntary training activities. Three manuals in gardening, nutrition and hygiene were produced. Workshops were equipped to train students in electrical repairs, carpentry, photography, sewing and bookbinding. Facilities for small-scale animal breeding and bee-keeping were also established in primary schools. Students in grades 1-3 performed three hours of manual work a week within the classroom. In grades 4 and 5, students spent two hours a week in workshops or outdoors. In Guatemala, 65 rural schools became pilot schools for extended activities in home improvement and nutrition, cooking, sewing, gardening, carpentry and masonry. In Nicaragua, UNICEF provided supplies and equipment to five rural primary schools which had work study programmes with relatively heavy emphasis on agricultural training.

In Madagascar, Rwanda and Tanzania primary schools were organized as community learning centres, meaning that the school programme attempts to reflect the community's needs and conditions, and the school becomes a place of learning for the entire community.

The officially designated non-formal education programmes absorbed roughly one-third of total UNICEF expenditure in education during the three years up to 1982. The main type of activities labeled as non-formal were literacy, women, and youth programmes. In literacy, UNICEF assistance was concentrated on the development of reading materials to teach literacy and to provide relevant reading materials to neo-literates so that they could use, maintain and improve their literacy skills. Support for literacy in varying degree was also provided to Bangladesh, Burma, Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Burundi, Mozambique, Central African Republic and Guatemala. Educational activities for women frequently included literacy, health education and nutrition. Skill-training that could lead to income-earning work was aimed at both disadvantaged women and youth groups. The programme for youths also focuses on literacy, skills for "life-preparation" such as in agriculture, health care, nutrition, civic responsibility, and community leadership.

The entire education component of the UNICEF programme in Indonesia for the period 1985-1989 is designated as non-formal. It is intended to reach some of the country's 26 million illiterate people and to encourage community participation to promote social change at the village and kampung level. Prior to 1981, the focus of the programme was elementary training for basic community organization and motivation for further training. Since 1981 the emphasis has begun to shift to elementary training for basic economic needs as well as simple skills and knowledge for the improvement of living conditions. UNICEF also provided funds for production of 1.25 million books containing learning materials. A new component in the UNICEF country programme for 1985-1989 in Indonesia is support for qualitative improvement of the Koranic schools (pesentaran) run by the communities, so as to make these another avenue for extending primary education to population groups not served by regular primary schools.

Most UNICEF-assisted basic services projects in other sectors, such as health and sanitation, include educational components. Training of personnel such as traditional birth attendants and primary health care workers at different levels of the health hierarchy, and construction and maintenance workers in water supply and sanitation facilities, as well as workshops and seminars for national and UNICEF personnel in specific aspects of programme development, implementation and evaluation are common features of basic services projects assisted by UNICEF.

Educational components of nutrition are found in many different contexts including family welfare/early childhood development projects, general nutrition education projects, training within applied nutrition projects and nutrition activities in primary schools. In Nicaragua, the Government has set up, with special UNICEF assistance funded by Norway, a network of nutrition promoters recruited from communities they serve. These promoters are active in nutrition education, nutritional surveillance and in carrying out

demonstrations in rural areas. Nation-wide introduction of the growth monitoring charts in the mother and child health clinics in Angola, as a part of the national nutrition programme, has called for a series of training and education activities. In Ethiopia in 1982, for example, 10,000 women representatives attended short "leadership training" courses conducted by Home Extension Agents. These women in turn helped their fellow villagers to organize self-help and community development activities. Linked to leadership-training are women's income-generating activities for which specific skill-training courses are arranged based on local economic potential for productive activities.

Educational elements are included in women's programmes in Afghanistan (with a focus on health, leadership and income-generation); Bhutan (child development, health and income-generation); Burundi (nutrition, hygiene, gardening and poultry raising); Mozambique (literacy, nutrition and income-generation); and Zimbabwe (hygiene, income-generation and community development).

Technical training is a component of nearly all UNICEF-assisted water projects and encompasses maintenance workers, drillers, welders, designers, hand-pump caretakers, technicians, supervisors and engineers. When training is targeted to fewer technical community workers, health and environmental education is usually a part of the project. Education in health and environmental sanitation for the beneficiaries of the water projects is a part of many projects and ranges from health and sanitation messages in conjunction with the installation of latrines (which had been useless in Bangladesh until health education began in 1980), to integrated programmes in health, nutrition, and hygiene with strong audio-visual support as in Indonesia. Hygiene and sanitation education in primary schools, pre-schools and teacher-training institutes is specifically provided for in water projects in Laos. Ethiopia has a health education component through the Adult Education Department's Basic Education project, supported by UNICEF. In the Sudan, Rwanda and Thailand, village women are trained in basic health and sanitation as well as pump care.

As explained earlier, UNESCO's technical cooperation has been much valued by UNICEF, and action was taken in 1982 to reinforce it by setting up a Joint UNESCO/UNICEF Working Group to develop a programme for further assistance towards the universalisation of primary education and literacy. The aim of the group was to muster external technical and financial support for national plans and programmes for this purpose, UNICEF assistance being implemented within the framework of the UNICEF country programmes with appropriate UNESCO technical support in selected countries which have demonstrated a commitment to universal basic education. The programme would initially concentrate on a limited number of countries, and would be expected that additional countries might participate in the programme in the coming years.

The countries on which the joint programme is being concentrated for the next few years are: Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Nepal, Nicaragua, and Peru. In the case of Peru, much attention is being given to a project in pre-school education in the province of Puno. So far UNICEF has assisted relatively few pre-school education projects because the demand for this level of education has not been strong. When the 1972 policy revision was being made, the view was expressed by a number of developing countries that, although the value of pre-school education in the total picture of child development was well appreciated, those countries which were struggling to enroll a greater proportion of their school-age population could not afford it. The Board had therefore agreed to assistance to pre-primary education on the basis that its aid should for the present be limited to a small number of projects and to further research and experiment in this field. In 1980 (see p.62) it gave a wider approval.

An important new task that was given to UNICEF's educational programme in the early eighties was to become a supporting arm in UNICEF's Child Survival and Development Revolution programme which was launched in 1982. This programme was aimed principally at reducing infant mortality and childhood illnesses by the application of a set of highly effective but simple and economical measures in the field of child health. Education had always been known to have an important effect on health and nutrition, and this had been one of the premises of the work of UNICEF on basic education. This effect became even more highlighted as part of the new child survival programme.

The Report of the 1986 Session of the Executive Board stated:

> "The majority of the Board members voiced strong support for the goal of reducing infant and child mortality as the primary concern of UNICEF during the medium-term plan period. In addition, continuous support to basic education, including literacy, was welcomed by many delegations which expressed the view that education for women was probably the single most important factor in improving the survival and well-being of children."61/

Much evidence for this view was contained in a World Bank Staff Paper62/ published in 1980 which reviewed seventeen existing studies of the impact of parent education on family health and added an additional study of its own. These studies compared the effect of education with those of the other determinants such as family income and number of doctors in the sample populations, and the World Bank Paper concluded that, "Overwhelmingly the literacy rate has the highest correlation in the developing countries."

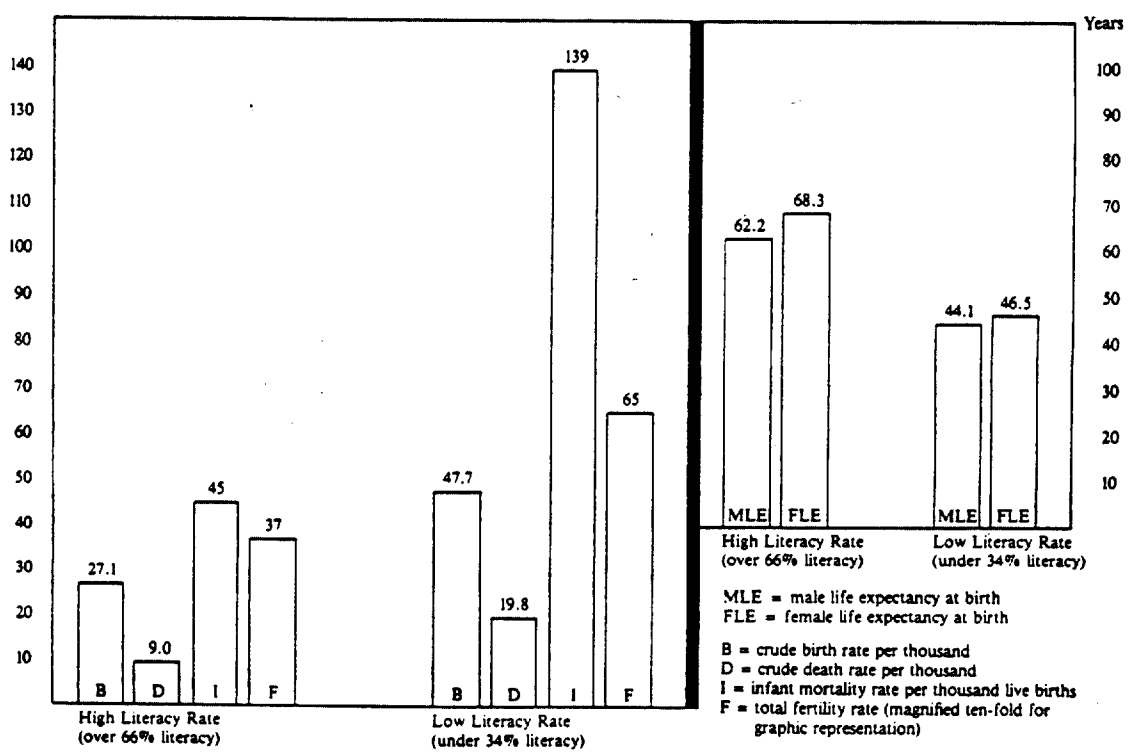
From an educational standpoint and as a guide to future action, it is necessary to note that these findings are based on the number of years of schooling of the parents when they were children, and on literacy, which in the population-at-large is usually also obtained at school as a child. They therefore point to two aspects of educational policy. First, they confirm the

emphasis that UNICEF has long been taking measures to increase the enrollment for girls and reduce the drop-out rate, and further emphasized the need to continue and accelerate this effort. Secondly, they point to an increase of non-formal education projects and programmes of literacy classes for mothers and second chance formal or non-formal educational projects for children who never obtained schooling, or dropped out very early in the primary course.

In addition to empirical studies based on population samples, several studies were made based on macro-demographic and educational data at the national level. The UNESCO-UNICEF Cooperative Unit has worked on this subject, as have UNICEF's own statisticians. Table 20, which brings together what is known on this subject, follows:

Table 20

Selected demographic indicators for groups of countries with high and low literacy rates *



* Source: E.A. Fisher, "Illiteracy in Context", Prospects, Vol. XII, No.2, 1982, as published in "Moving Towards Universal Primary Education and Literacy", report prepared by the UNICEF-UNESCO Joint Working Group, Occasional Papers Series No.4.

IV. IMPACT OF UNICEF'S EDUCATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME 1960 - 1985: SUMMARY ASSESSMENT

UNICEF's educational expenditure between 1960 and 1985 amounted to $430.6 million, and Table 21, which follows, shows how it evolved over the years in comparison with the amounts of expenditure devoted to the UNICEF assistance programmes in other fields. In particular, it indicates that the rate of expansion of expenditure on education between the two decades 1960-1969 and 1970-1979 was higher than that for UNICEF's other programmes. This supported the fear expressed by some delegations, when the decision was taken in 1961 to enter the educational field, that this additional responsibility might be accompanied by a reduction of the rate of growth of the expenditure in UNICEF's traditional fields of child health and nutrition. At the same time, as indicated by the studies above, it is likely to have considerably increased the efficacy of that expenditure.

TABLE 21
UNICEF expenditure from inception through 1985
(US$ millions)

	1947-50	1951-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-85	1947-1985
Long-range aid:						
Health services	8.0	26.0	97.7	313.8	362.0	807.5
Mass disease control campaign	12.3	56.7	82.2	a/	a/	151.2
Water and sanitation	a/	a/	a/	156.3	350.8	507.1
Child nutrition	5.4	19.1	47.3	87.0	107.7	266.5
Social welfare svcs for children	a/	a/	9.1	49.3	94.9	153.3
Formal education	--	--	30.3	170.9	141.1	342.3
Non-formal education	--	--	2.4	27.7	58.2	88.3
General b/	--	--	6.3	62.3	160.4	229.0
Total long-range aid	25.7	101.8	275.3	867.3	1 275.1	2 545.2
Emergency relief	82.3	34.8	11.1	42.7	177.2	348.1
Total programme aid	108.0	136.6	286.4	910.0	1 452.3	2 893.3
Programme support services	0.3	14.1	42.4	158.1	293.6	508.5
Total assistance	108.3	150.7	328.8	1 068.1	1 745.9	3 401.8
Administrative costs	6.6	10.6	25.5	97.9	216.6	357.2
TOTAL expenditures	114.9	161.3	354.3	1 166.0	1 962.5	3 759.0

a/ Included in health services.
b/ This assistance cannot be broken down into the above categories. It includes mainly planning and project preparation, project support services and project support communication.

The figures in Table 21 on the previous page show the financial dimension of UNICEF's aid to education and the considerable growth over recent years of assistance to non-formal education.

This assistance took the form of cooperation with governments of the developing countries in the extension and improvement of their programmes in education affecting children and mothers, for which the governments themselves found the resources from their educational budgets. UNICEF helped by providing missing elements in the form of educational supplies, equipment, teaching materials and organizational and technical assistance. Its strategy was to use its limited resources where they could have a multiplier or catalytic effect, e.g., in teacher training, the training of teacher trainees, and in the opening of bottlenecks caused by lack of particular materials or supplies, or of finance for the stipends of educational staff receiving training.

As seen in Table 22 below, over the period until 1985, 1,035,600 educational institutions, centres, and installations were assisted with UNICEF equipment and supplies, and 1,446,800 educational training stipends were given as seen in Table 23 on the following page. In addition, many more people were trained within the training centres or institutions aided by UNICEF equipment and supplies.

TABLE 22

Number of educational institutions which received UNICEF equipment and supplies

	Through 1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1985	TOTAL through 1985
Formal education					
Schools	--	45 500	528 900	410 800	985 200
Teacher-training institutions	--	2 400	5 900	8 300	16 600
Other institutions	--	400	5 100	16 600	22 100
TOTAL formal education	--	48 300	539 900	435 700	1 023 900
Pre-vocational training		1 000	5 000	5 700	11 700
TOTAL	--	49 300	544 900	441 400	1 035 600

TABLE 23

Number of educational personnel receiving UNICEF training stipends in countries with which UNICEF cooperates[a/]

Education	Through 1969	1970-79	1980-85	TOTAL Through 1985
Teachers	157 200	642 600	324 300	1 124 100
Other educational personnel	400	91 000	156 800	248 200
TOTAL educational personnel	157 600	733 600	481 100	1 372 300
Pre-vocational trainers	2 900	13 000	58 600	74 500
TOTAL	160 500	746 607	539 700	1 446 800

The geographic spread of UNICEF cooperation assistance can be seen from Table 24 following. The distribution is rather what one would expect, except that the figure for Asia for 1970-79 is exceptionally large because of the unusual size of India and UNICEF's cooperation in the Indian science education project. The major part of UNICEF's assistance as a whole went to the least developed countries of the four developing regions.

The institutional impact of UNICEF's cooperation assistance and its effect on individual teachers, as shown by the previous tables, was clearly very substantial over the 25-year period. It is not possible to go further and to give figures showing the number of individual children benefiting. That the number would be very large, if calculable, is clear from the fact that the average teacher instructs yearly a class of around 40 children (though not necessarily all the same children because of turnover and drop-out). Trained teachers have a very substantially greater impact on the learning process than those who are untrained, and the benefit is given over the trained teachers' lifetime. If a multiplication of these factors could be attempted, it would be seen to have affected many millions of children. The number of teachers whose training was aided was over a million. An additional factor is that many of the projects assisted may not have been initiated without UNICEF support. Similarly, a large impact can be assumed from the provision of equipment and supplies since they were mostly durable goods, and were applied to the opening of bottlenecks or utilized as aid to the setting up of local production facilities.

a/ The information included in Table 23 includes only those trainees who received UNICEF stipends. In addition many more persons were trained within the training centres or institutions assisted with UNICEF training supplies and equipment. A number of instructors in these institutions received UNICEF assistance for salaries and honoraria, which are not included in Table 23.

TABLE 24

UNICEF expenditure for education by region during 1960-1985
(in millions of $US)

	Cumulative totals		Annual levels					
	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
(a) Formal education								
Africa South of Sahara	7.8	37.1	5.9	6.2	6.2	5.2	4.4	3.8
Americas	4.2	12.8	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.9
Asia	12.2	104.9	15.8	13.0	8.9	11.0	7.8	14.0
Middle East & N.Africa	5.4	16.1	3.3	3.9	5.0	13.2	6.5	2.1
Europe	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Interregional	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.2	0.1
All regions	30.2	170.9	25.9	23.8	20.5	30.0	19.9	20.9
(b) Non-formal education								
Africa South of Sahara	--	12.7	4.6	4.0	3.7	4.0	4.1	3.9
Americas	0.2	3.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.2	2.2
Asia	0.7	4.4	2.5	3.4	3.6	4.8	4.5	4.5
Middle East & N.Africa	1.4	7.0	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.8
Europe	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Interregional	--	--	0.3	--	--	0.2	0.1	0.1
All Regions	2.4	27.7	8.5	8.5	8.3	10.2	10.6	11.5
(c) Total education: formal and non-formal education								
Africa South of Sahara	7.8	49.8	10.5	10.2	9.9	9.2	8.5	7.6
Americas	4.4	16.4	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.6	2.2	3.1
Asia	12.8	109.2	18.3	16.4	12.5	15.9	12.3	18.6
Middle East & N.Africa	6.9	23.1	3.8	4.3	5.2	13.6	7.2	2.9
Europe	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Interregional	--	--	0.3	--	--	0.2	0.1	0.2
ALL REGIONS	32.7	198.6	34.4	32.3	28.8	40.4	30.5	32.4

UNICEF's educational expenditure reached its peak in the mid 1970s and then tapered off in the period 1980-1985, as shown in Table 25 below, though it still remained the highest in any field excepting health and sanitation. The high level of attention given to education by UNICEF in the seventies reflected the general trend of external aid from all sources. During the seventies, education became at one period the largest single sector of bilateral official aid, exceeding agriculture by a small margin, though the amount of assistance given to the primary level was small.[63] During this same period, World Bank loans and credits for education also showed a remarkable rise. This attention accompanied an unprecedented effort by governments. Enrollment ratios grew very rapidly between 1960 and 1980, as can be seen from Table 25 which follows:

Table 25

Adjusted gross enrollment ratios at the first level of education (both sexes) in major regions of the world 1960 - 1980

REGION	1960	1970	1980
World total*	77.5	84.6	90.8
Developed countries	105.8	106.4	106.2
Developing countries*	60.8	74.3	85.5
Africa	44.2	57.0	78.9
Asia**	67.4	76.8	84.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	73.4	92.3	102.3
Arab States**	50.4	65.7	81.7

* Not including China and Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
** Data for the Arab States are also included in Africa and Asia.

Note: The term "adjusted" indicates that the population groups used in deriving these ratios for a particular region have been obtained by taking into account the organizational structure of education of each country in that region. This accounts for the percentages over 100.

Source: UNESCO. A Summary Statistical Review of Education in the World: 1960-1980. Document No. ED/BIE/CONFINTED 38/Ref. 1. Paris, 1981 (Tables 10 and 24).

The very considerable progress which the governments of the developing countries achieved, as shown in these tables, does not weaken the importance of the present and the future task. Among the present tasks is to prevent these advances being worn away under the world's present economic difficulties, notably the process of economic adjustment which has adversely affected many developing countries. This adjustment is causing reduction of social expenditure which is particularly affecting the most vulnerable groups in those countries, and is braking their educational progress. The United Nations is seized by the social problems involved under the heading of "Adjustment with a Human Face", a project in which UNICEF is participating in favour of children as one of the most vulnerable population groups concerned.

Further, with regard to the education sector it has to be appreciated that enrollment increases, even in the best of times, tend to fall off in poor developing countries and drop-out rates increase when around 75 to 80 per cent enrollment is reached. On the other side of this barrier there remain many millions of children and mothers living below an absolute overall poverty line, including absolute educational poverty. It is at this level of living that the more social as distinct from the more pedagogic approach to education, which UNICEF has helped to formulate and assist, takes a particular importance both in human and developmental dimensions. This is clear from the estimates and projections made by UNESCO of the number of illiterates of fifteen years and over in the principal regions of the world as shown below in Table 26, with which we conclude this Monograph.*

Table 26

Estimates and projections of the number of illiterates (both sexes) aged 15 years and over in major regions of the world 1970 - 2000

(in millions)

REGION	1970	1980	1990	2000
World total	760	824	882	912
Developed countries	29	23	17	14
Developing countries	731	801	865	898
Africa	140	156	165	168
Asia	551	604	659	693
Latin America and the Caribbean	44	44	42	38
Arab States*	49	57	64	69
Least developed countries	95	110	125	138

* Data for the Arab States are also included in Africa and Asia.
** Data for the least developed countries are also included in developing countries and the regions concerned.

Source: As assessed in 1982 by the Office of Statistics, UNESCO, Paris.

In drawing conclusions from these highly depressing figures of illiteracy as well as the heavy drop-out figures with which the primary cycle is afflicted it should be remembered that these are statistics based on educational standards set up for educational purposes. If we look at them having social criteria in mind rather than educational, we have to remark that a number of the illiterates will be near literates who fall just below the required educational standard, while drop-outs from six-year primary cycles will include children who have had 4 or 5 years of schooling, or 7 years perhaps in an eight-year primary course. Social scientists have shown that variations of even as little as a single year of schooling around a mean figure of about 4 years of schooling can have substantial social importance, i.e., 4 years instead of 3, and 5 years instead of 4, etc. It is from this appreciation of the social role of education and of the need for better planning of the primary cycle as a social as well as an educational process that UNICEF's interest in basic education evolved. Basic education was considered as a form of educational activity within the full primary cycle, supported as necessary by non-formal education, which would ensure that every child had at least a minimum of essential education to take his place in society.

The demand for reform of the organization and content of education came to a head at the beginning of the seventies and was well reflected in the Report titled "Learning To Be" of the UNESCO-appointed Commission presided by Edgar Faure. There has certainly been some change and some measure of educational reform, and UNICEF has been a cooperative participant in government plans and projects in this direction, but there have not been major widespread adoptions of the concept of basic education. The assessment made by Charles Egger, who was the UNICEF Deputy Executive Director for programmes for most of the period discussed, and in charge of UNICEF's education work, provides a valuable conclusion on this aspect of UNICEF's work and can well be cited:

> "Although admirable as a concept, and while new impetus had been given by UNICEF and UNESCO to a re-evaluation of the importance and relevance of primary education, basic education was not applied as widely as had been hoped because of difficulties in getting it across at the country level, overcoming the resistance of traditional elements, the cost of changes, and a certain lack in follow-through at the policy level by UNICEF and UNESCO."64/

So far as concerns the efforts of UNESCO and UNICEF, it is of course very difficult for them, as for other cooperation organisations, to move ahead faster than their constituent governments want to go. They gain strength from being intergovernmental, but also acquire the problems and limitations that affect governments. The promotion of educational reform is certainly a difficult area. The great philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill in his inaugural address as Chancellor of the University of Saint Andrew in 1864 remarked, "Reform even of government and churches is not so slow as that of schools, for there is the great preliminary difficult of fashioning the instruments of teaching the teacher."

It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the UNICEF effort has gone into assistance to the improvement and expansion of teacher training and existing facilities. At the same time most governments approved many of the reforms formulated in 1972 by UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education (the Edgar Faure report), by UNICEF itself in its 1972 policy review and in "New Paths to Learning" by the International Council for Educational Development (Philip Coombs et al) in 1973. Assessing progress in the whole area of the application of new policies to rural development, including education, as at 1980 Philip Coombs wrote, 65/

> "For the most part new policy commitments were still at the rhetorical stage as the 1970s ended. Here and there concrete action had been put underway, but there were exceptions to the rule; but the old order still dominated the action.
>
> At the same time he speaks of 'cautious optimism', and this could well be the right conclusion to draw today as to the position on major educational reform and as to the prospects for its future."

Fortunately, however, major educational reform, though desirable is not indispensable. The linear expansion of existing educational systems, and UNICEF support of it, is not failing to make an important contribution to child welfare and development. The numerous research studies brought together by the World Bank which we cited earlier, showing the favourable impact of parents' education upon the health and mortality rates of their children, were based on the unreformed education that the parents had received in the past when they were children. The same applies to the studies of the favourable effect of education on family planning and to the findings of economists on the high rates of return on investment in education. They were also based on the output of education systems, with all their acknowledged failings, of previous years.

Reform can be brought about to a considerable degree by an accumulation of small improvements as well as by innovation, and this actually is the more general trend. In this connection an organisation like UNICEF, which sees the social situation of children in the developing countries as a "silent emergency" has, like the governments of those countries, to think of the time factor and the delays due to interim dislocations. Major educational reform takes a long time; teachers have to be re-trained and many textbooks re-written, and time is needed to gain the full support of parents and administrations. Some authorities indicate 8 years as the period required. One of the greatest authorities, Torsten Husén, in his latest book, "The Learning Society Revisited", lays down very clearly the twin conditions that major reforms need both a long time for implementation and have to benefit from active support from teachers and administrators, and concludes, for this and other reasons, the relation between research and new policy making is often a thin one.

The bulk of the UNICEF aid, like the programmes of the governments with which it cooperates, is going to well-tried purposes, namely, school education and standard types of non-formal education. But it also has the capability to assist governments on major educational changes as the demand for it evolves, in addition to participation in smaller but also important forms of innovation, as can be seen from the examples (page 57 onwards) recorded in this monograph.

FOOTNOTES

1/ UNICEF Aid to Primary Education: Report and Recommendation by Executive Director, E/ICEF/R.632, January, 1959.

2/ Measures for the Development of the Under-Developed Countries by Baltro, Gadgil, Hakim, Lewis and Schultz. (UN 1951)

3/ As we shall show later, aid to education once included did in fact grow faster than that for health and nutrition - see table 5 on page 16.

4/ Report of UNICEF Executive Board, June 1961 session, E/ICEF/431, paras. 44-45.

5/ Ibid. para. 73

6/ Taken from "UNICEF Aid for Education, Review of Policy" by H.M. Phillips, E/ICEF/L.1279/Add 1, March 1972.

7/ UNESCO (IBE 1971 "Wastage in Education" by Brimmer and Pauli, and UNESCO/IBE 1972 "A Statistical Study of wastage at Schools."

8/ UN World Population Conference 1974. Document E/Conf 60/BP/3 and PB/3 Add.1.

9/ Edit, Champion Ward, Praeger, New York, 1972.

10/ A UNESCO General Conference Resolution in unusually strong language "instructed the Director General" as follows: "Recognizing the term 'fundamental education' has caused confusion to take immediate steps to secure that a proper terminology...be used by UNESCO and to discontinue as rapidly as feasible the use of the term in all official documents". (IOC5/Res. I.51)

11/ The International Economic Association (which included in effect all the world's leading economists, whether from the free enterprise world or from the centrally planned economies) later debated this subject at length in 1964 and published their report under the title "The Economics of Education", (MacMillan, London 1966). In his

description of the result of the meeting the Chairman stated: "But whether or not precise measurement is possible, I suspect that few who have done serious work in this field do not believe that increases of fixed capital per head can explain only a small part (probably less than a quarter) of the increases of output per head; that scale effects are relatively small; that the effects of education and technical progress together represent the greatest part of the whole".

12/ Detailed accounts of these models can be found in the UNESCO Reports of the regional conferences of Ministers of Education held during the sixties. A summary is in The World Yearbook of Education (1967 Evans Bros. London) in a chapter by H.M. Phillips (Director Analysis Office, UNESCO) on "Trends in Educational Expansion".

13/ "Towards Accelerated Development: Proposals for the Second Development Decade" p.15, (ST/ECA/128/1970).

14/ "The International Development Strategy" p.13, (ST/ECA/17/1973). By that time a number of agencies had moved not only in theory but also in practice towards the objective of social equity as a component of development aid. The World Bank Report for the year 1973, for instance, stated, "The greater emphasis on objectives of social equity is reflected in several of the education projects which have been financed during the last five years. Both actual operations and studies reflect a new strategy with greater stress on people in the traditional-transitional sectors of the economy which hitherto had been left outside education systems. The aim is to find appropriate ways to enable education systems to promote both economic growth and social justice."

15/ Taken from "UNICEF Aid for Education, Review of Policy" by H.M. Phillips, E/ICEF/L.1279/Add. 1, March 1972.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Ibid.

18/ Assessment of Education Projects Assisted by UNICEF and UNESCO, E/ICEF/L.1270, E/ICEF/L.1270/Add.1, and E/ICEF/L.1270/Add.2, March-April 1968.

19/ Assessment of Pre-vocational Training Projects, E/ICEF/L.1272, E/ICEF/L.1272/Add. 1, March 1969.

20/ Taken from E/ICEF/L.1270/Add.1.

21/ E/ICEF/L.1270/Add.2.

22/ Taken from E/ICEF/L.1279/Add.1, p.48.

23/ "Planning the Primary School Curriculum in Developing Countries" by H.W.R. Hawes ILEP (UNESCO), 1972

24/ See analysis of this in Education and Economic Development (1965 ed. C.A. Anderson and M.S. Bowman, Aldive Chicago, 1965, pp. 142-163.

25/ The assessment consisted of a report by the ILO prepared in consultation with UNICEF and UNESCO (E/ICEF/L.1272) on the field study assessment of the projects by ILO/UNICEF consultants (E/ICEF/L.1272 Add.1). Comments on the report were submitted to the Board by the Executive Director and the Director-General of ILO (E/ICEF/L.1273). A summary of these reports and the Board debate and action taken is given in the Board Report in its May 1969 session, E/ICEF/590, paragraphs 95-113. The various views set forth in the debate come from summary records E/ICEF/SR 388 and E/ICEF/SR 389.

26/ E/ICEF/SR 388, p.103.

27/ "Assessment of Projects for the Education and Training of Women and Girls for Family and Community Life", E/ICEF/L.1275, March 1970.

28/ Report of UNICEF Executive Board, June 1968 session, E/ICEF/576, paragraphs 31 and 32.

29/ An applied research project sponsored by OECD for forecasting manpower requirements and deriving from this requirements for quantitative expansion of education systems in countries along the Mediterranean.

30/ Assessment of Education Projects Assisted by UNICEF/UNESCO, E/ICEF/L.1270, paragraphs 7 and 9, March 1968.

31/ Report of the UNICEF Executive Board, June 1968 session, E/ICEF/576, paragraph 40.

32/ Tables 11 through 14 have taken or adapted, from "UNICEF Aid to Education, Review of Policy" by H.M. Phillips, E/ICEF/L.1279/Add.1, March 1972.

33/ UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1973.

34/ Ibid. For a more detailed analysis and discussion of the situation on the sixties and at the beginning of the seventies see "Basic Education: A World Challenge" by H.M. Phillips (John Wiley & Sons 1975) pages 28-45 and 125-168.

35/ The text of the International Development Strategy for the UN Second Development Decade submitted to the UN General Assembly in October 1970 belonged in spirit to the early sixties, so far as education was concerned, and the urge that was appearing at the end of the First Development Decade to place more emphasis on social equity and educational reform and innovation did not appear in it. It contained no mention of primary education. But the General Assembly Resolution of 24 October actually establishing the International Development Strategy for the Decade altered the text, and it now began: "Particular attention should be paid to achieving enrollment of all children of primary school age, improvement in the quality of education at all levels, a substantial reduction of illiteracy, the reorientation of educational programmes to serve development needs...". It also introduced into the text the words "as appropriate curricula will be revised and new approaches initiated...". It was in this sense that UNICEF, and like-minded agencies and delegations helped to create, as well as implement, the new strategy.

36/ UNICEF Aid for Education, Review of Policy, E/ICEF/L.1279 and E/ICEF/L.1279/Add. 1. See also E/ICEF/624.

37/ For the economic aspects of the reassessment, a particularly clear account is given in "Keynesian Models of Economic Development and Their Limitations" by Hans Singer in the Journal of the UN Asian Institute of Economic Development and Planning "Occasional Papers" of December 1969, Vol.1, No.2.

38/ E/3613, UN Sales No. 62 II B2

39/ Professor Blaug of the University of London, for instance, wrote in "Education and Development Reconsidered" Ed. Champion Ward (Praeger, New York 1972): "We have relevant data for ten developing countries

and in most of these (Brazil, Malaysia and the Philippines are exceptions) primary education yields higher social rates of return (i.e., economic return to the community as a whole) than any other level of education. The discrepancies in most cases are so large that even huge shifts of resources over a period of five to ten years would not suffice to close the gap. Also Dr. Nalla Gounden's study of India showed, "The highest rate of return accrues to primary education, the lowest to a non-technical Bachelor's degree." He found a 17 per cent return for full primary education and a 15.9 per cent return for the simple attainment of literacy compared with a 11.8 per cent return on middle level education." Journal of Human Resources, Vol II, No.3, p.357.

40/ Education: Reorientation of UNICEF policy, EXPRO/208, 25 August 1972.

41/ For a fuller account of this conception, see H.M. Phillips "Basic Education: A World Challenge - Measures with Innovations". (John Wiley, London 1975, pages 157-167)

42/ Defined by UNICEF as "organised learning outside the formal school system, e.g., in day-care centres, literacy classes, young farmers clubs or women's organisations. Schools could be used outside normal school hours as community learning centres...to give a second chance to young people who had missed schooling or dropped out early". (E/ICEF/1408, p.4)

43/ Non-formal Education for Rural Development: Strengthening Learning Opportunities for Children and Youth, E/ICEF/L.1284, February 1973. This was subsequently published under the title "New Paths to Learning for Rural Children's Youth". At the Board session the following year it had before it a second report draft of "Building New Educational Strategies to Serve Rural Children and Youth", which touched on some of the same issues as the 1973 report but also discussed the educational needs of children, especially those relating to literacy, employment and family and community life, E/ICEF/L.1304, page 96.

44/ Basic essential learning needs were defined by the ICED to include: "Functional Knowledge of reading, writing, working with numbers; a scientific outlook, basic information about health and nutrition, and skills to earn a living, operate a household, raise a family, and take part in the development activities of the community". ("New Paths to Learning", op.cit. pp.14-15, also E/ICEF/L.1408, p.4) For other definitions both broader and more limited, suited to different situations see "What is Meant by Basic Education" by H. M. Phillips, a document issued by the International Institute of Educational Planning IIEP/S.36/7A.

45/ Report of the UNICEF Executive Board April-May 1973 session, E/ICEF/629 para. 83 E/ICEF/SR. 440-452.

46/ Attacking Rural Poverty - How Non-formal Education Can Help. A research report by Philip Coombs and A. Manzoor Ahmed, Johns Hopkins University Press 1974.

47/ Education for Rural Development in East Bengal, Background Paper No. 1, by Manzoor, International Council for Educational Development, 1972.

48/ Education: Reorientation of UNICEF policy, EXPRO 208 of 25 August 1972

49/ E/ICEF/SR/447, 3 May 1973.

50/ Ibid.

51/ General Progress Report of the Executive Director, Part 2 E/ICEF/637, April 1975.

52/ Flow of External Aid to Education at the Primary School Level and to Non-formal Education and UNICEF Participation, E/ICEF/L.1358, February 19.

53/ UNESCO, 100/Ex/SP/RAP/2, Part 11.

54/ ED79/WS/116 1979.

55/ UNESCO 21C/3 pages 70 and 71.

56/ Citations are from the UNDP documents DP/R.11 pages 11 and 12 and G 340 0-2 of September 1976.

57/ In 1976 the Director of the International Institute of Educational Planning in his introductory statement to the Institute's annual seminar for field experts and their counterparts summarized much of current thinking on educational planning by stating:

> "The conventional models of a sequential, consecutive process means constructing a policy stage first and moving into some kind of evaluation. I do not believe this is an adequate model for the process by which educational decisions are made and implemented. There is need for a more holistic conception of the interplay between policy, planning and administration."

For a certain time (as a carryover from its excursion into the economic aspects of its work during the sixties) there was hope in UNICEF that it could play an important part in the planning of programmes for children as part of national plans. But the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development reflected the specialist thinking on this subject when its Director wrote in 1974 (in its publication "Research Notes", No.4, pp. 14-26) the concepts and methods of conventional planning, however appropriate in some contexts do not extend readily to the relations between economic and social factors and to development as a whole". UNICEF's hopes as to comprehensive planning for children were largely unrealized, especially in view of the additional difficulties attached to making comprehensive national plans for a particular age group of the population. The emphasis of UNRISD was a "capacitation activity", that is to say, on increasing a society's capacity to generate or respond to economic and social change instead of detailed planning. This has also been an important aspect of UNICEF's operations.

58/ UNESCO/UNICEF Cooperation, Prospects Vol. XIII, No.4.

59/ From a UNICEF Headquarters memo to Field Offices, 2 September 1976, FO/55.

60/ Assessment of the Application of UNICEF Policies in Education, E/ICEF/L.1408, May 1980; Survey of Basic Education and of UNICEF's Cooperation in Education in the East Africa Region, E/ICEF/CRP/80-13, May 1980. See also Report of the UNICEF Executive Board Session E/ICEF/673 para.97-115, May 1980.

61/ Report of UNICEF Executive Board, May 1986 session, paragraphs 81-82.

62/ World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 405, 1980.

63/ See the annual reports of the OECD Development Assistance Committee during the 1970s; for detailed statistics see "Working Papers on Educational Cooperation with Developing Countries" by H.M. Phillips issued in Working Paper Series of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York.

64/ HIST 45/Rev.I, Page 12, "Main Trends in UNICEF's Policy: 1947-1980", UNICEF History Project, HIST.45/Rev.1, January 1986.

65/ "Meeting the Basic Needs of the Rural Poor", ed. Philip Coombs, Pergamon Press, New York 1980, Page 12.

See also UNICEF documents:

Declaration on a long-term policy for children in relation to the Development Decade (E/ICEF/454/Rev.1)

Children in the Second Development Decade: priorities for planning and action (E/ICEF/627, April 1973)

Women, children, and development (E/ICEF/L.1409)

Assessment of projects for the education and training of women and girls for family and community life (E/ICEF/L.1275, 1970)

Medium-Term Plan for 1983-87 (E/ICEF/1984/3)

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SELECTED READING LIST

UNICEF

See the reports of UNICEF Executive Board sessions mentioned and the documentation and publications referred to in the list of footnotes appended to the text of the monograph.

See also the UNICEF report on The State of the World's Children made in 1981 which has since been compiled annually; and A Strategy for Basic Services, 1977.

UNESCO (including UNESCO/UNICEF Cooperative Programme where indicated)

The child's right to education. Ed. G. Mialaret, UNESCO, 1979.

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