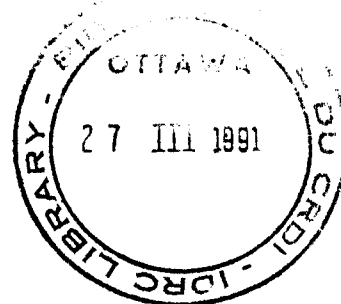


**SEEKING NEW PARADIGMS TO PLAN EDUCATION FOR  
DEVELOPMENT. THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH**

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## SEEKING NEW PARADIGMS TO PLAN EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT. THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

### Introduction

During the last two decades, educational planning has been unable to regain the level of relative confidence that it enjoyed in the past. Several factors have contributed to the erosion of the effectiveness of planning as a tool for the development of education. These include a technocratic outlook of development processes, a naive view of the power of education, recurrent economic and political crises, and a growing emphasis on a neo-classical economic approach to finding solutions to social problems. This has been aggravated by the theoretical and practical exhaustion of current development paradigms which exacerbate the contradictions, in the role of key social institutions such as the State and the school, and in their relationships with the society at large.

How much is known about the structural nature of these factors, what are their longer-term effects on education and development, and how such knowledge can be used to re-conceptualize the role of educational planning are questions which require closer study. However, central to the answers that could emerge, remains the more fundamental question about how to re-establish the linkages between research and decision-making.

Current development trends suggest that in the future education will be considerably more complex than in the past. The quality of the information on development and education available to planners and policy-makers must be examined to determine what type of educational planning will be needed in the future, for what type of education, and in what development context. How much do planners know about the relationships of correspondence and contradiction determining the development process at the international, national and local levels?, how do planners relate such information to the framework of education?, how reliable and up-to-date is the information being used for planning and decision-making?, how and how much of such information is actually utilized?, and how aware are planners of the most recent

diagnostic and evaluative research carried out outside the realm of their immediate spheres of influence? are all questions that need to be carefully investigated.

This paper will address some of these issues. It will look at the basic assumptions in the relationship between planning and educational research. Using examples from the research environment in Latin America, it will discuss the spectrum of alternatives available to re-establishing a more effective relation between research and educational policy-planning.

### Broadening the Scope of Educational Planning

Projecting our understanding of educational planning into the future, requires examining the effectiveness of the methods of inquiry being used by educational planners, and the ways in which knowledge produced by research feeds into policy-planning. Despite the overwhelming quantity of information available, the gap between the relevance of the knowledge influencing the planning process and the concrete conditions of education in developing societies seems to be widening. It also seems that the transfer of information between researchers and planners continues to be ineffective, particularly in peripheral countries. In fact, it is not unusual to find that local research efforts often receive less attention than studies carried outside these countries' borders.

This phenomenon is a combined effect of several factors. Research for planning purposes has been perceived primarily as macro analyses and empirical in nature. It has focused on the efficiency of education as a system (its infrastructure, financing, administration, scope), on the effectiveness of the delivery process (teaching methods, auxiliary materials), or on the impact of its content (achievement, behaviour modification, skill acquisition). To some extent, this situation has arisen in response, first, to the needs of central planning structures to have a broad perspective rather than to focus upon specific "pictures" of education. Views about how education is performing in holistic terms tend to be considered more suitable to decision-making processes at the national level. Second, it has arisen in response to the

demands of international funding sources, which are constantly seeking world views of the problems of development and their solutions.

An additional problem has been the conceptualization of priorities in education by both researchers and policy-makers. The gap in communication between these two groups has led not only to the identification of different areas and targets for research, but also to give different degrees of importance to existing research results.

An assumption often made has been that research for planning requires a solid technical capacity that can be found almost exclusively among large government departments or in networks of international experts. In the mist of comparative macro views of the developing world, the indigenous research capacity developed in these countries over the last two decades remains largely under-utilized. This, in spite of the fact that the information produced by local researchers is, in many cases, better tuned to the problems eroding the effectiveness and efficiency of education, and richer and more innovative in terms of policy recommendations. There is thus an urgent need to broaden the scope of planning in reference to its research input.

#### Looking at the micro level

There seems to be consensus that a more precise understanding of the socio-political and economic challenges that will arise over the next two decades in the Third World is critical to determining the future role and impact of educational planning upon social change. Reaching such understanding requires our updating the information base supporting our views about education. There is a need to review the limits of formal education in the context of the current development crisis; to determine the capacity of impact of nonformal education; to identify the lessons learned from community based and grass-roots educational innovations; to assess the effectiveness of out-of-school technical-vocational alternatives; and to know more about the rationale and mechanisms of the planning process in non-centralized settings. This information base could provide planners and policy-makers with the relevant, down-to-earth feedback necessary to conceptualize, apply and critically

examine the theory and practice of educational planning. At the same time, it could allow them to deal with the limits imposed by the lack of resources, short-term political agendas, and isolation from the everyday practice of education.

Throughout Latin America, there is a rich array of experiences in formal and nonformal education which remains outside the main stream of the information flows reaching the planning and policy-making processes at the national level. The potential of low-cost innovations on community-based pre-school education, locally adapted programs on adult basic education, new teaching practices in rural schools, inexpensive teacher training methods, community managed skill-development initiatives, and culturally relevant teaching and learning materials is seldom recognized.

Planners are often unaware of such experiences. Diagnostic and evaluative research done about these type of practices remain unused or is simply not considered relevant or sufficiently technical for macro policy purposes. However, in practical terms, these experiences and this type of research are the sources that can provide decision-makers with valuable information about the innovative praxis of education. How planners and policy-makers can access and utilize such information generated at the micro level is an issue that needs to be addressed. In doing so, the tradition of educational planning must be taken into account.

#### The weight of a development tradition

The 1950s and 1960s was a period in which most governments in Latin America reviewed their development strategies. This responded primarily to rising internal socio-political demands. However, external pressures from bilateral and multilateral donor countries and development agencies were important intervening factors. Through the funding of major development projects they contributed to the consolidation of spheres of political influence.<sup>1</sup>

Most countries at that time began to feel the effects of modernization in the forms of rapid population and urban growth.<sup>2</sup> One of the implications of these

phenomena was the growth in demands from middle and lower class sectors for a stronger service infrastructure. The political emphasis on modernization, in some countries still tinted by populist connotations,<sup>3</sup> was also a factor in rising social demand for more and better education, health services and employment.<sup>4</sup> Development policies, particularly in countries with a relatively higher income per capita, were driven by the assumption that stable economic growth was attainable through rapid industrialization (Sunkel and Paz, 1970: 43-97).

Although industrialization diversified the productive structure, it did not reduce the dependence of Latin American economies. Nor did it result in the anticipated self-sustained growth.<sup>5</sup> Industrialization only slightly improved the socio-economic standards of the rural and the urban poor (Chilcote and Johnson, 1983). For them, income redistribution, employment, housing, health, nutrition, education and the general level of consumption suffered little change. By 1970, countries in the region were spending the equivalent of only 14.5 percent of what developed countries spent on education per inhabitant (Unesco, 1985). This situation had not changed by the mid-seventies, particularly in terms of expenditures in elementary education per student compared with industrialized countries (World Bank, 1980).

In political terms, education was a panacea to resolve some of the critical problems of development. As in most developing countries, governments in the region were convinced of the benefits of investing in schooling (Tilak, 1982: 108). In making these societies more modern, key assumptions were made by parents, teachers, politicians, planners and policy-makers about the "power" of education to bring about changes that would increase social equality and participation. The school was viewed not only as a channel to transmit knowledge and train skilled workers and managers, but also as a means of upward mobility for the poor. Education was to lead the redefinition of individuals' values and attitudes, and ultimately to change their socio-political behaviour and performance as producers and citizens (Carnoy, Torres *et al.*, 1985; Zachariah, 1985; IIEP, 1985; Apple, 1982; Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Social equality and the development of human resources became central to the rhetoric of educational expansion, in the attempts to introduce curriculum innovations, and in the donors' rationale to financing educational development. The aim of governments was to find pragmatic alternatives to reduce socio-political pressures on the State, and to deal with emerging popular projects that gave a new emphasis to social development and participation. In such a context, educational planning was a means to secure the achievement of the State's objectives in education. A seminar organized by the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning in 1965, outlined the rationale for planning as a tool for development that predominated until the mid-seventies. Planning was described as "an instrument that operates at a pure technical level." It was believed that "under its action the real problems of Latin American development could be easily solved." (ILPES, 1966: 5). As a technique, planning was applied as if it were independent of the political ideology to which development strategies and policies respond.<sup>6</sup> The State, through its main social institutions, attempted to ensure that individuals acquired the "modern values" deemed necessary for these countries to achieve higher levels of economic growth.<sup>7</sup>

However, the criteria on which the planning of education was based, the paradigms and methods applied in the interpretation of broader social and economic development issues, and the outcomes that ensued were heavily influenced by the contradictions within the State bureaucracies in which planners were functioning. In practice, educational planning was a political control mechanism rather than a policy tool. It allowed politicians to achieve short-term educational objectives as well as to rationalize and legitimize decisions, to reinforce or to gain popular support, and to justify strategies and actions aimed at strengthening political positions.<sup>8</sup>

These factors have played an important role determining the type and sources of information required for planning. Basic diagnostic research to identify the needs to which educational plans should respond focused primarily on areas of concern to the political objectives of the government in power. Often, these were problem-areas which, provided the proper solution, had the potential to attract mass political support and minimize dissent. Micro

initiatives, usually more geographically focused, did not feed into the planning process. A similar situation took place in regard to evaluative research. In most cases, planners not only considered quantitatively oriented assessments which could provide the "hard" data to support policy decision to be more reliable, they were also more comfortable with such assessments. Thus specific evaluations which focused on ethnographic and political economy approaches were often discarded.

These factors were also determinant in the selection of the sources of such information. Producers of information who were considered not to be politically reliable by government were simply not approached. In societies with politically repressive regimes, this criteria excluded the majority of institutions and researchers related to the social sciences. And in most countries, where the higher education systems have been traditionally struggling for resources, universities played little or no role in the generation of knowledge for policy-planning.

Conceptually, educational planning has involved a double dynamic. First, it has been an instrument to maximize the "formal rationale" of the role of education systems by optimizing the relationships between educational development means and objectives. Second, it has been a mechanism to enhance the "material or substantive rationale" of development, or the relationships between educational goals and the political and economic changes required for their achievement. Educational planning was expected to bring together these two types of rationale connecting technical and political factors. Planning was perceived to be

"a technique for the selection of means and ends according to a norm. As a technique, that is to say as a series of procedures for action, planning is neutral: neither good nor bad in an ethical sense. It can, although, be effective or ineffective, it may lead to the achievement of desired objectives. In order to do so, it has to fulfil three pre-requisites: (a) to demonstrate that the goals are realistic, that is to say that they are possible to be achieved; (b) to ensure that the means are the best available to achieve those goals, or at least that they are effective; and (c) to prove that goals and means are compatible" (Ahumada, 1972: 35).

This view of planning also reflects, very accurately, the role that indirectly was assigned to research. Social inquiry was not a way of critically looking at society and at the results of development plans, but rather a means to



reinforce decisions made on a political ground. Activities carried out outside the spheres of influence of government had the risk of being politically sensitive, even if they had proven to be successful at the grass-roots level. Many initiatives on popular education, literacy and community political education fell in this category. This excluded important experimental and evaluative research considered too radical in its outlook of social equality or popular participation. Important experiences in rural-peasants education, work with Indian communities, and alternative ways to integrate the school and the community seldom attracted the attention of planners dealing with the macro system.

In practice, therefore, the use of educational planning was

"in many ways, a prime example of a form of legitimization that sustains an existing structure of political authority and power not through normative principles but through a set of procedural conventions" (Weiler, 1985: 394).

#### A crisis of paradigms

Planning has been expected to perform a series of tasks. Central to all these tasks has been the re-assignment of human and material resources and the distribution of goods and services according to short-term development priorities. Planning has a role in the formulation and implementation of sectoral policies in education, in the forecasting of manpower needs, and in the investment and allocation of human capital resources (World Bank, 1980: 46-53). It has also been expected to generate a rational dynamic of decision-making within the system. With such a portfolio, national planning offices have been important actors in controlling the developmental role of education. However, their effectiveness in providing strategic direction over the long-term is questionable.

The poor strategic capacity of educational planning became evident when some basic assumptions of the development model prevailing in the region until the mid-seventies began to crumble. To the traditional political instability was added the breakdown of democratic systems and the installation of authoritarian regimes. The service oriented approach to basic needs shifted

towards the glorification of the market as a natural instrument for socio-economic equilibrium. The hopes of economic "take-off" were shattered by the impact of the external debt and the world economic crisis. The traditional role of the State, as provider and mediator, changed through decentralization and privatization. And the expectations about the power of education were clouded by the realization that the gap between credentials and employment remained wide for the generations that had gone through the education system.

All these events, appearing in a rapid succession over a relatively short period of time, brought into the open the weak foundations of educational planning. Planning had not been able to identify the earlier signs of the development crisis. The flow of information reaching different levels of planning became rapidly outdated. Governments' short-term priorities, availability of funds, and limited in-house research capacity were some of the factors affecting the type, quality and relevance of the information on which plans were built. Policy-makers accepted that as long as education was planned taking into account technically reliable trends determining the direction of the development process, the socio-economic effectiveness of education was protected.

In this environment, research for educational planning has remained diagnostic at the macro level, forecasting the development process within a framework of economic indicators (Klees, 1986: 574-607). The level of government research in planning has been low, its production slow, and its output costly (Prawda, 1984). When decentralization of education has been set as an objective, planning has become isolated leading to uncoordinated actions in which research plays a limited or no role.

The growing contradictions between the expected results of planning and the concrete outcomes of development show how little attention was given to three factors critical to educational planning. These are: (a) the assessment of the existing planning capacity at different levels of government, and particularly the quality of available means to gather, retrieve and analyze up-to-date information; (b) the criteria used to assign a planning role to government departments vis-a-vis their capacity to retrieve and utilize the

results of research being done by institutions outside government; and (c) the need to establish connections with the variety of research groups carrying out diagnostic and evaluative research at the micro level.

As the models of development in the region faced a crisis of definition, and the gains in the economic arena began to disappear, educational planning became even more technocratic and more strongly tied to the neo-conservative goals of economic development.<sup>9</sup> Scholars have argued that the political culture, dominated by a sense of immediacy and by a raw sort of pragmatism, focused on intermediate problems affecting the political system while ignoring the terminal problems affecting the social system (Matus, 1987: 160).

Educational planning reflected once again the contradictions between "speed" and "direction" that have confronted these societies throughout the development process. The approaches taken to education in the eighties have lacked the long-term direction required to strengthen socio-political and economic sustainability beyond the capacity of the State to control social unrest.<sup>10</sup> The development of education continues to take place without a popular base to sustain an expansion heavily dependent on the unequal distribution and use of available resources. Planning education for development continues to be divorced from an egalitarian development strategy. At a time when societies are involved in the painful process of defining a basic social project and seeking mechanisms to gain political democracy and economic stability, educational planning is yet one more instrument contributing to the transition of these societies toward associated-dependent development.

One research option to consider for making planning more development effective for the poorest sectors in the nineteen-nineties, is to explore alternatives by which to incorporate institutions and groups outside government as a permanent feedback mechanism within the planning process. If this approach appears feasible, the challenge then is to determine not only what type of educational planning is required for development in the future, but also how the current planning structures can be made more flexible and permeable to the accumulated knowledge that exists in the society.<sup>11</sup>

### A Framework from which to Plan the Future of Education

The effectiveness of the school in selecting, retaining, and certifying the new generation of workers continues to be a central concern among those demanding and supplying education. Formal education is still the main channel to facilitate the strengthening of the civil society, the reconstruction of a stable and democratic political system, and the development of an indigenous scientific and technological capacity. In countries with a large proportion of rural and Indian populations, nonformal education and literacy have the additional task of achieving social participation among the masses.

Thirty years of planning education according to a view of development that replicates modernization paradigms of societies in the North, have not been as successful as expected. Objectives such as universal education and literacy, the possibility of reaching a balanced pattern of expenditures among different levels of the system, and the attempts to make education relevant to the world of work and to the changing trends in science and technology have not been fully achieved. For the poorest sectors of these societies, educational policies have not made the system more egalitarian in the distribution of knowledge, less discriminatory among social classes, more instrumental in creating the new scientific and technological cadres, or more efficient in performing the functions that educational planners and educational policy-makers had in mind.

Despite the large amount of resources allocated to education, and the attempts to maintain control over the changes occurring in the school systems, greater accessibility to education has not resulted in increased political participation, enhanced social mobility, or reduced tensions between the State and the civil society.<sup>12</sup> Although a higher number of children have access to basic education, more teachers are serving the growing number of students, more textbooks and educational materials are available, and better equipment has been introduced in the classrooms, there is still a wide gap between quantity and quality of education. Most of the benefits of the educational expansion have accrued to children from large urban centres and from middle to upper income families. Schools in marginal and in rural areas still face high

dropout rates, a paucity of teachers and textbooks, poor facilities, and general isolation.<sup>13</sup>

The expansion of primary schooling and the attempts to make basic education available to a larger number of children continue to respond first to political priorities seeking to reach wider sectors of the population representing political clienteles. The democratic effects of education have been limited to access into the system but have not reached the capacity of the school to retain students beyond the first years of primary education, or to prepare those who survive to enter the world of work. The limited success in widening participation in society has resulted in even greater demands to eliminate inequality in the distribution of educational opportunities as an integral part of social reforms.<sup>14</sup>

In countries such as those in Latin America, characterized by strong class differences, profound ethnic and cultural traditions, and deep inequalities in the distribution of wealth and political power, education planned for social modernization continues to deepen existing social and economic differences.

The planning of education has taken place within a pattern of development that

"despite its undoubted successes, also had limitations and problems, which were reflected in structural unemployment and underemployment, critical poverty, differences in productivity and income, and an asymmetrical structure of international relations together with a heavy dependence on external events over which the region has no control." (González, 1987:9).

#### **Trends dominating the approach to educational planning**

The approaches applied in educational planning in Latin America have not lead policy-makers to design and strategically orient educational reforms and innovations that are conducive to a process of self-sustained development. The theory, techniques and instruments of planning have not been well adapted to operate with the resources available, and within the conditions and circumstances determining development in the region.

At the theoretical level, the efforts to plan education have been framed in a technocratic rationale of neo-classical economic efficiency (Psacharopoulos,

1986), and a naive rhetoric about reaching and benefiting the poor, without looking at the inherent ideological contradictions that this implies. To a large extent this is promoted by the formal discourse of dominant lending institutions. Their influence has been considerable important given the dependence of these countries upon external financial resources to plan and implement changes in education. Planning of manpower requirements, for example, has been one of the governments' initiatives for securing the badly needed external funds to support educational change and expansion (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985:99-102). In 1980, the World Bank estimated that approximately nine percent of developing countries budgets allocated to education were supported through external assistance.<sup>15</sup> This situation continues in the 1980s showing the precarious base of education in the region. Even in the mid-eighties, external assistance represented a major source of funds for developing countries' education programs (OECD, 1984). It in many cases, the short-term relationships between costs and political benefits in the national and international arena are the factors that determine the criteria for policy decisions.

In practice, there has not been a balanced attempt to find a participatory developmental rationale to simultaneously assist governments in solving immediate problems and in looking at medium and long-term challenges, while establishing means to integrate the most disadvantaged sectors into the main stream of society. Those expecting to see a more effective role of planning in education within this framework have ignored two central characteristics of the decision-making practice in the development context. The first is that in class societies, public policy formation in education, as in many other development areas, responds primarily to priority needs for higher political effectiveness. Thus, they are not exclusively formulated in response to demands for more and better education of those who need it the most, but rather of those holding and sharing power in the net of given social relations. The second is that the relationship between supply and demand for education in societies with structurally dependent economies is not regulated by the same logic of natural equilibrium attributed to the market as assumed by neo-conservative economics of education.

Further research needs to be done on the developmental rationale underlying the theoretical framework in which planning is applied. Research is also needed on the potential long-term benefits that could come out of current policies advocating decentralization as a means to reduce the burden on the State of financing and administering education. Given that the present conditions of widespread socio-economic and political crisis in the region will remain unchanged for several years to come,<sup>16</sup> it is also necessary to examine the extent to which the traditional State can continue to be a viable agent for providing the resources to finance the heavy costs of social change. This implies that alternatives that are taking place at levels other than those immediately controlled by the State must be explored and evaluated.

Little attention has also been paid to another characteristic of planning in these countries. The State constantly seeks the means to legitimize its mediating role under conditions of political instability and economic dependence. This often results in the formulation and implementation of policies in education that respond to immediate economic objectives rather than to the recommendations of social research. This explains in part why after years of investment in education, the urban poor and the rural population still remain marginal to the benefits of formal education, while nonformal alternatives outside the scope of the State show higher rates of success.

The way in which educational planning has been applied, following in many cases the narrow technical expertise of institutions financing educational development, has provided the techno-political elites with a vehicle to legitimize political positions and maintain conditions of hegemonic ideological control. Planning has been useful to regulate the functioning of the educational systems, determine the process of human resources development, and maintain control over distributive policy directions associated with the capitalist mode of production. Educational planning has served to justify as technically sound, decisions to accommodate education to the changes in the economic and political structure. It has failed, however, in developing a flexible pool of human resources to form a scientific and technical infrastructure. It has also failed in building a system of education that

could rapidly adapt itself to an evolving world economic environment within which the region is today one of the larger net exporters of financial resources in the developing world.

Planning has been instrumental in legitimizing a view of social change as an aseptic process of social evolution linked to the growing capacity of the most dynamic sectors of the economy but unaffected by the contradictions in equality, equity and participation in the society at large. Educational planning has been understood as an end in itself, a rationale which results from a mechanistic, problem-solving approach to social and economic conflicts. Planners have ignored the fact that the technical assessment of a given development situation, the estimates about its possible evolution, and the identification, design and implementation of alternative solutions to development problems are all processes deeply rooted in the conflicts among social classes.

This view of development issues has been reinforced by international organizations "playing safe" by emphasizing a separation between technical solutions to social problems and the political circumstances surrounding them. Planning, in this regard, has viewed development and social change as a phenomenon that can be externally influenced, oriented and stimulated, rather than as a dialectical process resulting from local socio-political dynamics. Research on the political economy of education focusing on these issues is urgently needed.

This understanding of the role of planning is also reinforced by a view of education as a process intended to guide the socio-psychological growth of children, rather than as a means of transmitting and reproducing a dominant ideology. In the technocratic approach to planning education for development two key factors have been overlooked. The first is that planning is an organic technical tool. That is to say that the logic of educational planning as a technique, and its use in the context of the political structure of the State, serves primarily to direct the evolution and role of education according to the dominant ideas at a particular point in time. The second is that the primary purpose of planning as an instrument of the State is to give



homogeneity to the rationale determining the economic and political practice of the power structure in the achievement of its development objectives.

### Connecting Research to Educational Planning

Throughout this paper reference has been made to the lack of cohesion that exists in the region between educational research done outside the spheres of influence of the State and the main stream planning process. This section will review briefly some relevant cases. They reflect to a large extent the national conditions within which the main actors in the research process are operating. They have in common, however, the fact that although they have been relatively successful they are still largely ignored by policy-makers.

#### Low cost innovations in pre-school education

One of the areas in education perhaps most often overlooked in planning education for development has been pre-primary education. In most cases, although the political importance of pre-school education is repeatedly recognized by governments, in practice its effective implementation is costly and politically sensitive.

The Centro de Estudios y Atención del Niño y la Mujer (CEANIM), a non-governmental research institution in Chile, has developed and tested over the years a community based pre-school system that relies on parents and community participation (Kotliarenco et al., 1988). Two main stages comprises the research carry out by CEANIM. The first was a comparative analysis of alternative models of pre-school education. The second focused on an evaluation of the experiences of the Centros Comunitarios de Atención al Pre-escolar (CCAPs). The latter are community managed pre-schools developed and implemented by CEANIM in marginal urban areas of Santiago.

The CCAPs are community pre-schools which have as a main feature the integration of the children's mothers in the management and administration of the school as well as in the educational activities. In such a context,

mothers play a key role in the teaching-learning process taking place at the classroom level, with the assistance of pre-school teachers. The aim is to involve more directly the children's families in their cognitive and socio-affective development.

Following a quasi-experimental design, the research assessed the effectiveness of different models of pre-school education, including the CCAPs, using groups of children from low socio-economic backgrounds. Several aspects were highlighted by the study. Alternatives which directly involve mothers in the education of their children are substantially less expensive and more effective in the overall administration of the programs compared to regular pre-school models. This was reflected in the management of the schools as well as in the number of children per adult (teacher). At the level of classroom communication, it was also found that the CCAPs present advantages over other types of pre-school approaches, in terms of the relationships between parents and teachers, and among parents. With regard to child development, it was found that children whose mothers were directly involved in their education showed a higher level of psychomotor and emotional development when compared to children in other types of pre-schools.

Following this experience, CEANIM has continued experimenting to improve the CCAP model. The number of CCAPs has been increased, thus reaching other marginal communities in the country. Efforts also have been made to disseminate information about this experience throughout the region.

#### **Seeking alternatives in education for indigenous populations**

The emphasis of planning on the state-of-practice of the formal education system in its different modalities often results in little attention being given to research on basic primary education for children and adults of ethnic minorities. In most cases, it is assumed that these important sectors of the population are served through the regular formal system. However, existing evidence indicates that these sectors are the most severely affected by educational inequality in terms of access, attrition and quality.

The Centro Andino de Acción Popular (CAAP), in Ecuador; the Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos (CPES), in Paraguay, and the Corporación Educativa MACAC also in Ecuador have made important contributions to the research on the bilingual education of Indian communities. These non-governmental research centres have carried out extensive work on formal and nonformal education being delivered to these sectors of the population. They have examined the effects of mono-lingual Spanish primary education on student achievement, social integration and cultural development. They have also studied the effects of Indian languages on the capacity of children and adults to communicate and to integrate the traditional and modern culture in their everyday lives and the impact of education upon this capacity.

Particularly important is the research done by the Corporación Educativa MACAC in Ecuador on adult literacy. Extensive studies have been done on Quechua speaking communities and the relevance of developing educational materials that integrate the traditional culture into the educational processes. After several years this work is beginning to receive recognition and is now expected to play a key role in the new literacy campaign being implemented by the Ecuadorian government.

#### Integrating education and work

Despite the fact that research on technical-vocational education has been perhaps one of the areas that has traditionally received the most attention in terms of the planning of education, such research has focused primarily on large scale, national vocational training programs. Research on more focus specific alternatives to integrating education and production has not enjoyed the same success in reaching policy-makers.

The Consejo de Educación de Adultos de América Latina (CEAAL), based in Chile has done pioneering research in education in cooperatives. A regional organization, CEAAL has carried out comparative research in five countries in Latin America to study the conditions that exist in cooperatives for the education of their members. These studies have provided adult educators concerned about basic primary education and vocational training with an

overview of the advantages of integrating education and work at the workplace. Although the research has found that cooperative organizations are often plagued by economic and political constraints, in those cases where minimum conditions for their operations take place, they offer an effective environment for the implementation of educational innovations which respond more directly to the needs of low income sectors of the population and the training needs of low-skilled production workers.

This research has been successful in documenting an area which has received little attention from educators. It has also shown the need to further explore educational alternatives that could be participatory in nature and community based.

#### Providing basic information to planners

It has been argued that at the core of the relationship between educational planning and research is the flow and quality of information reaching policy-makers. The experience indicates that in some countries there is a rich accumulation of knowledge and information that seldom reaches planners.

The Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación (PIIE), in Chile is in the process of developing a mechanism that will not only gather information through research on issues relevant to educational policy, but will also be capable of organizing and presenting such information in a format that can be easily retrieved by policy-planners. This experience involves the creation of a system by which the priorities and concerns of policy-makers and planners can be transmitted to researchers, and by which the results of research can be fed back into the planning process in a form that does not obstruct their utilization.

This is one of the few attempts in the region of a non government research institution to assume as one of its priorities, the implementation of such a system.<sup>17</sup> If successful, this experiment could serve as a model for other institutions in the region.

## Conclusion

The relationships between development and educational planning in developing countries have been analyzed from different perspectives. These views show that educational planning rests on the belief that the correlation between education and development is positive. Education is considered to have direct influence on the socio-economic well-being of low income sectors, economic efficiency and productivity, and political development and participation. However, no single approach in education, or in the social sciences, has been able to generate a reliable theoretical framework to understand how these relationships take place in the context of underdeveloped social formations, or to identify the most effective strategies that can be used to control the contradictions taking place between education and development.

Latin American societies are no exception. As a result of the predominance of different and conflicting development tendencies, the developmental role of educational planning has received a variety of social, political and economic interpretations. The core ideological base of educational planning has been influenced by the economic rationale regulating the functions of the capitalist mode of production. The differences in approaches to planning education have been the result of both the indigenous understanding of the process of national development, and political strategies that have emerged in response to changes in the relationships between developed and developing societies at the international level.

Educational development in these societies over the past four decades, and the emphasis given to schooling as a central pillar in the process of modernization, have not taken place independently of the cyclical political and economic crises affecting these countries. At the economic level, governments have directed their educational strategies towards achieving objectives of industrialization and technological modernization that could lead these societies towards a more stable process of economic growth opening the doors to self-reliance.

At the social level, changes in education have taken place as part of a global effort to reduce marginality among large sectors of the population. At the political level, the attempts to change education have been led by hopes of transformation of traditional channels for political participation. Two questions usually become central to the process of policy formation directed towards changing the role of education in society: who should be the primary target to receive the benefits of education, and how can the State design, implement and control the political and economic role of education without jeopardizing interest sectors and without deepening the conditions for potential social unrest.

Answers to these question has been traditionally found in the use of educational planning as a technique that ensures efficiency, provide a sense of order, and reduce educational and social inequality to an apparently neutral ground. Two assumptions have been central to this approach. The first implies that educational planning is a non-ideological technique based on scientific principles that are neutral and independent from the political and economic contradictions in society. The second assumption implies that planning is not affected by the relations of contradiction and correspondence that exist in the society, and that planners can function independently from the power structure to which they belong. Both assumptions deal with planning as an aseptic technocratic instrument detached from the development conflicts that exist in society.

The success or failure of educational planning in the future will be not only an outcome of the ways in which planning is conceptualized as a technique, but also the results of the inherent problems of economic and political stability that the region will continue facing. Politically, the processes of policy formation in Latin America will continue suffering from the conflicts of power characterizing the structure of the State in the region.

Given current development trends, both regionally and internationally, the chances are that the process of public policy planning will be far more complex and contradictory in the future. This responds in part to variety of interests which government will be forced to represent to minimize social

conflicts. In these societies, the ideological diversity among the power groups competing for the control of the State, both in economic and political terms, is greater than those found in developing societies. The development of education, the formulation of policies and the planning process in the case of the latter, tend to represent a more uniform spectrum of interests. It also tend to maintain the status quo rather than to polarize contradictions and produce radical changes in the distribution of power and wealth.

Because developing societies do not evolve according to this paradigm, the process of policy formation becomes a conduit between extreme political alternatives aiming at sometimes opposite development goals over relatively short periods of time. In such a context, developing societies are often faced with profound changes in the development role of their basic institutions, including the State and the education system, in order to achieve short-term development objectives. Research to document these changes help to project planning into the future. Without and effective link between research and planning, planning education becomes limited exercise which responds to the most immediate pressures facing those formulating and implementing policies.

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## NOTES

1. At the time, many countries of the region were feeling the impact of development strategies heavily dependent on foreign aid. Among the strong modernization values of these strategies were the emphases on increasing social participation and democracy. These promoted a slow shift of national political strategies towards more liberal reforms. This was not the case in Brazil and Chile before the military interventions in 1964 and 1973 respectively were an example in this regard.

2. During this period, only seven from among twenty countries in the region had a urban growth of less than 10 percent, while five others had a growth between 25 and 32 percent.

3. Alain Touraine in his book Actores Sociales y Sistemas Politicos en America Latina presents a systematic analysis of the trends and conditions affecting the development of the region, particularly in terms of the power relations affecting decision-making.

4. Public expenditures on education alone, grew from 3.4 percent of gross national product in 1970 to 4.2 percent in 1980 (Unesco, 1985).

5. Scholars have argued that over the years these trends shifted modernization towards the model of associated-dependent development that exists today in countries such as Argentina, Mexico and Brazil (Chilcote and Edelstein, 1974: 1-87; Evans, 1979; Bonilla and Girling, 1973; Cardoso, 1973).

6. Jorge Ahumada, former member of the IMF and Director of the Economic Development Division of ECLA at the time, argued that "a planner cannot determine by himself social objectives. He always works for an economic system, for a form of social organization and for a political structure. Planning thus has a purely technical character, neutral, and it cannot be considered as attached to a given political, economic or social system" (1972: 4).

7. The modernization theory was "based on the notion that there is a direct causal link between five sets of variables, namely, modernizing institutions, modern values, modern behaviour, modern society and economic development." (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983: 16)

8. An example of the use of educational planning as an integral political tool were both the educational reform implemented in Chile in the late sixties during the government of Eduardo Frei, and the planning of the Escuela Nacional Unificada, ENU, during the government of Salvador Allende.

9. Countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay are a prime example of these changes. An illustration of the implicit assumptions of neo-conservative economics is found in Alejandro Foxley, Latin American Experiments in Neo-Conservative Economics. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

10. Government approaches were influenced by political pressures to maintain economic growth under a deepening economic crisis produced by a growing external debt. The effects of the region's debt on the efforts to achieve rapid growth, modernization and controlled social mobilization have been devastating and the attempts to reduce the gap between developed and developing societies at the international level, and between lower and upper classes in the national scenarios, have been largely unsuccessful. Despite these facts, development and the expansion of social services, including education, continue without the political and economical base to sustain an expansion heavily dependent on the unequal distribution and use of resources.

11. The problems presented by the "crisis" affecting Latin American countries in the 1980's has been profusely discussed from the point of view of its economic implications associated to the external debt problem (Foxley, 1983). For an analysis of the effects of the crisis on the social sciences, see Morales-Gómez, D. "La situación de crisis y el papel de las ciencias sociales en el desarrollo de América Latina", in David y Goliat, Revista del Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, XVI, n. 50, December, 1986, pp. 60-66.

12. A prime example of this situation is found in the role of university and secondary school students in Chile. Despite the strong intervention of the military State in education, the government has not been able to bring about political support, and the universities and secondary schools are becoming, once again, important agents for the expression of demands for social change.

13. A recent report prepared by the Center for Educational Studies in Mexico argues that between 1980 and 1986 only fifty two percent of primary school children succeeded in the school system, and that over the last ten years the dropout rate has increased from 10.3 percent in 1976 to 10.6 percent in 1986.

14. Between 1970 and 1982, public expenditures on education in the region grew from 3.4 to 4.4 percent of the gross national product. However, at the end of this period, that still remained 1.7 percent below the expenditures of the developing world. Although public expenditures per inhabitant in 1982 in the region were three times higher than the average for developing societies, they still were 4.7 times lower than those of developed countries. In fact, public expenditures per inhabitant in primary education in the region fell approximately 45 percent in real terms between 1970 and 1978 (World Bank, 1984).

15. This situation did not change during the first half of the 1980's. Today external assistance still represents a major source of funds for developing countries' education programs (OECD, 1984). At the same time, the larger proportion of funds being allocated by developing countries to research in education originates in donor agencies.

16. Norberto Gonzalez, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America indicated in his opening remarks to the International Colloquium on New Directions for Development Planning in Market Economies, that "we are currently experiencing the most severe and prolonged crisis of the last fifty years, which has forced us to undertake a thorough reassessment of many of our long-standing assumptions concerning development. This reassessment cover both long-term development strategies and short-term economic policies on the

one hand, and the role of the economic agents and the manner in which they operate, on the other." (CEPAL Review, 31, April 1987: 9)

17. The other successful experience in the region is the REDUC network.