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Community Schools in Developing Countries: A Typology

Mark Lynd

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Community Schools in Developing Countries: A Typology

Master's Thesis
Submitted by: Mark Lynd
Center for International Education
April 29, 1983
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I. INTRODUCTION

Last summer I designed and delivered an English as a Second Language training program for the Peace Corps in the Federated States of Micronesia. Peace Corps was initiating a new role for the volunteer called a "cross-over assignment" in which the volunteer would work half time as a teacher and half time as a community development worker. With the help of the ideas of people like Paulo Freire and people who have applied his ideas like Nina Wallerstein, I put together a few training sessions which introduced the trainees to the idea that teaching and community development work are not only compatible but complementary. Teaching could be used as a means of getting to know the community and teaching skills appropriate for community development, such as problem-solving, logical ordering, and group work. Community development could likewise be used as a resource for classroom activities, including the use of the community as a curricular resource and the use of community members as teachers.

Peace Corps' idea of a cross-over assignment inspired further questions for me: What was the possibility that this dual role could serve to "localize" school curricula and thereby make formal school more relevant for local needs? To what extent could formal and nonformal methods be combined in such a model? How could the school be used to enhance community development? How could the school become self-supporting (or was this even desirable)? How could the school involve everyone in the community, not just children?
Needless to say, these are not new ideas - though at the time I thought they surely must be! Efforts to localize school curricula, combine them with community development and involve everyone in the community have been and are being made around the world under various labels: rural schools, basic education, work-experience programs, schools in the countryside, school factories, and community schools, to name a few. This plethora of titles and types has made research on the "cross-over school" idea nearly impossible. Furthermore, the literature on these types of schools often describes a nation's system of schools with scant (if any) reference to specific cases, such as the literature on the "factory schools" in the People's Republic of China. Sometimes the national system is only described as it is planned and not as it is actually implemented, such as in the case of Cameroon's ruralization reform. Honest portrayals of the successes and failures in the field also no doubt suffer due to the pressure for the author to please local and national authorities or the requirements of certain publishers.

What emerges from the literature, then, is a smattering of "cross-over" educational experiments, mostly in rural areas, which lack any coherent definition or pattern. Perhaps the most common definitional term is "community education" or "community schools," though even these concepts have fallen out of use over the years. Though some writers have made efforts to define and, to some extent provide types for community education (Rennie,
1985; Dove, 1982; Houghton and Traeger, 1969), no single typology for community schools exists in the literature. Why not?

Perhaps one reason is that restricting one's efforts to an activity with a single name could pre-empt funding in another decade when that activity is called something different. For example, it seems that what UNESCO was calling community schools in the 1960s are now, with a few variations, called basic education. Community schools, then, would appear to be passe — like nonformal education, another noble experiment whose results failed to match its ambitious intentions. Curiously, both community schools and nonformal education are still alive and well, though often called something different, or embedded in an educational ministry or government agency and therefore kept out of the development limelight.

I would submit that another reason no one has tried to develop a typology for community schools is that they defy neat categorization. There are so many types of community schools, each with its own goals and structure, that to try to give it a label would seem to defeat the purposes of such schools: flexibility, adaptability and local relevance.

Though they do defy neat categorization, a look at their genesis and current applications reveals that there are more similarities than differences. To the extent such experiments can be identified, understood and analyzed, there is a good chance that lessons can be learned and that these schools can therefore be successfully replicated.
This paper, then, is an attempt to develop a typology for community schools. It is my sincere hope that these descriptions and definitions will assist others in understanding the nature of community schools. Hopefully, they will also inspire anyone who is interested to pick up where these experiments have left off and, through additional research and field work, bring this exciting educational model the next step of the way.

Before examining community schools in developing countries, this paper traces the evolution of the idea of community education in America and other industrialized countries. After a discussion of the different purposes and types of community schools in America, this paper goes on to trace the evolution of community education in developing countries. Three basic types of rural education are identified: work-experience programs, basic education, and community schools. Community schools are then defined and illustrated with descriptions and a definitional matrix of the community school systems in four countries: the People’s Republic of China, Tanzania, Cameroon, and Peru. The paper concludes with a discussion of the issues surrounding community schools and avenues for further research.
II. THE SEEDS OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

For most of our teachers, their subjects are like dead specimens of once living things, with which they have a learned acquaintance—but no communication of life and love.

Rabindranath Tagore

Beginnings in America

According to Decker (1972), the concept of community education can be traced back to the Greeks and Romans. In America, community education dates back to the New England colonies where public education was designed to support social and religious traditions by offering religious education, vocational training and basic literary skills (Decker, 1972). The establishment of the land-grant colleges in the nineteenth century expanded the purpose of education to include regionally-based agricultural and technical training while at the same time making higher education available to everyone, not just select groups.

The Rise of Industrialized Education

But with the nineteenth century also came the industrial revolution with its machines and rapid transportation, which in turn produced factories, cities, and the graded school:

By 1847 the Quincy Grammar School of Boston had set the model of the new type of central community schoolhouse. Henceforth, for town and city youth at least, education was to be via "classes." The individual was warped to fit the mass. As the frontier rolled westward, in the towns growing up behind it twenty, forty, sixty children (in metropolitan centers, even hundreds) were to be taught in grade groups by a single teacher. Mass education slowly took form (Rugg and Shumaker: 1928:15).
As class sizes grew, content had to be organized into manageable units. But, Rugg and Shumaker continue, "instead of being oriented by the needs and activities of children, (content) was determined by the research material which the professors were developing in their laboratories and libraries. The curriculum thus came to consist of a program of narrow and non-useful school subjects, for each of which a specific textbook determined the content of instruction." This led to "a disheartening twofold gap - on the one hand that between the curriculum of the schools and adult society, and on the other that between the curriculum and the interests and needs of children" (Rugg and Shumaker: 012).

Dewey and Progressive Reform

Perhaps no one expressed their concern about the gap between curriculum and the interests and needs of children better than John Dewey, founder of the Progressive Education movement, when he wrote:

Classification is not a matter of child experience; things do not come to the individual pigeonholed. The vital ties of affection, the connecting bonds of activity, hold together the variety of his personal experiences. The adult mind is so familiar with the notion of logically ordered facts that it does not recognize - it cannot realize - the amount of separating and reformulating which the facts of direct experience have to undergo before they can appear as a "study," or branch of learning. . . . The studies as classified are the product, in a word, of the science of the ages, not of the experience of the child (Dewey, 1900).

To Dewey, "the vital ties of affection" could be provided not by the didactic transmission of knowledge, but by the creation of
"embryonic communities" in which the student could learn to participate in the transformation of society.

It remains but to organize all these factors, to appreciate them in their fullness of meaning, and to put the ideas and ideals involved into complete uncompromising possession of our school system. To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science. When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturation him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of the larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious (Dewey, 1956:29).

"Child-centered schools" such as Dewey's Laboratory School (1896) and the Francis W. Parker School (1901) were created to close the gap between the curriculum and the interests and needs of children while adapting the schools' curricula and methods to the wider community. At about the same time, writers like Joseph Hart and Ellsworth Collins were beginning to expand on Dewey's famous dictum "education as life," also viewing the school as a social instrument which should work with and through the resources of the community (Loughran and Reed, 1980:304). However, neither the traditional school nor the progressive school focused on how to use knowledge in the community:

The traditional school teaches children to know, define, and catalog information through its logically organized, orally learned curriculum. The progressive school adds comprehension of what they had learned as a new dimension for the education of young people and is further concerned to permit the self-expression of each child. However, it is important to know how to utilize information as well as define and comprehend. It was out of this need that the community school came into being (Manley, Reed and Burns, 1961: 5).
Three Types of Schools

To be sure, the nature of traditional, progressive and community schools defy neat categorization, especially in the case of community schools, whose transformation over the years shall be discussed in the following sections of this paper. Still, defining these school types helps to identify the relations between schools and the communities in which they operate, as illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1:
Traditional, Progressive and Community School
(from Larry Decker, 1972:14-16)

From 1900 to 1930, the drive to find a use for school-learned information in the community resulted in experiments like William Wirt's program in Gary, Indiana, Carleton W. Washburne's innovations in Winnetka, Illinois, Ellsworth Colling's school in
Missouri, and the Penn School on St. Helena Island in South Carolina.

A School for the Community: The Danish Model

In time, the focus of community schools shifted from what students qua community members to community members qua students: that is, what community members could do if they were given the opportunity to study their own living situations in school settings. This was not a new model; such needs had been felt across the Atlantic in 1864 when Prussia and Austria defeated Denmark and enforced the secession of Slesvig-Holstein. Denmark's liberal intelligentsia supported an angry illiterate peasantry in an overthrow of the landlords and their middle-class allies. The leading figure in the intelligentsia, a Christian radical named Grundtvig, believed that when peasants and citizens were called upon to sit on the National Advisory Assemblies, it was necessary that their enlightenment should be equal to the occasion. They...ought to know as much of their country's history and social order as would enable them to help to form the laws of the land. A high school which would enable the adult sons of the plain people to discuss intelligently the common concerns of the people was therefore a necessity (Begtrup et al, cited in Poster, 1982:75).

Without state help, Grundtvig created a succession of residential adult learning communities, called folk high schools, which focused on the maintenance of a long cultural tradition and the inculcation of civic pride. By adapting to the needs of local communities over time, the Danish folk high schools have
continued to expand in Denmark and spread to other Scandinavian countries (Poster, 1982:75).

Grundtvig's idea also spread to the United States. In the 1930s, Myles Horton returned from Denmark where he studied the folk high school model and founded Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. A precursor of the community development model of community schools, Highlander provided basic skills training and support for union organizing in Appalachia. Spurred by the philosophy of John Dewey and the economic necessities of the Depression, community schools of the 1930s such as Elsie Clapp's schools in Kentucky and West Virginia and Maurice Seay's Sloan Project in Kentucky were committed to collectivist, egalitarian values (Reed and Loughran, 1980; Loughran, 1984).

From Community to Individual Development

Have you ever thrown a stone into a pond and watched the ripples spread? The concept of Community Education is like a stone being thrown into a pond, the ripples will keep spreading and no obstacle can stop the inexorable movement of these ripples. At this point in time, we have just thrown the stone, and the ripples are beginning to spread, and they won't stop until they reach every distant shore.

Charles Stewart Mott

The Flint Program

The Depression gave rise to a host of conditions that in turn gave rise to the need for community schools. In the South,

1. In the 1950s and 60s, Highlander shifted its focus to racial issues. Now past its 50-year mark, Highlander is still committed to community development, although now the focus is more on economic issues affecting local communities.
unemployed people need basic skills; exploited workers needed organizing skills. In the North, urban areas were becoming blighted and, with rising unemployment rates, undesirable places to live. In Flint, Michigan, Chairman of General Motors C. S. Mott initiated an after school recreation program for dropouts. The program later expanded through the 1930s and 40s to include nutrition, health education and vocational training for all members of the community.

By this point, the community school movement had clearly established itself as a growing force in American education. National attention was drawn to examples around the country with the publication in 1938 of The Community School, edited by Samuel Everett, and the 1939 publication of Elsie R. Clapp's Community Schools in Action.

Throughout the 1940s and 50s, community schools in the U.S. became more established. The Flint Program employed community school directors and constructing buildings designed with considerable input from the community. In general, the post-war mood of the country was also more conservative than the two previous decades. While the emphasis on such community development activities as improvement of nutrition or agricultural practices persisted in the rural South, even these programs no longer involved major social reforms. Black women were prepared for domestic service, white women for housework and child care, and the males of both races for farm or factory labor (Loughran, 1984:215).
Recent Developments in the U.S.

The numerical and institutional growth of the movement was rapid during the 1960s. In 1966 the National Community School Education Association (NCSEA) was founded with funding from the Mott Foundation. In 1974 and 1978 additional funding was received from the federal government through the Community Schools Acts. In the 1980s, the movement continues to grow—According to Poster, there are now more than 7,000 community schools in the U.S. (Poster, 1982:96). The movement informs its practitioners through The Community Education Journal published by the NCSEA.

It is, however, a changed movement. What began as a departure from the methods and settings of formal schools has returned to the formal school model.

The community school which developed from the Flint Model is still a formal school; it offers a K-12 curriculum and is staffed by professionals with control vested in an elected school board and its chosen superintendent. What distinguishes it from other public schools is more extensive use of facilities for nonschool populations, greater use of community participation through devices like advisory councils, and use of community resources (Loughran, 1984:218).

Community Education vs. Community Schools

There was no "One, two, three and away," but they began running when they liked, and not left off when they liked, so that it was not easy to know when the race was over. . . . At last the Dodo said, "Everybody has won, and all must have prizes."

Lewis Carroll

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
The terms *community education* and *community schools* are often used interchangeably. However, there is a difference. According to Newmann, community education is a philosophy which sees knowledge as problematic and tentative as opposed to confirmed truth unlikely to be questioned. It examines the notions of individual as opposed to collective welfare and seeks a balance between participation in close-knit, neighborly communities and in societal aggregates, or what he calls "corporate" communities (Newmann, 1986: 848). In *The Community School*, Samuel Everett gives an expanded version of these tensions, as summarized in Figure 2:

**Figure 2: Traditional vs. Progressive Educational Philosophy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All life is educative</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Education is gained only in formal institutions of learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education requires participation</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Education is adequately gained through studying about life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults and children have fundamental common purposes in both work and play</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Adults are primarily concerned with work and children with play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school systems should be primarily concerned with improvements of the social order</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>School systems should be primarily concerned with passing on the cultural heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The curriculum should receive its social orientation from major problems and areas of community living</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>The curriculum should be oriented in relation to the specialized aims of academic subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public education should be founded upon democratic process and ideals</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>The belief should be that most children and most adults are incapable of intelligently either running their own lives or participating in common group efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progress in education and community living</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Progress best comes through the development of clear-cut social classes and vested interest groups which struggle for survival and dominance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>best comes through the development of common concerns among individuals and social groups</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Public school should only be responsible for the education of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public schools should be held responsible for the education of both children and adults</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>Such institutions should prepare youth and adults to perpetuate academic traditions and practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher-preparatory institutions should prepare youth and adults to carry on a community type of public education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from: "An Analysis of the Programs," Everett, 1938)

Ideally, the notions of community education described by Newmann and Everett are practiced in the community school. Community education, then, signifies the philosophy and ideas behind school-community relations and the community school is the institution of these ideas.  

Community educators generally accept Olsen's definition of community schools: one which serves people of all ages throughout the day and year; which helps them learn how to improve the quality of personal and group living; which organizes the core of the curriculum around the major problems they face; which uses the inquiry method of teaching and through it uses all relevant learning resources of the community as well as of the library and classroom; and which is planned, conducted and constantly evaluated by school and community people together, including youth still in school (Olsen, 1969; cited in Decker, 1972:27).

2. Decker uses the term community education to mean the philosophy and the term community school to mean the agent by which the philosophy is implemented (p. 22).
Weeks adds that in order for a school to qualify as a community school, teachers must participate in the community and act upon mutually agreed upon problems and development projects (Weeks, 1975:3).

Ideally, the community school seeks to obliterate the boundary between school and community, to turn the community into a school and the school into a community. It emphasizes both teaching and learning roles for all social positions so that children may teach and teachers learn as well as vice versa, and parents may do both instead of neither" (Rennie, 1982:3).

III. COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Why, in a continent (Africa) where primary schooling is all to which 90% of children can ever aspire, do only sixteen out of every hundred children of primary school age complete the six-year course which is assumed to be the basic minimum needed by the future citizen? Why, in the rural areas, where the problems are most acute, are children and parents still obsessed with the idea that one of the purposes of schooling is to enable the children to leave the countryside for the town?

Houghton and Tregear, editors
Community Schools in Developing Countries

Over the last century in the United States, the effects of industrialization have induced the massification of education which in turn spawned the Progressive Education movement and subsequent efforts to direct educational efforts toward to development of the entire community. In other parts of the world, industrialization led to an expansion of sea power and a quest for markets which in turn led to the colonization of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Now, after a century and more of
colonial rule, the developing world is struggling with its newfound independence, only to find that the colonial system of education neglected the basic development needs of those countries and their people, especially in rural areas.

One of the results of this dissatisfaction has been the creation of community schools—a concept which is "so oft thought, yet ne'er so well expressed." Though the International Community Education Association has over 77 member countries, most of these countries have not adopted the notion of the community school (Rennie, 1985). Schools where parents serve as teachers, where community members learn to read, and where students produce items for sale are simply called "schools." Rarely if ever are they referred to as community schools. This makes research on community schools in developing countries particularly difficult, for those that are classified as community schools vary dramatically in purpose, structure and content. Furthermore, there are no doubt thousands of other examples of various types of community schools in developing countries, but because they are not called community schools, fail to enter the literature or are buried in another literature.

Before attempting to define community schools in developing countries, the next sections of this paper will examine their origin of community schools and the problems they have been intended to solve.
The Problem with Education in Developing Countries

Today, 70 to 80 percent of the world's population lives in developing countries; sixty percent of the world's population lives in a rural environment. Yet since World War II, the major priority of education systems in those countries has been to expand traditional formal school systems in order to train functionaries to run the new post-colonial governments and industry - positions normally found in urban areas.

As such, Dove notes that schools have been powerful instruments in the erosion of communities in rural areas in particular. They alienate youth from subsistence agricultural production, traditional craft-based enterprise and the rural life-style. Young people drift into urban areas. The rural communities lose their energies and skills, even if it may benefit from the cash sometimes sent home. The face-to-face contact and sense of belonging across generations diminishes and the life-breath of the community weakens (Dove, 1982:7).

While Dove concedes that this is oversimplifies a problem that is due to numerous socio-economic and political forces, the formal school system has been directly responsible for creating:

1) the phenomenon of unemployment among school-leavers and their inability or unwillingness to find productive work in the traditional sector of the economy;

2) alienation from cultural roots of young people who had passed through the western school systems; and

3) the growing disparity in educational opportunities between rich and poor, and urban and rural communities (Dove, 1972:13).

Clearly the greatest negative impact of the formal school system in developing countries has been on rural people and rural communities. While a few lucky students succeed in advancing to the university level and steady employment, the vast majority...
succeed only in learning that they somehow are not smart enough to understand English grammar or French literature. Hence, the formal educational system not only bypasses the urgent needs of the majority of people in those countries, it convinces those who fail that they are too stupid to adopt the system of the colonizer. This lack of preparation for rural life, in conjunction with the psychological damage done by devaluing rural people's cultures and their ability to learn, has led to a redefining of the purpose of education in developing countries and, in some places, the birth of a new model of schooling.

The Evolution of "Relevant" Schooling in Developing Countries

Development means freedom, providing that it is the development of the people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves.

Julius K. Nyerere
Former President of Tanzania

Early Efforts

While most early colonial efforts to provide schooling in the developing world have followed the formal school pattern, there have been some notable exceptions. As early as 1847, Kaye-Shuttleworth of the Educational Commission of the Privy Council promoted the idea of including agricultural and rural craft training in the curriculum of the school in order to give children practical skills which they could use in the local community. Later, experiments along these lines were conducted in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and British India (Dove, 1972:10).
However, Sinclair notes that many earlier ventures in "relevant" education were not too favorably received.

Such early ventures were often based on a dualistic principle – ruralized education for country children and orthodox education for children in the towns. Ruralized curricula were tailored to the apparent circumstances of the village, while urban curricula were aligned to primary- or middle-school leaving certificates and matriculation certificates. These latter documents were essential for gaining access to junior posts in government service or with modern sector employers, or to the higher reaches of the education system, leading in turn to higher examination qualifications and more senior modern sector posts. Such dualistic systems were introduced in a number of Indian provinces from 1877 on, but villagers' protests led to their abandonment by the second decade of the present century (Sinclair, 1979:72).

Despite this resistance to dualistic systems, Sheldon Weeks (1975) points out that in this century there seems to have been a 20-year cycle of interest in the community schools, or efforts to make rural schools relevant, in developing countries. Following World War I, the British, French and Belgians developed comprehensive policies of community development that affected the educational system for the first time in history. The famous memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa declared its commitment

"... to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of the true ideals of citizenship and service" (O'Connell and Scanlon, 1965:45-52; cited in Dove, 1972:10).

In line with this memorandum, schools in the British colonies were to continue to teach practical skills relevant to the local community as well as to act as a bridge for students to pass from
traditional to modern life. Local languages were encouraged in school and teaching methods were to harmonize with local traditions. Literacy particularly for adults was seen as a key to open the door to the participation in community development (Dove, 1972).

The early decades of the present century also saw colonial and missionary efforts to spread the Hampton-Tuskegee model of relevant rural education (evolved in the southern states of the United States) throughout the territories under Western influence. The 1920s and 1930s saw the genesis of several independent attempts to build newly developing rural school systems around the life and work of the rural community, including Mexico's rural schools, Turkey's village institutes and Gandhi's system of basic education (Sinclair, 1979:52).

The Birth of Basic Education

In the late 1930s, the concept of relevant schooling for rural areas took on the idea of productivity. This latest vision of rural schools was called basic education, inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi when he stated:

> In my scheme of education there can be no subject or study which cannot be correlated to craft or environment. A teacher who cannot correlate his lesson to craft or environment is useless to the school (cited in Weeks, 1975:1).

Gandhi believed that a child should not merely learn and practice rural crafts during his/her education but should produce goods sufficient to maintain the existence of the school. Hence,
Gandhi saw basic education as providing a viable work-skill for every school leaver and as a means of covering educational costs by pupil output - and, further, as a way of developing positive attitudes to rural life and rural reconstruction (Sinclair, 1979).

Once again, the tug to return to formal schools again prevailed, and the innovations Gandhi envisioned failed to take root. However, the idea was picked up by numerous educators, including Pedro Orata, a Filippine educator who, having worked in Indian community schools in the 1930s, began the Community School Movement in the Philippines in the 1950s. In India, the Gandhian Basic School movement also regained popularity in the 1950s, though it again suffered from the perception of dualism (Sinclair, 1979).

**Birth of a Hybrid: Rural Education**

Dove notes that with the 1960s came an increased need to fill administrative and industrial positions in the developing world's newly-independent countries. With this need came a renewed interest in the expansion of formal schools in order to produce these countries' future leaders. By the end of the decade, however, frustrations with the formal school system led to an interest in developing out-of-school, nonformal methods of instruction. Several development organizations devoted the decade of the 1970s to experimentation with nonformal education only to find that it tended to be perceived as a low-status
replica of traditional formal schools and, in any case, it was not always cheaper (Dove, 1972).

Since then, experiments in education in developing countries have been concerned with how the school itself can be changed in ways which might make it a more effective tool of community development. In general, these experiments conform to UNESCO’s criteria for rural education:

1) It should be rooted in local problems and solutions;
2) It should exercise the learner with practical activities; and
3) It should instill the scientific method (UNESCO, 1980: 19-20).

To the extent possible, then, current experiments aim to make use of:

1) curricula which are adapted to local conditions and needs;
2) experiential, activity-oriented teaching methods; and
3) learning approaches that develop critical and questioning skills.

The ways and extent to which these goals are achieved vary according to the type of rural school in question - a subject which will be dealt with in the next section.

IV. THREE FORMS OF RURAL EDUCATION

Examples of rural education outside of the formal school system and vocational training centers in developing countries fall roughly into three categories: work-experience programs, basic education and community schools. Since these are
overlapping concepts, each must be defined in the context of the others in order to be clearly understood.

Work Experience Programs

Gandhi's efforts to "correlate education to craft or environment" foresaw current efforts to integrate productive (income-generating) work into formal school curricula and/or to develop an alternative model for productive schools. Cuba's "schools in the country," China's "factory schools," and Patrick Van Rensburg's Botswana Brigades are examples of such efforts, often referred to as work-experience programs. These programs have historically aimed to:

1) Give pupils knowledge and skills leading to increased productivity in manual occupations, the ability to participate in village-level organizations such as co-operatives, etc.;

2) Convey useful knowledge and skills to "backward" communities;

3) Influence pupils' attitudes, especially to create a habit of, acceptance of, and positive motivation towards manual occupations or rural life;

4) Develop qualities of character conducive to social stability and worker productivity as well as to personal welfare, such as moral rectitude, perseverance, accuracy, creativity, self-reliance and co-operation; and where applicable, developing loyalty to socialist or other (e.g. Gandhian) ideologies;

3. Sinclair would also refer to Tanzania's community schools as work-experience programs. "Education for Self-reliance" she states, "is the document which best expresses the rationale underlying modern work-experience ventures" (p. 55). However, Tanzanian community schools do not necessarily fall into the type "Education for Production" type. See Figure 3.
5) Lower the unit costs of schooling through sale of pupils' craft products or agricultural produce;

6) Attract pupils to school, improving the effectiveness of the general education programme through greater local relevance and the use of activities as a learning aid and as a rest from mental work (Sinclair, 1979:55).

**Basic Education**

In 1974, Unesco-UNICEF held a regional seminar on Basic Education in Eastern Africa in Nairobi, Kenya, at which the concept of basic education was described as

the minimum provision of knowledge, attitudes, values and experiences which should be made for every individual and which should be common to all. It should be aimed at enabling each individual to develop his or her own potentialities, creativity and critical mind both for his or her own fulfillment and happiness and for serving as a useful citizen and producer for the development of the community to which he or she belongs (Unicef, 1980:7).

In practice, Unicef goes on to say that

Basic education includes varying sectors of formal education and also transcends the boundaries of formal education systems. According to various countries' interpretations of the concept, it may include pre-school and primary school education, post-primary and portions of a secondary school education, and practically all categories of nonformal education which are not specifically designed for the furtherance of higher academic and specialized vocational training (1980:33).

Some examples of basic education include the nomadic schools in Somalia, education in co-operatives, pre-school education using indigenous approaches (for example, child-to-child instruction), and community schools (UNESCO, 1980).

Unesco points out that the really definitive statement on the basic education package is that
while it must be expressed in terms of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, all of these must respond to the needs of individuals and communities as they are conceived by themselves. There can be no universal formula for this and no static content since the felt needs change as development needs change (Unicef, 1980:7).

While work-experience projects also aim to develop self-reliant persons through the localization of curricula, their focus is primarily on productive work. Basic education efforts, on the other hand, focus on a variety of needs which usually include productive work. There are some exceptions, however; Somalia's nomadic schools do not include productive work. Basic education also places a high premium on addressing the felt needs of the community - a value not shared by some work-experience projects such as Cuba's "schools in the country" in which students often study and do productive work in places far removed from their own communities.

Hence, the concept of basic education includes some, but not all work-experience projects and vice versa (see Figure 2).

![Figure 3: Three types of rural education](image)

4. At a conference in the late 1960s, the Tanzanian government also used the word "basic" to change the designation of schools from primary, which implied preparation for secondary and tertiary, to basic, which implied a school where one could get a basic education. This resolution did not achieve its intended goal, however, since parents and pupils were too intelligent to be influenced by a change in name (Mmari, 1979:208).
Community Schools

One subset of basic schools (arguably the dominant trend in basic education\textsuperscript{5}) is the community school, a concept for which there is no single or simple definition. Dove states that "the essence of the idea of the community school is that the school should be involved with and in the community" (1982:23). While most work-experience and basic education programs share the aim of local relevance, their focal points are productive work and universalization of education. Though community schools generally embody both of these ideas, they are different in that the community school is first and foremost perceived to be of, by and for the community, as we shall see in the next section.

V. A TYPOLOGY FOR COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Perhaps it should not be surprising that Rennie eschews the idea of developing a typology for community schools (citation). Given the "gray areas" noted above, identifying a set of common characteristics is indeed difficult. Still, Dove notes that there are five types of community schools in developing countries:

\textsuperscript{5} "The dominant trend in basic educational policy, planning and implementation levels is towards the linking of educational services to the delivery of other services to the community, to productive (income-generating) activities, and to work in general. The trend so described more or less defines what is meant by the community school, which is the ideal towards which (Tanzania) is striving" (Tanzania Country Analysis, cited in Unesco, 1980:25).
1) schools which share buildings and facilities with the community;
2) schools for community education and development;
3) schools which community members manage and in which community members participate;
4) schools which use the community as a curricular resource; and

Of these five ideas, only the second and fifth are truly types; the others simply characterize certain community schools. But if, as The American Heritage Dictionary (1982) states, a type is "a group of persons or things sharing common traits or characteristics that distinguish them as an identifiable group or class," a closer examination of the characteristics of community schools is necessary if we are to identify commonalities and therefore determine types. In general, schools which the literature calls "community schools" share seven broad goals:

1) **Promotion of National Ideology**. Most community schools are committed to some type of ideology, be it egalitarianism, conscientization, self-reliance, or the creation of "the new man" (or person). The most common means of implementing these ideologies is through democratic management practices, including community planning and management of schools, student councils, and the creation of community-built and financed schools.

2) **Increased Access**. By using local languages as the medium of instruction, adjusting the school calendar to the rhythms of village and agrarian life, opening the school premises up to multiple uses, and developing programs for all ages, community schools provide education at all levels, including pre-primary school, universal primary and secondary school, education for school leavers, and adults, including people who have never been to school.
3) **Promotion of Productive Work.** By teaching and involving students in productive work, community schools provide linkages with the world of work. Through productive work, students are able to finance the operation of the school while gaining needed skills for employment in the community.

4) **Preparation for Rural Life.** Because developing countries can no longer employ large numbers of university graduates, most community schools provide professional and vocational training so students can find employment in their own communities upon leaving school. In order to curb traditional expectations, some schools have changed qualifying exams to include evaluations of participation in community work; some have even declared primary and secondary schools terminal, restricting them to training for rural life.

5) **Linkages with Community Development.** Most community schools endeavor to combine community development activities with classroom activities such as health projects and income generation, and adult learning activities such as specific literacy programs. Some schools include community development subjects in their curricula. Some emphasize the use of the teacher as a community development worker.

6) **Preservation of Local Culture.** Community schools aim to renew and preserve local culture through the use of the local language as the medium of instruction, the use of the community as a curricular resource, the use of community members as teachers, and the teaching of culturally-inherited knowledge and skills.

7) **Improving Pedagogy.** Through the use of localized curricula and active "scientific" inquiry, community schools aim to change from the traditional methods of

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6. As Houghton and Tregear point out, "curriculum" also means two different things: the range of "subjects" taught in the school, and the broader sense of covering all the activities that take place in the school (see Appendix B) (Houghton and Tregear, 1980:27).

7. UNESCO maintains that because industrialization has so permeated the developing world, schools should teach "science that has become culture" - that is, the sciences and mathematics should be taught in a "scientific" way. Methodology should be experiential and based on logical thought and problem-solving processes (UNESCO, 1980:34).
lecture and rote memorization to more experiential methods.

The ways different community schools employ the above characteristics vary from country to country and from school to school. Unfortunately, the literature contains few case studies of specific examples (Psychas, 1982; Solarin, 1970; Houghton and Traeger, 1969). Most of the literature, however, defines the intentions and purposes of community schools throughout the country, making occasional and scant references to specific examples. Some descriptions even defy credulity, such as Houghton and Traeger's assertion that "the pressure on children to succeed in (the Litowa) school (in Tanzania) in order to escape from the land does not exist" (UNESCO, 1969:61).

Still, in order understand the notion of "community schools" as the term is applied in the literature, it would be helpful to examine the descriptions of various countries' systems, however biased or incomplete. The following section describes the systems of four countries: the People's Republic of China, Tanzania, Cameroon and Peru. For the purposes of comparison, the descriptions are followed by a table which lists the above characteristics by country.

**People's Republic of China**

Since the 1977 meeting of the Party Central Committee and the overthrow of the "gang of four," the People's Republic of China (PRC) has worked to eradicate the attitude of the "selfish, egotistical, aggressive, self-serving bourgeois" (Bernard,
1979:18). As part of its educational reforms, students are expected to learn correct work habits and to learn what it is like to be a worker or peasant. Perhaps ironically, the country is also committed to the raising the general level of education by re-instituting exams at all levels, including university entrance exams.

Throughout the country, education is based on school-community relations. Residents of rural communities serve as members of communes, the basic organizational unit of the Revolutionary Committee. From building and repairing schoolhouses to making decisions on personnel and curriculum, and providing operating funds, these communes are charged with running their communities' schools.

In turn, the community schools are mainly charged with training personnel for the communes to meet the urgent needs of production. These schools, often referred to as "school factories," provide an in-school setting for productive labor. At the same time, they are miniature communities which provide meals, laundry, work, medical services. In these miniature communities, people learn from each other. Parents and community members sometimes teach in the schools. Students are expected to teach as well as learn (Bernard, 1979).

Primary schools in the PRC are full-time for a period of five years. All are governed by their local communes. Middle schools are also full-time for a period of five years; however, they are directly responsible to the country's educational
bureau. There are also agricultural middle schools and work-and-study technical schools in the countryside which are also run by the communes. The enrollment of students, the courses to be offered, the recruitment of teachers, the programs and contents of teaching and the placement of graduates all are decided by members of the communes (Kexiao, 1982).

The curriculum in primary and middle schools consists of cultural and scientific subjects, including mathematics, Chinese, general natural knowledge, physical culture, music and art, foreign languages, sports, and basic farming knowledge. Because the emphasis on PRC's rural schools is on thinking and behaving correctly, rural secondary schools combine academic subjects with productive labor; all run small-sized factories or engage in farming, forestry, or the raising of livestock — activities in which students are required to spend part of their school time.

Tanzania

In 1967 Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, published the landmark essay "Education for Self-Reliance" which advocated the dismantling of colonial educational forms and the adoption of an educational system that would reinforce self-sufficiency and dignify rural life. In 1971, the Ministry of National Education started a pilot community school at Kwamsisi in which Ministry officials and community members agreed upon a new curriculum which would include literacy and numeracy, citizenship or
political education, self-help and cultural activities, and environmental studies (UNESCO, 1978:28). The Tanzanian government later moved to replicate the Kwamsisi experience throughout the country so that schools everywhere would involve community members in the construction, planning and management of primary and secondary schools.

At the primary level, teachers were to act as the vital link between schools and villages. All subjects taught in school were to be locally relevant and somehow be connected to local agricultural practices. For example, economics and biology could be taught by examining coffee production and marketing in the region. Additionally, income-generating school gardens were established. School committees which were democratically elected by the parents were to assist in establishing policy, supervising farm produce and observing improved farming methods practiced at the schools (Maliamkono, 1982:339-40).

Secondary education changed from preparation for the university to preparation for village life. Like primary schools, secondary schools established school farms and co-operatives to provide students with first-hand experience at working in an managing productive units. In 1976, production from self-reliance projects in schools covered 40-50% of their recurring costs (Mhaiki, 1979:151-2). Students also learned the workings of cooperative activity by sitting on councils which made decisions concerning the day-to-day operations of the schools.
In time, community schools also provided lifelong learning opportunities for adult community members in as well. Due to the financial hardships of the 1970s, adults had to share existing facilities such as court-rooms, party offices, co-operative buildings, and most of all, primary schools. They use the school farm to learn agriculture, the school playground to perform dances, and the school workshop to learn carpentry, while their children assist in teaching them reading and counting (Mhaiki, 1979:153).

For all the enthusiasm surrounding the beginnings of community schools in Tanzania, the results have been disappointing. Recent studies on Kwamsisi do not show that the experiment has turned out a different person from other types of schools. Mmari notes that H. J. Mosha of the University of Dar es Salaam in a recent unpublished study discusses attempts of the Kwamsisi school leavers to leave village life. This is the opposite, he argues, of what the project was trying to achieve, namely to integrate the school into the village life such that the school leaver would find himself a place in local society (Mmari, 1979:210). Mmari also points out that where secondary school pupils were not given a opportunity to combine theory with practice, they continued to think that they had a right not to work. These "wrong attitudes" persisted in the village as well, where parents failed to encourage their children to work during vacations (p. 211).
Indeed, ten years after the publication of the Arusha Declaration, President Nyerere admitted that the goals of Education for Self-Reliance had not yet been achieved and probably would not be for another thirty years (citation). In order to make this possible, the Tanzanian government has continued to institute changes in the educational system, including:

- a revision of the exam system so that participation in productive work would be given evaluated equally with academic work;

- options to promotion from primary to secondary schools, and from secondary schools to higher education8; and

- restructuring teacher education so that it would produce teachers who possessed the right attitudes toward the nation and who could pass these values on to their students (Malamkono, 1982:321 - 343).

Cameroon

The aim (of ruralized education) is to give the young people who go through this education an inclination to work on the land, a sense of the dignity of that work and an opportunity of living better in the villages and satisfying many of their aspirations. This is one way of combating the drift to the cities effectively.

President Ahidjo, Cameroon, 11 August 1971

8. The government also declared that at the end of seven years of primary school (age 14), a child has three choices: to work, to follow a long vocational training program, or to go to a secondary school. Each of the routes offers an opportunity to return to school, though not in the same order. Likewise, graduates of secondary school have four choices: specialized vocational training, A-level secondary school for another two years, professional training or work. Before being admitted into the university, the government now requires a year of national service, then a year or two of work (Mmaki p. 154).
Throughout the 1960s, the Government of Cameroon became concerned that the formal educational system was too expensive for the number of graduates it was producing and was failing to meet the development needs of the majority of Cameroonians in rural areas. In 1967, the government sought to address this problem by founding the Ecole normale d’instituteurs de plein exercice a vocation rurale (ENIR) which in 1969 became the Institute de pedagogie appliquee a vocation rurale (IPAR). A study commissioned by IPAR echoed the government’s concern. “Primary education,” it stated, “was a very inadequate preparation either for secondary education or for children who were not continuing their studies and would need to fit into an essentially rural environment, work on it, master it, transform and develop it” (LLalez, 1974:24). In response to these deficiencies, the government promoted the idea of “ruralization” - an innovation through which teachers and schools would be reconceived in order to disseminate “the practical information and the simple techniques necessary for all those concerned to take an active part in economic development at the level which will affect them most directly, that of the village” (Request to the United Nations Development Programme, 1967; cited in Llalez:24).

9. Like the concept of basic education, ruralization met with resistance for a variety of reasons. Some people believed that in ruralizing, Cameroon would become once and for all an agricultural country, never to become industrialized. Others believed that like basic education, ruralization would provide a "second best" education. Still others believed that ruralization
The focal point of ruralization is the teacher, whose role is redefined as "teacher-community leader" (instituteur-animateur). The teacher's role was no longer to be the "school master" from whom the pupils receive orders and knowledge more or less passively. Rather, he/she would encourage pupils to take an active role in their own education while working outside the school to organize adult community activities.

As the teacher was to play a dual role, so was the curriculum to serve two purposes: to prepare the best pupils to pursue their studies, and to prepare the remaining bulk of pupils to integrate into working life, using the same curricula and methods in both town and country (Llalez p. 92). Specifically, the curriculum would "decompartmentalize" traditional subjects so that all subjects would be taught in an interdisciplinary way. The new curriculum would include:

- the continued teaching of standard subjects such as French, arithmetic, etc.;

- the study of instrumental knowledge - knowledge to be directed towards practical applications in the village, instead of knowledge for its own sake;

- the study of environmental knowledge - occupying the last two years of rural primary education, including agriculture, health, housing, nutrition, child care, hygiene, home economics, etc.; and

- practical work, in which school gardens and plantations are cultivated, latrines are dug, and buildings are constructed, etc. (Llalez, 1974:93ff.).

might create a split between rural and urban children, thus reinforcing the idea of a dual society (Llalez, 1974:27-29).
As of the time of Llalez's publication, the community members had not yet been integrated into the education system as resource persons. Llalez notes that despite the funds put into pioneer villages, such efforts fall far short of expectations: "So far are we from criticizing the sponsors of IPAR and of the reform that we would be inclined rather, as the reader will by now have understood, to regret that they have not taken greater risks by attempting a more radical innovation" (p. 105).

Peru

In 1968, the Armed Forces took power in Peru and initiated several radical transformations, including the establishment of a Commission for Educational Reform. In 1970, the Commission published its General Report in which it stated that the ultimate goal of the new educational system must be to create "the new Peruvian man in a new Peruvian society." To realize this goal, the Commission argued that there must be a radical change in attitudes and values through the process of "conscientization," defined in the subsequent General Law on Education as "an educational process whereby individuals and social groups gain a critical awareness of the historical and cultural world in which they live, shoulder their responsibilities and undertake the necessary action to transform it" (Ley General de Educacion, 1972; cited in Bizot, 1975:17). Ultimately, the aim of the Commission was not to reform education but to revolutionize it, and not do so as though it existed in vacuo but to revolutionize
it as one element, however vital, in the totality of Peruvian life (Bizot, 1975:18).

The basic unit of social organization in Peru's educational reform is called the Community Education Nucleus (NEC), each of which is organized and developed as a micro-regional project over a number of years. Administratively, the NEC's chief coordinating task is to link all educational centers and programs in a given area to one of the institutions functioning as a basic center for the whole organization. An appointed NEC director plans, organizes, supervises and evaluates the work carried out by the educational centers constituting his/her nucleus, and stimulates interaction and participation within the community. He/she is assisted by the Consejo Educativo Comunal (CONSECOM), a board of 10 - 20 members made up of local teachers, members of local families and community representatives.

The Peruvian system has developed two streams of basic education: educacion basic regular (EBR), in which the old primary and secondary formal school units have been combined into one to prepare students for adult responsibilities, and educacion

10. Nuclearization has its roots in the famous Warisata School founded on 2 August 1931 in Bolivia by the peasant farmer Avelino Sinani and the educator Elizardo Pérez, who in turn acknowledged the Incas as the idea's progenitors. In its original form, nuclearization consisted of establishing existing schools as models for community development as well as centers for coordinating community activities. In the 1950s, the idea changed to nucleos educativos comunales (NECs) - a movement which resulted in the creation of schools throughout the country designed to address the basic social needs of the community. By 1980, it was anticipated that some 880 such schools would be in existence, covering the entire country (Malpica, 1982:365; Bizot, 1975:29-30).
basica laboral (EBL), a nonformal system for adolescents over 15 years old and adults. While the subject matter for EBL is basically the same as that of EBR (social sciences, natural sciences, languages, mathematics, etc.), greater emphasis is placed on technical and practical skills such as automobile engineering, wood and metal working, agriculture, commerce, etc. The primary purpose of EBL is to prepare school leavers and adults who have never been to school for further vocational training or for access to higher education.

The Peruvian system was also designed to provide pre-primary schooling and lifelong educational opportunities. Mothers visit the school once or twice a week to learn something of nutritional problems, to discuss their particular difficulties, to exchange experiences, to seek advice. Fathers are also encouraged to meet the teachers and talk about family problems. Teachers, in turn, visit the families in their localities.

The curriculum is designed by the government ministries and introduced at the local level through entrenadores, who train teachers to explain the philosophy of the reform to community members, assist with evaluation and follow-up operations, and to observe classroom work and to give advice on how to handle the difficulties of the transition from the old system to the new.

While the nuclearization model represents a dramatic shift in the direction of Peruvian education, the reform has fallen short of its goals in its failure to enlist the whole-hearted collaboration of the non-educational sectors, its inability to
expand the existing educational system due to financial constraints, and inadequate community participation (Bizot, 1975; Picon-Espinoza, 1979). Other criticisms include: the vertical nature of, and bureaucracy in the organization and conduct of nuclei; excessive limitation of the sphere of education; the prevalence of school forms of education; and the excessive size of nuclei (Malpica, 1982:365).
### Characteristics of Community Schools in Developing Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Promotion of National Ideology</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>community involved in educational planning</td>
<td>People's Rev. Party yes:</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community management</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communal leadership (student councils)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school financed and/or built by community</td>
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<td>some-times</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Increased Access</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
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<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjusted calendar</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multipurpose utilization of school premises</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusion of all age groups (&quot;initial,&quot; primary, secondary, post-secondary, adult and lifelong education)</td>
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<thead>
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<th>3. Promotion of Productive Work</th>
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<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teach and engage in productive work</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>some-times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>link with the world of work</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<th>4. Preparation for Rural Life</th>
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<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vocational training</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional exams replaced</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary/secondary education terminal</td>
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<tr>
<th>5. Linkages with Community Development</th>
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<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>Peru</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>use of students in community education and development projects</td>
<td>?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>curriculum related to community development</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher as change agent</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. Preservation of Local Culture</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>use of local/understandable languages (not the language of the colonizer)</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of community as resource for curriculum</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of community members as teachers</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of culturally inherited knowledge and skills</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Improving Pedagogy</th>
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<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Cameroon</th>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>some-what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>use of experiential methods</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>applicability of curriculum to everyday life</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>scientific inquiry</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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</table>

(Compiled from various case studies and UNESCO's List of Characteristics of Basic Education [Appendix A]).
VI. ISSUES

Planning vs. Participation

Maliyamkono (1980) identifies two models for community development: planning (from the "top down") and participation (from the "bottom up"):

In the planning model projects are proposed to the community and the method involves having community members realize that the project is consonant with their interests. Planning, in Tanzania, is called 'education for self-reliance.' Its aim is to "instill among students new attitudes and values about the function of education, about the importance of social science in relation to personal benefits, and duty to the nation and the community (Maliyamkono, 1980:123).

Tanzania, then, is an example of the "top-down" approach. Though it began on a pilot basis, the community school idea was inspired and directed at the national level from the beginning. This involved a revolutionary social and educational philosophy and a radical re-structuring of the socio-economic and educational systems - in contrast to the Litowa School in Tanzania, a community school which was created and run entirely by members of that community (Houghton and Tregear, 1969:5).

11. Sinclair identifies five models of organization for work-related programs with some examples. Here she makes a distinction between the early phase of education for self-reliance in the United Republic of Tanzania and the current Tanzanian community school reform:

Specific (pre-vocational training programmes in agriculture or craftwork, following outlines laid down by the Education Ministry;

Specific introductory programmes, brief in duration, following outlines laid down by the Education Ministry (e.g. the one-semester programmes in Maharashtra).
"Adaptive" Means Inferior

As mentioned in Section IV above, resistance to community schools in the past has stemmed from the perception that "adaptive" means inferior. Any attempt at adaptation, it is argued, tends to give it an increasingly rural outlook; such ruralization runs the risk of creating a system separate from that of the urban environment (UNESCO, 1980: 31). As already mentioned, such dualism led to public dissent in India in the 19th century. In the mid-1960s, the Indian Government accepted the advice of the prestigious Education Commission (1964-66) and set aside the Gandhian model, adopting a more orthodox curriculum supplemented by work-experience and social-service activities.

According to Sinclair,

Dualism likewise brought down the experiment with condensed ruralized "basic education" for unschooled teenagers in Upper Volta. Young people were unwilling to enroll for a course which did not lead on to the primary-school leaving certificate, and the message came through clearly that the rural population would

Centrally sponsored revision of the primary-school curriculum as a whole, to focus primarily on the life and work of the surrounding communities (e.g. the Cameroonian reform, the current Tanzanian community school reform and experiments in progress elsewhere).

Programmes developed on a decentralized basis in the schools, following a very specific structural framework laid down by the Education Ministry (e.g. the pre-vocational studies programmes developed at school level in Sri Lanka).

Programmes developed on a decentralized basis without central structuring (e.g. the early phase of education for self-reliance in the United Republic of Tanzania) (1980: 67).
prefer available resources to be invested in the construction of primary schools (1979:61).

Likewise in Tanzania, one of the main problems was changing the perceptions of people who had received colonial education (UNESCO, 1978:29). As long as community schools are perceived as "second best," their chances of long-term survival will remain questionable.

One alternative is to separate community schools from the expectations of the formal school system. Manzoor Ahmed recommends delinking degrees and jobs, thereby devaluing the currency of formal education credentials in the job market (Ahmed, 1979:338). In addition to delinking certificates and jobs, Ahmed recommends:

1) Making educational opportunities more widely and conveniently available with the available resources;

2) Eliminating the need for irreversible choices regarding education and career and to break down the rigid separation between education for intellectual careers and education for "lower" occupations.

3) Establishing a work interval system. Postponed entry into higher education was suggested by ILO employment missions to Sri Lanka and Kenya as the means for cutting college enrolments, acquainting students with the world of work, and improving career choices.

4) Reducing differentials in wages between professional positions and middle-level technicians.

5) Turning the school into a productive enterprise and vice versa (Ahmed, 1979:338).
Again, these recommendations would require sweeping changes beyond the scope of the educational system - changes that can only occur with the support of the government and the general population.

The Role of Work

Ahmed's recommendation to turn the school into a productive enterprise has been applied successfully in China and Tanzania. Yet some efforts have not worked. For example, UNESCO found that simply adding agriculture to the curriculum usually does not work. Co-existent community schools and farm schools have not worked. If farming is to be adopted in the school, it must be integrated into the curriculum. On the other hand, students should not receive an essentially agricultural education in a community school; successes are the exception (UNESCO, 1980).

Sinclair and Lillis contend that efforts to adapt programs to local settings for school-going children are not the appropriate vehicle for the rectification of social and economic ills. It is difficult to convey skills and motivation to teachers, and children do not influence elders. Schools can make a contribution, they say, if they provide extension and counseling services to ex-pupils and/or adults (Sinclair and Lillis, 1980; cited in Dove, 1982:44). Weeks adds that, when properly integrated, developing skills for productive work, introducing students and community members to local markets, and involving school leavers in continuing education can enhance an
appreciation of productive work in the community and hopefully help solve the school leaver problem (Weeks, 1975:20).

The Role of Political Support

All of the community school systems discussed in this paper were created and sanctioned by the national governments in those countries. The survival of such schools seems to require not only the approval but also the support of central authorities. Van Rensburg's work in Botswana failed because it took place in isolation without political backing. The alternative program, known as the Brigades, survives because it has the support of the Botswana government, but only as an alternative in a dual system (Van Rensburg, 1979:87).

But given the cooperative nature of community schools, more than government backing is required. Dove notes that even nationally-inspired projects are rarely implemented fully. They tend to fall short of their original goals or to become restricted showpieces (Dove, 1982:22-23). In Nigeria in 1968, the military government ordered all secondary school headmasters to visit Mayflower Community School and adapt their programs to the Mayflower pattern. Perhaps 200 headmasters visited the school, but there has been no adaptation. The expectations of teachers and students did not encompass community development (Weeks, 1975:16).
The Role of Supportive Socio-Political Structures

Martin suggests that community-oriented projects are more viable if they are backed by a nationally-inspired, community-oriented ideology than if they work against the status quo (cited in Dove, 1982:22-3). Van Rensburg later noted that schools which combine education with production have failed in capitalist countries. Education with production, he claims, depends on a socialist structure (1980:2-3). Though China and other socialist countries have successfully adopted an alternative in the countryside where pupils work on farms around the schools, Sinclair claims that this procedure presents problems in societies organized on a different basis (1980:52).

To Manzoor Ahmed, the need for a supportive socio-political structure is seen most vividly in the reward systems attached to various systems of education.

Egalitarian values, dignity of physical labour, and the recognition of the worth of each human being irrespective of his occupation can be taught in schools only to the extent society itself tries to live by these values and respect these ideals by concrete actions and behaviour. As long as society’s reward and incentive system demonstrates its unmistakable preference for a clerk or a teacher by allowing him a ten times larger income (and the social status and recognition that go with it) than that of a weaver or farm-hand who can barely meet his subsistence needs, it would be mere hypocrisy to talk about the dignity of labour (1980:329).

The Need for Teachers/Leaders

The above issues point to two prerequisites for the success of community schools: political and structural support. However, the biggest reason for the failure of community schools in
developing countries is the lack of trained teachers. Even if teachers support the idea of a community school, being able to teach in a community school requires two completely different skills: the ability to teach according to the content and methodology of community schools, and the ability to serve as a leader in the community - as in Cameroon and Mexico. In short, teachers must be trained to be organizers and leaders - people who can enlist community support. Yet UNESCO (1980) reports that no attempts have been made at a regional level in Eastern Africa to design teacher education programs corresponding to the concept of basic education (p. 34)(see Appendix C).

Instead of expecting teachers to play dual roles, Weeks suggests it is also possible that additional workers trained in community skills could be affiliated with community schools to carry out community work, work with school leavers, adults and others in the community. This separation of roles and coordination of activities is part of an approach to community education centers that were considered in Tanzania and experimented with in Nigeria (Callaway, 1974; cited in Dove, 1982:23).

Community participation seems to be enhanced when community members become interested in what goes on in the school and are prepared to make considerable sacrifices of time and money to ensure that their children are well educated. This kind of interest generally occurs when the leaders are chosen or accepted for traditional reasons by the community, which is usually the
case at the local level (UNESCO, 1980: 28-29). For this reason, teachers/community leaders should come from the communities in which they are to serve.12

The Community School: Ideal Conditions

Watson offers six conditions which history shows must be met if community schooling is to succeed:

1) the central government must give legitimation and financial support;

2) planning should take into account the different conditions and needs of different communities;

3) consultation with all participants is vital;

4) a situational analysis must cover possible psychological and cultural problems likely to be encountered;

5) the curriculum and the exam systems of the schools must be relevant to rural needs but must in no way be perceived as inferior to the urban curriculum; and

6) teachers must be prepared for their extended roles in the community (Watson, cited in Dove, 1982:21-22).

For community education to work, Vella adds that:

- the person is central to the program;

- problem-posing approaches are most effective;

12. George Psychas points out that in Tanzania, the Maryknoll sisters were asked by the government to set up the model Nangwa Community Secondary School. When they asked why Tanzanians were not asked to do it, they were told that Tanzanian civil servants just couldn’t risk their careers. They would not have been able to try many new ideas. (1982:261).
the program must be part of a whole - that is, integrated into national or regional development programs in some way;

- the staff must be well prepared, with sufficient understanding of the socio-politico economic structure in which they work;

- the program of community education for self-reliant development is explicitly political, necessarily involved in the analysis of power (Vella, 1979).

Weeks argues that community schools will work best:

- where a society is undergoing change, economic, political, social, cultural and educational, where schools are just being established and children are going to school whose parents never went to school, where individuals and communities have an assortment of "felt needs" that are not being met; and

- where in rural areas where school buildings are needed and where there is little competition from other organizations for free time of children and or adults (Weeks, 1975:7).

Finally, some argue that community schools have the greatest chances of success:

- if they offer equal access to higher levels of education while at the same time providing better preparation for life in the community than conventional schools; and

- a more equitable system of rewards is established.

Avenues for Further Research

Teacher training

Sinclair notes that conventional in-service training programs based mainly on lectures and discussions and lasting a matter of a week or so seem to have had limited impact, perhaps because they are apt to remain at the level of generalities. Pre-service training in work activities has likewise been ineffectual in many instances. She notes that the idea of
linking colleges of education with pilot school work, as in the United Republic of Tanzania and Sierra Leone, for instance, has much to commend it (1979:68).

Dove notes that research is need to discover what sorts of early educative experiences are most conducive to preparing teachers in training for their community roles. Where previous education is antithetic, we need to know more about effective techniques of re-orienting and re-educating people.

Curriculum development

Steffy notes that there is a great need for additional research in the area of community participation in curriculum planning. At the present time, most of the literature dealing with community participation in curriculum planning is descriptive (1986:1241). Very little research also exists concerning the various roles the community and community members could play as curricular resources.

What I would like to see is research which shows the possibility of developing a community-based curriculum using participatory research methodology. Once a school was set up to utilize this locally-based curriculum, replication would become possible. In order for this to happen, a university-based teacher training program would need to be set up to train teachers in this participatory curriculum-writing methodology as well as training them in the methods required to teach in a community school.
The birth and development of such a project could form part of the massive effort Coombs claims is needed to redesign and reorient formal schools, blending in elements of nonformal education and community development. Schools developed along the lines of a community school hold the promise of reorienting the very structure of education in the developing world — but, as Coombs warns, only if resources now geared to a narrowly-conceived elitist educational establishment are redirected to a democratically conceived mass learning system designed to provide for greater equality of opportunity and achievement to all rural young people (Coombs, 1973: 79).
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Appendix A
Characteristics of Basic Education:
A Survey of 12 East African Countries

The following chart presents the results of a survey conducted by Unicef in the late 1970s identifying the frequency of 24 characteristics of basic education identified in 12 East African countries. Some of these characteristics appear in Characteristics of Community Schools in Developing Countries (p. 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Botswana</th>
<th>Burundi</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Lesotho</th>
<th>Madagascar</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Mauritius</th>
<th>Somalia</th>
<th>Sudan</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Zambia</th>
<th>Total (N = 12)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>For underprivileged groups</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For rural populations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal (all children)</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal (all children) and adolescents</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal (all children, adolescents and adults)</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Terminal</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Relevance to the immediate socio-cultural-economic environment</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Applicability to everyday life</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Link with the world of work</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Specialized training</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive attitude towards work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of culturally inherited knowledge and skills</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of curriculum</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lifelong</td>
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<td>Utilization of informal, formal and non-formal mode of delivery</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of various mediators of education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Productive work</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Integration of school and community</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decentralization of government</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multipurpose utilization of school premises</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Appendix B
A Possible Curriculum for Community Schools

Consistent with the idea that community schools should provide experiential learning activities in authentic community settings, Houghton and Tregear provide a number of possible curricular suggestions. An example:

THE HOME
A study suggested as suitable for work at about the third year of school life, constituting a basis for work at a later stage in Citizenship. The topics suggested need not necessarily be taken in this order.

Topics

1. Our Houses
   - Why people live in houses – protection from the elements – for security within the family.
   - Draw large plans of houses in the sand; let pupils put in doors and windows. Let children draw plans on paper. Discuss houses of different types.
   - Visit a good compound in the area. Discuss it with pupils.

2. The Compound and Out-houses – kitchen, bath-house, huts for chickens and animals – best place to build these.
   - Draw a large map of a compound showing the out-houses.
   - Visit a good compound and talk to the elders.
   - A visit to see houses being built – if possible visits at various stages from the plan on the ground to completion. A visit to see mud brick/burnt brick/concrete blocks being made and/or a visit to see the preparation of more natural building materials as used in the area.

3. Building Houses
   - A comparative study of the value/cost/durability of the different materials. Ease of cleaning. Protection against animals.
   - Demonstrate to children how to lay, after/clean windows, oil doors, clean floors.
   - Get them to do it at the school. Show how sunlight encourages health by planting seeds in light and darkness. Make brushes for use in school.
   - Visit a good compound to look at the various out-houses: discuss with pupils. Importance of the teacher setting an example.

4. How to Build Better Houses
   - With light and ventilation.
   - Good doors.
   - Whitewashed walls.
   - Hard, level floors.
   - Food store.
   - Latrine.
   - Kitchen.
   - Fowl/animal hut.
   - Bath-house.
   - Demonstrate to children how to lay, after/clean windows, oil doors, clean floors.

5. A Better Compound
   - How to deal with various kinds of rubbish.
   - Burning, burying, compost-making, dangers of careless cleaning.
   - Getting the pupils to clean and improve the school compound. Visit and compare compounds in the vicinity of the school.

6. The Good Family
   - Co-operation in the family and its extension.
   - Who draws water, collects water, gathers firewood, looks after the house, etc.
   - The traditional education of children by their elders in housework, farming, good manners, custom, religion, folklore.
   - Who educates the children, and how.

7. Clothes
   - Comparison of durability, appearance, suitability. The need for clothes – different customs and attitudes.
   - Why clothes must be clean.
   - Washing, drying, ironing.

8. Utensile/Furniture
   - Items used in and around the home.
   - In the kitchen, storage of food, cooking; importance of cleanliness.

Discussion of the 'way of life' in the traditional family:

- Who, traditionally, does the various tasks,
- Who educates the children, and how,
- The community life.

Comparison with other communities.

Discussion various kinds of material and their origin with the children.

Look at pictures of clothes worn by children in other lands.

Link with daily inspection of pupils.

Children to wash, dry and iron.
Appendix C
Countries' Views on Adequacy of Existing Programs for Training Teachers for Basic Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
<th>Non-existent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic agricultural skills</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological sciences</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic science/home economics</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical education</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social, civic and political education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental studies</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in community activities/development projects</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional music, fine art and dance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern music, fine art and dance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliance activities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family and sex education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Productive work</td>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern arts and crafts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guidance and counselling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional arts and crafts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Methods of teaching adults</td>
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<tr>
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