Indian Journal of
ADULT
EDUCATION

Adult Education and Adult Psychology
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Awareness Creating Campaigns in
Adult Education
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Impact of Television on Social
Awareness of Adults

Indian Adult Education Association

Indian Journal of Adult Education

The Indian Journal of Adult Education, first published in 1939, is brought out now as a quarterly by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Journal has special interest in the theory and practice of Non-formal Education with special reference to the relationship between Adult Education and Development.

Contributions on a wide range of themes within this broad framework are welcome. The Journal is particularly interested in current experiments in the field.

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Content

Editorial

With the launching of the International Literacy Year by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh, on 22 January 1990, India has joined the international community in completely eradicating illiteracy from the world by creating infrastructures and facilities neccessary for executing a plan of action for the coming decade with international help and cooperation.

The twenty-third General Conference of Unesco, held in Sofia in 1985, realising the urgency of eradication of illiteracy by the turn of the century, declared that the task should be a priority objective of the international community and of Unesco. In accordance with its appeal "to proclaim an International Year, this observance of which would contribute to greater understanding by world public opinion of the various aspects of the problem of illiteracy and to intensified efforts to spread literacy and education", the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in December 1987, proclaiming 1990 as the International Literacy Year and invited Unesco to play the role of the lead organisation for its preparation and observance. The twenty-fourth Unesco General Conference held in 1987, formulated and approved the objectives of the International Literacy Year, some of the task-oriented objectives of which were : elmination of illiteracy through education in rural areas and urban slums, in favour of women and girls and among populations and groups having special educational needs, creation of public awareness of the scope, nature and implications of illiteracy as well as of the ways and means of combating it; mobilization of public opinion in favour of literacy through increasing popular participation within and among countries; and consideration of issues of critical importance such as reducing the number of primary school drop-outs and establishing post-literacy programmes to prevent lapse into illiteracy.

'International Literacy Year : A Practical Guide for Non Governmental Organizations, Unesco Clubs, Associated Schools and other Interested

Groups" is an outstanding and exciting document. It says : International Literacy Year is not an operation centrally orchestrated and funded from some world command post. What it is, what it achieves, largely depend on what people like you decide to do about it." It lists "increasing public awareness" as a major objective of the International Literacy Year, and this has a lot of significance for the Indian Adult Education Association. It is a communication function. The Association, through its books, journals, newsletter and a wide network of institutional and individual members is trying its best to increase public awareness, but perhaps in view of the magnitude of the task, its efforts are not enough. It has to engineer a multiplier effect through vigorous efforts. But, as the Guide states, the success of such efforts "largely depend on what people like you decide to do about it." This is a message for all of us. What are we doing about it ? What shall we do about it during this year? What shall we do about it during the nineties ?

Anuradha Sahasradubhe

Adult Education and Adult Psychology

Adult education, inspite many years of experimenting with different techniques remains a difficult proposition. It is more difficult in a country like India that has traditionally been highly educated without necessarily being literate.

While modern living demands acquisition of literacy skills, the targetted beneficiaries see it as an useless exercise, and often reject it totally.

The chief problems in teaching adult learners seem to be lack of appropriate motivation of the learners and inability in evolving appropriate techniques of teaching. The two are interdependent. If the learners are not motivated there is no group to teach to, or the class is disinterested, and with a resultant poor attention span, learns very little. On the other hand if motivated learners are taught through appropriate teaching techniques they soon lose interest and the technique itself becomes a demotivating factor.

To overcome this difficulty, i.e. to appropriately motivate learners as well as sustain their interest and facilitate learning through use of suitable and acceptable but simple methodology, this paper proposes the use of knowledge regarding adult psychology to an optimal level.

In the following sections various relevant theories of adult learning have been outlined with their implications for development of a suitable acceptable technique for adult education.

Principles of Adult Learning

Learning is a process by which an individual through his/her own activity changes in behaviour in knowledge, understanding, attitudes, skills, appreciation and so on.

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Psychological and behavioural scientific research gives the following findings regarding effective learning, with inherant implications for adult education methodology.

1. *Learning takes place when there is a need to learn and this need is felt by the learners.* Such a 'felt need' has the capability of being the single chief motivational factor for adult learning.

This aspect of the need being 'felt' is important, as again.t the needs of a targetted group of learners indentified by the change agent.

To highlight the importance and usefulness of the 'felt need' for planning a successful non-formal education programme, an example could be cited at this point :

In an experiment that tried to test a new methodology for adult education through action research, in the age-group of 14-16 years, the learners managed to master the skills in embroidery within two hours, although the skill was entirely new to them. (They mastered about nine basic stitches). This was found to be due to their felt need of preparing their troussou. (Most of them were engaged to be married that year).

2. *The learning experience has to be delightful and the learning atmosphere free of tensions.* Such an atmosphere ensures that the adult returns to the learning experience again and again.

This principle is extremely important as most beneficiaries of adult education toil for the whole day. Women especially have no time for relaxation in their hectic daily schedules. In such circumstances learning becomes an additional burden. General gossip sessions are more relaxing than learning to read and write, or for that matter conscentrating to learn anything that is not desired.

The traditional adult educators in India have exploited this need of the adult learner for delightful and relaxing nature of educational programmes. As a result, the folk-formats which are largely religious in nature become attractive propositions for adult learners. They offer commentary and information on modern issues in a traditional entertaining format (elements of music, dance and drama are interwoven).

3. *The 'self' of the adult learner needs to be preserved.* He cannot be told what to learn, it has to be his choice.

Non-recognition of this has lead to severe drawbacks in the progress of adult education. People are forced to learn literacy skills, not because it was their choice but they were forced to accept it as their choice.

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4. *One cannot really teach an adult, one can only facilitate learning by facilitating the perception of the learner.*

Most educational programmes for adults, in spite of their professed non-formal methods, end up using formal lecture techniques for want of skills in other methodologies, as well as the teacher finding the mode easier. The techniques adopted for most of these lectures take the learners' ignorance for granted and imposes on them the superiority of the teacher. There is bound to be a resistance.

However, properly handled discussions initiate and/or facilitate a thinking process, that helps learners draw on their own experiences to come to their own decisions. Such decisions are always more acceptable.

5. *Developmental psychology shows that there are various changes in the make-up of man with advancing age.* Different developmental tasks for different age-groups have been identified. Learning takes place according to demands of this task and the adult education content to be effectively useful would have to take this into account.

6. *Environmental influences are known to inhibit as well as facilitate learning,* thus implying that the best use be made of enviornmental influences, or building up a programme in view of the environmental influences. This means appropriate topics will have to be chosen depending upon the circumstances. To cite an example, in an urban community development project in a slum in the Pune city, a workshop in housing improvement, and identification of methods for the same, became extremely useful chiefly due to the forced housing conditions in the particular settlement.

7. *The S-O-R formula (Stimulus Organism Response) is operational in adult learning too, but the 'O' assumes great importance and gets stronger with advancing age.*

Acknowledging the increasing strength of 'O' and working out a technique with full regard for the same is therefore indicated. This 'O' is highly sensitive, and therefore any educational message that attacks it directly can prove to be a permanently de-motivating factor. All educational messages that attack set beliefs, to give one example, need to be passed on with great care.

8. *The product of the ratio of load of the demands on self: the power provided by available resources, could be important determinant of the success of a programme of education for adult learners.*

Facilitating better utilization of available power and/or reduction of load through augmentation of resources available to a learner would enhance the margin of excess of the ratio. This means, if the content of education is such that it caters to the resource augmentation or better power-utiliza-

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tion, the experience would be welcome and one that the learner feels like coming back to.

A study of the 'felt needs' would offer directions to the programme-planner in facilitation of greater margin of the ratio.

9. *There are critical periods in an individual's life when life exerts stress ; and such pressure periods call for adaptations.* The adaptations may call for new information/skills. If provided at the right juncture, the degree of acceptance is greater.

Thus a woman in the child-bearing age is motivated to find time from her busy schedule to come to a learning situation that offers information useful for the welfare of her children.

The curriculum planned for adults can definitely take direction from this phenomenon in planning useful topics that are relevant to the phase of life of the majority of learners in the group.

10. *The adults view themselves as non-learners and this acts as a negative force on any teaching-learning situation.* Much of such self perception is due to the traditional beliefs about education.

In addition there are caste-class sex related biases, many of them socio-culturally traditional in nature. Certain castes/classes even in today's secular society consider themselves non-learners of literacy-numeracy skills. Similarly women percieving themselves as care-takers of the home, for which literacy education is not required, consider all adult education as out of their bounds, or unneccessary.

This means that development of an adult education programme in such a way that the beneficiaries feel it is more of a forum for exchange and enhancement of knowledge, rather than a place for indoctrination, is imperative.

11. *The sense of discovery which is instrumental in childhood learning is lost with advancing age.* This hampers motivation to learn. Fostering this sense through appropriate teaching- learning technology could go a long way in any adult education programme. Supply of new informction based on correctly judged felt needs could possibly generate/renovate interest in adult education.

12. *The degree of motivation to learn in adult learning depends upon the goal the concerned adult sets himself before engaging in a learning activity.* Thus the need for the adult to see the learning as leading to an important goal for self-betterment is indicated and its implications to a trainer/educator are obvious. It has often been found in training of field level functionaries

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that topics pertaining to agricultural or para-agricultural operations claim maximum attention or topics concerning female health are very interesting to a predominantly female group of learners.

13. Andragogy indicates that *the individual develops a need to be percieved as self-directing and therefore, if treated as a child, resentment would be the result.* This, among other things, indicates the use of proper adult teaching techniques as against those commonly used for convenience that ape the nursery school methods, especially to transmit literacy skills. The theory also has an important implication for the teacher-student relationship, which has to be at par and definitely not where the teacher is the 'know-all' superior. As is well known, the Indian masses, especially a majority of the beneficairies of the adult education programme are the victims of the culture of silence'; they do not believe in questioning any authority. The above-described negative teacher-student relationship would only further precipitate the culture of silence.

As said earlier, experience increases with age and therefore, there is a greater need for experimental techniques that ensure maximum involvement of learners, rather than traditional transmittal technique which ensures the opposite.

The experiences of the adults if ignored leads to a feeling of rejection and motivates the adult to reject such learning all together. A typical example of this is dealing with topics pertaining to superstitious beliefs. The learners may be given a chance to talk about their experiences regarding the same but the teacher would go on to reject these experiences totally or may even mock at them. This creates a negative feeling for the educator and education.

Conducting an adult education programme without disregard for such learners' experiences becomes a tricky prospect for educators, as experiences also leads to widening individual differences. Allotment of time for free expression of opinions on a topic and consensus through discussion with the adult educator as a catalytic agent becomes an important key to success of the endeavour.

Andragogy also shows that education is more effective when the initial learning is related to what the learner already knows rather than to what the instructor knows. This theory offers a definite direction for conducting an adult education class. It has several implications :

(i) The instructor/educator cannot successfully introduce a new topic without relating it to the experiences of the adult learner e.g. A class on nutrition is more effective if built on the existing food practices of the majority of the learners. This would involve discussion of the existing practices, analysis of their positive and negative features, and

future consideration of a need for change in these practices based on the discussion to which the educator has made a mojor contribution.

(ii) The choice of the topic to be dealt with in the class necessarily has to be that of the learner this would naturally be guided by the learner's time-specific 'felt need'.

(iii) The planners therefore need to equip their grass-root functionaries adequately. He/she has to be prepared to take up or atleast initiate teaching-learning activities according to the choice of his/her clientele.

(iv) This may also mean that though general goals for a programme can be set, regulations for achievement of these in a specific time-period lead to very little in terms of actual education.

Adult education is no doubt a difficult task, especially in a tradition-bound society that has been illiterate but not ignorant. An understanding of the principles of adult psychology would help both in the planning of effective programmes of adult education as well as offer result-oriented guidelines for the actual teaching-learning processes. If the adult education programmes are based on adult learning psychology, the outcome world be an enriching experience for the learners.

Appendix-I

Notes

1. *Adult education programme :* An education programme generally planned for illiterate masses, with an objective of alleviating illiteracy, while providing other time and group specific skill as well as developing social awareness.

The programme has been in existence for many years in the country. It has evolved through the years with attempts greared towards making it more appealing for the clientele.

2. *Learner :* The beneficiary of an adult education programme.
3. *Functionary/educator :* Teacher of the adult learners.

Appendix-II

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Alan Rogers

Hills on the Horizon ?
Awareness Creating Campaigns in Adult Education

Every adult education, extension or development campaign commences with an awareness-raising effort. This is an understood thing in every piece of writing. Before learners will learn (that is, before they will be willing to make changes in their ways of thinking and in their ways of doing), they need to become 'aware'. Whether we are engaged in a family planning programme, whether we are working in literacy, in income-generating, in

agricultural extension, or in health and nutrition; whether we are working with young people, with farmers, with urban slum dwellers, or with mothers with infants the message to the animator and extension worker is the same "first make your learners aware; then you can start the programme".

The format of these awareness-raising tasks varies from place to place and from time to time. Some consist of lectures by visiting experts. Some consist of visits to other sites (as in agricultural extension, for example). Some consist of discussion groups. Some consist of lessons with visual aids. And so on.

But the question I wish to raise here is this : does awareness-raising really have any effect on our learning programmes? I remember a village I recently visited in Tamil Nadu. The villagers there had an awareness-raising programme of 24 weeks conducted by an unemployed graduate who came from that village. He had led a series of discussion groups in the evening for the villagers (all men). When we visited the village at the end of the programme, I asked the group what they planned to do next, now that the awareness-raising programme was at an end. They said they did not know. I asked what they felt the village needed. They were able to answer this because of their awareness-raising programme. "A village bakery". I then asked how they were going to go about getting one; to which they replied that they could do nothing, someone would have to give it to them.

So the question must now be asked : is awareness-raising enough ?

The Indian novelist R. K. Narayan, in a recent interview in one of the English Sunday newspapers, speaking about his fictional village of Malgudi, said this :

> "A man in a village will be preoccupied with the rains, the monsoon, his neighbours and the cattle, though he will be aware of the important things from outside that affect his life, like chemical fertilisers".

This distinction between 'awareness' and 'pre-occupations' seems to me to be very important for our adult education and extension programmes. Our villager or slum dweller will be *aware* of many things in the distance—like hills on the horizon. But they will be *preoccupied* with food, with money, with health, with family matters, with neighbourly relations. These latter things will be the matters which will dominate their thinking, which will loom large in their lives. They may one day come to climb the hills on the horizon; but today they are too busy to do more than cope with water on

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the road,with the leaking roof, with the drought and the cattle sickness, with the health of the young child.

Our awareness-raising campaigns may bring those hills on the horizon a little closer. They may make their outlines clearer. The participants in our awareness-raising campaigns may come to know a little more about these hills—their names, their valleys, what they grow there, who lives there and so on. Thus, when we teach awareness about nutrition or fertilisers or the environment, our learners will nod their heads and say "how interesting"; but their preoccupations will remain with the rains, the cattle, the neighbours, the family. What *we* want them to learn will remain on the periphery of their lives. This is particularly true of literacy. However much we may engage in awareness-raising exercises at the start of our literacy programmes, literacy will remain on the horizon, it will continue to be a remote aspiration, largely irrelevant to their immediate and pressing concerns. Equally fertilisers will take second place to the immediate concern of repaying the money-lender; health and nutrition are of less importance than the marriage of their daughter.

From awareness to preoccupation

Awareness-raising then is not enough : something more is needed. We need to make *our* concerns (nutrition, income-generation, literacy, family-planning, the environment, social forestry, improved fishing, village social needs, increased agricultural output, whatever it is we are engaged in) not just the subjects of 'awareness', hills on their horizon, but 'pre-occupation', core issues in the centre of their lives. We need to help them to attach as much importance to these matters as we do.

Exactly how this is to be done must be worked out separately in each case. One way is to take what are their existing 'pre-occupations' and to seek to explore with them the way our subjects (literacy etc.) can help them with their immediate concerns. For if we cannot help them to deal with their 'pre-occupations', with what is on the top of their minds at the moment, we have no business to be helping them at all. We cannot teach them what they think is not immediately relevant to the matters which are uppermost in their minds at the moment. Or perhaps we can help them make our programme into more than an awareness, into a 'pre-occupation'. For unless our literacy, our agriculture, our health and nutrition, our family planning are a 'pre-occupation' the participant group will not learn.

What seems to be quite clear is that awareness on its own, an understanding of what is on the horizon, of what is possible, is not enough. We need to make our awarenesses into pre-occupations before learning changes will take place.

K. Govindappa
P. Muralidharudu
N. V. Narayana

Impact of National Adult Education Programme in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh

National Adult Education Programme (N.A.E.P.) was launched in India in 1978. The programme aimed at bringing one hundred million illiterates in the age group of 15 to 35 years under the fold of adult education. The learners enrolled in adult education centres are exposed to a nine-month programme. The education imparted to them comprises of three areas, viz. *literacy*—the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic; *functionality*—the skills and knowledge relevant to one's own occupation and economic activities and *awareness*—knowledge and understanding of socio-politico-economic problems.

Majority of the studies on N.A.E.P. focussed on the organisational, administrative, financial and practical problems associated with the implementation of the programme. However, studies on the impact of N.A.E.P. on skills relating to literacy, functionality and awareness of the learners are wanting and hence the present study makes an attempt in this direction.

This paper presents the major findings and conclusions arrived at from an evaluative study conducted in the Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh, to assess the impact of N.A.E.P. on the levels of literacy, functionality and awareness of learners against their socio-economic profile.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are :

(1) to trace the trend of N.A.E.P. in Anantapur District with reference to enrolment of learners;

(2) to assess the impact of N.A.E.P. on imparting literacy among the learners;

(3) to study the impact of N.A.E.P. on enhancing the functionality and promoting social awareness among the learners; and

(4) to trace the factors that hinder the impact of N.A.E.P.

Area and sample

The study pertains to the impact of N.A.E.P. in Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh. Six adult education centres representing different regions of the two adult education projects implemented in the District were selected for the present study. The centres represent those meant for women and men learners exclusively and collectively.

Twenty learners who have completed the Course in 1986-87 were randomly selected from each centre. In all, one hundred and twenty learners, drawn from six adult education centres. formed the sample for the study. Data were collected from the learners with the aid of a schedule.

National Adult Education Programme in Anantpur District

Anantapur District has a total population of 26.18 lakhs, as per the 1981 census. Only 27.08 per cent of the population on the District is literate. In rural areas only 22 persons per 100 are found to be literate. Thus,

Anantapur is one of the educationally backward districts in Andhra Pradesh.

Adult education in Anantapur district was introduced way back in 1882 through the system of night schools. 28 night schools were functioning in the District in the year 1893. The local boards, municipalities and private institutions played a significant role in promoting adult education in Anantapur District. In the beginning of the 20th century, as many as 133 centres were functioning in the District. After Independence, social education was provided to the adults in the District under the banner of Community Development Programme. 2,664 adults were educated in the First Five Year Plan period. The Second Plan period witnessed the establishment of 400 adult education centres. Subsequently, adult education received a set-back in the District and was revived with the implementation of N.A.E.P.

The National Adult Education Programme was launched in Anantapur District on 26th July, 1980. Initially only one adult education project was launched. In 1985, another project started functioning with its headquarters at Kadiri. Altogether 2,078 centres were set up in the District, covering 62,220 learners.

In the past six years, 1856 centres were started in rural areas and the remaining 222 centres covered urban localities. 1,085 centres were meant exclusively for men, and 700 centres were established separately for women. The remaining 293 centres catered to the needs of both sexes. 300 centres were started annually from 1980 to 1983. Only 288 could be established in 1984. Because of the second adult education project, 590 centres were established in the year 1985.

The adult education programme covered 62,220 learners in the past six years. 89.59 per cent of these learners were from rural areas. Only 10.41 per cent were enrolled in urban communities. The sex distribution of the learners showed that sixty per cent of them were males and 40 per cent were females. The enrollment patterns for each year in the District showed gradual increase in the enrollment of female learners. Their percentage increased from 31.8 in 1980 to 42.65 in 1985.

Out of the learners enrolled in the District from 1980-86, 27.7 per cent were from Scheduled Castes and seven per cent from Scheduled Tribes. The Backward Caste learners joined the programme in large numbers. They accounted for 45.7 per cent of the learners. The percentage of Scheduled Caste learners showed a marginal increase from 23.9 per cent in 1980 to 28.1 per cent in 1985. There was also an increase from 6.7 per cent to 10.5 per cent correspondingly in the enrollment of Scheduled Tribes.

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Profile of the Learners

The study covered a sample of 120 learners drawn from six adult education centres, namely, Guvvalaguttapalli, Subbarayunipalli, Venkatagaripalli, Bukkarayasamudram, Chadella and Chiyyedu. Out of the six centres, three centres each were selected from the two projects at Kadiri and Tadpatri mandals. Two centres were meant exclusively for males, two were meant for females and the other two centres were open to learners from both sexes. Our findings on the demographic, social and economic profile of the sample learners are listed below :

(1)   Our sample comprised of an equal number of learners from males and females.

(2)   Majority of the learners (54 per cent) were below 25 years in age.

(3)   Even though N.A.E.P. is meant for the learners in the age group of 15 to 35 years, 6.7 per cent of the learners in our study were above 35 years in age.

(4)   The learners represented married and un-married sections more or less equally.

(5)   Fiftyfive per cent of the learners were from joint families.

(6)   The programme succeeded to a great extent in enlisting the participation from the educationally backward sections. About 51 per cent of the learners were from Backward Castes, 7.5 per cent were from Scheduled Castes and 11.7 per cent were from Scheduled Tribes.

(7)   The programme also succeeded in bringing under its fold economically weaker sections. 28.34 per cent of the learners in our study were drawn from families with small land holdings, while 34 per cent belonged to families with less than one hectare of land.

(8)   The occupational status of the learners indicated that 28.3 per cent were agricultural labourers and 13.3 per cent were artisans.

(9)   The learners were mostly from the poor (40 per cent) and middle (43.3 per cent) income groups.

From the analysis of socio-economic background of learners, we may infer that women, and economically and educationally backward communities responded positively to N.A.E.P.

Impact of Literacy

National Adult Education Programme succeeded only partially in imparting literacy skills to the learners. This observation is made based upon the following findings :

(1) Only 43 per cent of the learners in our study exhibited reading abilities.

(2) The ability to write was picked up by about 41 per cent of the learners.

(3) The skills of carrying out simple calculations were acquired by only 35 per cent of the learners.

(4) The performance of the learners in the field of literacy was, in turn, determined by different factors.

The relationship between literacy and different factors is presented below :

(a) female learners recorded poor literacy levels compared to male learners.

(b) The learners in older age groups performed poorly when compared to the younger learners.

(c) Learners from nucleus families acquired better literacy skills than those from joint families.

(d) The performance of the learners from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was generally below the performance of those from other Castes.

(e) Literacy skills were not acquired to the desired extent by the learners without any land.

(f) The learners from low income categories failed to perform satisfactorily in the areas of literacy.

(g) Among the different factors studied, only marital status and occupation did not influence literacy level in any significant manner.

Impact of functionality

The functionality levels of the learners were analysed in terms of the information provided on their occupations, subsidiary occupations, role of development agencies and on agriculture. The findings of our study with reference to the component of functionality are listed below :

(1) The learners in our study gained functional knowledge to a satisfactory level in areas concerned with the primary occupations. Their performance was generally satisfactory in areas of agricultural information, functioning of financial institutions and development agencies. The functionality level of the learners was found to be poor in respect of subsidiary occupations.

(2) Only 23 per cent of the learners acquired more than average functional knowledge in all the fields put together.

3. About 22 per cent of the learners could not gain satisfactory functional standard.

4. The level of functional achievement was influenced by different demographic, social and economic factors.

The relationship between functionality and these factors is indicated by the following findings :

(a) The functional performance of male learners was generally superior to that of the female learners.

(b) Learners in the age group of 15 to 25 years gained very little in functional aspects.

(c) The functionality was found to be at a better level among the married learners.

(d) In respect of functionality, learners from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lagged behind the others in general.

(e) The performance of cultivators in functional aspects was superior to that of the agricultural labourers.

(f) Learners without any land generally failed to attain a satisfactory functional knowledge.

(g) The learners from higher income groups acquired better functional standards than those from the lower income groups.

(h) Family status did not influence the level of functionality among the learners to any significant level.

Impact of Social Awareness

Our study analysed the levels of social awareness among the learners by taking into account, their awareness in regard to political, health and other social issues. Our findings on the impact of N.A.E.P. on social awareness are listed below :

(1) Only 25 per cent of the learners could attain more than average of social awareness and 30 per cent of the learners failed to attain sufficient social awareness.

(2) Political awareness of the learners presented a mixed picture. While a majority of the learners could identify different political parties, their symbols and leaders, awareness in regard to functioning of different political institutions was below average.

(3) The awareness of the learners about health aspects was found to be very poor.

(4) The extent of awareness on different social problems presented a mixed trend. Majority of the learners have come to consider alchololism and over-population as social problems. Many of them failed to consider untouchability as a crime and many did not prefer inter-caste marriages.

(5) Social awareness was influenced by various factors, as shown below :

    (a) As in the case of literacy and functionality, social awareness is also found to be more among the male learners compared to female learners.

    (b) Social awareness was found to be at a higher level among the learners in the younger age groups.

    (c) The unmarried learners projected a higher degree of social awareness when compared with the married learners.

    (d) The learners from higher castes, as observed in the cases of literacy and functionality, attained a higher level of social awareness.

    (e) Agricultural labour among the learners lagged behind the owner-cultivators in social awareness.

    (f) The extent of social awareness was found to be low among the learners without any land or with marginal land holdings.

    (g) The learners in higher income groups acquired/a better level of of awareness than the learners with low incomes.

    (h) The relationship between awareness of the learners and their type of family was found to be insignificant.

Over all Impact of National Adult Education Programme

Our study shows that the performance of the learners was relatively better in literacy. While a similar finding was made by earlier studies, the contention that only literacy was given importance in the National Adult Education Programme did not find support in Anantapur District. The learners in Anantapur District were able to heighten their functional and social awareness to a significant level.

The findings of our study indicate that 21.67 per cent of the learners attained fair literacy standards. On the other hand, 23.33 per cent of the learners obtained a higher degree of functional knowledge, while 25 per cent showed a fair level of social awareness. While 30 per cent of the learners

lagged behind in literacy, their counterparts accounted for 26.67 per cent in functionality and 31.67 per cent in social awareness.

The performance of the learners in general showed that only 29.17 per cent of the learners could not utilise the programme properly. While majority (67.5 per cent) of the learners gained average abilities, about 28 per cent of the learners achieved overall improvement in the areas of literacy, functionality and social awareness.

Performance of the learners depended on various socio-economic factors. Women, scheduled caste learners, scheduled tribe learners, learners without any land, learners working as agricultural labourers and learners with lower annual income failed to reach minimum standards in all the three areas of adult education. The learners in the younger age groups fared well in attaining satisfactory literacy standards. They lagged behind the older learners in functionality. The performance of men in general and of those in the category of forward castes, medium farmers, cultivators and higher income groups was relatively better.

Some of the learners as well as instructors opined that the course duration of nine months was not sufficient and this opinion was confirmed from the fact that nearly 30 per cent of the learners were found lagging behind. The course duration thus needs to be extended to one year. The performance of certain sections of learners was below expectations. As a result, the study recommends that special attention has to be paid by N.A.E.P. functionaries for the benefit of these sections, viz., women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, landless labour, and economically poorer sections.

In a nutshell, it can be concluded that N.A.E P. in Anantapur District was implemented effectively. Though different adult education activities were organised from time to time, the District witnessed a massive adult education drive from 1980 only. About 62,220 learners joined adult education centres. The response from educationally backward sections like women, backward castes and agricultural labour was found to be overwhelming. The enrolment pattern of women in particular was on the rise since the inception of the programme. Some specific groups of learners like women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, landless labour, and poor section did not utilise the programme to a satisfactory level. On the whole, only 28 per cent of the learners performed well and about 47.5 per cent of the learners performed satisfactorily. About 29.17 per cent of the learners could not improve their literacy, functionality and awareness. By extending the duration of course to one year and by making additional efforts for the specific benefit of women and learners from lower socio-economic strata, N.A.E.P. could achieve its objective of helping the learners to develop themselves as well as improving their environment.

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Opinion of Rural Women on Various Determinants of Population Dynamics

Introduction

The family planning programme in India is taken as a key to individual and family development. It is well realised by now that the population of the country is increasing at a much higher rate than the rate of development. The benefits accrued by the developmental process are absorbed by the increase in population. An unplanned and uncontrolled growth in the population not only outstrips the resources required for our national development, but leads to avoidable social tensions.

It is also apparent that poverty cannot be effectively combated unless the family size limited to enable each child to have adequate share of resources and opportunities.

There are various factors which determine the size of the family, i.e., child bearing age, gap between two children, desirable proportion of boys to girls, desire to have a male or a female child, etc.

The urban and educated people are already beginning to realise and accept the importance of family planning but it is the huge rural population which has to play a significant role in this direction. It is therefore, of vital importance to know rural women's opinion on the desired family size and composition and the associated factors which affect the population dynamics. It will help to pin point the crucial areas in planning suitable educational programmes for rural women and to make them more favourable towards family planning programme. More specifically, the objective of the study was to find out the opinion of rural women on selected determinants affecting family size and composition.

Methodology

The study was carried out in Haryana. The subjects of the study were 84 associate women workers (active members of Mahila Mandal) who came from the different villages of Haryana to the State Community Development Training Centre (CDTC) at Nilokheri for participating in a training course. Such a sample was purposively selected to have a proportionate representation from all over Haryana.

The data were collected personally by the investigator with the help of a structured interview schedule. For the construction of the schedule, an exhaustive list of appropriate factors affecting family size and composition was prepared and given to judges for scrutiny. After scrutiny, 8 factors which were adjudged to be the most relevant were retained as suitable. Close ended questions were framed on each of these 8 aspects to find out the views of the women workers. Postiveness/Negativeness of the opinions on these factors was quantified by assigning weightage to different responses.

Results and Discussion

Determination of Population Dynamics :

Chandra Sekhar (1972) brought out that the age at marriage was crucial for a family's well being, and added that if the minimum age at marriage

for girls was fixed at 20 years, the reduction in total fertility would rise from 12 to 25 per cent.

The findings of the study, pertaining to the opinion of the respondents regarding the right age of child bearing, revealed that 46.42 per cent respondents regarded 20 years to more than 30 years as the right period for child bearing.

Nearly one-fifth of the respondents (21.43%) restricted the child bearing period between 20 to 30 years. The remaining one-third of the respondents (32.25%) expressed less than 20 years to 30 years or even above 30 years as the right period for child bearing.

It is generally beleived that women need two to three years interval between two consecutive births to recover from one pregnancy and prepare for another. If the duration is less than two years, than there are more chances of diseases and death in women as well as in children. As high as 92.86 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that the gap between two consecutive children should be more than 2 years, or more which was an encouraging feature.

Desirable Proportion of Boys and Girls

It has been observed that some of the couples go for more children even after achieving the desirable number of children just to obtain a desirable proportion of boys and girls. Ideally this proportion should be 50:50. Any imbalance in the number of two sexes in population creates social tension. The present findings revealed that approximately fifty per cent of the respondents desired a higher proportion of boys to girls (minimum2:1-32.14% and minimum 3:1-14-29%). As far as maximum proportion of boys to girls was concerned only 2.38 per cent of the respondents desired 1:1 ; while 48.81 per cent desired 2:1 and 3:1 each.

Nearly two-third of the respondents (67.88) felt that it was much more profitable to have more boys than girls, while only 27.38 per cent felt that it was profitable to have more girls than boys.

Corresponding to the above findings, nearly sixty per cent of the respondents (59.52%) were of the opinion that one should go on producing children till one gets one to two male children (14.28%) and 3 or more male children (45.24%). Contrary to this, 60.72 per cent of the respondents had no desire to produce more children (if they did not have a female child) for want of a female child.

These findings, clearly point towards a gender baised desire and preference for having the minimum and maximum number of children, i.e., most of the respondents felt that there should be more number of boys than girls. Any attempt to educate the women and make them agree on the right proportion of boys and girls, i.e., 1:1 is not at all likely to make any headway till necessary reforms pertaining to the dowry system are made and strictly implemented.

The existing views of the women on a desirable gap between two consecutive child births were quite encouraging as the mean positiveness score was 2.40.

TABLE 1

Determinates of Population Dynamics

Determinants	Categories	Weightage	Frequency	%	Mean positiveness score
Right age of child bearing	20 - 30	4	18	21.43	
	20>30	3	13	46.42	
	<20-30	2	14	16.67	2.64
	<20>30	1	13	15.48	
Gap between	1—2	1	6	7.14	
	3	2	38	45.24	2.40
Two children	<4	3	40	47.62	
Minimum proportion of boys to girls	1:1	3	45	53.57	
	2:1	2	27	32.14	2.39
	3:1	1	12	14.29	
Maximum proportion of girls to boys	1:1	3	2	2.38	
	2:1	2	41	48.81	1.53
	3:1	1	41	48.81	
More boys are profitable	Profit	1	57	67.86	
	equal	2	12	14.29	1.50
	Loss	3	15	17.85	
More girls are profitable	Profit	1	23	27.38	
	equal	2	11	13.09	2.32
	Loss	3	50	59.52	
Desire to have daughter if do not have	No	3	51	60.72	
	Yes—1—2	2	7	8.33	2.30
	3 more	1	26	30.95	
Desire to have son if don't have	No	3	34	40.48	
	Yes—1—2	2	12	14.28	1.95
	3 or more	1	38	45.24	

Rajender Singh

Area Development Approach :
Role of University and College Students

The University Grants Commission has initiated a number of activities and programmes like Area Development Approach, Jana Shikshan Nilayams. The concept of Area Development Approach envisages adoption of a particular area and mobilization and fullest utilisation of services/facilities of different developmental departments for ensuring improved health services, effective means of transportation, communication, water supply,

high literacy rate, higher agricultural productivity, awareness about health and hygiene, nutrition and diet, child rearing practices, environment, family planning, status of women, eradication of social evils, adoption of small family norms, and application of science and technology in day-to-day life etc. In other words, it can be stated that the concept of Area Development Approach is based on the belief that the programme for eradication of illiteracy will not work in isolation. The total development of a particular area in terms of proper facilities of education, transportation, health and sanitation, water supply, agriculture etc. will be having a multiplier effect. Under the Area Development Approach a particular area will have to be selected/adopted and efforts will be made for its all round development by involving different developmental departments; and after development of this area, its adjoining area will be taken up and the efforts will be made in the same way for its development too. This practice of adopting a particular area will continue to finally liquidate illiteracy to a great extent from the country in a limited time.

How to make the Area Development Approach a success? This very question directly places emphasis on the need for the effective management of area development approach. The adult education functionaries and different developmental departments such as health, education, agriculture, industry, etc., can play their role with the help of students/youth (belonging to that particular area adopted), who will not only carry out different functions but can successfully and effectively co-ordinate their efforts with the activities and programmes of different developmental departments. Co-ordination of different activities and functions is of vital importance in the management of any programme. The college and university students should occupy a central place in the management of the Area Development Approach.

For the effective implementation of Area Development Approach the two basic and most crucial questions which will have to be borne in mind by the adult education planners, administrators and functionaries are : (i) How to ensure smooth co-ordination among the different development departments for the effective managment system of Area Development Approach on which, in turn, depends the success of the programme?, and How are the students to be directed to win the confidence of the rural people with whom and for whom they have to work?

The first question emphasises on the need for establishment of special cells in all the departments including colleges and universities (to be involved in area development approach). Those cells should be well equipped with

trained personnel and necessary infrastructural facilities. In the absence of provision for specially trained additional staff and equipment in the different departments, these departments may not come to participate in Area Development Approach and the so called 'co-ordination and co-operation' among different departments will remain an empty slogan. For the involvement of dedicated and committed students in area development approach there should also be a special cell in all the colleges which will also facilitate the students in combining their efforts and activities with other developmental departments.

Role of Students

There are two approaches in working with the rural people.

 (i) Individual Approach

 (ii) Group Approach

Students can take up either of the two approaches for working with rural people in the areas of awareness about health and hygiene, nutrition and diet, child care, environmental conservation, agriculture, energy resources and so on. If students carry out different programmes and activities through group activity then there should be some 'entry-point' to get into the hearts of rural people. The group will have to help the people with whom and for whom it works in identifying their needs. This will serve as an entry point to win the confidence and faith of rural people. For example, *help in providing street light facilities in a village* can be considered as an *entry point* for group activity. Likewise, *'construction of wells'*, *'pacca streets'*, *'free tuition'* etc. can serve as *entry points*.

Areas :

Students can play their role effectively by identifying a number of areas and can improve the level of awareness of people in the area adopted. Here are discussed some of the areas where students, besides participating in the literacy campaign, can co-ordinate their efforts with the activities/programmes of different development departments by actively involving themselves in the adult education programme.

The possible areas where students can take a lead in the promotion, co-ordination and success of different activities and programmes under area development approach can be 'health and hygiene', education', 'agriculture', 'animal husbandary', family planning', 'environment', and 'energy education' etc. But all the efforts can be made by those students only who feel committed and concerned about the national programmes and accept the challenge of developing awareness among the illiterate adults.

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Agriculture

Students can help the extension units of Agriculture Department by acting as mediator (chain) between the farmers and agriculture specialists/workers. It often happens that farmers are not easily convinced of the adoption of newly discovered scientific agricultural practices, insecticides, pesticides, high yielding varieties of seeds, crop-rotation techniques and other agricultural implements. Even after a long discussion with workers of agriculture department they remain under the impression that the experts are advocating for the adoption of a particular practice or method for their own vested interests, profits and for serving their own interest in their respective departments. These farmers, seem to be reluctant towards change, taking risks, and in experimenting with new agricultural practices.

Animal Husbandry

The same is the case in the field of animal husbandry. Farmers are not easily persuaded to accept the necessity of vaccinating of their cattle against serious diseases. They believe that these vaccines will have adverse effect upon the health of the cattle and will reduce the quantity of milk in them. Students can help Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Departments in achieving their programme objectives and targest by getting training in these areas through short term courses, if provisions can be made for the same, during the summer vacations.

Health and Hygiene

Student can help rural people in the area of health and hygiene not only through their indirect involvement and co-ordination of activities with Health Departments but by providing to the people the basic principles of health care. If we critically see the life style of rural people we find that they are ignorant and unaware of health and hygiene. We know that in rural areas hardly any pregnant women goes to the doctor for the same. In villages many children die because of diarrhoea which causes dehydration. Students can train rural mothers in making Oral Rehydration. Therapy Mixture (ORT mixture). Those students who are really committed and dedicated towards adult education programme can get training with the help of the Health Departments about the basic principles of health and they can work as health workers in their respective areas. Further, these students can help the Health Departments by explaining the parents about the necessity of immunization of children against Diptheria, Polio, Tetanus, Tuberculosis. The water in village wells and ponds is not clean and contaminated. It needs to be purified before it is used The students can solve this problem of Health Departments by putting postassium permanganate, sodium hydroxide and chlorine etc. in appropriate quantities into the wells. About 88 per cent of the diseases are waterborne. People do not use latrines in the rural areas. Therefore, there is a need to educate the people for the

same and latrines should be introduced in rural areas by using low cost methods. Students can extend their help to the Health Departments in this regard by convincing and motivating the people in using latrines.

Further, students can moblize the rural people to avail of the facilities provided by Health Departments by opening Health Centres in villages and through organising camps for special purposes such as eye operation, family planning, immunization, of children etc. Students can develop awareness about health and hygience among the rural people through the effective use of television, radio, posters, pamphlets, community singing, dramas and discussion.

Development Programmes

It is also observed that in spite of efforts by Block Development Officers tangible results have not been achieved in popularising the practices of 'smokeless chullahas' and Gobar Gas Plants' in rural houses. Besides other advantages, 'smokeless chullahas' and 'Gobar Gas Plants' can be of great help to housewives from the point of their own health and can also improve kitchen conditions. Local students can be involved in this programme. Students can explain and demonstrate the advantages of smokeless chullahas and Gobar Gas Plants to rural people, particularly housewives, by showing the results/advantages of the same over the traditional one. These practices can be popularised in villages through experimentation and demonstrations by students.

Now-a-days government is giving a lot of emphasis on rural development through I.C D.S. and other developmental programmes for women welfare aiming at developing basic home skills and income generating skills. Students can contribute significantly in this direction by popularising and initiating such programmes in their villages which will enable the women in general and girls in particular, to acquire income generating skills which will help them in making appropriate use of their leisure time and add to their family income.

Female education

Female literacy, particularly in rural areas, in our country is extremely low, i.e. about 24 per cent. Again, the drop-out rate among girls is very high. Girls are normally burdened with household chores. They are deprived of education and exposure to the outside world and therefore, they remain ignorant and superstitious. Therefore, there is a need to convince the illiterate parents for girls' education vis-a-vis motivating these parents for adult education programme. Female students can interact with such girls and persuade their mothers for their enrolment in schools. The above plan of action may work only after carrying out proper survey of the existing situations in the area adopted.

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Integrated Development of Kannikar Tribals Dispersed in the Western Ghats of Trivandrum District in Kerala

Introduction

'Kanikkars' or 'Kani hillmen are inhabiting' the Western Ghats region on the banks of Neyyardam reservoir in the Amboori village of Trivandrum District, Kerala. The Tribal Area Research Centre of Kerala Agricultural University, since its inception in 1983, was making attempts for the upliftment and socio-economic development of these tribal people. Through a multidisciplinary approach involving agriculture and allied sciences, encouraging impact could be made in the whole farm development and improvement of the partially degraded environment harmonising the agro-ecosystem with the forest ecosystem. A research-cum-development programme of this type, with its educative role and long term perspective, however, can be evaluated only on the long run. The efforts are unfolded in this paper.

Background of the Community

The tribal people of Kerala consist of 35 distinct communities. They number about 2.61 lakhs (1.03 per cent) of the population of the State.

'Kanikkars' or 'Kani hillmen' are one of the major ethnic groups inhabiting the Western ghat region of Quilon and Trivandrum Districts of Kerala. The tribal habitate on the banks of Neyyardam reservoir in the Amboori village of Trivandrum District form one of the major clusters of Kanikkar dwellings. These tribal people, once nomadic gathering food from forest sources, gradually adopted themselves to a 'slash and burn' as well as shifting methods of cultivation. As a result of the changes in forest policy and influence of Government and other agencies, they gradually settled down carrying out a slightly centered system of agricultural activities. The demographic particulars of these Kanikkars in the Amboori area are presented in Table 1.

Even though the main occupation is agriculture, their cultivation practices are neither scientific nor systematic resulting in poor returns from the crops.

Inadequate inputs, inefficient management and lack of technical knowhow accentuate the problems of their development.

Land use and cropping pattern

The area under thick forest canopy has succumbed to acute deforestation. Nature vegetation, typical of the humid tropics, includes important tree species like *Dalbergia latifolia* (Eatty), *Lagerstromia lanceolata* (Venteak), *Terminalia paniculata* (Maruthu) etc.

In the homesteads, tapioca is the main crop. Vegetable, a few varieties of banana, sweet potato and other tuber crops are commonly grown. Upland paddy is also grown to a small extent. Perennial crops such as coconut, arecanut, pepper and rubber etc. occupy vaccant spaces on the periphery of the holdings.

Tribal area research centre (TARC)

The Kanikkars have adequate arable land and man power to dig and plant (Table 1). The investment-intensive nature and long pre-bearing periods of the plantation crops and lack of improved technology are the major hurdles of the tribal farmers to achieve cash power attained by the settler farmers of the surrounding areas. The need of the hour was the helping hand of a research and development agency.

In July 1983, the Tribal Area Research Centre of the Kerala Agricultural University started functioning as a co-ordinated project with the financial support of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research.

After a detailed bench mark survey, the following strategies were adopted for the formulation of programmes for tribal development in Amboori.

i) The agro-ecosystem developed in the tribal hamlets should harmonise with the surrounding forest ecosystem. The tribal people should be recognised as the centre of such an ecosystem.

ii) A multi-disciplinary approach involving the experts from agriculture and allied sciences is the felt-necessity to tackle the problems of the tribal people from all angles.

iii) The approach to all programmes should essentially be of participatory nature involving the tribal people in all stages of execution. The experiments should be in the farmers fields. Training should be an essential and integral part of all programmes.

iv) Programmes should be implemented taking into consideration the availability of inputs. Viable farming modules should be designed and worked out to cater to the household needs and to enhance returns from unit land area.

Earlier attempts

All our earlier attempts were aimed at increasing the overall food production in the tribal area by way of growing seasonal and sustenance crops. As part of a programme of improving the survival crops, high yielding varieties of crops like tapioca, sweet potato, upland paddy, maize, sorghum and vegetables including legumes were introduced in the area. This had the objective of increasing the food production potential of tribal people.

Further modifications on the prevailing cropping pattern were made by way of intercropping, growing of crops on the contour hands, homestead cultivation of vegetables and fruit plants. Thus, three core areas for scientific farming was recognised : first, the immediate vicinity of the tribal households, second, the peripheral agricultural area of the homesteads and third, the uncultivated area.

The immediate premises of the house having adequate sunshine and moisture were set aside for growing vegetables, banana, and tapioca, etc., besides a few coconut trees for providing coconuts for domestic use. Outer to this area, perennial plantations and spice crops such as arecanut with pepper trailed on them, coconut, clove, nutmeg and fruits crops etc. were raised. Intercropping with shade tolerant crops such as pineapple, dioscorea and colocasia was attempted to fetch additional income to the tribal farmers. The outer most area of the homesteads which uncultived were left utilised for growing income earning crops like rubber, cashew etc., with appropriate management practices. Thus, such uncultivated lands were converted to profitable plantations by growing perennial crops. Rubber being the predominant crop in the surrounding area, it was proposed to introduce it in the tribal area also. The periphery of each holding and of each hamlet was proposed to be planted with minor forest produce yielding tree such as garcinia, emblica, tamarind and even jack and pickle varieties of mango which are rapidly vanishing from the urban areas.

Thus, with the least alteration of the surrounding forest ecosystem, a suitable cropping pattern harmonising with the forests could be developed. This will, instead of degrading the environment, will ensure ecorestoration of the area. This is being attempted in a planned manner, gradually with the funds that are made available by various programmes, but mainly through education of the Kanikkars.

Approach

The approach to the implementation of all programmes was essentially of a participatory nature wherein the tribal people were involved in the various stages of execution with the technical expertise and supply of inputs wherever feasible, offered by the Centre.

TABLE 1

Demographic particulars of Kanikkar Tribals of Amboori

Settlement	Number of families	Population	Occupation		Holding size (acre)						Education status		
			Agriculture labourers	Government employees	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	Primary school	High school	College
1. Karikuzhi	18	80	25	1	5	7	—	1	—	—	14	9	—
2. Sankinkonam	9	40	18	1	5	8	—	1	—	—	16	9	—
3. Puravimala	27	137	36	1	13	10	2	2	—	—	39	12	1
4. Kunnathumala	25	113	42	1	3	16	4	2	—	—	24	12	—
5. Thenmala	38	139	28	1	8	18	6	4	1	—	18	1	—
6. Ayyavilakom	14	48	17	—	9	1	—	2	1	1	9	7	—
7. Kaipampala moodu	10	46	10	—	4	5	1	—	—	—	14	6	—
8. Chakkappara	34	152	39	2	17	10	2	3	3	—	22	39	4
Total	175	755	216	7							156	95	5

(*Source* : Bench Mark survey conducted by TARC during 1986)

The field office of the centre itself is located in the lands of one of the beneficiaries, Sri Kochappi Kani of Karikuzhy settlement, who get convinced himself of the benefits that would arise by the working of the centre to the community which he represents.

All the agricultural experiments were laid out in the holdings of selected beneficiaries involving their labour. The produce of the harvest could be taken by themselves. However since most of them are agricultural labourers there was difficulty in the time of conduction of the programmes as the beneficiaries would be otherwise engaged.

The selection of beneficiaries under various programmes for instance, in agriculture where poly bag seedlings of rubber were supplied free, would be based on the interest and sincerity in the programme and their preparedness to abide by the instruction of the Centre. They were selected based on the survey conducted in different settlements. Women were actively involved in home science and health programmes.

Training was a part of all programmes including activities in agriculture where adequate training was imparted to the beneficiaries on relevant aspects as required in the conduction of the programmes.

Findings

i) Establishment of rubber plantation in Kanikkar homestead

The possibility of regular daily flow of income from rubber had created much interest among Kanikkar farmers to grow it in their homesteads. The programme envisaged to establish viable units of rubber plantation in each kanikkar homestead. Each tribal farmer was supplied with 120 poly bag plants of rubber RRII-105. 107 farmers were selected for establishing rubber plantations and they were spread in the eight Kanikkar settlements. A Samithi called 'The Kanikkar Girijana Karshaka Vikasana Samithi' was organised for the successful implementation of the programme and both the Kanikkar members of the samithi and project staff had frequent meetings to discuss the strategies and means of convincing and motivating the tribal farmers to grow rubber.

It was a success on the part of the staff of the research centre in creating an awareness among the tribal farmers on the importance of rubber cultivation which is evident from their increased participation in all programmes related to rubber cultivation. There is no doubt that when the plants reach the age of tapping, their economic backwardness will be reduced to greater extent.

(ii) Insitu budding—A technique for upgradation of non-descript rubber plants in tribal holdings

When massive planting programmes were undertaken with high yielding clones like RRII-105, it was found that in many tribal holdings the non-descript types had already been planted prior to the establishment of the TARC. The reluctance of the tribal farmers to replace these plantings of 2 to 4 years of age prompted the TARC to take up an innovative programme of top working the non-descript plants by insitu budding with improved clones. The programmes was implemented in 1986. Observations on the growth parameters of the scion were recorded with the following objective of finding out the influence of age of stock plant on the scion growth of insitu budded plants.

The age and original girth of root stocks at the time of insitu budding and scion girth at two years after beheading are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Girth of scion in relation to age of root stock at two years after beheading

Age of stock at budding (Years)	Original stock girth (cm)	Scion girth (cm)	Precentage increase
1	8.9	28.6	+ 221.3
2	15.7	28.2	+ 79.6
3	18.5	24.0	+ 29.7
4	15.7	19.3	+ 22.9
5	20.3	18.3	− 10.9

The date shows that one year old stock put forth maximum scion growth when compared to all other age groups while scion of 5 year old root stock failed to reach the original girth even after 2 years. Thus it becomes evident that within the age group studied, the younger the age of the stock at the time of budding, earlier will be the recouping time for the scion.

(iii) Stone wall planting of pepper

This is a new system of planting pepper vines, utilising stone walls as standards for growing vines. A pilot study in these lines was initiated during June 1985 by planting 45 rooted cuttings along the soil conservation bunds. The plants had grown to the height of the bunds and started branching and spreading to lateral sides. Stray flowering was also noticed. It was noted that plants maintained in the downslope side of the hill established better than those in the upslope side. It was the experience that the plants in the open areas suffered in periods of intense heat and drought, whereas those in the extreme shaded conditions were growing more vegeta-

TABLE 3

Observation on the effectiveness of smokeless choolah

Merits	Opinion from the number of beneficiaries		Demerits	Opinion from the number of beneficiaries	
	I	II		I	II
1. Save time, energy and fuel	68	78	1. Only medium size vessels could be used	28	82
2. Can cook two items at a time	60	67	2. The fire wood should be very small	44	50
3. Keeps the cloths clean	3	4	3. The difficulty in straining and cooking	68	79
4. Drudgery of smoke is avoided	54	80	4. Difficult to use during rainy season	2	6
5. Easy to clean vessels	62	76			

(I and II indicate that the observations were taken twice)

TABLE 4

Characters of mushrooms of Amboori Area

	Local name	Colour	Size	Season of availability
1.	Mazhathanduor uppukoon	Greyish white	Medium	Rainy season
2.	Arikoon	Greyish white	Small grown in clusters	Rainy season
3.	Muttakoon	White-yellow	Medium	Rainy season
4.	Thalankoon	White-red	Medium	September/October
5.	Kakanankalikoon	White	Medium-long stalked	August/September
6.	Karimkoon	Black	Medium	August/September
7.	Odakoon	Dark inside yellow outside	Medium	Rainy season
8.	Ayalkoon	White	Medium	Rainy season
9.	Pannikoon	Yellowish brown	Big	Rainy season
10.	Pathirikoon	White	Medium	Rainy season
11.	Perumkala	White	Medium	December/January
12.	Koovakoon	White	Medium	Rainy searson

tively affecting flowering and yield. Yellowing of the leaves add drying up of leaves were noticed in areas where no shade trees were available. The study will be continued till bearing and yield stabilization to get conclusive results.

iv) Rapid multiplication of pepper (Bamboo technique)

This technique for the rapid multiplication of pepper in bamboo splits evolved by CPCRI, Palode is being implemented in the nursery attached to the centre. The main advantage is that it enables the production of single noded cuttings instead of 3 or 4 noded ones, there by enabling the production of more cuttings from mother vines. Due to quicker rooting the rate of production of vines is also fast.

Rooted cuttings of variety 'Karimunda' were planted in pits 60 cm apart. The growing vines were trailed over the bamboo splits of 1 meter long filled with rooting media placed at an angle of 45° upwards from the base of the mother vine. The vines on contact with the rooting media continue growing and produce roots from all the nodes. After 2 months the rooted vines can be removed from the bamboo splits. The single noded cuttings thus obtained can be planted in polythene bags for further establishment.

v) Evaluation of the use of smokeless choolah by Kanikkar families.

The Kanikkars are allowed the use of timber and forest trees for their own domestic use. They cut the trees which gradually brings about the destruction of trees in their holdings for fuel purposes and also to enable agricultural operations. The requirement of fuel can be considerably reduced by the use of smokeless choolah with its higher fuel efficiency than the conventional ones. Besides, use of smokeless choolah removes the possibility of smoke and total suspended particles in the kitchen-cum-living room of Kanikkars.

A programme of installation of smokeless choolahs was successfully carried out in most of the tribal houses. Two evaluations were conducted to study the effectiveness of the programme and relevant data are presented in Table 3. The data reveals more people are becoming aware of the merits and want to eliminate the demerits by improvising the choolah.

iv) Studies on the local availability of mushrooms in the tribal area of Amboori

It was found that 12 different varieties of edible mushrooms are available in the area growing on ground or on bark of trees. Small varieties grow in clusters and larger ones are found solitary or in groups 4 to 5. The characters of these mushrooms are presented in Table 4. These mushrooms are cooked and used by the Kanikkars.

vii) Thrift habit programme

To motivate the Kanikkar housewives towards the small saving scheme, a thrift habit programme was launched in 1984. Monthly savings were collected from the sealed coin boxes supplied by the TARC and deposited in the local bank in the name of the individuals. Details of the scheme are presented in Table 5. In the opinion of the participants of the programme, this is easier and safer than the systems prevailing in the locality. Moreover they became acquainted with the banking procedures through this programme.

TABLE 5

Details of savings scheme of Kanikkar housewives

Savings (Rs.)	Number of housewives
Below Rs. 100/-	29
100/- to 200/-	6
200/- to 300/-	4
300/- to 400/-	2
400/- to 500/-	—
Above Rs. 500/-	1

Impact

A research-cum-training programme with its gradual educative role and long term perspective can be measured only by the impact of the programme on the life of the people in the project area and not in terms of short term profitability. It is however noteworthy that the individual innovations and even the whole farm development modules evolved and implemented by the Tribal Arera Research Centre for a few selected farmers and copied by both the tribals and even the non-tribal settler farmers in the neighbourhood; evidencing the motivational element of the programme as well as the economical advantage derived out of it. Ecological preservation and often ecological restoration of degraded areas has been the key element in all the approaches made in this integrated programme of research, training and development. The rent-free accomodation provided by the tribals to house a field office of the project in one of their holdings shows the extent of their appreciation and acceptability of the scheme. Above all, this is a typical example of how sophisticated science and technology can be trimmed down to meet the requirements of the common man and techniques and technologies can be innovated for economic prosperity and ecological restoration of the tribal people and their habitat.

N.K. Punjabi

Factors Affecting Information Seeking Behaviour of Small Farmers in Udaipur District, Rajasthan

Today a variety of communication madia and channels are used to disseminate improved agricultural information and technology to the farmers. Farmers respond differently to the different sources and channels. In this context, Siman (1957) pointed out that the action of an individual was a function of his exposure to the sources of information. He further defined exposure as a willingness of a farmer to react with a particular information media.

It could be said therefore, that the variability of knowledge acquired through different sources and channels by the farmer accounts for different age, caste, education, social status, material and human resources among the Indian farmers. In this context Baker (1955) found out that farmers young in age, made greater use of bulletins and agricultural teachers, while older farmer referred to neighbours and relatives. Similarly Jha and Singh (1966) studied the relationship of certain personal characteristics with the use of various categories of information sources for some improved practices (mould board plough was one of them) and observed significant association of age, size of holding and caste of the farmers with their choice for various categories of information sources. This exemplifies the importance of the personal attributes of the farmer in seeking the improved agricultural informations through different sources and channels.

In the present study an attempt has been made to study the factors i.e., personal attributes that affect the information seeking behaviour of small farmers regarding wheat technology.

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Methodology

The information seeking behaviour regarding wheat technology of small farmers had been studied in relation to their age, caste, education and socio-economic status. These four variables formed the predictors of the response variable, i.e., information seeking behaviour of small farmers.

The study was conducted in the Badgaon Panchayat Samiti of Girwa Tehsil in Udaipur district. Two villages namely Dhikali and Rebario-ka-gura were selected by the simple random technique. A complete list of small farmers (A farmer having upto 5 acres of total land holding or 2.5 acres of irrigated land) of the two selected villages, who were exposed with the different sources and channels of agricultural information was prepared with the help of the patwari of the area concerned. Out of the total 235 small farmers, 100 farmers who availed of the different sources and channels of agricultural information were finally selected by the simple random technique. The head of the family who was actually engaged in cultivation was taken as an unit for analysis of this study.

Operationalization of concepts and their measurement response variable: Information seeking behaviour

Operationally, it has been defined as those behaviours which emphasized the number of sources used, frequency of use of sources, extent of information received from sources, number of channels used, frequency of use of channels and extent of information received from channels. To predict the information seeking behaviour of the individual farmer, a scoring procedure was followed. It was measured by adding all the independent component scores. viz., number of sources used, frequency of use of sources, extent of information received from sources, number of channels used, frequency of use of channels and extent of information received from channels.

Predictor variables

Age :

The number of years completed by the respondent at the time of enquiry was considered as his age for this study.

Caste :

Respondents belonging to different castes were put under their respective categories and the scores were then assigned according to S.E.S. scale of Trivedi (1963).

Education :

It has been operationalized as the number of years of formal education attended by the respondent, scores for different educational levels were given according to S.E.S. scale of Trivedi (1963).

ocio-economic status :

It refers to position of the respondent in the society determined by various social and economic variables, viz., size of land holding, number and types of house, occupation, caste, extent of social participation, strength of farm power and material possession, and type and size of family. It was measured with the help of the scale developed by Trivedi (1963).

Findings and Discussion

As mentioned earlier, information seeking behaviour of small farmers had been studied in relation to four predictor variables and it was found that only one predictor variable, i.e., age was negatively significantly related with the information seeking behaviour of small farmers. The relationship was statistically tested for its significance by employing zero-order correlation analysis to the data, the results of which have been reported in Table 1.

Table 1 reveals that the information seeking behaviour had negative significant association with one predictor variable, i.e., age, at 0.01 level of probability. All the remaining three predictor variables, viz., caste, education and socio-economic status were found to be non-significant which indicates that one predictor variable, i.e., age exerted its influence on the response variable, i.e., information seeking behaviour of small farmers.

TABLE 1

Relationship of predictor variables with response variable information seeking behaviour of small farmers

S. No.	Predictor variables	Zero—order correlation 'r' value
1.	Age	-0.259151**
2.	Caste	0.084429NS
3.	Education	0.127330NS
4.	Socio-economic status.	0.182551NS

** Significant 00·1 level of probability.

NS—Non-Significant

Therefore, inference can be drawn that the age of the farmer significantly influenced his information seeking behaviour.

Discussion

Age : The significant negative relationship between age and information seeking behaviour has been confirmed. It means that the farmers with higher age group will be less prone to seek information. It denotes that age appears to be an important factor in going in for the information

regarding improved wheat technology. This may be due to the fact that a younger farmer is usually more rational and prone to acquire the new technological information and subsequently react on it. On the contrary, an older farmer, because of being orthodox and stubborn in nature, is not likely to put his ears on the new technological information. The finding does support the findings of Baker (1955), Jha and Singh (1966) and Singh (1970).

To predict the important predictor variables to the response variable, the technique of multiple regression was used. The findings have been incorporated in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Multiple regression analysis of four predictor variables with response variable i.e. information seeking behaviour of small farmers

S. No.	Predictor variable	b—value (R.C.)	S.E. of 'b'	't' value for 'b'
1.	Age	−2.1698	0.8389	2.5867*
2.	Caste	0.8619	10.6915	0.0806NS
3.	Education	−5.5618	9.7275	0.5718NS
4.	Socio-economic status	1.7823	1.2600	1.4145NS

* Significant at 0.05 level of probability

NS Non-significant

a (Intercept constant) = 381.8283

$R^2 = 9.80$

$F = 2.25^*$ with 4.94 d.f.s.

It is evident from the Table 2 that the four predictor variable taken together explained to the extent of 9.80 percent of the variation in the information seeking behaviour of the farmers. The respective 'F' value (significant at 5 per cent level) at degrees of freedom given in parenthesis, was 2.25 (4,98). Thus, the results implied that all the four predictor variables should account for a significant amount of variation in the information seeking behaviour of small farmers.

't' test of significance indicates that regression coefficient (B—value) are found negatively significant only for the age.

The prediction analysis brought out the importance of predictor variables viz., age, caste, education and socio-economic status influencing the information seeking behaviour of the small farmers. Only age of the farmer was significant therefore, it could be inferred that the information seeking behaviour of small farmers can be predicted from the predictor variable i.e., age of the farmer.

Rita Chopra

Impact of Television on Social Awareness of Adults

Introduction

Media resources today are expanding to facilitate communication with and among the people. The power that is inbuilt in the media system to bring about attitudinal and behavioural changes is well recognized. Mass media can help and motivate the adult learners. Mind boggling developments in communication technologies open enormous possiblities of tackling the age-old problems of illiteracy, poverty and social-awareness.

Following the encouraging results of the SITE project, the Government of India started telecasting educational television programmes through INSAT-1B from 15 October, 1983. With the launching of the National Literacy Mission, much emphasis is laid on the utilisation of media for adult education. The programmes which are presently being telecast for adult learners are mainly for general enrichment and social awareness.

Scholars like Donsbanch (1985) and Selvam (1982) studied the effect of television in a rural environment and found that persons having T.V. were regarded as better sources of information. Donsbanch (1985) also found that, their religious and social norms remained stable. Davis and Westbrook (1985) made a survey concerning the TV viewing behaviour of elders and their attitude and opinions about issues. They found that subjects were satisfied with television's entertaining function and felt that the aged were honestly and factually presented in television. Agarwal (1981) studied the effect of mass media in the development of various aspects of national life. The study revealed that more males than females watched and discussed television programmes. He further found that more females than males gained in case of health and nutrition innovations. No study concerning the impact of television on social awareness was conducted. Hence, an investigation was undertaken to study the impact of television on social awareness of adults in Kurukshetra.

Objectives

The present study was undertaken with the following objectives :

1. To find out the impact of television programmes in terms of gain in knowledge of the adults regarding :

   (a) Social problems

   (b) Legal problems

   (c) Economic problems

   (d) Health problems

2. To find out the impact of television viewing in terms of change in their opinions regarding the Adult Education Programme.

Method

The study was an experimental one. The experimentation followed the following steps :

(i) *Selection of Sample*

A group of twenty adults in the age group of 15-35 were selected randomly. These adults were attending adult education centres run by the Kurukshetra University. All of them belonged to the urban areas of Kurukshetra. They had television sets in their homes and had been watching television for three to four hours a day.

(ii) *Construction of the Tools*

A check list was prepared in order to know the programmes viewed by the respondents. The check list consisted of details of different types of programmes which were shown on television at that time. These programmes were :

1. Film based programmes   : Films, Chitrahaars, Rangoli.

2. Education based programmes : Khilti Kaliyan, Adult Education, Krishi Darshan, Kanuni Salah.

3. Religious programmes   : Mahabharata, Ramayana.

4. Documentaries   : On family planning, Dowry, Adult Education,

5. Advertisements   :

On the basis of these programmes, a final questionnaire was prepared to collect data from the respondents. The items of the questionnaire were related to knowledge about social, legal, economic and health problems and change in opinion regarding adult education programme. Social problems included items related to family planning, illiteracy, dowry, poverty and inequality of sexes. Under legal problems, the items relating to divorce and unauthorized occupation of land were taken. Economic problems had items of loan facilities and better means of cultivation. Under health problems, items regarding knowledge about different diseases, immunization, cleanliness, nutritious diet and liquor were taken. The responses to the items were scored. These scores were taken to be the impact of

television viewing in terms of gain in knowledge and change in opinion as follows :

Gain in knowledge and change in opinions

Extent of Impact	Range of Scores
High	0.6—1.0
Low	0.1—0.5
No	0.0—0.0

Plan of Analysis

Percentages were calculated to find out the overall impact of television viewing on the respondents. The main interpretation of these results have been given as per different aspects of television programmes :

(A) *Gain in Knowledge* :

1. 54 per cent of the viewers showed low gain in knowledge relating to social problems whereas 12.5 per cent showed high gain, and the rest seemed to be less effected than the normal.

2. Regarding legal problems, 50 per cent of the respondents gained low in knowledge and the rest of the respondents did not show any impact of television viewing.

3. High gain in knowledge was found in 59 per cent of the respondents in case of economic problems whereas 24.8 per cent of the respondents showed low gain in knowledge after viewing TV programmes. Rest of the respondents were unaffected.

4. After television viewing, 97.8 per cent of the respondents gained high in knowledge regarding health problems. Rest of the respondents gained low in this aspect.

(B) *Change in Opinion*

90 per cent of the respondents showed high change in opinion regarding adult education programmes. Remaining 10 per cent showed low change in this respect.

Discussion

The findings revealed that in case of social problems, 54 per cent of the respondents gained low in knowledge after television viewing. The probable reasons for this could be that the respondents did not want to leave their old rituals and customs because of their superstitions and taboos. Other reasons could be that the software which was used in television was not in tune with the local community and further the dialect used in the programme was not understood by the adults. 34.5 per cent of the

respondents had not gained any knowledge in case of social problems. The above findings may be supported through the findings Donsbach (1985) who drew the conclusions that after viewing television, social norms of adults remained stable. The findings further revealed that 12.5 per cent of respondents showed high gain in knowledge regarding social problems. Similar findings were drawn by Agarwal (1981) who mentioned that the people who were exposed to television showed gain in knowledge regarding social problems and a higher desire for small family.

The findings further showed that 50 per cent of the respondents gained low and the rest of them had no gain in knowledge regarding legal problems. This may be because of the fact that the respondents did not have any information regarding law and in addition to this, they might not be watching programmes like 'Kanuni Salah' regularly.

The findings also revealed that in case of economic problems of adults, television viewing had high impact in terms of gain in knowledge on 59 per cent of the respondents. It can be ascribed to the reason that because of their daily exposure to urban people, they might have gained knowledge in case of economic problems. In addition to this, farm broadcasts like, 'Krishi Darshan' on television were popular which might be helping the adults in adopting new farming methods and thus gain in knowledge.

The impact of television viewing on gain in knowledge of the respondents regarding health problems was again quite high. The above results also agree with the findings of Selvam (1982) who observed that higher exposure to television increased the knowledge in the area of health and nutrition. Further, this may be interpreted that because of regular documentaries and advertisements relating to health problems in television, the adults gained high knowledge. Moreover, awareness regarding health issues was increasing day-by-day which helped in high gain in knowledge.

The impact of television viewing on all the respondents in terms of change in their opinions towards adult education was again high and encouraging. Programme like 'Khilti Kaliyan', and other documentaries prepared by N.L.M. had positive effect in changing the opinion of adults on adult education. Therefore, if such programmes are shown on television repeatedly, they would bring about some desirable changes in the opinions of people.

The software must be according to the understanding level of the audience. For this, decentralization in production is necessary. Whatever be the medium, any software that can be easily identified by the people for whom it is intended, will have greater appeal. Therefore, television programmes should be prepared in such a way that they cater to all the categories of people like youth, children and adults.

Kunda Supekar
Archana Bajpayee
Namrata Sharma

How to Save Time and Energy of Women Adult Learners

Introduction

As a wife and mother, a women usually spends a third to a half of her days hours working in the kitchen, cooking, serving and cleaning up after meals. Between meals she makes the beds, carries the load of fire wood, fetches the water, sweeps the house, buys and gathers food, washes the clothes, looks after the cattle and children, Her daily work is fundamentally

reproductive, it reproduces itself everyday. Meals are eaten, beds are unmade, rooms are dirordered and dirted and clothes are soiled. Her labour is consumed remorselessly in a ceaseless battle against domestic disorder which she wins only to loose. A woman's work is never done, it is always un-done.

Women—The Vulnerable Segment of the Society

There is no doubt that women contribute much to the Nation's progress. Work in the home and fields accounts for most of the physical activity. Yet the contribution of women is ignored. They are the most suppressed, illiterate, under-privileged and exploited segments of Indian society, though they constitute half of India's population (48.3%). Before marriage, they are dominated by their father, after marriage by their husband and later by their son. They do not have any identity of their own. The women, who possess the key to the development of family and nation are still suffering from the drudgery of household tasks. Unless women have the opportunity to develop themselves, they can not become aware of their social and legal rights. About 75% women are still illiterate in our country (1981 census). Madha Pradesh which accounts for 38% of rural female literacy below 10% (8.99%).

Purpose of the study

The study intends to find out the impediments which are hindering the females learning. The study also suggests some measures which in turn shall help our learners in saving their time and energy. In addition to this, some suggestive issues can also be highlighted in the teaching and learning material. Guidance can be given to the Instructors as to how they can save their time and energy and utilize it optimally for participating in various other programmes.

Objective of the study

1. To study the management of time by the adult learners in doing their routine chores.

2. To assess the output of time and energy spent by the adult learners.

3. On basis of findings of the above objectives, suggest measures for planned and meaningful utilisation of available time and energy.

Coverage of the study

Sample design

The study was done in two districts of State viz. Indore and Jhabua. The study was conducted in both the Technology Demonstration

Districts of Madhya Pradesh so as to come with some definite measures to improve upon the existing status of literacy.

A sample size

The total sample of 100 female respondents i.e. 50 females from each district were selected for the study. The respondents were selected from amongst the adults enrolled at the Adult Education Centres by a simple random sampling technique. The sample constitutes only of irregular adult learners.

For data collection 5 villages of Jhabua district and 3 villages of Sanver tehsil were taken up. The Selection of these village was again done on random basis. In Jhabua the sample was selected from 5 different blocks viz. Thandla, Patlawad, Meghnagar, Rama block and Jhabua. The respondents were selected from Palia, Ajnod and Chandrawati blocks of Sanver Block.

B : Tools of the Data Collection

The study was conducted between the months of December and February 1989-90. To collect data, two types of schedules were prepared :

1. Interview schedule for the adult learners belonging to semi-rural area

This schedule was prepared to learn about the amount of time that learners spend in doing their household chores. How much time do they give for recreational activities ? Details regarding work done annually are also collected. With the help of this schedule their working posture, place of work are also checked. Reasons for not attending the centres are also collected with the help of this schedule.

2. Interview schedule for the adult learner of the tribal area

A similar kind of an interview schedule was prepared to collect information from the learners of tribal area. Except few, alteration were made due to their different ways of living and cultural background. Rest of the rural pattern remained same as that of semi-rural.

V. General profile of area

The study was done in Jhabua District and Indore District respectively.

Jhabua

Jhabua is one of the western most district of Madhya Pradesh. It has 1373 villages in its territory. Maharashtra and Gujarat form its southern and

western border respectively, while in the North-east lies the State of Rajasthan. The whole area has its peculiar feature of—

—Hilly and forest terrain

—Poor communication

—Non-clustered villages

Jhabua district has 7 tehsils. The total population of Jhabua district is 7 lakhs 95 thousand and 168 (1981 census). The total literacy percentage of Jhabua is 11.15% and that among the male and female is 15.88% and 6.35% respectively (1981 census).

The area is chiefly occupied by Bhils, Bhilalas and Patliyas. The villages are agro-based. As the area is hilly and the yield hardly feeds the farmers for 6 months or so, thus, people are involved in non-agriculture work.

Indore

Another area of the study was Sanver. Indore district has 4 tehsilis viz. Mhow, Sanver, Indore and Depalpur. For the study, Sanver tehsil was selected which lies in the North-West of Indore. The area is backward and economically not very sound. It is scattered in 3-4 direction.

The total population of Sanver block is 112590 (1981 census). The total literacy percentage of Sanver block (rural area) is 26.66% and that among the male and female is 43.72% and 8.43% respectively (1981 census). The area is predominantly inhabited by 24.7% Scheduled Caste and 2.27% of Scheduled Tribe population. There are about 147 villages in this tehsil. The chief occupation of the people is agriculture.

Findings of the study

Development of any country can not be thought of by men alone. For the development of Nation women's contribution is equally important.

The most common reason produced by women for not attending the AEC is lack of ample time and energy. The study rendered has many such factual situations, which is mainly due to their un-organised ways of working in and around the house. It needs mention here that most of the work in rural and tribal areas involves large amounts of drudgery. The maximum learners were in the age group of 15-25 years, only one learner was less than 15 years of age. This age group is such who has got the maximum responsibility of family on their shoulders. They are required to cater to the needs of both the children and elders lies in the family.

According to the educational level almost 3/4 of the learners were able to write only their names and could do the signature.

In tribal area near about 80% learners belonged to scheduled tribe. On the other hand nearly 51.10% learners from backward classes is semi-rural area (Both are under developed community of our society).

Agriculture was the main occupation of more than 1/2 of the learners. Besides, they also worked as labourers during summer season when they are free from agricultural activities. Apart from this they are also required to to do the household chores which leaves them with no time to participate in different activities.

Agriculture was the main occupation of more than 1/2 of the learners. Besides, they also worked as labourers during summer season when they are free from agricultural activities   Apart from this they are also required to do the household chores which leaves them with no time to participate in different activities.

The findings reveal that 27.45% families comprised of 6-8 members. In rural and tribals, the joint family system is still existing. Most of the families have at least one or two elderly person who required full attention and help as to complete their routine work. Majority of the families have two children. This shows that small family norm has been well accepted in rural and tribal areas of the State. Another reason could be the late age marriage practiced in the tribal area.

Most of the families have at least two or three earning members. As the family consists of 6-8 members, there are always more number of mouths to be fed. Majority of the families in tribal area i.e. 21.56% have annual income of Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000. They have to work harder to satisfy the basic needs of the families. Instead of sending their children to school, they send them to earn some money, so as to meet the basic needs of the family.

It was found that almost 1/3 of the learners (33.33%) in tribal and 24.4% in rural areas were attending the centres since 6-8 months. This shows the most of the learners were attending the adult education centre since the beginning of the session. The belated joining of the centres can be attributed to a variety of reason as—lack of motivation or slow enrollment and low attendance at the centre. Perhaps they got some inspiration from their friends.

The reason for not attending the centre regularly is that from the beginning girls receive less encouragement from their parents and from the community at large. The Instructor should try to approach each family seperately and brief them about the importance of education and should motivate them to send their girls and women to the centre regulary.

The women in tribal and rural area need to be made aware of their pliable condition and the need for changing their out-look and mode of living and

thinking. More than 90% of learners belonging to the semi-rural areas were aware that there is some benefit from learning. This may be due to the fact that to some extent they are exposed to city life. One of the learners of semi-rural area expressed that she feels tired after the day's long work while 12 of them expressed that hardly any time is left after finishing the household work.

Time spent in Routine Work

	5 min	5-10 min	10-15 min	Above 15 min	NR	5 min	5-10 min	10-15 min	Above 15 min	NR
	Tribal					Semi-Rural				
1. Toilet	7	27	8	9	—	2	6	15	21	5
2. Cleaning Teeth	23	14	9	5	—	22	22	2	3	—
3. Bathing	2	3	22	4	20	8	3	8	16	14
4. Combing, oiling, changing clothes	10	14	16	11	—	6	7	2	11	—
5. Worshiping	3	—	2	2	44	9	6	9	4	21
6. Eating	12	10	16	13	—	3	4	24	18	—

The day of the rural women begins usually at around 4.30 to 5 a.m. They have to walk at least 1/2 k.m. to go to field for defacation. On talking to them they expressed that while going for bath they take their children along and give bath to them as well. When taken up fit consumes a maximum of 45 minutes to one hour. They spare little of their time in performing pooja.

From down to dusk they are heavily occupied with jobs like grinding the flour, cleaning the house and utensils, then they have to cook food and look after the animals. Women have to carry fire wood for cooking or for selling. This is especially in tribal areas where forests are cut down for this purpose. A considerable amount of time and labour of rural and tribal women is spent in collecting firewood from the forest and in making and storing cow dung. Another duty of women is to carry drinking water, at a time they can carry two or three pots full of water on their head.

Work like thrashing, weeding the field, storing of grain, etc. is done by the women only. Besides working in the field, tribal women work as a labourer to supplement family income which is very meagre. While returning from work they have to bring back load of grass to feed the cattle at home. The other domestic activities of women also include bearing and rearing of children, getting things from market, making beds, etc.

TABLE No. 1. g

Time spent in doing household tasks (tribal N=51)

	Time in minutes						No. of times work done					Weekly	Feel Tired	
	Self	Any Other	10	10-15	15-20	Above 20	1	2	3	4	5		Yes	No
1. Clean Utenoils	49	2	3	7	13	26	2	40	5	1	3	—	29	20
2. Sweeps the Floor	47	4	10	15	8	14	4	29	10	4	—	—	26	25
3. Mops the Floor	48	3	1	2	1	44	48	—	—	—	—	—	39	9
4. Gives bath to child.	43	8	5	18	7	13	32	10	—	—	—	9	12	31
5. Makes the bed	42	9	20	13	1	8	32	31	12	—	—	—	19	23
6. Fills the water (fetch)	49	2	1	6	5	37	6	31	—	—	—	—	39	10
7. Cooks the food	47	4	—	—	1	46	2	45	—	—	—	—	37	10
8. Collects fuel	47	4	—	4	4	39	11	13	—	—	—	23	42	5
9. Gets things from the market	26	25	—	13	4	19	16	26	—	—	—	10	13	13
10. Attends the animal	34	16	—	2	7	25	4	31	—	—	—	—	14	12
11. Stiches the clothes	6	45	—	—	—	6	6	11	—	—	—	—	5	1
12. Grinds the wheat	26	25	—	1	1	25	15	—	—	—	—	—	18	8
13. White washes the house	47	4	—	—	—	46	47	—	—	—	—	—	34	13
14. Attends to children's need	31	—	—	1	—	18	45	8	17	5	4	—	27	4

Note : Task done S. No. 1, 2, 3. 5, 6, 7, 10, 14 daily feature.
Task done S. No. 4, 8, 9 weekly.
Task done S. No. 13 Yearly.

TABLE NO. 1-H

Time spent in doing household tasks (Semi-rural N=49)

Household task	Time in minutes						No. of times work done					Feel Tired	
	Self	Any other	10	10-15	15-20	Above 20	1	2	3	4	Weekly	Yes	No
1. Clean utensils	44	5	—	10	14	20	13	14	9	8	—	41	3
2. Sweeps the floor	42	7	10	3	9	20	18	18	5	1	—	37	5
3. Mops the floor	42	7	—	1	2	39	28	4	6	—	9	37	5
4. Gives bath to child	39	10	—	3	9	25	28	9	2	—	—	37	2
5. Makes the bed	33	11	11	35	37	17	16	22	—	—	—	34	4
6. Fills water	42	6	—	7	3	33	25	18	—	—	—	43	—
7. Washes clothes	42	7	—	1	2	39	35	5	2	2	—	39	3
8. Cooks food	48	6	—	—	5	38	14	22	7	—	—	41	2
9. Collects fuel	36	13	—	—	6	30	23	13	5	—	—	33	3
10. Attend to animal	35	14	1	—	5	29	21	9	3	5	—	33	2
11. Makes cake from cow dung	37	12	—	—	1	36	29	5	3	—	—	35	2
12. Gets things from market	34	15	9	—	2	23	9	7	—	—	18	21	13
13. Stitches clothes	3	46	—	—	—	3	whole day	—	—	—	3	3	—
14. Grinds the wheat at home	6	—	—	—	—	6	6	—	—	—	—	5	1
15. Take wheat to market for grinding	34	15	—	4	10	20	—	—	—	—	34	20	14
16. Attends to children's need	38	11	—	—	5	33	10	22	—	6	—	18	20

Whenever there is some local religious festivals or cermonies like marriages, child birth, etc, in the community they indulge in singing folk songs, bhaajns, kirtans, dancing, worshiping god, etc. Inspite of their busy llfe, the rural and tribal (59. 18% and 50.98%) women participate in religious activities for getting their strain and exhaustion, which justifies that these activities are well accepted means of recreation.

Apart from singing songs and dancing they also prepare sweets to celebrate festivals. Also clean their house by white washing walls and mopping the floor with mud and cowdung. The whole process takes 2 to 3 days of their time.

Unlike tribal women the semi rural women have the privilege of other means of recreation as well out of 2/3 of the rural women (60.86%), who view TV programmes at their neighbour's place 15.7% are daily and 54.34% occassional viewers. Similarly more than 1/3 (36.73%) of rural women have radio/transistor at their place and they listen to their programmes occasionally (26.08%). They also go to local fairs and spend time in purchasing, going about in different types of swings like marry go round, giant-wheel, etc. Apart from this, they also watch the 'Notanki' (Dance and Dramas) which is a prominent feature of such fairs.

Other domestic activities which engage rural women's time is, specific work done during and before the beginning of new season. They also do other works like basket making, spinning and weaving, etc. On the contrary a large fraction of semi-rural women's time is consumed in making papad's and badi's which they use in season to come.

During the rainy season both the tribal and rural women are engaged in preparing the field for cultivation, makes cowdung cakes for fuel and stores it. It needs a mention here that the process of storing this fuel is a lengthy one and consumes a good part of their time and energy. They also repair their house roof and walls to protect it against rain. They also collect and store fuel from market.

The semi-rural women 71% of the respondents utilize the summer for preparing pickle which gives them a good substitute for vegetables and so is an economic activity. Besides, 86% of them also engage in renewing their mattresses and quilts, etc.

Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that our rural and tribal women take up all work as part of their income generating activity, regardless of the physical stress and strain involved in it. They still are not aware that literacy can provide them with money, more opportunities to contribute to the family income.

On one hand the rural and tribal women work in an unorganised and unplanned way while on the other hand their burden is never or very rarely shared by any other members of the family. This exposes them to more drudgery and physical strain. Another thing that was observed was that the place or spots of work and the material are not adjacent. Thus, some measures of saving time and energy can be promoted by suggesting, helping them to adopt a planned way of working by organising the place of work and then plan the work as per hours available.

Recommendations and Suggestions

1. In tribal areas majority of women grind the flour at their own home on manual chakkis. As these chakkis are old fashioned this becomes a very ardous activity and so also consumes much of their time.

(a) Introduction of ball bearing in chakkis will help in saving the time as well as their energy. This may be tried in T.D. districts in a few families on experimental basis.

2. One important duty of tribal and rural women is to carry drinking water from far off distances.

(a) The durdgery of women can be reduced by digging wells or by providing hand pumps.

(b) Besides the use of improved pullies in wells shall also reduce the drudgery. Above all some division of labour should be there amongst the family members.

(c) With the help of other developmental agencies community reservoirs can be constructed especially in areas with great scarcity of water i.e. where the potable water is available at the minimum distance of 2-3 k.ms.

(d) If these means are not available, a 'Kowdi' system of fetching more quantity of water at one time be tried which will save energy and time of women and can be better utilised in literacy centres.

3. Rural and tribal women have to carry fire wood for cooking from forests.

To save energy and time of women use of solar cooker should be encouraged in large families. The energy and time which goes waste in collecting wood from forests can be utilized in other creative activities.

(a) The Energy Development Corporation can extend the supply of Solar cooker to the women folks on subsidized basis as an incentive for attending literacy centres. Similarly, Agriculture Department may also provide more incentive to women attending adult education centres.

(b) Installation of Gobar gas plants by the families which have a large number of cattles can also reduce women's botheration to collect fuel. If individual families are reluctant to adopt then the Gobar gas plants and solar cookers can be installed common for the community. This will be economical for the families. Besides, the benefits of these devices shall motivate the individual families to adopt them.

(c) Besides smokeless chulhas should also be propagated which are economic and also reduce the health hazards through smoke. On these chulhas food is cooked faster and the soot deposition on the utensils is minimum which in turns saves their labour in cleaning the utensils.

4. Running kitchen, is a continuous and full time job. Both the rural and tribal women spend most of their time with the meticulous details of shopping, storing grains, collecting fuel, washing utensils, etc.

(a) There should be a semblance of order in the kitchen to avoid any kind of confusion or disorder. After using the item containers should be placed back in its place· The kitchen should be a proper combination of convenience in order to minimise fatigue.

(b) In their hurry to finish the chores the women often ignore their postures which tires their muscles. Cooking done in a scientific and systematic way shall help women in saving her time and energy and avoiding fatigue. A small shelf just above the cooking place to accomodate the frequently used items like masalas, sugar, salt, tea container, etc. shall be helpful in saving energy.

(c) Also helping hand from the family member should be providing to the women which will reduce their cooking load to a great extent.

5. Most of the rural and tribal women are directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture work.

(a) They should be duly informed regarding new agriculture instruments which on one hand will save their time and on the other hand will increase the production of crops. This will help in improving economic condition of the family. This knowledge regarding use of improved technology should be given at adult education centres. By this, the women will be motivated to attend the centres more regularly.

(b) The agriculture department may provide loans to women to buy these improved instruments as an incentive for attending the centres.

6. The activities of rural women include bearing and rearing of children. As looking after the children is a botheration of mother who goes out to work and of a sister who is deprived of her studies in order to look after the children.

(a) Provision of creche in adult education centres or at the place of work for the proper care of children should be made for the mothers who are attending the literacy classes. A women turn by turn or any volunteer can be incharge of this creche, so that, no seperate attendant is required to run this.

7. Both the rural and tribal women play a very vital role in earning the bread for their family. This leaves them with hardly any time to attend to the literacy class.

(a) To motivate the women for attending the centres more regularly it is necessary that income generating activities should be included in the adult education programmes. For this purpose active involvement of other development agencies should be ensured. This linkage shall equip the learners with some skills which may directly or indirectly help them to improve their economic status.

(b) Also some vocational training should be integrated with the literacy class. Vocations chosen for this purpose should be useful and income generating as well and should not be very alien to them. Raw material and technical know-how to make use of this should be available to them. The product should have a market value e.g. book-keeping, poultry, chalks, candle making, weaving, etc. The raw material should be made available and contigent provision for purchasing the raw material should also be given to adult education centre.

8. The day's hard work leaves the adult learners only with mental and physical fatigue which overtakes their desire to attend adult education centres.

(a) In order to build happy and light atmosphere, recreational and social activities should form a part and parcel of the literacy programmes.

9. As the present literacy programme is stretched in long duration of 9-10 months of time, so the learners may not be interested in learning as this does not convince the importance of learning to them.

(a) Thus, the duration of learning should be reduced to generate interest of the learners and also to sustain this interest in them.

Besides this will ensure a wide coverage of learners in short period of time.

10. The environment of the centre should be such that the women folks coming to the centre after day's hard manual labour should feel at home. The methods of teaching should not be only alphabetism. The atmosphere should be such that the women clientele will have a relief from fatigue, drudgery and dullness, warm and attractive learning atmosphere can contribute to the pace of learning.

G. Goyal

Sudesh Bansal

Educating Adult Education Workers

Adult education is an instrument of development and social change aiming at the establishment of social order where everyone will have equally of opportunity and live in freedom and prosperity. The adult education worker is the crux of the NLM who is responsible for organizing the adult education classes effectively and retaining the learners throughout the period of the centre thus, achieving the set targets in terms of uplifting the literacy level. The past experiences have revealed that adult education workers were not educated about teaching adults, in terms (i) of teaching methodology, (ii) motivating adults to attend and learn, (iii) preparation and use of teaching aids and creating interest (Ravinder 1981, Natrajan, 1912, Mishra 1983, Mohan Kumar, 1985). Lecture method is the oldest and most commonly used method in communicating information. It is an organised presentation to cover thoroughly the whole subject matter to a large group of learners in a short period of time but the past studies have revealed that lecture method was more effective when combined with some visual aid or printed materials or some other methods than the lecture alone (Kaur and Roy, 1976, Menon and Prema, 1978, Gupta, 1981 and Kumari, 1988). The present study was conducted to find out the effectiveness of lecture and lecture supplemented by leaflets in educating adult education workers. Lecture method is the most convenient method used for teaching and training but combining it with leaflets is not used frequently. The leaflets are single sheets, folded sometimes, containing subject matter, illustration and figures. They can be stored very easily and can be referred to as the need be.

The following were the objectives of the study :

—To determine the gain in knowledge of the respondent for the lessons taught with lecture, and lecture supplemented by leaflets.

—To find out the retention of knowledge of the respondents for the lessons taught with lecture and lecture supplemented by leaflets.

Research Methodology

The study was experimental in nature which was conducted on adult education women workers of two blocks, namely Lalton Kalan and Kuhara of Ludhiana District. Thirty women workers were taken from each selected block. The workers of Lalton Kalan block were treated as Experimental group 1, whereas workers from the Kuhara block were treated as experimental Group-II. Four topics namely : (i) Use of solar cooker (ii) immunization and vaccination (iii) Storage of perishable foods and (iv) Use and

care of sewing machine, related to home science were selected and leaflets on these topics were prepared in consultation with home science experts. The calculated value of reading ease scores of the written material contained in four leaflets were 71.81, 71.64, 71.01 and 80.27 respectively. In the Experimental Group I lecture method was used to impart knowledge and in Experimental Group II the lectures supplemented by leaflets was used for teaching the four selected topics.

Four objective type knowledge tests were constructed of true-false type items. Items with index of difficulty ranging between 20 to 85 and index of discrimination above 0.20 were selected for knowledge tests. The tests were administered to both the groups before and after the treatment. After 21 days the same knowledge tests were administered to both groups to determine the retention of knowledge. The difference between post and pre-knowledge test scores indicated gain in knowledge and difference between retention and pre-knowledge test scores indicated the retention of knowledge. The data were analysed with the help of mean, paired 't' test-and two sample 't' test.

FINDINGS

1. Significance of Gain in Knowledge Scores

Paired 't' test was applied on the gain in knowledge scores of both the groups to test the significance of gain in knowledge. The 't' values of both the groups were significant at 0.01 level for all the selected topics which

TABLE 1

Calculated Paired 't' test and two sample 't' test Values of Gain Knowledge Scores of Both Experimental Groups on Four Selected Topics of Home Science

Topics	Experimental Groups	Mean Gain in Knowledge Scores	Calculated Paired 't' test values	Calculated two sample 't' test values
Use of Solar	I	6.2	24.26**	
Cooker	II	7.7	22.92**	3.65**
Immunization and	I	4.1	11.17**	
vaccination	II	7.03	18.16**	7.14**
Storage of Perishable	I	3.86	10.97**	
Foods	II	7.06	10.85**	5.93**
Use and Care of Sewing	I	6.03	19.09**	
Machine	II	7.63	24.01**	3.75**

d.f. = 29 for paired 't' test and 58 for two sample 't' test.

** = Significant at 0.01 level of significance.

indicate that there was gain in knowledge in both groups for all selected topics (Table 1).

Two sample 't' test was applied on the gain in knowledge scores to test the significance of difference of gain in knowledge of both the groups. The 't' values were significant at 0.01 level for all the selected topics which shows that there was difference in gain in knowledge scores of both the groups for all selected topics.

Table 2 shows that the overall gain in knowledge scores of an experimental group II were more than experimental group I.

The paired 't' test values were significant at 0.01 level which indicated that there were significant difference in overall post and pre-knowledge test scores which could be due to the given treatment. (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Calculated Paired 't' test and Two Sample 't' Test Values of Overall Gain in Knowledge Scores of Both Experimental Groups

Sr. No.	Methods	Mean Gain in Knowledge Scores	Calculated Paired 't' Test Values	Calculated two Sample 't' Test Values
I	Lecture	5.04	26.80**	8.80**
II	Lecture supplemented by Leaflets	7.36	40.31**	

d.f. = 29 for paired and 58 for two Sample 't' test values.

** = Significant at 0.01 level.

Two sample 't' value was found to be significant at 0.01 level (Table 2) which showed there was difference in overall gain in knowledge scores of both the groups i.e. the lecture supplemented by leaflets was more effective than lecture alone.

Significance of Retention of Knowledge Scores

Paired 't' test values in Table 3 indicate that 't' values of both the groups were significant at 0.01 level for all the topics which shows that there was retention of knowledge in both the groups for all the selected topics.

The two sample 't' test values were significant at 0.01 level for all the topics (Table 3) which shows that there was difference in retention of knowledge scores of both the groups for all selected topics.

TABLE 3

Calculated Paired 't' Test Values and Two Sample 't' Test Values of Retention of Knowledge Scores of Both the Groups on Four Selected Topics of Home Science

Topics	Experimental Groups	Mean Retention of Knowledge Scores	Calculated Paired 't' Test Values	Calculated two Sample 't' Test Values
Use of Solar Cooker	I	5.2	16.65**	
	II	7.43	22.04**	5.14**
Immunization and Vaccination	I	3.40	9.21**	
	II	7.00	18.61**	7.01**
Storage of Perishable Foods	I	3.1	11.54**	
	II	7.4	16.75**	8.63**
Use and Care of Sewing Machine	I	5.1	17.45**	
	II	7.63	19.65**	5.13**

d.f. = 29 for Paired 't' Test and 58 for two Sample 't' test values.

** = Significant at 0.01 level of significance.

Table 4 shows that the overall retention of knowledge scores of Experimental Group II was same as the overall gain in knowledge scores which are 7.36, where as overall retention of knowledge scores in experimental group I were lower than overall gain in knowledge scores.

The paired 't' test values were significant at 0.01 level (Table 4) which indicated that there was significant difference in overall retention and pre-knowledge test scores, which indicated that there was retention of knowledge of respondents of both the groups.

TABLE 4

Calculated Paired 't' Test and Two Sample 't' Test Values of Retention of Knowledge Scores of Both the Groups.

Sr. No.	Methods	Mean of Retention of Knowledge Scores	Calculated Paired 't' Test Values	Calculated two Sample 't' Test Values
1.	Lecture	4.2	19.49**	
				10.55**
2.	Lecture Supplemented by Leaflets	7.36	35.07**	

d.f. = 29 for paired 't' test and 58 for two sample 't' test.

** = Significant at 0.01 level of significance.

Tabl e 4 also shows that two sample 't' value was significant at 0.01 level which shows that there was difference in overall retention of knowledge scores of both the groups, i.e. the lecture supplemeneted by leaflets, was more effective than lecture alone.

IMPLICATIONS

The findings reveal that the lecture method supplemented by leaflets was more effective for educating adult education workers. The knowledge gain and retention was more with th: leaflets. It is suggested that the trainers of adult education workers should develop the various helping materials which will make their teaching effective. The leaflets can be prepared on the topics of relevance to the workers and can be distributed after each lecture. The workers can preserve these leaflets easily and refer to these whenever required.

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The UN Resolution

The General Assembly of the United Nations

Recalling Economic and Social Council resolution of 8 July 19:7, in which the Council recommended that the General Assembly proclaim 1990 as International Literacy Year.

Recalling that in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights the inalienable right of everyone to education is recognised;

Minodful of the fact that the eradication of illiteracy is one of the paramount objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade;

Recognising that the illiteracy constitutes a pre-requisite for ensuring the right to education;

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Emphasizing that widespread illiteracy, especially in many developing countries, seriously hinders the process of economic and spiritual advancement;

Emphasizing further that this situation is utterly incompatible with what is required by the great advances in the scientific and technical revolution that mankind is witnessing;

Convinced that the process of education can make an indispensable contribution to the achievement of social progress, mutual understanding and cooperation among nations;

Mindful of the fact that the eradication of illiteracy calls for world-wide cooperation and joint efforts;

Considering that the complete elimination of illiteracy in all the regions of the world should be recognised as a priority objective of the international community;

Convinced that the elaboration of global strategy for the eradication of illiteracy and the organisation of a world-wide literacy campaign will promote deeper understanding by people throughout the world of the various aspect of the problems of illiteracy and help to intensify efforts to spread literacy and education;

Taking note with appreciation of the programme for International Literacy Year submitted by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation;

Taking into account the guidelines for international years and anniversaries adopted by the General Assembly;

- Proclaim 1990 as International Literacy Year;

- Invites all States to ensure adequate nation-wide preparation for International Literacy Year;

- Recommends that the specialised agencies, regional commissions and other organisations of the United Nations system consider in their respective forums the contribution that they could make to the success of International Literacy Year;

- Invites interested inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations to exert efforts in their respective fields to contribute adequately to the preparation and implementation of national and international programmes for International Literacy Year;

- Invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to assume the role of lead organisation for International Literacy Year.

Adult Education News

PM Launches Literacy Year

Prime Minister, Shri V.P. Singh launching the International Literacy Year in New Delhi on January 22, 1990 said that human development will be given top priority under the Eighth Plan with specific emphasis on making primary education universal.

Mr. Singh stressed the need to change the literacy programmes into social missions so that a national campaign could be started to eradicate illiteracy. He expressed the need to improve the necessary inputs which comprise part of the literacy programmes. "The quality of materials is poor and even the level of instruction leaves much to be desired. Unless the inputs are improved these programmes will not have the required impact." The Prime Minister said that literacy was the very foundation for the development of the people and universalisation of literacy must receive the highest priority.

Alluding to the epic Mahabharata, Mr. Singh quoted Bheesma Pitamaha who, in reply to a question from Yudhishthir, said "there is nothing greater than man".Human beings, therefore, were central to developmental process for which education was the most important tool, he said.

"We see literacy and mass education as an essential part of our human resources and the emergence of a strong democratic and secular society in which each Indian will be able to find fulfilment", Mr. Singh said.

"True education must inculcate in our people respect for all human beings and a sensitivity to the needs of the poorest", he said.

Mr. Singh said the country was faced with a resource constraint. It would, nevertheless, give the highest priority to human development. "We will review and reorder our plan priorities and strategies accordingly.

"By organising and mobilising people, by making the primary education system accountable to them, we should be able to secure the cooperation of those parents who at present do not send their children to school, or withdraw them before they complete primary education", he said.

The Prime Minister said there was a need also for strengthening the programmes for part-time non-formal education. "What I have in mind is the provision of flexible, condensed courses for boys and girls with the help of well-trained local teachers to enable working children to get primary education", he said.

Mr. Singh said that adult literacy was another critical area which needed resolute action. "We have to work much harder than we have done so far to ensure that all people who are still below 30 or 35 years of age become literate, educated, capable of self-advancement, capable of making choices and capable of working and learning together'', he said.

The Prime Minister earlier joined a neo-literate Ms Usha Yadav in lighting a lamp symbolizing literacy.

Shri R.K. Hegde, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, who presided over the function, said that it was a matter of shame that after 42 years of independence there were more illiterates in the country than the total population when the nation attained freedom. A time-bound solution is required in this context with the active cooperation of all sections of society, especially the youth.

Sbri Hegde suggested that the youth should spare six months after graduation to work towards eradication of illiteracy. He said India had made great progress in industry and agriculture and in launching its own satellite: but still 63% of the population were illiterate. India had also one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world and thousands of villages were without potable water. 'We have to bridge this gap between the two faces of India by the turn of the century", Shri Hegde said.

Prof. M.G.K. Menon, Minister of State for Education said the proviso of basic education was fundamental to improvement of life. He said that to this end there should be active participation of all members of the community. He stressed particularly the implementation of the programmes concerning vocational education.

Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, Chairman, Madras Institute of Development Studies and former President of the Indian Adult Education Association highlighted the efforts being made by Gyan Vigyan Jathas to promote literacy and science for national integration and self-development. He said that literacy was essential for learning science and skills necessary for gainful employment.

Shri Prem Bhai of the Banbasi Seva Ashram, Mirzapur (U.P.) expressed the need to involve youth in adult education programme. He said that if youth could be provided basic literacy and the ability to organise themselves, the pace of development in the country will get accelerated.

Earlier, Education Secretary, Shri Anil Bordia welcomed the chief guest and Director General of the National Literacy Mission, Shri L. Mishra proposed a vote of thanks.

Conference of Voluntary Agencies of Uttar Pradesh

The State Resource Centre (U.P.) Literacy House, Lucknow organised a conference of Presidents, Secretaries and Executive Committee members of voluntary agencies (VAs) on January 29 and 30, 1990 in Lucknow. The aim was to apprise the participants about the various adult education programmes in operation in the country and to get their suggestions to improve the on-going programme.

Inauguarating it, Shri J.L. Sachdeva, Director, Indian Adult Education Association, said that adult education will not become a people's programme unless voluntary agencies become an active partner in the programme. He asked the VAs to prepare some innovative and experimental adult education programmes and may not necessarily go by the copy book rules.

Earlier, Shri S.D. Trivedi, Director, S.R.C. welcomed the Chief Guest and the participants. Shri Madan Singh, Head, Training Department outlined the aims and objectives of the Conference.

The delegates were divided into four groups to discuss the following subjects :

—The participation of voluntary organisations in Adult Education Programme.

—Problems faced in Adult Education and strategies adopted to solve them.

—Innovative and Experimental Projects in Adult Education

—Training of Adult Education Functionaries

—Supervision of Adult Education Centres

—Mass Programme for Functional Literacy and how to achieve cent-percent literacy

—Problems of dropouts

—Monitoring and Evaluation

—Post Literacy Programmes and Continuing Education.

Shri Deep Chand Ram, Deputy Director, Adult Education, Government of Uttar Pradesh and Shri P.N. Shivpuri, former Head, Department of Training. Literacy House, were the resource persons to the conference.

37 participants from 18 voluntary agencies attended the two-day meet.

Raising Women Awareness (Eight-Day Camp in Delhi)

An eight day Awareness Generation Camp for Wowen was held in Himmatpuri, a trans-Yamuna resettlement colony of Feb. 5-13, 1990. 25 women in the age-group 15-40 participated. 19 of them were Scheduled Castes.

Inaugurating it, Miss Surrinder Saini, President. Bharat Sevak Samaj (Delhi Branch) said that promotion of education and awareness among women will go a long way in achieving universal elementary education in the country. She said that educated women would be more inclined to send their children to the primary schools than the illiterate ones. Miss Saini said that discrimination among boys and girls still continues and this has to be eliminated for the proper development of the country.

Miss Saini said that creation of awareness among women will make them responsible citizens and will also enable them to live a healthy and happy family life. She pleaded for making the women aware about the various development programmes for their economic betterment. They should also be made aware of the various laws so that they could take advantage of them as and when need arises.

The Camp was convened by the Indian Adult Education Association in cooperation with the Central Social Welfare Board.

Shri J.C. Saxena, Hony. General Secretary, IAEA who presided, said that men and women have equal role in the society and both of them should become partner in decision making. He said that all out efforts should be made to give women rightful place in the society and this could be achieved through the awareness and educational programmes for them.

The topics covered in the Camp included the important laws for women; various development programmes for them; the need for health and hygiene; importance of balanced diet for women particularly for girls, bad effects of drugs and alcohol, awareness of birth control methods; population problems and major communicable and water borne diseases, etc. Two practical demonstrations on preparation of liquid soap, detergent. cleaning powder and preservation of vegetables and fruits and preparation of cheap and nutritious snacks for school going children were organised.

Lectures, discussion in groups, demonstrations, films and role play techniques were used in the 8-day Camp.

Among the resource persons were Smt. Amarjit Kaur, Secretary, National Federation of Indian Women (Delhi Branch), Mrs. Urmal Pant, Health

Education Officer, MAMC, New Delhi, Ms. Geetika Vohra, Indian Institute of Home Economics, Dr. (Smt) Sharda Jain, Sevagram Vikas Sansthan, New Delhi, Dr. Divakar Shukla, Association of Social Hygiene in India, Dr. Gayanendra, Family Planning Association of India, Shri J.L. Sachdeva, Director, IAEA and Subhash Dua, Librarian, IAEA.

In the quick evaluation done after the programme, it was suggested that a Camp of a longer duration should be organised. The topics covered in the Camp were found to be relevant and useful in the day to day life of women. Some more income-generating demonstrations were suggested to improve the economic condition of the women.

Mane Gets Chavan Literacy Award

Yashwantrao Chavan Literacy Award has been awarded to Barrister MG Mane, former Labour Minister of Maharashtra and former President, Indian Adult Education Association and President, Bombay City Social Education Committee for his outstanding work in adult education in Maharashtra.

The Award was presented on March 12, 1990 (Birth Anniversary of Late Yashwantrao Chavan) by Shri Eknath Thakur, Director, National School of Banking and Hony. Secretary and Chief Executive Officer, Indian Education Society. Shri DB Karnik, Former Editor, Maharashtra Times presided.

43rd Annual Conference in Bhopal, May 24-27, 1990

The Indian Adult Education Association in collaboration with Barakatullah University, Bhopal, M.P. Rashtra Basha Prachar Samiti and Central India Adult Education Association will be holding its 43rd All India Adult Education Conference in Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh) on May 24-27, 1990.

The theme is "International Literacy Year - Strategies for the Coming Decade."

The Nehru Literacy Award for 1989 to Shri Bhai Bhagwan and Tagore Literacy Award (1989) to Dr. (Smt.) Rajammal P. Devadas will be presented during the conference.

The Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture will be delivered by Shri L. Mishra, Director-General, National Literacy Mission Authority and Joint Secretary, Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India on May 26, 1990.

Workshops on Material Preparation, Problems of Women's Literacy and Training of Volunteers for Total Literacy Campaign will also be organised during the conference.

The last date for registration is May 11, 1990,

The contact persons in Bhopal are :

1. Shri K. C. Choudhary 101/19 Shivaji Nagar, Bhopal, and

2. Shri K. C. Pant, M. P. Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti, Bhopal (Tel: 547081 (Off.) and 553668 (Res.)

The following business meetings of the Association will be held during the conference:

May 20, 1990 at 12.00 noon, Individual Members will meet to elect 25 members to the Council.

May 26, 1990 at 2.30 p.m. institutional members will meet to elect 75 members to the Council.

May 27, 1990 at 9 a.m. the newly elected Council will meet to elect Office-bearers and Members of the Executive Committee.

May 27, 1990 at 11.30 a.m. General Body Meeting.

Workshop on Family Life Education

The Indian Adult Education Association and the Parivar Sewa Sansthan (PSS) organised a three-day workshop on Family Life Education in New Delhi on February 19-21, 1990. Over 100 women including the preraks, instructors and learners of adult education project of the Association participated.

The broad objectives of the workshop were

    i) to create awarenesss among women on how to plan their family;

    ii) to apprise them about the need of planned parenthood;

    iii) to clear various misconceptions related with adolescence, pregnancy, etc.

    vi) to make women aware of various methods of family planning.

The discussions centred around social taboos and customs, social evils, drug addiction, family size, place of elders in the family health and hygiene and planned parenthood. The participants were divided into groups to prepare charts regarding their own conception about the family structure. Discussion and role play techniques were adopted. The participants also took part in debate and quiz competitions. The PSS gave away prizes to the winners in the both events.

Campaign for Total Literacy

The Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India organised two workshops recently to develop guidelines for training of volunteers for a campaign for total literacy.

The first was held in Trivandrum in collaboration with Centre for Adult Education and Extension (CAEE) of Kerala University from March 12-15, 1990. The second was held in collaboration with GRD Trust in Coimbatore on March 20-24, 1990.

In the Trivandrum workshop a training design for a campaign for total literacy was developed in groups consisting of the following components :

1. Profiles of Trainees : Roles, Training Needs
2. Objectives of Training
3. Preliminary Arrangements :
   —Administrative
   —Organisational
   —Academic
4. Training Curriculum/Content
   —Minimum Package Required
5. Training Materials
   —Handouts for each session
   —AV Materials
   —Identification of available ones
   —Preparation of new ones
6. Training Methods
7. Trainers/Resource Persons
   —Core
   Other experts
8. Training duration
   —Initial/Induction level
   —Inservice :
9. Convenient Time
10. Training Sessions
11. Training Institutions
12. Participants : Size
13. Nature : Residential/Non-residential; Participatory/Conventional ; Structured/Semi-structured/Unstructured
14. Monitoring and Evaluation
15. Follow-up : Continuing Education of Trainers Mechanism

31 participants representing voluntary organisations, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka, University of Kerala, Shramik Vidyapeeth, Trivandrum participated.

In the Coimbatore Workshop planning and management stretegies of a campaign were particularly stressed. The delegates were divided in four groups for preparation of plans for campaign for total literacy in the district, in a block, in a Panchayat with the help of data available.

The workshop discussed

1. the present status of the total literacy compaign in Coimbatore District;

2. the general strategies of planning and management of such a campaign; and

3. the guidelines for replicating such a campaign in other parts of the country. |

29 persons attended.

Conference on Implementation of Literacy Programme by Universities

A two-day regional conference on "Implementation of Literacy Programme by Universities" was organised by Department of Adult/Continuing Education and Extension, Devi Ahilya Vishwavidyalaya. Indore on January 8-9.1990.40 participants representing Universities, Colleges, Directorates of Adult Education and voluntary agencies from the States of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh participated.

Inaugurating it, Shri Awadesh Pandey, member State Uchacha Shiksha Anudan Ayog, MP emphasised the need to secure participation of all people in the literacy programme.

Prof. MS Sodha, Vice-Chancellor, Indore University in his keynote address said that non-formal education for the children of the age-group 6-14 should be a part and parcel of the adult education programme. He stressed the need to create climate for literacy in the villages and to check out drop-out from the schools.

Prof. Sodha emphasised the need for research in literacy by the universities particularly by Schools of Education. He asked the UGC and State Governments to support such effort by the universities.

Shri DP Hira, Joint Secretary, UGC called upon the universities to adopt area based approach. To get the desired results both MPFL and centre based programme should be implemented. Vice-Chancellors, he said, should take steps to involve college principals, teachers and students in the programme un a large scale and making literacy training and work a part of the curriculum should also be considered.

Some of the points highlighted in the Conference were :

1. Visual aids are very effective in non-formal education. The universities, Schools of Science and Aits Faculties should evolve visual aids,

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which can hold the attention of learners and motivate them to attend the centre regularly.

2. MPFL programme is suitable for the city where heterogeneous groups are residing, whereas, in-homogeneous area like villages centre based programme is more appropriate.

3. No honorarium should be paid to students for participation in the literacy programme because the present honorarium is too little anyway and effectively curtails the spirit of dedication. However, incentives in terms of certificates and appreciations may be considered.

4. The universities should design an action plan for implementing the literacy programme. Not only the student volunteers but the teachers should also be effectively involved.

5. Emphasis on women's education is essential, because if the mother is literate then the entire family becomes literate.

6. Literacy programme should become part of "Berojgar Bhatta Yojana" recently introduced by the State Government. If should be mandatory for the educated, unemployed persons who are given a stipened by the Government to teach illiterates.

The delegates were divided into four groups to discuss the following sub-themes of the Conference:

1. Environment building

2. Survey—selection of the area of operation and identification of the clientele

3. Identification of master trainers and volunteers

4. Training

5. Production and supply of literacy kits to the volunteers

6. Actual imparting of literacy

8. Evaluation of learning outcome and reporting, and

7. School dropouts and adult education.

I.A.E.A. BOOKS IN ENGLISH

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Indian Journal of
ADULT
EDUCATION

Proceedings of the 43rd All India
Adult Education Conference
on
International Literacy Year : Strategies for
the Coming Decade

Indian Adult Education Association

Indian Journal of Adult Education

The Indian Journal of Adult Education, first published in 1939, is brought out now as a quarterly by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Journal has special interest in the theory and practice of Non-formal Education with special reference to the relationship between Adult Education and Development.

Contributions on a wide range of themes within this broad framework are welcome. The Journal is particularly interested in current experiments in the field.

Contributions should be accompanied by either a stamped, self-addressed envelope or by International Reply Coupons. The average length of a manuscript should normally be between 1,500 and 2,000 words, in exceptional cases, longer articles can be accepted. Mimeographed, Zeroxed or carbon copies will not be accepted. Manuscripts should be typed in double space, on one side, with a 2'' margin on foolscap size paper. Footnotes and references should come at the end and not on every page.

Contributions and other correspondence regarding advertisements, subscription rates etc. should be addressed to the Editor, Indian Journal of Adult Education, 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

TABLE OF CONTENT

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Content

Editorial

The twentynine recommendations of the Bhopal Conference, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, are based on the realisation that functional illiteracy is a severe threat to social equality and economic competitiveness. Eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000 falls within the scope of a much wider ambition—education for all—which envisages literacy in social, cultural and economic context and sees it as closely linked to poverty, disadvantage and exclusion. According to the Unesco Plan of Action to Eradicate Illiteracy by the Year 2000, "The struggle for literacy is, at the same time, a struggle for development, justice, greater equality, respect of cultures and recognition of the human dignity of all and the claims of each to an economic, social and political stance in society and the fruits which derive therefrom. It is that which makes this struggle so difficult ; it is also that which makes it so essential and worthwhile."

Poverty, ill health and illiteracy are co-terminus. 'Health for All by 2000' means that health care is to be brought within the reach of every one and it implies the removal of the many obstacles to health. Health for all ultimately demands literacy for all.

A multi-sectoral approach is urgently necessary for literacy. Another essential prerequisite for literacy is community involvement. Such a strategy turns the individual, the family and the community into the basis of the educational system, of which literacy is a component. Illiteracy does not exist in isolation. It is influenced by a complex of environmental, social and economic factors closely related to each other.

The spirit of self-reliance is fundamental to any strategy for achieving education for all. It is self reliance which sets people free to develop their own destiny. It is self reliance, which is the essence of empowerment.

43rd All India Adult Education Conference A Brief Report

The 43rd All India Adult Education Conference which concluded in Bhopal on May 27, 1990 has urged that the centre based approach should continue with the same vigour as it has now. It might be supported with small group approaches and each one teach one appruach taking into account local needs and requirements.

The Conference stressed that all kind of folk media prevalent in the respective area; have to be brought to use for creating appropriate climate. It emphasised that modern media like TV, Radio etc. are to be fully utilised with the clear understanding of the programme, its objectives and the target groups.

It suggested that the bureaucrats and the community should work hand in hand with maximum understanding and cooperation to achieve total literacy.

The conference emphasised that all existing infrastructure in the formal education sector should be made available for adult education and adult literacy work so that the country can enter the 21st century with limited number of illiterates through a proper utilisation of the International Decade.

The four day conference on 'International Literacy Year : Strategies for the Coming Decade' convened by the Indian Adult Education Association in collaboration with Hindi Rashtra Basha Prachar Samiti, Central India Adult Education Association and Barkatullah University, Bhopal was attended by over 300 delegates from 18 States and Union Territories.

Inaugurating it, Shri B.M. Mishra, Speaker, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly said that literacy education was essential to bring the illiterates into the main stream of the national life. He appealed to all educated to make at least three persons literate.

Shri Mishra said that adult education should not be a Government run programme only. The community and the intellectuals should take the responsibility to run it. He said that adult education could go a long way in promoting national integration. Shri Mishra said that illiterates should be made literate in the place they live or work. The adult education programme should also make available to the masses the knowledge hidden in books, he said.

Miss Kusum Singh Mehdele, Minister for Social Welfare, Women and Child Development, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh in her address as special guest said that the National Literacy Mission could succeed if all educated persons take upon themselves the responsibility of educating their illiterate brothers and sisters. The adult education programme, she said should not confine only to literacy and it ultimate goal should be to improve quality of life of the people. Voluntary organisations which are dedicated would get support from the Government, she added.

Shri B.S. Garg, President Indian Adult Education Association in his presidential address said that for the success of the programme instructors should be adequately paid. He stressed that recognised voluntary organisations should not face any problem in receiving financial assistance in time from the Government.

Earlier, Smt. Kusum Wig, Secretary, Reception Cammittee welcomed the Chief Guest and the participants. Shri Bikram Sethi, Treasurer, Reception Committee, proposed a vote of thanks.

Nehru and Tagore Literacy Awards Presented

The 1989 Nehru Literacy Award for outstanding contribution to the promotion of literacy was presented to Shri Bhai Bhagwan, former Director, Adult Education, Rajasthan Vidyapeeth. Udaipur.

The citation said that Shri Bhai Bhagwan's significant work has been in enlisting the support of young students in promoting literacy education

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among the poor and the down-trodden. He made strenuous efforts in promoting education among tribal children and adults. As a tireless and earnest worker, he has worked with a will and smile all these years and has been great inspiration to many labouring in the field of adult education, the citation said.

The Tagore Literacy Award for 1989 was presented to Dr. (Smt.) Rajammal P. Devadas, Vice-Chancellor, Avinashlingham Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women (Deemed University) in recognition and appreciation of her contribution in removing illiteracy among women.

The citation of the Award said Dr. Devadas has undertaken considerable pains in making available the fruits of Science and Technology for improvement of rural life. She endeavoured to bring a change in women's life through education and training so that they become equal partner with men in the development of the country.

To give adult education an important place, Dr. Devadas has incorporated community, social service and adult education in the curricula for undergraduate and post-graduate courses in Home Science, the citation said.

In his reply, Shri Bhai Bhagwan said that literacy work should be entrusted to political parties, trade unions and voluntary organisations. The literacy campaign, he said required ideological energy which can only be provided by party cadres and voluntary organisations.

Dr. Devadas in her reply suggested that 109 Krishi Vigyan Kendras should be involved in adult education work and their support will strengthen the programme. She said that sustainable development is possible only with the active participation of the large majority of the women who live in the remote tribal and rural areas in our country.

Dr. Devadas said that for proper utilization of the various developmental schemes of the Government of India, it was essential that women should be literate. The benefits of development schemes are not reaching to them as they are not aware about them. Literacy and awareness will go a long way in the upliftment of the rural poor women.

Presentation of the Working Paper

The Working Paper prepared by Shri J.C. Saxena and Shri J.L Sachdeva was presented in the Plenary Session of the Conference. It suggested that climate for literacy should be created, literacy should be made a felt need ; primary education be integrated with adult education; success stories in adult education should by widely disseminated ; mass programme for functional literacy should be linked with incentives; schools should be utilised for adult education work; women should be empowered; the fruits of science and

technology should reach the masses; the urban and rural poor be organised to make them self reliant and self confident; adult education pregramme be strengthened and voluntary effort be encouraged and promoted as also the training of functionaries at all levels.

Plenary Session

During discusion the following points were highlighed :

1. Adult Education programme should be given to the village community.
2. Schools should promote both formal and nonformal education.
3. Political parties should be actively involved.
4. Improvement in quality of material for illiterate and the neo literate should be brought.
5. Efforts should be made to reach those who have been unreached so far.

Group Discussion

The delegates were divided into five groups to discuss the following sub-themes :

1. How to create climate for literacy and to make literacy a felt need.
   Chairman : Dr. K.S. Pillai.
2. How to Utilise Schools and other Educational Institutions for Adult Education Work.
   Chairman : Prof. Yashwant Shukla.
3. How to promote and encourage voluntary effort.
   Chairman : Prof. D.D. Tewari.
4. How to make Literacy a Mass Movement.
   Chairman : Shri D.D. Sharma.
5. Women Empowerment—Chairperson : Dr. Ansuya Sheth.

Thematic Workshops

During the Conterence three thematic workshops on the following topics were held :

1. Problems of Women's Literacy in India.
   Resource Person : Smt. Kamala Rana.
2. Preparation of Materials for Literacy Programme—Resource Person : Smt. Nishat Farooq.
3. Training of Functionaries for Total Literacy Campaign—Resource Person : Dr. K.S. Pillai.

Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture

The Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture on Education, Development and Making of a Whole Being was delivered by Shri L. Mishra. Jt. Secretary (Adult Education) and Director-General, National Literacy Misssion Authority, Government of India.

In his address, Shri Mishra said that illiterate, deprived and under privileged are hardly conscious of existential reality of the situation in which they are placed. They are not aware of the generative sources of disadvantage, handicap and are far less equipped to over-come them. Adult Education in such a situation, he said, has to prepare people and involve them in the development process and active partners or participants, not as mute spectators of something which is imposed on them.

He said that literacy was a potent weapon for self esteem or self respect and not merely a tool for generating economic goods or for promoting employability.

Shri Mishra said that there were wide socio-cultural variations and practices in India. The Adult Educators have to think of variety of tools, techniques and methodologies as appropriate to particular region or situation. They will have to be involved through participatory methods and pre-tested before adaptation.

Valedictory Address

The valedictory address of the Conference was delivered by Shri L.N. Sharma, Minister of Agriculture. Cooperatives and Bio-Gas, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh. In his address, Shri Sharma said that adult education work is essential for the development of the country, but still lot of improvement is needed at the implementation stage. He asked the adult educators to see that it is properly implemented in the field so that illiteracy could be removed in the country by the turn of the century.

Shri B.S. Garg, in his presidential remarks said that adult education should not only be confined to literacy only but should result in total development of the personality. He said that the Association would decentralise its activities so that it could play more important role as an apex body of adult education agencies and workers in the country.

Shri J.C. Saxena, in his vote of thanks said that special efforts are needed in Hindi speaking States. He said that these States are lagging behind in the literacy as compared to other States in the country. Special efforts are thus needed to wipe out illiteracy in these States, he emphasised.

Recommendations

(1) The IAEA should immediately chalk out an action plan for the ILY and the following Decade with special reference to voluntary organisations.

(2) The work done by voluntary organisations at the National/State and Local level should be recognised both by the Central and State Governments and have to be supported actively, instead of making adverse remarks on cursory references.

(3) The voluntary organisations may be allowed to develop their own stratagies for preparing curriculum, selection and training of personnel, preparing teaching/learning materials, monitoring, evaluating etc.

(4) Wherever effective voluntary organisations are functioning, instead of discouraging them and creating new governmental machineries the existing one should be recognised and supported.

(5) At the district level co-ordination committee should be set up to plan and implement adult literacy programmes. The groups felt that instead of District Collectors being put in charge of the programme, a non-official, preferably committed worker of a voluntary agency should be nominated as the Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee.

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(6) Post literacy and follow-up programmes are being implemented through JSN's. Proper and timely flow of money to the agencies concerned has to be ensured for avoiding operational gaps.

(7) The Centre Based Approach should continue with the same vigour as it has now. This may be supported with small group approaches and each one-teach one approaches taking into account local needs and environment.

(8) Special facilities and compensatory allowances may be given to personnel involved in adult education programmes for the weaker sections.

(9) The Indian Adult Education Association should be entrusted with more responsibilities at the national level for consolidating and co-ordinating voluntary efforts

(10) The UGC and DAE should provide assistance to adult education functionaries and units for promoting applied researches.

(11) Since a large army of volunteers is needed for eradicating illiteracy from India students from Std. IX upwards should be involved in this process. Adult literacy work should be made compulsory for all college students and wherever possible the first degree should be awarded only after making five persons literate.

(12) The University, College and School Teachers should present models before the students so that they can fully involve themselves in adult literacy work someway or the other.

(13) In the teacher preparation programmes aspects of adult literacy should be incorporated and practical work should be insisted upon.

(14) National Integration, National Service etc. should become part of the curriculum process at the college level so that the required number of personnel can be easily found out.

(15) The SRC should be decentralised and every district should be provided with District Resource Units. These may be offered to Voluntary Agencies, Youth Organisations and University Departments.

(16) Centre Based Programme should not at all be disturbed and kept in tact in the interest of the programme.

(17) Programme Planners and implementors should be given the freedom to use various models according to local situations.

(18) Special Literature such as primers, hand books, work books, reading materials etc. may be prepared for women so that women empowerment should be made possible.

(19) In the SRC separate women cells are in operation. This has to be extended to the District level. Similarly special women's Literacy Cells may be established at the State Level and in the Universities and Voluntary Agencies.

(20) The programme of Mother's Clubs may be properly planned and implemented to achieve the target of women's empowerment.

(21) In order to create appropriate climate the clientele as well as the functionaries have to be identified and necessary plans chalked out.

(22) All kinds of folk media prevalent in the respective areas have to be brought to use for creating appropriate climate.

(23) National, State and District level seminars of specialists in AE, linguists, communicators, practitioners and artists be convened so that conceptual clarification is achieved and cultural intervention is made as effective as possible.

(24) Modern Media like TV, Radio etc. are to be fully utilised with the clear understanding of the programme, its objectives and the target groups.

(25) In order to achieve total literacy the bureaucrats and the community should work hand in hand with maximum understanding and co-operation.

(26) In the case of training it has to be effectively planned at the macro and the micro levels with the involvement of all concerned and taking into account the immediate requirements and target groups.

(27) Total literacy can be achieved only if a mass movement is planned and implemented with utmost sincerity, dedication and co-operation and avoiding big-brother mentality which is found in many parts of the country.

(28) Voluntary efforts at all levels have to be consolidated and widely disseminated so that unnecessary repititions can be avoided and financial stringency can be ensured.

(29) All existing infra-structure in the formal education sector should be made available for AE and Adult Literacy work so that the country can enter the 21st Century with limited number of illiterates through a proper utilisation of the International Decade.

WORKING PAPER

J. C. Saxena
J. L. Sachdeva

International Literacy Year :
Strategies for the Coming Decade

December 7, 1987 was an historic landmark for the literacy movement when the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1990 as International Literacy Year (ILY) and Unesco was given the role of lead organisation for preparation and observance of ILY. This declaration was done on the appeal of the General Conference of Unesco held in 1985 in

Sofia which stressed that the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000 was of special urgency and should be the priority objective of international community.

The International Literacy Year has been launched in 1990 firstly because illiteracy is one of the major global problems of our times. Secondly, because illiteracy is closely related to underdevelopment and poverty. Thirdly, because illiteracy is not a fatality but a condition—often a deep-rooted and refractory one—which if combated with commitment, persistence and imagination can be, and in numerous countries is being overcome.

One of the main goals of International Literacy Year is to lay the foundation for a long term action to create conditions favourable to the launching of plan of action for the decade, from 1990 for achieving total literacy by the year 2000.

Among the objectives of ILY are the creation of public awareness of the scope, nature and implications of illiteracy as well as of the means and conditions of combating it. In particular an effort has to be made to alert public opinion of the rate of illiteracy among women and its implication for the well being of the children, the lower rate of school attendance among girls than among boys and the connection between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, underdevelopment and ecconomic, social and cultural exculsion on the other.

1. Building climate for literacy

There is no proper climate for literacy at present. The illiterate adults do not feel interested in literacy education. Spreading literacy among the unmotivated and unwilling is a difficult task. If in the International Literacy Year meaningful efforts could be made to build a proper climate for literacy, it will be a big achievement. It will not only induce the illiterate adults to learning but will also inspire others to join this mission.

For creation of proper environment the role of political parties and their mass organisations and electronic and traditional media is significant. If they play a meaningful role. it will not be difficult to raise people's motivation. Illiteracy has to be seen as a national problem and should be taken with vigour by all. Once political parties feel committed, it will be not difficult to create motivation. Adult Education will become a people's movement, if, people are motivated. People's movement can't be launched with uumotivated people which in the case at present. Support to adult

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education in the manifesto of the various political parties is only a partial manifestation of political will, but it has to be put into actual practice.

Both traditional and electronic media have a great role in creating climate for literacy. At the project level, traditional media and inter-personal communication can contribute a lot a in motivating the illiterates. When projects are sanctioned, separate funds should be provided for building climate in the project area. Once a desire in illiterates is aroused for literacy, the task becomes easier and better results could be achieved.

2. Making literacy a felt need

Most illiterate adults are not interested in mere literacy programme. They do not consider literacy as a felt need and therefore they are not motivated to become literate. Thus teaching to unmotivated to some seems to be an exercise in futility. It is indeed a difficult task but that does not mean that efforts to promote literacy should be discontinued. According to Dr. H.S. Bhola "the human needs, other than, organic needs are socially and ideologically determined and have to be learned and internalized before they become felt needs. Motivations are seldom spontaneous, they have to be mobilized through education and leadership. Illiterate adults do not lack motivation to acquire literacy but also for family planning, nutrition education and health education. The challenge, therefore, lies in "fashioning the need for literacy so that it becomes felt need".

3. Integrating primary education with adult education

Efforts are being made to universalize primary education by the year 2000. Efforts will also be made to check dropout rate both at the primary and upper primary education. But the expansion of primary school education facilities specially for girls will not give the desired results if mothers remain uneducated. So it is essential that with the expansion of primary education the education of adults also receive due priority. This would necessitate the need for joint planning—the two programmes are complimentary and should not be treated separately. The two legs must walk together in unison : walking on one leg alone is always strenuous, time consuming and frustrating. Elementary education and adult education are mutually reinforcing and both needs to be integrated and implemented together. Non-formal Education Programmes are also needed for the school dropouts and non-attending children in the relevant age-group.

4. Success stories

There have been many success stories in adult education inspite of great difficulty in motivating and mobilising illiterate adults. But they are not

reaching people. Instead negative stories are being spread. The immediate need in the International Literacy Year is to circulate success stories through different media so that both animator and learner feel inspired and encouraged to join hands in this national endeavour.

5. Mass programme for functional literacy

The Mass Programme for Functional Literacy has great potential. The need is to make it incentive-based. We have tried to involve both college and school students in this programme. But the desired results have not been achieved because of lack of incentive for them. It is time that we think of proper incentives so that they get fully involved in this programme. Programmes of MPFL have succeeded wherever teachers have joined the programme by inspiring and guiding students.

6. Role of Jan Shikshan Nilayams and Schools

Jan Shikshan Nilayams (JSNs) have been set up in some parts of the country. But their number is not significant looking to the size of the country. Though JSNs are the centres for providing continuing education opportunities for all sections particularly the neo-literates yet they will not be in a position to meet the educational and cultural needs of the entire country, because they are not being set up in all villages.

With the limited resources available in the country, it is desirable tha existing educational institutions particularly primary schools in the villages should be utilised for adult education. They should work for both formal and non-formal/adult education. There are 5,78,862 inhabited villages in the country. Out of these 3,95,654 villages have a primary school in the village. They all should be utilised for adult education work. They should improve community life and should concern themselves with the people, their needs, welfare, recreation and vocational education. They would also solve the problem of physical infrastructure.

The JSNs have great potentials. But to make them effective, the community should be made responsible for their day to day functioning. Once community gets involved, they will become the nerve centres for education of the community.

7. Women Empowerment

In the strategies for the coming decade, adult education has to play a meaningful role in solving the problems of women. Steps will have to be enunciated to stop the exploitation of women in the cause of social and economic development. They have to be empowered so that they can really exercise the various legal and constitutional provisions which provides them equality in work, decision-making and political life. Through adult

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education, women will have to brought to a point whereby they could be considered equal to men in the present male-dominated society.

8. Creation of scientific temper

Adult Education in the next decade has to take science and technology to the common people. Practical aspects of science in common man's day-to-day life should have to be brought home to the people in rural areas so that a scientific temper, a spirit of enquiry is created for upliftment of the people steeped in superstitions. Universities will have to play a significant role in this direction. They should organise continuing education programmes in large numbers so as to update the knowledge who are not coming to their portals. Their present concentration on literacy should be reduced so that they play an important role in research, training, material production, continuing education and in creating scientific temper among the masses.

9. Organising the urban and rural poor, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes

Illiteracy and poverty are two main challenges of today. A dent on both could be made if men and women, particularly of deprived sections are helped to organise themselves so that advantages of various development programmes undertaken by the Government for removal of poverty and bringing of equality accrue to them. The adult education programmes should make them conscious of their needs and requirements and the programme should help them assert and fight for their rights. The role of adult education in the 1990s is to develop leadership from amongst the urban and rural poor themselves so that they can withstand the exploitation of vested interests. It should help them to be self-reliant and self-confident to solve their own problems.

10. Need for a structured programme

The adult education programme so far has been largely unstructured. The plans and provisions are on adhoc basis and so also the services of the personnel employed for the job. Such things can't leave lasting results. It has to be structured like other educational programmes.

The instructor has so far been the weakest link between the newly created administrative set up and the vast masses of people in urban and rural areas who are to be motivated, mobilised by the part time instructor. Because of low-level of honorarium, competent people are not available for this work. The desired results are thus not achieved. Those who are available find the job tedious and frustrating with this low honorarium. The need is to substiantly raise the honorarium of instructor, make it a regular job so that dedicated, committed and competent people are available. He/she should be accountable. We have to seriously think about

providing suitable accommodation for adult education centres. The present arrangement of running adult education centres in instructor's home is not at all satisfactory. It has to be changed so that purposeful education is provided to adults in a healthy environment.

11. Voluntary effort

Studies have shown that adult education programme run by active voluntary organisations have shown better results than the Government run programmes. The need in coming decade is to make full use of well-established voluntary organisations in adult education work. The NLM has given only 10% share to voluntary agencies. It has to be increased. The voluntary organisations have more freedom for day to day working, for innovations, for bold experiments and the like, from which, the Government agencies can profit and adopt. Adequate funds should be placed at the disposal of voluntary agencies in order to share sizeable part of the burden of adult education work. There should be internal autunomy, subject to overall accountability (for proper use of public funds, etc).

There should be enough scope for both large and small voluntary groups to contribute their mite to adult education programme. Small voluntary organisations should be encouraged and promoted to run 5 to 15 centres and provided the needed technical and financial support. In fact the Government should encourage the formation of small voluntary organisations to undertake this programme under the area-based approach.

12. Training of functionaries and role of SRCs

Training of functionaries engaged in adult education programmes at all levels will have to be given more attention than at present. The quality of training in many places leaves much to be desired. The SRCs and other agencies engaged in training will have to ensure training of the right type. The existing SRCs will have to be adequately strengthened and more SRCs/DRUs set up for various regions/sub-regions in large states, to play the leadership role. The serviecs of well established voluntary agencies should be utilised for running a district resource unit.

To sum up, it can be said that in the coming deeade climate for literacy should be created, literacy should be made a felt need, primary education be integrated with adult education ; success stories in adult education should be widely disseminated; mass programme for functional literacy should be linked with incentives ; schools should be utilised for adult education work; women should be empowered; the fruits of science and technology should reach the masses ; the urban and rural poor be organised to make them self reliant and self confident ; adult education programme be strengthened and voluntary effort be encouraged and promoted as also the training of functionaries at all levels.

Group Reports

Group I

Theme : How to Create Climate for Literacy and Making Literacy a Felt Need

Chairman : Dr. K.S. Pillai
Rapporteur : Shri B.R. Vyas

After hearing the views of all the members it was agreed upon that for the creation of appropriate climate for the International Decade of Literacy immediate programmes will have to be chalked out incorporating the recommendations as under :

The Indian Adult Education Association should take concrete programmes in order to give guidance to other voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education. They should also try to disseminate information for the purpose of creating the necessary climate. The factor of motivation was also considered. The functionaries working in the field should be committed to this work. Then alone they can motivate others. Besides the traditional and electronic media should also be utilised for this purpose.

The local resources should be extensively utilised e.g., Katha, Street Plays anf Folklore, Padyatra.....

Education at primary level will have to be strengthened to create the climate and to check the growth of illiterates. So also programmes of non-formal education and follow up non-formal education would have to be implemented so that people would be motivated.

Skill and occupational based programmes would augment the process of literacy.

Awareness is an important factor in creating the appropriate climate. ATAEA should launch programmes at the national level. This will help the voluntary agencies in taking similar programmes in their respective areas. Some members also suggested that the demotivating factors should be identified and requisite steps be taken to remove them.

The Chairman at length explained the steps taken by the Govt. of Kerala to eradicate illiteracy on the basis of the experience of their three experiments viz the Kottayam Project, the Ernakulum Project and the Total Literacy Project being launched for the remaining 13 districts. The salient features of all these projects is the political commitment on the part of the Kerala Government, the involvement of bureracracy and the Govt. machinery at Block, Taluka, District and State level.

In some cases coercion was also used in a very judicious manner but just to act as a fillip for the programme.

This action on the part of the Kerala Govt. has acted as catalyst in fostering the necessary climate for the International Decade of Literacy. The members highly appreciated this but it is not possible to have such political commitment on the part of the remaining States and Union Territories.

Without the active assistance of the State Govt. it is not possible to create appropriate climate. For this the State Govt. should call a meeting of all the voluntary associations and take stock of the work done so far. The VAs should request the State Govt. that they should take the VAs in confidence by way of releasing the grants well in time so that the programme may not face any difficulty. Similarly teaching-learning materials and other supplies should also be made available timely to avoid irritant in the smoother functioning of the programme.

India is having nearly 40% of the world's illiterate population and if efforts are not made to create the necessary climate the future of adult education is not only dark but India will be the only country in the world to have largest illiterate population.

Group II

Topic : Utilising Schools and Colleges for the Eradication of Illiteracy

Chairman : Prof. Yashwant Shukla
Rapporteur : Dr. J.P. Maiayani

The Chairman at the outset briefly outlined the history of the involvement of colleges in adult education work through NSS and other activities. However, the NSS is meant predominantly for the develoment of the student's personality. The idea of National Service is certainly there but

eradication of illiteracy is one of the many projects to be undertaken by NSS.

The group emphasised the importance of involving students of schools and colleges in the herculean task of eradicating illiteracy from our country, in the interest of developmental pursuits. Adult literacy itself should be looked upon as a developmental project.

As the number of illiterates in our country runs into crores we need a large army of trained workers for the eradication of illiteracy, the group emphasised. This large army of literacy workers can be easily provided by schools and colleges. Students of the last three standards of secondary and higher secondary schools and all the students of colleges and other professional or vocational educational institutions should prove suitable for this work. However, all of them could not be harnessed in this laudable project, as some motivation is necessary for identifying the right type of student volunteer. He must have sympathy for the illiterate masses and who are poor because they are illiterate; he must be willing to spare time for their upliftment and be ready for getting a suitable training before he plunges into the work itself.

In order to motivate the students there ought to be motivated principals and teachers who could inspire the students to undertake this beneficial work by their own example. They should create the proper environment for drawing the students in this work and provide initial information before the students commit themselves for the same.

After that the students should be directed to the training programme so that they become aware of the initial hurdles and the methodology to eliminate the same. Thus prepared the students may be assigned the area of their work and the target group of learners.

There was a heated discussion whether the students offering this much needed service be rewarded or compensated in some way or not. However the consensus was that some reward, compensation or recognition will prove to be a motivating factor. Of course in view of this assessment of present realities some members were of the opinion that the students will be tempted to manage their benefactors rather than carry out the task on hand sincerely. However, the group by and large emphasised the aspect of appreciating the services of students in some remarkable way.

A suggestion was made by some members that Universities and other Examination bodies should make it a condition that degrees, diplomas and certificates shall be granted only if it was proved by the students that he had educated at least five illiterates. This negative suggestion, however, did not find much favour for the majority of discussants.

The great difficulty that presented itself was that colleges are mostly located in urban surroundings while illiteracy is concentrated in rural areas. This reality necessitates a well scheduled programme by schools and colleges. Universities, various educational boards and the state governments should come together for evolving a well co-ordinated programme so that due facilities are provided to the student volunteers.

A suggestion was made that S.R.C.s should be decentralised districtwise for intensifying their work. Voluntary agencies and youth organisations should also be requested to co-operate in this gigantic work. Villages and some Urban Zones should be adopted by the institutions for completing the task. Scout Organisations and Girl Guide organisations also should be invoked to undertake this work. The whole movement ought to be placed on the war footing.

It was universally emphasised by the group that the centre based pragramme should not be disturbed at all and should be kept in tact in the interest of the work itself. It was also emphasised that suitable teaching programmes for adult literacy should be accomodated in the various syllabi.

The Youth by their very nature and fervour will be best suited to undertake this uphill task as has been proved by several countries of the third world in recent times.

Group III

Topic : Role of Voluntary Organisations in Adult Education

Chairman : Prof. D.D. Tewari
Repportuer : Dr. R. Rangaswamy

The group made the following recommendations :

1. IAEA should chalk out a programme for voluntary organisations.

2. The group is of the opinion that the Government both at the Centre and the States are not giving due importance to the contribution being made by voluntary organisations. It must be emphasised that no programme of mass movement in adult education can be successful unless full and active cooperation of voluntary organisations is ensured. The group does not appreciate the indifference of Govt. on the ground that some voluntary organisation have not played a good role.

3. While the Govt. assistance to voluntary organisations and its proper auditing is necessary, the group felt that the voluntary organisations should have sufficient freedom in developing their own strategies, programme, training, teaching learning material, curriculum and method of work. The intervention of the Govt. should be at the minimum. While there may be some risks involved in basic freedom and autonomy the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages.

4. At the local level, where effective voluntary organisation exist and are doing work, the Govt. should launch their own programme through these agencies because that not only creates overlapping condition of work but also discurages the workers of the voluntary agencies, creating imbalances in their conditions of work.

5. There should be coordinating agency in each district which should co-ordinate the work of all the agencies working in the field of adult educaiton. The head of that district level coordinating agency should be a worker from the voluntary agencies and not an officer of the Govt.

6. Programme of adult education and Jan Shikshan Nilayam have been suffering because of the defective system of disbursement of grant-in-aid to voluntary agencies. It is suggested that the grant should be paid in block at the beginning so that there is no operation gap or difficulty in the course of work.

7. The group considered the note presented by Mr. Rangaswamy from Tamil Nadu and requested that the Indian Adult Education Association to put pressure on the Govt. against changing strategies of implementing Adult Education programme in undue haste and imaginary success prospects.

8· The group felt that the programme of Adult Education is at a stage when greater and more concerted effort is needed in the remote areas, e.g., tribal and otherwise inaccessible and also aiming at special deprived sections such as women, it is very necessary that special facilities of transport and compensatory allowances be provided to the workers. Further voluntary agencies on their part should give impetus to promo-tion etc. of their workers.

9. The Indian Adult Education Association should be given greater responsibility for implementing the programme of Adult Education.

10. The UGC and the State Dept. of Education should provide incentive to adult education workers under the jurisdiction of universities/Depart-ment. This suggestion is particularly being made to promote action-oriented research at the micro level.

(The report of Group IV was not made available)

Group V

Topic : Problems of women literacy and the solutions

Chairperson : Dr. Ansuya T. Sheth
Rapporteur : Smt. Pushpa Mathur

The members of the group No. 5 started discussions pertaining to the workload and socio-economic-cultural status of woman as a hindrance to her development issues :

1. *Household Responsibilities of Women.* Indian woman in the role of housewife has to look after her children, husband and rest of her family members since early in the morning till late in the night. She has to care for the visitors, guests, sick family members, old perents and many others. She is overbusy with cooking, cleaning, washing, brooming, shopping and other household work. In interior rural and forest areas woman has to leave her home early in the morning and walk daily about 8 to 10 K.M. in search of a bucket of water, fodder for cattles and buffalo and collect firewood. She leaves her infant child unattended a home as there is nobody to look after her baby.

Woman from lower middle class and poor families of weaker section of the society from urban areas has to spend much of her time for waiting in a queue for milk, rationed sugar, rice, edible oil, kerosene etc., fetching water from public tap, sending the child to the school in a bus where there is a long queue.

Thus it is felt that inspite of her keen desire to avail the opportunities for education it becomes rather impossible for her to find time for the same.

2 *Psycho-socio-economical-cultural hindrances.* The group members high-lighted the double standard of religion shown towards woman. They said in Vedas on one hand woman has been described as the supreme creature and given the highest respect and regards. While on the other hand Tulsidas has equated her with animals. Woman is just like a beast and has to be beaten. This reflects that independent existence of a woman has never been accepted either by the society or religion under the name of culture. Thus to impart education and empower her for economic independence becomes a dream for her and remains far away from the reality. Cultural taboos, social customs, blind beliefs, have cornered women and have restricted her for coming out of the four walls of her house. She can not by pass the customs from her education. The group members said that an independent existence of a woman is not accepted than a question of her education and development does not arise. She has

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limited resources to earn her livelyhood and get herself qualified through training. Thus she feels handicapped and loosing self confidence and psychologically also she feels that she is inferior and will never been able to lead her life independently.

After having long discussion the group reached the following conclusions and recommended that (1) A woman ought to be empowered for economic independence. (2) Adult literacy centres should also organise various vocational training courses for her; production centres; arrange for marketing of the goods; organise training for management skill. (3) urban women group should adopt women groups of the villages and form women co-operative society for economic activities. (4) Adult literacy animator should be involved in such economic activities and formation of women co-operative. (5) Adult women literacy programme should be made more open and flexible. There should not be compulsion for woman learner to attend literacy centre everyday for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Instead of this it should be adjusted according to the availability of the women learners. Centre should be run for 4 days a week for one hour a day. Alongwith literacy programme, the provision for tailoring, embroidery small and cottage industries training should be made in the budget. (7) To begin with even five adult women are attending the centre it should be considered as a full fledged adult literacy centre. (8) Age group of 15 to 60 can be included in the woman adult education centre. (9) The place for the woman adult education centre should be convenient to majority of the learners. If need be it should be permitted to change on rotation according to the local needs and situation. (10) A provision for milk to the infants at the centre should be made in the budget. (11) The progress of the learners should be evaluated by the agencies suggested by the voluntary agency. (12) In order to develop a positive attitude among elderly women, religious leaders, social workers and community leaders a special orientation programme should be organised for them to expedite the enrolment process of women learners for the literacy programme. (13) Mothers' club are to be established at every village which should be made responsible for total literacy in their families. (14) Those women should be rewarded whose families are totally literate and promises to continue this trend of total literacy for ten years minimum in the areas where literacy rate is below national literacy norms. (15) A special women cell has to be established at the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India, New Delhi, State Directorate of Adult Education and District Adult Education Offices which will pay a special attention for the promotion of literacy among the women groups. (16) A special women guidance and councelling cell has to be established at the Indian Adult Education Association, New Delhi which will coordinate the efforts of women literacy work throughout India and also provide technical support to the women groups for project formulation and getting the grants from the funding agencies.

Marjorie Fernandes

International Literacy Year— Past Experience as a Basis for Future Strategies

The year 1990 was declared as the International Literacy Year (ILY) by the United Nations' General Assembly in their resolution of December 1987. The designation of a particular year as the ILY serves to focus attention on the world-wide problem of illiteracy and how to tackle it. However, it is important that the ILY does not become one more of a series of literacy campaigns which achieved little by way of results in the past. The present paper attempts to review the past experience in the field of literacy

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as a basis for formulating future strategies to be pursued not merely during the ILY but also—considering the huge dimensions of the problem of illiteracy—during the coming decade.

In the 1950s, the "literacy doctrine" swept round the world like a new universal religion whose underlying tenet was that learning the mechanics of reading and writing was the touchstone that could liberate poor and uneducated people everywhere from the bonds of ignorance, disease and hunger. The spread of literacy was also thought to contribute to a nation's overall socio-economic development. Literacy was thus regarded as a prestigious symbol of modernity. Various developing countries, sometimes on their own, but more often at the behest of international agencies like UNESCO, launched campaigns for spreading literacy skills, time and again, since the 1950's.

Despite the four decades of world-wide literacy campaigns (as well as the dramatic expansion of school enrolments), the literacy balance-sheet presents a mixed bag of results—encouraging in some aspects but discouraging in other more important aspects. This is true not only world-wide but more so in developing countries like India. Thus, it is encouraging to note that during the last four decades the number of literates in all regions of the world increased significantly in absolute terms—in India, for example, the increase was from 57.7 millions in 1951 to 107.2 millions in 1961 to 161.2 millions in 1971 to 247.2 millions in 1981 to about 340 millions in 1989. Even in percentage terms, there was considerable increase in literacy—in India, for example, the literacy rate went up from 16.7% in 1951 to 24% in 1961 to 29.4% in 1971 to 36.2 in 1981 to about 42% in 1989. However, what is discouraging and worrisome to note is that the absolute number of illiterates in the world has been increasing throughout the period. This is particularly true of developing countries—in India, for example, the number of illiterates increased from 298.3 millions in 1951 to 337.8 millions in 1961 to 386.9 millions in 1971 to 435.8 millions in 1981 to about 470 millions in 1989. Thus, it seems that the campaign to eradicate illiteracy has so far been a losing battle with the result that there are many more illiterates in the world, and especially in India, now than when the campaign was first launched in the 1950s.

A major factor which has contributed to this result is the enormous increase in population which has outpaced literacy efforts. This population increase is due to the failure on the family planning front which itself is ultimately linked with poverty and illiteracy.

Another factor is the failure of elementary education to cater to the needs of a considerable number of children so that they join the cadre of illiterates—either these children do not enter school at all or they drop out

before completing the minimum number of years required for preventing their relapse into illiteracy. Eradication of illiteracy is inseparable from the objective of primary education for all. It is only through the universalization of primary education (which in turn calls for a host of measures like recruitment of trained teachers who can empathize with the students, especially those from disadvantaged groups, making education an interesting experience for students, provision of - minimum facilities like teaching aids, well lighted and ventilated classrooms etc. that illiteracy can be checked at its source. However, large-scale literacy programmes for out-of school youth and adults are also necessary to create a supportive environment for the promotion of primary education and to solve the problem of illiteracy in a decade instead of generation.

Part of the explanation for the failure of the illiteracy campaigns of the past four decades can be found in the very conduct of these campaigns. Often, a machanical approach to illiteracy was adopted. It was detached from real life needs and interests of the illiterates so that they had little reason or motivation to invest time and effort to acquire literacy skills. The limited vision, misconceptions and false assumptions of those in charge of conducting literacy campaigns and their acting on their own without consulting the beneficiaries of the campaigns have all contributed to the failure of the campaigns.

Various literacy programmes, whether at a national or an international level like UNESCO's Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP) of the 1960s, overall performance fell far short of expectations, provide some valuable lessons as guides to future actions. These can be listed as follows :

First, the realities in the field proved to be far more complex than had been anticipated by the experts responsible for designing, implementing and assessing programmes like the EWLP.

Second, literacy problems encountered in the field were far less technical (and hence the emphasis on the "right" pedagogical techniques and other "techno-scientific" solutions was misplaced) than social, cultural, psychological and political. As pointed out in UNESCO's 1976 report, 'The EWLP : a critical assessment', it is true to say that "a multidimensional approach to both development and literacy is required. Indeed, it would seem that literacy programmes can only be fully functional—and development contexts can only be fully conducive to literacy—if they are designed according to social, cultural and political change as well as economic growth".

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Third, it was realized that a universal literacy model with international standards and specifications and designed by international experts cannot be adopted in all countries successfully. The path to literacy has to be designed according to the condition obtaining within particular nations and in consultation with the "clients".

Fourth, although not originally designed for "pure literacy", programmes like the EWLP at the hands of most instructors became so and hence could not succeed. Literacy has to be taught to adults not as a separate subject but in conjuction with other things of more direct and immediate concern to them wheveby everyday problems relating to for example forming practices, nutrition, family health, and child care could be tackled. Thus in turn implies that the instructors should be able to intergrate the two kinds of training—i.e. literacy per se and a related occupational field or solution of some everyday problem.

Fifth, when selecting people for literacy training, preference should be given to those who will be able to make important use of literacy in their daily lives and who, once they have learned how to read, will have ready and continuing access to relevant, useful and interesting reading matter (such as local newspapers, magazines, "how-to" agricultural and health bulletins and entertaining stories). If the local environment does not already contain such materials, provision for creating a continuing supply should be built into the literacy programme : otherwise, the programme is bound to be a waste of time, effort and resources if the neo-literates relapse into illiteracy.

Sixth, literacy training materials for adults should be tailored to their environments and their interests, way of thinking and style of learning. Thus, for example, it would be most unsuitable to have inert school-like primers for rural illiterates prepared at a distance by well-educated urban experts who are unfamiliar with the real interests and concerns of the rural people.

Seventh. Teaching literacy to adults as a discrete subject divorced from other learning needs of strong immediate concern and interest to the particular learners carries a high risk of failure due to their lack of motivation to become literate. Teaching literacy in a primary school-classroom with a primary teacher as instructor compounds that risk.

Eighth, While the need for literacy training is greatest in developing countries, it is also felt in developed countries as the "literacy' conventionally taught in schools is not the same as the functional literacy required to cope

with everyday life in a changing world. In this connection, it is useful to clarify the meaning of the term "functional literacy". As was also accepted for the EWLP, "rather than end in itself, functional literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing man for a social, civic and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training consisting merely in the teaching of reading and writing. The very process of learning to read and write should be made an opportunity for acquiring information that can immediately be used to improve living standard. Reading and writing should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civic life and a better understanding of the surrounding world, and should ultimately open the way to basic human culture". In India too, besides "pure literacy" (i.e. the 3R's), the other two components of functionality and awareness are also regarded as being important in having an effective programme of adult education.

Ninth, it must be borne in mind that the struggle against illiteracy is bound up with the quest for development. Illiteracy and poverty go hand in hand, each supporting the other. Hence, action needs to be taken on both fronts, simultaneously.

Tenth, the problem of illiteracy has to be tackled with the support of various organizations (i.e. international, national, governmental, non-governmental) as also educational institutions, commnity groups and even individuals. They have all to work in close collaboration with each other and not at cross-purposes so that their programmes are effective and cater to the real needs of the illiterates.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the International Literacy Year should not be seen as a mere celebration but as a summons to action. The ILY is only a means and step in the process of launching a global attack on illiteracy. The important down to earth lessons yielded by past literacy campaigns should be taken seriously and put to good use. If, in disregard to the lessons of failed literacy programmes, the old rheterical drums continue to beat out the familiar call for the total eradication of illiteracy from the face of the earth by 2000 A.D. with not much reference to how it can be done (a far more complicated, difficult and expensive task than what is generally thought to be), the ILY too, like past literacy programmes, would be a failure. Unattainable targets and implied promises can only spread disillusionment and cynicism and divert energies from what actually needs to be done—viz to formulate concrete plans based on hard realities, to assess the means available for over-coming the obstacles and then to proceed to do what can actually be done within the confines of real possibilities. Such action is now more important than ever for the unfinished business of literacy is enermous and growing steadily larger.

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V.L.N. Reddy

Development of Tribal Literacy in Andhra Pradesh— Strategies for the Coming Decade

1. Introduction

Right to education is a fundamental right of a citizen and the state has the responsibility to provide educational facilities to every citizen upto 14 years of age. It is also necessary to provide adequate and appropriate learning facilities for further education of people beyond 14 years of age. While doing so, the state has the additional responsibility to provide adequate facilities for educationally disadvantaged sections of the society like S.C., S.T. weaker sections, linguistic and religious minorities, and women. These special groups should use the existing facilities maximally for their benefit. The Indian constitution (Article 46) envisaged special provisions in the post-Independence period for the promotion of education of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes and this was a special responsibility of central and state Governments.

2.1. General Population

Andhra Pradesh, though alphabetically first, is educationally backward. It is one of the 10 educationally backward states in India. According to 1951 census, the percentage of literacy in Andhra Pradesh is 29.44—Men 39.26; Women 20.39; Rural 23.24; Rural Men 32.25 ; Rural Women 14.08; Urban 51.92 ; Urban Men 61.89 ; Urban Women 41.55 ; S.C. 17.65 Men 24.82 and S.C. Women 10.26. According to total percentage of literacy, Andhra Pradesh occupies 23rd position among 32 states and Union territories in India.

Andhra Pradesh is lagging behind in literacy by 10 years compared to the rate of literacy in India, the percentage of literacy being 29.94 in 1981 where as the literacy percentage of India was 29.45 in 1971. Andhra Pradesh accounts for nearly 10% of total illiterates in India. The adult illiterates in the age group of 15-35 in the year 1981 were 1,09,04,671. The projected figure is 1,31,94,652 by 1990 and 1,45,46,888 by 1995.

2.2. Scheduled Tribes

According to 1981 census, the percentage of tribal literacy in Andhra Pradesh is 7.82. It has the lowest tribal literacy rate compared to 31

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states and Union territories in India. According to female tribal literacy rate, it ranks second from the lowest, the first being Rajasthan (1.20%).

There exists rural—urban, sex differentials in literacy rates—Male 12.02%, Female 3.46%, Rural 6.80%, Rural Male 10.68%, Rural Female 2,78%, Urban 23.27%, Urban Male 31.50%, Urban Female 14.14%. Inter-district and Intra-district tribal literacy rate variations are marked. Mahaboobnagar, Nizamabad and Nalgonda District have less that 5% of literacy among 23 Districts of the State. Also the literacy rates of certain districts in the state and certain taluks in the district are below the average literacy rate of Andhra Pradesh and the average literacy rate of the district concerned.

Though there is increase in percentage of tribal literacy from 4.41 in 1961 to 7.82 in 1981, there is increase in absolute number of illiterates from 1,266, 015 in 1961 to 2,927, 265 in 1981 i.e., more than doubled. The adult illiterates in the age group of 15-35 in the year 1981 were 6,35,200. The projected figure is around 13,89,140 by 1994-95. As per 1981 census there are inter-district and intra-district variations in absolute number of illiterates and 5 districts namely, Khammam (13.76%), Visakhapatnam (11.34%), Warangal (9.49%), Adilabad (8.68%) and Nalgonda (6.38%) account for 50.56% of total S.T. illiterates in the State.

3. Problems

The problems faced in developing tribal literacy in Andhra Pradesh are varied and many and a few are listed below :

1. Low value given to education both by parents and students
2. Non-enrolment of large number of school age children
3. High rate of dropout
4. High percentage of absenteeism
5. Late coming to educational institutions
6. Low level of academic achievement
7. Slow progress in learning/low rate of learning
8. Low confidence of learners in learning
9. Low level of motivation, aspiration
10. Irrelevant/Inapproapriate curricular content
11. Medium of instruction through unknown language
12. Inadequate learning facilities
13. Lack of facilities in the existing institutions—proper accommodation, building, library, teaching aids crafts and games equipment

14. Uninterested, unmotivated teachers

15. Social distance between teachers and students

16. Low parental attitude towards girls education

17. Early marriages in the case of girls

18. Lack of text books in the mother tongue of the learners

19. Low socio-economic status of parents

20. Lack of conveyance/communication facilities

21. Lack of facilities to teachers—accommodation, communication

22. Indifferent and apathetic attitude of parents towards education of children

23. Inconvenient school hours (timings) and holidays

24. Lack of proper supervision of educational institutions

25. Lack of women teachers for women institutions

26. Lack of coordination, co-operation among different departments working for tribal development

27. Inadequate community support and encouragement

28. Lack of adequate number of voluntary agencies really committed to the cause of education of tribals

29. Children are not allowed to go to schools by parents as they are economic assets to parents

30. The facilities provided (seats in Ashram schools) are exploited by the developed tribes among them

31. Irregular and inadequate flow of finances

32. Lack of adequate and suitable post-literacy materials eatering to the needs of neo-literates.

4. Strategies

The strategies should help to realise universal enrolment and retention of children upto 14 years and to eradicate illiteracy among illiterate adults, particularly in the age group of 15-35 years. The following are some of the strategies that may be tried.

1. Adequate number of elementary schools and upper primary schools specially for tribes need to be provided. While permitting new schools or additional sections, priority may be given to S.T.'s.

2. Adequate number of Ashram schools be opened and care should be taken to see that the seats are not exploited by the developed tribes among them while making admissions

3. The existing primary schools, upper primary schools and Ashram schools should be properly equipped, staffed

4. A sepcial enrolment drive to be launched to enrol all the children upto 14 years

5. Attention needs to be paid to reduce late coming, absenteeism, dropout, low achievement by employing appropriate corrective measures.

6. Extension programmes may be organised to build confidence in the learners and to impress upon the illiterates to understand the importance and value of education by using mass media

7. Motivational techniques need to be employed

8. The curricular content should reflect the needs and interests of the learners

9. The education should be linked with traditional crafts, arts and their skills

10. Medium of instruction should be through mother tongue

11. Text books should be produced in the mother tongue

12. Initially, bi-lingual primers may be developed and used

13. Persons belonging to tribal community may be employed as teachers in tribal areas as far as possible

14. Non-tribals committed to the cause of tribal education may be employed as teachers after putting them through crash programme of learning tribal language

15. The administrative and supervisory staff need to be strengthened and streamlined

16. Special facilities like accomodation, special pay may be provided to teachers in tribal areas

17. Adequate number of women teachers may be made available by special recruitment and training

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18. Voluntary agencies really interested in tribal development may be identified and helped by relaxing certain conditions relating to grant-in-aid

19. For the age 9-14 years who are out of school students, non-formal education centres to the extent needed be started, in perference to students belonging to other communities.

20. Within the S.T's, priority should be given to

    (a) women

    (b) tribes with low literacy rate and large number of illiterates

    (c) rural adult illiterates

    (d) house holds with no literates or large number of illiterates

    (e) 15-25 years among 15-35 age group

21. Districts with large number of tribal illiterates and mandals with tribal concentration within the district should be given greater attention

22. A special literacy drive campaign may be launched for promotion of literacy in S.T's

23. While launching campaigns for 100% literacy, instead of districts with highest literacy rate, the districts with large number of disadvantaged sections of society namely, S.C., S.T., B.C., women and minorities, should be given preference and among them S.T's should receive priority.

24. Central Government should provide additional funds for special literacy programmes for S.T's

25. The individuals/agencies which promote literacy among S.T's should be recognised and awarded suitably

26. Post-Literacy materials in tribal languages need to be produced to the extent needed

27. Adequate number of JSN's to be started in tribal areas, relaxing certain conditions

28. The AIR, TV Stations have to broadcast/telecast programmes specially relevant to S.T's

29. At the State level, a special committee to watch the promotion of tribal literacy be created·

Nishat Farooq

Teaching/Learning Material
for Adult Education

The programme of Adult Education not only lays stress on literacy but also emphasises the need for creating awareness among the masses about the conditions in which they live and work and the way in which they can change their environment. However, literacy is an essential component of programme and the teaching learning material occupy a significant place in the process of acquiring literacy skill.

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In the course of adult education programme an adult learner passes through the following stages and material for each stage must be prepared according to the need of the learners.

I. *Pre-literacy stage* : During pre-literacy stage emphasis is on oral and visual communication in order to create 'reading readiness' in the adults.

Adults who enrol in AECs differ in their rate of progress. This difference may be due to differences in ability to learn, background of experiences, command of language, condition of health, ability to hear and see and so on. Other relate to factors that often effect some communities more largely than others e.g. ; in villages people have lived without recognising any loss that may have been resulted from inability to read.

They must be persuaded of its value before they become willing to establish the habit. One of the steps essential during the preparatory stage is to provide convincing evidence to adults that reading may provide satisfaction and rewards.

Some illiterate adults lack confidence in their own ability to acquire the art of reading and writing and they think it is beyond their achievement. They either don't join class or make little progress if enrolled. But once they gain confidence they make very satisfactory progress. In some remote areas little or no use has been made of written or printed symbols. As a result young people and adults are not familiar with signs, newspaper printed material. Obviously such groups are less well prepared to learn to read than those living in communities where printed symbols appear everywhere. Usually people want to have immediate results of literacy. They see literacy as a tool to earn extra money or to get job. Studies justify two important conclusions :

1. Many personal social and environmental factors directly effect readiness to learn to read.

2. When appropriate steps are taken to remove handicaps and to provide the necessary preparatory training many adults who had previously failed to learn to read are able to make rapid progress.

   Therefore during preliteracy stage such material should be used which highlight the written words, motivate people and encourage them for literacy. It must develop in adults a compelling interest in learning to read. Audio-visual material, songs, street corner plays, posters, filip books and other material with more

illustrations and short captions are most suited for this stage. This material must arouse keener interest and stimulate greater effort among adults.

II. *Literacy Stage* : When the adult learners begins to read and which lasts till he/she has broken the illiteracy barrier. The chief goal sought during this stage is ability to read simple material with attention focused on meaning such as signs, notices, brief news items, letters and simple directions. The attainment of this goal enable students to meet the minimum literacy norm laid down in the National Literacy Mission.

For this stage we need a set of basic literacy material, teaching aids and teachers guide.

Since 1978 a lot of basic literacy material has been developed for adult education. But there was no cross comparability of results in various parts of the country and in various programmes. There were some other weaknesses also. So the basic literacy material cames under scrutiny of an adult group. After that some new hallmarks were decided for the primers. Based on those characterstics it has been decided that there will be three primers for basic literacy.

The literacy norms given in the NLM document is the minimum level of achievement. It would be divided into three parts denoting three levels of the basic literacy stage. The content for each level is as follows

Level-I   Ability to

read and write words/sentences using most frequent letters and vowel signs ;
read and write numbers upto 50 ;
write one's own name.

Level-II   Ability to

read and write words and sentences having almost all the letters, all vowel signs and some conjunct letters, read and write numbers upto 100 and do simple addition and substraction up 100;

write names of family members and one's address.

Level-III   Ability to

read and comprehend a small passage (unknown text/ newspaper headings, road signs) ;

compute simple problems involving multiplication and division ;

apply skills of writing and numeracy in day-to-day activities i.e. writing letter, filling forms etc.

Designs of the Primer

The primer would be in three parts, each part would correspond to a level mentioned above

Primer Part I	Level I
Primer Part II	Level II
Primer Part III	Level III

Each part will contain literacy aod numeracy and integrate teaching unit, exercises and drills, tests and evaluation.

Each part of the primer would contain a perforated certificate to be given to a learner after completion of a part of the primer successfully.

The objective of NLM is not only to teach the skill of reading and writing to the participants but to make them aware of the social problems so that he may take steps to solve them. Therefore it is desirable that primers to be used in AECs should have content directly related to the problems and interests of adult life and of national concern.

Supportive and Supplementary Material

In addition to primers the workers in the field should have a large variety of supportive and supplementary materials, to suit their capacities, special preferences and the precise need of the different categories of adult learners.

There should be a teachers guide, teachers resource book, audio-visual aids, closely linked with messages of primers. Instructor must have large number of material on the subjects which may be discussed in the class. He must be trained and encouraged to use those materials in the class.

III. *Post Literacy stage* : When the adult learners dependency on the teacher and the class is reduced till he/she is able to learn by himself.

Generally, people who have acquired the prescribed levels in three R's through primary education or through classes are called neo-

literates. While they attain some degree of literacy skill, they are likely to relapse into illiteracy unless some appropriate continuing/ follow-up education is provided to them.

Generally there are three categories of neo-literates :

(a) Beginning level

Neo-literates who have limited literacy skills and those who need guidance to use learning materials and need simple reading materials suited to their abilities and interests.

(b) Middle level

Neo-literates who can read interesting stories, newspapers, songs and comics by themselves and try to understand them in relation to their daily experiences.

(c) Self-learning level

Neo-literates who can study books and newspapes independently and who are willing to go to libraries and other places in search of reading material.

Characterstics of neo-literates materials

1. Since there are neo-literates with different levels of literacy skills, the neo-literate material should be graded according to language difficulty level so that the neo-literate with different literacy and other learning skill could use them and acquire required knowledge and skill. The material should help the learners to retain, consolidate and improve their literacy skill.

2. The material should focus on the real and immediate problems of the learners and the environment in which they are living.

3. The material should help to develop in learners a critical attitude towards problems, reflect on them, analyse them, discuss them and take proper decision in time.

4. There must be special types of materials for special groups and programmes.

5. The improvement in the economic condition of neo-literate is an important objective of Adult Education to achieve this objective. The literacy material should teach them new skills, upgrade their old skills and acquaint them with ways and means of utilizing schemes and project drawn up for their benefit.

6. It must help raise standard of living and improve the quality of their life through better health practices, better food habit, increased income, improved family life. In short the material should bring about an all-round functional improvement in most of the learners lives. It must try not only to overcome alphabetical illiteracy but also should overcome the lack of knowledge and information which makes people feel helpless and alien in their own surrounding.

While preparing neo-literate material author must keep in mind that

1. The neo-literate material should be correlated with individual and social development goals.

2. It should not just pass on information and facts, but should pose problems or describe potential problem and provide related technical and scientific knowledge to aid in solving the problems.

3. The neo-literate materials should incorporate learners participation and draw on their experiences.

4. The neo-literate material should as far as possible use resource from the culture, folk wisdom and day to day experiences of the learners.

5. The learners had hard and gritty life. If the learning process becomes too dull then the resistance may develop among the learners. So while the main aim is to instruct and inform at the same time effort should be made to make material entertaining.

6. Language should be simple and natural. Difficult words and idioms must be avoided, but the topic should be suited to the level of maturity of adult learner.

7. It should be simple, attractive and interesting to read. It must sustain the interest of learners. They should be interested to continue reading.

8. Neo-literate material must have lot of illustrations, photos, charts and drawing.

9. The neo-literate materials should provide for progression at a rate of speed commensurate with the learners ability. Self evaluation and group evaluation techniques should be integrated in each type of material.

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Rekha Upadhyay

Factors Responsible for Low Literacy among Tribals of Dungarpur District (Rajasthan)

Introduction

At present over 300 million people in India do not have primary schooling facilities within one kilometre of their homes. How the objectives of providing free and compulsory education to all children upto the age of 14, as provided for under the constitution of India will be fulfilled by the end of the seventh five year plan, that is by the end of 1990. It is rather unfortunate that the present educational system has somehow become elitist in nature with 80 percent of high school and college students coming from the top 20 per cent of our society. It heavy push-out and drop-out ratio is 60 per cent of pupils who enter class I, and they are pushed out or dropped-out before class V which happens to be the time when the minimum literacy skills can be acquired.

Eighty per cent of our schools are in poor remote rural environment in a small single room where five classes are held each day. It is needless to say that literacy is the key to success without education or literacy man is just like without eyes.

The rate of literacy in tribal areas continues to be lower than the state average, despite considerable emphasis given to education in developmental efforts.

The aim of the educational policy should provide a type of education which shall produce young men and women who shall either remain in their own areas as leader of their people to serve them by all means or be selected to the state assemblies or the parliament, doctor, engineer etc. In conclusion, education creates ambition and well directed ambition goes a long way in improving lot of the people.

The literacy level in Dungarpur district is 18.42 per cent against 24.38 per cent of the state which is considered to be the home of the tribals in the state. Qualitative improvement in the education in this district is no doubt is the need of the day, and many problems related to literacy in the area under study can be solved if right type of education is provided to tribal children of this district.

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Hardly any effort has been made to find out the reason or factors which are responsible for low literacy in boys and girls in tribal area of Dungarpur district, Rajasthan and pass them on to policy makers, educationists, and planners so as to draw their attention on the literacy of the tribal people in the district, thereby necessary and effective steps to improve it can be taken on their part.

Keeping all the view points mentioned above in mind an investigation entitled "Factors responsible for low literacy among tribals of Dungarpur District (Rajasthan), had been taken up in the said district with following specific objective.

Specific Objective

"To study the reasons for low literacy of boys and girls in the selected area of study."

Review of Literature

Sujatha, K. (1987) reported that the scheduled tribes who are included in the broad category of weaker section in Indian civilization were out of formal education for centuries due to structural constraints. Before independence the deliberate attempts to educate them were very rare. Their geographical and social isolation kept them totally aloof from the development process.

Mrs. Gulati (1953) found that there are three factors of low literacy of women in Udaipur district which are as under :

1. *Social* : The following are certain traditions of our society which influence the education of women.

   1. Infenticide.
   2. Early marriage.
   3. Early motherhood.
   4. Purdha system.
   5. Untouchability.
   6. Superstitions.

2. **Economic Factors**

   1. General poverty of the people.
   2. Market value of girls education
   3. Domestic affairs and female education.
   4. Occupation of women.

3. Miscelleneous Factors

   1. Geographical factors.

   2. Political factors

   3. Educational factors.

Mishra (1968) reported in his M. Ed. dissertation entitled "A study of drop-outs and repeaters in secondary school of Udaipur" as under :

1. There are more drop-outs in boys and more repeaters in girls.

2. Most of the drop-outs have developed an apathy to English and a dislike for mathematics.

3. Most of the drop-outs and repeaters do not get educational guidance either at home or in school. Hence they have poor study habits and often find themselves unable to adjust in a new situation.

4. Most of the drop-outs belong to poor families which cannot afford the luxury of educating them.

5. The parents of most of the boys drop-out were old. Hence the students leave their study to earn their livelihood to support the family.

6. The parents of most of drop-outs and repeaters have low level of education. Hence they cannot help their wards and not interested in educating them.

7. Most of the girls drop-outs and repeaters leave their studies on account of their early marriage and leaving their father's home as well as their schools.

Methodology

Majority of tribal population of Rajasthan lives in Dungarpur, Banswara, Chittorgarh, Udaipur and Sirohi districts which comes in Southern part of the State. Out of these four districts only one that is Dungarpur was selected for the present study. Panchayat Samiti Aspur of Dungapur district was purposively indentified for this purpose.

Selection of Villages and Sample

As per census 1981, Panchayat Samity Aspur consists of 144 villages. Looking to the availability of time, money, resources and other factors, it was decided to limit the study within a range of 10 kms. from Panchayat Samiti Headquarter. 32 villages fall within this range.

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Selection of Parents of Non-School Going and School Going Children

For selection of parents of both these categories, 22 villages (66.67 per cent) were drawn out of 32 villages falling within the radious of 10 kms. from Panchayat Samiti headquarter.

1. Parents of Non-School Going Children

Parents of non-school going children refers to those parents who were not sending any of their child of school going age (6-14 years) to school. All such parents who were available at their homes or farm at the time of investigation were included in the study. Thus, in this category, no sampling procedure was followed. All the 334 heads of families from 22 villages were interviewed to collect information regarding the reasons of non-enrolment of children in school and measures of increasing the enrolment of children in school.

2. Selection of parents of school going children

To know the opinion of parents of school going children about measures of increasing enrolment in school, reasons of continuing formal education, 60 parents were selected randomly from the same villages where from the parents of non-school going children were identified.

Construction of Tool

Keeping in view the objectives of the study, following tools were prepared :

1. Interview schedule of reasons of non-enrolment of children in school. A schedule consisting of 34 reasons of not sending children to school was put on a scale of spontaneous and prompted and each divided on 3 point continuum i.e. most important, important and least important and was assigned scale value 3, 2 and 1 and 2, 1 and 0 respectively.

2. Interview schedule of reasons of not sending girls to school. To record information related to not sending of girls, a schedule consisting of 17 statements in 3 groups i.e. economic, social and political was framed. Same procedure as was followed in item 1 was used for scaling of statements.

3. Scale for measure of increasing enrolment. This tool had 38 statements which were put on similar scale as was done in 1 and 2.

Technique of data collection

To record information from parents of non school going and school going children, face to face interview tecenique was used. The findings are presented as under :

Findings and Discussion

TABLE 1

Reasons expressed by parents for not sending their children to school

S. No.	Statement	Mean Score	Rank
1.	Children assist in farming	1.58	1
2.	Busy in home affairs	1.52	2
3.	Non-availability of school in village	1.39	3
4.	Lack of incentives by Government officials	1.33	4
5.	Doubt about safety of children in the school	1.03	5
6.	Teachers do not have faith in tribal children	0.92	6.5
7.	I cannot send my wards as they look after the youngesters	0.92	6.5
8.	Due to more number of children, teacher does not give attention to individual child	0.91	8
9.	Lack of encouragement by teachers for continuing children education	0.90	9
10.	School education has no relevance with functionality	0.88	10
11.	Teachers do not pay attention on educational activities like solving problems and checking home work	0.87	11
12.	In the opinion of teacher, tribal children cannot study and it is wastage of money and manpower	0.85	12
13.	Indifferent attitude of teachers towards children of tribals and higher caste	0.84	13
14.	Irregularity in running classes	0.83	14
15.	Outside teachers do not take interest in school and remain absent	0.78	15.5
16.	School education is more theoretical than partical	0.78	15.5
17.	Unsatisfactory behaviour of teachers	0.73	17
18.	Indiscipline in the school	0.70	18
19.	Tribal children do not get opportunity to participate in co-curricular activities	0.69	19
20.	Partiality in distribution of mid-day meal	0.67	20.5
21.	In the opinion of children teaching method is not satisfactory	0 67	20.5
22.	Student indulge in bad habits in school	0.66	22.5
23.	Appointment of unqualified teachers adversely affect school teaching	0.66	22.5
24.	Teachers usually appointed are outsiders so do not understand language	0.55	24

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
25.	Teachers impose their values and opinion on children	0.51	52
26.	Discouraged by the community for sending children to school	0.47	26
27.	Basic education which is provided by their parents is sufficient for their children	0.44	27
28.	Shyness and some psychological factors in children	0.43	28
29.	Misunderstandable language of teacher to the students	0.42	29
30.	Do not have faith in formal education	0.39	30
31.	School education is not as important as vocational education	0.37	31
32	My child is psychologically handicapped	0.35	32
33.	Child is dull in learning	0.32	33
34.	Friends and relatives make fun of on sending children to the school	0.29	34

The Table-1 reveals that most important reason emerged out were that the children assist their parents in farming and home affairs. In farm operation they provide necessary help in field preparation, interculture operations and irrigation etc.

The statements with mean scores 1.58 and 1.52 were ranked I and II respectively and were considered as most important by the parents of non-school going children. In majority of the cases in rural and tribal areas children assist parents in farming and home affairs as a result of which majority of tribal children are not being sent for formal schooling.

The statement like non-availability of school in the village, lack of economic incentives by government for sending children to school, doubt about safety of children in school and teachers do not have faith in tribal children were ranked next in order of priority with mean score values 1.39, 1.33 and 0.92 respectively.

The parents also expressed that the elder children assist their mothers in looking after younger brothers and the sisters in family, particularly when females are engaged in farm operations, collection of fire-wood, bringing drinking water for the family, cleaning cattle yard, disposal of cattle waste and also at the time of cooking food. This particular statement was expressed in seventh place in order of preference with 0.92 mean score.

The parents also have reservation in sending their children particularly in single teacher school because teacher does not pay much attention to individual child as he has to handle more number of classes.

Because of the social and economic reasons usually many children drop-out from school and discontinue their education, even at this stage, teacher does not encourage parents to continue the school education of their children. If little efforts are made by teachers to motivate parents for realising the importance of formal school, the parents may continue children's education. The statement was ranked ninth.

Alongwith this, parents have also expressed their feeling that they do not send their children to school because of the reason that formal education has no relevance to their occupation as it is not combined with vocationalisation and a lack of funtionality in nature. As a result, they do not find any utility of this type of education in their day to day life. They have further expressed that this is more theoretical in nature.

Findings further reveal that there were more reasons expressed by parents for not sending children to school like teachers do not regularly pay attention in solving problems and checking home work (0.87 M.S.). They have unfavourable opinion about tribal children and have impression that tribal children cannot study (0.85 M.S.) indifferent attitude towards tribal education (0.84 M.S.) their behaviour towards children is unsatisfactory (0.73 M.S.) and ranked 11, 12, 13 and 17 respectively.

Factors, like lack of interest of outside teachers (0.78 M.S.), irregular classes (0.83 M.S.), indiscipline in school (0,70 M.S.), lack of opportunity to participate in co-curricular activities (0.69 M.S.) partiality in distribution of mid-day meal (0.67 M.S.), unsatisfactory teaching (0.91 M.S.), unqualified teachers (0.66 M.S.), students indulge in bad habits (0.66 M.S.) are also important reasons which contributed towards non-schooling of children.

Result shows that reasons like imposing values and opinion on boys by teachers, discouragement by community, basic education provided by family members is sufficient, language or teachers not understandable, lack of faith in education, physically handicapped and dull children, jokes from relatives and friends were least important reasons and had not been perceived much.

Reasons of Not Sending Girls for Formal Education

In the earlier section of this paper an analytical study of the general reasons expressed by parents of non-school going children have been presented. These expressed reasons were applicable for boys as well as girls. In this section, efforts have been made to identify specific reasons for not sending girls to school. This has specifically being done because of the reason that the literacy among female is relatively much less than that in male. Therefore, the findings related to various reasons for not sending girls will help the various agencies in motivating parents for increasing enrolment of girls in formal education.

The reasons identified are presented in Table-2. The procedure of scale construction, data collection and analysis was similar to that followed for general reasons.

TABLE 2

Reasons for low literacy in girls as expressed by the parents of non-school going girls

Sl. No.	Statement	Mean Score	Over-all rank
Social Reasons			
1.	Girls education is not considered good in Society	0.73	IX
2.	Girls cannot continue education because they become mothers at an early stage.	0.72	X
3.	Early marriage is the bottle neck for girl's education in their religion.	0.71	XI
4.	Because of 'parda pratha' we cannot send girls to school.	0.54	XIII
5.	Unequality discouraged girl's education.	0.35	XV
6.	More dowry is required for educated girls.	0.33	XVI
Economic Reasons			
1.	Due to proverty, unable to send girls to school.	0.12	I
2.	Even in early childhood girls are compelled to work on farm and home during the absence of their parents.	2.09	II
3.	Due to parents limited resources.	2.07	III
4.	Training of girls in domestic work is more important than their formal education.	1.98	IV
5.	Girls have to help their parents.	1.55	V
6.	Girls have to earn their livelihood since childhood.	0.48	XIV
C. Miscellaneous			
7.	Government has not made efforts for girls education.	1.29	VI
8.	Political and local leaders are not having favourable attitude towards girls education.	1.12	VII
9.	Lady teachers are not interested to work in rural areas.	1.06	VIII
10.	Unfavourable weather conditions are hindrance to girls education.	0.58	XII

Table-2 shows that 16 statements of reasons were retained against which responses from parents were recorded. In the first and second category of social and economic reasons, there were 6 reasons in each category. In the category of miscellaneous there were only four reasons. The ranks were assigned to each group on the basis of mean scores. The economic reasons come out to be the most important factor which has always been a bottle-neck in sending girls to school, likewise, the miscellaneous reasons were ranked II. Social reasons were least important for non-sending of girls.

Each statement as given in the table, irrespective of categories have also been ranked on the basis of mean score. The most important reason expres-sed by the parents for not sending their daughters were ; poverty, in early childhood girls are compelled to work in farm and home due to limited resources and inadequate earning with 2.12, 2.09 and 2.07 mean score, and were ranked first, second and third respectively. Next in order, impor-tant reason was training of girls in domestic work is more important than education (1.98 M.S.). Girls help parents in earning livelihood (1.55 M.S.) and lack of efforts by Govt. for girls education (1.29 M.S.), 1.12 and 1.06 mean score were noted for statements like unfavourable attitude of political and local leaders towards girls education and lack of interest among lady teachers to work in rural areas and were ranked eight and ninth respectively.

Poverty and business of tribal people at farm and forest was an important cause which does not permit them to send their girls to school. They cannot afford to bear expense on school uniform, admission fee, purchase of books, etc. The girls in tribal family are considered an essential work-ing force who are engaged in many domestic and outside work. They help their mothers in cooking food, cleaning house, animal care, looking after youngesters etc. These jobs are particularly performed by them when adult ladies go out for collection of firewood for which they have to go for a long distance in forest which requires 4-5 hours daily. They bring bundle of firewood partly for home and partly to dispose in the nearest markets at very low price, whatever money they get out of this firehood, buy necessary consumable items for home. They also assist in bringing fodder from farm. On account of these girls in the local tribal families are considered an asset so long they remain with their parents. Even after marriage, they continue to perform all these job at their in-laws home. Due to this, girls are never allowed for formal education at both the places.

The tribals in this area are mostly living in hilly tracks where cultivation of land in a very limited area and method is used in growing the crop is most primitive and traditional in nature. Crop production per unit area is also relatively low as compared to plain area and of non-tribals. This sort

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of condition is less favourable resulting in low economic return and that becomes an important reason of not sending girls to school.

Another important factor expressed by parents was that training to girls in domestic and farm work is more important than formal education as most of the girls after their marriage have to perform their job in home and it is also customary that women have to perform these jobs at in-laws home. Women who fail to perform all these jobs are not respected by her in-laws and this also brings disreputation to her parents and family. This reason alone compel parents to provide more primary training in the domestic work and other allied activities to girls so that they can perform these jobs effectively. When girls are to receive such training, they hardly find any time for formal education.

Lack of efforts by Govt. and least favourable attitude of political and local leaders for girls education were important reasons which causes low enrolment of girls in school, which received 1.29 and 1.12 mean score with sixth and eighth rank respectively.

The least important reasons of not sending girls to school which received least mean score and priorities were unfavourable weather conditions, untouchability, parda pratha, need more dowry for educated girls with only 0.58, 0.54, 0.35, 0.33 and 0.25 mean scores. Mean scores show that very few parents have expressed that society or its social systems are barrier in education of girls.

Summary

The present study was conducted in Dungarpur District, Rajasthan· The low literacy among boys was due to the reasons that they assist their parents in farming activity· In case of girls the economic reasons come out to be be the most important factor which has always been a bottle-neck in sending the girls to school. Miscellaneous reasons were ranked second and social reasons were least important for low literacy among them.

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Presentation of Literacy Awards

Nehru Literacy Award 1989

Citation in honour of

Shri Bhai Bhagwan

Shri Bhai Bhagwan, social worker and adult educator has a long and distinguished career of over 40 years of service to the country in general and Rajasthan in particular. The plight of workers and their low standard of living inspired him to help the workers in forming their own organisations to fight unitedly for their rights and social justice.

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Born on 10th August, 1922 in Udaipur, Rajasthan, Shri Bhai Bhagwan took his B.A. Degree from Agra University and 'Visharad' from Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad.

His outstanding work has been in enlisting the support of young students in promoting literacy education among the poor and down-trodden people. He promoted liberal and vocational education during his tenure as Principal, Janta College, Rajasthan Vidyapeeth. He has put in strenuous efforts in promoting education among tribal children and adults.

Shri Bhai Bhagwan was President, Power House Karamchari Griha Nirman Shahkari Samiti, Vice-President, Rajasthan Bijli Nal Workers Federation (1950-60), Rajasthan Lok Shikshan Sangh, Udaipur (1954-58), Secretary, Power House Karamchari Sangh (1949-63) and Mewar Harijan Sewak Sangh (1956-57).

Shri Bhai Bhagwan has served many educational institutions and associations with distinction. At present, he is Associate Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association; Joint Secretary, Rajasthan Adult Education Association and Secretary, Rajasthan Mahila Vidyalaya, Udaipur.

He has actively participated in many national seminars and conferences and has acted as a resource person in some of these. He was awarded travel grant by UNESCO in 1979-80 to study workers' education programmes in Thailand, Hong Kong, Japan, USA, Canada and United Kingdom. Shri Bhai Bhagwan is a prolific writer and has contributed articles in various journals. He was editor of adult education journal, "Samaj Shikshan".

As a tireless and earnest worker, he has worked with a will and smile all these years. This has been a great inspiration to many other workers labouring in the field of adult education.

The Indian Adult Education Association, therefore, feels privileged in presenting him the Nehru Literacy Award for 1989 for his outstanding contribution in promotion of adult education in the country.

Tagore Literacy Award 1989

Citation in honour of

Dr. Rajammal P. Devadas

Tagore Literacy Award has been instituted by the Indian Adult Education Association in the year 1987 to recognise and appreciate the contribution whether of individuals or institutions in removing illiteracy among women.

This Award is being presented for 1989 to Dr. (Smt.) Rajammal P. Devadas for her outstanding contribution for promotion of adult and continuing education among women in India during the past four decades.

Dr. Devadas has a brilliant academic record to her credit. She took her B. Sc (Home Science) from Queen's Mary College, Madras. She studied for and obtained her post-graduate degree in Nutrition and Home Science Education and Doctor of Philosophy (Nutrition and Bio-Chemistry) from the Ohio State University, USA. She recieved Post Doctoral degree (D.Sc) in Home Science and Nutrition from the University of Madras in 1978.

Dr. Devadas has a long and distinguished career of service. She was Dean and Professor of Home Science, M.S. University of Baroda, Assistant Director-General (Nutrition), Indian Council of Agricultural Research and Principal, Dean, Director of Avinashilingam Trust Institutions. She has the honour of being the first Vice-Chancellor of Avinashilingham Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women (deemed university), Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu.

She has unflinching faith in upliftment of women through adult education and is guiding 400 adult education centres in several villages and slums in Coimbatore district. Over 10,000 adult women have been made functionally literate through these centres.

To give adult education an important place, Dr. Devadas has incorporated community, social service and adult education in the curricula for under graduate and post-gradaute courses in Home Science.

She has undertaken considerable pains in making available the fruits of science and technology to the people for improvement of rural life. She endeavours to bring a change in women's life through education and training so that they become equal partner with men in the development of the country.

She is connected with a number of educational and professional organisations. She is President, Nutrition Society of India, Chairman, Academic Committee, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development; Regional Vice-President, International Federation of Women in Agriculture; Executive Committee Member of the National Literacy Mission Authority.

Dr. Devadas has the unique distinction of representing India in over 60 International Conferences in about 50 countries of the world.

She is a prolific writer and has published over 400 research papers in scientific and technical journals, 250 popular articles and 39 books. She

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delivered the Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture at the All India Adult Education Conference held in Amritsar in 1979.

She has been conferred many national awards for significant contribution in many fields. She has received Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Award (1976), Best Teacher Award (1979-80); Award for Child Welfare (1986) and Award for Promotion of Science and Technology (1989).

The Indian Adult Education Association, therefore, feels honoured in adding to the many impressive honours received by her, the Tagore Literacy Award for 1989.

Acceptance Speech
by
Bhai Bhagwan

I would first of all like to thank Indian Adult Education Association which has selected me for the Nehru Literacy Award in the Nehru Centenary Year and also in the International Literacy Year. I also pay my regards to the all Adult Educators who are present on this occasion from all over the country.

Friends ! I have spent 68 years of my life in adult education and social service. In the decades of 40's and 50's, I was associated with labour movement and worked for their education and in creating awareness among them. In 60's and 70's and also in 80's, I was directly involved with the activities of adult education through Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, Udaipur. In this sphere I had worked in training of personnel, extension work and field activities. I fact, I have been involved all my life in adult education and social service. I bow my head on this occasion in respect of those great souls who are no more with us and also my gratitudes to my colleagues, the good people, who are presently engaged in adult education work, it was their guidance and cooperation that I could live a meaningful existence as an adult educator.

At the same time I am indebted to the scholars like Pandit Janardan Rai Nagar. Shri Bhawani Shankar Garg, Late Shri Kalyan Jaysani and Late Shri S.C. Dutta for showing me the the right path and giving valuable guidance which helped me in trying to achieve the heights in adult education and social service.

My association with IAEA started in 1957-58. Since then I have been taking inspirations from this great organisation. I still remember those

days when the annual conferences of IAEA were attended by a handful but devoted people, really committed to eradicate illiteracy, and the conferences were held in family environment. But, I am sorry to say that out of those brand of committed workers, only few, have now remained to keep the torch aloft. The other either have discarded the path or have left this world.

This national award of adult education has enthused me and I am full of optimism and with renewed energy to work. The adult education is a task of national importance and is synonym to terms like national reconstruction, national integration, unity, transformation and awareness. But inspite of that the various governments did not realise the importance of adult education and the role it could play in mass awakening, national integration. As a result now we are facing lot of problems such as national disintegration and saboteging elements have surrounded us. Adult and non-formal education has a special significance for us and at this juncture, we cannot afford to ignore it. It is the duty of every literate citizen of India that he should make at least one person literate. If students and youths willingly cooperate in this gigantic task then only we would be able to give befitting reply to the assessment of Unesco which says that up to the year 2000 India will alone have half of the world's illiterate population. Friends ! the above mentioned Unesco's statement is really a matter of great concern and national shame for all of us. We have to rise to the occasion. To make a co-citizen literate, should not be allowed to become a matter of choice and interest, but should be considered a fundamental duty of every literate person on our land even if we have to enact strict laws for it, but it has to be done by all possible means.

In 1978 the Janata Government considered adult and non-formal education as a national concern. It provided the necessary political will and considered it a great mean for national awakening.

Now it is the turn of Jan Morcha Government that it should reshape the on going adult education programme and turn it into a national movement. I regret that governmental programmes are not moving at the desired pace and due to this apathy the meaning and purpose are lost at the very first stage of the programme. Though government have appointed various commissions to review the functioning of programme, so that necessary changes could be brought in for the betterment and some meaning and purposefulness could be implanted into the education which generally being considered meaningless and of no value. We have seen several commissions such as Radha Krishnan Commission 1948, Mudiliar Commission 1952, Kothari Commission 1966, Sevagram Educational Conference 1972 and now New Education Policy of 1986. Commission after commission and we had several of them up to the day and they have presented their reports

too. The various governmental agencies and yesmen bureaucrats have always praised the recommendations to show that there is no alternative to what have been suggested. But as soon as new report of new commission comes they at once forget the merits of previous one and sing in the tune with the new report and its recommendations. This have created confusions. In past we had made mockery of educational programmes. I will feel happy if in future the educational programmes are not considered playful events. We should not forget that we are not talking for the first time about any educational concept. In fact the Indian Education has virtually became a grave yard of the ideas and concepts which were adopted for some time and then thrown out. We always opt them for a moment, kick them out considering a useless thing. This happened particularly with mass education which remained neglected. In reality we had never tried to develop the concept of Bunadi Shiksha (Basic Education) given by Mahatma Gandhi either in this original form or in amended form.

In the same manner, the idea and concept of universal primary education have been hunting us for a century. The idea first of all was brought forward by Dada Bhai Nauroji in 1881. We accepted his idea of providing compulsory primary education upto 4 years. But later on we found that it is over generalization. Therefore, we pleaded for education upto the age for 14 for all children. When we could't find even this satisfactory some of us started talking about an amendment in the constitution to provide good education to the children in the age group 6-14. But I regret to say that our targets are touching sky on paper but in the reality we could not provide compulsory primary education for years uptil now.

If we investigate into the causes of problems of our education, we find that inspite of a political will we always ended into a misfired target. Every thing is clear, even the government herself has admitted it in the document "Challenge of Education Policy Perspective" published by Ministry of Education, Government of India. Here I quote from page 84 para 4.51.

". . . . It will perhaps, be accepted that, in the Indian system, decision making, administration and implementation and more particularly, the management of change are characterised generally by lack of entrepreneurship and excessive emphasis of hierarachal status. These are compounded further by the rigidity of approach, insularity of departmental structures as well as lack of detailed planning, unwillingness to experiment, suspicion of science and new ideas and ritualistic adherence to the procedural rules and regulations. The intellectual sophistication nurtured through centuries of philosophical debate is widely misused by the bureaucracy and its intellectual establishment to frustrate change-oriented decisions, without appearing to do so by circumscribing new intiative with so many preconditions and

qualifying clauses that the whole momentum of a new approach of a new programme is lost in the hurdle race of implementation.

The similar facts have also been stated by Unesco in 1981 in its document "The Promise of Literacy", which we don't want to hear. Here I quote them—"The literacy campaign organisation must be linked with the political organisation of the people. Government should avoid employing literacy teachers and supervisors as civil servants to carry out the campaign. A literacy movement can not be handled by carrier-oriented, rule ridden hierarchy—conscious civil servants. Literacy work can best be handled by political parties, trade unions and voluntary organizations. This is so because party cadres and voluntary workers are easy to employ, to deploy and to separate, without the encumberance of rules of travel allowance, night halts, salary raise and severance payments. Most importantly, successful literacy campaign will require ideological energy which bureaucracies cannot supply but which party cadres and voluntary associations typically can."

We have implemented programmes of adult and non-formal education in the shape of project or in some other way, but the results have also been poor. The political will of our nation needs such a movement which could generate energy and could keep it for a long time. Soviet Russia and China gave an institutional shape to their literacy movement and could sustain it up to 10 years and succeeded in eradicating illiteracy. They made co-partner, in this effort, the various organisations of workers, farmers, women and youths.

In this direction, in our country, a good start has been made in the form of NLM. Though it has been initiated by the central government, but is organised as a societal mission. It aims at seeking cooperation from all sections of the society i.e. political parties, legislative representatives, organisations of workers and employers, voluntary organisation, social work groups, teachers, students, youths, women, ex-servicemen, government servants, retired civil servants, banks, cooperatives and other financial institutions, NGOs and social service institutions etc. If these could work without governmental pressure and bureaucratic hurdles, literacy programme will get the needed acceleration. The momentum which has been created by the NLM could not be sustained for a long period because in any mass movement the zeal, energy and enthusiasm created in beginning gradually fades away with time. Therefore, NLM should be provided with the all necessary resources and at the same time let be free from the unnecessary administrative control and allowed to function as a literacy movement upto the year 2000 without any alteration or change in its aims, objectives and policies. No hinderances be created as we observe in the case of New Education Policy.

We are living in the era of de-schooling and conscientization, since every-one is talking about these concepts. Today the national policies are under the shadows of the vested interests of political parties and the international policies are under the consistant pressure of diplomatic self-interests of different nations at large. And human being are just living like gho.ts under the shadows of atom bombs. Who is aware about destiny ?

To my mind, it appears now, that we adult educators are destined to shoulder the burden of war, ignorance, poverty, slavery, underdevelopment, fear and untimely deaths. We the adult educators not only in India but all around the world should be ready to face any unwarranted challenge and render our services for the sake af humanity. We should all be ready to wipe out illiteracy. It has become a national shame and all efforts should be made to throw this monster from the country by the turn of the century. This is my only dream and desire. We should have literate and enlightened India by the end of this century, this is my wish and dream.

(adopted from the Hindi Text)

Acceptance Speech
by
Rajammal P. Devadas

"Man's abiding happiness is not in getting anything but in giving himself to ideas which are larger than his individual life— the idea of his country—of humanity, of God".

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

I am thankful to the Indian Adult Education Associaion for conferring the prestigeous Tagore Award, which is a great honour to me and to the cause and persons I represent. particularly, the women workers and learners in the National Literacy Mission's eñorts. The award instituted in the name of Gurudev Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Laureate, who had worked for Adult Literacy and Rural Development incessantly, fills my mind with pride and gratitude.

Rabindranath Tagore's multi-splendoured personality and achievements as a poet, philosopher, social reformer, educationalist and freedom fighter, are well known. His unique spiritual vision, sympathetic, love of solitude and mediation, sense of honour and fine esthetic sense, and literary genius, which brought the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913, all show that he was

a Great Soul. His poem, "Lord of the heart of the people-Jana Gana Mana Adi Nayaka" was chosen as India's National Anthem in 1950. Tagore was convinced that the formidable social impediments to national progress could be removed only by approaching them scientifically through education and that thought and service were the essential pre-requisites for constructive social action.

Tagore had immense respect for, and faith in, women. His conception of woman was that she has a challenging role to play in the modern society and should take up the task of creating a new civilization. His conviction, that woman is the guardian of the emotional and spiritual elements of the race and that she has the divine gifts of sympathy and intuition places an immense responsibility on women. His contributions to religious and educational thought, to politics and reform, to rural regeneration and economic reconstruction—all reveal that he was a man with integrated vision and faith.

With humility and respect, I accept the recognition extended by the Award in Tagore's name, as a stimulus to step up further my work towards the eradication of illiteracy in our country, by 1995.

My mother herself was illiterate, from a backward village, Kallikulam in Tirunelveli District. In order to keep pace with the intellectual activities of her graduate husband, and monitor the education of her nine children, she became literate through self motivation and a friend's help. Under her inspiration, I dedicated myself very early in life to work for the relief of the poorest of the community. As a student in the Northwick High School, and later in Queen Mary's College in Madras, I had taken part in social work among the fisher women in those coastal parts. I opted for the study of Home Science and pursued it upto the Doctor of Science degree level, because of the unlimited opportunities this discipline threw opened up to alleviate the miseries of malnutrition among the poor communities, and pave the way for improving their living conditions.

Our Founder President, now Chancellor of our Deemed University Padmabhushan Dr. T.S. Avinashilingam, a Gandhian and Freedom Fighter, Educationist and recipient of Nehru Literacy Award has been a firm believer in Basic Education. It is he who has laid a strong foundation for the constructive programmes, including Adult Literacy work in which, our University is deeply involved. His inspiring guidance has been a propelling force in may professional life.

The doyens of Adult Education, Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta and Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah encouraged me to involve the academic community in adult education.

The dynamic Secretary for Education of the Union Government, Sri Anil Bordia, I.A.S. is a relentless crusader for literacy. He is an outstanding and human bureaucrat, and a shining example for effective decision making in the arduous task of adult literacy.

This Award comes during the International Literacy Year (ILY), the SAARC's Year of the Girl Child, and the Year of the World Declaration, 'Education for All'. As such and Coimbatore having been identified as a Technology Demonstration District, the commitment is greater than ever before. With Gods' immense grace, I rededicate may services in the efforts towards making Coimbatore District totally literate by 1991.

Our various experiences have thrown some pointers to revise and redesign the plans and projects in adult education' The nation's efforts in the field of adult literacy for women have not succeeded to the extent expected, because women have not been taken as partners in the designing, planning, implementation and evaluation of the projects.

Women who are responsible for human resource development, have not been involved in any way in most of the development efforts. Have the policy makers, and planners gone to the ultimate grassroot level, to find out from the rural families, what their burning basic needs are ?

Our endeavours in this direction have been helpful to have the plan provisions utilised meaningfully by the target populations. We asked some groups of rural woman to clarify to us as to what they conceived as 'Development'. They pointed out clearly that 'Davelopment' to them was not immediate literacy—but fulfilment of their pressing needs for water, fuel, food, shelter, health care, education of children and income to be able to procure these necessities. When once these basic requirements are met to a considerable extent, and they are enabled to earn a minimum income on a continuing basis, the thirst for literacy and numeracy is strongly felt. as well revealed in our work for the organised groups of poor rural woman in the IRDP's programme of DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in the Rural Areas). Till such time they remark, "Why do you trouble us with your literacy work ? Who wants it ? It is shear waste of time".

Taking the message from these statements, we started recognising our literacy work using the existing infrastructure, our Krishi Vigyan Kendra in Karamadai Block linking with it the development inputs from the Block. The co-operation of the District Collector, District Adult Education Officer, Development Officers of the District and the Block Development Officer and his Extension colleagues have been very supportive to the Chief Training Organiser of our Krishi Vigyan Kendra who spearheads the project. In-

volving all the 100 and nine KVKs in the country in this manner with the support of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research is bound to effect a break through.

Development implies not only economic betterment, but also greater human dignity, security, justice and equity. Development can result only when all sectors of human endeavours, familities and communities progress together as a state and as a nation. Sustainable development is possible only with the active participation of the large majority of women who live in the remote tribal and rural areas in our country. How can they participate when they struggle day after day to meet their very basic needs ?

The poor rural and tribal women constitute a major segment of the working class population, although their unorganised work is without recognition. Illiteracy has condemned them to do low productivity-menial jobs. This amounts to under utilisation of the precious human resource and retards development. In addition, women are discriminated with regard to wages and types of occupations. Of the 150 occupations, mentioned in the occupation survey of the country, women appear only in 30 items and that too the tribals, who migrate to towns and work in unorgnised sectors like brick-kilns, road construction, stone cutting or domestic labour. Several hours of their work are never reckoned for paying wages These hours are hidden under the label, 'domestic work'. In this way, women work from dawn to dusk, with no motivation whatsoever, to improve their ability to read and write, for which they do not perceive any immediate reason.

Literacy has been recognised as one of the vital factors for social and economi development. The co-relation between literacy and socio-economic-demographic development, is highly significant. Accessibility to better and more effective communication and utilization of new technologies in agriculture and industries, is higher among the literate populations. On the other hand, utilization of the co-operatives, panchayats, loans and other developmental inputs such as the vitamin tablets distributed free of cost and immunization and others, among the poor illiterates, is very poor. Governmentnl provisions for the upliftment of rural poor women are many and scattered but millions of illiterate women are not even aware of these provisions.

In order to change this sad and helpless scenario, several new strategies need to be adopted. Our thrust has to be on offering a package of services and their benefits, at the appropriate time, with the sole subjective of enabling the rural poor to stand on their own legs. The package of services must aim at the elimination of illiteracy, promotion of universalisation of elementary education and reduction of dropout rate in the age group 6-14 years.

As a Trust for education work among women, the Avinashilingam groups have tried the following methods in the stupendous task :

1. Integration of nutrition and health education in the Pre—and Primary School programmes, the pupils of which are the carriers of education to their families and act as animators for adult literacy for their own kith and kin.

2. Provision of non-formal and part-time courses to the literate women in the villages, so that they become the contact persons, and volunteers for adult literacy in their own communities. In these courses, knowledge and income earning skills are in-built with the help of our Sharmik Vidyapeeth.

3. Concentrated efforts on income generation activitles, utilising the assistance from CAPART and Department of Science and Technology.

4. Integratian of TRYSEM of IRDP, Lab-to-Land of ICAR, Awareness camps and Socio-economic programmes of the CSWB, in the literacy efforts. For this purpose, Balwadis and Women's clubs have been organised.

5. In curriculum development in Higher Education, Adult Literacy work has been incorporated in the Master's Degree level programmes in our Deemed University.

In addition to these direct efforts, Women's Organisations and Associations and Service Clubs have been urged to take up adult literacy work as their major concern for 1990-1992.

All these have been through delivering essential services like education, health, child care, immunization, nutrition, career guidance, population educaʻion, water, fuel and community cooking. Evalutions have been carried out from time to time. They indicate that awakening the rural women to become aware of their status and their rights, transforming their awaieness to actions, promoting their unity, and encouraging their effective participation in decision making at all levels have been the crucial and encouaging ouʻcomes of our integrated actions. I am grateful to my students, colleagues and community workers for their devoted services.

With this fulfilling achievement in the midst of many challenges, I appeal to the University Grants Commission, all the universities and post secondary, and middle level educational institutions and voluntary organisation in our country to contribute their utmost towards the National Literacy Mission's efforts and help the country enter the 21st century with vitality and vision.

Report of the Indian Adult Education Association

It gives me immense pleasure to welcome you to the General Body Meeting of the Indian Adult Education Association and to present to you the report of the Association since we met last in Aurangabad on Oct. 31, 1988.

2. The launching of International Literacy Year in New Delhi on January 22, 1990 by Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh is a significant event and shows the priority the Government gives to literacy as the very foundation of development. The Prime Minister said very emphatically

that implementation of literacy will have to be a national campaign, a campaign which touches every head and heart and involve all agencies, teachers, students, housewives, ex-servicemen and all sections of society. The stress on the need to eradicate illiteracy from the country by the President of India, the Finance Minister and the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission in their speeches recently also augurs well for the adult education programme in the country.

3. The total eradication of illiteracy from the Ernakulum district and Kottayam town in Kerala are success stories which should be emulated by others. The way in which Governmental and non-Governmental agencies collaborated in Kerala is a pointer for others to follow.

4. We welcome the attempts being made to completely banish illiteracy in 20 Talukas and two districts of Bijapur and Dakshin Karnataka, Goa, Pondicherry, Srikakulum District in Andhra Pradesh. Similar attempts are needed in other parts of the country, specially in Hindi belt in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh as they still lag behind in literacy as compared to other parts of the country.

5. We appreciate the efforts being made to use Radio to enliven the adult education centre and to improve the pace and quality of learning from Sep. 1990. Eight radio stations in Bikaner, Jaipur, Indore, Agra, Varanasi Patna, Ranchi and Darbhanga will broadcast lessons to about one lakh learners in fifteen districts. The use of audio-visual media will go a long way in strengthening this programme.

6. The Executive Committee of the National Literacy Mission is meeting regularly to take stock of the situation and to promote literacy efforts in all parts of the country. The Indian Adult Education Association has always cooperated with the NLM in the past and will continue to do so in the years to come for the achievement of common objective of total literacy in the country.

7. The National Literacy Mission will not be in a position to achieve the targets set out of 100 million adult illiterates in the age-group 15-35. 80 million were to be made literate by the National Literacy Mission by the year 1995. The target of making 30 million people literate by 1990 is not likely to be achieved. The achievement may be less than 20 million. Paucity of funds may be one of the reasons but bottlenecks which hamper the smooth functioning of this programme should be removed urgently, like providing money for hiring space, raising instructors' honorarium, providing separate money for awareness and functionality etc. Unless quick measures are not taken on these issues, the desired results will not be achieved.

8. Though lot is being said of involving voluntary organisations in this programme, but still they are finding lot of problems. The voluntary organisations are expected to carry out a comprehensive survey, but no seed money is provided to them for this work. There should be some money available in order to carry out an effective survey.

The voluntary organisations are still facing lot of difficulties in getting grants sanctioned. The State Governments are taking pretty long time in forwarding applications to the Central Government. The role of the voluntary organisations as partners has to be taken in letter and spirit.

9. The proper environment for National Literacy Mission has not been created so far. Effective steps should be taken to build up a proper climate for this programme so that it becomes a felt need of the people. The mass and traditional media particularly the electronic media have to play a significant role in this regard.

10. The reduced duration of learning proposed to be introduced from this year seems to be a step in the right direction. Programmes of short duration may attract more learners than the present one year programme. Steps are being taken to set up District Resource Units in DIETs, Universities, Colleges and voluntary agencies. We welcome the initiative taken by the Government in this regard. The process of establishing DRU should be completed within next six months so that training needs of people are adequately met. Well established voluntary organisations having experience in adult education should get preference over others in allotment of DRUs.

The Association undertook the following activities during the period under report :

Golden Jubilee Conference

11. After completing 50 years of its useful existence, the Indian Adult Education Association organised its Golden Jubilee Conference in New Delhi on May 22-25, 1989. Over 300 delegates from different parts of the country participated. Fraternal delegates from Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka also participated.

12. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Vasant Sathe, the then Energy Minister, Govt. of India. Shri Sam Pitroda, then Technological Adviser to the Prime Minister also addressed the participants at the inaugural function.

Shri Sathe unveiled the portrait of Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, former President of the IAEA. The portrait was presented to the Association by Dr. LM Singhvi, a member of the Executive Committee of IAEA and a noted jurist.

13. The following Seminars/Symposia and panel discussions were organised :

1. National Literacy Mission

2. Adult Education in the 1990's

3. Adult Education for Women and Weaker Sections

4. Role of Voluntary Agencies/Universities/Colleges/Schools under NLM

5. Adult Education and International Understanding

6. Role of Jan Shikshan Nilayams as Community Education Centres

7. Role of Adult Education for Democracy and Citizenship Education, and

8. Role of Political Parties, Trade Unions, Cooperatives in Adult Education

14. Among others who participated as Resource Persons in these discussions were :

1. Dr. A.R. Kidwai, Former Governor of Bihar,

2. Prof. Ram Lal Parikh, Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat Vidyapith,

3. Shri Anil Bordia, Education Secretary, Ministry of Human Resource Development,

4. Shri L. Mishra, Director-General, National Literacy Mission,

5. Prof. Satya Bhushan, Director, NIEPA,

6. Dr. K.S. Pillai, Director, Adult Education and Extension, Univesity of Kerala,

7. Prof. M.V. Mathur, former Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University,

8. Dr. Prem Kripal, former Education Secretary,

9. Smt. Kamalini H. Bhansali, Vice-Chancellor, SNDT Women's University,

10. Shri Tarlok Singh, former Member, Planning Commission,

11. Prof. K.D. Gangrade, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University,

12. Dr. Amrik Singh, former Vice-Chancellor, Punjabi University,

13. Fr. TV Kunnunkal, Chairman, Open School,

14. Prof. P.N. Srivastava, Member, Planning Commission,

15. Shri Anil Sinha, Director, Directorate of Adult Education,

16. Shri B.S. Garg,

17. Prof. Yashwant Shukla,

18. Prof. B.B. Mohanty,

19. Shri J.C. Sexena,

20. Dr. (Mrs.) Asha Dixit,

21. Shri R.N. Mahlawat,

22. Shri K.C. Choudhary, and

23. Shri M.V. Sudhakar Reddy,

The valedictory address of the Conference was delivered by Prof. S.N. Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University.

15. The following eight books were released during the Conference :

   1. Mass Movement for Adult Education
      B.R. Patil

   2. People's Education
      S.R. Mohsini

   3. Adult Education : Some Reflections
      B.B. Mohanty

   4. Adult Education : A Focus for the Social Sciences
      James A Draper

   5. National Literacy Mission—Problems and Prospects
      J.C. Saxena & J.L. Sachdeva (Eds.)

   6. Adult Education Terminology
      J.L. Sachdeva

   7. Adult Education in Bihar
      S.Y. Shah

   8. Proudh Shiksha Ke Aayam (Hindi)
      Edited by J.C. Saxena and P.D. Tripathi

   A Souvenir on the occasion was also published.

16. A literacy march from Rajghat to IAEA premises was organised on May 22, 1989 in which over 400 adult educators from various parts of the country participated. The electronic and print media gave a good coverage to the literacy march and other Golden Jubilee programmes.

17. We are grateful to the Ministry of Human Resource Development for the grant of Rs. One Lakh which enabled us to meet to a great extent, the expenditure incurred on the Golden Jubilee Conference.

Zonal Conferences

18. The Association organised successfully three Zonal Conferences (North, Central and West) during the period under report :

(a) **North Zone** : The Association in collaboration with the State Resource Centre of the University of Kashmir organised a two-day North Zone Conference in Srinagar on June 1-2, 1989. The Conference was attended by 38 adult education functionaries from different parts of the Zone.

19. The Conference was attended among others by Shri L. Mishra, Director-General, NLM; Prof. Satya Bhushan, Director, NIEPA; Shri R.S. Kumat, President, Rajasthan Adult Education Association.

20. Dr. (Smt.) Asha Dixit, President, North Zone presided over the Conference. Shri J.C. Saxena, Hony. General Secretary presented the working paper.

21. (b) **Central Zone** : A three-day Central Zone Conference comprising the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh was held in Bhopal from Sep. 8-10, 1989. The Conference was organised in collaboration with the Barkatullah University, Bhopal.

22. It was inaugurated by Shri RC Shukla, former Vice-Chancellor of Bhopal University. Among others who addressed the Conference were Dr. R.P. Singh, Principal, Regional College of Education, Dr. R. Ratnesh, Hony. Director of the Department of Adult and Continuing Education of Barkatullah University, Dr. Neerja Sharma, Assistant Director in the Department, Dr. V. Venkata Seshiah, Addl. Director, Directorate of Adult Education, Govt. of India.

23. The valedictory address was delivered by Shri S.C. Behar, Principal Secretary (Education), Government of Madhya Pradesh. He stressed that the major thrust of National Literacy Mission should be on the empowerment of the people. He said that the programme should be made so attractive that the learners come forward to take its advantage.

60 delegates from three States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh participated.

Shri K.C. Choudhary, Vice-President of IAEA and President, Central Zone presided. Shri J.C. Saxena, Hony. General Secretary presented the Working Paper highlighting the problems of the Central Zone.

24. (c) **West Zone** : The West Zone Conference of the Association was organised in collaboration with the Department of Adult and Continuing Education, Bhavnagar University, Gujarat on Oct. 14-15, 1989.

25. The Minisrer of State for Education, Dr. (Smt.) Sushilaben Sheth inaugurated it. Among the Resource Persons were Shri Digant Oza, MLA

and Member of the State Educational Advisory Council, Prof. R.S. Trivedi, first Vice-Chancellor of Bhavnagar University and Chairman, Gujarat Higher Secondary Education Board, Dr. V. Venkataseshiah, Addl. Director, Directorate of Adult Education, Govt of India, Prof. B.B. Mohanty, Treasurer, IAEA and Head, Department of Audio Visual Communication, Indian Institute of Mass Communication, New Delhi and Shri J.C. Saxena, Hony. General Secretary, IAEA., who presented the Working Paper for the Zonal Conference.

Prof. Nanubhai Joshi, Vice-President, IAEA and President, West Zone, presided over the Conference.

26. An important event of the Conference was the revival of the Gujarat State Council for Adult and Continuing Education. Prof. Nanubhai Joshi was elected its President and Dr. Ansuyaben Sheth as its Secretary General. Dr. J.P. Maiyani of Bhavnagar University, Dr. Ramaben Desai, Director, SRC, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Dr. Malti Chakravorty of Baroda University, Sarvshri Ramubhai Patel and Prakash Sharma were elected Vice-Presidents.

27. 41st All India Adult Education Conference

It may be recalled that the 41st All India Adult Education Conference was held in Aurangabad in collaboration with Centre for Adult and Continuing Education and Extension, Marathwada University on Oct. 28-31, 1988. Over 230 delegates from various parts of the country attended.

28. The theme was 'National Literacy Mission'.

Shri Shivaji Rao Bhosle, Vice-Chancellor, Marathwada University inaugurated the Conference. Shri B.S. Garg, President, IAEA presided.

29. The Working Paper jointly prepared by Prof. B.B. Mohanty, Shri J.C. Sexena and Shri J.L. Sachdeva was presented by Shri J.C. Saxena.

30. The delegates were divided into five groups to discuss the subject of the Conference :

1. Mass Programme for Functional Literacy
2. Jan Shikshan Nilayams
3. Implemenatation of National Literacy Mission
4. Voluntary Agencies—Their Role in National Literacy Mission
5. Linkage of NLM with Development

The reports of the groups were circulated to all concerned for information and necessary action.

31. Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture

The 1988 Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture was delivered by Prof. P.N. Srivastava, Member, Planning Commission, Government of India. He said that adult education should take science to the people to remove their prejudices and should also help in taking latest technology for increasing their efficiency and productivity. Prof. Srivastava said primary schools should also be used for providing reading material to neo-literates. He said that adult education has to be linked with development programmes to get the desired results.

32. The Project of 100 Adult Education Centres in Delhi

The Association started the Project of 100 Adult Education Centres in Himmatpuri (a trans-Yamuna colony) Delhi in July 1989. 90 Centres are for women and 10 for men. The Association hopes to provide literacy education to about 8000 illiterates in the age-group 15-35 in that area in four years.

33. Training/Orientation Programmes

The Association organised the following training/orientation programmes during the period under report :

(i) Training Programme for two Preraks and 30 instructors was organised in New Delhi from June 19-29, 1989.

Shri Anil K. Sinha, Director, Directorate of Adult Education inaugurated it.

(ii) A Training Programme for 4 Preraks and 35 instructors was held in New Delhi from August 2-12, 1989.

Shri R.S. Mathur, Addl. Director, Directorate of Adult Education inaugurated it. Dr. V. Venkatseshiah, Addl. Director, DAE delivered the valedictory address.

(iii) A Training Programme for Preraks and Instructors in New Delhi from September 26 to October 6, 1989, in which 30 participants including preraks and instructors participated. The valedictory address was delivered by Shri Kalicharan, Addl. Director, Adult Education, Delhi Administration.

(iv) A 5-day orientation programme for preraks and instructors was organised from December 26-30, 1989. 27 women participated. The major thrust of this programme was on teaching techniques, social awareness and administration about income generating project so as to help the instructors to undertake the three components of literacy, awareness and functionality effectively in the centres.

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(v) An orinentation programme of 5 days' duration was organised from April 30 to May 4, 1990 for the benefit of instructors and preraks engaged in the literacy centres organised by IAEA.

34. The major aspects discussed were National Literacy Mission, adult psychology, motivation, teaching, techniques, field problems, laws for women, health and hygiene, population education, monitoring and evaluation, etc.

35. A 2-day Seminar for sr. students of the Department of Social Work, University of Delhi was organised by the Association on July 26 and 28, 1989.

36. Symposium on Making Literacy a People's Movement

The Association organised a Symposium on Making Literacy a People's Movement at its premises in New Delhi on June 23, 1989, 40 persons participated. Shri Tarlok Singh, former Member, Planning Commission presided over the Symposium.

The following suggestions emerged during the Symposium :

(i) The cooperation of the primary school teachers should be taken as they are close to the people in rural areas ;

(ii) Literacy should be the concern of all departments and not only of the Ministry of Human Resource Development ;

(iii) Mass Media have to play an important role in creating environment for this programme which will go a long way in making it a people's movement ;

(iv) The role of electronic media, particularly of the television was strongly felt. It was urged that television should give prime-time slots to involve both literate and illiterate in the movement ;

(v) Good softwares should be produced in large number so as to feed the electronic media ;

(vi) The literacy can become a movement only if people are highly motivated and at present the people are not motivated for this programme. The literacy should be related to the vocation of the people so that they get economic benefits ;

(vii) bringing equality among men and women will help in making literacy a people's movement ; and

(viii) The IAEA should set up a working group for preparing guidelines for grass-root level organisations.

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37. Workshop on Literacy Plan for Delhi

The Association in cooperation with Delhi Adult Education Association organised a workshop for the Literacy Plan for Delhi on July 25, 1989. 40 persons including the representatives of the Directorate of Adult Education, Government of India, NSS Unit, Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University and voluntary organisations working in Delhi participated.

38. The Consensus was that creation of an environment was essential before any action plan is initiated. In addition to centre-based approach, efforts should be made to involve large number of college and school students in the next two years in the 'each one teach one' programme so that Delhi could regain its first position in literacy in 1991.

Shri J.R. Jindal, President, Delhi Adult Education Association, who presided suggested that 80,000 industrial units in Delhi could be asked to make literate the illiterate workers of their industry. It was also suggested that literacy should be integrated with Jawahar Rozgar Yojana so that illiterates could acquire literacy before they are provided employment.

39. Round Table

A round table discussion was organised to discuss the role of traditional and electronic media in Adult Education on April 25, 1990. About 40 persons participated in this round table discussion.

40. Awareness Camps for Women

The Association with financial assistance from the Central Board of Social Welfare organised two 8-day Awareness Camps for Women in Trilokpuri and Himmatpuri (trans-Yamuna colonies) on November 3-11, 1989 and February 5-13, 1990.

The important subjects covered in the camp included status of women in home and society, violence against women, important laws for women, unequal access to women in health services, food production, technology, food and nutrition, importance of balanced diet for women, development of body, bad effects of drugs and alcohol, reproduction awareness and birth control methods, population problems in India, first aid, major communicable diseases, water borne diseases, personal hygiene, how to form cooperative, opportunities for income-generation, etc.

41. Workers' Education Programme

The Association organised seven Workers' Education Programmes for the unorganised sector of women in New Delhi. The first 4 were organised on January 6-9, 1989. The second 3 one-day non-residential programmes

were held in Kichripur, Delhi on March 19-21, 1990. The topics covered were planning in India, population education, rights and duties of citizens under the constitution and economic outline of the country. Over 30 women attended this programme.

42. Nehru and Tagore Literacy Awards

The Nehru and Tagore Literacy Awards for the year 1989 were awarded to Shri Bhai Bhagwan, former Director of Adult Education, Rajasthan Vidyapeeth and Dr. (Mrs) Rajammal P. Devadas, Vice-Chancellor, Avinashilingam Institute for Home Science and Higher Education for Women respectively. The awards were announced on September 8 i.e. the International Literacy Day.

Shri Bhai Bhagwan is the 22nd recipient of the Nehru Literacy Award and Dr. (Mrs.) R.P. Devadas is the 3rd recipient of the Tagore Literacy Award instituted by the IAEA.

The 1988 Nehru Literacy Award was presented to Prof. Ramlal Parikh, Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat Vidyapeeth at the inaugural function of the 41st All India Adult Education Conference held in Aurangabad on October 28, 1988. The Tagore Literacy Awards for 1987 and 1988 for outstanding contribution to the promotion of Literacy among Women were presented to Smt Lakshmi N. Menon, President, All India Committee for Eradication of Illiteracy Among Women and Smt. Anurupa Mukherjee, Founder President, Tripura Adibashi Mahila Samiti, Agartala.

43. Mohan Sinha Mehta Research Fellowship

The number of Mohan Sinha Mehta Research Fellowships was increased from one to two from 1989. The 1989 Fellowships were awarded to Smt. Nayana P. Shah of Ahmedabad Women's Action Group and Shri Gulab Ram Pandya, Project Officer, Adult Education, Udaipur for their studies "An experiment in rapid literacy to circumvent discontinuity of learners in adult education programme' and 'Sakshar Mahila Ka Dayativ Nirwahad Ka Adhyan' (A Study on use of literacy skills by literate women) respectively.

44. Publications

In addition to the 8 books brought out during the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Association, held in May 1989, the Association brought out the following books :

1. 50 Years of Indian Journal of Adult Education—Articles and their Authors compiled by Shri J.L. Sachdeva and Subhash Dua
2. Shikshak Sathi by N.R. Gupta
3. Mala-Ke-Dane by Rajinder Tiwari

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4.   Chote Gaon Ki Badi Kahani by Davender Upadhya

5.   Durghatna by Bimla Dutta

6.   Gharelu Ilaj by Manju Pandey

7.   Hatheli per Suraj by K.L. Zakir

It is matter of great satisfaction that we were able to achieve the highest sale of publications in the history of IAEA in the period under review. We are grateful to the governments of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh and to several voluntary organisations who purchased our books. We appreciate the services rendered by our staff in achieving this record sale of books.

45. The Association continued to publish the following Periodicals and Newsletter during the period under report :

1.   Indian Journal of Adult Education (English quarterly)

2.   Proudh Shiksha (Hindi monthly)

3.   Jago Aur Jagao (Hindi monthly) for neo-literates

4.   IAEA Newsletter (English monthly)

46. Literacy Marches

The Association collaborated with the Directorate of Adult Education in the International Literacy Day function on Sep. 8, 1989 at Shantivan. The Association sent the largest contingent of 3000 neo-literates and instructors on this occasion.

The Association collaborated with the International Task Force on Literacy (South East Asia Office) in the Literacy March to launch the International Literacy Year on January 1, 1990. Hundreds of men, women participated in the March, which started from India Gate and terminated at Rajghat. Admiral Nadkarni flagged off the March.

47. Representation in meetings abroad

Shri B.S. Garg, President, IAEA and Shri J.C. Saxena, Hony. General Secretary attended the World Assembly on Adult Education organised by the International Council for Adult Education in Bangkok on January 9-18, 1990. Shri J.C. Saxena, participated in the ASPBAE meeting held in Nepal in March 1989 and presented country paper on India. Ms. Radha Kumari of Y.M.C.A., Smt. Lalita Ramdas and Smt. Indira Koithra of I.T.F.L. were the other participants from India.

Shri J.L. Sachdeva, Director, IAEA participated in a Seminar on Workers Education and Peace in Graz (Austria) and Balatonefured (Hungary) from May 29-June 4, 1989.

The Association has continued to maintain cordial relations and exchange of ideas with ASPBAE, ICAE, IFWEA and UNESCO.

48. Participation in different events

(a) The Association participated in the International Literacy Day celebrated by the Ministry of Human Resource Development at Shantivan on Sep. 8, 1989.

(b) The Association participated in the Proudh Shiksha Mela organised by the State Resource Centre, Delhi on December 9, 1989.

(c) Participated in the International Literacy Year Function, held in Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi on January 22, 1990 ; and

(d) Participated in the meetings of NLM Authority and its executive.

(e) Participated in I.T.F.L. Meetings and Conference held in Oct. 89.

49. Service to members

The Association continued to provide various information in various aspects of adult education in India and abroad to both institutional and individual members and other educators.

Information about the new scheme of assistance by the Central Government was provided to the institutional and other members of the Association. It continued to supply books and photostat copies of articles published in our Journals and other periodicals/books. It also sent to its members the issues of ASPBAE Courier during the period under report.

50. New Members

During the period under report 21 institutional and 160 individuals (life/yearly) have joined the Association as members. We welcome these members to our fold and look forward to their close cooperation in the years to come.

51. Before I conclude, I would like to thank the President, Shri B.S. Garg, Vice-Presidents, Shri K.C. Choudhary, Dr. (Smt.) Asha Dixit, Prof. N.N. Joshi and Shri R.N. Mahlawat, Treasurer, Prof. B.B. Mohanty, Joint Secretary, Shri L. Vedapuri, Associate Secretaries Shri Bhai Bhagwan, Shri N.C. Pant, Smt. Kamla Rana and Shri K.L. Zakir and all my colleggues in the Executive Committee for their valuable advice and co-operation. I also thank the Director and other members of the staff of the Association for their co-operation, commitment and contribution. I am thankful to you all members of the Association for your trust and confidence reposed in me and the Association which ansured its all-round progress in the period under review.

<div align="right">J.C. Saxena</div>

Fifty Years of Indian Journal of Adult Education*

The Indian Adult Education Association was established in 1939. It completed 50 years last year and an year long celebrations were there. The Indian Journal of Adult Education also was started in 1939 itself as the organ of I.A.E.A It too has completed 50 years of useful service to adult educators.

The Journal was a bimonthly during 1939-50, a quarterly during 1951-59, a monthly during 1960-86 and since January 1987, it is again a quarterly. An attempt was made by me in 1988 to classify the major articles, research papers, book reviews, annual reports etc. that were published during 1973-1988 for the benefit of researchers in adult education. The same was published in mimeograph form and was made available to the needy, on demand. Here is an attempt to classify all the articles that found place in the pages of the journal during 1939-1989. At the outset I wish to congratulate Mr. Sachdeva and Mr. Dua for undertaking this herculean task and the IAEA for publishing the volume. It is a timely publication, to mark the 50th anniversary of both the Association and the Journal.

It has been rightly pointed out that "research in adult education is still at its infancy." It was so said about education research in 1963, when Dr. M.B. Buch brought out his compilation 'Researches in Education' Vol. I for the benefit of educational planners, administrators, teachers and researchers—current and progressive.

Adult education is an "emerging discipline". Currently 92 universities in India are having Departments/Centres/Cells for Adult, Continuing Education. Many Universities have Masters Degree Courses in Adult Education. Androgogy and Non-formal Education besides a number of others organising Post-graduate and Post Masters Diploma and Certificate Courses in Adult and Continuing Education. It has been rightly felt that Universities should have separate faculties for Non-formal Education and organise M. Phil and Ph. D. programmes of the inter-disciplinary nature. All these point to the need for and chances of more academic and research work in an area where field work is dominant.

While Universities like Kerala, Madras, S.V. Tirupati, Andhra, etc. have produced a number of Ph.D's in Adult, Continuing and Non-formal Education, researches at the Master's level, M. Ed. and M.A. (Adult Education, Andragogy) and Post-M.A. Diploma levels are in plenty, 'Researches in Adult Education' published by I.A.E.A. based on a research project had been an indicator of priorities in research.

I.J.A.E. is the leading adult education journal in India. It is used in at least 60 other countries as well. 'Prasar' is a research journal published from Rajasthan University. At the International level Convergence, Adult Education and Development, Journal of Adult Education, ASPBAE Courier, NFE Exchange, Focus, UNESCO Adult Education Newsletter, Prospects, Literacy Work, etc. are noteworthy, to mention a few. Those interested in pursuing adult education through innovative approaches and those desirous of taking up researches in adult education for Degrees

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or as supported individual/institutional researches, would like to, and indeed must, review existing literature.

A thorough study of "related literature" is highly essential for any researcher. Such a review can be of researches carried out in the particular field as well as in allied ones. It can be of books, speeches, articles, pamphlets, editorials, write ups in periodicals etc. as well as newsitems and even advertisements. As such articles appearing in a Journal dedicated to adult education and allied fields are of great concern and significance to all interested and involved in adult education.

It has been pointed out in the Preface of this Volume that "The IJAE is a Journal of inquiry, opinion and information on adult education. It contains news and articles on adult education programmes in India and abroad, research projects and experimental schemes. The Journal during all these years has kept the adult educators abreast of latest information and knowledge in adult education". While conceding this, I would like to add that reports of annual conferences, abstracts (and even full texts) of Dr. Zakir Husain Memorial Lectures, Book Reviews, News and Views, Editorials etc. also deserve special mention as these have been eye openers to many.

The present attempt of Sachdeva and Dua is a 'boon' to researchers and students in the field of adult education. They need not do a 'treasurehunt' in the wilderness ; instead they could refer this volume and locate their area, solution or information.

In the classified index, 36 areas have been identified and in pages 1 to 111, articles have been listed authorwise in alphabetical order. It becomes easy for the researcher to locate areas as well as authors.

One cannot claim that the classification is foolproof. There can be more areas so also certain areas could have been combined for the sake of clarity. Beginning with the concept, aims and objectives of adult education, it ends with adult education in other countries. The continuum is such that almost all areas have been incorporated. One wonder whether all these areas exist in adult education and allied areas. The vastness of subjects covered in the IJAE is revealed through such a classified index.

Pages 113 to 211 are devoted to providing an author index. It is gratifying to note that adult educators of eminence stand out unique through the number of contributions and their variety.

The classified index starts with Adiseshiah, Malcolm S; but in the author index he comes as no. 6 because of the alphabetical order. One will be interested to find that maximum number of articles have been listed in the name of

Dr. S.C. Dutta (50) followed by Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah (31) and J.C. Mathur (27). Others who have contributed not less than 10 articles are M/s Mushtaq Ahmed, Dr. N.A. Ansari, Dr. H.S. Bhola, R.M. Chetsingh, Roby Kidd, Dr. T.A. Koshy, V.S. Mathur, Dr. M.S. Mehta, M.C. Nanavatty, J.L. Sachdeva, Sohan Singh and myself. A number of Indian and Foreign adult educators have contributed to the IJAE's success. Not only leading adult educators are given place in the journal but budding/promising youngesters and practitioners also have found this Journal as an 'entry point' or forum for dissemination of ideas/views and/or experiences/comments.

Whenever policy changes have occurred in the adult education scene, the Journal had focussed on it through eminent writers' contributions. So also the services of great adult educators have been highlighted through the pages of IJAE whenever appropriate opportunities arose.

The compilers deserve congratulations for taking up this challenging task and executing it so nicely. I haven't gone through all the issues of the Journal to say that there are no omissions. Book reviews and editorials (heading articles) could have also been indexed separately. Reference to Editors and Editorial Boards could have been a welcome addition.

The IAEA has to be thanked for pricing it so low at Rs. 45/- at a time when cost of production as well as paper cost are on the increase, so that even poor adult educators could afford to own a copy of this handy reference volume.

Where exactly one could get all these issues for reference has also to be indicated. No attempt has been made in this direction in the present volume, but it would be appreciated by all concerned if availability of bound volumes (or otherwise) is intimated through the pages of IJAE in a future issue. I have in my personal library all volumes bound since 1972, but I am at a loss to locate issues prior to that. Availability of back volumes for sale may also be indicated.

Before I conclude, let me point out one more thing. It would have been better if an annotated bibliography was attempted. Time and finance permitting this may be taken up as a separate research project. Anyway the present attempt itself is a step in the right direction to cater to the needs and aspirations of emerging adult educators. IAEA and the compilers of this volume will ever be remembered for their noble gesture in presenting this volume to adult educators all over the world.

K.S. Pillai

Adult Education News

Role of Mass and Traditional Media in Creating Climate for Literacy

The Indian Adult Education Association organised a Round Table on the Role of Mass and Traditional Media in creating climate for literacy at its headquarters in New Delhi on April 25, 1990. 32 persons representing Directorate of Adult Education, University of Delhi, SRC, Jamia Millia Islamia, Planning Commission and institutional and life members of the Association from Delhi attended.

The main objective of the Round Table was to find out how mass media, particularly electronic media and traditional media can play a role in creating an environment for literacy so that it becomes a felt need of the people.

Spreading literacy among the un-motivated and un-willing is not giving the desired results and an effort was made to find out ways and means to create a climate for literacy among the animators and the learners.

During discussion, the following points were highlighted :

1. Traditional media have better potential than the electronic media and extensive use should be made of this media to create environment for literacy.

2. Though T.V. is a powerful medium, it is not having much effect in rural areas as women are not permitted to see it.

3. Youth should be encouraged and motivated to have personal contacts with the learners so as to motivate them for adult education programme.

4. People to people communication has a great role in motivating people for literacy than the electronic and traditional media.

5. In selecting the traditional media, it has to be seen that informer is acceptable to the community.

6. Adult Education should be seen a regular education programme and not seen as a project.

The following recommendations were made :

1. Inter-personal communication has a great role in creating climate for literacy and should be extensivly utilized.

2. Both electronic and traditional media have great role in creating national commitment, creation of an environment conducive to learning, motivation among learners, animators, mass mobilisation and people's involvement.

3. There is an urgent need to prepare good softwares in large number in order to enable the electronic media to relay programmes which can touch the heart of the masses.

4. In sanctioning adult education projects, the Government of India should provide money for creating motivation before the actual launching of project. The agencies implementing the programme should utilise the the traditional media for this purpose, and

5. The choice of media should depend upon the area in which the adult education project is being implemented.

Kerala Total Literacy Drive Begins

In the first phase of the total literacy programme in Kerala, "Akshara Keralam", began on April 8, 1990 with a State wide survey to identify all illiterates in a massive single-day operation.

The survey in which over eight lakh volunteers will participate, follows an intensive mass mobilisation drive through the media, posters, jathas and person-to-person communication, covering all the 14 districts, except Ernakulam, which has already been declared as India's first totally literate district.

Apart from identifying illiterates, the survey was also intended as major State-wide promotional campaign for achieving total literacy. Master trainers and instructors have also been identified as part of the survey. The programme will begin in May.

Ernakulam is First Totally Literate District

Shri V. P. Singh, Prime Minister, declared Ernakulam as the first totally literate district in the country at a mass peoples rally held at the Durbar Hall Ground at Cochin on February 4. The Chief Minister of Kerala and State Education Minister were present on the occasion.

A unique campaign extending over a period of one year was undertaken in Ernakulam towards achieving total literacy in the age group 6-60.

Inspired by the experience the Kerala Government has prepared plans for achieving total literacy in the State.

Bordia Elected President, IBE

The International Bureau of Education(IBE) has unanimously elected Shri Anil Bordia, Secretary, Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India as its President for a two-year term. The 24-member Council of the Internationol Bureau of Education, located in Geneva, is an important UNESCO Institute for Research on comparative education and reflection on major problems of education. This is for the first time that an Asian has been elected as Chairman of IBE since its inception in 1934.

The Council (IBE) is expected to play a major role in the follow-up of the "World Conference on Education for All" concluded recently in Jomtien (Thailand). Shri Anil Bordia's election received the wholehearted support of all Council members as well as of the Director-General of UNESCO who inaugurated the 32nd Session of the IBE Council in Jomtien (Thailand). .

Literacy Through Radio

An experiment to use Radio to enliven the Adult Education Centre and to improve the pace and quality of learning will be started from September 8, 1990. Eight radio stations, Bikaner, Jaipur, Indore, Agra, Varanasi, Patna, Ranchi and Darbhanga will broadcast literacy lessons to about one lakh learners in fifteen districts.

The weekly broadcast would be backed by appropriate teaching and learning material. The Instructors too, will be trained through the same media followed by a contact programme.

Population Education

The Centre for Adult/Continuing Education and Extension Work of Bangalore University organised a two-day orientation programme on 'Population Education for Primary School Teachers' of Kolar District on Dec. 5-6, 1989 in collaboration with Directorate of Public Instruction. 50 teachers from 48 Primary Schools of Kolar District participated.

The following topics were covered :

a) Trends in the Growth of Population of the World with special reference to India.

b) Determinants and Consequences of Population Explosion,

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c) Integrating Population Education into Secondary School Curriculum-Teaching.

d) Population Education through School subjects :

—Mathematics

—Physics

—Biology

—English

—Social Studies

—Kanada

A vedio film entitled 'Between Poverty and Population' produced by Madras University was screened.

A training programme for population education and mother and child health teachers of Mandikal Mandal Panchayat was organised on December 29, 1989. 30 teachers participated.

Vedapuri No More

It is with profound regret that we inform our readers about sad and untimely demise of Shri L. Vedapuri, Joint Secretary, Indian Adult Education Association and President, Tamil Nadu Board for Rural Development in Madras on June 2?, 1990. He was 55.

Shri Vedapuri was recently re-elected Joint Secretary at a meeting of the Council of IAEA held in Bhopal.

He was actively involved in rural development and adult education in Tamil Nadu.

? Association deeply mourns this great loss and conveys its hear.., 't sympathies to the bereaved family.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP AND OTHER PARTICULARS ABOUT NEWSPAPER

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Signature of Publisher

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The Indian Adult Education Association founded in 1939, aims at improving the quality of life through education visualized as a continuous and life long process. It directs its efforts towards accelerating adult education a process, a programme and a movement.

The Association co-ordinates the activities of various agencies—Governmental and voluntary, national and international—engaged in similar pursuits. It organises conferences and seminars and undertakes surveys and research projects ; it endeavours to up-date and sharpen the awareness of its members by bringing to them from all over the world expert views on and experiences in, adult education. In pursuit of the policy, the Association has instituted the Nehru Literacy Award and the Tagore Literacy Award for Women's Literacy for outstanding contribution to the promotion of adult education in the country. It has also instituted the Dr. Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture, which is delivered every year by an educationist of repute and eminence.

The Association has brought out many publications on themes relating to adult education, including the Hindi editions of several UNESCO publications. It brings out the Indian Journal of Adult Education, Proudh Shiksha, Jago aur Jagao and IAEA Newsletter.

The Association acts as the Indian arm of the International Council for Adult Education, International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations and the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education. Its membership is open to all individuals and institutions who believe in the aims and objectives of the Association.

Its headquarters is located in Shafiq Memorial at 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

Indian Journal of
ADULT
EDUCATION

Lifelong Education and Learning

✸

School Progress of Children of Educated Employed Parents

✸

Achievement Motivation—An Essential Factor
for Agricultural Development

✸

Knowledge of Nutrition of Adult Education Instructors

Indian Adult Education Association

Indian Journal of Adult Education

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The Indian Journal of Adult Education, first published in 1939, is brought out now as a quarterly by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Journal has special interest in the theory and practice of Non-formal Education with special reference to the relationship between Adult Education and Development.

Contributions on a wide range of themes within this broad framework are welcome. The Journal is particularly interested in current experiments in the field.

Contributions should be accompanied by either a stamped, self-addressed envelope or by International Reply Coupons. The average length of a manuscript should normally be between 1,500 and 2,000 words; in exceptional cases, longer articles can be accepted. Mimeographed, Zeroxed or carbon copies will not be accepted. Manuscripts should be typed in double space, on one side, with a 2" margin, on foolscap size paper. Footnotes and references should come at the end and not on every page.

Contributions and other correspondence regarding advertisements, subscription rates etc. should be addressed to the Editor, Indian Journal of Adult Education, 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

TABLE OF CONTENT

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Editorial

"We want education for life. We want education for all, not for a chosen
few." These two sentences sum up the contents of "Towards an Enlightened
and Humane Society", a perspective paper on Education, prepared by the
Committee for Review on National Policy on Education (1986), headed by
Acharya Ramamurty.

The Committee holds the view that inability to read and write does not necessarily mean lack of education. It is true that an illiterate adult is not necessarilly an uneducated person. He may not be able to read and write, but may possess numeracy and vocational skills necessary at home and elsewhere. There are instances when an illiterate adult possesses oral linguistic skills of a high order. The Committee rightly observes that "the intention is not to romanticise illiteracy but rather to underscore the need to redesign adult education programme meaningfully."

Literacy is a vital component of adult education. Acharya Ramamurty Committee maintains that "the content and process of adult education, as distinct from adult literacy, is to be reorganised" so that the questions of survival, development and justice are interwoven into the content and methodology of adult education, and literacy comes in "organically in the process when, and if, it becomes the felt need of the adult learners." This concept, according to the Committee, "would help in avoiding the disproportionate emphasis on literacy campaigns." Here the Committee's thinking is coterminus with that of Mahatma Gandhi, who had said that adult education should neither begin nor end with the 3Rs.

Felt need of the adult learners is a matter of crucial importance, because it is related to motivation. No one can deny the need to have a totally literate India as soon as possible. As a matter of fact, literacy is a real and socially desirable need of every illiterate adult in our country, and this need has to be converted into the felt need, so that he is motivated to acquire literacy. Such a process of conversion is a psychological one and it has to be set in motion and accelerated by adult education. Therefore, the process, programme and methods of adult education are to be reorganised, so that education for all, which envisages literacy in social, cultural and economic context, becomes a reality.

Marlow Ediger

Lifelong Education and Learning

Learning on the part of individuals should be a continuous endeavour. The knowledge explosion has been inherent for decades. With the rapid increase in knowledge, it behooves each person to learn as much as possible. Specific interests possessed vary from individual to individual. These specific interests represent lifelong opportunities to learn. Life itself in its diverse manifestations provides opportunities to learn as well as interests to develop. What might be done to encourage learning as being continuous within each life span ?

Instructors and the Learners

Each instructor needs to follow methodologies of teaching which encourage lifelong learning on the part of students. Methods of teaching used to encourage student interest in learning may well be the following :

1. Problem solving procedures—Problems are selected of interest to students with teacher guidance.

2. Creative endeavours—Unique and novel ideas are desired from students. With no right or wrong answers to questions, learners might feel more relaxed to respond through a variety of media. Originality of ideas harmonizes with one's repertoire of content, values, and skills as compared to exact facts and knowledge which might not harmonize with one's own unique personality.

3. Purposeful learning—With having input in terms of what to learn, the learner perceives increased reasons for learning selected content. Accepting reasons for learning specific content, lifelong learning is more likely to occur, as compared to external rewards and pressures.

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4. Provision for individual differences—Each learner needs to learn as much as possible intellectually, emotionally, physically, and socially. Boredom may set in if too little is expected of the self in achievement. Toward the other end of the continuum, excessively high goals to attain may make for the impossible and for failure.

5. Balance among objectives—To develop a desire for lifelong learning, students need to achieve knowledge objectives. Knowledge includes vital facts, concepts, and generalizations. Skills objectives also need adequate emphasis. To use knowledge in diverse situations involves skills. Knowledge and skills objectives should be one and not separate entities A third category of objectives, namely attitudinal stresses positive feelings, values, and beliefs. Quality attitudes assist learners to achieve more optimally in knowledge and skills goals. To attain lifelong goals in learning, the student needs to experience relevant balance among knowledge, skills, and attitudinal objectives.

6. Interest in learning—Developing numerous interest assists the student to pursue learning in its diverse manifestations. Instructors need to assist students to determine and cultivate the latter's interests. New interest also need encouraging through a variety of course work and experiences, be it formal or nonformal education.

Diverse Manifestations

Each person must seek that which is utilitarian as well as renewing. Knowledge and skills may be acquired for their own sake, as well as for utilitarian purposes. If knowledge and skills are learned for their very own sake, the learner perceives intrinsic value in what is being acquired. In and of itself, the acquired learning are valuable and appreciated. Utilitarian purposes in learning emphasize that which is useful to perform a task, role, job, or solve a problem. Thus, what has been learned is instrumental to something else, e.g. complete a requirement or achieve a worthwhile goal.

Which lifelong learning endeavours should then be emphasized in school and in society ?

Quality public libraries should inform the lay public of reading and non-reading materials housed in their facilities. An environment of openness, as well as help and assistance should be the lot of consumers of library services. Public libraries should have materials beneficial to diverse publics. The major goal of public libraries should be to encourage increased consumption of reading and nonreading materials. A quality public library may well be the hub of a community in that it reaches out to provide needed services for all in society. Enrichment, growth, development, and satisfaction are key concepts for evolving individuals as they patronize and utilize library services. Lifelong learning for individuals must be a definite goal and philosophy of public libraries.

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Second, YMCA and YWCA, and similar organisations should attempt to meet needs of all in society. Programmes of instruction should be varied and provide for individual differences. These organisations need to conduct annual surveys to determine which classes/content consumers desire. A broad base of individual participation in society is needed. Lifelong learning endeavours must be promoted, encouraged, and welcomed.

Third, adult education classes, meeting each evening five days a week, should provide needed classes for learners. Practical course work can be offered such as working on small engines, gardening, word processing, and proper car care. Personal enrichment sessions including creative writing, public speaking, and raising ornamental shrubs may be of interest to others. Assistance in working toward the GED high school equivalency diploma should also be in the offing. Adult Education classes offered in high schools and technical vocational schools should meet the interests, purposes, and needs of students.

Fourth, correspondence courses taken from a college or university may assist learners to attain goals of lifelong learning. Correspondence course work may assist students to secure a college or university degree. Correspondence work may also be personally enriching and stimulating. Correspondence work should develop and maintain student interest in learning.

Fifth, colleges or universities need to encourage lifelong learning, be it additional classes for professionals working in society, or for those having interest in one or more classes for their own sake. Senior citizens are increasingly taking higher education classes with no cost attached, provided space is available. Each student should appreciate opportunities of taking courses in higher education.

Sixth, educational television should be geared to develop within listeners a desire to learn. Program content should be varied, provide for individual differences, and possess meaning. Worthwhile subject matter needs to be in the offing. Valuable facts, concepts, and generalizations should be available to those desiring a philosophy of lifelong learning.

Seventh, clubs and organisations within a community may be organised to meet needs involving lifelong learning for individuals. Thus, A Great Books Club for those who desire stimulating intellectual discussion should be in the offing. Or, those who wish to continue playing a musical instrument should have opportunities to play in a band or orchestra. Ample opportunities should be given to those who wish to participate in a vocal music group or dramatisations. Community-based theaters could well utilize the talents of those who participate in instrumental and vocal music groups, in creative and formal dramatisations. as well as pantomiming.

In closing

A broad base of activities in any community needs to be in evidence for those possessing interests emphasizing lifelong learning. The needs and purpose of persons must be met to assist each to achieve, grow, develop, and accomplish. Lifelong learning should stress :

1. Problem solving.
2. creative endeavours.
3. purposeful learning.
4. provision for individual differences.
5. balance among objectives.
6. interest in achievement.

Learning opportunities in lifelong learning may emphasize :

1. public libraries and their use.
2. activities from community-based organizations.
3. adult education classes.
4. correspondence courses.
5. college-university classwork.
6. educational television.
7. clubs and organizations voluntarily developed.

Each person needs assistance to develop optimally through lifelong learning opportunities.

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S. Panda
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School Progress of Children of Educated Employed Parents

The problem of educated employed mothers and their contribution to the edueational achievement of their children have been reflected in some empirical research publications (Bauck 1936, Pentony 1956, Bell 1958, Hoffman 1974, Thompulos 1974 and Bitter and Denis 1975). Thompulos, in a study among American parents of pre-school children while correlating the work status with marital adjustment and both with achievement of the pre-school children, suggests that there is an enormous effect of marital life and work status of the parents on the behaviour of pre-school children. The achievement of the children depends on their social and physical environment. The school progress does not, however, depend on any isolated and independent factor; rather it depends on a cumulative one such as : the socialization process at home and in the institution, parental care,

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need fulfilment process of the children, family culture, social environment of the locality and the exposure of the children to the effluent values and the like. The children who are exposed less to such values are normally gentle and show good school progress and bear an authoritative attitude (Loutrey 1974).

The socialization process towards education of the children is often closely related to the socio-economic condition of the family. It is seen that parental attitude towards the children has been referred to as a function of socio-economic level (Loutrey 1979). Though economy plays a vital role for the progress of the children, the non-economic factors can not be ruled out. The non-economic factors are normally referred to as the care of the parents and their affection for the children, their sympathy, moral encouragement, guidance and the like.

The physical, cultural and psychological factors to contribute for the school progress of the children; however, at times they may act as a set of constraints. Carnahan (1979) reports that the physical development is correlated with the mental development. A physically and functionally sound body has got a better process of mental make-up. A phychologically upset mind may lead to educational deterioration. Therefore, care of the physique through exercise, developing work skill and playing games are likely to promote the mental development. It was observed by Birth that a child tends to be apathetic because of malnutrition that adversely affects his school progress (1972, 18). It is also said that malnutrition during infancy may not only affect physical growth but also mental development. Therefore, one can infer that mental and physical development of the children are complementary to each other.

Any development is a product of the interplay of social, biological and physical environment. Education has been considered as a means to development and a major vehicle of social change. However, depending upon the level of economic development, the difference in educating children is marked among various income categories.

In the recent evaluation on the quality of teaching in schools and colleges, it has been seen that there is deterioration in the organizational climate of teaching and learning processes. It has also been observed that, the teachers alienate themselves from teaching and students from learning. In such a situation, the role of parents towards the educational achievement of their children is highly important.

In most cases, the teaching and learning process for teachers and students respectively remain almost constant. The monotonous teaching in classroom has been a common phenomenon. The change of voice, such as

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voice of teachers and the students voicing in form of debate, discussions and demonstrations rsmain almost negligible. The ongoing authoritative teaching method in class-room often does not stimulate the students. Given this, the students are b;ing evaluated through assessments, exercises, judgements and questioning method. In such a process, the dialogue is undermined and the monologue of the teacher is given prominence. This, to a large extent, forces the students to sit idle. The students are subjected to the stereotype monologues of teachers, which are deterrent to the development of teaching and learning process.

In some schools, there are provisions for television and projection facilities, as aids to teaching. This, to a considerable extent, has increased the interests of the students. Even with such teaching aids, the conditions available to the students are not congenial so as to allow them to get stimulated. The doubts created in the minds of the students, while watching television or other aids, often remain unanswered. Whatever curiosity is generated among them quickly vanishes. Therefore, it is felt that the differences among students shown in their educational achievements have been largely contributed by something other than the school environment alone. Hypothetically, it is stated that, the better is the educational climate in the family, the higher is the educational achievement of the students. Further, it is expected that the income and nature of the job of the parents. contribute substantially to the educational achievement of the students

Methodology

The list of employed parents has been collected from major government and non-government offices of Sambalpur town. From this list, the parents whose children are studying in public school have been listed separately. Of the total employed parents, whose wards are the students of X standards are treated separately. The final list thus prepared was decided as our total universe. To make it a round figure, three of them are removed from the list.

The students have been distributed mainly in three English medium schools of the town, viz. Central School, Convent school and Madanabati schools. All these three Schools are located at the periphery of the town on Highway No. 6. To assess the educational achievement of the school going children, the average mark obtained in Mathematics and English have been considered here. The progress report of the children have been verified from their respective schools.

Depending upon the nature of job and income of the parents they are put under three categories, viz; TT, TNT, and NT-NT. The data have been collected through an interview guide. TT, and NT-NT represent parents

engaged in teaching and non-teaching profession respectively while T-NT represents a combination of both where one of the parents remain engaged in the teaching profession.

Profile

Sambalpur as one of the growing towns of western Orissa, has drawn people from different ethnic stocks. Children born to them, to avoid trouble in putting them in Oriya schools, were admitted into the English medium schools.

Of the three categories, the parents belonging to teaching profession are mostly the moralists. They are relatively less mobile. Their spatial mobility occurs only on the events of transfer. Except 8 couples in our sample, the rest of them are natives. They are used to the same stereotype works. Hence, the time schedule for their day to day activities is almost repetitive. The variation occurs only during exigencies. They are concerned with methodic expenditure and socialize their children through peace and non-violence practices. On the contrary, the non-teaching professional parents, except a few, by and large are speculators and show tendency for property accumulation more than the earlier category. Apart from their constant monthly income, they have recurrent but uncertain in-flow of money. Among them, those who are in business and remain engaged in private practices have the scope of extra-legal income and therefore, have greater property accumulative capacity. The pecuniary expense for them is in a higher frequency than those in the teaching profession. The TNT category of parents fall in between the earlier two.

For the present purpose, the total sample has been classified into three income groups based on their annual income, such as more than Rs. 20,000/- to less than Rs. 25,000/-, more than Rs. 25,000/- to less than one lakh, and more than one lakh; and referred to as low, middle and upper income groups respectively. Age-wise, the parents fall between 25 to 50 years. The distribution pattern of the sample in the income group of three categories (given in Table 1) show that among the TT, the frequency in upper income group in less as in case of other groups. However, the difference between the middle and upper income groups among the TT is almost equal to the difference between the low and middle income groups and 74.1% of this category of parents belong to the middle income group. There is a small percentage of parents of low income group who also belong to the category of T-NT. Among them, like the TT, higher number of parents figure under the middle income group while less number of parents of this category belong to the upper income group. Among them, while 54.05% has represented in the middle income group, 45.14% are seen to have represented in the upper income group. Among the last category of TNT, the distribution pattern is somewhat different. The number of low income

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group is almost half the upper income group. However, this category of parents represents more in the middle income group like the other two (Table No. 1 A).

TABLE 1 (A)

Distribution of income groups of T-T, T-NT and NT-NT categories

Income		T-T	T-NT	NT-NT	Total
20	25 thousand	4 (14.8)	4 (10.81)	3 (18.75)	11 (13.7)
25 thousand	1 lakh	2) (74.1)	20 (54.05)	7 (43.75)	47 (58.8)
1 lakh and	2 lakh	3 (11.1)	13 (45.14)	6 (37.5)	22 (27.5)
Total		27 (100%)	37 (100%)	16 (100%)	80 (100%)

The age of the children of the sampled parents ranges from 15 to 17 years studying in the Xth standard of the English medium school. One of the aspects of parents towards the educational socialisation of their children can be indicated by the number of visits the parents pay to the schools. From the Table it is seen that while 48% of parents belong to TT, 24.3% and 18.7% of parents of TNT and NT-NT category respectively visit the school once a month to enquire about the activities of their children at school. 25.9%, 35.1% and 43.7% of parents of TT, TNT and NT-NT categories respectively visit school twice a month to know about the school 'progress' of their children. Interestingly, the Table shows that 5.4% of parents of TNT category never visit school to know about the school progress of their children (Table No. 2). It is found that a majority of parents who belong to TT and TNT opine that the role of the mother towards educational achievements of the children is more than that of the father,

TABLE 1 (B)

Positive and negative achievement of children in examination of parents T-T, T-NT and NT-NT

	Low		Middle		Upper		Total
	+ve	—ve	+ve	—ve	+ve	—ve	
T-T	4 (11)	1 (3.7)	14 (44.4)	8 (29.6)	2 (7.4)	1 (3.7)	27 (100%)
T-NT	—	4 (10.8)	14 (37.8)	6 (16.2)	8 (21.6)	5 (13.5)	37 (100%)
NT-NT	2 (12.5)	1 (6.25)	—	5 (31.25)	8 (50)	—	16 (100%)
Total	6 (7.5)	6 (7.5)	25 (31.2)	19 (23.7)	18 (22.5)	6 (7.5)	80 (100%)

Figure in parentheses are shown in percentage.
Marks secured more than expected is referred to as +ve.
Marks secured less than expected is referred to as —ve.

whereas the parents of NT-NT category opine the opposite. However, a few parents of TNT and a majority of NT-NT suggest that the father's role is no less important in building the career of their children.

The income of the parents and educational achievement of the children has been co-related. While the correlation is made, the total percentage of marks secured and expected are taken into consideration. The difference between the expected and the secured aggregate of marks in the last annual examination has beed compared and this is correlated with the income and occupational categories. Of the total TT, 14.8%, 74.2%, 11.2% belong to low, middle and high income group respectively. The distribution pattern of the expected and achieved aggregate of the marks of the children show that of the total sample of T-T, 11% and 3.7% of the low income group have represented to have positive and negative educational achievements respectively. In middle income group of T-T, 44.4% of children secure more than expected whereas 29.6% have shown the negative achievement. The children of the higher income group of the same professional category show that 7.4% and 3.7% express positive and negative achievements.

Among T-NT of low income group, there is no sign of positive achievement and the expectation is too high than the achievement, while in its middle income group, 37.8% and 6.2% of children have shown the positive and negative achievement respectively and 21.6% of children of higher income group are observed to have secured more than expected, while 13.5% show the negative achievement who secured less than the expected.

Among the NT-NT category of low income group, there are 3.12% and 1.6% of children represented to have shown positive and negative achievements respectively. In middle income group, however, there is no sign of positive achievement whereas the high economic group of the same professional category has not represented at all in negative achievement.

TABLE 2

Frequency of visit per month to the school by the perents of T-T, T-NT and NT-NT.

Category	Not at all	2 times	2 and 6 times	6 times	Total
T-T	—	7 (25.9)	7 (25.9)	13 (48)	27 (100%)
T-NT	2 (5.4)	13 (35.1)	13 (35.1)	9 (18.9)	37 (100%)
NT-NT	—	7 (43.7)	4 (25)	5 (31.2)	16 (100%)
Total	2 (2.5)	27 (33.75)	24 (30)	27 (33.75)	80 (100%)

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Considering the exposure to TV, Newspapers and other affluent values, the upper income groups of the three professional categories share similar opportunities ; so also is the case of the middle income groups. In low income groups, the children are less exposed to these media. The exposure outside home however remain similar. The care taken towards the children by parents of different professional categories towards physical and mental growth, however, varies. Because of the smallness of sample in the upper income group of T-T category, it becomes difficult to ascertain the exact achievement, however, a feeble trend is seen to have inclined towards the positive achievement. So also in case of T-NT category of the upper income group. The children of NT-NT category of similar income group, however, has shown a positive achievement and there is no sign of negative achievement in this category.

Among the middle income group of the T-T category, a higher percentage of positive achievement of the children is seen. Similar is the case of T-NT category ; however, it is reverse in case of NT-NT category. In case of low income group of T-T and T-NT category there is higher percentage of positive achievement of the children, while in the NT-NT category they are equally distributed in both the positive and negative achievement.

Findings

A close look at the findings reveals that the educational achievement of the children of TT group. irrespective of income group, shows a higher percentage of positive achievement whereas the general trend of the NT-NT group in comparison to the TT group shows less in its frequency for positive achievement, though it follows the similar trend like that of the T-T category. In the NT-NT category, however, the general trend is towards the negative achievement with an exception for its higher income group. The care taken by the TT category towards their children is better than the NT-NT and T-NT. The care taken for the children by the parents of T-NT category is better than that of the parents of NT-NT. This shows that the educational achievement of the children of T-T category is more compared to T-NT and NT-NT. The factors responsible for the achievement of the children in education might be due to the socialization process in the family. The children of TT are guided better than the children of T-NT and NT-NT, while parents of NT-NT have not given that much of attention as the parents of T-NT do. The upper income group of NT-NT keep tutors for their children which might have pushed them to positive achievement. The finding, however, may show some other trend if a bigger sample is taken up for analysis.

In respect of the nature of job and income of the parents, the common and basic problem marked in our investigation is an increasing tendency of

forcing their children to memorise textual material for securing higher percentage of marks in examination. And mostly irrespective of any category of parents the indicator of school progress is the 'progress report' of children in school. In such a situation the students have no scope for creative thinking. The desirable aim for positive school progress of the children should have been to develop a good human relationship. The family interaction to orient their children should be such that the children must relate their learning inputs to the real life situation in a meaningful way. The teachers, in a sense, only help the children indicating them to choose the path at cross roads. If home situation for the student is pleasurable and self-reinforcing, the school progress not only will be evident from the performance in examinations, but also will indicate an enhancement in the harmonious life style of the student.

The limitation of the study is that the school environments for all the three schools have been considered as undifferentiated. It is a fact that the factors that affect learning within one particular environment may not be relevant to another. However, the parental economic strength has its own influence on the schooling of the pupils. Although school progress of the children can neither be evaluated in isolation nor can it be done in relation to a limited number of factors, the contribution of economy can hardly be ignored because the nature of job of the parents has an enormous effect on the educational socialization of their children.

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Female Literacy in Varanasi

Illiteracy is the major problem in Varanasi and women constitute the largest segment of the illiterates. Today, in India, about 75% of the approximately 500 million adult illiterates are women. Varanasi district had 3,701,006 persons according to the 1981 census with a break-up of males and females as 1,943,474 and 1,757,532 respectively. The sex ratio (number of females per 1,000 males) is 904, which is quite higher than the State average of 885. Literacy in the Varanasi district as per 1981 census is 31.85 percent : 45.95 per cent among males and 16.25 per cent among females. It is only 26.52 per cent in the rural areas and 46.34 per cent in the urban areas. Table 1 presents important statistics related to Varanasi district.

TABLE 1

Important statistics related to Varanasi District
(1981 Census)

Description	Male/Female	Number
Population	Persons	3,701,006
	Males	1,943,474
	Females	1,757,532
Rural	Persons	2,706,183
	Males	1,404,375
	Females	1,301,826
Urban	Persons	994,823
	Males	539,117
	Females	455,706
Literacy Rate	Persons	31.85
(Percentage)	Males	45,95
	Females	16.25

A comparison of the percentage literacy data of 1961, 1971 and 1981 Census indicates that in India, U.P. and Varanasi district, total literacy percentage has been increasing between 1961 and 1981. But in comparison to males, only half of the females are literate (1981 Census) although this gap was larger in 1961 and 1971. Table 2 presents the literacy rates of India, U.P. and Varanasi District.

TABLE 2

Literacy Rates of India, U.P. and Varanasi District (Percentage)

	Year	Persons	Males	Females
India	1981	36.17	46.74	24.88
	1971	29.45	39.45	18.7
	1961	23.6	36.8	9.6
U.P.	1981	27.16	38.76	14.04
	1971	21.7	31.5	10.64
	1961	17.7	27.3	7.00
Varanasi District	1981	31.85	45.95	16.25
	1971	27.3	40.00	13.3
	1961	23.6	36.8	9.6

Source : 1961, 1971 and 1981 Census.

Table 2 also shows that in Varanasi district. the gap between male and female literacy is almost 4 times in 1961, in 1971 it is 3 times and in 1981 the gap was reduced further and it is less than 3 times. Thus, although the disparity between male and female literacy has been reduced between 1961 and 1981, still a large gap exists between the literacy of the males and that of the females.

Social Disparities

Among the general population, Varanasi tehsil has the highest total literate population (35.86%) while Gyanpur has the lowest (23.74%). 31.85 per cent of the total population of the district are literate in which contribution of rural areas is 26.52 per cent and the urban areas is 46.34 per cent. Varanasi tehsil also leads in urban literacy while the tehsil Chandauli leads in rural literacy (29.91 %). Female literacy rate (10.05%) in rural areas is very low in comparison to female urban literacy rate (33.9%).

Chandauli tehsil has the highest scheduled caste literacy (19.33%). Chandauli also leads in urban and rural literacy. Female literacy rate in rural area

is quite low (1.06) than in urban area (4.65%). Varanasi tehsil has the highest literate females belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The gap between male and female literacy is more prominent among the Scheduled Caste than in general category. Table 3 gives the literacy of Scheduled Caste and general population in different tehsils of Varanasi district in 1981.

TABLE 3

Literacy of Scheduled Castes and General Population in different
Tehsils of Varanasi District (1981 Census)

Name of Tehsil	Total	Scheduled Caste %ge of SC literates to the total population			General Population % age of literates to the population		
		P	M	F	P	M	F
Gyanpur	Total	10.03	9.67	0.35	23.74	38.83	7.35
	Rural	9.74	9.48	0.30	22.17	37.66	5.45
	Urban	13.8	12.72	1.09	36.82	48.46	23.63
Varanasi	Total	18.5	16.22	2.35	35.86	49.41	20.64
	Rural	15.24	13.98	1.31	27.82	43.77	10.64
	Urban	27.7	22.5	5.27	46.67	56.67	34.80
Chandauli	Total	19.33	17.06	2.27	32.38	47.31	16.14
	Rural	17.89	16.15	1.83	29.91	44.91	13.78
	Urban	35.23	27.73	7.49	52.31	56.26	56 26
Chakia	Total	10.06	9.15	0.90	23.80	35.78	10.72
	Rural	9.88	9.04	0.83	22.89	34.86	9.83
	Urban	19.89	15.11	4.78	46.67	58.25	33.46
All Tehsils	Total	14.48	13.02	1.46	31.85	45.95	16.25
	Rural	13.21	12.16	1.06	26.52	41.79	10.05
	Urban	29.15	19.51	4.65	46.34	56.80	33.96

Table 4 presents the block-wise literacy rate of Varanasi District (1981 Census). Block-wise total literacy rate for urban area is 46.34% while for rural area it is 26.52%. In urban blocks 56.80% males are literate and in rurel blocks 41.79 per cent. Females of rural blocks are farless literate (10.05%) in comparison to urban blocks (33.96%).

Within the blocks, Baragaon has highest literate males (48.92%) while Naugarh block is the lowest (24.51%) in male literacy. As far as females are concerned, Barnani block has the highest literacy (17.50%) while Suriyawa block has the lowest female literacy (3.59%). Overall literacy rate shows that Barhani block has the highest literacy (31.80%) while Naugarh has the lowest (15%).

TABLE 4

Blockwise literacy rate in Varanasi District

Sl. No.	Name of Block	Male	Female	Total
1.	Chakia	37.61	11.63	25.18
2.	Shahabganj	28.68	10.87	25.34
3.	Naugarh	24.51	4.66	15.00
4.	Chandauli	43.73	14.22	29.68
5.	Barhani	45.24	17.50	31.81
6.	Sakaldiha	46.52	12.75	30.29
7.	Dhanapur	46.18	15.82	30.95
8.	Chahniya	46.57	14.37	30.74
9.	Niyamtabad	41.03	9.52	26.25
10.	Gyanpur	35.01	5.91	21.08
11.	Deegh	39.63	5.45	23.00
12.	Aurai	40.43	6.23	24.32
13.	Bhadohi	37.55	5.76	22.22
14.	Sariyawa	35.01	3.59	19.65
15.	Chiraigaon	38.57	9.12	24.52
16.	Harahua	43.57	9.61	27.60
17.	Pindra	47.62	11.57	29.77
18.	Baragaon	48.92	12.09	31.15
19.	Sewapuri	43.79	11.75	28.20
20	Kashi Vidyapith	41.86	8.47	26.46
21.	Araji Lines	42.85	8.45	27.03
22.	Cholapur	43.40	4.93	28.13
	Average	12.17	1.09	7.06
	Total Rural	41.79	10.05	26.52
	Total Urban	56.80	33.96	46.34
	Grand Total	46.00	16.25	31.85

Conclusion

It is noticed that in Varanasi, literacy rate for females of general as well as Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes population is not at par with the males of both the categories. Among the females, the literacy of scheduled caste/scheduled tribes population is even further behind the general population. Rural females lag behind in literacy than the urban females.

Effort should be made to increase the educational level of women. According to Gandhiji "Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education".

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Achievement Motivation—
An Essential Factor for
Agricultural Development

Introduction

India lives in villages and it can not develop unless villages develop. The aim should be on development of individuals, who lives in these hinterlands and practice farming at a subsistence level. Agricultural development of a nation starts with the development of an individual farmer. For agricultural development to occur, the knowledge skills of farmers must be enhanced. This calls far intensive efforts by both Government and development officicials. Training of farmers could be one way to accomplish this. The

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Government of India and State Governments have been organising regular training programmes, through Farmers Training Centres, Krishi, Vigyan Kendras and Rural Development Training Centres etc. In addition to providing up-to-date knowledge and skills to farmers through training, we should recognise that unless we take appropriate steps to create the necessary social conditions so as to faster among farmers a desire far a higher standard of living, they will not have the necessary incentive and urge for working harder, taking greater risks, and far trying out new technologies with a view to produce more.

In fact peasant motivation has been recognised as a more serious barrier for modernization than the availability of technical and economical opportunities. Since the resources and technology needed to narrow the productivity gap between the leading farmers and other farmers at the lower ladder are presumably available and known, the achievement motivation has been frequently viewed as a major problem.

Concept and empirical evidences

Among the various factors which are responsible for retarding agriculture development—natural, socio-economic and technological cultural factors, etc., psychological factors are considered as important ones. However, motives and values also play a very important role in determining agricultural productivity. Achievement motivation (n-ach) is one such factor, which characterise an individual as progressive or development oriented, and which has got direct bearing on the individual as well as society as a whole.

The concept "achievement motivation" (n-ach) has not been clearly defined. Few authors have viewed n-ach in different ways. Rogers and Sevenning (1969) defined achievement motivation as a spontaneously expressed desire to do something well, for his/her own sake, rather than to gain power or love or recognition. Murray (1938) conceived achievement motivation as a desire or tendency to do things as rapidly as possible. He specified the desire to accomplish something difficult to master, manipulate or organise physical objects, human beings or ideas, to opercome obstacles and attain a high standard to excell one's self, to rival and surpass others etc. Atkinson (1958), conceived achievement motivation as latent disposition, to strive for a particular goal, state or aim. McClelland (1961) said that achievement motivation (synonymously n-achievement) is the individual's need or desire to perform or do better not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment.

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A clear examination of the above definitions indicates that, achievement motivation is an aspiration within the individual to achieve his self-excellence. To achieve self excellence, what one is required to have is a high degree of devotion, sincerity and hard work. However, apart from individuals, the general economic conditions play a significant role in achieving self excellence, As Albert Einstein had said, "you can't pursue science on an empty stomach". Therefore, persons with high achievement motivation will always look for new ideas or improvements in life in order to achieve some outstanding accomplishments. In other words, presence of achievement motivation among farmers will lead to higher aspirations, larger farm size and more productivity.

Thus, achievement motivation, serves as a psychological factor in categorising modernization process. On the contrary, absence of achievement motivation in an individual is a sign for not being psychologically motivated for any sort of improvement. He is less likely to be change prone. He will never go for a process of comparison between his present situation and possible improvement in future. If we assume that economic development is produced partially by a physical charactertstic, then, it is perhaps, due to environment. However, if the n-ach (Achievement motivation) is simply a psychological response to certain economic or social conditions, then the economists could continue to emphasise environment rather than physical events. Thus, psychological analysis requires a study of how certain factors produce changes such as n-ach in the minds of the people.

Insights

The policy makers should not think of development as an isolated phenomenon. Development cannot be achieved over night. Development by nature is a dynamic and complex process which will take its own course of time. To achieve progress in any sector, persons involved in the programme are more important rather than the materials/equipment supply. As envisaged in the new programme called Special Food Grain Production Programme (SFPP), more dumping of huge quantity of pesticides, improved seeds and fertilizers will not help us to augment the required food grains production. Mosher (1966) cites that the essential requirements for agricultural development include market for the farm produce, constant changing technology, local availability of supply and services, production incentives (price) and transportation. Further, he regarded education, as an accelerator for agricultural development. Even though educating the farmers in n-ach is not included here, if a nation wants rapid development in agriculture then motivating farmers towards modern farming systems **becomes inevitable.**

Individuals with high n-ach do not over estimate their chances in risky situations and thereby set moderate risks for their goal achievement. They will be constantly seeking new solutions to old problems and thereby achieving personal achievement satisfaction. Achievement of satisfaction results from having initiated the action that is successful and also brings individual freedom and responsibility for determining actions.

A significant relationship exists between n-ach level and fulltime entrepreneural activity in some individuals. Eventhough n-ach does not affect the the type of economic activity directly, it does make a difference in the level at which the activity is accomplished.

The n-ach level of a society is a factor that is significantly related to enterpreneural economic activity in a culture. Men with high achievement motives will find a way to economic achievement despite wide variations in opportunity and social structure. McClelland states that achievement motivation is the most important social value in successful entereprenuership and in national economic growth.

Achievement motivation to perform any job better is indicated by one or more of the following :

1. Out performing someone else or competition with others.
2. Meeting or surpassing some self-imposed standard of excellence.
3. Doing something unique
4. Being involved over a long time in doing something well, where there is an indication of great involvement over time in the achievement goal.

The need to achieve or to give it a less esotoric title, the urge to improve ought to be viewed simply as one variable among many or as an index reflecting various habits or thoughts and actions which are important for economic development.

(McClelland and Winter, 1971).

So many countries want to develop rapidly in the present time. In this context, the n-ach is more important. If n-ach is necessary for rapid development, then they need to know, how to have more of it. To achieve economic development, the pre-requisite would be to first change people's attitude. Perhaps, keeping this in view, different authors have studied achievement motivation in different countries in the context of business, development personnel and entrepreneurs. However, McClelland (1961) studied exhaustively n-ach in business. But, none of his studies has focussed on farmers. Due to lack of comprehensive studies to empirically verify the impact of achievement motivation on farm production, Muralidhar

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Prasad (1983) has conducted a study on Achievement Motivation in three rice growing southern States of India : Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. He rightly pointed out that the yield of paddy obtained by farmers in all the three states was significantly related to achievement motivation of farmer. However, this could be due to subsistence type of farming and irrigation potential. Sumathi (1987) has studied the achievement motivation and management orientation of small Coffee growers in Chikkamagalore district of Karnataka. She reported that small coffee growers vary in their achievement motivation level and management orientation. Krishnamurthy (1971) has investigated the impact af subsidy provided to organise result demonstrations in Bangalore district of Karnataka He reported that non subsidised demonstration was twice effective than subsidised demodstrations. Thus, the author comes to an interesting conclusion that (intrinsic motivation) non-subsidised demonstrations were better than (extrinsic motivation) subsidised demonstrations to convince the farmers about new practices. In this perspective, use of improved seeds, pesticides and fertilizers perhaps depends on not only on their availability, but also depends on n-ach of farmers. Therefore an urge should come within the farmers to use improved technology (Krishnamurthy, 1971 : Horner, 1974).

Increasing n-ach among farmers

Early childhood is said to be the critical period for acquisition of motives. Many of the prevailing psychological theories also argue against the possibility of developing n-ach in adults. But, the proposition is that all motives are learned. Then even biological discomforts are not "urges", they are linked with cues that signify the presence or absence of n-ach.

Changing child-rearing practices in an entire culture is an almost impossible task. But when child rearing practices were almost changed accidentally, major social events have had exhaustive effects on the family and consequently, on n-ach level. The very factor is that the doctorinal movement must stress individual abhievement rather than passive dependency towards authoritarian forces which an individual cannot control.

Farmers must be encouraged to participate in village level, mandal level as well as taluka level competitions to help them to develop an urge to achieve something high. Attractive rewards must be given immediately, and they should be motivated. Proper publicity should be given to such excelling farmers using mass media sources.

Another way of increasing n-ach is by imparting training to the farming community. Farmers are the back bones of the development programmes, therefore regular need based training for them on technology utilization is inevitable. Lyton and Parreek (1967) say that training is primarily concerned with preparing the participants (farmers) for certain lines of action,

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which are delineated by technology and by the institution/organization in which he works. Thus, training can be viewed as a kind of learning activity where a selected group of individuals undergoas learning experience to internalise skills, resulting in the modification of behaviour towards specific task performance.

Conclusion

India cannot boost its production without development of farming. Development in general, and that of agriculture in particular, depends on the individual n-ach, aspirations motives and production incentives provided to their products. Therefore, there is need to impart training to the farming community to increase their achievement motivation level.

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Attitude of Farmers towards Vegetable Production as a Profession

Vegetables constitute a rich source of vitamins, minerals and other nutrients, which help to maintain sound health and develop resistance against diseases (Singh, 1989). More vegetables mean less requirement of cereals and pulses in our diet. But unfortunately the consumption of vegetables in our country is 142 grams per day per adult against the optimum requirement of 284 grams per day per adult (Gupta, 1987).

Often farmers lament that cereal crops like wheat, sugarcane and maize are not remunerative and returns from farming these crops take comparatively time. The farmers growing vegetables like onions, peas, and tomatoes are likely to earn more money and that type of farming is also a better enterprise. Determining attitude is imporant in as much as it provides a basis for planning of further strategies of change and also to effect desirable changes in our already existing programmes for change. To make an assessment as to how do the farmers think and feel about vegetable growing on a large scale or for the commercial purpose is quite necessary. Studies on these aspects are lacking. Keeping this in view, an attempt was made to determine the attitudinal status of the farmers towards vegetable production as a profession with the following specific objectives.

1. To determine the attitude of the farmers towards vegetable production as a profession.

2. To determine the relationship between selected socio-personal traits of the farmers and their attitudes towards vegetable production profession.

3. To analyse the major constraints in vegetable production.

Research Methodology

The study was confined in Ghaziabad district of Uttar Pradesh during 1989. A multi-stage random sampling technique was adopted for the study. Out of the 17 Community Development Blocks in the district, 2 Blocks namely, Hapur and Pilakhawa were selected as these villages had a sizable number of vegetable growers. Four villages from each Block were selected at random and farmers having 75 per cent of total income from raising one or more vegetables were taken as vegetable growers and a matching sample of farmers who were not growing vegetables for commercial purpose were considered as non-vegetable growers. Ten vegetable growers and 10 non-vegetable growers from each of the villages were also chosen by using the random sample technique. Thus, 80 vegetable growers and 80 non-vegetable growers make the 160 respondents from 8 villages for the study. The data were collected through interviews with the help of pretested structured schedule, especially designed for the study.

The socio-personal traits of the farmers were taken as independent variables and standard scoring pattern for their measurement based on the socio-economic status scale developed by Trivedi, (1963) was used.

Attitude of farmers towards vegetable production as a profession was taken as Dependent Variable. For measuring it, an attitude scale was constructed. A total number of 60 statements having positive and negative directions regarding the different, aspects of vegetable production profession, namely, economic, social, cultural and management were prepared through discussion with the concerned scientists, literature and field extension workers. The statements were administered to 40 Judges comprising research scientists and extension specialists of vegetable Department of Haryana Agricultural University, Hissar. They were requested for rating the statements on a 5-point continuum, viz., strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree with a weightage of 4,3,2,1 and 0 respectively for positive statements and 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively for negative statements. These statements were selected on the basis of 't' value of more than 1.60 of each statement. At the final stage, only 30 statements representing both favourable and unfavourable attitudes were retained in the scale. The five categories of responses for positive and negative statements were collapsed into two cotegories, namely, Agree with the score 1 and Disagree with the score 0 by converting 4, 3 as 1 and 2,

1, 0 as 0 as suggested by Edward (1957). Finally, 1 and 0 responses weights for 'Agree' and 'Disagree' respectively were given in the scale.

Findiags and Discussion

The data in Table-1 indicate that 88.75 per cent of vegetable growers had a favourable attitude towards vegetable production as a profession, while only 11.25 per cent of respondents reflected an unfavourable attitude. In case of non-vegetable growers a situation contrary to this existed. About 45.00 per cent of the respondents had a favourable attitude whereas 55.0 per cent farmers had an unfavourable attitude.

TABLE 1

Distribution of farmers on the basis of their attitude towards vegetable production as a profession

Categories of attitude	Vegetable growers		Non-vegetable growers	
	No.	%	No.	%
Favourable (Above 45 scores)	71	88.75	36	45.00
Unfavourable (Upto 45 scores)	9	11.25	44	55.00
Total	80	100.00	80	100.00

The reason reported by thevegetable growers for having a favourable attitude was that they were generating or earning higher income through vegetable production on a commercial basis. On the contrary, it was observed that some of the well-to-do farmers who had good potential and resources for vegetable growing did not like to raise vegetable because of the feeling that this may not get social approval. Vegetable production was still considered a low cast occupation.

The coefficient of correlations presented in Table-2 establish that education of farmers, extension contacts, farm experience and experience in vegetable production were positively and significantly correlated with the attitude of farmers towards vegetable production as a profession in both the types of farmers. Farm size and income of vegetable growers were also found to be positively correlated with their attitude. It indicates that with the increase of scores on these variables the attitudes of farmers towards vegetable becomes more favourable. No correlation of significance was observed between socio-economic status and social participation and attitude of the farmers of the two categories. Age of the respondents was found to have negative and significant correlation with attitude in case of both the categories of farmers. In case of vegetable growers, caste also

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had negative and significant correlation with attitude. It was observed that the farmers belonging to a higher caste had nautral or unfavourable attitude as against those belonging to a lower caste. In case of non-vegetable growers, caste, farm size, income, socio-economic status and social participation had no correlation of significant level with the attitude of farmers.

TABLE 2

Correlation between Farmer's attitude towards vegetable production as a profession with their socio-personal traits

| Socio-personal traits | Correlation coefficient of with attitude of | |
	Vegetable growers	Non-Vegetable growers
1. Age	—0.383*	—0.295*
2. Education	0.496*	0.352*
3. Caste	—0.283*	0.018
4. Socio-economic status	0.031	0.003
5. Social participation	0.131	0.158
6. Extension contact	0.290*	0.277*
7. Farm experience	0.337*	0.310*
8. Experience in vegetable production	0.449*	0.296*
9. Farm size	0.362*	0.100
10. Income	0.509	0.139

*Significant at 0.05 per cent of level of probability.

Constraints in Vegetable Production

Constraints expressed by the respondents regarding vegetable production as a profession are contained in Table-3. It was observed that the highest percentage of the respondents of both the categories reported that the vegetable crops were highly susceptible to climate variations like frost followed by high susceptibility to insect-posts and diseases. A large number of farmers also told that these crops required more and more labour and capital. As high as 25.0 per cent of non-vegetable growers feel the vegetables get low market price in the crop season. A sizable number (43.75%) of the non-vegetable growers reported about the problems of transportation of vegetables to distantly located markets and non-availability of markets locally (23.75%) More than three-fourth of the non-vegetable growers pointed out that they did not possess sufficient scientific knowledge of vegetable production.

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TABLE 3

Constraints expressed by Farmers regarding vegetable production as a profession

| Constraints | Constraints reported by | | | |
| | Vegetable growers | | Non-Veegtable growers | |
	N=80	Per cent	N=80	Per cent
1. Transportation and marketing	19	23.75	35	43.75
2. Storage and processing	25	31.25	44	55.00
3. Low-market price	44	55.00	68	85.00
4. Capital intensive enterprise	49	61.25	59	73.75
5. Labour intensive enterprise	46	57.5	63	78.75
6. Highly susceptible to insect-pest and disease	52	65.00	71	88.75
7. Highly susceptible to climatic variation-Frost	60	75.00	75	93.75
8. Lack of Scientific knowledge regarding improved technology	30	37.50	63	78.75

Conclusion

On the basis of this study it can be concluded that vegetable growers had a more favourable attitude towards vegetable production as a profession as against the non-vegetable growers. It could be due to the reason that vegetable growers earned higher income from vegetable production and found that vegetable cultivation was highly profitable in contrast to cereal crops. Education of farmers, extension contacts, farm experience and experience of vegetable production had positive and significant correlation with the attitude of farmers towards vegetable production. The age of respondents had negative correlation with attitude. Social participation and social contact were not found significantly correlated with the attitude of farmers. High susceptibility to climate variations, insect-pests, diseases, labour-cum-capital intensive enterprise and low-market price are the main problems reported by the farmers.

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B. P. Sinha

Women's involvement in agriculture and their cognitive access to modern farm technology

The prosperity and growth of a nation depend on the status and development of its women as they not only constitute nearly half of its population, but also influence the growth of the remaining half. The crucial role of women in agriculture, allied occupations and household activities have, however, been underestimated and undervalued.

Progress implies change in pre-determined directions. In order to make sure that women accept the change and contribute fully to development in

TABLE 1

Farm operation undertaken by men and women in Wheat, Paddy, Cotton and Bajra cultivation in terms of man days

Sr. No. 1	Operations 2	Wheat (N=100)		Paddy (N=50)		Cotton (N=50)		Bajra (N=50)	
		Men 3	Women 4	Men 5	Women 6	Men 7	Women 8	Men 9	Women 10
1.	**Male Dominated Operations**								
(a)	Pesticide dusting	36.81 (100.00)	—	20.74 (100.00)	—	88.39 (100.00)	—	10.00 (100.00)	—
(b)	Spade work during field irrigation	199.30 (100.00)	—	349.62 (100.00)	—	94.65 (100.00)	—	50.48 (100.00)	—
(c)	Field Preparation	316.75 (100.00)	—	80.76 (100.00)	—	166.26 (100.00)	—	114.00 (100.00)	—
(d)	Nursery raising/sowing	131.25 (95.99)	5.5 (4.02)	25.00 (100.00)	—	66.75 (100.00)	—	58.50 (100.00)	—
(e)	Manure and Fertilizer application	135.25 (100.00)	—	65.88 (100.00)	—	49.57 (100.00)	—	30.01 (100.00)	—
(f)	Uprooting of seedling	—	—	100.00 (100.00)	—	—	—	—	—
(g)	Marketing of grains	93.88 (100.00)	—	32.00 (100.00)	—	44.75 (100.00)	—	33.51 (100.00)	—
2.	**Female Dominated Operations**								
(a)	Weeding by 'Kasola'	57.00 (13.67)	360.00 (86.33)	—	—	376.00 (48.89)	393.00 (51.11)	46.00 (18.70)	200.00 (81.30)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	(b) Weeding by 'Khurpi'	35.00 (11.22)	277.00 (88.78)	21.00 (9.59)	198.00 (90.41)	—	—	—	—
	(c) Carrying load on head	22.50 (13.98)	138.50 (86.02)	8.00 (8.00)	91.00 (91.92)	10.00 (13.33)	65.00 (86.87)	20.00 (20.00)	80.00 (80.00)
	(d) Transplanting	—	—	—	300.00 (100.00)	—	—	—	—
	(e) Winnowing	—	—	—	—	—	—	39.00 (31.20)	86.00 (68.80)
	(f) Keeping part of grains for consumption	—	72.00 (100.00)	—	19.25 (100.00)	—	—	—	27.25 (100.00)
3.	Jointly Operated Operations								
	(a) Harvesting	280.00 (35.04)	519.00 (64.96)	126.00 (31.27)	277.00 (68.73)	28.00 (4.24)	632.00 (95.76)	171.00 (35.04)	317.00 (64.96)
	(b) Threshing	287.63 (71.23)	100.00 (28.77)	124.00 (31.79)	266.00 (68.21)	67.00 (16.83)	331.00 (83.17)	69.88 (54.64)	58.00 (45.36)
	Total	1418.62	1472.05	953.00	1151.25	991.36	1421.00	642.38	768.55
	Average	14.19	14.72	19.18	23.02	19.83	28.42	12.42	15.37

Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage of the total man days deployed in the operation by men and women.

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any field, that is in home, in the work place or in society, it is essential first to develop their potentiality by improving their knowledge, attitude and skills with as much regard for long-range consequences as for short term gains.

There is no denying the fact that women have suffered utter neglect and deprivation over centuries. Women toil hard in performing labour intensive jobs. Their labour contribution in cultivation of crops is significantly higher than that of the men folk, yet they have little access to the knowledge of modern farm technology. The present investigation was therefore designed to study the extent of exposure of modern crop technology to farm women.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Haryana State. Haryana State has been divided into three zones i.e., hot arid, hot-semi arid and hot-humid zone on the basis of agro climatic conditions. Two districts namely Karnal and Hissar from the two regions i.e., hot-humid and hot-semi arid respectively of the State were purposively selected for this study. Two villages from each district were selected randomly for collection of data. Twentyfive men and women from each of the four selected villages were finally selected randomly for collecting data for the present investigation. The data were collected with the help of a structured interview schedule.

The data were collected about the farm operations undertaken by men and women in cultivation of four major crops to make an estimate of their relative contribution in farming. The data so collected are reported in Table-1.

Findings and Discussions

The data reported in Table-1 indicate that in case of wheat, paddy, cotton and bajra cultivation, there are seven operations namely, pesticide dusting, spade work during field irrigation, ploughing, sowing, uprooting of seedlings, manure and fertilizer application and marketing of grains, which were performed exclusively by men. There are two operations namely, transplanting and keeping part of grains for consumption which were performed exclusively by women. The remaining six operations were performed by both men and women. The operations like carrying head load (over 80%), weeding by 'Kasola and 'Khurpi' (over 80%) in wheat, weeding by Khurpi' (over 90%) in paddy, weeding by 'Kasola' in bajra (81.30%) and in cotton (51.11%) crops were predominantly performed by women. Even in case of harvesting, about 70 per cent work load in paddy. 65 per cent in wheat and bajra crops and more than 90 per cent in case of cotton crop

was taken up by women. On an average, women devoted 14.72, 23.02, 28.42 and 15.37 man days against 14.19, 19.18, 19.83 and 12.85 man days devoted by men in cultivation of one acre of wheat, paddy, cotton and bajra crops. The data further reveal that major pre-occupation of women labour in wheat, paddy, cotton and bajra cultivation was in weeding and harvesting. They spent more than half of their man days only in these operations which they carried of either with the help of 'Khurpi' 'Kasola' or sickle. These appear to be the exclusive domain of women closely followed by 'on head carrying' of the harvested crop.

TABLE 2

Extent of exposure of modern crop technology to farm women

Sr. No.	Crop	Activities performed by women	Total knowledge
1.	WHEAT		
	High SES	4.16 (69.33)	10.00 (71.43)
	Medium SES	4.00 (66.67)	9.41 (67.21)
	Low SES	4.23 (70.50)	10.09 (72.07)
	Total	4.15 (69.17)	9.88 (70.57)
2.	PADDY		
	High SES	8.20 (91.11)	10.90 (64.12)
	Medium SES	7.86 (87.33)	8.21 (48.29)
	Low SES	7.54 (83.78)	9.04 (53.18)
	Total	7.76 (86.22)	9.56 (56.23)
3.	COTTON		
	High SES	4.25 (60.71)	8.25 (55.00)
	Medium SES	3.40 (48.57)	7.80 (52.00)
	Low SES	4.44 (63.43)	9.00 (60.00)
	Total	4.10 (58.57)	8.52 (56.80)
4.	BAJRA		
	High SES	3.75 (53.57)	9.00 (56.25)
	Medium SES	4.07 (58.14)	9.60 (60.00)
	Low SES	4.44 (63.43)	10.04 (62.75)
	Total	4.22 (60.28)	9.74 (60.94)

SES (Socio-economic status)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages of knowledge held out of the maximum obtainable knowledge score.

Exposure of modern crop technology

In order to test the knowledge of modern cultivation technology held by farm women, a knowledge test was developed for cultivation of four major crops. The scales contained 14 test items for wheat, 17 test items for paddy, 15 test items for cotton and 16 test items for bajra cultivation. Number of items also indicate the maximum obtainable knowledge score for cultivation of a particular crop. The women respondents on 'an average were found to hold about 70 per cent knowledge in case of wheat cultivation, 56 per cent in case of paddy and cotton cultivation and about 61 per cent in case of bajra cultivation. The inter socio-economic status variation in holding this knowledge was not found to be very substantial except in case of paddy in which knowledge gap in high and medium socio-economic status group respondents were found to be relatively substantial. The data clearly indicate that the farm women were so much involved in farming, but they do not hold adequate knowledge of modern crop cultivation technology. Whatever they have learnt about modern technology is by way of their involvement in farming. There had been no deliberate attempt made to give them education about the modern technology.

However, their knowledge of technology related to the tasks they perform was found to be quite high only in case of paddy cultivation. In case of other crops it was found to be at the medium level. The inter socio-economic strata variation was also not found to be substantial. In this case, the operation which women performed, in fact, do not involve much sophisticated technology except chemical weed control, and yet their knowledge level being so low speaks of the magnitude of their ignorance of modern cultivation technology. Thus, there is an obvious need to provide planned exposure of modern farm technology to the women who are so heavily involved in cultivation of crops to set the pace of agricultural development in the area.

The findings reported above brings to light that women were not found to have knowledge of modern technology of crop cultivation. This was because there was no deliberate attempt made to give them education about modern technology. Even if some training programmes were organised, it was only the privilege of men to take part in such programmes. Involvement of women in farm training programmes have to be made to make agriculture moving.

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Role of Kanikkar Housewife in Decision Making with respect to Home Making Activities

Introduction

Decision making is at the root of all human activities. Every individual is confronted with the problems of decision making in all walks of life. Every action of an individual is the result of conscious or unconscious decisions arrived at by him/her.

Decision making is a continuous mental process of reasoning consisting of thinking and doing. The best decision making system is one that works well for the family. In rural families, the decision making team is usually the husband, wife and son who are old enough to express their ideas and opinions about the home affairs.

Methodology

The present study was undertaken during 1989 by the Tribal Area Research Centre of the Kerala Agricultural University among 100 Kanikkar families of different settlements in the Amboori area of Trivandrum District with the following objectives.

1. To find out the role of Kanikkar housewives in decision making with respect to home making activities.

2. To find out whether women take major decisions than men with respect to household activities.

The information was collected with the help of a schedule by face to face interview method. Specifically housewives were interviewed to get the desired information. The main aspects discussed with the housewives were :

(a) Purchase of different household items

(b) Purchase of dairy animals

(c) Marketing of livestock products

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(d)   Marketing of agricultural products

(e)   Education of family members

(f)   Details of taking loans and repayment of loans

Results and Discussion

Out of the 100 families studied, in 43 per cent of families major decisions were taken by the parents jointly, while in 20 per cent of families the father was the major decision maker and the mother was found to be the major decision maker in 12 per cent of the families.

Table-1 shows the role of family members in the decision making process.

TABLE 1

Role of family members in decision making process

Decision taken by	Number of families
Father	20
Mother	12
Father and Mother	43
Son	3
Father and Son	10
Mother and Son	5
Daughter	2
Others	5

In Table-2, the details regarding decision making in different aspects of family living is more specifically noted.

From Table-2, it has been observed that both the parents have equal role in taking the decisions. Decisions related to loan, waged labour, marketing of agricultural products etc. were taken by the father, while the mother took decisions on livestock products exchange, purchase of household items, food items etc. In short, one can observe that parents together take all decisions related to home making activities and the housewife has got an important role in taking family decisions among the Kanikkar families.

Conclusion

It has been noted that both the parents have equal role in decision making process. While the father took decisions on matters such as taking of loan and marketing of products, the mother took decisions on purchase of household items and food items. Thus housewife has an important role in decision making process among the Kanikkar families.

TABLE 2

Details regarding decision making in different aspects

Particulars	Father	Mother	Father & Mother	Son	Daughter	Mother & Son	Father & Son	Others
1. Purchase of								
(a) Dairy animals	21	7	44	10	2	5	4	7
(b) Clothes	16	24	40	2	3	6	5	4
(c) Food items	15	40	28	5	3	4	3	2
(d) Ornaments	23	21	45	1	4	3	2	1
(e) Household items	21	33	32	3	1	1	7	2
2. Marketing of								
(a) Agricultural products	27	22	35	4	3	4	5	—
(b) Livestock products	13	24	39	2	1	8	12	—
3.								
(a) Maintenance of house	20	7	46	3	2	10	12	—
(b) Education of children	21	27	43	2	3	2	1	—
(c) Waged labour	29	22	41	2	—	—	6	—
(d) Ceremonies and Celebrations	22	20	30	8	1	7	10	—
(e) Recreation	15	10	35	10	7	6	12	5
(f) Loan	37	19	39	3	1	—	1	—

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Knowledge of Nutrition of Adult Education Instructors

"A sound mind in a sound body" is a well known adage. A sound body is an impossibility without proper food and nourishment. The right kind of food has an important role to play in promoting good health. Healthy men have good stamina and physique, are active mentally and physically, have good endurance, have a cheerful mien and are good natured.

A majority of the world's population live in poor countries in which food is not plentiful. Most of the people in these countries either do not have enough to eat or do not have the right kind of food. Food available for young children is particularly unsuitable.

Poor nutrition results in poor resistance to infection and greater incidence of diseases such as tuberculosis. Disease caused by faulty diet are very common among the poor. Some of them are Kwashiorkor, Marasmus, Nightblindness, Beri Beri and Pellegra.

Work performance is also affected by poor nutrition. It is also reported that poorly nourished people are more vulnerable to accidents. A balanced diet is essential to sustain good health. We take food not just to live, but to live healthy and active life.

Essential nutrients present in food are carbohydrates, proteins, fats and oils, vitamins and minerals and of course water, which help in proper functioning of the body. A complete and balanced food should contain elements which are essential to good nutrition—proteins to build muscles and tissues; carbohydrates and fats to supply energy; minerals, salts to develop healthy bones and blood; and vitamins for healthy life and growth of the body.

The emergence of nutrition as a science in its own right has enabled us to identify the nutrients needed for a sound state of health, the foods in which they are present, the approximate proportions in which they are needed and the consequences of a diet lacking in them.

The subject of nutrition is as old as man's search for food, but the science of nutrition is newer. We have today a wealth of scientific knowledge about food with fresh concepts and applications.

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The studies dealing with the knowledge of nutrition of adults are very few and there appears to be no studies relating to the knowledge of nutrition of adult education instructors.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are :

1. To know the level of knowledge of nutrition in adult education instructors.

2. To know the differences in the knowledge of instructors in relation to their age, sex, education, income, caste and marital status.

3. To help instructors to up-date their knowledge of nutrition.

4. To prepare suitable teaching-learning material to increase their knowledge.

5. To supply the teaching-learning material to increase their knowledge.

Selection and Description of the Tool

A questionnaire had been used as a tool for collecting the data for the present study. The first part of the questionnaire contains general information about adult education instructors. Its second part contains 56 questions broadly covering 8 areas of nutrition, viz., (1) food and its importance, (2) food groups, (3) diet for infants, (4) diet for pre-school children, (5) vitamins-importance, (6) vitamins deficiency diseases, (7) cooking methods and values, (8) nutritional status—infectious diseases.

Sample Population

The study has been conducted in Puttur Block of Chittoor Dirtrict in Andhra Pradesh. The sample consists of 134 adult education instructors. The percentage distribution of sample population is given in Table No. 1.

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution of Sample Population

S. No.	Variable	Size of Sample Population=134	
		Number	*Percentage*
1.	SEX		
	Male	65	48.50
	Female	69	51.49
2.	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
	10th class failed and below	61	45.52
	10th class passed and above	73	54.47
3.	INCOME		
	1,500 and below per annum	67	50.00
	Above 1,500 per annum	67	50.00

4.	AGE		
	23 years and below	68	50.74
	Above 23 years	66	49.25
5.	CASTE		
	Non-forward caste	88	65.67
	Forward caste	46	34.33
6.	MARITAL STATUS		
	Unmarried	85	63.43
	Married	49	36.53

It is clear from Table-1 that 134 instructors were selected as sample. Out of 134 instructors, 65 (48.50%) were male instructors and 69 (51.49%) were female instructors. It reveals that 54.47% of them have passed 10th class and above, and 45.52% of them belong to the group of 10th failed and below. The Table shows the equal percentage of both the groups, who had annual income of 1,500 and below, and above 1,500. The Table also shows the higher percentages of the respondents belong to the non-forward castes (65.67%) and unmarried (63.43%) and small percentage of forward castes (34.33%) and, married (36.53%.)

Collection of Data

The questionnaire was prepared in Telugu and administered to 134 adult education instructors when they were undergoing a training programme in the Puttur project. They were given adequate time to answer the question-naire. The questionnaire schedules were collected from them after checking all the items.

Scoring

The percentage of instructors who do not know the item was calculated as follows :

$$\text{Percentage of instructors who do not know the item} = \frac{\text{No. of instructors who do not know the item}}{\text{Total sample population}} \times 100$$

After calculating the percentage of instructors who did not know the item, all the 56 items were arranged in a rank order from maximum to minimum percentage, and thus, the rank order list was prepared to know whether there was any difference in the knowledge of nutrition of the two groups was tested for significance.

Main Findings

The items not known by more than 70 per cent of the instructors are rela-ting to the vitamins-importance, vitamins deficiency diseases, and nutritional

status-infectious diseases. The items not known by more than 50 per cent and less than 70 per cent of instructors are relating to food groups, cooking methods-values, and diet for infants.

Knowledge of nutrition in relation to sex, educational level, income, caste, and marital status of adult education instructors is shown in Table-2.

TABLE 2

Nutritional knowledge in relation to sex, educational level, income, age, caste, marital status

S. No.	Factor	N	Mean	S.D.	C.R.	Significance
1.	SEX					
	Male	65	30.34	7.51	4.8	**
	Female	69	36.49	7.01		
2.	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL					
	10th failed and below	61	34.62	7.44	0.31	N.S.
	10th passed and above	73	34.26	5.60		
3.	INCOME					
	1,500 and below per annum	67	34.16	7.48	0.88	N.S.
	Above 1,500 per annum	67	33.03	7.20		
4.	AGE					
	23 years and below	68	34.26	7.51	2.20	*
	Above 23 years	66	31.46	7.01		
5.	CASTE					
	Non-forward caste	88	32.41	8.0	2.23	*
	Forward caste	46	35.41	7.11		
6.	MARITAL STATUS					
	Unmarried	85	31.02	7.67	4.71	**
	Married	49	36.95	6.67		

*Significant at 0.05 level ;

**Significant at 0.01 level ;

N.S=Not significant

Table-2 indicates that there exists no difference in the knowledge of nutrition between the instructors of 10th class failed and below and 10th passed and above. It also shows that there was no significant difference in the knowledge of nutrition between the instructors having the annual income of Rs. 1,500 and below and above Rs. 1,500. It is also noted that there was significant difference in the knowlege of nutrition of the instructors in relation to their sex, age, caste and marital status.

1. Female instructors have more knowledge compared to male instructors.

2. Instructors aged 23 years and below have more knowledge than those above 23 years.

3. Instructors belonging to forward castes have more knowledge than those belonging to non-forward castes, and

4. Married instructors have more knowledge of nutrition than the unmarried ones.

Suggestions

1. Since most of the instructors do not have the knowledge of nutrition, topics such as the need and importance of vitamins, vitamins deficiency-diseases, food and its importance, food storage methods must be included in the instructors' training programme.

2. To impart the knowledge of nutrition to the learners, the instructors must first of all improve their knowledge of nutrition.

3. Lecture-cum-demonstration classes on nutrition and health may be arranged by inviting nutrition experts to the instructor's training programme.

4. Guide books on nutrition and health may be published and supplied to the instructors as well as learners to increase their knowlege of nutrition.

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Content analysis of agricultural pages of leading Malayalam dailies

Introduction

A vital element in modernisation and development is the communication process by which messages are transferred from a source to one or more receivers. Francois (1977) defined communication as an act or process involving transmission of information, ideas, emotions, skills etc. by the use of verbal or non-verbal means. According to Rogers and Sveening (1969), mass media channels are all those means of transmitting messages that involve a mechanism to reach a wide and often non-contigous audi-

ence. Newspapers, magazines, films, radio and television are the media that permit a source to reach a large and often widely dispersed audience. Mass media have the unique advantage of reaching large audience in a single exposure. Among the mass media, only newspapers can claim a regular audience, though handicapped by the literacy barrier. In Kerala, where the literacy rate is 69.17 per cent, which is the highest in India and combined circulation of daily newspapers exceed one million for a total population of 25 millions (Vijayanunni, 1981), newspapers present a regular and established net work of communication through which the masses can be approached. Many of the newspapers in the State have started publishing Agricultural columns weekly. Lerner (1967) recognised the importance of communication as a stimulus for peasant modernisation. Arbour (1966) considers newspapers as a medium with much value due to its following characteristics (1) large and regular audience (2) high readership (3) low cost communication (4) retention value and (5) fast communication.

In this context, it has been felt that by analysing the contents of newspapers necessary improvements can be suggested with regard to Karshikarangam pages. The specific objectives of the study were (1) to analyse the contents of the "Karshikarangam" pages (Agricultural pages) of three leading Malayalam dailies viz., Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhoomi and Kerala Kaumudi and (2) to analyse the readership pattern and suggest measures for improving the contents of the Karshikarangam pages.

Methodology

The study was conducted by analysing the contents of the Karshikarangam pages of the three leading Malayalam dailies viz., Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhoomi and Kerala Kaumudi for a period of one year from April 1986 to March 1987. A sample of 60 subscribing farmers were selected from Trivandrum district of Kerala and their responses were elicited using an open ended questionnaire prepared exclusively for this purpose.

a. Identification of areas in the field of Agriculture

After consulting experts and relevant literature the following five areas were identified

(1) Crop production (2) Dairy (3) Poultry (4) Pisciculture (5) others

b. Identification of the various items on the field of crop production

(1) Paddy (2) Coconut (3) Pepper (4) Banana (5) Gardening (6) Others

c. Identification of the sources of articles

(1) Agriculture Department/Farm Information Bureau (2) Kerala Agricultural University (3) Rubber Board (4) Others

Results and Discussion

a. Identification of areas in the field of Agriculture

A perusal of the data presented in the Table-1 reveals that maximum number of articles appeared in the Mathrubhoomi daily (243) followed by Malayala Manorama and Kerala Kaumudi. This is due to the fact that Mathrubhoomi newspaper published articles on various fields of agriculture regularly. Gajapathy (1975) while analysing the agricultural news content of two Tamil dailies found that during the period July 1973 to June 1974, the daily "Dinamani" published 23 articles on agriculture, while "Malaimurasu" published 28 articles. It is also evident from the table that irrespective of the newspaper, articles on crop production was the maximum. Since Malayala Manorama is the leading newspaper in Kerala, they should give more importance to the "Karshikarangam" page so that a large number of farmers can be benefited.

TABLE 1

Areas in the field of Agriculture

Name of newspaper	Crop production	Dairy	Poultry	Pisciculture	Others	Total
Malayala Manorama	87	20	10	2	3	122
Mathrubhoomi	143	15	15	15	55	243
Kerala Kaumudi	90	8	5	—	10	113

b. Identification of the various items in the field of crop production

Out of the total of 87 articles published in "Malayala Manorama (Table-2), the maximum number was on rubber (20.69 percent). The articles appeared on the major food crops of Kerala, i.e. paddy, coconut and banana were very less, less than 7 percent in each case. This daily should give more coverage to these crops, so that seasonal management practices can be brought to all categories of farmers in time.

TABLE 2

Items in the field of crop production

Name of newspaper	Paddy	Coconut	Banana	Rubber	Pepper	Gardening	Others	Total
Malayala Manorama	4 (4.60)	6 (6.90)	6 (6.90)	18 (20.69)	5 (5.75)	10 (11.49)	38 (43.67)	87 (100)
Mathrubhoomi	30 (20.98)	18 (12.59)	4 (2.80)	22 (15.38)	5 (3.50)	11 (7.69)	53 (37.06)	143 (100)
Kerala Kaumudi	18 (20.00)	13 (14.44)	5 (5.56)	6 (6.67)	8 (8.89)	1 (1.11)	39 (43.33)	90 (100)

Figures in parentheses are percentages

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In Mathrubhoomi and Kerala Kaumudi, maximum number of articles were on paddy followed by coconut and rubber. In Kerala Kaumudi, the number of articles on rubber were comparatively less. This might be due to the fact that the readership of this daily is mostly confined to the Trivandrum and Quilon districts of South Kerala. Malayala Manorama and Mathrubhoomi gave more coverage to gardening while Kerala Kaumudi almost neglected this area.

c. Identification of the sources of articles

The data presented in Table 3 reveals that majority of the articles for Mathrubhoomi and Kerala Kaumudi were supplied by the Agricultural Department/Farm Information Bureau followed by Kerala Agricultural University, while for Malayala Manorama, majority of the articles were from Kerala Agricultural University. The Rubber Board was found to be the only organisation supplying articles regularly on seasonal operations of Rubber to various dailies. Since the readers attach more credibility to the authentic sources of information, the newspapers are very keen in publishing articles received from such sources. Recently, experiences and constraints perceived by the progressive farmers are also getting coverage in the agricultural pages. This is a good start, since it may be helpful for the concerned authorities to become aware of the constraints faced by the farmers and help to reorient their steps in that line.

TABLE 3

Sources of articles

Name of news-paper	Agricultural Department/ Farm Information Bureau	Kerala Agricultural University	Rubber Board	Others	Total
Malayala Manorama	38 (31.15)	49 (40.16)	11 (9.02)	24 (19.67)	122 (100)
Mathrubhoomi	140 (57.61)	68 (27.98)	12 (4.94)	23 (9.47)	243 (100)
Kerala Kaumudi	70 (61.95)	32 (28.32)	6 (5.31)	5 (4.42)	113 (100)

Figures in parentheses are percentages

d. Readership pattern

From the Table-4 we can see that, out of the 60 farmers 33.33 percent were subscribing to Malayala Monorama, followed by Mathrubhoomi (30 percent) and Kerala Kaumudi (16.67 percent).

TABLE 4

Reading habit of sample Farmers $N=60$

Habit	No. of farmers	
	Frequency	Percentage
Read the pages regularly	55	**91.67**
Difficulty in understanding scientific terms	14	23.33
Discussed the subject matter with fellow farmers	44	73.33
Collection of all Karshika-rangam pages	32	**53.33**
Collection of important items	5	8.33

Out of the total, 91.67 percent of the farmers expressed that they read Karshikarangam page regularly and had the opinion that it was very useful to them. Some of them had expressed their difficulty in understanding certain scientific terms which appear in the article. Majority of the farmers (73.33 percent) discussed the information they got from the agricultural columns with fellow farmers.

With regard to the collection of "Karshikarangam" pages for further reference, 53.33 percent of the farmers said that they were keeping these pages for future reference.

About 63 percent of the farmers were of the opinion that photographs should also be published along with agricultural articles. Similarly, a majority of the farmers replied that they were least interested in reading agricultural advertisements in the "Karshikarangam" pages. But some of them had a complaint that more space was being utilised for advertisements on other fields in the Karshikarangam pages.

Suggestions and recommendations

a. With regard to "Karshikarangam" page

1. Question and answer columns on agricultural topics should be regularly published in the Karshikarangam page.

2. Success stories of progressive farmers should be published.

3. Supply and service of inputs and market prices of agricultural commodities, details on Agricultural Mela's and information on Government subsidies should be included.

4. Photographs or diagrams should accompany articles.

5. Articles should be topical and specific in nature.

6. The feedbacks from farmers should be published.

b. With regard to items to be covered in agricultural pages.

1. Cultivation practices like the use of high yielding varieties, specific fertilizer use, need based plant protection, water use and water harvesting should be given more importance.

2. Stress should be given on the seasonal cultivation practices of major crops and post harvest handling and storage of agricultural products.

3. Reports on marketing and marketing facilities, agricultural seminars, exhibitions, discussions etc. should be included.

4. Articles on poultry, dairy and pisciculture should be given more coverage.

Conclusion

The study indicated that with regard to the thrust given by the newspapers in the field of agriculture, crop production ranked first. The respondents were regularly reading the agricultural columns and majority of them filed cutting for future reference. Farmers are interested in reading questions and answers pertaining to crop production, success stories of progressive farmers etc. So the newspapers should give more importance to items related to these aspects. Details of supply and services of inputs, market rates of produces should be given due importance. With reference to crops, timely publication of relevant cultivation practices of major crops is highly essential. Articles pertaining to poultry and dairy management, pisciculture and gardening should be given more coverage.

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"We have done it ourselves!"

A community-based health care programme
in the Machakos District of Kenya

When I first met with this approach to learning, I felt as if a new world
had opened up, a process of liberation had begun.

—former coordinator of the Machakos programme

Before I was nothing.   Now I am a community health worker.

—a woman in Kaumoni village

The woman of Kaumoni has voiced not only her own feeling of empower-
ment, but that of people awakening to empowerment the world over.
Empowerment is liberation. Liberation from oppression by poverty,
disease, ignorance, isolation, or by cultural and political systems which
sustain that oppression.

Sociologist Paulo Freire maintains that people who are oppressed see them-
selves as objects controlled by outside forces—the cultural or religious
norms, the pressures of a political system, unknown economic forces, fate,
destiny, luck, the "will of God". They do not have, nor do they expect
to have, significant control over their lives, their livelihood, their place in
society, their access to land or education, their health. Freire regards
such oppression as a fundamental condition of modern times. Its opposite,

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liberation or empowerment, must therefore be the supreme human objective. The great task facing oppressed people everywhere, than, is to humanize their existence, to become self-determining individuals.

"Before I was nothing. Now I am a community health worker." The woman of Kaumoni could also be saying, "Now I have some status in the community. I have become a person of some significance. I now understand something about our bodies, what keeps them healthy and what makes them ill. I have acquired new knowledge and new skills, and the confidence to share them. Now I am somebody, and I am having an effect on my community."

A process of transformation

To achieve such a change in consciousness both for the individual and for society, the process that Freire termed *conscientization* is necessary. Four aspects distinguish conscientization from other approaches to development or social change :

- · The transforming process is on-going and ever-deepening. It is never completed. There is no "final revolution." It begins with the raising of awareness, leads to action, and is followed by reflection. This process leads to increased awareness, which in turn leads to further action.

- · The process of conscientization takes place within a group. The communal raising of awareness empowers community action.

- · Conscientization enables people to truly understand their situation and to look deep into the social conventions that affect them.

- · Although the process of conscientization may begin with efforts to relieve hunger, increase income, or improve health, its ultimate aim is to change unjust social, economic and decision-making structures which are the the root causes of poverty and oppression.

Promoting self-responsibility

In the Machakos Diocese, the newly established Development Office of the Kenya Catholic Secretariat had, since 1974, been promoting a variety of self-reliant approaches to development, based on the awareness-creating methodology elaborated by Poulo Freire in Brazil.

The general goal of Development Office programmes, Machakos among them, was defined as follows : "Our goal is to be catalysts, helping people to take an active share in shaping their own lives. This incorporates dignity, justice, freedom, caring, sharing building community, building a kingdom of right relationships based on our Christian values." Such a vision meant that a health care programme looked "not only at the sick-

nesses but also at the whole person, at the person's environment and community. The sick person must not simply come to you, but you must go out to where the person comes from and help that community to recognize and overcome its own problems."

The need for primary health care

The government of Kenya, in its 1984-1988 Development Plan, recognized the need for primary health care as a practical and cost-effective way to reach rural populations, such as the Kamba. In addition, "to reduce pressure on existing static health facilities in rural areas, the approach of Community-Based Health Care (CBHC) will be strengthened and expanded. Existing rural health units will be the centre of operation for these community-based health care programmes."

The national political climate was clearly favourable to the primary health care/community-based health care approach, but the Machakos programme was actually born of an immediate need rather than a statement of political will or even Christian values.

The beginnings of the Machakos CBHC programme

1975 and 1976 were years of severe drought and consequent famine in the dry lands of the Kamba people. In the face of the widespread malnutrition that followed, the Kenya Catholic Secretariat felt the need to promote better medical services in the poorer, more remote, and neglected areas of the region. It was Machakos' arid, sparsely-populated administrative division of Yatta that, in 1978, was chosen by the Diocese of Machakos as the site for a pilot PHC project.

Yatta Division is one the district's most remote and poorly-serviced areas. The land is mainly poor and dry. The main food crops are maize, pigeon peas, cowpeas, and beans. The only cash crops are cotton, tobacco, and sunflower seeds. Most families own cattle and goats. Several Catholic mission hospitals and clinics existed in the diocese and some operated mobile clinics, but, as was the case with government services, the coverage was uneven and did not extend to the most needy areas. A survey of needs was undertaken, and a Dutch woman with long experience in Uganda as a nurse and nursing tutor was recruited to launch the Machakos community-based primary health care programme.

Programme objectives

The precise objectives of the Machakos CBHC programme were defined as follows :

- To initate community-based efforts towards self-reliance in achieving improved health for the whole community.

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∘ To develop cadres of community health workers who would :

  —create awareness of preventable diseases

  —improve environmental health

  —teach recognition and simple cures for most common illnesses

  —improve child-feeding practices

  —stimulate interest and self-reliance in health practices at village level

  —provide links between the community and static health facilities

  —encourage existing women's groups to include health on their agenda.

Getting things going

To announce the programme, a meeting was held with the chief of Kenyatta Location (the site selected for the first training course), the three assistant chiefs of sub-locations within the area, the local county councillor, and a representative of K.A.N.U. (the ruling political party). It was intended to have a *baraza* (public meeting) to publicize the programme, but the death of Kenya's first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, on 22 August 1978 meant that all such meetings were temporarily suspended.

Lessons learned from the pilot project (the omission of the *baraza* mentioned above, for example, was later considered a great drawback) and later difficulties in sustaining the activities of the CHWs led to more careful launching of CBHC programmes and to a deeper involvement of the community from the very beginning. In fact, a training programme is now started only in response to requests from the local community.

At first, the selection of suitable participants was left to the local assistant chief, the village elders, the parish council, and women's groups. Trainees were required to :

1. be married women, preferably with children (later training courses included men) ;

2. belong to the area and live within two hours walking distance of the training centre ;

3. be educated up to Standard 6 level and, for the initial courses where the trainers spoke only English, be able to read and speak English ;

4. be willing to work in the village on a voluntary basis ;

5. have written permission from their husbands to participate in the course and to act as voluntary health workers.

Equipment and resources

A set of basic equipment was bought for the programme, including cooking equipment, eating utensils, sleeping gear, and teaching materials. From the beginning, training courses were held in the location where CHWs were to work. Thus the community took responsibility for finding accommodation and a classroom, and helped build shelters for cooking and bathing. Funding for the programme (covering vehicle, staff salaries, workshop expenses, and office equipment) was provided by CEBEMO, a Dutch funding agency. The Diocese of Machakos provided a furnished house for the expatriate coordinator.

The process and content of the training, or "When are you going to teach us ?"

"The method we used is revolutionary," explains the former programme coordinator. "According to Kamba custom, a woman sits and listens when the men talk. So, in the beginning, when we started using this method, the women were puzzled, They kept silent, even though no men were present, and wondered what it was all about. So it happened that after the first week, during the evaluation, the question came, "When are the teachers going to teach us ?"

Even now, years after these first workshops of the Machakos programme— after scores of training courses, follow-up workshops, awareness-raising sessions and training-of-trainers seminars—there is still no fixed syllabus for training workshops. This can be disconcerting, not only for passive participants who expect to be 'taught" but also for interested visitors who want to "see," development journalists who want a basic script to "write up," public health professionals who want to be sure that the training is "relevant," and funding-agency representatives who want to see evidence of how the money is spent.

Start with what the people know

"We bought locally-made stools and sat in a circle. No one stood in front as a teacher," said the former coordinator, speaking of the first workshops undertaken as part of the Machakos programme.

Then as now, courses begin with discussion to find out :

- what problems the women face in their homes and immediate environment, particularly in regard to health ;
- what the women already know about sickness and health ;
- what are their expectations for the training course.

In the course of discussion, participants themselves outline the issues that interest them and those they wish to address. The issuees that

usually emerge are common to most rural areas : nutrition, hygiene, water, common illnesses, pregnancy and child care, and women's diseases. Through a process of ongoing evaluation, particular intesests and local needs become more sharply defined. If, however, the course leaders realize that some major and common health problem has not been raised, they feel free to draw attention to it by saying, for example, "When we were in the training course at Milimani, the women there told us that many people were suffering from such-and-such. Have you ever seen this in your own village? " And very often they have.

Setting the agenda and "housekeeping"

When course participants have listed their main concerns, the task of the trainers is to group these concerns in a logical order and then devise ways to promote participatory discussion on the major topics that emerge. Normally, only one topic is dealt with each day, so that a weekly schedule might look like this : Monday—nutrition, Tuesday—child care, Wednesday—common diseases, Thursday—hygiene, Friday—women's problems and evaluation. The time-table for the week is worked out by common consent and adjusted when necessary.

The trainees themselves are responsible for keeping the training centre clean—classroom, "dormitory," cooking area, latrine, and surroundings. If a task is not done properly, it is mentioned in the group or during the weekly evaluation. The participants also schedule household duties, assigning tasks among themselves, such as budgeting. buying of food, menu-making, cooking, dishwashing, sweeping, and time-keeping

Problem posing approach

In the psycho-social method described here, discussion of any particular topic usually begins with a code. A code is a thought-provoking "starter." It can be a brief-play, a story, a song or mime, a poster or photograph, or a flannel graph. But to be a code it must pose a problem or stimulate a new way of looking at familiar situations. For example, to start a discussion on malnutrition, a drawing like the one given below is put up. It shows a young women leaving the compound with a basket of food to sell in the market, while a sickly child is being fed by a sad and weary grandmother. Members of the group are given time to study the picture carefully, in silence, The facilitator then asks the whole group :

- What do you see happening in the picture ?
- Do you ever see this happening in your village ?
- What problems result from this ?

Everyone is free to offer an answer and the facilitator repeats each answer to make sure that every opinion has been heard and understood. This is

particularly necessary at the start of a training course when participants may hesitate to speak.

Next, the participants are divided into small "buzz" groups of three or four people to discuss two further questions :

- What causes such a situation to happen ?
- What can we ourselves do about such a problem ?

A chance to speak

The use of small discussion groups gives quiet participants a chance to speak and ensures that everyone's opinion can be heard. Usually, one person from each small group is chosen to report back to the group, while the facilitators record the various opinions or recommendations on large sheets of paper. This simple process begins to transform passive learners into active participants. In response to the opinions and concerns of the trainees, the course leaders then offer appropriate input on a particular topic — how to recognize measles, how to treat infant diarrhoea, or how to ensure a balanced diet for a family, for example.

For every major topic raised and discussed in this way. the facilitators try to prepare for the discussion by carrying out a local survey.

Appropriate surveys

In the psycho-social method, a survey is not something done by an outsider with a pad of paper and a set of pre-determined questions. It is best done

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by members of the community who have been trained to observe what is happening in their own community and to "hear" in a variety of informal, unstructured ways what the community's real concerns may be. During the course, participants undertake surveys on issues such as :

- *Hygiene/water* : The group visits local water sources and raises the following questions : What did we see at the water source ? How can good water become bad ? What disease can we get from bad water ? How can we prevent these diseases ? What can we do in this community to improve the water source ?

- *Food/diet* : The group visits the local market and answers questions about what they see : What vegetables are sold ? What are the prices ? Can you bargain ? The women then create a balanced menu for their meals, based on what food can be obtained at the market.

- *The dispensary* : The group investigates the dispensary. They ask, Who comes to the dispensary ? What illnesses do they have ? How are they received by the staff ? What kind of medical treatment do they receive ?

- *Drugs in the dukas* (Kiswahili for shop). At the *duka*, the group asks What medicines are available for what illnesses ? What advice (if any) do the shopkeepers give to those who buy ? This often leads to discussion with the shopkeepers and among the trainees themselves about the correct use of drugs.

- *Home visits* : Before the first one-week in a training course, the trainees (in groups of three or four) visit homes in the neighbourhood. They report back on what they hear and see. The trainers then advise on how to act and what to look for when the trainees begin visiting homes in their own villages.

- *Schools* : The group checks for scabies, ringworm, and roundworm in several local schools, to learn what kind of health instruction may be most needed amongst school children.

Every survey is intended to lead to discussion and practical action.

Practical daily demonstration

When an important topic has been throughly discussed (either in response to a code or as a result of local survey), the knowledge is made practical in the daily running of the course, for example.

- *Food/diet* : Once the trainees know what to look for in the local market, they make a menu for the whole week, budget for the food, and buy it. Then they cook it themselves. The quality of diet and level of nutrition of these meals invariably improves during a training course.

- *Water* : When there is no clean water source near the training location, participants draw water from a river or dam and boil it for drinking and cooking.

- *Cooking* : One afternoon per week (after a morning discussing nutrition) is devoted to practical lessons in cooking. Depending on the morning's topic, the demonstration involves the preparation of food especially for a pregnant woman, an anaemic person, or a child with kwashiorkor, for example.

- *Pregnancy and childbirth* : If there is a maternal and child health and antenatal clinic near the training site, the trainees see how to palpate a pregnant mother, assess the lie of the baby, and weigh infants. A doll is used to practise delivery techniques and resuscitation, for example, so that later they can assist at deliveries when necessary. On the day devoted to child-care, the afternoon is spent repairing torn clothes or making clothes for children.

After training, what¿?

As from the beginning of the Machakos programme, home visiting has been a major activity for all CHWs. Most spend two or three afternoons per week either visiting homes or with women's groups. The number of homes a CHW is responsible for varies. In the first areas chosen in Yatta, the areas covered were large, with one CHW responsible for up to 200 homes. experience showed that this was impractical, so training later become more localized and the size of the areas reduced.

During a home visit, the CHW discusses a number of health-related subjects with the mother : the health of her children, problems of hygiene or nutrirition, or practical ways to improve the home environment, for example. When the CHW returns home, he or she records the visit in a book and notes any improvements made since the previous visit. Nothing is written during the visit itself, since this actually proved to be a block to communication. The records are given to the local coordinator during regular monthly meetings of the CHWs. The figures for the month are then tabulated and sent to the Diocesan office in Machakos.

The distribution of first-aid boxes to CHWs was not envisaged at the beginning of the programme. But many CHWs said they felt helpless only giving advice to people far from a hospital or dispensary. Later, it was decided to give a certificate and a first-aid box to each CHW who remained active for a period of six months. These visible and practical forms of recognition of work done by the CHWs help motivate them to continue serving their community. A set of basic remedies are supplied for the common ailments. The

CHW charges the patient for any medicine given and must account for the money every time the supply needs to be replenished. So far, among scores of CHWs and thousands of clients, only one case has been reported of the wrong medicine being given.

Spreading the word

Women's groups provide a setting for sharing information. Kamba women, perhaps more than those of any other ethnic group in Kenya, have a tradition of forming village *mwethya* or mutual help groups. Every woman CHW belongs to such a group. Most groups meet once or twice a week to share communal work, to sew or weave together, or to chat. Many CHWs take the opportunity to teach the women about nutrition, health, and hygiene.

Primary schools in most areas now welcome the local CHWs who give lessons and demonstrations in preventive health and hygiene. Surveys done in schools for common childhood ailments and on health-and-hygiene conditions in the pupils' homes provide useful information.

Teaching aids : help the CHWs to communicate health information. Each CHW receives a flannelboard, pictures, posters, and books such as Where There is no Doctor or Health in the Home and a cookery book. More recently, a manual entitled Simple Treatment Book, compiled in both English and Kikamba by members of the training team, has been added to the first-aid box given to each CHW.

Follow up and support

The kind of follow-up and support system planned for the Machakos CHWs called for an immense commitment of time and energy on the part of the training team. The basics of follow-up, laid down at the start of the programme, included three main elements :

- an annual refresher workshop for all CHWs trained ;
- monthly or bi-monthly visit by the training team to meet with the group of CHWs from a particular area.
- yearly visits by team members to the community (including the women's group, local school, and village elders) of every CHW.

During the first three years of the programme, in the context of follow-up the training team made numerous individual and group visits, and conducted two one-week refresher workshops attended by about three-quarters of the CHWs. As the programme expanded, however, intensive follow-up by the core training team became less feasible. When Area Coordinators were appointed, the tasks of follow-up and continuing motivation were increasingly left to them.

jointly by the Ministry of Health and UNICEF) has also had considerable influence on Government thinking. But it was not until 1987 that the Ministry of Health, working together with non-governmental organizations, produced guidelines for primary health care. The guidelines are, in essence the government policy regulating all agencies involved in CBHC.

In 1979, the African Medical Research Foundation/The Flying Doctors (AMREF), which in the foremost NGO involved in health care in the East African region, organized two seminars for people involved in CBHC in the region. The consensus emerged that there was a need for on-going information-sharing, training (capacity building), advocacy with governments, and cooperation among organizations promoting primary health care. To this end a coordinating committee was formed at the national level, comprising representatives of the country's key CBHC programmes, interested NGOs (e.g. AMREF, World Neighbours, the Kenya Catholic Secretariat), the Ministry of Health, the University of Nairobi Community Health Department, and UNICEF. The work of the committee was divided by region, resulting in the formation of regional and district coordinating committees. These committees took responsibility for :

- organising Training of Trainers (TOT) courses
- standardising CBHC approaches, strategies, and practices
- sharing informition and innovations
- undertaking joint evaluation of the CBHC activities
- organising refresher courses.

Originally, AMREF was intended to assume simply the lead role among the cooperating bodies, but by virtue of the full-time medical and support staff attached to the unit, the organisation rapidly become the dominant partner, and the work of the unit an independent AMREF programme.

Aims of the CHWSU

The principal aims of the Community Health Workers Support Unit were :

- to develop a system for facilitating the exchange of information, ideas, and expertise amongst all groups concerned with CBHC ;
- to provide advisory support to CBHC projects in Eastern Africa in planning and evaluation and in training trainers/leaders of CHWs ;
- to influence health policy makers and planners (both government and NGO) to place greater emphasis on promoting prevention, through facilitating voluntary self-help activities beyond the dispensary ;
- to serve as an information/promotion centre and a facilitation agency for visits (crossfertilization) between CBHC activities ;

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- to promote a training and leadership system tailored to the special challenges of CBHC.

To a great extent, objectives have been realised, but the real impact of the support unit has been in the area of training. Since its formation in 1980, the unit has conducted numerous TOT courses in Eastern Africa, graduating hundreds of trainers. In the TOT context, much thought has been given to :

- the applicability of the term CBHC to a particular programme
- the meaning of the term *community health worker*
- the suitability of an applicant for TOT courses
- the content of TOT courses.

Content of TOT Courses

The TOT courses comprises three one-week workshops, at intervals of two to three months to enable participants to carry out practical assignments in their communities between workshops. The psychosocial method, as described in the begnining, is used throughout. At least one of the three phases is held at a site where field visits to an existing CBHC programme can be arranged. Major topics covered in the course include :

- concepts of self-reliance and development as they relate to a CBHC programme
- methods of helping adults to learn
- basic skills for processing information
- planning and evaluation CBHC programmes.

A Guiding star

At a crucial stage in the development of CBHC idea, the AMREF-based support unit was vital in promoting CBHC programmes such as Machakos. In return, the principles of the Machakos programme, which focussed so strongly on empowering people to take responsibility for their own health, had a major influence on the philosophy of the CHWSU. This influence accounts in part for the shift from the concept of primary health care to that of CBHC. Community-based health care is one form of primary health care, and its principles understood and put into practice constitute a far more radical approach to the issue.

In the ten years since its creation, the CHWSU has evolved significantly, for a number of reasons. CBHC in Kenya has seen rapid expansion, with a multiplication of parties involved. In addition, as a rusult of training there has been an increase in levels of skills and experience at the periphery, with

indfviduals trained as part of the programme assuming greater and greater independene.

As a result of these fectors, the role of the CHWSU has diminished—and possibly this could be considered a sign of success for any organization involved in promoting the community-based approach.

Nonetheless, the presence of a resource agency or guiding star yet remains of vital importance in the beginning stages of a CBHC programme. In the case of Machakos, it happened that AMREF served in this capacity. Another country, another programme, another guiding star. . .

The challenge for the future

It is at the district level that a radical approach such as that of the Machakos programme—based on empowerment—can be proven practicable, economical, and effective. The challenge facing such programmes is to show conclusively, by better use of baseline data and subsequent quantitative measurement, that the work of voluntary health workers in the villages is having a sustained and measurable effect on the health and well-being of the community.

Machakos District and Diocese

The District of Machakos, which embraces the Catholic diocese of the same name, lies at the southern edge of Kenya's Eastern Province, covering an area of some 14000 sq km.

The Kamba of Machakos

The Machakos District is the homeland of the Kamba people, a Bantu ethnic group believed to have migrated to the area some 400 years ago. The Kamba first settled in the more fertile, better-watered hills, but with time and population increase, they were forced to move into the surrounding semi-arid lands. As a result, the ecology of the area has become increasingly fragile. More fertile areas also suffer from intensive cultivation, overstocking, and the destruction of tree cover.

Despite the fragility of its environment, the Machakos region is supporting increasing numbers of people. With its population growing at the national rate about 4% per year, by the year 2000 Machakos will have over 2 million people.

A mobile people

Traditionally, the Kamba were farmers, pastoralists, and hunters. Modernization and the legal protection of wildlife, however, have virtually eliminated their hunting role, At the same time, the population increase and the resulting pressure on usable land have given rise to a new mobility, especially among Kamba men. In areas where land is very poor and there

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are no employment opportunities, over 30% of the men have left home to seek work in the towns—often outside the district or even outside the country.

Changing role for women

Modernization and male migration to the towns has also meant a change in the role of women. The loss or limitation of traditional male roles, such as hunting or herding, and the lack of alternative occupations have left many men with a lack of purpose. As men, they retain their leadership status, but with limited effectiveness. The net result is that women now have more work to do than ever before.

Social organization

Another outcome of mobility and modernization has been the breakdown of traditional social organization. Traditional Kamba society did not have a stratified political structure, no single chief or king. The family homestead, where a man lived with his wives and children—and perhaps the familes of his sons —was the focus of life. Neighbouring homesteads (perhaps 100 or more) were grouped into a village, where communal issues were settled by a council of elders. This flexible form of leadership survives today, but in the shadow of the modern, political-administrative system of appointed chiefs and assistant chiefs. Any attempt to promote social change at village level, for example the introduction of a health care programme, invariably needs the support of both groups of leaders.

The Training Content

The Machakos programme has no pre-determined syllabus. Instead, the trainers use the problem-posing method to discover topics of particular interest to trainees. The issues usually dealt with in the Machakos courses are given below, with the recognition that each CBHC programme will have its own training needs.

Nutrition

1. Three basic classes of food
2. Use of pictures of different food types (for illiterate mothers)
3. Nutrition from birth to eight months, including breastfeeding and weaning
4. Ensuring a blanced diet: making a daily menu, budgeting, surveying the local market, and buying the food
5. Healthy cooking (for a blanced diet and appropriate consistency):
    -   preparation of food for infants (e.g. milk with beaten raw egg; mashed beans) and children
    -   food for sick and/or malnourished children and adults

- preparation of local foods such as cabbage, cowpeas, beans, potatoes, and maize

6. Preparation of packed lunch for school children

7. Vegetable gardening

Child care

1. Immunization : types of vaccination (whooping cough, tetanus, polio, BCG, DPT, measles)

2. Child Health Clinic : explanation of "Road to Health" chart (indicating weight trend by age); how to explain vaccination and weighing charts to mothers

3. Practical experience in child clinic, including

   - weighing of babies
   - recording (using charts and books)
   - vaccination procedure
   - explanation of various medications given
   - discussions with the mothers about health and food

4. Process for weighing and taking blood pressure of adults

5. Children's diseases (explained using posters and pictures) and the care of a sick child, including appropriate medication

6. How to prevent diseases in a small baby (including infant hygiene)

7. How to lower fever in a baby

8. Use and preparation of a baby cot

9. Knitting for babies and children's dressmaking

Pregnancy

1. Female reproductive system, with emphasis on the menstrual period. hormone cycle, and childspacing

2. Abnormal growths in the abdomen

3. Pregnancy : how it occurs, what happens inside the body, and signs of pregnancy

4. Ectopic pregnancy

5. Abortions : causes and prevention

6. Risks during pregnancy

7. Minor and major complaints during pregnancy

8. How to stay healthy during pregnancy

9. Care of the breasts

10. Antenatal clinic : explanation of its purpose, palpating the abdomen (to determine the foetal lie and size), taking blood pressure

11. Normal delivery and resuscitation

12. Abnormal deliveries, including when to transfer the mother to hospital

13. Bleeding after delivery and how to stop it

14. Care for a newborn baby

Hygiene

1. Water : survey of local water sources, followed by discussion covering
   - what problems women in particular have in regard to water
   - diseases carried by contaminated water : their treatment and prevention
   - construction of home water purifier

2. Diseases carried by flies and their prevention

3. Hygiene of the body, including treatment of scabies

4. Hygiene of the home, including insects in the home

5. Food hygiene and preparation to prevent disease

6. Construction of latrines, rubbish pit, and dish racks

Diseases

Training courses cover the following disease, their, causes, signs, treatment (including the use of medication), and prevention.

1. Acute respiratory infections (A.R.I.) (e.g. pneumonia)

2. Anaemia

3. Broken bones

4. Burns

5. Diarrhoeal diseases (e.g. cholera, typhoid fever, and amoebic and bacillary dysentery)

6. Diseases associated with malnutrition (e. g. marasmus, kwashiorkor)

7. Fits and convulsions and unconsciousness : causes, treatment, and prevention

8. Meningitis

9. Measles

10. Malaria

11. Sexualiy transmitted diseases (S.T.D.)

12. Shock, choking, resuscitation

13. Skin diseases

14. Tonsillities, ear ache, nose bleeds, eye diseases

15. Worms (threadworm, whipworm, roundworm, tapeworm, bilharzia, hookworm)

Psycho-social method

Use of the psycho-social method for adult learning and selected communication skills :

1. Devising the daily and weekly programmes

2. Use of small and large group discussions

3. Asking questions in a group

4. Theme-finding by use of brainstorming and/or discussion in small groups

5. Sharing the knowledge and skills of each participant

6. How to plan and chair group meetings

7. The use of surveys

8. Summarizing of the week's work

9. Report writing : what to write (what is important)

10. Evaluation of learning

11. Expectations of the group, community, and family

12. Home visiting and discussion of problems found

13. The use of learning aids/codes (e.g. pictures, posters, role plays, flannelgraph, books)

14. Leadership skills, receiving visitors

15. Feedback : good personal ᵢqualities and skills and learning from mistakes

16. Psychology : how to understand people, Johari's window

17. Parent/adult/child (PAC) behaviour

18. Women's issues : role of women in development, how to keep peace at home, how to help each other, self-reliance

19. Bible readings

Adult Education News

Nehru and Tagore Literacy Awards

The 1990 Nehru and Tagore Literacy Awards instituted by the Indian Adult Education Association have been awarded to Shri M.T. Shukla of Gujarat and Miss Homai B. Illava of Madhya Pradesh respectively.

The Awards announced by IAEA on the eve of International Literacy Day on September 8, are given annually to inspire literacy workers to help the cause of eradication of illiteracy from the country.

Shri Shukla, Secretary, Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad has been selected for 1990 Nehru Literacy Award for his outstanding contribution to the promotion of adult and continuing education among adults particularly among agricultural and industrial workers for over four decades.

Shri Shukla the 23rd recipient of this Award started the literacy work in 1938-39 when he participated in the literacy movement 'each one teach one' in the earstwhile Bombay State and still continues to be active in the field. He has brought out a number of booklets for education of urban and rural workers.

He is President of Agricultural Labour Association which has 10000 members from 200 villages. He was Member of Gujarat Legislative Assembly in 1967-71.

The Tagore Literacy Award has been awarded to Miss Homai B. Illava, General Secretary, Bhartiya Grameen Mahila Sangh (M.P. Branch) for her pioneering role in promoting literacy, post literacy and vocational education among women.

She is the founder member of many institutions in Indore district for the betterment and upliftment of women. She has organised condensed courses, vocational and craft classes for women to enable them to get gainful employment. Miss Illava has played a leading role in promoting saving habit among women.

Miss Illava the fourth recipient of the Tagore Literacy Award has worked for over fifty years for educational and economic development of women.

She has promoted health and population education among women through Red Cross Society.

Awareness Camps for Women

The Association organised three one-day awareness camps for women of the unorganised sector in Trilokpuri on Aug. 27-29, 1990. The topics covered were population education, economic development of the country and the rights of the women under Indian Constitution. 40 women participated on all the three days.

Training Programme on Adult and Family Life Education

The Association in cooperation with the Parivar Seva Sansthan organised a three-day training programme on Adult and Family Life Education in Himmatpuri on July 22-24, 1990. The topics covered in the training programme were adult education and development, responsible parenthood, education of the mother and the child, etc.

Celebration of International Literacy Day

The Association celebrated the International Literacy Day on Sept. 3, 1990 in Himmatpuri. Literacy songs, a skit on dowry were the highlights of the programme.

A debate competition on "Why Literacy" was also organised in which instructors of IAEA and All India Taleem Ghar participated.

Smt. Bimla Dutta, Vice-President, IAEA was the chief guest on the occasion. She underlined the urgency to promote education among women.

She also gave away the prizes to the winners of debate competition and songs.

UNESCO Award for Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad

Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad has won the $ 30,000 King Sejong prize of UNESCO for its efforts to eradicate illiteracy from Kerala.

Organisations from China, the Dominican Republic, France, and Cape Verde also won UNESCO's international literacy prize for 1990. The awards were presented by UNESCO's Director-General, Mr. Fedrico Mayor in Geneva on September 8, the International Literacy Day.

The organisations were singled out for the strong link between literacy, vocational training and income-generating in their programmes.

The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP). Trivandrum, began in 1962 as voluntary science popularisation movement. Its efforts are currently focussed on removing illiteracy from Kerala as a follow-up of its successful efforts in making the Ernakulam district in the state fully literate. The KSSP has been working as an interface between science and society. During

the past 28 years the Parished has grown into a major peoples science movement attracting into its fold people from all walks of life.

The King Sejong prize, offered by South Korea, is named after the King, who 550 years ago, made an outstanding contribution to literacy through the creation of the simplified "Hangul" alphabet.

The 5,000 rouble (Approx $ 7,000), the Nadezhda Krupskaya prize went to the people's government of Xiping county in Henan province. China, for its sustained efforts over many years to reduce illiteracy among the 750,000 inhabitants of the country, where the living and educational standards of its rural population were very low.

The Dominican Republic's Universidad Central del Este (UCE) received the $ 5,000 International Reading Association Literacy award for its outstanding performance in the formulation of programme objectives, in coverage and mobilisation of university students for its adult literacy programme and in evaluation activity, irrespective of political change.

The Noma prize, worth $ 10,000 goes to the institute of the brothers of the Christian schools, whom members devote their lives and work to the education and cultural development of children, young people disadvantaged adults of all social conditions. The institute, which originated in France over three hundred years ago, now runs around 1,200 educational establishments in 81 countries.

The $ 10,000 Iraq Literacy prize was awarded to the General-Directorate of non-formal education of Cape Verde. The directorate has succeeded in bringing down the illiteracy rate to 33.5 per cent from over 60 per cent in 1974.

Honorable mentions were also made, of six organisations or associations and one individual, active in the field of literacy in Cameroon, Peru, the Netherlands, Nigeria. Thailand, Benin and Bangladesh.

Making Literacy a Felt Need of the Adult Learner

The Acharya Ramamurti Committee on Education has said that the content and process of adult education as distinict from adult literacy is to be reorganised. Survival, justice and development are to be interwoven into the content, pedagogy and learning situation of the adult . . . letting literacy come in organically in the process when, and if, in becomes the felt need of the adult learners.

The objective of literacy campaigns the report says should be to enthuse adult illiterates to send their children to schools.

The committee appointed in May to review the national policy released a perspective paper recently in New Delhi. The basic thrust is to use edu-

cation as a tool for an enlightened and humane society. Based on discussions on the perspective paper, the final report will be released on November 6 this year.

The committee has suggested building up of a common school system over next ten years both through persusasion and essential legislation.

In his preliminary remarks while releasing the report to the Press, Acharya Ramamurti said, we will now say goodbye to the Macaulay tradition of education for good". The report, he said, also sought to make universalisation of elementary education a reality. Currently half the children don't go to school and the precentage of dropouts is high. There has to be reallocation of the existing resources for education so that the quality of education is improved. Children and parents must feel that education being imparted is worthwhile only then they send children to school.

Productive Education

Education is to accept the challenge of making the right to work a reality. The Acharya said employers today find that students graduating from schools and colleges are unemployable. So productive work is to be made an integral part of the education process. It is only than that students can enter the world of work with confidence. A Constitutional amendment, if need be, to make the right to education a fundamental right, has been proposed.

The "gospel of the dirty hands" has to be accepted by guardians, students and the citizens at large as a part of life today. Since the present lot of teachers may not be able to impart vocational skills, Acharya Ramamurti said craftsmen, local electricians, carpenters and those working in factories may have to be co-opted to the education system as part time teachers.

Vocationalisation of education is proposed from elementary to university level. The role of the school itself is to be altered so that schools become centres of learning as well as development. School education is to be linked to life around the school. It is also to be made the centre for education as well as for upgrading the technology of adults.

On the non-formal education scheme for poor and working children, the report says : "The school should open up and non-formalise in creative ways. This is preferable to building up an exclusive parallel system of non-formal education".

The School, the report says, should have autonomy and be liberated from the line of hierarchy and the policing by the inspectorate system. Internal democracy in each institution is to be ensured.

It has been suggested that a cluster of educational institutions at different levels—primary to tertiary should come together to form educational

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complexes. They would interact and pool resources as well as deal with all educational activities formal, non-formal and adult education. The grassrots-level official development agencies should undertake school-centred activities in coordination with educational complexes.

The perspective paper visualises education as a people's movement where the government, centre and states play a supportive role. Voluntary Organisations are expected to have a greater responsibility in the decentralised education.

The report pleaded for at least 6 per cent of the GNP for education. In 1986-87 it was 3.9 per cent of the GNP. The available resources it is pointed out should be better utilised with increased allocation for elementary education, education for women, SC/ST and OBCs. Enhanced fees for higher education with more scholarships for weaker sections has been suggested.

Need to Reorient Population Policies

India is the first nation in the world to have launched a population control programme and after sinking Rs. 3,500 crores so far, will have to reorient its strategy to arrest the reckless proliferation of the human species estimated to touch 854 million by the end of the year.

The country's birth control programme appears to have got bogged down in a state of torpor showing diminishing returns on Government investment according to Dr. K. Srinivasan, Director of the International Institute for Population Sciences, Bombay.

The population has been growing at the rate of 2.08 per cent per year compared to 1.38 per cent per year in China. If this trend continues, Dr. Srinivasan warned, India's population could more than double to 1,767 million by 2025 A.D. making it the most populous nation in the world.

Population growth rates in the developing countries are outstriping their ability to provide bare necessities like housing. food and energy to their people.

Unlike India, many countries like Brazil, China, Indonesia, Korea, Mexico, the Philippines and Thailand have achieved far greater success in terms of fall in birth rates.

Many Hindrances : In contrast to this achievement, India's population control programmes have been dogged by deficiences of policy, plan strategy and implementation.

Though India spends Rs. 600 crore per year or Rs. 44 per eligible couple per year, the birth rate has hovered around 33 per thousand of population per year and during the last 10 years the programme relapsed into a state of somnolence.

This was mainly because the family planning programme extended largely to older women of higher parities as a result of the undue emphasis placed on sterilisation since the beginning and was analogous to locking the stable after the horse had bolted. A number of studies undertaken within the country revealed that marital fertility rate among married women below 30 years, who have not been using contraceptives, has been rising gradually in the past three decades in quite a number of states.

The increase in the fertility rate was of the order of 20 per cent among younger women and has been associated with three major factors—improved biological fecundity because of better nutrition and health, relaxation of traditional cultural checks on fertility and reduction in breast-feeding. Therefore, the programme should focus more on younger women whose potential fertility is higher than those of older members.

No systematic efforts were made to educate couples on the relative advantages of specing births and limiting the size of the family. Moreover, follow-up measures for acceptors of sterilisation was woefully poor in many parts of the country.

Educating Women : Experts believe the key to peg the runway population growth lies in improving the social status of women by expanding educational and employment opportunities for them if the issue is to be solved permanently.

According to Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund, "Women are at the heart of development for everywhere in the world, women have two jobs—in the home and outside it."

Many women in the developing countries have few choices in life outside marriage and children, Dr. Sadik said. They tend to have large families. Investing in women means widening their choice of strategies and reducing their dependence on children for status and support.

A family planning programme with a human face alongwith radical improvements in social welfare education, literacy and employment would make for a balance between population and economic growth.

"So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them".

(SWAMI VIVEKANAND)

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INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The Indian Adult Education Association founded in 1939, aims at improving the quality of life through education visualized as a continuous and life long process. It directs its efforts towards accelerating adult education a process, a programme and a movement.

The Association co-ordinates the activities of various agencies—Governmental and voluntary, national and international—engaged in similar pursuits. It organises conferences and seminars and undertakes surveys and research projects ; it endeavours to up-date and sharpen the awareness of its members by bringing to them from all over the world expert views on and experiences in, adult education. In pursuit of the policy, the Association has instituted the Nehru Literacy Award and the Tagore Literacy Award for Women's Literacy for outstanding contribution to the promotion of adult education in the country. It has also instituted the Dr. Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture, which is delivered every year by an educationist of repute and eminence.

The Association has brought out many publications on themes relating to adult education, including the Hindi-editions of several UNESCO publications. It brings out the Indian Journal of Adult Education, Proudh Shiksha, Jago aur Jagao and IAEA Newsletter.

The Association acts as the Indian arm of the International Council for Adult Education, International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations and the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education. Its membership is open to all individuals and institutions who believe in the aims and objectives of the Association.

Its headquarters is located in Shafiq Memorial at 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

This is how the training team summarised their observations after a series
of home visits to the CHWs :

The local people know most of the CHWs and come for advice. We
noticed this in the way people responded to them and the way they
were welcomed and talked to.

The elder of the village would walk with us and visit homes. Coope-
ration between the CHWs and the elders was good.

We got to know the CHWs better in their own surroundings. They
had implemented what they had learned. All of them had a latrine,
a dishwash stand, a clean home; and their children were well-dressed,
well-fed and clean.

We have seen the difficult circumstances under which they have to
work such as the heat, the long distances they go on foot, and the
frustration of finding no one at home ; the lack of food and water
during the dry season.

When testing the knowledge of the women in the women's groups, we
discovered that they had already learned many things regarding health.
Several health plays were performed. This meant that these topics
had been taught by the CHWs.

After the survey in the primary schools at Ekarakara, we saw that
the number of cases of scabies dropped from 1110 to 198.
New women's groups were started.

Mothers have been taught about rehydration fluid when children have
diarrhoea, and the CHWs report no more deaths due to dehydration.

New latrine has been built and others are being built.

Some have built dish racks.

Children who suffered from kwashiorkor and marasmus were impro-
ved due to the teaching of the CHWs and greater use of the milk
provided by CRS at the dispensary.

Vegetable nurseries were tried. Some succeeded, and some failed due
to the lack of rain.

One women's group had been invited several times to perform health
plays in another village at the invitation of the District Development
Officer.

One women's group started to make water jars.

Encouragement for the trainers

These visits served both to up-date and encourage the CHWs but also to
convince the trainers that their work was effective.

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Indian Journal of

ADULT

EDUCATION

Special Issue

on

ORALITY AND LITERACY

Content

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The Indian Journal of Adult Education, first published in 1939, is brought out now as a quarterly by the Indian Adult Education Association. The Journal has special interest in the theory and practice of Non-formal Education with special reference to the relationship between Adult Education and Development.

Contributions on a wide range of themes within this broad framework are welcome. The Journal is particularly interested in current experiments in the field.

Contributions should be accompanied by either a stamped, self-addressed envelope or by International Reply Coupons. The average length of a manuscript should normally be between 1,500 and 2,000 words; in exceptional cases, longer articles can be accepted. Mimeographed, Zeroxed or carbon copies will not be accepted. Manuscripts should be typed in double space, on one side, with a 2" margin, on foolscap size paper. Footnotes and references should come at the end and not on every page.

Contributions and other correspondence regarding advertisements, subscription rates etc. should be addressed to the Editor, Indian Journal of Adult Education, 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

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Editorial

The world is discovered through the word—spoken, written, printed and processed by the electronic media. Therefore, any study on Orality and Literacy has to take into account the evolving technologies of writing, printing and the electronic media, all of which are regarded as technologies of communication. Oral communication through speech is a humanly created technology. It is an accepted communication system, alongside print, telecommunication and the modern integrated computer communication systems.

Ruth Finnegan of the British Open University holds the view that technological determinism is not the only possible model for analysing the implications of communication technologies, and says : "The historical scheme set up is a West-centred one : that is, it follows what has been taken to be the progressive evolutionary path of Western culture." This view forms the basis of the Great Divide between non-literate and literate cultures. Those who reject technological determinism as the main explanation in human development suggest an alternative approach which emphasizes on the socio-cultural context of human history and experience. This means rejecting the assumption that from the technology itself flows the automatic and inexorable consequences. Actually the usage and importance of these technologies are governed by social, economic, political and ideological factors. Orality and literacy, however differently viewed are closely related to each other. Orality promotes literacy, and through literacy, orality becomes word-based texts.

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National Seminar on Orality and Literacy

It is recognised by all planners that literacy is a crucial input for individual and national development. There is correlation between the level of literacy and the level of economic development in a country and in sections of population in a country. Hence in all developing countries there are sustained efforts at the National Level supported by World Organisations like UNESCO for improving National Literacy Levels, and resources are made available to develop literacy as returnable investment in economic development. India, for example, has the goal of making her entire population literate by the end of this century and National Level Programmes have been launched to achieve this goal. The Governmental efforts are complemented by the work of voluntary organisations and student forces.

The literacy education programmes are conceived with the assumption that literacy is the solution to the individual and National Problems of economic development and social fulfillment. They also assume that literacy is a well understood and a well received phenomenon and that the problem is only in implementation to create infrastructure, materials and manpower. It is not realised that literacy itself is a problem and an understanding of it now is at best partial and fragmented and that even the specialists in the field are not fully aware of all its dimensions and implications for the linguistic, psychological and social development of the individual as well as the society. A comprehensive understanding of the characteristics of literacy and its potentials in abstract spheres is essential for any successful application of literacy in concrete educational and economic contexts.

The theoretical study of literacy in its multidisciplinary dimensions can be formulated in various axes such as theoretical vs. applicational, individual vs. societal, ontogenetic vs. phylogenetic, linguistic vs. cognitive, etc. From the methodological point of view the approaches can be descriptive vs.

quantitative, field based vs. document based, etc. The proposed conference would discuss different formulations and approaches.

The general thrust of research on characterisation of literacy in the West is to contrast Orality and Literacy and to find the differences between them and the possible consequences of these differences for the child and the society. It is pointed out that literacy plays a role for the child to come to grips with the distinction between appearance and reality (i.e. between seeing and knowing), between utterance and intention (i.e. between saying and meaning), between belief and proof and between object and its interpretation. It plays a role in the historical development of a society to provide foundation for scientific enquiry and method, democracy, and bureaucracy. The main point of these studies is that perception and other cognitive structures of the child and the social institutions and behaviour of societies are quantitatively different after acquisition of literacy. Acquisition of literacy is acquisition of new technology.

Another line of research brings out the differences between the spoken and the written languages and between oral and written discourse.

There are studies which have differing views on these conclusions, approaches and assumptions. While some scholars bring in the mode of literacy acquisition (schooling) and literacy practice which have bearing on literacy, other question the neat dichotomy of the population into literate and non-literate. There are still others who focus on the kinds of use of literacy in a family or society rather than literacy perse.

The Indian experience intuitively appears to represent a new kind or relationship between orality and literacy. For example, the codified Vedic Texts which were probably produced orally and definitely transmitted through the oral mode, remained unchanged, were autonomous of the context and provide room for reflection and interpretation, which are said to be specific properties of the written text in the Western Context. The oral transmission of information and values in India has provided for cumulative expansion of knowledge and its dissemination to the masses as well, which are again considered to be characteristics of the written mode of communication. The oral transmission of classics and hymns continues to date in India. The multilingual and multiscriptal character of India obliterates neat distinction of literate and non-literate and provides for oracy in one language and literacy in another language. There are also differences in the Indian historical and personal experience with reference to scriptures and scripts where the spoken word is believed to have mantric power, where there were ritual restrictions to some social groups to have access to written texts of scriptures, where one language is written in many scripts, where an enlightened emperor, Akbar, was illiterate, etc. and they are likely to throw new light on the literacy questions mentioned above.

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There is another dimension to literacy in India. While we make all efforts to extend the frontiers of literacy, the question still remains as to what strategy is to be followed to bring knowledge and information to the 70% illiterates in this country. Any transitional measure in this regard would create the environment for literacy and therefore deserves special attention.

The possible areas of research are linguistic, psychological, sociological and applicational in nature. The research questions they try to raise and answer are linguistic, communicative, scriptal, cognitive, social, political, historical, legal, technological and applicational. The proposed conference would address itself to all these issues. In more particular it will address to the following five issues ;

1. The effect of the degree of difference between the spoken and written form of languages on literacy development in children and adults.

2. Discourse strategies and verbal reasoning in spoken and written languages.

3. The linguistic differences between the spoken and the written languages.

4. Lexical and syntactic devices for stress and intonation in the written language.

5. Providing a language with the technology of writing and its effect on its structure and on speakers' perception of it.

Three areas of application deserve special attention :

1. There is no universal way to literacy and literacy methodology must be culture sensitive. However, the adequacy, effectiveness and appropriateness of the existing teaching learning strategies is one of the issues of concern.

2. Use of peoples' language is major concern for any literacy effort. Biliteracy assumes importance in this context. Problems of switch over time and the use of two scripts or one remains problematic.

3. The literacy mission has adopted the policy of 3 primers indicating progression from learning letters and simple words to summative comprehension. How to integrate it in bilingual strategy is another issue of concern-

Besides the above research and application concerns, the seminar should aim at suggesting training inputs for literacy personnel and suggest aids for material production.

The five-day seminar would bring oral performers and the participants would study their performance from the above angles. The seminar will record all such performances for future study.

A Report on the Seminar

The National Seminar on Orality and Literacy was held at Bhubaneswar during 8 and 12 October, 1990. 42 participants out of the 60 agreed, representing the disciplines of linguistics, languages, psychology, sociology, pedogogy, sciences, and communication, as well as literacy practitioners participated in the Seminar. For the first time, at such a national scale and with such an interdisciplinary orientations, the issues of Orality and Literacy were discussed. An effort was made to understand the theoretical underpinnings of Orality and Literacy, to understand what it means to be under conditions of Orality, what it means to be under conditions of Literacy, what it means to make a transition from the one to the other and what are the processes and consequences of such transitions. Simultaneously an effort was made to know as to how understanding of these can make one a better literacy practitioner as well as a better material producer.

There were a few disappointments. The Indian Airlines diverted its flights from the South to the Gulf until the 15th October. All the trains were delayed by over 12 to 14 hours leading to some cancellations and some forced flights. In spite of all these a number of scholars braved and came to participate which made the Seminar a success.

It was felt that although there was great enthusiasm, inspired action and dedication in the cause of literacy, the aims and objectives are becoming progressively unclear. There was some discussion on the diverse perspectives of literacy. The UNESCO approach to literacy which is linked to theories of development is seen by many as a capacitating factor. The Government of India's characterisation of literacy as "an essential tool for communication and learning, for acquiring and sharing of knowledge and information, a precondition for an individual's evaluation and growth and for national development" is an echo of the UNESCO approach. Ideologically, the transition from Orality to Literacy is seen as a critical stage in human development signalling a movement from premodernity to modernity.

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Scholars have questioned the status of literacy as an independent variable and have emphasised the socio-historical context of literacy. As literacy is embedded in social institutions and these institutions vary in structure and function, literacy can not be viewed as a single universal and uniform practice. Literacies practised among farmer communities, worker communities, white collar groups, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, urban slum dwellers and school dropouts are qualitatively different and are to be approached as such. Literacy, according to this approach is one of the factors for changing consciousness and therefore of society.

Literacy and schooling has given rise to further controversies. Claims have been made that it is schooling and not literacy which is responsible for the consequences attributed to literacy. Studies about cognitive development which find correlation between schooled and unschooled children lead support to this view. By negating the idea of unschooled educated, it asserts that without literacy there is neither schooling nor education.

Paulo Freire has suggested an alternate paradigm which says that learning to read is a political act. Only when the learner is aware of his/her intrinsic strength to analyse and change society that (s) he has attained literacy. The Persepolis declaration named 'A Turning Point for Literacy' says, literacy is "not just the process of learning skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, but a contribution to the liberation of man and to his full development. Thus conceived, literacy creates to conditions for the acquisition of a critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and of its aims; it also stimulates initiative and his participation in the creation of projects capable of acting upon the world, of transforming it. . . .

Literacy work, like education in general, is not the driving force of historical change. It is not the only means of liberation but is an essential instrument for all social change. Literacy is a political act." It does not need special mention that Paulo Freire was a participant in the Conferance.

The consensus that emerged in the seminar in that there must be a clearer articulation of the goals of literacy keeping in view the complexo, stratified and the varied societies which are to be serviced by Literacy. In any case the sooner the uniform and universal literacy goal is given up, the better progress will be made towards achieving literacy.

The next point of discussion was the use of the term 'eradication' in the context of illiteracy. It was pointed out that illiteracy is not a disease like malaria or typhoid to be eradicated, It was suggested that a positive term like 'promotion of literacy' could convey the meaning better than 'eradication of illiteracy'. In this context it was further pointed out that illiteracy

is not a national shame.   Exploitation of illiterates by literates is a national shame.

It was generally agreed that orality and literacy are not two mutually opposing poles, but two ends in a continuum.   Both orality and literacy have mixed discourse elements which are typically attributed to one or the other.   Electronic orality is called secondary orality which arise out of a literate culture and there are many intermediate groups which link orality with literacy in different ways.   Psychological research also establishes continuum between the unschooled and the schooled.   Understanding of those phenomena will give a better appreciation of the meanings of literacy which is embedded in an ocean of a literacy, preliteracy, and illiteracy.

A question arose as to how orality could be used in the interest of literacy. Since several folk forms were demonstarted to show that these forms had oral texts as well as oral interpretations, a question was raised as to how these forms could be exploited to propagate literacy.   It was generally agreed that neither folk forms nor orality are commodities to be consumed by the literates.   Cross fertilization of orality and literacy enriches expression as well as content.   Since orality and literacy are two different manifestations of language and literacy is not a translation of orality, through mutual interaction one must enrich the other.

There was a good deal of discussion on bi/multi lingualism and biliteracy. The relationship between mother tongue literacy and language and culture maintainance was particularly explored.   Distinct positive cognitive consequences for children with bi/multilingual ability and distinct social psychological consequences of such children was noted.   It was further noted that there is a common underlying proficiency between Language 1 and Language 2 and there is no loss in proficiency in the acquisition of Language 2.   A strong biliterate and bilingual programme was recommended, but caution was sounded to ensure that the transference does not lead to soft humanistic assimilation.

Training is the weakest link in literacy effort. So much is made of aggressive propaganda for environment building, that training of trainers is lost sight of.   In the claim that 'reading and writing as skills come as natural to man as brick laying, fishing or ploughing' the need to understand the nature and goals of literacy, the curriculum, methods and materials of literacy are given a go by.   The sheer number of literacy trainers baffles the managers of literacy so much that while the mass programmes of Functional Literacy provide for two days' training for master trainers (supervisors), the volunteers are left to their mercy.   The Centre based programmes provide for 21 days training for literacy trainer.   Mass campaign for literacy in the Districts provide for 3 to 5 days' training.   Although all these programmes

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ate expected to achieve the same goals, the training programmes vary in duration and content. It was generally felt that without proper orientation literacy trainers can not be effective in attaining their goals. It was further felt that each one teach one is a western concept where emphasis is on the fulfilment of individual aspirations. In the multilingual pluricultural Indian context the approach must be from many to many or atleast the goal must be to reach many. Interpersonal communication, group approach and mass contact should be used so as to make people reflect their educational and cultural needs.

It was generally admitted that an understanding of orality will not only give one a better understanding of literacy, but will make one a better promoter of literacy as well as a better material producer. Since orality and literacy compliment one onother particularly in literate circumstances, understanding of phonetic rules, syntactic rules and communicative rules which characterise the transition from one to the other will make one a better instructor as well as a material producer. A naive acceptance of simplicity criterion as well as limit of words in a sentence may make the texts difficult as has been found from research.

A point which received some attention is the distinction between literacy and education. It was pointed out by many participants that an illiterate person is not necessarily uneducated It was generally agreed that if attempts are made to bring contemporary knowledge to the illiterate through channels other than literacy, then that will create motivation for literacy. It was necessary to identify the ungoing non-formal teaching learning situations using the oral mode and use them to promote literacy. It was pointed out that this approach has yielded considerable success in the Community Education Programme of Dr. Napitupuleir in Indonesia.

It was felt that such an expensive programme of about Rs. 20,000 crores does not have essentially necessary professional support. It was suggested that Resource Support Consultation Teams should be created both at the national as well as regional levels.

At our request the I G N O U made a film on Orality and Literacy for their Foundation Course. We have retained the entire footage shot and produced an edited version of it which could be used as a training input.

All concerned have called the Seminar a Landmark and a grand success. Suggestions have been made for a follow up Seminar where State Resource Centre representatives would sit with professionals and see how some of the conclusions arrived at this Seminar can be translated into practical terms. State Resource Centre, Jamia, and State Resource Centre, Mysore, have pledged support for it. Another suggestion is to publish the papers presented in the Conference.

D.P. Pattanayak

Orality and Literacy :
An Indian Perspective

Indian traditional culture has been nurtured in specific eco-cultural zones with specific life styles and life cycles. They are expressed through different languages and interpreted orally as well as through textual traditions. They are guided by different religious and philosophical outlooks towards life functions. The 3,000 mother tongues, 4,000 castes and communities and 4,000 faiths, when looked through environmental, ecological, socio-economic, cultural and political parameters appear fragmented. The Western linear and binary approach magnifies isolation and fragmentation of cultural expressions.

Maukhika and Likhita (Oral and Literate) Desi and Margi (the fold and popular and the frozen and classical) are interwoven and continuously renew one another finding expression through myriad forms and genres. They have punctuated not only the annual calendar, but the life cycle itself and whether it is life or death, planting or harvesting, naming or approaching adulthood, each becomes a celebration, differing in form, style, fair and festival. At the same time they symbolise living continuities of a holistic world view. There is no little tradition or great tradition, marginal or main stream, oral or textural tradition, but interweaving of all these, each one interacting on the other, the mutual influence of the tribal rural and the urban, the oral and the literate, forming part of a complete whole.

Dharma, the principle which holds the staggering multiplicity of forms, thoughts and institutions together, is better translated as duty than religion. It is understanding the holistic principle underlying these diverse expressions that will decide the countinuity of the Indian civilisation in the midst of change. It is understanding that life is neither fragmented into different dimensions nor is it the aggregate of different expressions. but the multi-layered, multidimensional relationship among these elements within demarcated space and defined time that account for a culture will determine the future direction of traditional culture.

Looked at from this perspective, illiteracy to literacy is a continuum with semi literacy, functional literacy, para literacy and post literacy as inter-vening variables. Semi literacy is that stage in literacy when one can read and write individual letters, may be few words, but cannot read connected materials with understanding and cannot write a free composition. Functional literacy is sufficient merely to bring its possesser within the reach

of bureaucratic modes of communication and authority. Para literacy is to cope with life without reliance on reading and writing. Post literacy is from meeting the daily needs to reading and writing as life relevant activities, as ends in themselves and reading for future employment. Illiteracy is hard to define. In the non-literate tradition there exist oral history, oral tradition in music and arts, oral discourses, oral interpretations and oral continuity in professions. Many things considered as features of written tradition are found in the oral tradition. Literacy is perceived variously at different times and by various people. At one time putting marks in multiple choice questionnaire for obtaining a driving license was considered sufficient condition for literacy. From here to the UNESCO declaration that literate is one "Who has achieved a level of knowledge and competence in reading and writing which enables him to participate as an equal in the social activities of his cultural group" (Grey 56, pp 24), is a long way.

Psychologists have distinguished the schooled and non-schooled children as regards cognitive development. "In school, learning of a concept begins with a verbal formulation of a general rule". (Dash U. N., and Das J. P. cognitive development in schooled and non-schooled children—Evidence from cross-cultural studies, Journal of Social and Economic Studies (n.s) 1, 2, 1984). The unschooled learn through observation, and therefore, by implication learn specific context sensitive tasks. From specific tasks they attempt generalisations which are preserved and processed through aphorisms, riddles, sayings and such like forms. The unschooled learn also through rote memory. Although memorisation assumes a frozen text, it operates both ways, from generalisations to specificities as well as from specificities to generalisations. Thus, the inductive reasoning of the schooled and the deductive reasoning of the unschooled are two different ways of apprehending reality. Literacy and illiteracy, as would appear from the above, are to be conceived as two ends of a continuum rather than as two opposing poles.

There has been considerable discussions about the two coding processes, simultaneous and successive processing of information, in the context of schooled and unschooled children. The characteristics of both the processes are described by Das, Kriby and Jarman. (Das, J.P., Kirby J , and Jarman R.F., 1975, simultaneous and successive synthesis : An alternative model for cognitive abilities. Psychological bulletin, 82, 87-103. ——, 1979. Simultaneous and Successive Cognitive Prosesses. New York. Academic Press). Simultaneous processing refers to holistic gestalts or in the discovery of relationship between two or more entities. It requires unerstaading of logico-grammatical relations, comparative constructions and spatial contructions. Successive processing refers to temporally organised successive series. The sequential nature of language and speech dictates successive processing particularly for resolving ambiguities in surface and deep structures. Although according to Iuria both modes of processing are

involved in an individual's linguistic functioning, studies show that groups differ in their preference for an proficiency in a particular mode of processing. Studies further show that "The strongest impact of schooling is seen in accelerating the development of successive processing" (Dash, Udai N., and Das J.P., 1984, Development of concrete operational thought and information coding in schooled and unschooled children, British Journal of Development Psychology 263-72). By extension one can say that in the continuum between unschooled illiterate and the schooled literate, there is progression from simultaneous synthesis to successive processing in terms of preference and proficiency.

Literacy is an attribute to schooling. Piagetian research on cognition and schooling tells us that "The acquisition of concrete operational thinking was a function of age rather than of schooling". (Dash & Das, Ibid). Concrete operational thinking involves conserving substance, volume, number, length, distance, area and such other logico-spatial concepts. Decentering, reversibility and compensation are some of the underlying thought processes. Understanding relationship between two objects with reference to a third, understanding class sub-class relationship are some of the tasks accomplished under the concrete operational period. Under these circumstances to dub the unschooled as unintelligent or un-educated is to say the least is unfair.

Literacy is writing and reading. Illiteracy is listening and speaking, lack of ability to read and write. India, from time immemorial, has a tradition of mass illiteracy and limited literacy. Even schooling involved an oral tradition. The Vedas were memorised and remembered. A book of phonetics (Siksa) had to be written which codified rules of recitation. The tradition is so strong that even today reading does not find a place in the school curriculum in India. Memorisation passes off as reading. In the secondary and tertiary schools lecture method dominates the class room. The 4th International Congress on Adult Education gave a call for the right to learn. The right to learn includes the right to read and write —the right to question and analyse—the right to imagine and create – the right to read one's own world and to write history—the right to have access to educational resources—and the right to develop individual and collective skills. Literacy programmes are seldom sensitive to such rights of the learners.

Providing scripts to unwritten languages is one of the preconditions of literacy. What is the relative weightage to pedagogical facility, technological amenability, ethnic perception of identity or modernity is to be sorted out in this context. Another point that needs to be sorted out is whether the difference between orality and literacy are differences of spoken and written modes or the manner in which these modes are used.

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Orality is as much a social choice as literacy. Orality is structured with an oral historian, an instant composer, an oral interpreter of an oral text, and a network of oral information processing. Literacy is structured with written texts prepared by a poet, a fiction writer, a dramatist, a scientist or a social scientist. The texts are read silently or loudly. They use a style different from the spoken. Literacy is a choice, as it is freedom from a stigma as well as promise of a good life. Orality is a choice as it is defence of one's identity as well as lack of faith in the ushering in a good life through reading and writing. Literacy is for domestication rather than liberation. The school paints harmony rather than the realities and domesticates the learner into the prevailing pattern of consumption and control. Orality deals with immediacy and reality.

The written style is different from the spoken in most Indian languages. The classical style is different from the popular. Most Indian languages have geographically variant forms of speech (dialects), as well as socially variant forms of speech (sociolect). Usually these dialects and sociolects are used in intimate domains, whereas the standard is used in other cultural domains. If initial literacy is in a style, dialect or language different from that of the learners, it will not motivate them and is bound to prove infructious. The memorisation and mechanical manipulation involved in literacy in a substitute variety is bound to curb creativity and innovativeness and stand as a barrier against the flowering of mother tongue competence.

In a multilingual pluricultural country the crucial concept is linkage. If home languages are recognised and conscious efforts is made to link one language with another, than this results in strength. If, on the contrary, one language is sought to be substitused by another, this results in debilitation. Treating the first language as resource to build upon gives self confidence. Considering the first language a weaker language and ignoring it in favour of another weakens one's self image. The process of transition assumes importance in this context. If the mother tongue is a non-literate or a neo-literate language, and literacy in mother tongue is not linked with literacy in the dominant language or style of the region, than there is the risk of relapsing into illiteracy. The matter is not as simple as it appears. There are different kinds of relationship among minor/minority languages and dominant languages, each having its special problem. One example would suffice to give a taste of the complexity involved. In the Koraput District of Orissa Gutob (a Munda language) and Ollari (a Dravidian language) is spoken by two segments of a single ethnic group, Gadaba. Their link language among themselves, with other tribal language speakers and with the caste Oriyas is Desia, a non-standard dialect of Oriya. Many of the tribal languages have such regional variations that first of all an overall pettern of the language is to be established before

literacy work is to begin. Even if initial literacy material is designed in the tribal tongue, the problem of subsequent literacy in Oriya vis-a-vis Desia is to be sorted out. This situation parallels that of Ranchi in Bihar, where Sadri is the link language for a number of minor/minority languages, among themselves as well as with the surrounding. This has not only relevance for literacy, but to the larger issue of structuring further education for adults.

Language creates enviornment as much as it changes the existing environ-ment. Language may stimulate or inhibit communication. For entering into an informal setting informal lauguage is a necessity. Formal language in an informal setting may put off people. Silence resul-ting from such ackward situations sometimes is wrongly inter-preted as the culture of silence. On a formal occasion use of informal language may be insulting. A good example is the use of familiar pronoun or verbal ending agreeing with the pronoun in a context dictating the use of the h onorific. It is important to note that linking informal and formal, dialect and standard and home language and school language is a function of literacy. Linking speaking with reading and writing within the single language is another function of literacy. Literacy in two languages is known as Biliteracy. Biliteracy links skills in one language with corres-ponding skills in another language.

Awareness of oneself and others is an important factor in literacy. Aware-ness of a person as an individual and as a member of society may make a difference in motivation towards literacy. Very often, those incharge of literacy, imbued with western values emphasise the individual and neglect the society· While choosing words one may impart values. Choice of *Nal* 'tap' and showing the picture of a half pant and clad child taking bath under a tap is importation of middle class values. Choice of words such as Akash 'sky', Phul 'flower', Sundar 'beautiful' are neutral insofar as they do not provoke commitment to literacy. That is why Paulo Freire put so much emphasis on the choice of words to be used for initial literacy. Making students sit in hierarchical order in a class room is extending the semiotics of living in a village. Here the school imparts values about the others which reinforce the already existing social differentiation. A literacy worker must be sensitive to such dimensions.

Communication is possible when there is a shared code and shared meaning. Books, magazines, newspapers, radio, television and film may all be there ; but there may not be any communication if the language used is not acces-sible to the projected beneficaries. Indian audience is defined by language use. A programme in English is accessible to 4 percent of the population whereas a programme in Hindi/Hindustani is accessible to approximately 40 percent of the population. Sanskritised Hindi has its own problems, which need not deter us here. Sanskritised Hindi is a link among the elites

in Indian languages whereas it accentuates differences among the elites and the masses. Sometimes the media loses its credibility if messages are manipulated. The study conducted by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication at the behest of the Government of India at the time of the popular movement led by Jaya Prakash Narayan reported that both the print media as well as the electronic media had lost credibity among the people at that time. Word of mouth was the only reliable mode of communication. To make ability to read newspapers as the sole motivating factor for literacy may be a wrong thing under such circumstances, although properly chosen newspaper reading could be a strong motivating factor.

The literate communication is from writer to reader whereas the oral communication is from the speaker to hearer. In human communication the same person is the transmitter as well as receiver. Literacy workers must be sensitive to the difference between instant communication and deferred communication and use this as a motivating factor for literacy. Group formation takes place through communication. Language gives a group homogeneity and identity. These could be emphasised as motivating factors for literacy. Communication scale is widened by adding a new dialect or language, a new style or register to one's repertoire. The wider is the scale of communication, greater is the accessibility of the person in wider society. Instead of making literacy an either or proposition with orality, if it is projected as an additional equipment for meeting the challenges of life, then there is greater chance of its success.

In India both orality and literacy have been put to use by political leaders like Gandhi in order to mobilise the country in its fight against colonialism. The Indian experience intuitively appears to suggest a new kind of relationship between orality and literacy. For example, the Vedic texts referred to above were codified and transmitted orally remained unchanged, were autonomus of the context and provide space for reflection and interpretation. These are said to be properties of the written text in the Western context. The oral transmission of information and values in India has resulted in cumulative expansion of knowledge and its dissemination among masses as well, which are considered to be characteristics of the written mode of communication. The oral transmission of classics and hymns and oral composition and transmission of folk forms continues to date in India. The multilingual and multiscriptal character of the Indian polity obliterates neat distinction of literate and non-literate and provides for oracy in one language and literacy in another. In this sense Chomsky's formulation of 'ideal speaker hearer of a (single) language' stands questioned. There is also uniqueness in the Indian historical and personal experience with reference to scriptures and scripts. The spoken word is believed to have mantric powers which enchained the power of Gods. There were ritual restriction

to some social groups to have access to written texts of scriptures. Here one language is written in many scripts and one text written in many languages. An enlightened emperor like Akbar was illiterate. These are likely to throw new light on the literacy question.

There is another dimension to literacy in India. While we make all efforts to extend the frontiers of literacy, the question still remains as to what strategy is to be followed to bring knowledge and information to the 70 percent illiterates in this country. Any transitional measure in this regard would create the environment for literacy and therefore, deserves special attention.

The possible areas of research are linguistic, psychological, sociological and applicational in nature. The research questions they try to raise and answer are linguistic, communicative, scriptal, cognitive, social, political, histrorical, legal, technological and applicational. In this context the following issues demand specific attention : (I) The effect of the degree of difference within the spoken and written form of languages and literaey development in children and adults. (II) Discourse strategies and verbal reasoning in spoken and written languages. (III) The linguistic differences between the spoken and the written languages. (IV) Lexical and syntactic devices for stress on intonation in the written language. (V) Providing a language with the technology of writing and its effects on its structure and on speakers perception of it.

It must be recognised that there is no universal way to literacy. Literacy methodology must be culture sensitive. Use of people's language is a majar concern for any literacy effort. Linking of styles, dialects and languages assumes importance in this contexts. To spell out biliterate and bilingual strategy in different cultural contexts and integrate the various research outputs into this strategy will continue to remain a major challenge before literacy workers all over the world.

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Lakshmidhar Mishra

Language, Literacy and Development

Let me start with two stories from my own experience. These relate to my appointment as a Commissioner of the Supreme Court on 2 occasions to investigate into the working and living conditions of stone quarry workers at Vizayawada (December, 1983) and Faridabad (January, 1984). One of the terms of reference of my appointment was that I should interrogate as many quarry workers as possible in both the places and come to the conclu-

sion as to whether they come under the definition of 'BONDED LABOURER' or not (as defined in S.2 (g) of the Bonded Labour System Abolition Act).

The workers whom I interrogated at both the places are interstate migrant workmen. At Vijayawada, majority of them have migrated from Tamil Nadu (Salem, Pudukottai, Dharamapuri) and Karnataka. (Bijapur, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar) while at Faridabad they have migrated from the Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas of Bihar, Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh, Bundelkhand region and eastern part of Uttar Pradesh (Basti, Deoria, Azamgarh, Balia, Banda, Gorakhpur) and the desert districts of Rajasthan) Barmer, Jalore, Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Nagaur). At both the places I had the problem of communication with a marginal difference, although at the second place communication was comparatively easier. Although people there speak *Chatisgarhi*, *Bhojpuri* and *Rajasthani*, they have access to Hindi and they do follow simple *bol-chal* Hindi. At the first place, however, they had no access to Hindi and help of a translator/interpreter had to be taken.

More complex than language as a medium of communication was the content of communication. Under law, bonded labour system is illegal and is deemed to have been abolished w.e.f. 24-10-75, the date when the Bonded Labour System ordinance was promulgated. One can be bonded to another person either at ones native place or at the point to which one has migrated, although the trauma of bandage is much more intense at the latter than the former. The moment a person is identified as a bonded labourer, he/she has to be set at liberty. Then follows a process, though a painful one of social, economic and psychological rehabilitation of the person released from bondage. It is not easy for a person who has been bonded for life, whose elanvital has been sapped and dissipated to move away from a world where he was denied of freedom but assured of some semblance of livelihood to a world where everything is uncertain and insecure. But in human life which is the most precious object in God's creation, one does not hold anything more dear than ones freedom and the dignity, beauty and worth of ones existence which go with that freedom. It was comparatively easier for me to carry conviction to thousands of such persons whom I interrogated in the stone quarries of Faridabad in the language intelligible to them that freedom was the most precious state of a man/woman's existence and nothing on earth could compensate the loss of that freedom and even if the Government of Haryana refused to rehabilitate them, they should prefer to go back to their hearth and home and eke out their livelihood in a decent

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and dignified manner, howsoever meagre or modest the means, rather than barter away their much cherished freedom to a bunch of mulfunctional and dysfunctional middlemen who have induced them to come to the socalled disneyland and subjected them to this process of ruthless exploitation. I asked them to think, to critically reflect and objectively analyse the harsh realities of the situation in which they have been placed, the generative sources of their disadvantage and how they should overcome them. They seemed to understand the force and logic of this contention and when the provisions of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act vis-a-vis their own position were explained to them they nodded that they were indeed in that state of bondage for no fault of theirs and that their deliverance, their inalienable freedom which was absolutely the barest minimum and yet the most prized possession of every human being should be restored to them.

Not so was the case in the other place i.e. the stone quarries of Vijaywada. Here the medium of communication was Tamil and Kannad to which I had no access and, therefore, had to take the help of an interpreter. The interpreter—an official of the State Govt. was evidently in no position to communicate the message of conscientisation which I could myself do directly at Faridabad. Either he had no empathy or sensitivity to the plight of the people who had lost their freedom and were working under economic compulsions or he was unable to understand and appreciate the strength of the messsage or he was working at the behest of the stone quarry contractors and conveying the wrong messages. The result was that the inter-state migrant workmen signalled the wrong responses such as (a) they have come to the quarrysite on their own and have not been recruited by anybody; (b) they were not required to work in excess of the working hours stipulated in Mines Act, 1952; (c) they were getting the minimum wages as notified by the appropriate Govt. under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948; (d) they were free to move away from the quarry-site of their own sweet will anytime they do desire; and (e) they were not bonded to anybody.

What came out of these investigations and what was reported by me to the Supreme Court is today a matter of history and need not have to be elaborated here. The Central objective of this post mortem was to drive home the basic truth that while language is a vehicle of communication, what is more important is the content of communication and the richness of human appeal in communication of a message than the language of communication as such. This needs little more elaboration. In the fifties, we toyed with the idea of Community Development as an integral part of the First Five Year Plan. In our obsession with development of the Community as one entity we lost sight of the fact that the community is not a homogeneous but a highly hetrogeneous unit. It comprises of layers and sub-layers,

of divisions and sub-divisions, of formation and sub-formation, based on caste, social status, profession, income, etc. We forgot that community as as entity can never be developed without an adequate understanding of the forces which divide them and of the forces which accentuate differences. How can development of the community as one entity be possible unless these differences have been eliminated or atleast harmonised to some extent. The least that could have been and should have been done was to opproach the people, place facts in their correct perspective, and enable them to analyse, reflect and question the objective reality behind the assumptions which led us to formulate such plans. There was the radio rural forum, there was the charcha mandal and all these could have been meaningfully harnessed. No such attempt was ever made. What happened instead was adoption of one model of development of the community and its uniform application to the whole country without explaining to the people the consequences which were to follow or which actually followed. One can say that such a process resulted in building up infrastructure in the countryside like roads, buildings (Panchayat, primary school, graingola, marketing cooperative, etc.) which helps in improvement of communication and transport. The basic differences between the sectors or classes which comprise the community, however, widened. Those who belonged to the upper strata of the society who were rich, influential and resourceful and had all the access to the inputs of production immensely benefitted by the entire process of community development. Those who were at the lower rung of the social ladder did not have access to those inputs of production and could not, therefore, benefit from the gains of development. The process of one model of development getting replaced by another went on from year to year or from one plan period to another. These were, however, cosmetic changes and not real ones. The various components of development such as infrastructure development, social and economic development, cultural and ethical development were never integrated and people were not enabled in terms of conscientisation to question the soundness and relevance of a particular model introduced at a particular time.

What we need, therefore, today is a different dialectic of development. But before I come to the dialectic of development that I have in my mind, let me also enumerate few other traditional perceptions of development.

According to one view, the concept of development in a developing world or the third world is modernisation and democratisation. It means higher levels of production (and consumption) of goods and services and evidently a higher production of goods and services cannot be achieved without modernisation which in turn could be brought about without the application of science and without the utilisation of appropriate technology. Democratisation of development means people should have the opportunity to

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participate in their political, social and economic institutions and are also able to take decisions.

The second important aspect of development is a balanced synthesis of the growth and equity syndrome. Growth without equity gives rise to a social and economic disequillibrium which is not in the interest of growth itself. Similarly, equity without growth is like a stagnant pool which breeds many undesirable consequences. If development has to be meaningful, growth and equity must go hand in hand and the entire planning process must ensure that growth is not only accompanied by but tempered with equity. When we speak of equity in the context of educational development, it means that the entire population has access to a homogeneous core of knowledge, values, skills, etc. which constitute both the cultural expression of national unity and the medium through which social awareness and active participation is possible.

The hollowness of the assumption that if science and modern technology and large scale industries combine to increase the gross national product, the fruits and benefits of such increase would somehow percolate down to the weaker sections of the society has been exploded with successive experiments in alternative planning models. Acceptance of this assumption has only meant development of the few and impoverishment of the many. One of the most significant changes in the theory and practice of development which has profound implications for education may be described as the demise of the GNP concept. While delivering the presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Indian Economic Association at Trivandrum on 30th December '89, Prof. Amartya Sen had commended the examples of countries which make better use of public delivery system, of health care, basic education and social insurance, which lead to better life expectancy and lower infant mortality rate in sharp contrast with market reliant economies which may have higher per capita GNP but have lower achievements in terms of indicators of the quality of life.

The concept of development which we have in view is the development of that human spirit characterised by empathy and sensitivity which Rabindra Nath Tagore describes in the inimitable lines of 'Upahar' in Manushi :

> "In the innermost recesses of this heart, the waves of the Universe strike hard every now and then. They echo and re-echo inside the heart, incessant, day and night."

If education has to promote development of that human spirit in the true sense of the term, it has to prepare human beings to adapt themselves to a changed environment and to refine and sharpen their ingenuity and sensibility in such a manner that alongwith readiness and ability to change, they

should be able to share their knowledge, ingenuity and resourcefulness with others who have been deprived of them and yet who are in need of them. that will highten, enrich and stimulate human knowledge.

Unfortunately, the economies of scarcities in the Third World have also brought with them the morality of scarcities. Engaged in a brutal competition for scarce goods and services, we seem to have sacrificed some of our most precious values. Desire for quick material gains has subordinated the end to the supremacy of means of acquisition. Having outdistanced time and space, men and women today are able to fly like birds in the air and swim in the ocean like fish but they remain insensitive to the sight of misery, privation and suffering from their most immediate neighbour, not to speak of others. We remain indifferent to the cry of physical and mental anguish of those unfortunate sections of the society who have been victims of ignorance and illiteracy, of social discrimination and economic exploitation and have, therefore, remained at the lowest rung of the ladder of social and economic development for no fault of theirs; these have been hurled at them. We watch television on the plight of bonded labourers or the endless misery of child worker or the grisly spectre of dowry deaths. We get sensitised and momentorily transported to a different world. There is a temporary revulsion. But no sooner the show is over than we are back to the world of flesh and blood which Hobbes had described as "Nasty, brutish, poor and short".

True education must return to the people their pride, their moral fibre, the dignity, beauty und worth of human existence which they have lost. It must help them to refill the value system; it must enable them to overcome the crisis of morality.

The central message of the International Literacy Year is that education matters; it is a vital and pervasive force in all aspects of life. Education shapes us as individuals and as societies. It determines in very large measure what we are and what we aspire to become. Illiteracy does not preclude knowledge or wisdom. Those who are illiterate may be and infact are in many cases intelligent, knowledgeable, mature and sensible. They have the rich world of experience, imagination and sensitivity. There is genius in their rich oral tradition, refreshing fragrance in the values which they possess and cherish. One is reminded of that soul-stirring episode in Shyam Benegal's "Bharat Ek Khoj" where Chanda, who was the Principal Lietuenant of Prithviraj Chauhan, though illiterate has been able to articulate with absolute precision and accuracy which eventually led Prithviraj Chauhan (who was blind) shooting an arrow to pierce Mohammad Ghouri to death. Yet in the modern world, in the world of ever expanding science and technology, education is the most essential condition and powerful agent of progress. Literacy is the vehicle, the means and gateway

through which ideas, information, knowledge and wisdom are expressed and exchanged.

An adult learner is placed in an environment which is different from that of a child. He/She tends to withdraw from that environment on two grounds namely (a) the Instructor who comes to learn is himself/herself full of diffidence and contempt for teaching; he/she also does not know how to treat an adult learner with dignity, equality and respect; and (b) there is very little in terms of immediate social or economic relevance which literacy has to offer the learner. This brings in an element of apathy or indifference towards learning.

I am reminded of a soulstirring skit on 'Literacy and Liberation' which was recently staged by the artists of a cultural troupe 'Sahamat' dedicated to the memory of late Safdar Hashme and very ably directed by the distinguished freelancer Shri M. K. Raina on the occasion of the observance of the International Literacy Day on 8-9-90 at Mavalanker Auditorium, New Delhi. In this skit, which is an excerpt from the play "Mother" written by Bertol Brecht (based on the novel "Mother" of Maxim Gorky), an attempt has been made to liberate a teacher who is full of cynicism and scepticism towards teaching, who is diffident to teach and yet who takes up teaching more out of a social or economic necessity than out of any genuine urge, inclination or commitment to teach. He wants to teach according to his predilections and personal fads, which is opposed by the learners who are interested in learning more in terms of their own survival and empowerment than in terms of mere alphabetisation. They eventually succeed in bringing round the teacher to their point of view and completely winning him over. This is how a reversal of roles takes place; the learners become the teacher and the teacher becomes the learner. The latter is also fully liberated from the fads, taboos and diehard ideas which he initially had while teaching.

Paulo Freire, an outstanding adult educator and revolutionary of our time in his book "Pedagogy of the oppressed" has presented a lucid, scintillating and forceful analysis of the above two categories, their strength and weaknesses and how education can be perceived as a tool for liberating both from their make believe world, their unbridled passions and temptations.

According to Freire, for the first category i.e. the oppressors 'human beings' refer only to themselves; other people are 'things'. For them, there exists only one right; their right to live in peace and supremacy over the right of the oppressed for survival (which is not recognised but merely conceded). They make this concession only because the existence of the oppressed is necessary for their own existence. They passess a possessive consciousness and this tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of domination. The earth, property, creation of men and men themselves—everything is

reduced to the status of objects at its disposal. This, in turn, leads to a highly materialistic concept of existence in which money is the measure and the crowning glory of all beings and profit the primary obsession.

The oppressed stand out in sharp contrast to the oppressor or the exploiter. They have fatalistically resigned themselves to the structure of domination in which they are immersed. They are inhibited from waging the struggle for freedom so long as they are physically and mentally incapable of running the risks it requires. Their desire for freedom, if any, threatens not only the oppressor but also their own oppressed comrades who are afraid of still greater repression When they discover within themselves the passion to be free, they perceive that this passion can be transformed into a reality only when the same is aroused in their comrades. Unfortunately, for them, they prefer gregariousness to authentic comradeship; they prefer the security of conformity to the insecurity and uncertainty surrounding the world of freedom and the very pursuit of freedom.

The oppressed, as Freire puts it, are thus torn between two conflicting loyalties, between being wholly themselves or being divided, between human solidarity or alienation, between following prescriptions or having conscious choices, between being spectators or actors, between speaking out or immersed in the culture of silence.

This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education must take into account. It must enable them to formulate the instrument of their own liberation. The second sequential step is to infuse the culture of self-confidence, self-assertion and self-efficacy as opposed to the culture of silence and dependence. This is essentially a technique of making them aware that they have infinite possibilities and potentialities; that there is nothing beyond their reach, that it is not too late to learn, irrespective of age or sex and that they alone can make it. The third step is to enable the oppressed to perceive their strength and weaknesses vis-a-vis the strength and weaknesses of their adversaries, impart them tools, techniques and strength so that they can grapple with them and eventually overcome them. The fourth and final step is to familiarise the oppressed with the relative merits and demerits of different forms for organisations, the procedure for their formation, equipping them with the capacity to exercise their choice or discretion in favour of a particular form which is in their best interest and eventually helping them to organise into a particular form as they might choose.

Language is a vehicle of thought, expressions and communication. It is also an instrumentality of social group formation. It imparts a distinct social identity to an individual and imparts a cohesive character to a group.

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Despite such an important role assigned to language, there are several wrong notions and misconceptions about the role of language. Some of these are :—

(a) Plurality of languages is an inconvenience and a burden;

(b) Plurality breeds and sustains inequality through the maintenance of differences, whereas uniformity breeds egalitarianism.

(c) A country must be mono-lingual to be modern and they grow into diversity in order to become contemporaneous.

(d) One language leads to a cohesive society.

(e) Promulgation and co-existence of many languages are barriers in communication, inconvenient and expensive.

Not only the above aphorisms are farther from the truth, they are indicative of an attitude of convert language imperialism This is also reminiscent of the worldwide strong and powerful trend to uniformity in language communication. Each colonial power (British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Russian and American) pursued a policy of acquisition of backyard territory throughout the world and this was followed by a uniformity in wider communication media on both national and international scenes. During the last 2 to 3 centuries of colonial rule, many lesser languages and smaller peoples across the globe lost their identity or even disappeared. They became victims of change and modernisation. While capitalist countries saw them as expedient in the name of progress, communist countries saw them as the remnants of outmoded cultures representing ways of life not in conformity with the spirit of revolutionary and historical change.

It is necessary to remove some of these wrong notions and misgivings about multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism and put matters in their correct historical perspective. In a rational and civilised society, every human being must have uninhibited access to knowledge and information as may be relevant to his/her life. To control and dictate the languages of access is a positive suppression of human spirit; it is a denial of the outlet for creativity and innovativeness. Those who agrue against multi-lingualism lose sight of the fact that plurality of languages (meaning thereby access to local, regional, national and international languages) is necessary to have access to all aspects of knowledge such as intimate, proximate, distant and foreign. Nobody learns about the plants, flowers, birds, animals around ones home through a foreign language.

One language does not lead to a cohesive society; all people speaking Arabic do not form a cohesive uuit. The Blacks and Whites in America,

the Scots and the English in the UK, the British and Australians who speak English do not constitute one single cohesive unit either politically or emotionally.

Similarly, literacy in minority languages is not incompatible with the goal of national unity. Fears that the promotion of the language of an ethnic minority was equivalent to according special political privilege to that group is unfounded. There is increasing recognition that the communication problems of minorities must be addressed for their own sake while the national language is used for wider communication. In multi-lingual nations, the use of different languages must be complementory and not exclusive. Transition to the national language is facilitated when literacy is rooted in local language — a pedagogically sound process.

There are certain areas like the higher levels of education, national level administration and employment in national institutions where it is appropriate that the national language as a common medium of communication be used and not the minority language. It is rather at the village level, for initial primary education and for communication in village level development that use of minority languages is not only appropriate but can be used to better effect than the national language.

There is yet another and more important aspect of this issue. Today a supreme realisation has dawned on all of us to the effect that the only kind of development and social change which will be sustainable is one which involves the local people right from the start. This has automatically led to the widespread use of participatory methods of intervention. Such intervention might include the planning and implementation of rural development projects at the grass root level : health education, women's education, family income generation, etc. If local people are to be enabled to think, question, critically reflect, analyse the various implications of a proposition and to express themselves on their own terms, this must mean that the local language is used even where the number of people speaking it are small or where it is as yet unwritten and undeveloped. Such a micro level approach must take the linguistic problem seriously by addressing it from the start and by integrating development of the language into the intervention goals. If the experiences in Ghana and Cameroon are any indications, the very development of the language spoken at the grass root level can lead to some of the intangible social benefits sought after by empowerment strategies : increased self-confidence and initiative, pride in local cultural heritage and a greater sense of equality with groups whose languages already have a literate tradition. Examples of two other countries — one highly advanced and industrialised and another under-developed and non-

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industrialised would go to show that multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism is not a barrier but an aid and tool of development. These are examples of (a) USSR and (b) Ethiopia. In USSR, we have 100 nationalities and 1 0 to 130 languages. Each nationality has at least one corresponding language. For example, 3.2 million Georgians speak Georgian as their native language. These languages belong to 5 language families — Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, Caucesian and Paleo-Siberian. Armenian and Georgian have literature older than Russian going back to the 5th century AD. After the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin's "Declaration of the Rights of the peoples of Russia guaranteed equality of all peoples of Russia, in particular, "the right of each people to develop its own language". Linguistic institutions were set up to develop writing systems for 60 languages which lacked orthographics. Standard varieties wherever possible were identified and evolved; text books were written for languages even if the population was as small as 800 (in the case of Eskimos). Functional literacy and education upto the primary stage were imparted through the mother tongue. In the case of major languages, education was made available at all levels through the mother tongue. The nationalities had the option to have school education in the mother tongue and higher education through Russian. The illiteracy rate which stood at 79 % in 1897 was almost eliminated within 3 decades after adopting the policy of bilingual education.

The Ethiopian situation is as varied and complex as Russian. The nationalities there speak as many as 75-80 languages. The picture is further complicated by the fact that 4 major language groups are involved—omitic, semitic, cushitic and nilotic. Each major group is divided into a number of sub-families and many of these sub-families contain a number of languages. Finally there are small pockets of languages from other groups such as Bantel found within Ethiopia. Within many of the languages and particularly those which cover large areas, there are dialects in which the differences in structure, vocabulary and pronunciation can be significant.

It is in such a complex, cultural and linguistic environment that the National Literacy Campaign was conceptualised and implemented in July '79. A strategy was evolved which would (a) facilitate participation by the maximum number of people; (b) strengthen and develop nationality cultures. As only 2 languages (Ambaric and Tigrigna) were in a written form which was adequate for learning and as education had to look towards the longer range objective of a common means of communication, the Ethiopic alphabet was adopted as a common medium. Fifteen major languages were selected in 3 stages for their significance as the language of the home and were brought within the framework.

The challenge to the campaign implied research into these languages, the production of institutional materials and training and deployment of instructions to the various language areas were obvious. During the first 19 rounds of the campaign, a total of 50 million instructional materials were produced for the basic and postliteracy classes.

All countries in the African region have a multiplicity of community languages and many have brought more than one of these into use as the medium of instruction in formal education. The Ethiopian strategy is to advance along with this road in a systematic way and a firm foundation has now been laid in the muiti-lingual approach to basic learning for adults.

The results of the Ethiopian compaign have been most rewarding. Over 22 million adults have participated in the Literacy Campaign launched since 1979; of them 19 million have acquired basic literacy certificates. The illiteracy rate has dropped dramatically from 75% in 19.9 to 25% in 1989. Literacy has now become an integral part of normal social activity for the mass of the population. It has provided the tools for broadly based cultural, social, political and economic advance and for the democratisation of the whole process of participation in national development.

The situation in India is far more complex than what it obtained either in USSR or in Ethiopia. In addition to 14 major languages recognised in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India, we have as many as 1642 dialects spoken in different parts of the country. Again of the 67 languages used in education in India, 51 are modern Indian languages of which again 15 are major media of instruction while 36 are subordinate medium languages. The number of speakers of languages used as subordinate media in school education ranges from 431 in the case of Karen (Andaman & Nicobar Islands) to 3.7 million in the case of Santhali. Many languages are not used either as media of instruction or as subjects at any school level for example, Gondi (1.5 million), Tulu (1.2 million), Oraon (1.2 million), not to speak of the so-called Hindi dialects-Bhojpuri (14 million), Chattisgarhi (6.7 million), Magahi (6.6 million), Marwari (4.7 million), Rajasthani (2.1 million), Garhwali, Pahari, Kumaoni, Lambadi/Banjari, etc. There are 82 languages with population of speakers of one lakh or more and most of these are not used as media of instruction or subjects of study in schools. There are 35 languages in which newspapers are published but many of these languages are not taught in school.

The task of formulating a sound language policy in a multilingual and pluricultural country like India is not easy. A wrong policy could lead to language hegemony or imperialism by a few while a well thought out policy could certainly act as an agent of change and equaliser of social, political and economic opportunities. Our language policy has basically two com-

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ponents. On the one hand, it does lend tacit support to the maintenance of mother tongue while encouraging development of bi or multi-lingual competence. Secondly, it is intended to promote a feeling of Indianness or socio-political cultural cohesion and integration through implementation of three language formula in the schools. While in non-Hindi speaking States, Hindi is compulsorily studied as a second or third language (exceptions Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Pondicherry) teaching of non-Indo-Aryan MILs (preferably a South Indian language) is to be promoted in a Hindi speaking State.

Bi-literacy and bilingualism has been accepted as one of the major strategies in the National Literacy Mission. Essentially, this means that initial literacy will be imparted in the spoken language i.e. a language/dialect spoken by large groups of people which is distinctly different from the regional or state standard language with provision for eventual switch-over to the state standard language. Operationalisation of this strategy would imply the following :—

· Identify the names of groups including members of ethnic groups who speak a language/dialect distinctly different from the regional language.
· Identify the language/dialect spoken by them.
· Identify if primers in those languages/dialects already exist and if they can be termed as standard learning materials.
· If there is no such primer, design a primer which will be bilingual in character and which will be conforming to the social, economic and cultural needs and interests of particular ethnic groups.
. Design a training programme for the Instructors so that they are thoroughly equipped to teach a bilingual primer.

The primary purpose behind designing a bilingual primer is to enable a smooth switch-over from the spoken language/dialect to the regional language. In other words, teaching in the spoken language is merely a transition and is designed to act as a bridge for the eventual medium of instruction which will be the regional language. Such a switch-over can take place after 50% to 75% of the lessons in basic literacy have been imparted. This is essential as without this groups speaking languages which are different from the regional language will remain cut off from the national mainstream in communication as well as in all spheres of development.

It is evident that bilingualism which is conceptually sound is not easy to implement. The first major constraint arises out of the fact that there is no significant and uniform relationship between the total number of member

of an ethnic group and the number of people speaking a particular dialect. This may pose problems in identification of language/dialect spoken by large groups of people. The absolute number of people speaking a particular language/dialect (say 10,000 in a region or 1 lakh in a State) may, therefore, be adopted as a reasonable norm or criterion for the purpose of identification of language/dialect. Secondly, state govts and agencies implementing bilingualism will have to develop and demonstrate lot of empathy and sensitivity to the whole concept of bilingualism. They will have to recognise that right to speak a particular language/dialect is as fundamental to the survival of a human being as right to air or water. At the same time, every citizen of a nation must have also access to a national or regional language for sharing the benefits of planned progress as also for national unity. They also should recognise that imparting initial literacy in a language alien to the learner would lead to lot of artificial memorisation which will stiffle creativity. Further adverse consequence of this will be that instead of a language being used to learn subjects, subjects will be used to learn a language which is detrimental to the natural process of learning a language. States as Constituent units in a federal polity will, therefore, have to approach this issue with right perception, right attitude and right understanding. Thirdly, the script of the bilingual primer may pose a major problem. There are 10 major script systems including Roman & Arabic and a host of minor ones. While initial literacy may be imparted in the spoken language, the script should be that of the regional or state standard language and there should be no qualms about it. Even if a spoken dialect like Santhali has its own script, it may be desirable to use Oriya or Bengali or Devnagiri script (in respect of the 3 States of Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar where majority of Santhalis live) for the bilingual santhali primer in preference to the Olachiku script to promote better and quicker assimilation of the state standard language.

Our language, literature and culture have all been harbingers of the concept of unity in diversity; they have also been the promoters of tolerance and catholicity—values which create and sustain society. Scores of examples can be given but none could be more telling than the example from the Prithvi Shukta of Atharva Veda. We are all children of mother earth and this by itself holds the key to an understanding of the basic and essential unity of the human race which has been lucidly and forcefully brought out in this Shukta. The inquisitive disciples ask the sage, "O, Rishibar ! What is the creative form in which numerous people on our earth manifest themselves ?" The Rishi gives the following reply, "People living on this planet belong to different caste, creed, colour, language and religion". The disciples ask again out of curiosity, "If such is the scale of difference of beings, how is unity possible ?" The Rishi gives the reply, "Our earth is

our mother and we are all children of the Mother Earth". The disciples ask further, "Is this enough for unity ?" The Rishi gives the reply, "No, there is one more thing which has got to be observed. When men and women converse with each other, they must speak sweet words".

What has been stated in the Prithvi Shukta of Atharva Veda is full of wisdom and needs no elaboration. It reveals the supreme truth that it is not language pose as a medium of communication which is so important as the content of what we speak and the manner of speaking. Take for example when we quote the first lines of the first poet, "Ma nisada pratistha tvamagama".

We feel enthralled and sensitised only if we understand the ocean of truth which lies hidden in those immortal words. The truth is the futility of destruction vis-a-vis creation. Do not destroy what you cannot recreate as by destroying in one stroke you do not attain any lasting fame. This is the supreme truth not because these words were spoken in Sanskrit or by Valmiki but because it has stood the test of time. Today those of us who see before us the grisly spectre of meaningless loss of life and the orgy or destruction could very well realise the profound meaning contained in those external words. In the modern context, it could mean that one must know the art of talking to the people if one has to identify oneself with the people and with their joy and sorrow. This is particularly relevant in the context of those unfortunate sections of the society who are at the bottom layer of development and who, for generations, have been denied of what was their l gitimate due. Such people are ordinarily shy, introvert and withdrawn. Years of discrimination, deprivation and exploitation have left them in that state of stony silence which we cannot easily understand (unless we ourselves have lived in that state). We cannot evidently understand them by sitting In ivory towers, by formulating grandious plans devoid of imagination and by imposing those plans on them. This is why late J.P. Naik always used to advocate that before you do anything for the people, go down to the level where they work and live, talk to them in the language of their soul and identify their genuine need (as you do in case of your own family members) before you think of formulating anything worthwhile for them. That is real owning the people; that is true identification.

Today when there is so much of division, so much of bickering, so much of villification in the name of language, community and religion, let us remember that plurality i.e. many in one and one in many is an integral part of our thought and culture; it is not an inconvenience, not a burden but an edifice over which stand 5,000 years of flowering of our ancient culture and heritage which manifested itself tellingly in Visvakabi's famous poem "He mora chitta punya tirthe jagare dhire".

R.N. Srivastava

Orality and Literacy :
Bipolar or Continuum ?

Recalling the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Unesco has proclaimed 1990 as the International Literacy Year (ILY). Consequently, it has invited inter-governmental organizations to exert efforts in their respective fields to contribute adequately to the preparation and implementation of national and international programmes for ILY. This initiation has raised the social, psychological and educational content of literacy movement to the top of international agenda once again. However, this also provides us an opportunity to closely look at the basic assumptions lying behind Unesco sponsored literacy campaigns, viz.

- Illiteracy is a major problem of present era since 889 million adult illiterates live in the world, despite all the earlier efforts to eradicate it;

- Widespread illiteracy, especially in many developing countries, seriously hinders the process of economic and social development;

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- Illiteracy is directly opposed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that guarantees the inalienable right of everyone to education;

- Illiteracy is utterly incompatible with what is required by the great advances in the scientific and technical revolution that mankind is witnessing.

It is to be noted that ILY has also given the literacy campaign an international perspective. The People's Launch was initiated during the International Council for Adult Education's Fourth World Assembly held in Bangkok (Thailand) on January 12, 1990. It was attended by over 600 delegates from over 100 countries. In the conference jointly sponsored by the World Bank, UNICEF, United Nations Development Programme and Unesco, nearly 2,000 educational and political leaders representing 156 nations met once again in Thailand between March 5-9, 1990. Different agencies pledged to new fundings for the achievement of the target set for the adult education programmes for the year 2000.

India is committed to implement its intensive literacy programmes. Promotion of literacy has been identified as one of the six national missions with a view to make literacy as an indispensable component of human resource development (Govt. of India 1988 : 5). While launching the ILY in Delhi on January 12, 1990, the Prime Minister, V. P. Singh declared : 'We see literacy and mass education as an essential part of human resources and the emergence of a strong democratic and secular society in which each Indian will be able to find fulfillment'.

It is not difficult to find reasons why the UN General Assembly gave the call to observe 1990 as ILY. The first reason is that the Assembly believes that the literacy is closely associated with the poverty alleviation and other processes of nation-building. The second reason is our failure in the struggle against illiteracy in the second half of this century. The problem if illiteracy stubbornly persists, despite all our sincere efforts made earlier by Governmental and other public agencies. Many reasons are put forward by these agencies for the failure in their task (Govt. of India 1988 : 13). A close look at them reveals that in their view reasons for its failure are exclusively centered around implementational variables (see Appendix-1). In my opinion the reason lies somewhere else. Before we formulate our *principles of action* for literacy campaigns, we have to better understand the form and function of literacy in our own socio-cultural matrix and language ecology specific to our own network of communication.

It is to be noted that the modernization and developmental perspective of literacy education emphasizes the relationship between literacy rates and socio-economic mobility or between literacy achievement and socio-political

variables (Unesco 1984; Bhushan 1987). A search for the intimate links between literacy and language ecology is virtually missing. Secondly, we are still guided and motivated by monomodal perception of literacy that revolves around the axis of illiteracy. Its other dimensions are left out from the discussion. For the better understanding of the problematic areas of literacy I would like to address myself in this paper to two vital issues concerning literacy, viz.

(1) Different perspectives on the study of LITERACY.

(2) The Great Divide theory that bifurcates our society on the bipolar distinction between Orality and Literacy.

Theories developed about literacy within different academic disciplines and development campaigns have been built around premises that are essentially contradictory. For example, the nation-building perspective projected by Unesco (1982) ever since its inception viewed literacy as an indispensable component of human resource development. It also considered illiteracy to be a major problem of this era since in its opinion it is directly correlated with poverty, disease and backwardness. Contrary to this, based on the interpretative and synthetic history of literacy in the Western world, Graff's *literacy myth* perspective asserts that for the present era literacy is neither the major problem nor the main solution (Graff 1987). Similarly, the 'technology of the intellect' perspective promoted by Goody through his various books (Goody 1968 : 1977; 1986) implies that transition from orality to literacy is represented as a crucial stage in human development leading to abstract context, free thought, rationality, creative knowledge and modernity. Just opposite is the view held by the adherants of *ideological* perspective such as Street (1984), Heath (1983), etc., who on the one hand try to demolish the notion that the spread of literacy is unilinear cultural sequence of congintive and social development and on the other hand emphasize that literacy can be studied only as a highly variable social practice. The *socio-historical* perspective advanced by Thomas (1986), Neustupny (1984), etc., makes things still more complicated since it regards literacy as something that takes different forms at different times.

As is evident from the above, the concept of literacy at present is profoundly confusing. A surprising number of arguments regarding the nature, function and consequence of literacy appear to rest upon claims made on a monomodal perspective of the highly complex qualities of literacy. The confusion has been generated because literacy has been viewed as a single phenomenon.

We have shown elsewhere (Srivastava and Gupta 1983) that because of its multiple dimensions, the concept of literacy cannot be comprehended as one

unified object of inquiry. In another paper (Srivastava 1989), it has been argued to delimit the semantics of the term literacy by introducing a set of three oppositional terms : (a) illiteracy versus literacy; (b) articulacy versus literacy; and (c) orality versus literacy. These oppositional pairs are set against three distinct parameters, each having its own intrinsic characteristics. They provide substantially different orientations to the study of literacy.

As opposed to *illiteracy*, literacy is considered as an instance of mass-upsurge and a call for the participation of the socially deprived and economically disadvantaged illiterate masses into the heritage of written culture. As opposed to *articulacy*, literacy is defined as a skill involving the ability to control the graphic medium of language in the form of reading and writing. As opposed to *orality*, the concept of literacy transcends the domains of linguistic ability of reading and writing as an individual act and makes the written communication a cultural fact. Literacy on this parameter is characterized as a specific kind of communication technology employed by society to transmit information across time and space and a technological means to circulate 'texts'. According to Baumann (1986 : 18), literacy in this context 'is not defined by the mere presence of people able to read and write, but by the presence of patterns that regulate the circulation of texts'.

It must be emphasized that the above mentioned bipolar typologies function only as theoretical constructs. They are to be employed merely as tools of investigation. In fact, the strict dichotomatization between oral and literate traditions do not provide a true picture of socio-cultural and communicative reality of present day societies. Such binary types of typology are unable to explain the existence of the *mixture* of oral and written modes of communication which have been a common phenomena throughout the centuries (Finnegan 1988 : 141). Secondly, such pure types of distinctions between orality and literacy get contradicted by Ong's concept of 'secondary orality'—' the electronic orality of radio and television, which grows out of high literacy cultures, depending for its invention and operation and on the wide-spread cultivation of writing and reading" (Ong 1986 : 22-23).

The conceptual foundation of the Great Divide theories that bifurcated societies into two distinct groups—prelogical and logical, primitive and modern, concrete and scientific, etc., has found its new formulation in the form of an opposition between orality and literacy. Social anthropologists and sociolinguists discarded earlier the Great Divide theories by demonstrating that there exists no qualitative difference in *congnitive capacity* between members of the so-called two distinct groups. Thus, the findings of Levi-Strauss showed that primitives are in their conceptual make-up just as

sophisticated as we are (Levi-Strauss 1962). Primitives differ not in their congitive capacity but in their use of a different system of notation. Similarly Labov (1969) vigorously attacked the theories that tried to establish direct connection between social groups (middle class and working class or white and Negro population) and ability in concept formulation.

By associating itself with the overtones of 'tradition' and 'culture', the two oppositional modes of transmission—'oral' and 'written' have emerged as the new version of the Great Divide theories. Literacy is considered as an indispensable component of human resource development and a literate society is characterized as conceptually logical, scientifically advanced, economically developed and culturally enriched. Illiterates are viewed as those who have not emancipated themselves from the oral culture/tradition (which is characterized by naivete, childishness, superstition illogicality and so on) by acquiring writing skill. Orality is equated in this bipartite division with illiteracy and consequently, viewed as correlative of poverty, disease and backwardness.

The Great Divide theory is implicitly or explicitly being promoted by two perspectives on literacy movements and campaigns. The Nation-building perspective being promoted by Unesco emphasizes on the following:

(i) Illiterates grounded deep in oral tradition and literates having acquired technologicaly advanced skill as literacy live in two kind of socio-economic world,

(ii) Illiteracy hinders the economic and social development,

(iii) Orality is incompatible with what is required by the advances in the scientific and technical evolution that mankind is witnessing.

The *cognitive development* perspective to the study of literacy being promoted by Goody and his followers suggests different implications of oral and written communication for cognitive development. They replace the earlier discredited distinction between 'logical' and 'prelogical' by new set of pairs 'literate' and 'non-literate' with the basic assumption intact that the 'world' of written culture is qualitatively distinct in cognitive capacity from the 'world' of oral culture. Writing as a 'technology of intellect' promotes cases of 'abstract contexts', 'syllogistic reasoning', 'free thought', 'scientific thinking' and 'modernity'. In his book : 'The Interface Between the Written and the Oral' (Goody 1987:265), he first makes a distinction between cognitive abilities, cognitive capacities and cognitive skill, and then characterizes writing as an 'instrument capable of transforming our intellectual operations from the inside; it is not simply a question of a *skill* in the limiting sense but a change of capacity'.

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Goody has also discussed the linguistic differences between the written and oral registers of the language, and between the verbal performance of individuals in the written and in the oral registers (Goody 1987:262-289). Here we would like to assert that there is a need to view the orality and literacy distinction in a much wider perspective of communication theory. In this context, we would like to emphasize the following:

(1) It is the existence of a developed language, as claimed by Sapir (1960:1) which is a pre-requisite to the development of culture and communication as a whole. Secondly, 'we know of no people that is not possessed of fully developed language. The lowliest South African Bushman speaks in the forms of a rich symbolic system that is in the essence perfectly comparable to the speech of the cultivated Frenchman' (Sapir 1949 : 22).

(2) Articulacy that involves the skill of speaking and listening and literacy that is evolved on the skill of reading and writing are two modes of verbal communication. Literacy should be viewed as an extension of the communicative potential of a language, and not the replacement of spoken means of verbal communication.

(3) Literacy can be viewed as a technology in the mode of communicative skills rather than as a 'technology of the intellect'. We find other new technologies being invented and evolved, like printing and tele-communication (electronic) media. All these technology-based forms of communication should be seen against the universal background of oral communication which is the basic, primary and intrinsic mode of communicatian.

(4) Various technologies of cummunication have immense significance for the society. *Writing* extends the possibility of communicating messages across time and space. By providing permanence and fixity to verbal expression, it generates transpersonal memory'. As pointed out by Innis (1964:10), it served as an aid to the development of large scale organizations, bureaucratization, urban civilization and the formation of city-state at the dawn of history. *Printing* is associated with industrialization, mass communication and religious revolutions. Telecommunication technology is connected with greater democratization process, increased impersonality and more national and international linkages.

(5) Different technologies have promoted different froms of literacy: (a) Writing intitally is associated with *'restricted literacy'*, prining with *universalization of education and literacy*, and telecommunication with *'mass literacy'*.

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(6) New technologies do not necessarily eliminate the older forms of communication. Neither literacy replaces orality, nor does printing wipe out writing. Telecommunication has through its electronic devices like telephone, radio, etc,. reinforced once again the oral communication.

(7) Introduction of each new mode of communication technology affects the total network of communication system and the language ecology of a given speech community basically in two ways. Firstly, certain functions of the old communication mode are taken over by the new ones. Secondly, each communication mode develops its own register and language style. Thus, writing takes on itself not only some of the functions of oral communication but also tends to evolve its own register and style. In the process, it makes the society more differentiated and complex on its face value.

What is important and crucial for us is to combine the historical and developmental perspective of literacy with the functional orientation of looking at the phenomenon of communication as a whole. The historical perspective gives linear evolution of different modes of communication across time in the form of distinct stages, i.e., stage of society centred around oral communication, and then the stages of communication technologies of writing, printing and electronic communication. Not only societies are said to be located on the different stages of its evolution conforming and reflecting these various modes of communication technologies, but even 'literacy' is being classified in form and function as their representatives. For example, Neustupny (1984) talks about literacy in its evolutionary context as (1) Traditional literacy (2) Early Modern literacy, (3) Modern Literacy, and (4) Contemporary Literacy.

The developmental perspective is motivated by its evaluative orientation and value judgement. It basically dichotomizes the communication forms as antipathetic forms, i.e., Literacy is contrasted with Orality, Modern with Traditional Societies and Elaborated with Restricted codes. Literacy is viewed in this bipolar category as an enabling factor which, though syllogistic reasoning and other higher cognitive process creates conditions conducive to scientific thinking and creative operations'; 'modern' is projected as socio-economically developed and technologically advanced society; and 'elaborated code' as a linguistic form is characterized as 'precise and logically explicit'.

The Functional perspective accepts the introduction of various communication technologies like writing, print, telecommunication, etc., as events

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in history but rejects the view that these technologies are exclusively poised for their function in a given society. Literacy does not replace or exclude orality and telephones and radio do not prohibit the use and functionality of literacy skills. As pointed out by Finnegan (1988:142), these are not mutually exclusive modes of communication. A newly introduced communication technology opens up a greater range of options, as old and new modes of communication exists in society side by side.

There is certainly a distinct overlap between oral and written. We will briefly illustrate our point of view through certain examples drawn from the field of literacy creations. It is said that the true oral literature is the one which is composed, transmitted and performed orally (Parry and Lord 1954; Lord 1975; Goody 1987). I am not going to elaborate the salient features that distinguish oral and written literature. As I am concerned herewith the overlapping zones between oral and written literature that we find today, I will concentrate on certain types which fall between truly oral and truly written cultural products.

(a) *Lorikayan* (Channayan) or *Alha* can be considered as a true example of oral literature since it is composed, transmitted and performed orally.

(b) *Godan* (of Premchand) and most of other writings of today may be taken as examples of product of written culture since they are composed by literate minds and transmitted through print that involves reading practice.

With those two extremes we get some other kinds of cultural products hard to be categorized strictly in one or other category.

(c) There are instances of creations which are composed in writing but transmitted and performed orally; for example, *Rama Lila* version based on *Ramcharitra Manasa* of Tulasidasa.

(d) Cases where literary creations are composed and performed orally but transmitted later by written mode of communication; for example, various *padas*, *sikhis* of *Kabir*, *Dadu* etc.

We find in modern time *Lorikayan* (the true product of oral culture) being written down and *Godan* (the true product of written culture) being given oral rendering on radio.

We want to emphasize that even in the most advanced literate societies oral and written modes of communication not only coexist in their mutual reciprocity but even reinforce each others' activities to their mutual benefit. Secondly, as a true multilingual society makes a switch from one code of its verbal repertive to another code swiftly and effort-

lessly, a modern literate society equipped with different communication technologies utilizes its resources with great ease and functionality by making switch from one mode of communication to the other. Orality thus, in the literate society is not to be depricated or relegated as an old mode of communication but has to be re-allocated as one of the potent and basic means of communication. The functional perspective rejects the bipolar typology that leads to the reinforcement of the Great Divide theory in a new garb of Orality and Literacy. It talks about the overlap between the two, as well as re-establishes the importance of orality in literate culture.

Appendix

Reasons attributed to the failure of Adult Literacy Programmes in India ;

1. The quality of training of functionaries was poor.

2. The monitoring system lacked credibility, there was considerable misreporting.

3. The learning environment in abult education centres was defunct, lighting arrangements were poor.

4. Mass Media did not provide appreciable support.

5. Voluntary agencies did not receive cooperation from State Governments and the procedures for their involvement discouraged them.

6. Learner's participation was irregular and there was considerable drop-out and relapse to illiteracy.

7. Achivement of literacy level was generally below the expectation and the delivery of components of functionality and awareness remained weak.

8. Absence of post-literacy and continuing education arrangements adversely affected the programme.

9. Political and administrative support of the State Governments and Panchayati Raj institutions was not forthcoming in an adequate and sustained manner.

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Rekha Aslam

Linguistic Differences in Orality and Literacy—A Case Study of Hindi-Urdu

We would like to open our paper by rejecting the Great Divide theory that divides society into two distinct groups based on orality and literacy. In the literature on literacy and literacy campaigns it is presumed that traditional societies are based on oral communication and consequently are cognitively handicapped, economically backward and technologically less developed. Contrary to this literate societies are based on a higher kind of mental operations, economically affluent and technologically more sophisticated. The Great Divide theory also emphasizes the mutual exclusiveness of orality and literacy.

We find neither of the two claims implicit in the Great Divide theory as scientific and true to our experience since neither traditional societies can be labelled as cognitively poor and technologically less advanced nor is there a true cleavage between the oral and written communication in the most advanced of literate societies. There is a great overlap between oral and written modes of communication. The bipolar typology between orality and literacy appears to be a scientific and theoretical construct to look at the phenomenon from two extreme view points. In reality, both of them absorb the features of each other to their mutual benefit, reinforcing the importance of each other. (For details of this perspective, see Prof. R.N. Srivastava's paper)

This paper involves theoretical position on orality and literacy and then discusses its application to a study conducted in Delhi with a sample of students, teachers and creative writers whose mother tongue is Hindi-Urdu. Certain hypotheses were drawn up and tested.

It has been claimed time and again by scholars that writing is a reflection of speech, Huey (1908:1) for instance wrote that the meanings inherent in the spoken language and belong but secondarily to the printed (written) symbols.' This can be represented as :

$$\text{Meaning} \longleftrightarrow \text{Form} \longleftrightarrow \text{Phonology} \longleftrightarrow \text{Orthography}$$

Such views are accounted for by the origin of speech and writing. Scholars like Seassure, Bloomfield, etc. considered writing derivative of speech.

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Writing undoubtedly began as a representation of speech. Moreover, historically, speech came before writing in the life cycle of an individual and in the life cycle of society; there are many people who are illiterate, but none who do not speak, speech being inherent, and finally, there are many speech communities that do not have a writing system but none that have no speech.

But it is important to note that language is a system, a meaning-form relationship and form is not conditioned by material, or by constraints such as phonic or graphic or any other. In fact, linguistic sign at a higher level is not controlled by medium of expression. The deaf and dumb language or the tactile medium, are examples. Besides, if writing simply mirrored speech, there would be total correspondence in the phonic and graphic representations of words; but it not so.

If can therefore be said that only historically writing is second to speech.

Studies on the dichotomy of orality and literacy date back to McLunan (1951), E.H. Genneberg (1960), Miller (1971), etc. More recently, speech and writting have been discussed by Rubin et al (1978), Srivastava and Gupta (1985), Fondacoro & Miggins (1985) Brewer (1985), Hildyard & Hidi (1985), Olson (1985), Smith (1985), Tannen (1985) & Chafe (1982) among others.

It must be kept in mind that language is the inhate knowledge and speech and writing are modes through which it is menifested. That is to say, the medium-material has a dual existence—one tied down to the medium and one not tied down—the linguistic knowledge.

There are certain characteristics that are associated with the two mediums. Generally speaking, a message important enough, makes a person take the pains to write it since it exerts more pressure and needs more concentration where as important and unimportant sundry information goes into speech. Written language is also more conservative and conventional than speech. Since speech is a face to face interaction it involves short term memory as compared to writing.

Written messages have more self perception and credibility than oral messages. Writing, since it is a lonely activity is relatively less influenced by the receiver. Speech is marked in that it disappears after it is spoken but written language lasts and cuts across time and space. It is therefore, codified and taught. Writing gives the message fixity and to a certain extent, transpersonal individuality while speech emphasizes variability and individuality.

The two modes of communication have a basic difference in discourse strategy which scholars (Greenfield 1972; O'Donnal 1972; Pool & Field

1976; Chafe 1985 ; Ochs 1979; Tannen 1980, 82, 85.) have identified as involvement and detachment—involvement of the speaker in what he is speaking and detachment of the writer in his writing. This paper identifies the factors that are associated with the two strategies and examines how they come across in discourse.

Speech is an interpersonal interactive language experience where the speaker and the hearer ideally are face-to-face and share the some special and temporal area. All options of asking questions and clarifications, etc. are available The speaker, so to say, speaks spontaneously, under time pressure. His experience is first hand and conveyed as he feels it without deliberate revision. He is therefore involved with himself as an actor in the situation with the hearer since the hearer's reactions and responses are also feed back, and with what he is saying. This involvement appears in discourse in the form or first person pronouns and frequent references to his thought process; Second person prounous and the name of the addressee; and exaggerations. Speech characterstics also lead to it becoming a less cohesive than writing. Para linguistic and extra linguistic communication available in speaking makes speech broken and non-continuous. Lack of time gives rise to breathers and hedges. Speech is also innovative; finally, a shared spatial and temporal area gives rise to deixiss in oral communication.

There are distinct feature specific to writing. There is all the time in the world for a writer to think and write. There is no specified public for whom it is done. The writer is therefore detached-chere is lesser use of personal pronouns, Second person pronouns, etc. Since writing is the final draft, so to say, it is revised, edited and cohesive. It does not, require nedges and breathers as crutches for thinking. Finally since it is preserved. it is conservative and the distance of the writer reader renders deixisless functional.

Now this theoritical bipolor position was tested on a sample which consisted of students of B.A. Pass with Hindi as one of their subjects, teachers of Hindi in Colleges of Delhi and creative writters who may or may not have had any formal education but whose control over the language made them interesting to the study. All these people had Hindi-Urdu as their mother tongue and were residents of Delhi for at least 10 years.

The tasks involved two stories—one on a set of five cards in form of pictures and the other in a book in the written form. The procedure was as follows : Each person was shown the set of cards and asked to tell the story which was recorded. Then he was asked to read the story in the book and tell it to us. This too was recorded. After a week, both these stories were written out by the person for us. This gave it an oral and

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written version with a time gap on the cards, and an oral and written version of the story in the book. These were then compared. Parameters for comparision were based on the following hypotheses.

1. Breathers like any way, by the way, occur in higher frequency in oral texts than in written texts. (for example our data; dekhiye 'na', 'ab,' 'bas', 'ab', , na hi ki, etc.) (See appendices I & II).

2. Elements of disfluencies (corrective means, after thoughts, repetitions, etc.) occur in oral discourse more then in written text. For example from our data, us brahman ne ke yaksh kaha tum pakane ke liya tumhare pas kuch nahi, etc,) of in oral (See appendix III).

3. There are more coordinators than subordinators in the oral compared to the written text and vice-versa, i.e., there are more subordinators than coordinators in written tasks compared to oral, irrespective of the group. (Appendices IV & V).

4. Oral discourse is built up around more basic vocabulary, and code mixing occurs as a natural state of verbal interaction while written discourse exploits more differentiated lexicon drawn from the high variety—sanskritized varient—and tries to consciously substitute the code—mixed elements by native expressions. (for 'start' 'kiya' use' kiya, 'so-so' bol raha hu in oral dicourse 'vrk' sa, ai śvarya purna, uddyam', in written discourse, (Appendices VI, VII & VIII),

5. All types of deixis-person, place, time, discourse and social—show higher frequency of occurrence in the oral discourse than in written discourse. (for example 'ye do nuajavan, vo puliswala. yo jo chalak hai' etc. Indrai and 'do naiyaran chanrah ka sipahi navyivak chalak in written discourse, (Appendices IX, X, XI-A,B.)

6. Oral discourse shows ego, addresses and subject involvement while written discourse is detached. (Appendices XII, XIII, XIV & XV).

(For details and statistical findings see Aslam 1990.)

Our study showed clearly that the theoritical distinction in the strategies used in oral and written communication by linguists were really only abstractions; the dichotomy is not rigid neither in the distinction bipolar, but realy overlapping. The point is that our texts did not show a very high ratio of differentials. In fact, students, teachers and creative writers, on the one hand employed elements of oral stategy while producing written

texts in order to make the text more interactional and participatory in nature and on the other hand absorbed traits of written discourse into the oral communication evincing the property of integration.

What is significant is that once the analysis is moved on the axis of involvement versus detachment, the basic differences between the two kinds of eictic usages become apparent for spoken and written discourse. Spoken discourse evinces more of the use of deixis which concerns ego involvement and involvement with the addressee than that of time and place deixis, and more of spatiotemporal coordinates of deixis than discourse and social types of deixis. This is also the hierarchy of preferences for deixis-types in the written discourse, but the usage is different. (See Srivastva and Aslam 1988).

Our study suggests that oral and written strategies of narration have their basis in the realization of pragmatic domain of deixis that concerns encoding of many different aspects of context of situation.

Another important observation is the behaviour of the members belonging to the three socio-cultural groups, viz. students, teachers and creative writers. On closer inspection, we find that these parameters, typical of language use in orality and literacy, do not occur with equal strength across the groups, and in some of the groups, oral discourse and written texts do not exhaustively characterize all the features associated with orality and literacy, For instance, breathers occur in the written taks of the students, and ego and addressee involvements are identified in the written tasks of the teachers.

These facts direct us to endorse the view of Tannen (1985). She takes the position that orality and literacy are really two strategies for conveying the messages rather than two absolute categories dependent on 'technology of the intellect' as mentioned by Goody (1968).

Our results also show that the differences identified in the oral and written discourse occur not so much from the intrinsic properties of speech and writing but from the relative focus on the different strategies adopted by the user. In conveying the messages to the addressee for example, teachers have consciously adopted the strategy of editing the message even in oral discourse while the students have tended towards unplanned message transmission in written discourse.

It can be said that the teachers tend to bring their oral discourse closer to written discourse, the students do not edit their written or oral discourse while the creative writters tend to bring their written discourse closer to the oral by using the most natural form of language, direct speech and vocabulary that is smooth to read.

An a literate society where the use of written discourse is cultivated, people almost always feel a pressure from both the polesorality and literacy-in transmitting the messages in either of the context. The product is a protocal which is a resultant of such a pressure. In the verbal behaviour of the different social groups, the pressure involving parameters associated with orality and literacy are realised in different proportions and strength.

APPENDIX I

Taking the group together the Average percentage of breathers in (a) and (b) oral and written

(a)		(b)	
Oral	*Written*	*Oral*	*Written*
1.57	0.17	1.07	0.13

APPENDIX II

Average percentage of breathers of the different groups in (a) and (b) oral

Students		Teachers		Creative Writers	
(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
2.22	0.42	0.34	0.41	0.5	0.3

APPENDIX III

Average percentage of disfluences of the different groups

Students				Teachers				Creative Writiers			
(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Writ	Oral	Wirt
5.63	1.0	3.66	0.22	3.08	0.17	2.61	0	3.38	0	3.41	0.4

APPENDIX IV

Average percentage of co-ordinators and subordinators of the whole group of (a) and (b) oral and written

(a)				(b)			
Oral		Written		Oral		Written	
Co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi
5.37	2.76	4.21	1.64	4.68	2.93	3.62	1.76

APPENDIX V

Average percentage of co-ordinotors and subordinators of individual groups of (a) and (b) oral and written

	oral		(a) written		(b) oral		written	
	co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi	co-ordi	subordi
Students	0 36	1.99	4.78	1.43	4.46	1.99	3.98	1.87
Teachers	0.08	3.34	4.46	2.12	5.1	3.25	3.48	2.05
Creative Writers	4.68	3.02	3.41	1.39	3.45	3.31	3.45	1.65

APPENDIX VI

Average number of instances of code mixing in the individual groups in an oral and written

	Oral	Written
Students	3.4	1.0
Teachers	1.4	0.8
Creative Writers	3.0	1.4

APPENDIX-VII

Percentage of high flown words in (a) and (b) of oral and written of the whole group

(a)		(b)	
oral	written	oral	written
0.77	2.07	1.37	1.56

APPENDIX VIII

Average percentage of high flown words of the individual groups

	Students				Teachers				Creative Writers			
	oral		written		oral		written		oral		written	
(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
0	0.8	0.6	0.92	1.99	1.99	1.41	2.56	0.69	1.46	2.7	1.99

APPENDIX IX

Average percentage of the total group in case of the different kind of deixis

(a)									
Person		Time		Place		Social		Discourse	
oral	written	oral	written	oral	written	oral	written	oral	written
4.06	4.32	0.75	0.7	3.72	1.67	2.02	0.88	0.57	0.11

Average of the percentage of the total group in case of the different kinds of deixis

	Person		Time		*(b)* Place		Social		Discourse	
	oral	written	oral	written	oral	written	oral	written	oral	written
	5.23	3.72	0.72	0.61	3.56	2.2	1.19	1.13	0.81	0.16

Average of percentage of the individual groups in deixis in (a)

	Person		Time		Place		Social		Discourse	
	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.
Students :	4.36	4.35	0.12	1.34	4.09	1.11	2.1	0.39	0.17	0
Teachers :	3.58	3.66	0.39	0.08	4.11	2.03	2.42	1.1	0.59	0
Creative Writers :	4.23	4.94	1.21	0.38	2.96	1.86	1.53	1.15	0.95	0.34

Average of the percentage of the individual groups in deixis in (b)

	Person		Time		Place		Social		Discourse	
	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.
Students :	5.38	3.99	0.92	0.63	3.18	2.33	1.22	1.81	0.85	0
Teachers :	4.7	3.67	0.59	0.63	3.94	2.18	1.3	0.98	0.69	0.21
Creative Writers :	5.61	3.5	0.65	0.58	3.54	2.08	1.06	0.61	0.9	0.26

Ego and addressee involvement of the whole group in (a) and (b).

	Ego involvement				Addressee involvement			
	(a)		*(b)*		*(a)*		*(b)*	
Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
25	1	1	0	12	1	6	0

APPENDIX XIII

Ego Involvement of the individual groups in (a) and (b)

	Students			Teachers				Creative Writters			
	(a)	(b)		(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
oral	writ	oral	writ	oral	writ	orit	writ	oral	writ	oral	writ
3	0	1	0	9	1	0	0	13	0	8	0

APPENDIX XIV

Addressee involvement of the individual groups in (a) and (b)

	Student			Teachers				Creative Writt.			
	(a)		(b)	(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.
1	0	4	0	3	1	0	0	8	0	2	0

APPENDIX XV

Ego and addressee involvements taken together of the individual group

	Students			Teachers				Creative writers			
	(a)	(b)		(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.	oral	writt.
3	0	5	0	12	2	0	0	21	0	5	0

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8.	Non formal in its nature	Formalisation
9.	Guide to inventory of new words	Absorption of new words only after invented by spoken language
10.	Colloquialism, Slangy	Standaradisation
11.	Needs no special skill speech is an inherited, acquired element.	Needs special skill to be acquired by practice

Above listed differences play an important role in deciding the proper strategy to be adopted to treat spoken and written skill in adult literacy programme. The academicians and field workers quite often introspect for the failures in developing a proper strategy for imparting literacy at all levels. At this juncture it is all the more important to look into the subtlities involved in the complexity of imparting literacy. Orality and literacy are basically complementing factors. It is by the chronological invention one precedes the other. But they never compete or replace each other.

'Aksharam Bramham' is an age old saying in India. Probably it is only in this country script is elevated to the level of god forgetting its practical utility. The gods are classified, the scriptures are classfied and they have been stratified based on the social super structure artificially created by certain vested people of the society. India is one of the countries, which has nourished the oral culture to its zenith. Only Africa stands next to this. Enormous type of beliefs, rituals, dogmas, mores were practised in this country from time to time. In the past, education was part of the religious structure, hence 'gurukulas' gained the importance. The universal and the technological concept of the script was totally retrograded by and large there was a notion that, entering the world of script is to enter into a world of divine. That is how the concept of 'daiva lipi' was emerged. In a stratified society there was no licence for everyone to enter into that world. Hence a culture of silence was bound to create along with the culture of letters.

Our heritage shows that there were even repressive measures applied against learning in this country. The code of conduct laid down by certain section of the society clearly mentions that only few people are bonafide to learn and remaining sections of the society are not As a result are literacy had a limited scope for its coverage.

Contrary to this orality has expanded its horizon in a big way. It has developed its own strait through beliefs, oral discourse, rituals and prac-

tices   There were instances where people believed the promises. Oral promise was the only evidence for any kind of transaction.   These practices were mystified and glorified by quoting the examples of somebody cutting his tongue for not fulfilling the promises.   They were further mythified by narrating stories like Satya Harischandra who stood for the promises he made.   This face of the coin only highlights the status enjoyed by the orality in the past society.   But the other side of the coin has altogether a different story to tell.   The artificial barricade created by minority of the people to prevent the larger section of the society to get the benefit of the technology of the letters is a tragic saga of this country.   It is by and large accepted by all the planners that literacy plays a crucial input for individual and national development.   Also it is accepted that there is a correlation between the level of literacy and the level of economic develop-ment in a country.   But this correlation is very much missing in this country. There is no proper symphony between these two.   In the initial stage we have projected literacy as a god given gift and not accessible to every one. People believed for centuries that this would be a permanent status in which they ought to live.   Add to this we have glorified the folk beliefs and practices as part of our cultural excellence   The practice of 'Sati', belief on anti widow marriage, worshipping village dieties for prosperity etc. became order of the day for the larger population due to their oral beliefs and practices.

Whenever modern education entered India, it has to be noticed that, it waged its war against folk beliefs. When Raja Ram Mohan Roy introduced modern education. he first organised the people against the practice of Sati.   His movement. which was incidentally the movement of modern education in India was rightly call ~ as 'Renaissance movement'.   Later when Britishers started opening schools and colleges in the first quarter of this century, the first massive medical operation was started against some of the supposedly believed non-curable diseases.

I am trying to trace these impoints to explore the possible bottlenecks that we had in the past for the spread of literacy and not to highlight the defects of oral culture.   Also I do not believe that the conscientisation could be achieved only through the literacy   Conscientisation is a process which could be achieved through the constant collection of information. analysis and applications.   The orality or as Paulo Friere puts it as 'Culure of Silence' has a limititation in its integral structure to achieve it.   The strong weapon of the modern age is the dissemination and collection of the information. Orality does not have a big scope for it. This has lead to create a parallel 'exploitative culture' for which the illiterates are the constant victims.

This leads to several questions.   Why is that an illiterate is not coming forward to learn. Is there favourable environment for literacy ? Have proper facilities been provided for them to learn ? Is literacy difficult to acquire ?

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Can't an illiterate has a friendly attitude with letters and literates than having too much of respect or too much of fear ?

These questions have to be carefully examined.

Having raised these questions, I would like to quote from the Persepolis declaration named 'A Turning point for Literacy' (Ed. Bataille, 1976) "not just the process of learning skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, but a contribution to the liberation of man and to his full development. Thus concieved, literacy creates the conditions for the acquisition of a critical consciousness of the contradictions of society in which man lives and of its aims; it also stimulates initiative and his participation in the creation of projects capable of acting upon the world, of transforming it .....literacy..... is a fundamental right.

Literacy work, like education in general, is not the driving force of historical change. It is not the only means of liberation but is an essential instrument for all social change. Literacy is a political act.

Literacy is......inseparable from participating, which is at once its purpose and its conditions".

These declarations are very similar to the literacy 'Conscientization' ideology expressed in Paulo Freire's book. The 'Culture of Silence' has political and economic overtones. The 'culture of orality' has more socio-culture of and anthropological overtones. The culture of literacy' has linguistic and pedagogical overtones. We do not see much difference between the 'culture of silence' and the 'culture of orality'. The difference exists only is how we interpret it. Our main task is now to find a symphony between the 'culture of orality' and the 'culture of literacy'.

Literacy is essentially an entry point for an individual change. How are we going to impart this skill to him ? As orality plays a meta-factor, the techniques of the oral discourse constitutes an important role in imparting literacy. While imparting the preliminary stages of literacy like, recognition, discrimination and association, oral discourse could help in information passing. The oral 'communication situation' has to be established. in total in order to establish the 'written communication situation'. Since the written communication situation plays a limited role, oral communication which is of an 'intentional' in its nature has to be developed. This would allow the person to recognise to the contradictions which exist in the environment.

Orality is not simply speaking and writing is not simply speech written down. Orality and writing got formalised in the process of development. Oral language is tend to change very often, where as written form of language is very slow to change. People are always thinking up new ways of saying what they want to say or using old words in

new sense to fit new circumstances. The spoken language and the written language quickly get out of step with each other and at any particular moment of history there is bound to be a great deal of difference between them.

Orality and writing both have a common factor to share apart from the differences they possess. Words whether in the speech or in writing are linear. They have to be used one after the other as if in a line. This create a problem in orality that the hearer can not guess what the speaker is going to say next. Where as in writing, this problem doesn't arise. However, both orality & writing demands that the person should make a logical section for his expression for both the mode.

Apart from these common factors, we may differentiate the speech from writing in the following manner for the purpose of proper learning.

Speech

1. Distinctly clear and loud.
2. Selection of proper words to convey the message without distortion.
3. Stress to emphasise certain words to give greater weight.
4. Regional variation and idiosynchretism.
5. Tone of voice to express different moods.

Writing

1. Legible hand writing.
2. Avoid errors.
3. Writing conventional sentence & eliptical sentences.
4. Avoid ambiguous words & sentences.
5. Pick proper words.
6. Proper use of punctuation.
7. Proper division of sentences.
8. Writing in paragraphs.

Orality is more flexible and less formal. Writing is more restrictive and more formal. Probably the highly systematised process of writing has created a contrived psychological response from an illiterate.

It is time for an interdisciplinary approach to universalise the literacy, if not to overcome the autonomy or the orality but to establish a comradely relation. For which orality should be a supporting structure and not a superscribing structure.

Anita Rampal

A Possible 'Orality' for Science ?

A science Lesson is on. Class three of a municipal primary school in Sriniwaspuri in Delhi. The trainee teacher is enthusiastic and keen to show how well she can communicate with the little children. After a respectable routine dose of chalk and talk regarding the nervous system, she has decided to usher in some degree of activity to enliven the atmosphere. She blindfolds Lalita and asks her to identify different coins placed on her hand. The bright-eyed girl enjoys it while the other children watch with attentive excitement. When asked how she manages to make the correct identification, she smartly replies :

मस्तिष्क तक संदेश पहुँचाने वाली संवेदनशील तंत्रिकानों द्वारा

(by means of the sensory nerves transmitting messages to the brain.)

The teacher smites proudly and contentedly, exclaiming that Lalita is indeed a brilliant student and a potential scientist of the country ;

What meaning did eight-year-old Lalita's utterance carry for her ? What prevented her from saying what was most natural to her, namely :

छूकर बताया/उँगलियों से टटोलकर बताया

by touching or by feeling with my fingers). What prompted her to externalise herself from her immediate sensory experience? What happened to most other children who could not even pronounce such tongue-twisting statements ? How did they cope with such superfluous mouthfuls of 'non-sense'? These mouthfuls did not constitute the teacher's natural language either, then what compelled her to zealously propagate such forms of exposition? Indeed what according to her constituted scientific knowledge necessitating a strictly scientific discourse ?

Delimiting meanings

The history of the knowledge of science has been closely linked to the development of its characteristic discourse, indeed, as early as 1662, an explicit founding policy of the Royal Society of London was, in the words of the historian Sprat, to ensure "the improvement of English as a medium of prose." There existed a strong movement to emphasise the exact denotative meaning of words and the desire to forge a language as a precise

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and logical instrument for unambiguous representation, as is typically reflected in the following words of William Whewell.

"When our knowledge becomes perfectly exact and purely. Intellectual, we require a language which shall also be exact and intellectual; we shall exclude a like vagueness and fancy, imperfection and superfluity, in which each term shall convey a meaning steadily fixed and rigorously limited. Such is the language of science "

For linguists this attempt to bar negotiability and fluidity of meanings and to freeze words in fixed public definitions could sound calamitous. Portending the sure death of a language. Indeed this horror is dramatically expressed in Pearshall Smith's comment: 'there can be no doubt that science is the natural enemy of language'. However, for scientists there appeared compelling reasons to shear language of all its live connotations and to consciously coin terms from dead languages in order to break away from the earlier theoretical view enshrined in words. Lavoisier, to assert his divorce from alchemy, coined entirely new terms, breaking the norm in chemistry of using words based on observation while naming the erstwhile 'respirable air' as oxygen (meaning the generator of acids), Alchemists had used an involved vocabulary raplete with resonances of chemical as well as other 'mysterious' truths not meant to be broadcast to the world. The language of alchemical texts was meant to be read at different levels and was therefore far from being succint and clear. When French chemist took charge of chemical knowledge, they consciously sought to reform the vocabulary in order to achieve a 'universal' language, 'leaving associations and word play to poets and writers of fiction'. Thus new words and innumerable names were invented, apparently breft of any ostensible meaning, endowing chemistry with what Knight calls a 'rebarbative' vocabulary.

While the discourse of science chose to use dead words to suppress unwanted associations it also adopted a 'deadpan', detached and disembodied tone to consciously obliterate any reflections of subjectivity from its voice. The move towards greater objectivity and personal disengagement further geared its discourse towards explicit unambiguity and universality its terminology became finly differentiated and its theory sought precise definitions for the fine-grained concepts it evolved For instance, as concepts in mechanics developed, 'movement' was gradually differentiated into a fine spectrum of precise unambiguous terms like velocity, speed, momentum, inertia. kinetic energy etc. with each word having a meaning quite distinct from its everyday connotation. Thus what emerged as the public discourse of science was a strictly 'transactional' form of language, with rigorous attention to logical, causal or chronological relations and an effectively decontextualised

disembodied lexicon, far opposed to the 'expressive, form used more in oral communication. Indeed, even today most words incorporated into English for the purpose of scientific delineation still continue to comprise the discourse of only the literate standard English. For instance, verbs like assume, interpret, infer, contradict, observe, predict etc. are not used for oral communication, which relies more on verbs of Germanic origin, like believe, think, understand, know, mean etc. Moreover, it is significant to note that in Hindi (or other Indian languages) the equivalents of such Latinat or epistemic verbs adopted by science are not as prevalent today even in the literate form of the vernacular—literal translations do exist in dictionaries but are not yet a part of the standard discourse.

An objective discourse

In an interesting analysis the literate roots of objectivity in western science have been traced by Olson to the awareness of a critical distinction between statements/texts and their interpretation. He notes that in pre-literate societies there is little recognition of ambiguity in utterance: it is assumed that interpretations arrived at by the listener are actually intended by the speaker. Indeed the absence (or weak presence) of the 'given vs. interpretation' or the 'say vs. mean 'distinction may also be related to the way oral cultures reproduce or memorise information. Orality places little emphasis on exact recall and an act of reproduction normally takes the form of 'creative reconstruction, which does not involve verbatim memory or im- itation but takes resort to recall most richly and imaginatively reconstructed through the subject's own preconceptions. Thus when the art of recall itself implicitly incorporates scaffolding by the subject's own interpretations, for an oral narrator the distinction between a statement and its meaning would appear rather incongrous. For him, the very act of narrating is tied to imparting meaning to words. However, with the Reformation came a movement to delimit meanings, to prevent too much from being read into the Scripture. Luther draw a sharp distintion between what was "given" by the text and its interpretation, denying all spiritual and moral meanings ascribed to the text by the Church. He insisted on the autonomy of the Scripture, saying it needed no interpretation, it needed only to be read. A century later, the same metaphor was carried over by scientists who insis- ted on the autonomy of what was given in the 'book of nature' to be read by anyone with faithful objectivity. All factual observations were looked upon as 'objective' readings of the 'book of nature' and were distingui- shed from subjective interpretions, hypotheses or inferences. Indeed this distinction was taken as absolute in the 17th century and only in the pre- sent century has it been completely relativised in view of a better under- standing of the epistemology of science on one hand as well as the proce- sses of perception, cognition etc, on the other.

As the discourse of science worked steadily towards objectivity and personal disengagement, it attempted to shed all illusions even to the natural affective manifestation of scientists, including their sense of wonder, excitement or disappointment, as well as their strong ideological persuasions. It is indeed interesting and somewhat ironical to observe how the modern heliocentric theory, which symbolises a major clash of cosmologies between science and religion and had been barred by the Church in the seventeenth century for its heretical proposition, had actually first been posited by Copernicus in 1543. For, having chosen to place the sun at 'the centre of the universe, as opposed to the geocentric Ptolemaic model then accepted by established religion, he gave a most fervent justification :

> "In the middle of all sits the Sun enthroned. In this most beautiful temple, could we place this luminary in any better position from which he can illuminate the whole at once ? He is rightly called the Lamp, the Mind . . . the Visible God. So the Sun sits upon a royal throne, ruling his children, the planets which circle round him."

Later when Galileo, known as the founder of the scientific method, first pointed his telescope to the celestial bodies and observed the satellites of Jupiter, he thus penned his excitement in his book. The Starry Messenger :

> "(I have seen) stare in myriads, which have never been seen before, and which surpass the old, previously known, stars in number more than ten times. But that which will 'excite the greatest astonishment by far, and which indeed especially moved me to call the attention of all astronomers and philosophers, is this namely, that I have discovered four planets, neither known nor observed by any one of the astronomers before my time."

An illuminating passage from a scientfic communication by Newton to the Royal Society, on his experiments in Optics, reads thus :

> " . . . But the most surprising, and wonderful composition was that of 'Whiteness'. There is no one sort of Rays which alone can exhibit this. Tis ever compounded, and to its composition are requisite all the aforesaid primary colours, mixed in due proportion. I have often with Admiration beheld, that all Colours of the Prisme being made to converge, and thereby to be again mixed, reproduced light, entirely and perfectly white."

Indeed, well past the turn of the eighteenth century scientific commucicationss had continued to reflect the writer's personal involvement. More

significantly, the nature of the discourse highlighted a 'constructivist, conception of knowledge, whereby scientists did not appear to be simply explicating existing reality, as in the Realist tradition, but claimed to be consciously inventing principles which enabled them to conceptualise and 'construct' reality, thus actively making sense out of often obscure or puzzling observations. Munby stresses this distinction by comparing the following two passages :

> "Chance has thrown in my way another principle, more universal and remarkable than the proceding one, and which casts a new light on the subject of electricity. The principle is that there are two distinct electricities. very different from one another: one of which I call 'vitreous electricity', and the other 'resinous electricity,,"

In this we find Du Fay almost tentatively postulating 'his' electricities, not assuming them to be ontologically present entities only waiting to be discovered by him. On the other hand, the next piece written in 1970 appears to depict with a sense of finality certain existence claims for entities like the muon or pion, imparting to them an ontological status or a real physical existence similar to objects like tables or chairs, thus eclipsing the fact that they happen to be scientific 'constructs' designed to explain certain phenomena :

> Muons are emitted with energies of several MeV as decay products of mesons which themselves are produced in nuclear interactions. Intense beams of mesons which decay into mesons are produced by means of high energy accelerators.

This feature of the modern scientific discourse, whereby language has also been shorn of any elements of tentativeness or resonances of 'constructivism', can cause considerable damage to a society's view of the nature of science and scientific knowledge, especially when this discourse most inevitably spills over to textbooks too. There is now a growing realisation that the alarmingly popular positivist myth of 'science as the only source of true, objective and reliable knowledge' is indeed perpetuated effectively through texts as well as media.

Examining the development of the science textbook from the earlier conversationalist, once to the later 'formalist' texts, Strube and Lynch trace characteristics of the style of writing which distinguish them. Those used in the nineteenth century were distinctly conversational in character, drawing analogies from common life giving simple models or demonstrations, and were intended primarily for the use of working-class schools, which, incidentally, were the first to introduce science into the curriculum—'a

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science of common things'. The style endowed science with a 'very human face' ; it seemed less concerned with imparting knowledge than sound 'habit of thinking'. However, the 'formalist' texts which began to dominate around 1880 (the time 'formal' science appeared in school) are strikingly similar to many modern texts for advanced science courses—highly structured, characteristically devoid of vivid or figurative forms of speech, demanding 'a high level of abstraction and logical analysis plus the ability to follow reasoned argument from a difficult, remote context'. Thus in what evolved as the acceptable format for school science and continues to influence textbooks even today, the very spirit of science—of exploration and curiosity about everyday life—is conspicuously absent. The desire to communicate has been set aside by the intention to inform. The tenor has thus become formidable and oppressive for the child, whose natural language is 'expressive' and therefore most subjective, focussing a good deal on the speaker and relying heavily for its interpretation, on the specific context in which the interaction occurs as well as the listener's knowledge of the speaker's situation.

A space for personal meanings

It is only in the last decade that concern for processes of learner-centred education has focussed attention on the need to understand how private meanings are constructed by individuals. Indeed, science educators have reasons to believe that pupils bring to the classroom their own linguistic and conceptual framework and therefore find the rigid and impersonal stance of established science most perplexing and even traumatic. Since language is a tool in the struggle to interpret experience, and each individual employs familiar personal associations to actively make sense of new knowledge and fresh experience, the imposition of fixed meanings and unfamiliar or often counter-intuitive concepts can only disrupt the learner's natural design for assimilation.

The formidable formality of science has indeed mystified it for the young girl who carefully wrote on the front of her notebook; 'Chemystery' Sutton elaborates on the problems children in the U·K. face, owing to the unfamiliar lexicon of science, add provides illustrations from the transcripts of 11-year-olds who rendered the term 'conical flask' variously as : 'chronicle flask', 'flasks', 'conical flask' or even 'comical flask' ! He alludes to the subtle decoding these minds must have performed, desperately searching for familiar connections, in order to make sense of the term. Indeed extensive surveys in the U.K. have shown that 'many words beloved of science teachers were just not accessible to their pupils'. A large section of young children could not correctly identify the meaning of ostensibly common 'non-technical' words of the science register, ordinary words like : ang'e, error, average, displace, exert, dissolve, linear etc.

Not only are words unfamiliar but structures too are alien, compelling children to record experiences for an unseen audience in apparently peculiar ways. To ensure personal engagement we may need to almost retrace the evolution of the discourse of science, to revert to a personalised style that also reflects its true spirit of wonder, curiosity and excitement. We will need to ensure that a child's spontaneous thought and language are not violated, as is touchingly reflected by the following example :

Observation   :   the iron rod expanded

Conclusion   :   the iron rod expands

What we could work towards is, for instance, this account of a girl who describes her laboratory procedure for making oxygen, most innocently betraying her natural emotion :

"It is quite easy to make oxygen if you have the right equipment necessary. You will need a test tube stand with some acid in it. You will need also a Bunsen burner, of course you must not forget a glass tank too, . . . Very soon you will find that you have made oxygen and be glad of it."

Or perhaps we could encourage an even more creative style as is demonstrated by this unusually dramatic sample of a child's chemistry record, where she describes an experiment on the reactivity series in terms of a boxing match : (Magnesium has just beaten copper.)

Again it is all tense here in the lab, copper has derected and mangesium has won again. Will Lead beat Magnesium? is the question. Magnesium in the left handside of the crucible, Lead in the right. Everyone is watching. BOOM ! ! And a puff of pale yellow smoke goes up in the air and circles around the ceiling. The winner of both fights is Magnsium.

A young child's language is highly 'expressive' because her egocentricism makes it difficult or impossible for her to depart from her own point of view—to suppose that things 'as they are could differ from things 'as I see them'. A child therefore takes time to respond to the demands of a situation requiring transactional discourse   But do we allow a smooth and natural transition? Expressive language, like the oral discourse, provides an essential starting point because it is close to the self of the learner. Shift towards the highly 'literate', objective and transactional mode should be gradual enough to ensure that the 'self', though hidden, is not lost on the way.

Oral elaboration

There is no doubt that ultimately pupils will have to acclimatise to and even master the alien register, but only after they have an internalised understanding of concepts, having sufficiently explored new ideas through oral elabor tion. Elaboration and expliciteness can only be fostered by persuasion to think aloud, to use exploratory language fearlessly, flexibly and informally. For otherwise how does one know what constitutes an adequate explanation and when.one has achieved 'understanding' ? Oral articulation through tentative exploratory statements is a means by which learners reach deeper understandings of what they may have partly grasped.

As an illustration, let us compare the transcriptions, from a study conducted in England, of two groups of twelve-to-thirteen year olds talking to themselves while engaged in a task on air pressure. The written instructions given urge them to discuss amongst themselves exactly what happened and why, remembering to give an explanation using the 'correct' words.

Experiment 1 :

Take a glass of milk and a transparent straw. Suck on the straw and drink some of the milk. Why is it you are able to drink in this way? What actually happens ?

> **Group 1**
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Theresa | : | It says, 'Why are you able to drink in this way ? It's the suction I think . . . |
> | Clara | : | Yes. |
> | Theresa | : | . . . that's why you **can** drink it . . . Is that it ? |
> | Clara | : | Yes |
>
> **Group II**
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Glyn | : | Why're you able to do this ? 'Cos you make a vacuum with your mouth, don't you? And then the water rise to fill the vacuum. |
> | Steve | : | What about this glass of milk though, Glyn. |
> | Glyn | : | Well that's 'cause you make a vacuum in your mouth . . . |
> | Steve | : | When you drink the milk you see . . . you. . . |

Glyn	:	Right! . . .you make a vacuum there, right ?
Steve	:	Yes well you make a vacuum in the. . . er. . . tran-. sparent straw. . .
Glyn	:	Yes.
Steve	:	Carry on.
Glyn	:	And the . . .er . . . air pressure outside forces it down, there's no pressure inside to force it back up again so. . .
Steve	:	O.K.

In Group 1, Theresa' use of the term 'suction' seems to provide them with an unchallenged psuedo-explanation; the group is not provoked to question further or attempt greater elaboration. This is typical of a closed approach to science. Group II's approach is, however, more open and it is significant to note that though Steve does not actually provide an answer, it is his demand for explicitness that enable both to work as partners in deliberately constructing a public statement which satisfies them as an adequate explanation.

I have found in my own students, who were would be teachers for primary schools, the tendency to explain away the above phenomenon with 'labels' like 'vacuum' or 'air pressure', without understanding the crucial point regarding the difference between the pressues on the water, inside and outside the straw. Only when forced to *think aloud*, why it is difficult in a closed bottle, do they slowly begin to modify and elaborate each other's statement to reach an adequate conceptual understanding of the process.

Orality and the organisation of knowledge

Beside its structured discourse, characteristic ways of organisating experience in science too could be ascribed to a literate tradition. Methods of classification, for instance, based on abstract decontextualised principles, are intrinsic to science instruction even for young initiates. The predicament of nine-year-old Akhtar, who is forced to make sense of his text's characterisation of the playful and fascinating cat as 'a carnivorous quadruped belonging to the feline family', when actually he looks upon it as something so very different from the ferocious creature he calls a tiger, may appear quite obviously distressing. Not only do the super-ordinate categories like 'quadruped' or 'feline' cause problems but so does the relatively simpler one devoted by 'family', for a child interprets "two animals in the same family" as :

"when they are husband and wife, or mother and young sister... ?"

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However, problems like these are typical not only for children but also for adults belonging to a predominantly oral culture. Indeed as Luria's work with the semi-and non-literate peoples of Uzbekistan and Khirgizia emphasises, abstract and decontextualised conceptual thinking is more a reflection of a society's cultural and intellectual history conveyed through its linguistic system. His studies on categorisation, or the way people group thinks and make generalisations have revealed that non-literate subjects invariably resort to 'situational' thinking and classify objects according to their real life relationships. This functional—graphic perception based on practical experience was found to be so overriding that even the suggestion of other abstract principles to guide classification was persistently dismissed as irrelevant or 'stupid'. A typical example is that in which non-literate subjects, on being shown drawings of a hammer, a saw, a log and a hatchet, insisted that they all belonged to one group and that none could be excluded :

"They are all alike. The saw will the log and the hatchet will chop it into small pieces. If one of these has to go, I would throw out the hatchet. It does not do as good a job as a saw".

On being told that another subject had placed the three things—hammer, saw and hatchet—together, keeping the log out, one peasant promptly replied :

"Probably he's got a lot of firewood, but if we will be left without wood we won't be able to do anything."

They further insisted that wood too could be called a 'tool' since handles of tools were made from wood, and so were poles and other things. They asserted indignantly —'we call all the things we have need of tools'; we have a saying : taken a look in the fields and you will see tools'—thereby defining the essential practically of the modes of generalisation they used.

Other studies in Third World countries show that it is not as if rural children cannot use abstract or superordinate concepts for classification, regarded as conceptually preferable in school systems, but that they choose not to do so because such concepts do not satisfy their modes of organising experience. A sensitive example is that of a 12 year old peasant child from Mexico, who when asked to categories various objects on the basis of their similarities, almost poetically refused to place them together by stating that :

"the banana is like a horn, the orange a ball and the bean a little heart, they are not alike.,'

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This imagery, embedded as it is in the child's living experience of perception, is strikingly similar to the kind exhibited by children in oral riddle games.

The capacity to logically connect two different statements and draw a conclusion from them, as in syllogistic reasoning, was for a long time considered basic to human consciousness. For example, if we are given the two propositions : 'Precious metals do not rust' and 'gold is a precious metal', we can almost unthinkingly conclude from them that gold does not rust. Piaget had raised questions about the "naturalness" of such logical operations in his studies related to the intellectual development of children, However, Luria, in his work with non-literates had attempted to determine whether or not such logical schemes are invariant at different stages of social history and social development. He found that subjects who could draw excellent judgements about often complex facts of direct concern often failed to perceive logical relations between the premises of a syllogism, which was a form of abstract reasoning alien to them. As an illustration, let us consider his following famous example :

"In the Far North, where there is snow, all bears are white. Novaya Zembla is in the Far North and there is always snow there. What colour are the bears ?"

To this one person revealingly replied :

"I don't know. I have seen a black bear; I have never seen any others…Each locality has its own animals".

On being pressed further he retorted almost exasperatedly :

"That's my last word. Those saw can tell, those who did not see can't say anything".

However, the response of a semi-literate volunteer, ostensibly keen to absolve himself from the personal responsibility of assigning a colour to the unseen bears, was, typically :

"To go by *your* words they should all be white".

Thus the responses, reflecting a mistrust of the initial premises, which were removed from their immediate experience, categorically refused to personally commit to any 'objective' conclusion. Moreover, a bare brush with literacy (especially of the kind associated with schooling) could apparently make theoretical modes of generalisation more accessible, if not entirely acceptable. The rules of the game became more apparent. even if the game was not wholly satisfying.

Indeed, as Ong points out, a syllogism is like a text fixed, self-contained and isolated—its conclusions are derived from its premises only, without recourse to personal interpretation. The riddle, on the other hand, symbolises a mode of reasoning which belongs to the oral mind, demanding resources of knowledge far beyond the words themselves. Many of us have seen how even young children love to indulge in complex riddle games—relishing the act of stretching their imagination, searching their memory and maximally taxing their inferential abilities.

A recent observation from close home. It was a science classroom in a government school of Dhar (M.P.) where, as a part of the innovative Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP), children of class 8 were most actively performing experiments with various floating objects and trying to balance the weight of the object with the weight of the water it displaced on floating. They were required to draw a collective table on the board and see whether, in most of the experiments, the two weights came out equal or unequal. The next question in their workbook (leading them towards the Archimedes' principle) asked them if from their results they could say how the weight of a floating body was related to the weight of the water it displaced. And this is where they all got stuck. They looked most quizzically at each other and at their teacher. What did the question mean? The teacher (an extremely friendly and unusally motivated person) tried to simplify the question in less generalised and somewhat more concrete terms. Pointing to the objects, she asked (in Hindi):

What is the relationship between the weight of this ball and the weight of this water it has displaced?

Still no response, only puzzled expressions, even from the most articulate students. The teacher then decided to use a simpler word for the term 'sambandh' (relationship), substituting it with 'rishta'. Much to our surprise most girls began to snigger and amusedly, repeated the word 'rishta'. Because 'rishta' is also used in the context of a matrimonial proposal! As it turned out, looking at the 'equality' of the two weights in terms of a 'relationship' was conceptually and linguistically peculiar for them How could the weight of the ball be 'related' to the weight of the water? Even after they had performed the experiments, and seen that different objects weighed the same as the water they displaced, yet the abstraction of *their* experienee in *our* terms was not very natural and satisfying

Science within an oral culture

The HSTP, locally known as 'Hovishika' (derived from the Hindi acronym), has, from its inception, dismissed models of cognitive deficiency popularly

invoked by educators as well as administrators to explain why children belonging to a rural or non-literate background do not 'perform' well at school. For, such models, in consonance with the hegemonic heirarchy of knowledge conceived in terms of rigid dichotomies such as abstract-concrete, symbolic-sensual, objective-subjective, rational-emotional etc., have always tended to marginalise the 'non-literate' or 'rural' mind, characterising it as one poorly developed and therefore suited at best for 'vocational' training. Indeed similar assumptions have succeeded in fragmenting the school science curriculum of certain more developed countries into two streams 'academic science' for the 'able' students, with its explicit cognitive goals, and 'non-academic science', regarded less respectable by virtue of its emphasis on 'relevance' or 'utility', for the less-able pupils. The 'academic science' courses are awarded high status owing to their perceived 'difficulty' characterised by decontextualised abstraction, remoteness from real-life knowledge and emphasis on literacy skills, while the non-academic science courses are relegated to the low-status category owing to the inherent concreteness of knowledge, relevance to everyday concerns and emphasis on oral presentation. The Hovishika, however, has all along striven to forge compatibility between intellectual credibility and utility and attempted to embed academic science within the socio-environmental context of predominantly rural children. Having taken cognisance of the high drop-out rate of pupils after class, the curriculum gave priority to such skills and fundamental concepts that would help an attitude of enquiry and criticality for life, deliberately excluding concepts which merely satisfied criteria of relevance laid down by the discipline. Besides emphasis on practical work, through teams engaged in performing simple low-cost experiments, the programme gave high priority to group discussion whereby children are encouraged to reach conclusions after collaboratively thinking aloud about a problem. Consequently a number of Hovishika classrooms, especially those where teachers are motivated enough to ensure adequate pupil-activity, have indeed become conspicuously noisier, in almost catharic defiance of the usual conservative norms of 'pin-drop' discipline.

The Hovishika has only instinctively and empirically become aware of some characteristics of the oral universe of its children. The title page of 'Bal Vaigyanik', the school textbook, is in the form of a personal letter, composed calligraphically, addressing the pupils and inviting them to share the fascination of science' This, according to Ong, was found in medieval western manuscripts, which introduced their text not by an impersonal title-page but by a conversational observation addressed to the reader, in an attempt to presserve the likeness of the manuscript to that of an utterance. Moreover, recent alterations in the text-cum-workbook have tried to incorporate greater redundancy in language in keeping with children's natural forms of expression. Indeed, redundancy is a natural characteristic

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of oral discourse, unlike sparse linearity which economically structures expression for the purpose of writing. For, effective repetition of what has just been said maintains a kind of backlooping, thereby ensuring proximity to the focus of attention, as is judiciously exploited by many an experienced orator or the traditional 'Pandwani' balladeer, for instance.

Cognitive research in areas of visual perception has shown that pictorial or diagrommatic representation is also a culture-specific mode of expression. However, most textbooks, especially those in science, continue to exhibit gross insensivity towards children's natural forms of visual expression, both from the psychological as well as cultural aspects of cognition. Hovishika has attempted to experiment with less formal diagrammatic representations, including folk and tribal motifs, often supplementing impersonal 'scientistic' objects with added human presence. However much more systematic work has yet to be undertaken, in close collaboration with expended artists sharing a deep commitment and sensitivity to both tribal and children's art. Indeed over the years the conviction has only deepended that much effort needs to be expended to effect a successful shift in the entire discourse of science teaching—from the transactional to the expressive, the dry and terse to the more vivid and elaborate and from the 'transmission' modes of representation to the more 'interpretative' ones.

The fundamental task remains essentially unattempted: to radically redefine the teaching of science within the cultural universe of our children and thus to meaningfully address and engage the cognitive structures they bring with them to the learning situation. Moreover, it is clear that an effort to constructively incorporate the 'psychodynamics of orality, into the processes of learning science would require versatile resources and intellectual inputs with many an hermeneutic insight from the fields of sociology, linguistics, psychology and cultural anthropology.

For not only would we need to redefine scientific skills with respect to 'oral' accomplishments like complex riddle-solving, hypotectical reasoning, oral narrative ete., but would also need to explore and address different literacy practices which have been used traditionally as effective 'props' by our predominantly oral culture. The Indian tradition, according to Narasimhan, has coped with the orality of its artists and craftspersons with admirable sophistication. Indeed the more abstract and theoretical the rules and principles governing a craft technique (or a performing-art form) and the less literate its practitioners, the need for translation of those principles into practice made it highly imperative for clever mnemotechnics or ingenious literacy props to be devised. The highly structured oral notational system of 'bols' for tabla playing or the elaborate grammatical rules to orally transmit the Rigveda in its 'textural' form are instances of such mnemotechnics used to

preserve for posterity the complex performing-art forms in the absence of a tradition of writing.

Siromoney has documented the techniques of 'kolam' (rangoli) practitioners who draw highly complex and beautiful folk-art patterns, using a grid of small dots as a functional base. It has been seen that although the performance of this skill engages complex grammatical rules, the practitioners, most of them non-literate, are themselves unaware of those and are unable to articulate the strategies they adopt. What they are aware of are specific mnemonics or constructional aids which help them to construct the patterns stage by stage, in a manner typically conforming to the natural segmentability of the design, This incidentally, is similar to the Hovishika experience of children learning to plot graphs. Hivishika places special importance on the understanding of graphical representation, which is introduced to children aged 13-14 years. after they have played around sufficiently with the concept of a grid, using it to plot animal figures, reduce and enlarge figures to a given scale, etc. Despite that one finds that the mechanics of drawing or interpreting from a graph normally presents difficulty in explicit articulation—even children who might be able to perform these tasks find it difficult to explain the procedure to others, and subsequently to commit it to memory. If, however, we were to design 'memorable' mnemanics for children that would help them to commit to memory certain essential mechanical elements of a task, it would not assist them to articulate the procedures but would ultimately ensure a more explicit and deeper understanding.

To conclude, the language of science could do with more of a 'human face'. As recent faminist studies do highlight, a large segment of the population of young humans, comprising of girls, chooses to opt out of the physical sciences because of their natural predilection for narrative and an inherently more personalised discourse focussing on animate concerns as opposed to decontextualised abstract descriptions of inanimate objects. Thus there have been various voices of concern for the manner in which science differentially addresses different genders, races or cultures. pointing to the express need for it to review its own communicability to make its discourse more transparent to diverse sensibilities and varied modes of thought and expression. Indeed the language of science instruction would move many a step forward if only it were to retrace its path to the stage where communication had not yet been divested of its implicit 'orality'.

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Language of Literacy and Education for the Linguistic Minorities in India

The year 1990 has been declared as the International Literacy Year and the UNESCO has set the target of 'Literacy for all by the year 2000''. Although access to literacy has been treated as a basic human right, the prevailing rate of growth of literacy in developing countries do not project a very promising picture. With the present trend of growth of literacy and popultaion, India alone is estimated to share 54% of the world's illi-

terates by the beginning of the next century. The linguistic minorities such as the Tribals figure quite prominently among the illiterate population in India and nonavailability of literacy instruction and schooling in mother tongues is a major barrier to growth of literacy and universalisation of elementary education for these people, of the 1652 mother-tongues identified in the 1961 census of India only 47 are used as media of instruction (Chaturvedi and Singh, 1981). Inspite of our national policy of mother-tongue education, speakers of over 1600 mother-tongues in India have no scope of literacy in their cultural language and are forced to seek instruction in the three R's in a language with which they, most likely, do not identify. Less than one percent of the Indian tribals get early education in their own language. Thus the mismatch between the home language and language of literacy instruction is a major issue for the linguistic minority groups in a multilingual setting like India (Spolsky, 1986). Further, literacy is to be viewed as not simply a means to economic development but as leading to comprehensive development including better self-concept, thinking style and a sense of control and power for the individual and for society. At the individual level, literacy is much more than the cognitive skill of reading and writing; it is also the ability to think and reason differently (Wagner, 1985). The literates have the ability "to ponder and extend what they know, to communicate with others, to present their points of view, and to understand and be understood" (Langer, 1987, p. 18). Thus, an adequate literacy strategy, responsive to social and cultural context, and cognizant of the specific background and the needs of the individual is necessary for development of the individuals and communities in the minority segment of the society. As Gadsden (1990) has argued" effective literacy instruction must, in fact, respond in meaningful and significant ways to the learner's prior knowledge, background, experiences, and propensity of desire to learn; it effectivily ropes the energy and motivation that children, youth, and adults bring to learning" (p. 26). A policy which seeks literacy instruction in a language other than the home and culturally intrinsic language fails not only to capitalise on the prior knowledge and familiarity of the learner but also to generate level of identification with the language of literacy instruction necessary for effective learning. Analysis of the social psychological dimensions of language use by the linguistic minorities in India (Mohanty, 1990b) shows that identification of a minority community with its language depends, at least partially, on the vitality of the language (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977) which, in turn, is affected by the forces operating towards its maintenance including its educational use. It should be noted, however, that the problems of planning for language maintenance in the Indian multilingual context cannot be viewed with the western perspective of the domi-

nant monolingual countries. As Pattanayak (1984) has said, "the dominant monolingual orientation is cultivated in the developed world and consequently two languages are considered a nuisance. three languages uneconomic and many languages absurd. In multilingual countries, many languages are facts of life; any restriction on the choice of language use is a nuisance: and one language is not only uneconomic, it is absurd "(p. 82). Thus, in India the question of language of early instruction and language of literacy has to be analysed on indigenous considerations; the western monomodels are simply inadequate. The problems of mother tongue literacy for the linguistic minorities in India have largely been addressed to on ideological and political considerations. On the basis of a series of studies on the Kond tribals of Orissa showing the social and psychological cost of neglect and loss of minority mother tongue leading' to an imposed monolingualism, the present paper seeks to provide some empirical evidence in support of mother-tongue maintenance and to suggest its educational use toward this end. Further, it will be shown that integration of linguistic minorities in a stable multilingual content is possible through mother-tongue literacy and an ideal form of language shelter bilingual education programme.

Needless to mention that underlying the arguements in this paper is an ideological assumption of the value of cultural (and linguistic) pluralism and the basic human right to use and promote the mother tongue with which a community identifies.

Cognitive and Social Benefits of Mother-Tongue Maintenance

In a situation of prolonged contact between two groups of speakers of different languages, a most common outcome often observed primarily in western studies is language shift of the minority (subordinate) groups to the dominant (majority) groups. The process of language shift often leads to language loss. However, another outcome of language contact, often noted in India is language maintenance with a pattern of language use in which the society in general, but the minority group in particular, develops bi-or multilingulise. In most cases the minority linguistic groups tend to cope with the pressure on their language use by adopting two mother tongues. In India, unlike the language contact sciences in the West, language maintenance has been held to be the norm and not a deviation (Pandit, 1972, 1977) and, as such, several minority languages have persisted for generations among the small migrant communities through out India. Persistence of Bengali in Benaras, Urdu in Mysore, Telugu in Palghat are some examples of language maintenance through stable bi-or multi-

lingualism. In the context of the Indian multilingualism and the indigenous linguistic minorities a significant issue is whether mother tongue maintenance by the linguistic minorities is a barrier to their social, educational and economic progress. A series of studies among the Kond tribals in Orissa sought to provide an empirical basis for addressing to this issue.

The Konds are a major tribal group in Orissa residing mostly in Phulbani district and constituting more than 40% of the district population. The indigenous language of the Konds is Kui belonging to the Indo-Dravidian language family. Around 507,000 tribal speakers use Kui as their mother tongue. The Konds are in contact with the nontribal Oriya speakers. Perhaps as a result of the history of language contact, there has been a clear cut geographical split with the areas between Khajuripada and Phulbani i.e. the north-east regions of the district showing complete shift of Kui resulting in Oriya monolingualism among the Konds and the areas south-west of Phulbani town towards G. Udaygiri; showing a relatively stable form of Kui-Oriya bilingualism by the Konds who have maintained Kui for home and in group communication and Oriya for intergroup communication. The Kond children in bilngual areas grow up acquiring Kui in their homes and Oriya in the neighbourhood mostly through play and peer group interaction. The Konds, despite this difference in the pattern of language use in the monolingual and bilingual areas, constitute a close ingroup showing little difference in terms of socio-cultural and economic parameters (Mohanty, 1982 a, b). The Konds are settled cultivators and also engage in seasonal gathering from the surrounding forests. Schooling for the Konds is available in Oriya medium only and Kui has no educational use in the schools.

A number of studies (Mohanty 1982 a, b; 1990 a, In Press: Mohanty and Babu, 1983, Mohanty and Das, 1987, Patnaik and Mohanty, 1984) have examined the psychologial impact of bilingualism through mother-tongue maintenance compared to monolingualism due to the loss of the indigneous mother-tongue by comparing the samples of Kond childran from bilingual and monolingual groups. Mohanty (1982a) took 180 monolingual and bilingual Konds belonging to three age levels between 10-16 years and from grades 6,8 and 10. The samples were compared on a number of tasks of information processing, reading and linguistics skills. A number of measures of metalingustic awareness were also administered. The Kui-Oriya bilingual children performed better than the monolinguals on all the tasks of simultaneous and successive information processing (except Digit-Span), motalinguistic awareness and in classrom achievement. There was no diff-

erence between the two groups on reading and language measures except the oral reading errors which differentiated in favour of the monolinguals. It was concluded that, "Kui-Oriya bilinguals seem to be benefiting from retaining their own culturally intrinsic language besides learning Oriya" (p. 39). Mohanty and Babu (1982) found the bilingual children performing better than their monolingual counterparts in the same age and grade levels as in the earlier study (Mohanty, 1982a) in metalinguistic ability even when the two groups did not differ on nonverbal intelligence measure (Raven's Coloured progressive Matrices) and Piagetian conservation measures of cognitive development. The findings suggested that the bilinguals" performance facility may be related to their metalinguistic skills enabling them to be cognitively flexible, to have an analytic orientation to language and to control their cognitive processes more effectively. In a factor analytic study (Mohanty, in press b) obtained further evidence in support of the metalinguistic hypothesis of bilingual superiority in cognitive performance. In two other studies (Mohanty, 1986) the Kui-Oriya bilinguals were shown to apply their language awareness and cognitive flexibility in detection of syntactic ambiguity and in intonation-appropriate perception of surface structurally ambiguous sentences. In a study of unschooled bilingual and monolingual Kond Children in the 7 to 9 year age group the bilinguals performed significantly better in nonverbal intelligence measure (RCPM) although the difference in metalinguistic ability measures was not significant. Mohanty (1986. In press) has sought to explain the findings in respect of the performance difference between the bilinguals and monolinguals in terms of a metalinguistic and metacognitive process model. For the purpose of the present discussion the findings and their implications have been summarised thus : " . . . the Kond children growing up as Kui-Oriya bilinguals in geographical areas where there indigenous language has been maintained, had a clear advantage over their counterparts growing up as Oriya monolinguals in areas where Kui has been lost as a result of language shift. The studies discussed so far have shown the advantages of maintenace of minority mother-tongues in respect of intellectual and acadmic performance, cognitive flexibility and skills in the use, manipulation and awareness of language. In view of the psychoeducational significance of these skills for scholastic success, the advantages of maintenance of the mother-tongue for children of linguistic minorities are quite considerable "(Mohanty, 1990 a, p. 36).

The advantages of mother tongue maintenance for the linguistic minorities are not confined to cognitive and academic benefits alone. Mohanty (1990 b) has analysed the social psychological dimensions of intergroup relations in language contact situations and has used models of assimilation/integration (Berry, 1984, 1990; Schemerhorn, 1970) to argue that the forces towa-

rds language maintenance—positive linguistic identify, perceived vitality of language its educational and official status—lead to linguistic and cultural pluralism in a stable form of bi-or multilingualism and integration. Assimilation, on the other hand, is associated with langnage shift, lack of perceived vitality and status of ones own language and culture and dominant monolingualism at the societal level. Thus, in a plural society, cultural and linguistic intergration must be viewed in terms of a sense of positive self-identity along with a sense of positive other idcntification in case of the ethnolinguistic minorities, In a study (Mohanty' 1987) of attitude towards ingroup and outgroup linguistic and cultural identities among the Kond and nontribal adult villages from bilingual and monolingual areas of Phulbani, the Konds were observed to have an integrative orientation with a positive attitude towards maintenance of Kui language and culture while favourably viewing the Oriya language and culture of the non-tribals. Within the tribal sample the Kui-Oriya bilinguals were more integrative compared to the Oriya, monolingual Konds. The non-tribals, however, displayed segregation attitude by a positive evaluation of their own language (Oriya) and culture and a negattve evaluation of the Kui language and culture. It is noteworthy that, among the non-tribal villagers, the bilinguals were less segregation oriented compared to the monolinguals. On the basis of these findings and analysing the social-psychological processes, Mohanty (1990 b) has predicted that planning towards maintenance of Kui language and culture can be expected to move the intergroup relations among the tribals and the nontribals in the dircction of integration and pluralism and strenghening the role of Oriya at the cost of Kui is likely to lead to an assimilation of the Kui language and culture with some tension and resistance. Thus, cultural and linguistic maintenance in a pluralistic framework is not simply and ideological position it is backed up by pragmatic considerations as well. Educational, social and economic mobility and integration of the othnolinguistic minorities, such as the Konds, are positively affected by the maintenance of the vernacular languages or mother-tongues. While planning towards maintenance of minority languages involves complex processes which come under the domain of applied linguistics and language planning, the value of using a language for literacy and education towards promoting its vitality and long-term maintenance can hardly be overstated.

Mother-Tongue as the Langu ges of Literacy and Education for the Linguistic Minorities : Rationale for Bilingual Education

Several researchers (e.g. Cummins, 1984; Skutnabb Kangas, (1984) have emphasised the value of instruction in the mother-tongue for the linguistic

minorities. In India, Pattanayak (1986) has pleaded for educational use of mother tongue showing several advantages of the use of mother-tongue as a medium of instruction : (i) equal opportunity to participate in national reconstructions, (ii) greater access to education ; (iii) easier access to scientific knowledge and technology ; (iv) decentralised information and free media and (v) opportunity for greater political involvement in the democratic process. It is the access to education and literacy which forms the core of the present discussion. Arguello (1986) has shown that changing the language of literacy from Spanish, the official language, to indigenous vernacular languages such as Queehua and Shuar resulted in greater success of the adult literacy campaign in Ecuador. In multilingual societies where children have also to be instructed in a majority (national) language, efficacy of teaching through the minority language have been demonstrated in several studies throughout the world (Altena and Appel, 1982 ; Baker and de Kenter, 1981; Cummins, 1983; Lofgren and Ouvinen-Birgerstam, 1982; Modiano, 1968). Even for an effective educational development of a second culture language or the majority (national) language, Cummins (1979, 1980, 1981 a, b, 1984) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1984 Skutnabb-Kagas and Toukomaa, 1976) have pleaded for the necessity of promoting the learner's proficiency in their mother-tongue. Based on his reviews of the empirical findings in respect of the relationship between the first and second language proficiency of bilinguals, Cummins (1981 a, b, 1984) has shown that the two are not separate and independent. He provides evidences for a common underlying proficiency model according to which proficiency in L1 and L2 have a common and mutually additive basis at the underlying level. Cummins (1981 b) has proposed an interdependence hypothesis for development of proficiency in two languages which runs as follows :

"To the extent that instruction in L_x is affective in promoting proficiency in L_x, transfer of this proficiency to L_y will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L_y (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn L_y" (p. 29).

Thus, promotion of early literacy in a minority language and development of proficiency in it, need not be seen as a threat to the development of proficiency in the majority language or languages; rather, development of proficiency in a minority mother-tongue is necessary for development of proficiency in other languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) has also argued that promotion of mother-tongue is necessary for adequate educational development in a bilingual context in which the minority L_1 and the majority L_2 have both to be developed.

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The theoretical views and empirical evidences discussed above provide the rationale for bilingual education programmes which seek to start early and literacy instruction for the minority children in their mother-tongue to develop L_1 competence and to use it as a base to foster L_2 competence at a later stage. Reviews of different types of bilingual education programmes (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984; Troske, 1978) also show that bilingual education programmes using L_1 for initial literacy and as a medium of instruction (for the whole or major part of the school day) are, in the long run, more effective in promoting L_2 proficiency. Further, several studies (Bhatnagar, 1980; Cuimmins and Mulcahy, 1978) have shown that the use of the minority language at home is not a handicap to L_2 proficiency and academic achievement of the child. Bhatnagar (1980) found that the Italian immigrant children in French or English language elementary schools in Montreal who used both Italian and French/English outside the schools demonstrated better proficiency in spoken and written French/English compared to their counterparts who used French/English all the time. He concluded that "language retention . . . . should lead to higher academic achievement, better facility in host language and better social relations of immigrant children" (p. 155), Cummins and Mulcahy (1978) compared the Ukranian-English bilinguals in Edmonton using Ukranian at home and receiving 50% instruction in Ukranian in a bilingual education programme with monolingual English speaking students and found that the former were more proficient in detection of structual ambiguity in English sentences. Genesee (1978) and Krashen, Long and Scarella (1979) have arugéd that in view of the positive relationship between L_1 and L_2 proficiency, it is possible to develop L_2 proficiency at a later age in childhood and, possibly, at a faster rate of learning. Thus, these findings and observations strongly suggest that early literacy for the linguistically minority children should be in the minority mother tongue (L_1) and that L_1 proficiency in early school years should be promoted at no cost to the development of proficiency in a majority language in an adequate bilingual education programme which starts with L_1 at the primary level and goes on to gradually increase the use of L_2 until the time for both are approximately equal. Mohanty (1990 a) has reviewed different types of bilingual education programmes with implications for the issues in language of literacy and education of the linguistic minorities in India. He has concluded that there is empirical support for the necessity and feasibility of language shelter for mother tongue maintenance oriented bilingual education programmes which provide initial literacy and instruction in the minority mother-tongue (L_1) and develop the majority language (L_2) at a later stage in education when acquired proficiency in L_1 can facilitate L_2 proficiency. In view of the failure of early literacy and reading instruction largely attributable to a low level of language proficiency particularly for the linguistic minorities. this approach appears promising.

To conclude, the paper has sought to provide empirical and pragmatic basis for use of minority mother tongues for initial literacy and for maintenance of minority languages in a pluralistic framework through a type of language-shelter oriented bilingual education which seeks to provide early education and literacy in the minority language followed by instruction in the minority as well as the majority language(s). Consdering the cognitive and academic benefits of maintenance of minority mother tongues and its positive consequences for social integration of the ethnolinguistic minorities, this strategy seems to hold lot of promises.

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U.N. Dash

Literacy and the Development of Cognitive Skills

A variety of claims have been made about the relationship between literacy and cognitive competence. Literacy which involves reading and writing has been historically thought of as an agent of individual and societal development. Societies have been concerned with implementing mass literacy programs under the assumption that literacy would change the basic nature of thought processes of an individual and in the ultimate the basic nature of thought processes of an individual and in the ultimate the characteristics of human culture. Literacy is a conceptual invention of mankind. Like any other technological invention, it is a part of the world outside of man, the world with which he interacts, which he reflects and symbolizes. It is a part of human legacy and through processes of cultural transmission, it tends to be internalized by the individual and becomes a part of his inner world. Since literacy basically involves reading and writing, which objectify the spoken language and create new symbolic language for man to manipulate, it is thought to be associated with unique kinds of logical competency and higher level of conceptual thought. The conceptual transformations witnessed at the level of the individual would combine in a collective manner to effect changes at the level of the society. From the viewpoint of society, literacy would be manifested in new kinds of intellectual systems and culture products, and from the viewpoint of the individual in new modes of concept formation and in the awareness of the act of thought itself.

This paper concerns itself with the cognitive consequences of elementary forms of literacy training. Before presenting some empirical evidence regarding the role of literacy in cognitive development in a sample of literate and illit rate adults of rural Orissa, certain theoretical speculations about the possible psychological consequences of literacy as a conceptual system would be discussed.

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What is literacy? As UNESCO expressed it : "a person is literate who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life". According to this, oral reading of a short simple paragraph with comprehension and making simple communication with the help of written language constitute the operational aspect of literacy. Literacy essentially involves written language, which compared to oral language promotes unique kinds of conceptual transformations and logical competency. Written language once acquired and internalized, interacts with the oral language. Both the language systems are like two independent circles which overlap but have independent areas as well.

Considering the characteristics of reading and writing, and the importance of written language for the psychology or cognition, several authors have outlined the features of written language that help cognitive development (Goody and Watt, 1968; Greenfield, 1972; Havelock, 1976; Olson, 1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1985; Scribner and Cole, 1978a, 1978b, 1981; Stock, 1983).

The two important dominant perspectives guiding this area of research are labeled by Scribner and Cole (1978a) as the 'developmental' perspective and the practice 'perspective. The developmental perspective suggests that literacy develops mental capacities which have widespread intellectual consequences, while the practice perspective proposes that literacy only helps develop certain specific cognitive skills which may or may not be important for functioning within society in general.

Following a developmental perspective, Greenfield (1972) argues that written speech is at a higher level of abstaction than oral speech which is a context-dependent language. Written language requires that meaning be made clear, independent of the immediate and the concrete reference. Written language provides the means for decontextualised abstract thinking.

The invention of literacy have profound cognitive effects on the course of human history. Goody and Watt (1968) suggest that the mastery of phonetic writing system in Greece in the early years of human history was instrumental for the emergence of two new forms of human intellectual endeavour : the origin of history as distinct from myth, and the founding of formal logic. The characteristic of written language facilitated the development of analytical modes of thought. With the help of written records, the importance of memory also decreased. Examination of the inconsistencies in statements became possible when written records replaced the oral accounts. The difficulties in planning future courses of action were greatly reduced. Literate modes of thought opened up new avenus

for human intellect and for the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another. The characteristic effects of written language may be summarised as follows :

1. The writing system objectifies language, and this objectification changes the relationship of the individual to language in a number of ways.

2. Writing externalizes thought so that a writer can look upon his own writing and review his own thought.

3. Written language is more abstract than oral language because it is a second order symbolization. It helps promote context-independent forms of thinking.

4. Literacy skills require an analytic approach as there is a greater separation of the various processes involved in the utilisation of the written language.

5. Literacy skills must be acquired consciously and intentionally. Literacy demands conscious work because its relationship to inner speech is different from that of oral speech.

6. Written language is essentially private as the intellectual operations involved in reading and writing are detached from the common perceptual world.

In considering the intellectual effects of literacy, a distinction must be made between its effect on societies and on the individual. Literacy undoubtedly contributes to the advancement of societies. But how does the exposure to reading and writing experiences influence the itnellectual capacities of an individual ? Luria's (1971) work on the illiterate peasants of Central Asia suggests that the mental operations of the illiterates were confined to the immediate, the concrete and the practical, and had little reference to abstract and categorical associations. Similar findings have also been reported by Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp (1971) in their research on illiterate and literate adults in Liberia. Olson (1985) believes that literacy and education enhance cognitive growth. A defining characteristic of the developmental perspective is that it specifies literacy's effects as the emergence of abstract thinking and logical operations rather than specific skills. Scribner and Cole criticise this perspective on two grounds: (a) it does not distinguish between the intellectual effects produced by schooled and nonschooled literacy, and (b) it assumes that literacy is likely to have the same psychological consequences in all cultures irrespective of the context of its use and the social institutions in which it is embedded.

Scribner and Cole advanced their arguments in support of the practice perspective on the basis of empirical evidence gathered from Vai literates

of Liberia. The nonschooled Vai literates and the nonliterates were compared for their performance on classification and verbal reasoning tasks which are thought to be particularly sensitive to school-based learning. Vai literates were not significantly different from nonliterates on any of these measures. So the authors moved down one level of generality in the kinds of hypotheses tested; they proceeded to examine the component skills involved in literacy.

The results of their study suggested that the Vai literacy was associated with certain specific skills such as analysing oral speech and giving clearer instructions. Scribner and Cole (1978b) note : "Nothing in our data would support the statement ... that reading and writing entail fundamental cognitive restructurings that control intellectual performance in all domans. Quite the contrary, the very specificity of the effects suggests that they may be closely tied to performance parameters of a limited set of tasks."

The authors suggest the need to test literacy distinct from schooling experience and to make functional analysis of how literacy is used outside of schools. Following this suggestion, a study was planned to test the intellectual effects of literacy in rural Orissa, a South-Eastern province of India. The objectives of this study were :

1. To examine the influence of literacy training on the development of coding and planning processes within the theoretical framework of the information-integration model developed by Das, Kirby, and Jarman (1979).

2. To determine the role of literacy in developing certain cognitive skills as tapped by tests of memory and reasoning.

It was expected that because of exposure to the alphabetic script and written language, the literate adults would be better in integrating information either simultaneously or successively. Since the nature of literacy investigated is very elementary in form, literates, compared to nonliterates would not be able to demonstrate better level planning. Following the suggestions of Scribner and Cole (1981), it is hypotheized that literates in this study would not demonstrate higher level performance on tasks measuring skills related to verbal-logical reasoning, memory and retrieval strategies.

Sample

The sample consisted of 20 literate and 20 nonlitertae adults in the locality of Angul, Orissa. Both adult groups came from the same villages, and were homogeneous in terms of sharing the pattern of their community experience. The literates had undergone a 10-month period of literacy

training in their respective villages. As a part of the National Adult Education Programme, the State Resource Centre for Adult Education in Angul took up the task of educating village adults to read and write in their regional language. Through this training, adults are taught a variety of skills including child-care, family planning, agriculture, and such other things which are of practical benefit in their life-situations.

The sample for this study was drawn from five male Adult Education Centers in the locality of Angul. The mean age of the literate and the nonliterate groups were 19.25 and 22 years respectively. The literate subjects were able to read and write at a very elementary level, but their comprehension skill was very low.

Tasks

All the literate and nonliterate adults were tested on tasks of simultaneous, successive and planning processes. The simultaneous tasks required them to copy patterns of figures when the figure was present in front of them, and also from memory. In successive tasks, they were asked to recall strings of digitsor words of varying length which were presented to them orally in a sequence. The planning tasks required them to search for targets in a distracting field and also to operate on a particuler task following a logical sequence.

In a test of clustering, subjects were asked to recall as many as they could from a previous visual presentation of pictures, and their ability to recall objects by categories was assessed. Using a task called Serial Short-Term Recall of Locations, they were also assessed on structual features and control processes of their memory. Furthermore, they were given a set of syllogistic reasoning items as a means for assessing their verbal-logical reasoning skills. All the subjects were tested individually and the testing situation and methods were made as familiar as possible to the cultural context of the subjects.

Results and Discussion

The findings of this study are reported and discussed in three sections : (a) modes of information-processing, (b) memory and retrieval strategies, and (c) verbal-logical reasoning.

Modes of Information Processing

The literates were found to read words at the level of Grade 2 children. For both the simultaneous processing measures, significant differences were observed between the literates and the nonliterates. The difference between the two groups was observed in favour of the literates in only one of the tasks of successive processing, namely Auditory Serial Recall. The

groups did not differ in planning as indicated by their performance on Visual Search and Trail Making. The means, standard deviations, and ·F' statistics showing significance of differece between the two groups in respect of all the information processing measures are presented in Table 1.

Factor analysis of the data suggested the presence of two clearly independent factors called simultaneous and successive processing. It was gratifying to see that the factor analysis confirmed the findings (Das, Kirby, and Jarman, 1975, 1979 ; Dash and Das, 1984 a, 1984 b, 1987 ; Dash and Mahapatra, 1989).

Both adult groups came from the same villages and homogeneous socio-demographic background, and were also homogeneous in sharing the patterns of community experience. Thus the superiority of the literates could to a large extent attributed to their 10-month elementary forms of literacy training. The skills involved in writing letters involve visual analysis of the latter patterns and subsequent reproduction of those patterns. One important aspect of the letter writing skill is the subject's simultaneous grasp of the structural components of letters. A failure in this skill results in confusion and rotation of letters.

TABLE 1

Means, Standard Deviations and 'F' Statistics of Simultaneous, Successive and Planning Tasks for the Literates and Nonliterates

Variable		Groups		F
		Literates	Nonliterates	
Figure Copying	Mean	16·70	13.90	4.57*
	SD	3.54	4.48	
Memory for Designs	Mean	31.05	23·60	19·42**
	SD	5.34	4.86	
Digit Span	Mean	4.40	4.10	3.23
	SD	.49	.54	
Auditory Serial Recall	Mean	29.95	24.40	5.83*
	SD	7.10	7.07	
Visual Search	Mean	5.24	5.75	1
	SD	2.10	1.70	
Color Naming	Mean	74.80	83.35	1
	SD	28.45	28.15	
Trail Making	Mean	5.95	6.61	3.71
(Form A)	SD	1.18	.91	
Trail Making	Mean	7.42	7.96	5.45*
(Form B)	SD	.76	.66	

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Trail Making	Mean	8.00
(Number : Form A)	SD	.77
Trail Making	Mean	8.84
(Number : Form B)	SD	1.94
Word Reading	Mean	43.15
	SD	18.42

*   p   0.5
**   p   .01

Following the initial acquisition of printing and recognising alphabets, the letters are arranged successively to form words, and the word elements are put in a sequence to construct sentences. The reader at this stage is engaged in a successive mode of thinking which develops gradually through extended practice of word and sentence construction. As a result, elementary form of reading and writing manifests itself in the form of an improvement in simultaneous and successive coding processes. The present findings support the contention of Scribner and Cole in that literacy produces some test-specific localized intellectual effects

Memory and Retrieval Strategies

Subjects were given a category clustering task consisting of 20 pictures selected from 4 different categories. Following a visual presentation of the picture cards, they were asked to recall the names of pictures they saw. Performance on this task is greatly facilitated if the subject follows a particular strategy of recall, i.e., recall by categories. To test subject's sensitivity to experimenter's prompt, they were provided with the category names before the cards were presented on the fourth trial. The means and standard deviations of culstering scores of both the groups before and after verbal cuing are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
**Group Means and Standard Deviations of clustering scores
Before and After Verbal Cuing**

Groups	Before verbal cuing (3rd trial)		After verbal cuing (4th trial)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Literates	.52	.13	.58	.17
Nonliterates	.50	.12	.51	.16

Subjects were given this task as a measure of their overall memory proficiency and recall strategies. The category clustering scores of the literates and the nonliterates did not differ significantly. Literacy did not help the subjects to make spontaneous application of strategies for improving their

recall performance. The generalization and abstraction skills which underlie the ability to classify objects or pictures according to a common rule were found to weak in both the groups. The findings of the present study do not support a developmental viewpoint pertaining to the effects of literacy. Even when the subjects were prompted by the experimenter for the taxonomic classification of pictures, neither the literates nor the nonliterates could make profitable use of verbal cues for enhancing their recall performance. In this respect the findings are consistent with those reported by Cole et al. (1971) on Kepple subjects of Liberia.

In another task meant to assess the structural features and control processes in memory, no significant differences were observed between the literate and nonliterate adults. The task required subjects to recall the locations of a set of seven pictures. Recalling the first two pictures in the series was regarded as primary recall, and the last two pictures indicated recency recall. The primacy recall is closely linked with verbally mediated rehearsal strategies (Flavell. 1970 ; Hagen-1971) which obviously does not develop as a function of reading and writing at an elementary level. Both primacy and recency effects were observed by Wagner (1978) in Morocco as a function of at least 6 years of formal schooling experience. In the light of this evidence, one would not expect a significant improvement in these two measures in favour of the literate adults. The evidence is once again clear that 10-month period of literacy training does not significantly improve spontaneous application of the remembering strategies such as rehearsal.

Verbal-Logical Reasoning

Syllogisms are used by cross-cultural psychologist to probe into the thought processes of children and adults in different cultures. A typical syllogistic reasoning ite n consists of a major premise and a minor premise on the basis of which the subject is asked to either draw or evaluate a stated conclusion. Seven different types of syllogisms were used in the present study. No significant differences were observed between the literate and the nonliterate adults for any category of syllogism or for the total number of syllogisms solved. The means and the standard deviations of the two groups for different types of syllogism are presented in Table 3.

Literacy training did not improve subject's ability to solve verballogical problems. The findings are not consistent with Luria (1971) who observed a marked improvement in syllogisiic reasoning performance as a result of minimal literacy training. There is however, an important point of difference between this and findings of Luria. In the present sample, the effects of literacy did not emerge because unlike Luria's subjects, both lite-

rate and illiterate adults of Orissa were strong in verbal-logical reasoning. Both the groups were performing at a level of competence comparable to that of Grade 4-6 Mexican or Liberian students (Sharp, Cole, and Lave, 1979; Cole et al., 1971). The present sample of subjects was able to solve on an average 11 out of 14 problems with a mean success rate of 80%, which is slightly higher than the 75% success rate of Grade 4-6 children of Canada and Sierra Leone (Bickersteth and Das, 1981).

TABLE 3

Group Means, Standards Deviations and 'F' Values for Different Types of Syllogisms

Syllogisms		Groups		F
		Literates	Noliterates	
Total	Mean	11.05	11.30	.20
	SD	1.93	1.59	
Familiar	Mean	1.80	1.80	.00
	SD	.41	.41	
Unfamiliar	Mean	1.80	1.85	.17
	SD	.41	.37	
Artificial	Mean	1.85	1.90	.11
	SD	.49	.45	
Contrary to	Mean	1.40	1.25	.42
experience	SD	.75	.72	
Conjunctive	Mean	1.55	1.65	.40
	SD	.51	.49	
Disjunctive	Mean	1.85	1.75	.60
	SD	.37	44	
Implicative	Mean	.80	1.10	1.37
	SD	.83	.79	

It would not be possible to explain away the findings on the ground that the items were too easy for the subjects, as the syllogistic reasoning problems used here are similar to those used by cross-cultural investigators. There must be something in the culture which promotes verbal-logical reasoning. Dash and Das (1984a, 1984b, 1987, Das and Dash, 1990) in explaining the performance characteristics of schooled and nonschooled children on verbal-logical problems point to the rich articulate tradition of the rural community in Orissa. Future research should focus on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of verbal interactions that adults in Indian 'traditional' communities engage in as a part of their daily routine life.

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Since verbal-logical performance seems to be regarded as a fundamental process of cognition (Luria, 1971), there is no reason to expect a significant difference in this basic cognitive skill as a result of 10-month period of literacy training. On the other-hand, the contribution of specific cultural experiences may seem to be important for the development of verbal-logical skill as cultures differ in the way they modify or amplify the basic processes of cognition. The findings of this study supported these two views.

Following Scribner and Cole (1978a), a distinction was made between schooled and nonschooled literacy. In several studies, schooling has been demonstrated as a crucial factor for cognitive growth. One of the reasons as to why schooling in the early years fosters cognitive growth is due to the fact that schooled children are exposed to the beneficial effects of the printed text and written form of language. While written language as an indispensable and inseparable feature of school experience promotes cognitive growth, written language acquisition divorced from school context does not promote any generalized mental abilities, The only effects of literacy observed in this study are in the modes of processing information which closely resemble the component skills involved in elementary forms of re ding and writing. The present research supports the contentions of Cole and Scribner in that elementary form of reading and writing do not entail fundamental cognitive restructucings that control intellectual performance in all domains. This outcome suggests that in the contemporary society it would not be fair to make a distinction between literates and nonliterates along intellectual dimensions.

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P. Prakash

Orality-Literacy Transition and Instructional Process in Indian Orthographic Context

Orthography (or a writing system) is a graphic representation of language. Taxonomically, present day writing systems can be classified into three types on the basis of their level of representation. They are : (a) *ideography* (b) *Syllabary* and (c) *alphabetic*. Ideographic system, such as Chinese script, reperesents the language at the level of morphemes. Syllabic system such as Japanese Kana, represents the language at the level of syllables. And alphabetic system, such as Roman script, represents the language at the level of phonemes (or morphophonemes).

2. A reader while reading a particular type of script is required to have access to the level of representation encoded in the print. It follows, then, all other things being equal, the level of representation of an orthography would have differential influence on psychological processes involved in reading. For instance, while reading Chinese, one does not need to segment the print at the phonimic level as the encoded symbol, as a whole, stands for some meaning; its components not necessarilly having any phonetic significance. An ideographic system which represents meaning is cognitively easier but puts a greater burden on memory because of the larger number of logographs that have to be mastered, while an alphabetic system is cognitively difficult because of its abstract phonemic level of representation but places a lower memory load.

3. It is known that reading disability in one orthography does not necessarily mean inability to read other types of scripts. There are instances reported where American dyslexic children were taught ideographic reading very successfully. The incidence of dyslexia reported across the scripts is not the same. Dyslexic cases are common in French/English speaking countries whereas it is a rare phenomenon in Japan. Further some varieties of reading disorders are linked to the type of scripts.

4. Indian Orthography does not strictly fall into any of the above taxonomical categories. It represents an interesting case of a mixture of syllabic and alphabetic principles. The letters are expressed in syllabic units where in each syllabic form can be analysed into its consonant and vowel components (and hence called 'alphabetic syllabary' or 'syllabic alphabetic'). Besides, there is a high graphophoneme correspondence in Indian orthography generally resulting in the absence of irregular spellings and homonyms. This semi-syllabic orthographic context provides yet another place to study the congnitive consequences of literacy acquisition in relation

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to the type of orthography. We have observed some such script specific features in our studies which are briefly described below.

5. *Phonological awareness and literacy* : The role of phonological awareness in literacy acquisition is the most debated one among the constraints and consequences that different writing systems would pose. Though the opinions differ on exact nature of relationship between phonological aware- ness and literacy acquisition, it has become increasingly clear in western studies that phonological awareness plays a critical role in early reading phase.

5.1 In one of our studies Kannada medium school children of grades I, II and III were tested on reading measures (oral and comprehension) as well as syllabic segmentation and phonemic segmentation tasks (Rhyme recognition, syllable stripping, phoneme oddity and phoneme stripping). Their performance was almost at 100% level with regard to the syllabic segmentation tasks but only at about 50% level on phoneme segmentation tasks. Thus, phonological awareness is not a crucial factor in Kannada literacy acquisition. This supports some recent studies which link phoneme segmentation skill (which is seen in 8 year old western children) not to literacy in general, but to alphabetic literacy in particular. Similar results were observed with regard to phoneme oddity in Oriya children in the author's doctoral work.

5.1.2 To probe further. same syllabic and phonemic segmentation tasks were administered to adult groups-illiterates, Kannada Uniliterates, Kannada-English biliterates. The results showed that all performed significantly well on syllabic segmentation tasks; but only biliterate group did well on the phonemic segmentation tasks. However Kannada literate group's performance was superior to illiterate group's on phonemic segmentation tasks. Similar results were obtained in another study when Hindi literates-illiterates were tested. In both the cases, a careful analysis suggested possible position effects and mental representations of structural features of orthography playing a role. The results support the view expressed in 5.1 that speech segmentation skill at the phonemic level is not a maturational one

5.2. The analysis of reading performance of children of early grades in our studies suggested that they follow the following type of sequential stages in their literacy acquisition process :

(1) Unable to read (unable to identify the letters).

(2) Reading basic letters (with inherent 'a') without being able to decipher the associated vowel part of the letter (e.g. reading/ga/ for/gi/).

(3) Letter by letter decoding (often unlike 'word reading' in real sense)

(4) Proficient way of reading.

Some examples to illustrate the above points are given here:/ gudi/was read/gada/in the earlier stages. The words involving 'Anuswara' and 'Arka' (these are two special othographic features of Kannada which help us to identify the phases of literacy acquisition children undergo), conjuct words with consonant clusters (where primary and secondary forms of consonants are written down one below the other) posed difficulties for the yong learners. Our studies indicate that both in reading and writing children do not find 'nonwords' difficult. No differences were found in :

(a) reading words and nonwords.

(b) writing words and nonwords.

The analysis also showed not much of discripancy between reading and writing performance of children.

5.2 1. A close observation of reading behaviour of children at different stages of acquisition in our studies also suggest that those literacy acquisition models developed in the west are not directly applicable in Indian orthographic context. As such models are developed essentially to explain the literacy acquisition processes in alphabetic script situation, some of the stages they envisage may not be observed in the children becoming literate in Indian languages. Or even when we say that Indian children follow a sequential synthetic stages of reading acquisition, the underlying processes may not be the same as envisaged by western models.

6. Thus the literacy acquisition (both reading and writing) in Indian children seems to be more straight forward and very hierarchical. This questions the relevance of practicing instructional methods of west blindly in Indian context. In fact, our observation of reading in early stages prompts us to ask the relevance of very 'lexicon approach' in teaching reading. With regard to writing, we need to analyse and revise the concept of 'spelling' to suit to Indian writing. Letter identification (grapheme knowledge) seems to be the most crucial factor in learning to read/write. However, that should not lead us to undermine the emphasis on meaning extraction aspect of reading in teaching reading. The present need is to identify the specific structural features of our writing systems that enable us to identify the stages of literacy acquisition Indian children undergo and to develop appropriate instructional programmes.

N. Sukumar Gowda

From Home Tongue to School Text : Easing the Transition

Learning language and learning through language, particularly the processes concerned with reading, writing and acquisition of knowledge, have always been acknowledged as the purposes of school education   However, views regarding the functions of schooling seem to be divided (Simons & Murphy, 1986).   Some argue that because children have well-developed social and linguistic skills by the time they start schooling, schools should capitalize on these skills and *extend* these skills in order to continue their development. Tangential to this views, it has been argued that what is learned in school is different in kind from the skills children already have when they start schooling, and that there is a basic *transition* from home to school (Cook-

Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981; Goody & Watt, 1968). Knowledge acquired in school is said to be decontextualized in that it is separated from the personal and practical knowledge of children. Hence, deliberate instruction in literacy-related skills is needed (Bruner, 1975; Donaldson, 1978; Mattingly, 1972; Olson, 1977; Vygotsky, 1962).

In view of the roles and responsibilities of our schools, both the arguments, i.e., "extension" theory and the "transition" theory seem to be tenable. The author of this paper finds the two sides of the argument mutually complementary rather than conflicting. While acknowledging the "extension" theory as basic to school education and accommodating it in the programme of schooling, this paper attempts to account for the "transition" theory of schooling in terms of acquisition of literacy and acquisition of world knowledge through literacy.

Although the acquisition of speech is gradual in a naturalistic manner, beginning at infancy and extending for a considerable period of time, the introduction to reading and writing is much more abrupt and less gradual. Hence the transition appears to be traumatic on the part of the learner. The trauma that results from such a transition may be very tacit, transient and imperceptible in the case of some children, but prolonged and significant in the case of many children, depending on their nature, upbringing and family background.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the problems of transition from home to school in terms of contexts of learning and to suggest ways and means of easing the traumatic experiences that accompany the transition.

Bases of the Problem

One of the mistakes in our current thinking lies in our failure to recognize the functional differences between *Home* and *School*. There is indeed a difference between the two, and it is natural to be so.

Transition from home learning situation to school learning situation has been characterized by educators and psychologists as a process of increasing autonomy of logical thinking and 'text' language demanding reflective awareness and deliberate control on the part of the learner (Bruner, 1975; Donaldson, 1978; Vygotsky, 1962). Viewed this way, the home-school relation is seen essentially as a problem of transition from the oral mode to the literal mode. Further, this problem of modality may be resolved into two dimensions, i.e., *cognitive* and *social*, for the conception of

language is largely dominated by the attributes of writing, and is also influenced by interpersonal link in language.

(i) *Modality Problem*: The distinction between the language used in impromptu talk and informal conversation, and the language used in written prose, may account for the children's difficulty in coping with the demands of school learning. Research indicates that the language used in writing tends to be distinct from language used in speech in various ways (Devito, 1965; Horowitz and Berkowitz, 1967; Stubbs, 19 0; Wilkinson' 1971).

It is also important to note in this connection that reading written prose differs from listening to speech or conversation, in that written prose is typically context-free, while spoken communication is normally context-bound. Olson (1977) attributes the 'context free' nature of written prose to the notion of text autonomy. He calls informal oral language statements as "utterances", and explicit written prose statements as "texts".

Olson discusses the issue as presented by differing views of the syntacticists and semanticists, logicians, writers and researchers on language acquisition, theorists of reading and learning to read. For example, Chomskyan view of meaning is that the sentence itself is meaning for the well-formedness of a sentence is determined solely by the base syntactic structure of the sentence. As opposed to this view, other semanticists argue that sentences themselves do not have fixed meanings but depend on the context and intention of the utterance. According to Chomsky (1965), the "well-formedness of a sentence" decides its meaning. For him language is independent of function and context, a view which runs counter to Halliday's (1970) observation that children do not learn a language independent of its function. For Chafe (1970), the "well-formedness of a sentence" is determined by the comprehensibility of the utterance. From this it becomes possible that the two are attributing the "well-formedness" of a sentence to two different forms of language—written and oral. Olson feels that Chomsky's theory is not appropriate to "utterance" model, but would be appropriate for the structure of autonomous written "text". In "utterance" or oral mode meaning is mostly projected onto sentences, whereas, in "text" (in an ideal autonomous text) or written mode meaning is derived from the sentences. Olson's central claim is that the evolution, both cultural and developmental, is from "utterance" (Orality) to "text" (literacy), the theme of the present conference.

While Olson's formulations are focussed on children encountering difficulties in learning to read and process "text" language, other researchers such as Bereiter and Scardamalia (1983) see a similar problem in the transition in relation to learning to write. Bereiter and Scardamalia under the caption

"From Conversation to Composition", suggest that developmentally, cognitive involvement can be characterized in terms of progressive automatization of lower level skills (e.g, handwriting, spelling, spelling of common words, punctuation, comon syntactic forms, etc) which releases increasingly more mental capacity for higher level planning of large chunks of discourse.

Reading is a self-monitored activity, whereas listening to conversation is not. "Speaking and listening are primary linguistic activities ; reading is a secondary and rather special sort of activity that relies critically upon the reader's awareness of those primary activities" (Mattingly, 1972, p. 133). Therefore, children need deliberate instruction in reading and writing.

The point that deliberate attention is required in the task of writing as in the task of reading (i.e., in processing the "text" language) has been made clear by Vygotsky in the following. The kind of reflective awareness and deliberate control that is required in the task of writing as Vygotsky (1962) attributes is probably due to the very nature of the writing system in any language.

> Written speech is a separate linguistic function, differing from oral speech in both structure and mode of functioning. Even its minimal development requires a high level of abstraction. (p. 98)

> Writing is also speech without an interlocutor, addressed to an absent or an imaginary person or to no one in particular—a situation new and strange to the child. (p. 99)

> Writing requires deliberate analytical action on the part of the child... Written language demands conscious work because its relationship to inner speech is different from that of oral speech (p. 99)

Development of literacy (i.e., reading and writing), in that sense, involves processes of reflective awareness and conscious control which in fact is transitional and exacting on the part of the learner. Thus, in the child's early schooling, the oral-literal modality is very crucial, in that it functions as a hinge on which the other two dimensions of the problem of transition operate.

(ii) *Cognitive Problem* : According to Vygotsky, while spontaneous concept formation based on everyday personal experience of the child characterizes home learning. development of scientific concepts with reflective awareness and deliberate control characterizes school learning While the former type involves non-conscious attention (without deliberate awareness), the latter demands conscious, controlled thinking. Vygotsky (1962) argues :

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Attention, previously involuntary, becomes volunt singly dependent on the child's own thinking; mechanical memory changes to logical memory guided by meaning, and can now be deliberately used by the child. ... Attention, which is a correlate of the structuring of what is perceived and remembered, participates in this development. (p. 90)

Drawing a similar line of demarcation between the two types of learning, Bruner (1975) argues that while "species minimum" linguistic competence (i.e., the ability to make utterances that are appropriate to the context) is required in a home-learning situation, analytic competence (i.e. decontextualized knowlegde) is demanded and promoted in schools. Further, in line with this argument Donaldson (1978) maintains that while "embedded thought and language" typifies home learning situation, "disembedded thought and language" is characteristic of school learning situation.

On the basis of these arguments it is possible to assume that prolonged operation of thought processes exclusively on linguistic representation forms a prerequistite for success in school learning.
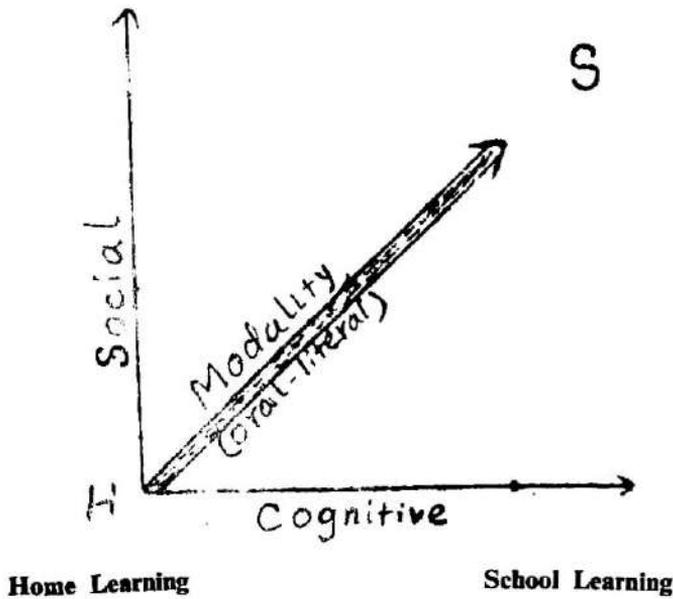
(iii) *Problem of Social Distance* : Learning, especially in the early stages, needs a context—a situation of objects, events and people within the frame of space and time. Ideally, learning is a dialogic/dyadic process—interacting and transactiing with *persons* on a *knowing subject*.

In modern times, language learning is no longer viewed as a matter of mere imitation and repetition, nor is seen as a process of discovering semantic and syntactic structures from an innate base, More importantly, for an infant it is a process of exploring its uses. nuances in meaning and its functional value as an expression of intention and as a means of constructing and maintaining social relationship between himself and adult (Chafe, 1970; Halliday, 1975; Hymes, 1971). Hence acquisition of language and acquition of knowledge of the world through language are seen primarily as socially based activities.

When so viewed, transition from home to school presents a problem of increased social distance to the child. At home, the child interacts and transacts with the close and familiar people—siblings, parents, relatives and neighbours. Whereas at school, the child is expected to learn amidst people (teachers and class-mates) who are unfamilier or partially familiar to him. Further, children in the classroom with their teachers feel inhibited to ask questions, to make assertions. to issue command, to argue, to criticize and to dissent-the communicative and speech acts which they otherwise perform freely with their peers and dears ones at home (cf. Olson, 1980). Conversation is possible between the equals in social status. In classrooms, the most common type of communication is through

questions and answers   Thus learing in school takes place in a situation that is marked by inter-personal inhibition and social distance.

All the three dimensions of the problem of transition (i.e. moving away from the home base in terms of communicative mode, cognitive abstraction and increasing social distance) discussed here cumulatively offer a situation wherein the child initially finds learning an exacting and an unpleasant experience. From the foregoing observations it is possible to epitomize the whole phenomenon of tansition in the following diagram :

Home Learning   School Learning

(i) Modality (oral-literal) :

Home Learning	School Learning
—takes place in a 'context-out' situation	—takes place in a 'context-in' situation
—whole language situation based on holistic experience	—fragmentary and hierarchical language experience
—in a situation what is *meant* is important	—what is *said* is important
—presence of 'cooperative' principle in conversations	—absence of 'cooperative' principle
—natural and conversational	—textual, monologic and indirect (i.e., "I hear talking" instead of "Please keep quiet")

—based on a familiar and personal dialect; mostly idiolectal and use of representative symbols

—based on an unfamiliar and 'standard' form; mostly school dialect (use of arbitrary symbols)

(ii) Cognitive (Logico-linguistic) :

—Russellian notion of 'Knowledge by Acquaintance', i.e., based on the direct, concrete, personal experiences of the child

—'Knowledge by Description', i.e., based on remote, abstract and vicarious experiences

—driven by the immediate and personal need

—distant, imposed or no need

—embedded thought and language

—disembedded thought and language

—tacit and nonconscious

—demands reflective attention and deliberate control

(iii) Social (inter-personal) :

—informal situation; free and fearless; caring and sharing atmosphere

—formal situation; fear of failure and ridicule

—takes place in the company of familiar and trusted people

—in the company of unfamiliar or semi-familiar people

—often with active adult participation

—under adult supervision; passive or no adult participation

—situation promotes cooperation and collaboration

—promotes competition

—dialogic (dyadic); greater opportunity for interaction

—mostly monologic; lesser opportunity for interaction

—direct and immediate feedback

—delayed feedback

(iv) Curricular (learning/instruction) :

—spontaneous and experiential

—induced and intellectual

—directly related to the child's *needs, interests, habits* and *experience*	—remotely related to the child's *needs, interests, habits* and *experience*
—based on the child's holistic experiential knowledge	—based on fragmentary and analytical knowledge
—in the participant role	—in the spectator role
—use of toys, tools, objects, jokes, play, songs and stories	—reading, writing, computation; notes, questions, answers, memorization
—competence-based/criterion-referenced/progress-oriented	—performance-based/norm-referenced/achievement-oriented
—no testing situation; if failed, recurring attempts and trials until success is achieved	—testing situation (examination, marks, ranks, etc.) ; highly repetitive and monotonous practice until conformity with a given standard is achieved

Curricular Implications

Having discussed various viewpoints on the issue of home-school differences, it may be useful to consider the ways and means of bridging the gap.

Expansion, extension, exploitation and enrichment are the key concepts in the process of easing the home-school transition of the child. This point is aptly elaborated by Smith, Goodman and Meredith (1976) in the following :

> Expansion of communicative need, expansion of experience, expansion of confidence in the use of language, expansion of conceptual ability, expansion of control over the structure of language, expansion of vocabulary, expansion of the range of language that is understood, expansion of the range of language in expression and the ability to communicate with many different people *for many different purposes.* (italics mine) (p. 66)

Children normally bring a large repertoire of cognitive, linguistic and social skills based on their experiential background when they come to school. Teachers' responsibility then is to extend, expand and enrich those skills with the new school-based experiences. Any curricular programme that fulfils these objectives in any measure, keeping in mind children's experience, needs, interests and abilities is worth considering in this context.

Almost all children have learned about communicating through oral language by the time they go to school—to ask questions, to seek information and clarification, to confirm, to deny, to oppose, etc. Therefore, any classroom activity that exploits these communicative resources in fostering the prolonged operation of cognitive processes exclusively on linguistic representations is worth trying.

The most useful activity that is compatible with the child's natural tendency is known as "sharing"—sharing one's experiences with the classmates. "Show and Tell" or talking about one's experiences demands new linguistic devices and skills, in order to be elaborate and more explicit in one's expressions.

Children need constant encouragement and assurance from their teachers to express themselves freely. Frequent interruption or anticipation of responses by the teacher (or adults at home) thwarts their language learning.

Language is a social phenomenon and is learnt most effectively in group situations. Therefore, encourge group work and group talk. Children learn from the speech that is addressed to them directly rather than from the speech addressed to an unspecific audience.

Involve children in various uses of language; not just confining to questioning and informing. Encourage them to play language games—to experiment with words, sound and spelling. Focus on meaning and fluency, keeping form and accuracy subsidiary.

Value and appreciate the language of the child. This will help develop a sense of self-worth in the learner and make him feel proud of his language.

The relation between oral language and written language poses a basic question : When to start reading ? In all probability when the child can recognize his speech patterns and understand spoken language coherently. Learning to read is clearly a part of coming to understand written language. Initial teaching of reading, therefore, can be tried through flash cards—flash cards containing children's own words and utterances.

The other aspects that can follow learning to read are learning to write and spell. These three—reading, writing and spelling, however, need to be taught as far as possible in an integrated manner.

Before introducing children to books, the teacher can spend the time usefully with the class telling or reading stories. Reading stories to and with the class has tremendous influence on the development of children's language awareness. Listening to stories read to them, children tend to acquire vicariously the knowledge and skills required for narrating things and events.

When the class is ready for reading, short descriptions and stories with suitable illustrations can be gradually introduced for this purpose. No doubt, reading texts will open up an array of cognitive and linguistic resources for the learner. As Margaret Donaldson (1978) maintains, "A child's first encounters with books provide him with much more favourable opportunities for becoming aware of language in its own right than his earlier encounters with the spoken word are likely to have done" (p. 91).

Now, related to the earlier question (i.e., When to start reading?) is another question : What type of texts to be used ? About texts in general, Olson (1977) formulates three basic criteria. First is *meaning*. Formal structure or the "well-formedness" of sentences aids comprehension of meaning. If the text is formally adequate, and the reader fails to understand, that is the reader's problem; he needs help from the teacher. Second is *truth*. Truth in prose text has to do with the 'correspondence' between statements and observations. Truth as presented in the text must become the "product of the disinterested search of the scientist", free from personal biases and prejudices. It must be "an attempt at a simple, impersonal, autonomous, true description. A textbook is not merely an author's opinion of a state of affairs, but rather the expression of what is known" (Olson and Nickerson, 1978, p. 121). The third criterion is *function*. In written text, the logical or ideational functions must become primary, because of the absence of the writer in the presence of the reader.

A final word : In all our endeavour to help the child move from orality to literacy and help develop in him an awareness of disembedded thought and language his oral ability should not be neglected, nor repressed. It should not be literacy at the expense of orality. Both the skills need to be promoted, expanded and developed, for each one has a function of its own and each one is important in its own right.

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Shantilata Sahu

Learning to Read : Observations Across two Orthographies

Two groups of children learning to read, read aloud sentences written in their home language. Two orthographies involved were : an alphabatic non-phonetic orthography; and an alphabatic-syllabic type of phonetic orthography. Misuse-target similarity indices by letter positions showed highest similarity for initial letters, followed by end letters. Similarity irrespective of letter positions was also very high. These observations alongwith observations from other data go to show that children, even beginning readers possess knowledge of spelling.

Reading is decoding from print. It could be broadly divided into two categories : Oral reading; and reading with comprehension. Oral reading primarily involves decoding the written symbols into vocal sound patterns, i.e., print-to-sound conversion with or without comprehension of the written text, On the other hand reading comprehension is primarily involved with deciphering the meaning from the text with or without reading aloud the text. The present paper is concerned with oral reading.

So far as the written symbols are concerned, the writing systems or orthographies can be broadly divided into three categories : alphabatic,

syllabic and logographic types of orthographies (Taylor, 1981 ; Varshney, 1988).

Alphabatic writing is one in which graphemes correspond to phonemes. Syllabic writing system is one in which graphemes correspond to syllables. And, a logographic or ideographic writing system is one in which each grapheme stands for a word or morpheme. English, Japanese and Chinese orthographies are the examples of alphabatic, syllabic and logographic types of orthographics respectively.

Apart from this, taking into account if letters in an orthography represent speech sounds, orthographies could be divided into phonetic and non-phonetic orthographies (Wagner and Torgesen, 1987). An orthography with poor grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence is viewed as a non-phonetic orthography ; and an orthography with good grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence is viewed as a phonetic orthography. Thus, orthographies could be either alphabatic, syllabic or logographic types being phonetic or non-phonetic in nature

Researchers in beginning reading are mostly concerned with what children learn when they learn to read. Juola, Schadler, Chabot, Mc Caughey and Wait (1979) in the chapter : 'What do children learn when they learn to read'? point out that learning to read basically implies learning of orthographic rules of language, and when a child is learning to read he is basically developing visual processing skills that make use of orthographic regularities; the visual processing skills that help direct recognition of frequently occuring letter clusters and words as perceptual units. Their observation of visual search strategies of kindergarten, first, second-grade and older children for words, pseudo words and non-words showed that the kindergarteners as different from other groups, not only showed a slow visual scanning rate but also showed a letter-by-letter scanning strategy and did not show differential scanning rates for words pseudo words and non-words. This observation made them conclude that learning to read means developing an effective visual scanning process involving orthographic rules and regularities for rapid word identification as perceptual units.

Massaro and Hestand (1983) made first, second and third-grade readers pick up nonsense letter strings that looked like words. These letter strings either confirmed to the rules of English writing system or violated these rules (e.g., movule vs. olgued ; hemort vs. cdrtei, etc.). Children picked up letter strings that confirmed English writing rule, and this performance improved with school experience. This observation led authors to conclude that children possess the knowledge of orthographic structures which improves with increasing reading experience. Reading ability was found

to be positively correlated with the child's knowledge of orthographic rules.

Francis (1981) opines that children possess the knowledge of spelling; and children's knowledge of spelling of words is shown up in miscue-target orthographic similarity. On the basis of such an orthographic similarity index she advocates for the presence of implicit knowledge of spelling even among beginning readers. This knowledge of spelling, she views, is the result of the child's own information about the individual word and his experience of regularities in spelling across words he has seen and learned to read aloud. Reitsma (1983) even advocates that this knowledge of spelling is well differentiated to the extent of being word-specific among Dutch children.

The present paper is concerned with the oral reading strategies of beginning readers reading two different orthographies. Since in different orthographies, graphemes correspond to either phonemes or syllables or morphemes or words, and different orthographies are either phonetic or non-phonetic, orthographic variation might be contributing to the reader's reading strategy. Reading strategy, in the present paper, refers to the selectivity and sampling of visual cues from the print. Precisely, this paper addresses itself to word identification in sentence context by beginning readers reading two different orthographies.

Method

Subjects Subjects (*S*s) were English and Oriya beginning readers who read orthographies of their home language. The English reading group consisted of English children and children of immigrant parents in England, all having English as their home language. All these children were drawn from ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) School of London. These children were either in the first or second year of their school. There were 36 *S*s (17 boys and 19 girls) in the English reading group with a mean age of 6 years 5 months. The Oriya reading group consisted of Oriya children having Oriya as their home language. They were drawn from two High Schools of Bhubaneswar, Orissa. There were 100 *S*s (50 boys and 50 girls) in this group with a mean age of 7 years 1 month. These children were in the second year of their school.

Oral Reading Tasks

English oral reading task : The ILEA School in which the study was done followed the break-through method of teaching reading to beginning readers. They started with break-through sentence makers then proceeded to word makers. Look-and-say method was followed at the initial stage,

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then phonics was being introduced. The children were on a banded reading scheme. A total of seven sentences, were used in the present study. These sentences were prepared using a pool of 28 words common to all the Ss. All children tested on this task were able to make an attempt to read the material (i.e., at least 18? of the total words were read correctly), but none did it perfectly. Ss were tested individually and were asked to read aloud the sentences. All the responses including correct response, misreadings, and no response were recorded. Each S was allowed enough time to complete the task. A copy of this task and some examples of children's misreadings are given in Appendix-I.

Oriya oral reading task : The text books for the schools of Orissa have been nationalised. Hence, all students of a particular grade are exposed to the same set of books irrespective of their place of schooling in Orissa. So, all the children of grade-I are exposed to one set of language text books. The present oral reading task consisted of 29 sentences drawn randomly from the language text book of grade-I. One hundred and thirty one words made up these 29 sentences. While drawing these sentences from language text books of grade-I care was taken to see that all sorts of spelling variations introduced in the text are included in the reading task. A pilot testing showed that performance on this task correlated significantly ($r = .7258$; df$=28$; $p < .01$) (Sahu and Patnaik, 1987). Thus, it was accepted that this oral reading task was fairly dependable. Each child was tested individually and was asked to read aloud the sentences. Enough time was allowed to complete the task. All responses including correct responses, misreadings, failure to read, omission of words and addition of words during reading were being recorded.

Results

The study analysed the misreadings (miscues) produced by the Ss for their orthographic similarity with target words. Miscue-target orthographic similarity for letters in specific positions, and irrespective of their positions were analysed. Table below presents the orthographic similarity indices in terms of proportions for miscues produced by the English reading sample.

Francis (1984) collected miscues from oral reading of children with reading age ranging from 5 years to 7 years. Miscue-target letter similarity analyses revealed increasing similarity with increasing reading age (high degree miscue-target similarity or near identity mean almost perfect reading with residual errors contributed to context factors). Overall weighted means for all

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TABLE 1

**Proportions of Miscue-Target Orthographic Similarity Indices
for Miscues Produced by English Reading Groups**

	Initial position	End position	Mid position	Regardless of position
Present data	.559	.283	.271	.510
Francis'	. 35	. 16	. 20	—
(1984) data		(.22 disregarding word length)		

these children of Francis' study is given in the second row of Table 1. The present study reveals highest similarity index for initial letter position, followed by letters irrespective of their positions, followhd by that of the end position. Francis' data corroborates the present observation for initial letter position, and also for end letter position.

Table 2 below presents the comparable miscue target orthographic similarity indices of the miscues produced by the Oriya reading group (first row). The second, third and fourth rows present comparable statistics from other data collected from other groups of beginning and fluent (i.e., children drawn from grade-V) readers. Mishras' (1987) data was based on random sample testing, whereas Sahu and Patnaik's (1987) data was based on a testing of socially advantaged and disadvantaged children. Socially

TABLE 2

**Proportions of Miscue-Target Orthographic Similarity Indices
for Miscues produced by Oriya Reading Groups**

	Initial position	End position	Mid position	Regardless of positions
Present Data				
(beginning readers)	.527	.522	.544	.563
Sahu and Patnaik's	.817 (adv.)	.601 (adv.)	.579 (adv.)	.713 (adv.)
(1987) data	to	to	to	to
(beginning readers)	.780 (dis.)	.591 (dis.)	.650 (dis.)	.714 (dis.)

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r	Mishra's (1987) data (fluent readers)	.674	.584	.564	.629
D					
a	Sahu and Patnaik's	.874 (adv.)	.721 (adv.)	.767	.843 (adv.)
t	(1987) data	to	to	to	to
a	(fluent readers)	.838 (dis.)	.695 (dis.)	.664 (dis.)	.751 (dis.)

Abbreviations :

adv. — Socially advanced

dis. — Socially disadvantaged

advantaged childran were drawn from high caste, high income and high education families and socially disadvantaged children were drawn from low caste, low income and low education families. Socially advantaged children were relatively better than socially disadvantaged children.

Comparison of proportion within each row reflects highest similarity index for initial letter position; then all the letters disregarding their ordinal positions: followed by that of the end letter. The hierarchy of miscue-target orthographic similarity indices projected by all the groups is ; initial, total and end positions.

Discussion and Conclusion

The information collected from beginning English readers as well as from beginning and fluent Oriya readers go to substantiate the following facts :

(1) Children even the beginning reading group probably have a visual impression of written words ;

(2) the impact of initial and end letter positions are prominent in this impression ;

(3) this impression is an overall impression of the word, not a differentiated word-specific letter-by-letter visual image of the word.

Focussing on the beginning reading group first, observations across orthographies show that th: beginning English and Oriya reading groups inspite of being either first or second graders in schools, i.e., having very little or about a year's reading instruction, do project a considerable degree of miscue-target orthographic similarity. If this similarity is accepted as an indicator of children's knowledge of spelling, the present study shows

that even these children posses a knowledge of spelling of different familiar words.

More experienced readers project a higher degree of similarity between their miscues and the respective target words. Fracis' data in Table 1 and other data in Table 2 confirms this.

In this visual impression of written words letters in different positions carry differential weightage. The initial letter of the word carries the greatest significance, then comes the letter in end position.

The fact that all the letters taken together, irrespective of their positions, also project a high similarity index probably implies that this visual impression is not a word-specific letter-to-letter image of the word. Rather it is an overall generalised global impression of the written word.

How this visual impression develops ? Francis (1984) says this is the result of child's own impression about the word and his experience of regularities in spelling across words he has seen and read. Ehri (1980) says it develops out of visual contact with written words.

Indirect observations of visual scanning of words, pseudo-words and non-words involving groups of beginning readers and making them pick up nonsense letter strings which look like words while these letter strings either confirmed to spelling rules or violated them showed that children possess the knowledge of spelling. Now, if misreading-target orthographic similarity is accepted as a direct evidence of this knowledge, readers both beginning and relatively fluent, reading alphabatic non-phonetic and alphabatic-syllabic-phonetic orthographies reveal having the knowledge of spelling in their own orthographies.

It is pertinent to mention that it would have been ideal had the cultural variance, which goes with general literacy level, been kept constant. That would have allowed drawing a firm conclusion from the observations made. But the purpose of making readers read orthogradhies of their home language necessitated the cultural variance.

APPENDIX

English oral reading task

1. here I am
2. the baby can play
3. here is a big car

4. I can run and jump

5. a boy is in my little house

6. I can go with my mum to the shop

7. dad and mum like my cat and my dog

Examples of children's misreadings

1. boy for baby.

2. play for jump.

3. big for boy.

4. like for little.

5. he for house.

6. big for dog.

Examples of failure to read

Little, house, baby, play.

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Lackman M. Khubchandani

Bridging the Gulf between Oral and Literate Cultures : A Socio Linguistic Perspective of Plural India

IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD, the uncritical pursuits of modernisation promulgate our current perceptions of literacy as the universal truth. Individuals and societies are dichotomized as 'literate' and 'illiterate', somewhat similar to the aggressive theologicians professing a sharp division between believers and non-believers : *Momins* and *Kafirs*.

In the International Year of Literacy, we reinforce our faith in the objectives of universal literacy. "The stigma of illiteracy is enormous. 'Illiterate' now becomes synonymous not only with 'uneducated' but also with ignorant' or 'backward' "(Neustupny 1984). Illiteracy in the contemporary milieu has become "an indivisible part of the general deprivation of

employment income, assets, social status and politi.al power" (Kamat 1978).

In this backdrop, the onus of this paper is to focus upon the *continuum* between oral tradition and written culture, and consider strategies of incorporating the characteristics of *mass* culture into the *literate* culture.

Many of the present goals of language development in the country seem to be out of step with the Indian reality. The 'highbrow' values of speech—uniformity, precision, elegance, elaboration, purity of form, allegiance to literacy tradition, elaboration of language through coinage of new terms do not actually meet the demands of *adequacy* and *effect* in everyday life communication among rural and working-class children. At the same time, requirements of elegance in education (urban language and sophistication) also inhibit the introduction of literacy in an effective and economical manner. A wide gap between the language(s) of home and that of school contributes to a significant extent, to the large number of school drop outs in the country (for a detailed discussion, Khubchandani 1981).

The functional relevance of many changes in the speech patterns of traditional societies for the 'oral-tilted' mass communication needs (radio, TV, videophone, and other sound-recording devices) of the twentieth century has not been seriously attended to. One can envisage the possibility of the 'developing' nations passing directly into a 'Macluhanesque' period where oral mass communication in the local traditional style would be made feasible by the electronic media (Garvin 1973).

I

IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE we use language "to fit the external world into our own world .. The symbolic representation of experience, whether in children's play or our own gossip, is of the same order as that of the novel, the poem or the song; all of these modes enable the onlooker to contemplate the possibilities and consequences of the experience portrayed" (Grugeon 1972). In this context we can appreciate the assets of oral tradition among illiterate communities transmitted from generation to generation through folklore, *Ramleela*, *Harikatha*, *Bhagat*, *Jatra* and many other modes of discourse still prevailing in our fairs and festivals, and in the regular ritual chanting of *mantras*. On the contemporary scene, Labov's studies show in definitive terms the language differences among the Whites and the Blacks in the United States can be specific and of equal value; the Blacks handle abstract and logical arguments effectively :

...in many ways working-class speakers are more effective narrators, reasoners and debators than many middle-class speakers, who tempo-

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rise, qualify and lose their argument in a mass of irrelevant detail" (Labov 1970).

How far do the differences in the language behaviour of oral and literate societies reflect differences in *adequacy* as opposed to *acceptable* variation ? This enquiry raises certain issues of fundamental nature which need to be probed in an inter-disciplinary perspective. How does language structure reality—both in the child's 'innocent' view of his universe, and in the adult's 'culturally determined' view of phenomena ? (Khubchandani *op cit*). So far our understanding about the correlation between thought processes and verbal expression is based more on inferences than on firm data. Wilkinson (1975) rightly expresses his concern : "How far is the child's ability to think internally related to the external evidence of his thinking, by words. A standard language use is often equated with good standard thoughts; but this may not be the case". "To elaborate is not necessarily to clarify, it is sometimes more likely to complicate and often to confuse" (Searle 1973). In this respect, Whitehead's (1948) remarks on 'hard-headed' clarity merit serious attention : "Insurance on clarity at all cost is based on sheet superstition as to the mode in which human intelligence functions. Our reasonings grasp at straws for premises and float on gossamers for deductions".

The literate world seems to be circumscribed by the myth of treating language in everyday life as a 'crystallised entity' characterised by distinct tradition, embodied in its literacy heritage. Qualities of language in a literacy creation are quite different from those required in actual communication. In a sense, a literacy creation comes closest to being regarded as an 'artifact' or an 'entity'—utilising speech as its raw material and crystallising it within a language boundary—and is distinguished from an everyday life communication regarded as a 'fact'.

This myth is being shared by many 'underdeveloped' speech communities too in their drive for modernisation, just as they accept many other institutions and values from the 'developed' societies for transforming the economic and technological patterns of their societies. For a better understanding of speech as *living* phenomenon, it may be useful to examine the distinction between 'speech process, in everyday life and 'normative entity' as chaperoned through language elite, as informally presented in the Table appended (Khubchandani 1983).

Traditionally non-formal education has drawn its strength from the *mass* appeal through the pursuits of fold arts and crafts, missionary zeal, dissent

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movements and even subversive activities. "Non-formal education is enmeshed in the cultural milieu of society as a part of life-long education, pursued through literacy *or without it* .. In such a society literacy, no doubt, forms an important asset and accomplishment of an individual, but *not a necessary* condition of his survival and dignity" (Khubchandani 1981).

Formal education, on the other hand, has historically pitched itself through elaborate mechanisms of *selection*. It is initiated by literacy and is streamlined through certain time-bound stages in a credential based system.

Education planners of modern India have committed themselves to the education *for all* without seriously questioning the *elitist* framework of formal education. Many literacy drives in rural areas, though conducted under the banner of non-formal education, are, in essence charged with the mission of churning out 'certified' literates who could be sucked into the hegemonistic values of the neo-rich urban literates. A neo-literate from an oral culture not only acquires the rudiments of the three R's (signing his/her name, etc), but he/she aspires to speak, eat and dress like his/her counterparts in the 'modern' society.

This has developed into a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, it has given rise to scepticism and apathy among the masses in judging the high-sounding goals of education for *development* : with the result, a large proportion of those terminating their education at the primary level often relapse into illiteracy or semi-literacy. On the other, those who show successful results in their literacy achievements take pride in alienating themselves from their surrounding and own kith and kin, and in joining the stream of the urban proletariate. A report of the team of experts engaged in the Experimenal World Literacy Program (EWLP), sponsored by the UNESCO and UNDP in the early seventies, has also pointed out to the absence of *absolute* correlation between the ratio of success in conventional literacy and the rate of growth in rural occupations on a short-term basis (such as, agriculture) UNDP (1976).

In contempory societies many modernisation processes undermine the multi-way interaction and participatory processes in human communication, so typical of rural cultures, grasping reality in its *total ramifications* similar to the grasp of a painting or music Literate cultures, in contrast, lay stress on comprehending the verbal discourse through *segmental* linearity (Khubchandani 1989). One cannot ignore the ecological imperatives of stratificational an d situational multiplicity, so much pervasive in the 'develo-

ping' na ions' oral cultures, than the new values being injected through the official development programmes.

Literacy in the elitist framework has been put on a high pedestal similar to 'classical' skills, judged on the basis of pre-determined criteria of 'competence' than on the spontaneous quality of 'participation'. Societally, literacy in the modern ethos serves as a discriminating device of identifying 'advantaged' versus 'disadvantaged' (like handicapped, retarded) classes in a society. These impediments undercut the universal goals of literacy. The failure or a slow growth in many literacy drives is marked by a restricted entry for those who ean *afford* the social costs, and are *motivated enough* to join the elitist "advantnged' club. Problems of *discontinuity* for the rural and working class entering the predominantly middle-class world of literacy, particularly their failure to articulate the middle-class 'urban' language questions the goals of universal literacy in removing inequalities in the social structure. Halliday (1964) points out to such anomaly with some indignations :

> "A speaker who is made ashmed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being; to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his own skin".

A dispassionate understanding is required to prepare a sound basis for properly relating non-formal education as 'recurrent' life-long education with the formal education as 'preparatory' time-bound education.

II

People belonging to oral cultures, by and large, are not very much conscious of the speech characteristics which bind them to one language or place them across the neighbouring boundary. Until recently one often noticed that in many Indian communities the urge to belonging to a particular language group was often relegated to somewhat less significant status in one's subjective evaluation' of strata ;

> So deep does bilingualism go in parts of Ganjam that from very infancy many grow up speaking both Oriya and Telugu, and are so much at home in both that they cannot tell which to return as their mother tongue" (Hutton 1931).

Plural societies are generally endowed with an access to a wider verbal repertoire for intergroup and inter-cultural communications. Members in these societies generally interact in every day life situations without fully committing themselves to learn the 'tradition-bound' standardised nuances of another language or culture, such as the use of lingua franca Hindustani

in South Asia and Swahili in East Africa. Hindustani, though linguistically of very different from pedantic 'high' Hindi and 'high' Urdu, is a diametrically distinct communication system. Hindustani cannot be regarded as a *language* in the technical sense ; it is a *communication amalgam*. Individuals in such societies acquire more synergy (i.e., putting forth one's own efforts) and serendipity (i.e., accepting the other on his/her own terms, being open for unexpectedness), develop positive attitudes to variations in speech (to the extent of even appropriating deviations as the norm in the lingua franca), in the process of 'coming out' of their own language codes to a neutral ground. A seemingly incoherent manifestation in these societies can make sense, coalescing into a persuasive whole, almost inspite of disparate elements. We get ample evidence of these processes on the Doordarshan when conducting live programmes in diverse cross-cultural settings. Sophisticated elite in the developing world, by and large, do not seem to have taken adequate cognizance of these issues in framing language and communication policies for newly emergent nations.

Literate cultures generally regard hybrid varieties (patois, pidgins, creoles, etc.) as a sign of inferior socialisation, and discourage them in the formal situations (such as schools), as is revealed from the pejorative attributes assigned to the pidgins evolved among the tribals : Sadani in Chotanagpur, Nagamese in Nagaland. In this 'filter-down' approach of the educational elite, grassroots 'folk' multilingualism is devalued and language teaching gets focused on remedial programmes so that the 'backward' pupils speaking hybrid varieties become eligible for entry into the 'advanced' world through the mastery of standard language(s).

In the school-lore, educational disadvantage for rural and poor children is often thought to have its origins in the language deprivation the child suffers at home during the pre-school years and afterwards (Bernstein 1971) The rural 'non-standard' varieties are rated gramatically as 'incorrect' and 'bad', conceptually as 'deficient', and sociologically as 'deprived'.

A native speaker's use of speech in everyday life reality is an *integral* activity, relevant to the context and purpose of verbalisation. His actual discourse in everyday life gets modulated on the scale of *intentive* and *instinctive* extremes. But the school interaction generally puts premium on the explicit, unambiguous, overt manifestation through language, by laying undue stress on its rational and overt use.

Schools have a strong tendency to employ exclusively the 'representational' model of language, though irrelevant to the majority. The Barbiane *letter* (1970), raising accusing finger at the teacher who represents the higher'

class values of speech points out to the fundamental rights of individuals : "All citizen are equal without distinction as to language . . . But you honour grammer more than constitutions. . . Languages are created by the poor, who then go on renewing them forever. The rich crystallize them in order to put on the spot anybody who speaks in a different way or in order to make him fail exams."

Most standardardisation devices in Indian languages today serve only to extend the convention-inspired value system of small urban elites. So far there does not seem to be much realisation of the difficulties the rural population faces arising out of the unintelligibility of the instant highbrow standards projected in mother-tongue text books. The pleas of language leaders for developing puristic 'academic' official standards of language—on the lines of the nineteenth century latinized English and the Sanskritized or Perso-Arabicized highbrow literary styles of Indian languages—accentuates divergency in the home and the school environment and puts a heavy strain on the users of language. It runs counter to the concerns for the facility of expression of studies through mother tongue education, as stressed in the 1953 UNESCO Report.

Ironically, it fall upon the common man to acquire the language of the academic, which may be quite unrelated to the facility in communication. No wonder, mother-tongue text books in many tribal languages are 'originally written in English and then translated in local languages' as 'authors in the local languages are not available' (Sharma 1971).

Many language standarding agencies (such as school), in evaluating the efficiency of communications, tend to be concerned exclusively with the homogeneous grasp of language skills. Yet this is only one factor, although no doubt a significant one, in human communications. In reality one does not find the 'school-masterly' dichotomy of *right* versus *wrong* acceptable-unacceptable utterances in a language. Deviations from the norm, in specific situations could be more appropriate, purposeful, amusing, pejorative, offending, ambiguous, hazardous, unintelligible, socialy neutral, or identifying a group (characterising region, class. etc.). The phenomenon of communicative *sensitivity* is distinct from *proficiency* in language skills. It allows a communicator to transform many diverse and ad hoc fluid cues in speech to a degree of communicability for particular purpose (Wittgenstein 1973).

The grassroots approach emphasises making education more meaningful, useful and productive to work-experience. Sensitivity to speech variation and a grasp over the communication ethos prevailing in the society is, no doubt, enhanced by *doing* verbal events in natural settings. An elaboration

of Gandhiji's thinking concerning Basic Education could provide a useful focus in this regard. Gandhiji laid stress on integrating education with experience, and language acquisition with communicability, as advanced in his approach to Hindustani. This programme provided a viable basis for meeting the demands of universal literacy with minimum financial inputs. Such educations pursuits have not been recognised as education *proper* in the professional sense.

The developing world, by and large, is commited to launching mass programmes for the eradication of illiteracy to enable the masses to play an active role in social and cultural change. Under the spell of contemporary radical thinking in education, there is a greater awareness to make adult education *relevant* to the environment and learners' needs, and to diversify in regard to curriculum, teaching and learning methods and materials. With the aim of relating the learner's education to their personal, social and cultural needs, the stress is laid on *learning* rather than on *teaching*, on the use of *spoken* language, and on harnessing the mass media.

But at the operational level, one is not surprised to find the bureaucratic machinery not mustering enough courage in accepting departure from the conventional thinking and thus commissioning its resources for preparing materials in 'standard regional or sub-regional languages/dialects' as an *interim measure*, 'since it may not be possible to develop teaching-learning materials at the district/project level within the next one year' (India 1978).

In this endeavour diverse approaches of transmitting literacy skills on a universal basis have emerged on the scene, as pointed out in the earlier study, namely (of. Khubchandani 1981) :

1. Conventional educators profess strict adherence to the standard prevailing in the region,

2. Liberal educators recommend a bidialectal approach of gradual phasing in time from home dialect to the standard speech; thus initiating literacy through a non-standard 'home' variety of learners as a *transitory* feature which facilitates in switching over to the standard language at a later stage.

3. Some educators plead for a dichotomous approach by accommodating diversity of dialects/speech varieties at the spoken level, but at the same time insisting on the uniformity of standard language at the written level, i.e., at the level of acquiring literacy skills.

K. Nagamma Reddy

Linguistic Differences between Spoken and Written Telugu : Some Implications for Literacy

Introduction

This paper discusses the relation between spoken and written Telugu and how they both differ in form and function, in particular how it is related to various dialects of Telugu, including the social dialect known as standard Telugu (generalised from particular socio-economic group of a particular region) and the mismatch between the child's language on the one hand

and illiterate speech on the other and the written language of books in their acquisition of literacy which concerns the social and educational issues of language planning, or raise problem of interest to the theoretical linguist such as the parallelism between phonemes and graphemes, the relation of different writing systems to different levels of language (i.e. phonological, lexical and grammatical). Apart from linguistic aspects of literacy, it also deals with some of the psychological, sociocultural, economic and political aspects of formal and informal literacy of adults and children.

The spoken and written language

Before we make a distinction between written and spoken language, we must also make a distinction between the written language and writing of the spoken language, as the latter is used in the creative writings and teaching materials, etc., the former (i.e. the written language) characterises in expository prose (Annamalai, 1986). The written language, however, is not merely a transcription of speech. Learning to read and write means not just learning to make and decode letter shapes but also acquiring new form of language. Some difficulties in reading spring from the language itself rather than from the written code, because as we-shall see later there are some grammatical construction which are common in writing but which occur very rarely in speech. When children meet them in their reading they are not able to bring the experience of their oral language to bear on them.

It is well known that all languages exhibit differences at all levels of the grammar between the spoken and written forms in varying degrees (Vachek, 1973). The debate seem to still continue between those who believe that written language is essentially dependent on spoken language and those who believe that written language is essentially distinct in nature (see, for example, Vachek, 1973). According to Stubb's (1980) point of view, writing can take many different forms and bear many different relations to spoken language, and therefore no constant relationship, but changes as scribal traditions, machine printing, and an education system develop. This changing relationship is evident at many different levels. Even in terms of the priority of spoken and written language, we have to carefully distinguish between chronological primacy and social primacy. In the former the linguist attributes primacy to spoken language, whereas in the latter form a sociolinguistic and educational point of view it is written forms of language which have social prestige. In language learning, spoken language is not necessarily prior to written languages (e.g. Deaf mutes

acquire language through written medium, and it is common to learn foreign languages through writing).

Considering the differences between the spoken and written forms is particularly important because, in school, the written language has a central place. This does not mean only that the learners of languages have to learn how to write letters and words and how to recognise them on the page. It also means that they have to become familiar with the grammatical structures that are characteristic of the written language because writing is not simply the language of speech written down. We must consider nature of speech on the one hand and the nature of writing on the other. There is a mistaken understanding of the relationship between speech and writing. As far as the grammar of the language is concerned, an example that illustrates an important difference between the two modes is the positioning of the word only in a sentence like this: *I only eat fish on Fridays*. Some prescriptive grammars would say this, but for the sentence to have its most likely meaning it should be *I eat fish only on Fridays*. But, the point is that, in speech, the voice gives extra emphasis to whichever part of the sentence only refers to, so only can stay in its most natural place next to verb without any risk of misunderstanding. This use of the voice to indicate relationship between parts of a sentence is important in writing. Similarly sentences like *It was really good that film* can be considered as part of the grammar of spoken but not written English.

The fact that some of the structures characteristically used in writing are different from those used in speech helps to explain why children are still acquiring the grammar of the language during the school years. They do not generally seem to master the constructions of written language until they themselves are fluent readers. According to Uldall (1944), the system of speech and the system of writing are, only two realizations out of an infinite number of possible systems, of which no one can be said to be more fundamental than any other. Furthermore, although writing is generally based upon speech it ignores important features of speech such as voice dynamics/quality (i e. stress, intonation, rhythm, loudness and tempo variation including tessitura and register).

Even within the written language there is considerable variety There are some important linguistic differences between the language of fiction and of non-fiction This means that even when pupils can read stories comfortably, they may not be able to cope with their subject textbooks.

It is possible to have a written representation of socio/regional variety of language: some novelists, poets and playwrites do manage to write in

dialect, though standard is expected in writing. There are written constructions that rarely occur in speech, so there are vocabulary items and grammatical structures that are a normal part of standard spoken language without being acceptable in written language. It is also a fact that spelling and punctuation are conventions of the writing system and not part of the grammar of the language itself. Thus the system of writing and the system of speech though related have certain specical conventions of their own. Writing has special conventions such as capital letters, the use of italics for emphasis and paragraphing etc., which are not related to speech.

Therefore, it is worth teachers being aware of dfferences between speech and writing, partly so that they do not make judgements about speech that are appropriate only to writing, and partly so that they are aware of some of the linguistic difficulties that pupils encounter as they attempt to master a formal written style.

Varieties of Telugu language—accent, dialect and standard

Accent is an aspect of pronunciation. Telugu can be spoken with an accent that reveals the speaker's geographical origins, as a Telangana, Rayalaseema or Coastal accent does, or with an accent that is not restricted to any region but does reveal something about social class. In contrast with accent, the terms dialect and standard refer to the grammatical structure and the vocabulary of the language. We can say broadly that dialects of Telugu show variation from one region to another whereas standard is uniform (in grammar and to a lesser extent in vocabulary) throughout the Telugu speaking area.

The first available work of literature on Telugu dates back to the 11th Century A.D. a translation of some parts of Mahabharatha from Sanskrit by Nannayabhattu. Historical studies on Telugu, particularly on phonology and grammar, however, have identified different developments in the evolution of language from 600 B.C to the present day. The entire evolution has been divided into the following periods: (1) Prehistoric Telugu (from 600 B.C to 200 B. C), (2) old Telugu (from 200 B. C. to 1000 A.D), (3) Middle Telugu (from 1000 to 1600 A. D.) and (4) New Telugu (from 1600 A. D. onwards). New Telugu is now being refered to as Modern Telugu A mixed style consisting of verse and poetic prose was introduced by Nannayabhattu and that style became the norm for later writers. Apart from Sanskrit-based style and theme, there were also oral literary forms like folk songs and folk tales reflecting indi-

genous metre and theme. This *latter* tradition is claimed to be older than that of Nannaya's work and its style is believed to be a good representative of the spoken Telugu of the day. Unfortunately there are no available written records of this style. The tradition of mixed style was continued as the sole representative expression of written literature until the later half of the 19th century. With the influence of English education on Telugu, the prose form was introduced during the later half of the 19th century and this is the more popular medium of expression in fiction, travelogues, newspapers and various other media at the present time. Within prose two distinguishable styles are noticeable one based on the variety found in traditional literature, full of Sanskrit words, called literary Telugu, and the other based on the educated spoken speech, called standard colloquial.

There is no record of dialect variations, regional or social, of Telugu prior to 1960. The traditional grammarians talked about two phonological systems of Telugu native and borrowed. However, during the last three decades a great deal of valuable information was recorded and published, mainly due to the efforts of Bh. Krishnamurti (1962) and to the dialect survey conducted by Telugu Akademi, and to the survey of occupational vocabularies carried out under the aegis of the Andhra Pradesh Sashitya Akademi. Krishnamurti carried out a survey of Telugu vocabulary used in agriculture throughout Andhra Pradesh, On the basis of isoglosses noticed in the survey, the entire Telugu was as classified as exhibiting three distinct regional dialects. Coastal, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Further surveys of occupational vocabularies covering the professions of house-building, fisheries, hand-spun textiles, etc., have shown the possibility of one more different dialect, i.e. that of Kalinga. There are instances where each of the dialects will use a different word to denote a given entity. Other words may be shared by two or three out of the four, but it will not be the same two or three in different cases. To mean, 'pulley', for instance, Telengana uses the form/girre/go:re/,Rayalaseema/ga:nu/, coastal/cakram/ and kalinga/unda/.

At the grammatical level the dialect differences are less prominent than those on the lexical level. The grammatical variations are noticeable principally in the verb conjugation. For example, the past tense marker has three different shapes   -ina:-and-in-distributed as follows:

Coastal and Kalinga	*Rayalaseema*	*Telangona*	*Gloss*
koṭṭina:ḍu	koṭṭina:ḍu	koṭṭin ḍu	'(ha) beat'

The Rayalaseema dialect has a three-way distinction of tense (past-present-future) in the locative existential verb unḍu 'to be' as against the two-way

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distinction (future-non-future) found in other dialects as can be seen from the following example:

Rayalaseema	Coastal and Kalinga	Gloss
intlo : uṇdina : ḍu	intlo : unna : ḍu	'he was at home'
intlo : unḍa : ḍu	intlo : unna : ḍu	'he is at home'
intlo : unṭa : ḍu	intlo : unta : ḍu	'he will be at home.'

This distinction sets the Rayalaseema dialect apart from the Coastal and Kalinga dialects. Similarly the Telangana dialect distinguishes itself from the rest of the dialects in showing a different verbal concord in the negative of present continuous tense :

Telangana	Rest of the Dialects	Gloss
tinṭa:le: nu	tinaḍamle: du	'I am not eating'
tinṭa: le: mu	,,	'we are not eating'
tinṭa: le: wu	,,	'you (sing) or they (non human) are not eating'
tinṭa: le: ru	,,	'you (pl) or they (human) are not eating'
tinṭa: le: ḍu	,,	'he is not eating'
tinṭa: le: du	,,	'she or it is not eating'

The subject agreement is distinctly shown for each person in Telangana whereas these distinctions are all neutralised in the other dialects, being represented by one and the same ending. These regional differences are more prominent in the speech of illiterate than in educated speech. The educated variety also exhibits regional traits. Apart from this, there is a sort of regional standard educated variety in each of the four areas. Out of this complex situation, the educated speech of the coastal (central) dialect has emerged as the colloquial standard variety for the whole Telugu area. It is this variety which is widely used in mass media (radio, television, newspapers, cinema, etc.), and in creative writings such as novels, short stories, travelogues etc. (Krishnamurti 1978 : 42). This central dialect is recognised as standard by the educated speakers of other three dialects and they use it actively in their writings and formal speeches. This is an indicator that the central dialect is accepted as a prestigious variety by other speakers. School and college text books are also published in this variety.

The existence of standard and non-standard varieties of Telugu and the social background is clearly stated by Krishnamurti (1962). The differences between the educated and the uneducated speech correlate with the differences between standard versus non-standard:

Educated	Uneducated
c	s
l	l
ṇ	n
ś, ṣ	s
h	φ/ɣ/w
w	φ/ɣ
f	p

In addition to these differences, either all aspirated plosives and/or affricates are replaced by unaspirated consonants or the whole word is replaced by an equivalent native word (e.g. me: gham as me:gam or mabbu).

There are differences not only in the consonant segments used but also in the nature of consonant clusters. Uneducated speakers find it difficult to maintain consonant clusters and they tend either to simplify them or to insert a vowel between the two consonants. This may be due to the fact that the initial clusters in Telugu are found mostly in Sanskrit loan words. It is a general tendency with the educated Telugu speakers to retain the pronunciation of borrowed words from Sanskrit and English, whereas for the uneducated to assimilate them to the nearest counterpart in the native system. Apart from the phonological differences, there are also distinctions at the lexical level between the educated and the uneducated—the former making active use of the borrowed vocabulary and the latter using the alternative native words.

In addition to these phonetic features which consistently divide the educated and un-educated or standard and non-standard speech respectively, there are local non-standard pronunciations like /Needu/for/Needu/in Visa khapatnam, /gatt/for/atta:/, etc in Telangana area, /assindu/or/a:na/for waccindu/or/wa:na/respectively in Karimnagar. There are also morphological differences between standard and non-standard or local dialects. For example, standard variety used /taliyadu/or/po:tundi/and the other variety uses/telawadu/or/po:tdi/po:ddi/respectively for 3rd person neuter singular in verbs. In vocabulary also for standard/annam/or/bho:janam/ the works/ku:du/or/buwwa/are used in non or sub-standard.

Sjoberg (1957) has further pointed out that the spoken Telugu of educated type shows two varieties depending upon the context of speech—formal and informal. The formal speech is the one which is used in public lectures, over the radio, television. classroom etc. The informal speech is used for intimate conversation with relatives and friends, and while talking to inferiors. Here again one notices lexical and phonological differences between the two styles. The important differences are : (1) a

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tendency to deaspirate certain plosives in the informal speech ; (2) the three fricatives s, s and ṣ tend to be less differentiated in the informal speech. The presence of two co-existing phonemic systems in Telugu is attributed to the factors of education, industrialisation, mobility, and literacy.

Language component in education

Historically there has been a debate regarding the variety of Telugu to be used as medium of instruction at school, College and University level (Krishnamurti, 1979). This is because of the conflict between (i) traditional classicists and (ii) Modernists. The former opting for granthika and the later for sişṭa vyāvahārika 'modern standard Telugu'. The debate is now resolved in favour of modern standard Telugu based upon the speech of educated elite of the coastal A.P. (Guntur, Krishna and Godavari districts). This is the variety (i) found in modern prose, fiction, drama and poetry, (ii) used in mass media by the press, TV, Cinema and radio, (iii) accepted by other dialectal speakers as a standard speech-form and also used by the writers from Rayalaseema and Telengana, (iv) Interdialectal communication through writing is also carried out in this variety, (v) It is also accepted as the state official language of Andhra Pradesh, (vi) used by educated speakers and textbook writers, i,e. not only in creative literature, but also in scientific and technical writing, and (vii) Modern standard Telugu is almost accepted as medium of instruction at the school, college and the university levels of our education. There is a report submitted in 1973 to the Andhra University by the Telugu Language Committee on the use of Modern standard Telugu (i.e. Sistāvyavahārika/for teaching and examinations, for all University courses. The report discuss in detail (i) the contravery in Education wlth regard to the classical and Modern Telugu, (2) the evolution and characterization of standard language, giving particular importance to Modern Standard language, (3) the present status of Telugu teaching at the University level (Text books-methods of prescription), and (4) Analysis of the current public opinion, and recommendations of the Committee.

Arguments in favour of Modern Standard Telugu are the following; writing and speech are the two forms of expression of language. In terms of these, the four varieties of Telugu can be defined as follows : (1) granthika or classical language-not spoken but only written (2) Sistavyāvaharika-Both spoken and written. (3) Grāmya or non-standard local varieties only spoken not written. (4) so called sarala granthika—not spoken and also not written one is ruled out for use in Textbooks as it is archaic. Second is the most appropriate for use in Textbooks because it is the only form of language used in all modern media of communication, third is

sub-standard, limited to certain regions and not acquired sufficient social prestige to enter written literature and fourth is used in textbooks as liberalised granthika is the most unsuitable of all. It has no historical existence, may be mixture of one and two or one and three. There, Guuynn Committee, considered a link up between the styles to be used in the textbooks of University classes and that to be used in administration for which IV has been said to be unsuitable.

The Relation between Telugu Orthography and Phonology

Just as phoneme is composed of several phenetic properties, grapheme is also composed of either of the various strokes and loops of letters, or of the patterns that make up the designs of syllabic and ideographic symbols. The distinctive feature of both phonemes and graphemes are articulated and heard, and written and seen together by the native speaker (Pulgram, 1951, 1965). Phoemic orthography is perfect as long as there is one to one correlation between phoneme and grapheme. In that the function and properties of the phoneme and gropheme are exactly equivalant except that different processes of production and different perceptive senses are involved—the hand and the eyes for the grapheme the vocal apparatus and ears for the phoneme (Abercrombie, 1965). I would not go into the question of whether we have suitable symbols and shapes for the decided phonemes and spelling reforms if any.

It should be noted that the model of phonemic analysis is also relevant for the symbolization of alphabet (For details on orthography and phonology, see Luelsdorff, 1987). The alphabet (i.e. the inventory of letters derived for Telugu language do not equate or correspond with the inventory of all phonemes set up for it. Neither the graphemes nor the phonemes representing each system are adequate either one to be used in text-to-speech or speech-to-text by the computer speech scientists.

Traditional grammar for example, Chinnayasuri's well known work balavykaranam postulates 36(14 Vowels and 22 Consonants) sounds (letters) for native Telugu as core system and 55 letters (36 native sounds plus 4 vowels and 15 consonants borrowed from Sanskrit) for non-native Telugu.

Telugu Orthographic system, that, consists of eighteen vowel graphemes and phonological system consists of only ten (or eleven but not more than Twelve) vowel phonemes. Vowel phoneme which has been set up as being essential for certain dialects of Telugu has not yet acquired a corresponding symbol in the writing system.

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The Consonant system also has, for example, the following number of graphemes and corresponding phonemes :

	Graphemes	Phonemes
Plosives	22	19
Nasals	5(+1)	3
Trills	2	1
Fricatives	4	5

There are a large number of graphemes or less number of graphemes representing each class of phonemes of the spoken language. The symbol for /f/has not yet been devised in the consonant system and /ph/ and /f/are represented by the same letter in writing The reasons for the descrepency between graphemes and phonemes is mainly due to the inclusion of Loan words from Sanskrit and other languages in the orthography and non-use of certain sounds in pronunciation and lack of script reform. As a result there are certain forms ambiguous in written form, but not ambiguous in spoken. For example, /me:kundi/ 'there is a nail' and /me:kundi/ 'there is a she-goat' are differentiated only pronunciation as (me:kundi) in the former and as (m:kundi) in the later. This language (i.e. Telugu) requires a set of graphemic and phonetic symbols at the grammatical level for representing vowels with higher or lower and or fronter or backer qualities occuring in pronunciation (in vowel harmony). There must be spelling rules, pronunciation rules and reading rules for such instances. Spelling rules are required for ambiguity or inconsistencies in the orthography itself. All redundant character or letters are to be eliminated. There is a need for regularised standard orthography to serve the morphemic structure of words more clearly in general than the standard orthography for example, both fronter and backer (or lower and higher) vowels, re:or a and a. pronunciation rules are the ones that describe now standard orthographic devices relate to a selected 'phoneticized orthography'. Pronunciation rules are required for comprehensiveness and attention to details which are lacking in written works. For instance /pill:/ 'is it a cat ? and /pilla:/ 'is it a girl-child ?' are not differentiated in written but only in speech. Phoneticized orthography representations can be made more norrowly phonetic by the subsequent application of a set of phonotic rules such as the following for Telugu :—a-x :/s, y, j/. The in writing phonemicised as /ts/or/ks (Lisker, 1963). If we give a priority to matters of the pedagogical utility of our materials, with the goal of making them not only suitable for self-study but also useful for learning other aspects of grammar and/linguistic description and in accordance, thus, with the

pedagogical aim according to the criterion of learnability there must be pronunciation rules for disambiguating the written grammatical structure of words and/or sentences, Reading rules are required for converting standard orthographic representation into phonemic, allophonic and phonetic transcriptions. There must also be a feasibility of dialect spelling in general. Although writing represents sound and sound represents meaning, phonetic and semantic similarities play a role in the task of morpheme recognition. Phonetic/phonemic transcription distinguishes all (and only) segments that contrast somewhere in the language as such. Apart from the above phonetic and phonological differences between spoken and written, various prosodic parameters contribute at different levels of processing (emotional, pragmatic, syntactic, lexical and so forth). Suprasegmental features remained an important complement to the phonetic information. Transcription of the degrees of duration/length, stress and intonation, voice quality, loudness, tempo, pauses, etc. are a necessary part of discourse analysis left out of consideration in the writing system. In this regard both phonological and orthographic representations do not reveal the totality of the description of Language structure.

Syllabification rules are also required to convert open orthographic symbol to checked or closed syllable in phonology of Telugu. For example the long consonants or diphthongs in Telugu are phonologically syllabified but represent one character, which can be equated to a syllable. Syllabification thus applies to the output of pronounciation rules of sound sequences. The written character is split up into two units in phonemic representation of spoken language (For example—kk—in/ak.ka/ 'elder sister' divided as a. kka in writing).

The problem of exact correspondence between the significant sounds of modern standard Telugu and their scriptal rendering has attracted the attention of several linguists (for example Bh. Krishnamurti, B. Radhakrishna and N. Sivarama Murty among others). On the basis of a careful comparison the following deletions (of obsolete graphemes) and innovations (to accommodate new sounds) are suggested: From the traditional orthography such letters as 'n (lu), n (lu:), (ru),o (ru:), zt (ñ), w(ṇ). (jha), (ṛa) etc, can be ommitted. As mentioned already orthography requires designing of essential sound of spoken language which are recognised as essential phonemes af certain varieties.

Apart from the variation in the segmental phonemes (between the spoken and written variety) the problem of adequate representation (in written

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Telugu) of such suprasegmental features as intonation, stress, pitch, pause, emphasis and silence deserves a serious consideration from the view point of literacy programmes. The conventional Telugu script (the script of any Indian language for that matter) has not mechanism to codify the suprasegmental and paralinguistic features. However it is possible, at least in principle, to innovate diacritic systems to accommodate these features though such a move might face initial resistance from the reader.

Grammatical (or Morphosyntactic) Differences

At the grammatical level there are certain structural differences between the spoken dialects and the written variety of the modern standard Telugu. These are apparent in noun and verb morphology and in some syntactic patterns. Fer example the inflectional morphology of noun and verb show the following differences.

	Modern Standard Telugu	Dialectal Variety
'at home'	intlo:	intla
'fruits	pallu	pandlu
'on the stone'	ra:timi:da	ra:yipayna

The Telangana spoken variety has developed a case syncretism between the nominative and dative under the influence of Urdu, and it extends the dative—ki /—ku for the functions of accusative—ni/—nu also.

	Modern Standard Telugu	Dialect
'call him'	atanni piluvu	atanikipiluvu
'give it to him'	ataniki yivvu	ataniki yivvu

Verb conjugation exhibits variation across the dialects as in

	Modern Standard Telegu	Dialects
'you (pl) eat (imp)'	tinandi	tinandiri
'They came'	vaeeae:ru	vaccina:ru vaccinru
'I will do'	ce:sta:nu	ce:tta:
'He is speaking'	ceptunna:du	ceppale:

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'He is tired'	alisee:ḍu	alsiṇḍu
		alisina:ḍu
'He did not speak'	ceppale:du	ceppale:

The syntactic structures such as passives, causative-passives, instrumental subjects, elaborate embedded sentences, pronominal relative clauses, conjunctive sentences with mariyu 'and', disjunctive construction with le: da: 'or' NP conjunctions with (Y) anu 'and', impersonal constructions are specially confined to the written variety of Telugu. The spoken variety has corresponding counterparts for each one of these sentence-types. Spoken variety is replete with simple sentences, personalised conversational counterparts, lack of passives, minimal embeddings, absence of conjunction markers, frequent juxtaposed constructions etc.

Lexical Differences between the spoken and the written varieties

Written Telugu like many of the modern Indian languages has adopted vocabulary from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic, Hindi-Urdu and English over the last one thousand years or so. It is interesting to note that the spoken variety shows lexical differences across the dialects on the one hand (i.e. regional and social) and between the spoken and the written varieties on the other. Secondly the spoken variety exhibits the native items whereas the written style is replete with borrowings especially from Sanskrit, as in

	Spoken	*Written*
'star'	cukka	nakṣatram
'blood'	netturu	raktam
'rain'	vaana	varṣam
'fun'	egata:ɩi	pariha:sam
'incersantrain'	kuṇḍapo:ta	kumbhavriṣṭi
'archery'	ba:namve:ʈa	dhanurvidya

The modern educated speech is full of English borrowings as code mixing has been attaining a social prestige just as English education. However, the rural illiterates are also familiar with some of the frequent foreign words like engine, vote, rail, television, radio, MLA, bus, car etc. as these have come to stay along with the material culture and technology.

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The spoken variety shows more idioms, proverbs, lexical doublets and other expressions of the native wisdom while the educated and the written variety takes pride in resorting to Sanskrit and/or English idioms and proverbs wherever possible.

Implications for Literacy Education and Literacy Development

The linguistic differences at different levels of spoken and written Telugu were elaborated above at some length with the aim to highlight the problems and prospects involved for planning and implementing the literacy programmes across the Telugu-speaking area. One of the basic questions to be resolved is which variety and what style of Telugu should we adopt in preparation of literacy manuals and in teaching the neoliterates. Is it advisable to use a particular variety, (say MST) as a common medium throughout the speech area ? or should we resort to a selective variety depending upon the progression of various stages of learning? What should be the status of the regional and local varieties of Telugu (in which the learners are fluent) in the literacy education? These and several other questions can be raised with regard to the style and variety required for adult literacy programmes. In other words the linguistic component has to be carefully selected, graded and gradually introduced.

One of the strategies to solve this problem is to make use of the regional and/or local varieties in the initial stages both for writing primers as well as for classroom communication. The second stage can adopt the method of bidialectalism in teaching and the MST variety for the mannuals. thereby paving a smooth transition of the neoliterate from his local variety to a wide spread form of speech as Srivastava (1989) proposes "The learner in the initial stage of literacy education seems to operate most efficiently in the language of the home and the peer group. Literacy programmes thus must initially draw their linguistic resources from the dialect/vernacular and thereafter make a gradual transfer to the preferred terminal behaviour, i.e. standard and standardized languages."

Another important problem concerns the content of the primers of adult literacy. Psychologists and anthropologists suggest that to draw and to maintain the motivation and interest of the adult learners, the topics of the communication have to pertain to the realm of their immediate concern. These priorities of content have to be fixed on the basis of the sociopolitical, economic and cultural milieu of each group of speakers giving recognition to their professional and spiritual concerns. In other words, it could be counter productive to impose a common content on the

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primer for the groups of literacy seekers. Individual and group motivation has to be taken care of by the teacher.

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Manu S. Shetty

From the spoken to the written-ideology and transfer—A Tulu Test Case

Tulu, a South-Dravidian language, today has about 1.5 million speakers, most of whom live in a geographically contiguous area in Dakshina Kannada district along the west coast. The Tuluvas have always seen themselves as a distict people, an ethnic group, not only because they speak a language different from their neighbours, but because the linguistic boundary also overlaps with a distinct form of religious practice known as *bhutaradhana*, and a pattern of matrilineal social organisation known as *aliya santana*.

Though the region has always enjoyed a degree of political autonomy, Tulu has never been the language of administration. Nor has it, with the exception of scattered works written in a modified form of Malayalam script known as *tigleri*, any literary tradition worth mentioning. The only significant exception being the recently discovered work, known as "Sri Bhagavatho" and "Kaveri" in *manipravaram* style, said to be composed in mid-17th century.

Nonetheless, Tulu has a vast corpus of oral narratives known as *paddanas*. These *paddanas* which are in verse form are several hundreds in number

(we leave aside the question of variants) and take from less than an hour to several days to recite. In terms of their thenatic context the *paddanas* can be classified into two broad categories. (i) wordly (ii) other wordly. The former category deals with the themes of family tension, rivalry between families, matrimonial alliances, jealousies, love affairs and sexual conflicts. They may have either a comic or tragic endings. The other-worldly category tells the stories of the local deities known as *bhutas*. While several of their motifs overlap with those of the worldly category, these *paddanas* mainly tell the story of how the particular *bhuta* came into being, its processes and how it came to be worshipped in a particular place. The paddanas of the *bhutas* are mutually recited, during the annual miritual known as *bhutanadhana* by the ritual performers belonging to certain specific castes.

Most Tulus, both men and women, belonging to all castes, know the stories of the *paddanas* and several of them are competent singers. Further, though some ritual prescriptions exist against the singing of the *bhuta paddanas*, there is no blanket prohibition against it. In fact, women regularly sing the *paddanas*, of both kinds, during the transplantation of needs. And it is the instances of communal singing that not only dispenses the knowledge of these *paddanas* horizontally in the Tuluva community, but is also the mechanism. Through which it is transmitted across generations. Thus, the knowledge of the *paddanas* can be assumed to be present in the collective consciousness of Tuluvas. But more importantly, the Tuluvas themselves perceive these oral narratives as embodying the specific symbolic contigurations of them cultural identify defined as it is, apart from language, in terms of their allegiance to *bhutaradhana* form of religious practice and the matrilineal form of social organisation.

Preacher-Teacher

The first book even to be printed in Tulu, however, happens to be a translation of the "Gospel of St. Mathew" by the Basel Mission Press in Mangalore, in 1842, employing the Kannada script. Zex Basel Mission press was established by the German Evangolical Mission of Basel, who established the Mission headquarters in Mangalore in 1834. They were the first to start systematic writing and printing in Tulu employing the Kannada script. In 1847 the Tulu "New Testament" was published. This was followed by several publications like hymmals, prayers, parables and instructions about forms of worship.

Apart from these works, which were targetted primaily at the Tulu converts on potential convents, they simultaneously brought out works that seek to meet the needs of Mission-workers. Thus in 1862 "The First book

in Tulu "was published. In 1872 Rev. Brigel published "A Grammer o Tulu Language" Rev. Manner completed the work on dictionary already started by the mission in 1856 and brought out the "Tulu-English Dictio nary" in 1886 and the "English-Tulu Dictionary" in 1888.

Apart from these two categories of works, targetted respectively at th converted and converters, there is a third category of works published b the Basel Missionaries which is what we would today call as ethnographi on folklanistic. Other then several collections of "Tulu proverbs" the also include the notomious work of Rev. A C. Burnell as *bhutaradhan* known as "The Devil-worship of the Tuluvas" published posthumously b Maj. Gen P.C. Temple, appropriately enough in the *Indian Antiguar* (1894-1897), and Rev. A. Manners' "paddonolu". The former work whic contains several descriptive sections of the *bhutaradhana* ritual, interspers with sweeping comments by the author, along with translations of som *paddanas* was published not by the Basel Mission Press but, as noted abov in the *Indian Antiguary*—as a scientific contribution.

Mannars' work *Paddonolu*, which contained transcriptions and summarie of the *bhuta paddanas* in Tulu, employing the Kannada script, howeve was published by the Basel Mission Press.

While the motivation for the first two categories of works are transparen the motivation for the last category is not so However Manner provide an answer in the preface of his *Paddonolu*, which deserves to be quoted i full :

The following collection of stories, belonging to the demon-worshippers Tulu-country, are those which are recited at their annual festivals an which have in this manner come to be promulgated and perpetuate among the people by the so-called pambadan or chief-actions on suc occasions......

As a physician is the course of his study requires in many cases to appl himself to unpleasant research, even so does the Mission-worker requir often to study adverse literature which may not be pleasant, to enabl him efficiently to copy with the difficult task of meeting the heather on hi own ground. From a scientific point of view these stories are not of muc worth, but they serve to give an insight into the hollowness of demon worship and enable the Mission- worker among this class of people t gain an insight into their ideas and follow out their line of thought at the same time they open up to him a variety of new words, phrase and idioms of the language, so that scarcely anything else could ser his purpose well or give him such an intienate acquaintance wit customs, language and religion of the demon-worshippers. It is ther

fore in the interest of the Mission-workers to whom as aforesaid, such information is peculiarly valuable, and not with any intent to give widen publication to these stories that we have had them printed and have in hand a small number of copies for sale at cost price to Missionaries and Mission workers only, strictly prohibiting the loan or sale of such under any circumstance whatever, to the heather.

Second hand copies, not damaged will be repurchased at half priee.

Manner : Paddonolu

Mangulore : Basel Mission Press 1886.

This is illustrating, in more ways than one. We need only note at this juncture the extraordinory caution that Manner takes to enough that the printed form of their *paddanas* do not fall into the hands of the Tuluvas. This can only be understood in terms of Manner's protestant ideology which invested the printed word with an exaggerated sense of power. The other aspects of the ideology of language and literacy is best seen in contrast to the Roman Catholic Missionaries in the same region.

The Roman Catholics established their churches along the west coast, from Goa south wards in the early 16th century. And in Dakshina Kannada they were ahead of the Basel Missionaries by at least two and a half centuries. But to date there exists no translation of the Bible in Tulu, on for that matter any other text. The reason for this, at one level, is simple. The Roman Catholics in Dakshina Kannada, who even today vastly out number the protestants, were all migrants from Goa region and were Kankari speakers less than 5% of the Roman Catholics in Dakshina Kannada today being local Tulu speakers. In contrast, almost all the protestants converted by the Basel Missionaries were local Tuluvas. While this may seem to answer the question why there exists no work in Tulu by the Roman Catholics, there cannot be the real explanation as there exists no corpus of texts in Konkari either. This is true not only of Dakshina Kannada, but also of Goa. As a matter of fact todate there exists not a single authoritative translation of the new Testament by the Roman catholics in Konkari, on for that in the highly literate language of the neighbouring region, Kannada.

The reasons for this differential attitude of Roman Catholics and Protestants towards the local language, writing and printing is to be sought in ideclogical stances of there two churches. Until the second Vatican of 1965, which promulgated the doctrine of vernacularisation, all liturgy and

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services in the Roman Catholic church was to be in latin. No emphasis tas placed on the laity reading the Bible for itself and the clergy was the exclusive interpreter of the Bible. This is in contrast to the protestant view which emphasized the individual reading the Bible for himself, consequently in his own language. Luther was the first to translate the Bible into a Modern European language and Lutheran countries in Europe have always had the highest literacy levels.

While the idealogical underpinnings help explain the first two categories of works by the Basel Mission that were directly related to their prosele typing activity, it leaves unexplained the last category of works-the falklonistic/ethnegraphic. The reasons for this are to be sought in the German philosophical tradition of the said 19th century. This was the era of the German romantics like Goethe and Horden. This was also the age of the rise of European nationalisms—wherein a nation—a folk—were defined in terms of their language. A people and these culture, as a nation, was ultimately defined in terms of their language which encapsulated their peculiar genius, and which consequently overode all other division and distinctions like religion, colour and in Indian caste. One must understand the peculiar genius of a people as a "nation" in terms of its language and its folklore. Henden is not only the first theoretician of modern nationalism he is also the first folklenist.

It is precisely this tension that we see reflected in the writings of Burnell and Manner. While the Missionary needs to learn the language of the heathen and has to make the heathen literate in his own laguage so that the word of God is available to him the first two categories of works, the Missionary on his part has to undertake the unpleasant task, like a physician, to fall back on Manner's imagery, of peretraking the heathen's Culture in order to reach him. This, however, is to be done with utmost caution, as the heathen under no circumstance can be permitted to be literate in his own culture?

Yakshagana—The Un-folk folkant

Yakshagana is a form of traditional dance-drama indigenous to Dakishina Kannada district. It is an all might folk theatre, performed in the open air, throughout the year, except during the monsoon months. Every performance-unit is constituted of an episode known as *prasanga*. In terms of its performers, the Yakshagana is made up of two components the *bhagavatha* and the *veshadaris*. The *bhagavatha* sings the *padya* in pithy vemu form, which are traditional and precompared. The *veshadaris* exact the particular piece improvising the dialogues. Individual actions are

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rated not only on their ability to dance but more so on their ability to improvise the dialogue.

Traditionally, all the *prasangas* were drawn exclusively from the Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Bhagavata Puran. In fact, the other name for Yakshagana was *dasharatara ata*. And in keeping with this, all Yakshagana troupes were maintained by the temples and it was seen as a part of the activity of *dharma prasarana*. Though the spreading of the dharma was the main function of the Yakshagana, the irony is that in an area where less than 10% spoke on comprehended Kannada, it was both the *padya* and the *dialogue*—in Kannada.

The shift over to the language of the region, Tulu was to come, but only as late as 1950s. This transformation took place not with the temple troupes changing over to Tulu, but with the rise of an alternate institutional forms of Yakshagana with the concommitant shift in the support base and ideology. It was during the post-independence years that the first non-temple, private, commerical yakshagana troupe came up in the form of Kundava Mela. It was a commerical troupe in the sense that the performances took place in closed tents and people had to buy tickets to watch them. The troupe was privately owned and run on a commercial basis with the actions being paid. Yakshagana, for the first time, was forced of temple sponsorship and entered the market economy rendering it suscesptible to the forces of demand and supply.

Significantly, the first *proranga* to be performed by this commercial troupe was Koti Chennaya—for the first time a yakshagana *prasanga* was performed that was not of puranic origin, but was based on a popular Tulu-folk epic from the oral *paddana* tradition.

However, though the Tulu oral *paddana* material found its way into Yakshagana, the language in which the *padya* was written and the dialogues spoken continued to be Kannada. This however, was not to last within a few years the dialogues shifted to Tulu, while the *padyas* continued to be in Kannada.

Around the mid 60's *padyas* started to be written in Tulu, again invariably drawing from the *paddana* tradition for them themeas. Today, there are more private troupes performing Tulu *prasangas* than there are temple troupes performing puranic prasangas in Kannada. Again, while hardly any new puranic *prasangas* are written in Kannada, approximately ten prasangas are written in Tulu drawing on Tulu themes. Finally, the folks seem to have taken over the yakshagana folk theatre.

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Chandrabhanu Pattanayak

Bakhtin 'Word' and the Discourse of Folk Tale

There is an ancient tie between the Feast and the Spoken word Bakhtin (1968 : 283)

Bakhtin is probably one of the most important and influential literary theoreticians and philosophers of human discourse to emerge from the starkly controlled ideological climate of Russia in this century. His works on Dostoevsky, Rebelais, on narrative art, have had a great and increasing impact on a number of disciplines.

For the first time, in his book *Problems of Distoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin talks of an approach to the 'word' in narrative which he calls "Metalinguistics". Within this framework, Bakhtin wishes to tackle problems which he considers beyond the bounds of traditional linguistics and are devoted in essence to dialogic relations. These may be, for time being defined as

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the interconnections between the speaker's "present" utterances with regard to both his own previous and possible future statements and those (past and future of his interlocutor.

In discussing problems related to the word or discourse in verbal art, Bakhtin outlines an approach to language which concentrates upon its concrete usage within highly complex circumstances rather than upon language in the abstract. In essence, the theoretician is proposing the establishment of a scholarly disipline devoted to the study of dialogic relations   Just how broadly inclusiv: such a discripline might be becomes evident upon consideration of another observation, in close conformity with C.S. Peirce, asserting that "any true understanding is dialogic in nature" (Bakhtin, 1973 : 102). Besides for his "no distinct or clear consciousness of the world is possible outside of the word" (Medvedev, 1978 : 133). This it would prove to be very fruitful to use this theoretical frame in the understanding of folk narrative as well. But before going into the analysis of folk narratives per se, we ought to understand what exactly Bakhtin meant by "word".

Bakhtin's view of the word as a specific dialogic construct, intentionally and strategically deployed, deserves elaboration as a unified view. His view of the 'word' is based on the Russian term 'slovo' which means both 'word' and 'discourse' with the two being logically interchangeable. For Bakhtin the word is not merely a lexical item for in every word there exists another's "voice". In each word or a single utterance two voices can be distinguished and thus the word itself embodies a dialogic relationship, thus, the notion of the 'word' as dialogic sign emphasizes the relationship, between the sign, its sender and its receiver. In addition, such a view recognizes the highly complex interconnections between the sign and those "sign-words" already emitted or yet to be articulated—by both sender and receiver - in specific consequence of it, or in direct response to it.

For Bakhtin there is no "neutral" word. All words in a sense, belong to a certain profession or group, to a certain level of society, a generation, a certain period in history or time. In short, to extend an already proliferated anthropomorphic analogy, the word—like its users—lives a life of its own, and is affected by those of other words. Thus the language of any narrative is referred to as a "system of languages : that mutually and ideologically interanimate each other. It is a system of intersecting planes. The 'word' will, as Bakhtin suggests, "taste" of certain association inherent within it and may be made to imply such bonds through the user's or writer's strategic employment of it,

Within the framwork of the novel, such discourse is termed "heteroglossia", which he defines as "another's speech in another's language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of double voiced discourse" (Bakhtin, 1981 ; 324), in which there are always present two voices and two meanings, and which is there-fore always internally dialogised. In a broader sense, the term refers to the multiple connotations a word bears by virtue of its associations with some ideological position, social or political group, or single indi-vidual.

With regard to narrative art, and especially folk narrative, this feature of language may be utilized by the author or teller or performer to express in oblique fashion intentions of his own or the culture while purporting to convey those of the character involved. Thus, for example, take the Kannada folk tale about the 'Crow and the Sparrow' :

> Sister crow and sister sparrow are friends. Crow has a house of cowdung; Sparrow one of stone. A big rainstorm washes away Crow's house. So she comes to Sparrow and knocks on her door. Sparrow makes her wait first because she is feeding her children, later because she is making her husband's and children's bed. Finally, she lets her in and offers her several places to sleep Crow chooses to sleep in the chickpea sacks. All night she munches chickpea and makes a *katum-katum* noise. Whenever Sparrow asks her what the noise is, Crow says, "Nothing really. Remember, you gave me a betel·nut ? I am biting on it". By morning she has eaten up all the chickpeas in the sack. She cannot control her bowels, so she fills the sack with her shit, before she leaves. Sparrow's children go in the morning to eat some peas, and muck their hands up with crow's shit. Sparrow is angry. When Crow comes back that night to sleep, she puts a hot iron spatula under her and brands her behind. Crow flees crying, *ka*! *ka*! in pain. (Ramanujan, 1987 : 121).

Ramanujan has pointed out that this tale is told to children of toilet-training age and would certainly be "significant in any psycho-analytic interpretation of culture and personality" (Ramanujan, 1987 : 121). He sees the sparrow as a "tidy and successful housewife, is not given to incontinence, her house is firm, her routine well-ordered" while he sees the crow as being "disorderly, incontinent; her house of dung cannot withstand a storm" (Ramanujan, 1987 : 121-122). The sparrow's virtues could very well be related to anal continence and the Crow to its opposite. While

Ramanujan rightly points out that ',folklore can be collected according to sex, age, accasion", according to Bakhtin's scheme' folklore should be seen not only according to sex, age and occasion, but also according to ideology, social or political group and individual. Thus if one took, for example, a variation of the same story told by a 'Harijan' (low caste) woman servant to her child one would come up with different results. Let us, then take some variations of the same story keeping in mind the variables I have mentioned above and see how the 'word' takes on a different meaning in every case. The following is a variation told by a 'Harijan' woman to her child.

There was a Crow and a Sparrow who were very good friends.

Crow lived in cow-dung house while sparrow lived in stone house. One day the Crow's house was washed away in a rainstorm and Crow came to sparrow's house to ask for shelter. Crow knocks on the door and Sparrow makes her wait first because she is feeding her children, later because she was putting her children to bed. Finally, she lets her in and offers her the sack of pulses to sleep on. At night the sparrow hears some noise and asks the Crow what the noise was. The Crow says, "Oh, go back to sleep. I am only chewing some betelnut that they gave me at the wedding ceremony I had gone to this evening". Next morning, the crow thanked her friend for giving her shelter and flew away. After the Crow had gone away, the Sparrow went to the sack of pulses to get some to cook breakfast for her children and found no pulse but only a sack full of shits. Sparrow was very angry.

In the meantime Crow was enjoying having duped the stupid Sparrow when he saw a merchant taling a sack of rice to sell in his cart. The crow stopped the merchant and asked to buy the rice. The merchant agreed to sell only after having had a drink. So asking the Crow to guard his rice while he was gone he went to a nearby house. The Crow called all her other crow friends, empties the sack and asked her friend crows to get in the sack and sewed the sack as it had been. The merchant returned and found Crow gone so he continued his way. A little later another man asked to buy the rice and when the merchant opened the sack to sell him rice the crows flew out of the sack and returned to where they had hidden the rice to have a grand feast.

According to Bakhtin, every community tries to appropriate elements of culture to its own orbit. He goes further and says that "norms" change

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when any element of culture is appropriated to their own. For example, what one community feels is taboo and is considered as quite the opposite by the accepting community. In other words, what is a norm in one community is not necessarily the norm in another. In this case the lower caste woman was able to take an upper caste norm and appropriate to her own caste's value system. Thus we have the identification of the servant with the Crow which is seen in upper caste society as a scavanger bird. The emphasis thus changing makes the Crow not only a hero but a clever one at that.

A 'sign' for Bakhtin is "a less fixed unit than an active component of speech, modified and transferred in meaning by the variable social tones, valuations and connotations it condensed within itself in specific social conditions. Since such valuations and connotations were constantly shifting, the 'linguistic community' was infact a heterogeneous society composed of many conflicting interests" (Narayan, 1988 : 2). Thus although, this variant can also be read from the psycho-analytic point of view as one in which the symbols are those of toilet-training, it would only be a partial reading. If one read this variant paradigmatically the first part of the story would be equivalent of the later part. But the later part would impose meaning on the first part. In other words, when read backwards, the role of the Crow (the Harijan woman) in this variant becomes clearer. The second part of the story provides the context for the first part.

For Bakhtin, heteroglossia is not simply a range of socio-linguistic variation nor a kind of horizontal spread of dispersed speech forms, because languages are socially unequal; heteroglossia implies a dialogic interaction in which the prestige languages try to extend their control and subordinated languages try to avoid, negotiate or subvert that control. In the same way, when the 'Harijan' woman told the same story to her master's child, she told a "clean" version in trying to somehow negotiate. In another instance, when my friend, Narayan, was collecting a version of the *Ramayan* from a tribe, the teller mentioned a scene where the forest was burnt down and suddenly realizing the presence of an outsider added that the forest did not have any animals in it. Thus one can see how context determines meaning and therefore in this case is heteroglossic. All discourse, for Bakhtin, lives on the boundary between its own context and another alien context. Each and every time it is uttered, a 'word' is re-contextualized, pulled in a slightly different direction.

On the other hand, if one takes into consideration the version told me by an 80-year-old orthodox Brahmin lady, one could see the strong possibility

of the psycho-analytic approach. Here, the Crow is not only punished severely. The Crow dies. This can, however, be also seen from Bakhtinian perspective for Bakhtin says that language is both homogeneous and hetero-geneous, and both these poles operate simultaneously to produce meaning.

This version, therefore, can also be seen as the orthodox insistence on cleanliness and purity. The orthodoxy is in fact made more emphatic in its opposition with the severest of punishment—death. Then one could explain the beginning of the story as another opposition, that the Crow is not only dirty and lowly but also stupid that he does not know that you cannot carry water in seive.

Thus, the manifold context in which the 'word' is given concrete meanings are also seen to be in a state of constant tension, or incessant interaction and conflict" (Volosinow, 1973 : 80). No context is ever quite the same as another. Any utilization of the word with regard to a given con-text must then also be unique. Yet at the same time there adheres to both the word and its corresponding object and infinitely opened series of meanings to which each contextual usage applies a potentially new sense. Hence, "The meaning of a word is determined entirely by its context" (Volosinov, 1973 : 79). Such recognition of a potential multiplicity of meanings conceives of the 'word' and its object as perpetually unfinished constructs, to which additions and ammendations can be made at any time.

Yet another version of the tale reverses the characters in the story. This story was collected from a person of the *Vokkaliga* or *gowda* community 'k. In this tale the Crow lives in a nest on a tree and the Sparrow lives in a mud house on the ground. In this story the economic status of the modern *Gowda* is reflected. One can say that although the *Gowda* lives in a village house, as opposed to the Brahmin who lives in his ancestral permanent house, the economic status of the Gowda, in Karnataka today, is such that Brahmin has almost to beg for his food from the Gowda. The Brahmin is also seen by the lower castes as dirty, stingy and greedy. This is in conformation with the famous Sanskrit adage *Brahmana bhojana priyah* (Brahmin is, lover of food). The poor Brahmin has to come to the rich *Gowda* to beg for food. The shitting in a jaggery could be seen both as a symbol of his greed and also of dirt. The famous Kannada proverb :

Kacee ogeyalla, kaas biccalla

underwear doesn't money doesn't

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yaavaag nodidru mad i

always we see pure pure

referring to the Brahmin says that he never washes his underwear nor does he ever spend any money and yet he always goes around talking of cleanliness, only proves the point too well. Interestingly, when the informant was asked what he thought the meaning of the story was, he explained that it was a story about how one should not give money to those who don't deserve it and added, as an afterthought, "what were they doing for so many years? They looked down upon us for so long now it is our turn-brahmins".

This point of view is interesting considering the fact that Bakhtin grants the 'word' an aggressive character as an entity struggling in the world to make itself heard within the unceasing global polemic, in which each voice attempts to convince with its particular world view.

Summing up

To sum up, the internally dialogised word is both multifaceted and multi-directed, existing at the confluence of two planes. Articulated in the present, it is oriented toward both past and future as its principal temporal considerations. With regard to the spatial, it refers to the object, to previous users of the word (in some necessarily differing set of contexts), and to those who have yet to employ it (in some as yet undefined context). Yet, through all such complex temporal and spatial orientation and interpenetration, through both realized and potential interaction, the 'word' remains unique, since the specific situation of its singular usage is ultimately un-repeatable, while the nuances adhering to it are augmented and enriched by its "present" employment. Thus while we search for meanings in folklore we must consider this essential dialogic 'word'.

APPENDIX

NOTES

1. This story, when told by the same informant in an upper caste household, to her master's child, changes. In this context she tells the version of the tale that Prof. Ramanujan narrates in his article, except for the final punishment episode.

2. See appendix for fully transcribed version of the tale.

3. Bakhtin goes on to say that sign is a less neutral element in a given structure than a focus of struggle and contradiction. It is not simply

a matter of asking what the sign meant, but of investigating its varied history of conflicting groups, classes, individuals and discourses sought to appropriate and permeate it with their own meanings.

4. This was an incident which Mr. K. Narayan told me of when he returned from collecting a tribal Ramayana from the Jenu kuruba in the forests of Karantaka, India. The Jenu kurubas are considered fugitives for doing what they have for several generations—collect honey and firewood from the forests—because the Government has now passed a law that all forest products belong to the State.

5. Interestingly, Bakhtin refers elsewhere to the word as "unfinished" and to man as "Unfinished" (1968 ; 166,364). In fact it is asserted that except for art, no sphere of ideological creativity knows finalization in the strict sense of the word, by which is meant "thematic" finalization.

6. Vokkaligas or Gowdas are lower in the caste hierarchy than the Brahmins. They are also land owners and some are even feudal lords.

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Kamalakant Panda

Orality, Literacy and Process of Political Socialization

While analysing the parameters of India's political, economic and social systemic framework, there is often a tendency among the contemporary paradigm builders to concentrate and highlight its operational perimeters more as a solution to the individual and national problems of economic development and social fulfilment than in terms of a strategy of an integrated ideology and outlook that has been sometimes referred to as a culture sensitive methodology. Any perspective oriented analysis of orality, literacy and political socialization process would have to take into account political system's broad and complex character of its multifunctional political structures, its level of structural differentiation and cultural secularization. Political socialization is a process that connotes transmission of propensities, attitudes, beliefs and values whereby society becomes increasingly rational, analytical and empirical and makes its interest articulation process more meaningful. It provides orientations to social actions and bridges the micro-macro gap through cognitive, affective and evaluative processes so as to remove a climate of acute sense of inequity. In fact, an integrated

interlinkage between orality, literacy and socialization process is alone capable of neutralising creation of a psyche of acquiscence, a climate of hunger, and a authoritarian political structure. Multistructural dimensions of orality-literacy linkage deeply affects political system's capability, conversion process, maintenance and adaptive functions.

What is literacy? To what extent does orality accentuate the process of sustainance, systematisation and continuation, and extension of political socialization? Within the limited parameters of the present paper, an attempt is made to meet these and other related issues that unavoidably affect India's variegated mosaic of language and literature.

Literacy is a phenomenon of life, and is more than a set of grammatical rules and vocabulary, and symbolises the very life and limb of political culture. Any process of individuation is contrary to the process of integration of diversity that India stands for. Particularly in India, with a quarter of one thousand six hundred fifty two mother tongues being spoken by tribals, any literacy movement for having an objective of a sense of shared culture can best be achieved by reorienting it towards its orality dimensions that provides a linkage between Sino-Tibetan, the Austro-Asiatic, the Dravidian, and the Indo-Aryan language groups. Absence of any oral orientation to the traditional cultures inadvertently results in the loss of creative styles and indeed the principal reason for living in a social and political system. Through orality alone one can bind the richness of the past with the freshness of the present. As the anthropologist Furer-Haimendorf has pointed out, '...the material possessions of pre-literate tribal population can only give a partial view of the richness of their cultural life. Simplicity of household utensils, agricultural tools, and wearing apparel may be matched by a wealth of artistic expressions in mythology, music and dance, and the social systems of humble cultivators may be of a complexity surpassing that of many materially far more advanced societies',

The linguistic mosaic in India is rarely conceived as an integrated ideology in policy approach of the administration. Contrary to this general tendency we have some linguists who strongly advocate that 'It is not the recognition of variation in a society that leads to disintegration movements, but its suppressions' (I). A nation, Nehru once wrote, 'like an invidual, has many personalities, many approaches to life. If there is a sufficiently strong organic bond between these different personalities it is well; otherwise those personalities split up and lead to disintegration and trouble'. Through orality, a continuous process of adjustment and some kind of an equilibrium is and could be established amidst contradictory consciousness of the masses.

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The psychologists have emphasised the functional conception of language as a mediator of human behaviour, as a system of social control and mediation of social behaviour. From the isolated grammatical and philological field ethnologists have moved to the 'social-behavioural setting of linguistic materials (2). To many modern educators learning to read is viewed as the best or the only way to have an access to a most rational undertaking a typical 'cognitive, and an ego achievement'. 'Literacy', Bruno Bettelheim said, 'man's great achievement, began as sheet magic, and was not created to serve utilitarian purpose'. Scripts were used for religious and magical needs. The traditional literacy system was basically religious and individualistic in nature'. A psyche of inequality dominated it. The British education system, with its emphasis on what Freire calls the banking system of education was not inclined towards mass education. 'What is perhaps still worse, all the qualitative elements of the system, its value system, attitude to knowledge, emphasis on verbal and linguistic skills and content were favourable to the well-to-do classes and unfavourable to the poor mass of toiling workers'. (3) It perpetuated the process of social segregation and widened economic differentiation. During last forty three years the literacy programmes have been simply conceived as returnable investments in economic development. Political, social and cultural dimensions of literacy as an issue, is rarely comprehended and complied with. The eradication of illiteracy cannot be achieved merely by opening more schools, adult education centres and implementing what is erversely referred to as 'operation black board'. These literacy programmes have given birth to a new caste, the new-Brahmins who believe that manual work is for the uneducated. This has an undesirable side effects that is socially damaging and economically counterproductive. A change is needed to counteract the erosion of work ethics and promote an emotional integration between literacy and socialization process.

Normal K. Denzin said, 'By combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and data sources, sociologists can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies'. The oral transmission of information and values provide a fundamental base for all further schooling, training, or self-education. It is central to the human resource capacity of any society. It helps in inculcating strong sense of national identity and provides the basis for developing the capability to cope up with rapidly evolving and changing societal structures in this information age. While launching the international decade for literacy on 8 September 1990, the Prime Minister said, 'A right kind of atmosphere had to be created where knowledge of word acquired by man was used for bringing a smile on the faces of the poor and the deprived'. The role

of orality in shaping the structures and process of systemic politics is becoming more widely appreciated and emulated. Psychoanalytic and politicosociological theories of Max Weber, Durkheim. Pareto and Toennines have all acknowledged this dimension of methodological experimentation in evolving a new pattern of relationship between social structure and process, personality formation. and political process of socialization.

Literacy is to provide new orientations to perceptions, analysis, and technique in a developing political system, and has a marked political dimension. It helps in forging various modes of consciousness. It is not to be embrangled with a mere communication technique for the unschooled. Literacy programmes have to be evolved and enunciated, although it is not possible always to link radical politics with mass educational programmes as we have in socialist political systems, as an interdependent structure, a probabilistic functionalism. We need to take a major analytical step if we are to assure litera:y operations among others as an alkalizer to static crosssectional bias, not simply, as we have been often thinking, a component of economic and social development project. In a multistructural and multicultural developing society, literacy programmes need to play what Dr. Pattanayak rightly refers to a model of planning which will ensure egalitarian transformation, whereby new types of roles are established of new structure subcultures and subsystems emerge or are created and consolidated (4).

The analysis of the most recent literacy experiences in the world shows that it has been, almost always, integrated into various structures of the political system, and is not at all accepted as an end in itself but for better understanding of the surrounding world. It is not reasonable to assume close interdependence of literacy and economic growth. Historical studies have shown that other imperatives than economic have been responsible for high level of literacy among the Scandinavian countries. Some even go to the extent of saying that literacy is responsible for permeating division and inquity among language communities (5). Thus, to grapple with, what Dr. Adiseshiah refers to 'suffocating problem of literacy, in a political system of India's dimension with more than seventy per cent of illiteracy, the development of a responsive capability could only be ensured through orality.

When the National Education Policy was formulated in 1968 it was envisaged that literacy programm:s could be used as only instrument of peaceful social transformation. According to 1981 figure both in the urban and rural areas there exists a glaring disparity between male and female literacy, former being 46.9 per cent and the latter 24.8 per cent. This is more accentuated in rural areas (40.8 and 18 per cent respectively) than in urban

areas (65.8 and 47.8 respectively). According to World Bank estimates, India would have the honour of largest concentration of illiteracy in the world by the turn of the century. The female literacy percentage in the rural areas varies from 64.7. per cent in Kerala to 5.4 per cent in Rajasthan in 1981. According to the policy document of the Government of India, 1985, 'There is no support to the programme from developmental agencies and the involvement of grass-root voluntary agencies and educational institutions has remained marginal. Literacy has not been used and propagated as instrument of development because positive nexus between poverty and illiteracy has not been recognised' (6). There are many variables that are crucial to the restructuring of literacy programmes through a new policy framework. The most important of these variables is motivation through orality. Any strategy for literacy planning will have to deal with both internal and external constraint of the system, and transformation process of the institutional and management system, infrastructure and horizontal and vertical linkages, problems of access, and social relevance. Often one has seen the emphasis on the need for the depoliticisation of literacy programmes in the strategy documents. It is however, recognised that an integrated stretegy for literacy as a variable for the process of political socialization is not without any political orientation. A society with mass illiteracy, social conservatism and political localism, informal channels of social communication, orality helps in shaping individual's baiic 'cognitive maps'. Since orientation to orality constitutes a particularly important area of political socialization process, the way in which literacy programmes get linked with orality, has a bearing on future pattern of the structural interactions in a political system. Perhaps Mishra is nearer this approach to literacy when he analyses the national literacy mission as a strategy that 'recognises men and women as conscious beings and this consciousness is directed towards the world around them. It refuses to accept that men and women are bastract, isolated and unattached to the world. It also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from men. Instead of mechanically transmitting knowledge as from subjects to objects, it poses the problem of men and women in relations to the world, equips them to grapple with and overcome., these problems and eventually emerge victorious. This stimualtes creative power. brings out ingenuity, resourcefulness and innovativeness of being endowed with these faculties but without having the outlet or opportunity of expressing them (7)'.

Within the limited parameters of this paper it is not possible to deal in detail the linkage between orality, literacy and political socialization process in all its manifestations, particularly different dimensions of orality as an analytical tool. It is not my purpose here to set out the moral case for orality but rather to consider the social and political problems which beset the pursuit of political socialization, and to what extent orality as an

orientation could be of any use. If we bear in mind that institutional political structures operate for and through people and that they grow and change through actual human behaviour, then we have to avoid static conceptualisation in our to institutions. Communicatory activities are considered political by virtue of the consequences, actual and potential that it has for the functioning of the political system (8). Orality as a communicatory activity helps in generating what is sometimes referred to as psychology of conscience that grows with the increasing complexities of a political system. Obviously, the usefulness and validity of the orality concept is a matter for individual discern. Like so many terminologies in the vocabulary of political sociology, orality is yet to achieve the kind of precision that permits universal understanding.

It is widely recognised today that to understaad an operating democratic polity, its structural-functional aspects have to be viewed as active agents of change. Literacy development programmes have to be understood only in this context. Any literacy development programme is essentially an integrated process of change. It has to emphasize holistic change undertaken through integrated, organised, and people-oriented actions. Certain misconceptions have crept into the area of operation and its motivational dimensions simply because of coneptual misunderstandings. Literacy development programmes have to be designed and developed to bring about transformations in the institutions as agents of change. It has to cross through various crises sectors. The culture and ethos of structural transfarmations depend on role perceptions and performance of any literacy strategy. It is very surprising that our social scientists and paradign builders have not yet developed any scientific theory of literary communication which is very vital for establishing linkage between literacy development programmes and people's participation. The country that prides itself to have undertaken large experiments in democratic planning still has to rely on the concepts and theories developed by the western experts.

It may not be out of place here to make a brief reference to the national administrative process in the area of literacy programmes. There is no denying the fact that the literacy rate has gone up from 16.6 per cent in 1950-51 to 36.2 in 1982-8 ?. Thereafter, there has not been any perceptible change in this rate of growth. So far female literacy is concerned, the rate of literacy, particularly in the less developed states of Orissa, Andhra, Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, is around 20 percent, and taken together these constitute nearly 53 per cent of the total population of the country. According to the World Bank report by 2000 AD. India will have the distinction of having nearly 55 percent of world's illiterates

in the age group of 15 to 19 years, and it has its dynamics in a developing economy. This will underline the need for popular involvement through various programmes of orality.

According to the Approach to the Eighth Five Year Plan 1990-95, 'One main reason why even minimum objectives like raising literacy levels of both the younger generation and the adult population, and urgent needs like attending to women's education have not been achieved is that they have not been given the necessary political backing and made an integral part of a larger movement'. There is need for moving away from the thinking of literacy as an autonomous sector and locating it in the larger perspection, agenda of social transformation. People's participation through voluntary agencies, and with a perspective oriented outlook and an analysis of orality-literacy linkage, has to be converted into a creative mass programme for all round development of the political system. Nehru had a dream of converting India into a socially cohesive composite culture. But after a lapse of four decades India's political system today could be well described in the words of T.S. Eliot, 'Between the intention and act falls the shadow'. Complex and contradictory trends are becoming more and more visible in different crises sectors. It is impossible to have genuine political socialization without appropriate changes in the literacy infrastructure. India's economic and political future will be largely dependent upon the quality of its literacy movements. If we develop certain policy changes indicate in the paper, it will contribute significantly to strengthening India's most basic resource, its rural mass.

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B. Sarkar

Orality, Literacy and Social Communication

Introduction

This National Conference on Orality and Literacy is being held at a time when we are told that 'a fire is raging through the country – the fire of literacy . . . every dusty hamlet and alley is caught up in a mass mobilisation drive to remove the indignity of the thumb impression. To the throb of drums and the swirl of dance, a people's literacy movement is gathering momentum. In thatched huts, by the light of kerosene lamps, men and women are making their first attempts at scrawling out the alphabet. And this simple act will spell liberty from backwardness . . . The next five years will be crucial in determining whether India will be able to eliminate the scourge of illiteracy.'

Anthropology has demonstrated that a functional approach to cultural phenomena can be highly fruitful in showing how the principal institutional sectors of social life exhibit a pattern in which the subsistence institutions, the familial arrangements, and the interpretations of man, society, and the natural world around him form a relatively integrated whole. There is considerable agreement concerning the functional interaction of the institutional parts of the social whole which marks a particular tribe, people, nation or larger cultural region.

The institutional patterns of a culture may be divided into three main categories : primary institutions, secondary institutions and tertiary institutions.

Primary institutions define those established modes of procedure without which no society would be capable of maintaining itself.

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The most important of these include both subsistence and familial institutions. The first to keep the present members of the culture group alive, and the second to provide for new generations of members.

Secondary institutions define the established arrangements and power relationships which emerge from the formalization and stricter implementation of the primary institutions. These include the economic systems, techniques of political control and systems of sociol status.

Tertiary institutions are oriented primarily toward man's attempt, through symbols, rituals, ideologies and other intellectual and creative activity, to achieve a greater degree of understanding, appreciation, and control of his natural. social, private world. Herein fall his art, religion, language, mythology, play, magic and science.

When we examine the wide variety of institutional arrangements in which man, in his various cultures and societies, has demonstrated his capacity for social invention, we may at first despair of achieving anything more than a catalog of his curious customs. As long as man was content merely to record the facts of his everyday experience, no matter how meticulous the record may have been, he was not as yet producing science. His observations may have provided the raw materials of science, that is, the empirical data from which sciences might eventually be constructed. But not until he was ready to generalize about his experiences, to interest himself in a class of objects rather than in the particular thing at hand, in a word, to abstract from the world of concrete experience, did the possibility of a genuinely scientific approach emerge.

The prosccuption of pre-scientific man with highly particularized phenomena is amply illustrated in his language—a social phenomenon, a sign-system of physical nature, fulfilling the cognitive and communicative functions in the process of his activity. In its natural form it is language of everyday life, serving as a form of thought expression and as a means of communication among men in the course of development of social production, of which it is an indispensable aspect—a means of coordinating human activity. It is a means of fixing and preserving the accumulated knowledge and passing it on from generation to generation. The presence of language is a necessary condition for the thought's generalizing activity. Language is a form of existence of thought and a form of its expression. At the same time it plays an important role in the formation of consciousness. does not and cannot exist outside of language. The language sign, conventional in relation to what it designates by virtue of its physical nature. is nevertheless socially conditioned by the content of consciousness, which in language is the linguistic content (the lexical and

grammatical meaning of the language sign). Language is a definite system, which has an inner structure outside which the nature and the meaning of a language sign cannot be understood.

There is a tendency among social scientist to regard language as a wholly learned cultural phenomenon, as ingeniously devised instrument, purposefully introduced to subserve social functions, the artifical shaping of an amorphous, general capacity called intelligence. We scarcely entertain the notion that man may be equipped with highly specialized, biological propensities that favour and, indeed, shape the development of speech in the child and that roots of language may be as deeply grounded in our natural constitution as, for instance, our predisposition to use our hands.

As far as acquisition of language is concerned, it seems clear that reinforcement, casual observation, and natural inquisitiveness (coupled with a strong tendency to imitate) are important factors, as is the remarkable capacity of the child to generalize, hypothesize, and process-information in a variety of very special and apparently highly complex ways which we cannot yet describe or begin to understand, and which may be largely innate, or may develop through some sort of learning or through maturation of the nervous system. The manner in which such factors operate and interact in language acquisition is completely unknown.

It is not easy to accept the view that a child is capable of constructing an extremely complex mechanism for generating a set of sentences, some of which he has heard, or that an adult can instaneanously determine whether (and if so how) a particular item is generated by this mechanism, which has many of the properties of an abstract deductive theory. The fact that all normal children acquire essentially comparable grammars of great complexity with remarkable rapidity suggests that human beings are somehow specially designed to do this, with data-handling or hypothesis-formulating ability of unknown character and complexity.

Speech is the process of using language, men's activity by which he communicates with his fellow men, expressing and conveying his thoughts. The existence of an innate impulse for communication in man, a preparedness for speech, a preparedness which seems to be responsible for the universality of the speech phonomenon can hardly be questioned.

The main kinds of speech are oral, that is spoken and heard, and written. While communication is the activity or the process of giving information

to other people using signals such as speech, communication systems are processes that are used to communicate. In this category we have oral mode of communication and written mode of communication. The latter appeared in human history much later than the oral and developed through a number of stages from pictography to contemporary phonetic writing.

A number of very different successful writing systems have coexisted. The geographical distribution of writing systems follows cultural and social lines of demarcation. It is axiomatic in anthropology that any normal infant can acquire all cultural traits of any society given the specific cultural upbringing. There are cultures where even the most primitive writing system is completely absent. We can follow the development of writing historically just as we can study the distribution of writing geographically. We can make good guesses to the area of invention and development and trace the cultural diffusion over the surface of the globe and throughout the last few millenia of history. The emergence of writing is a relatively recent event.

We do assume a biological capacity for writing, but there is no evidence for innate predisposition for this activity. A child's contact with written documents or with pencil and paper does not ordinarily result in automatic acquisition of the trait. Nor do we suppose that the people in a society that has evolved no writing system to be genetically different from those of a writing society. Illiteracy in societies is not ordinarily a sign of mental deficiency in training. The condition can be quickly corrected by appropriate practice.

The role of modern science and technology :

Social science perhaps inevitably develops its own cultural lags. A case in point is the striking contrast between the spectacular rise of modern science as a major social institution and the short shrift given this subject in sociology. The latter, to be sure, include discussion of the nature of scientific method and viewpoint but, with very few exceptions, they omit any systematic consideration of the institutionalization of science and scientific norms.

The interaction between institutional alterations and the emerging cultural values becomes the mehtodological starting point for explanation of the

new worl d view of science. Our approach should be one that interprets a social phenomenon as the product of both the objective socio-historical situation and the subjective attitudes and cultural goals present in the situation. The cultural values that are of particular importance in helping to understand the emergence of the modern scientific world view may be summarized as follows :

—The development and refinement of logical tools of reasoning.

—The increasing emphasis on observation and experiment as a method of verification and for obtaining new knowledge through sense experience.

—The combination of deductive reasoning and mathematical methods with the experimental approach of empiricism.

—Belief in the rule of law, both in nature and society : in this view society is a part of nature.

—The utilization of knowledge for transformation and control, rather than contemplation and wisdom for their own sake.

—In the scientific sphere, the develoment of norms of systematic, dedicated, and disinterested pursuit of knowledge as a calling.

—Skepticism with reference to authority and tradition.

—Reliance on the reasoning, judgment, and experience of the individual for scientific truth.

These cultural values did not emerge in a social vacuum. They were closely interrelated with new constellations of economic and political power. They provided new norms for the evaluation of knowledge and, at the same time, called into doubt some of the most cherished beliefs and practices. Of particular significance here is the change of perspective, the development of a new focus of inquiry, in the light of which certain problems which had been considered of extraordinary significance lost their appeal and were replaced in the consciousness of thoughtful men by a different group of problems. This shift in what was considered valuationally relevant helped to make possible the emergence of the modern scientific world view, with its rationalistic standards of judgment, its empirical appoach to scientific inquiry, and its pragmatic conception of the relation of science to nature and society.

In observing societies, when we find almost any degree of division of labour even the most rudimentary sort, we may feel quite certain that we shall

discover a small group of persons whose main job, as defined by both their culture and themselves, is the discovery, systematization, elaboration, justification, and application or dissemination of knowledge. Many of these individuals are not engaged in scientific work in the sense in which we define such work today, The significant fact to bear in mind, however, is that from the point of view of the society within which they perform this role, their activity is regarded as providing genuine knowledge, not only of a theoretical nature, but, which is often considered of greater importance, knowledge that gives man a greater mastery over his natural and social environment and himself.

It is in this sense orality and literacy, as processes in social communication, should be viewed. Orality is the science of the preliterate people and literacy is the science of the literate. Each has as its goal the achievement of material effects—effects which are considered to be highly useful and beneficial to the individual and to the group to which the individual belongs. Modern science and technology play a very important role in achieving these material effects.

Development in science and technology has played an important role in the spread of information and knowledge through the written mode of communication. The oral mode of communication, however, has remained within the entertainment alone. If used effectively modern science and technology can be of tremendous help in the spread of knowledge and information, through the oral mode, in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural society like India.

The thought of every age is reflected in its technique. At every stage of technique the ability of the artificer to produce a working simulacrum of a living organism has always intrigued people. This desire to produce and to study automata has always been expressed in terms of the living technique of the age. If the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were the age of clocks, and the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries constitute the age of steam engines, the present time is the age of communication and control.

The newer study of automata deal with automata effectively coupled to the external world, not merely by their energy flow, their metabolism, but also by a flow of impressions, of incoming messages, and of the actions of outgoing messages. The organs by which impressions are received are the equivalents of the human sense organs. The information received by the automation need not be used at once but may be delayed or stored so as to become available at some future time. This is the analogue of memory.

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As long as the automation is running its rules of operation are susceptible to some change on the basis of the data which have passed through its receptors in the past ; and this is not unlike the process of learning. The machines of which we are now speaking are not the dream of the sensationalist nor the hope of some future time. They already exist.

With the development of automation, particularly with the advent of cybernetics, the concept of machine was extended to a wider range of phenomena. The term machine is applied not only to systems created by man, but also to living organisms; and cybernetics as a science of control and communication is, in essence, a science of machines. Cybernetic systems engage in processing information. One of the central problems of cybernetics is that of the structure of self-organising (self-adjusting) systems. The most perfect self-organising systems have developed as a result of evolutionary process in animate nature. That is why cybernetics makes use of analogies between control functions in living organisms and technological devices. The importance of cybernetics is seen primarily in the light of the opportunities it opens up for the automation of all types of human mental activity.

A closer look at the characteristics of these two modes of communication reveals the following :

- —The written mode, unlike the oral mode, links the ideas generated at a certain time with the past and the future and may remain alive even if they are not immediately accepted.
- —The oral mode is vulnerable to distortion.
- —The human appeal is associated with the oral mode.
- —The written mode is a one-way communication and can be highly selective.
- —The oral mode being a two-way communication can be highly effective.
- —In some specific form of social communication, like music the oral mode has no alternative.

The oral mode of communication is not only the most widely used mode of social communication but is irreplaceable. It is so even in the world of literates. While, in the existing situation, being illiterate is a constraint as for accessibility to information is concerned, in a situation where science and technology as tools of social communication are used effectively the disadvantages of orality can be nullified.

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If the last 50,000 years of man's existence were divided into lifetimes of approximately 62 years each, there have been about 800 such lifetimes. Of these 800, fully 650 were spent in caves. Only during the last 70 lifetimes it has been possible to communicate effectively from one lifetime to another—as writing made it possible to do. Only during the last six lifetimes did masses of men ever saw a printed word. In our lifetime the network of social ties is so tightly woven that the consequence of contemporary events radiate instantaneously around the world. We see here a chain reaction of change; a long, sharply rising curve of acceleration in human social development. Behind such prodigious socio-economic facts lies that great growling engine of change, technological innovation consists of three stages, linked together into a self reinforcing cycle. First, there is the creative, feasible idea. Second, its practical application. Third, its diffusion through society.

At present the written mode of communication is facing a crisis on several fronts—mounting cost of printing and printing materials, enormous growth of collected information and associated cost of dissemination of information, problems of storage and retrieval of information, busy and fast life providing very little time and scope for reading and writing, etc. In this atmosphere if recourse is taken to oral (audio)-visual mode of communication the crisis of dissemination of information and spread of knowledge can be effectively overcome.

Modern communication facilities like telephone systems, broadcasting systems, television and facsimile transmission systems, tele-conference systems and new generation computers fulfill every demand of oral mode of communication and are becoming increasingly popular mode of communication even for scientific deliberations.

Development in information technology has reached a stage when the new machines are playing a role in sensory processing and information management that gets closer to the central core of intelligent activity. These machines are performing more humanlike intellectual functions : inference, association, and learning, as well as non-numeric processing of speech, text, graphics, and patterns. We are learning to use them for a wide variety of as yet unanticipated applications. Communication networks are playing an increasingly important role in connecting people and machines in planning and management throughout society. These machines help maintain the cultural distinctiveness in the process of social communication. No matter what is the language in which one wants to communicate with others modern science and technology has provided ample opportunity to

communicate simultaneously in many languages using any one language through the oral mode of communicatton.

Conclusion

In dealing with the future it is more important to be imaginative and insightful than to be 100 percent right. Those who explore the future are like the ancient map makers, and it is in this spirit that the future is to be seen, not as a final word, but as first approximation to the new realities. Acceleration without translates into acceleration within. The nature of these inner changes is so profound that, as the accelerative thrust picks up speed, it will test our ability to live within the parameters that have until now defined man and society. The nation that dominates the information processing field will possess the keys to world leadership in the twenty-first century.

In its brief history, information processing has affected virtually every facet of modern society. Yet we see almost unlimited opportunity for application of the technology. A more dynamic society can result from the opportunity provided by an interactive information-based infrastructure. The formidable question that better be not avoided is where do we, Indians, as a ranking developing nation, stand in the context of this newly emerging civilization bringing in genuinely new way of life and code of behaviour, inconceivable production systems, to meet not only the basic but every kind of needs of society.

The traditionalism of Indian society, where the agricultural civilization is still dominating the scene, has not allowed to usher in the industrial civilization to bring forth societal transformation in a fashion that could bring up backward India to status of a ranking developing nation. Populations sometimes actively resist a change. However, the Indian society cannot be taken as a mere continuation of civilization in today's social format when the advanced nations of the world to meet the new challenge, which is highly technical yet anti-industrial, have become public knowledge and more people from every walk of life are being involved, we in India should also try to get into this world mainstream. This means that instead of overemphasizing the need for expansion of literacy (that is, to be able to read and write) among all sections of the population, we should turn our attention to the use of the oral mode of communication for dissemination and acquisition of information and knowledge, more important than learning to read and write, through modern technological facilities.

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J.M. Bayer

Career Literacy : A Means for Development

Introducation

This paper examines the concept of career literacy, i.e., literacy in the language that necessitates competence in the individual's career. Concepts such as "basic literacy", "survival literacy", "practical literacy", "functional literacy", have been created to refer to aspects of literacy. In the Indian context, bi-literacy is essential because of the functional co-existence of languages across domains. In career literacy, the career demands competence to explore and use knowledge that is necessary to cope with modern technology. Most often advanced knowledge is in the standard language.

1.0 Education in India has shown the dimensions of power relations the education policies have developed, how socio-economic status, political and government support empower certain languages and their speakers, mainly major languages, and destabilize other languages, mainly minor and minority languages from reaching levels of power. To be literate means to be independent. It not only means the ability to read and write and use arithmetic, but also to interact and communicate in society. If acquisition of literacy is acquisition of new technology, then adult learners who have acquired basic literacy need to be schooled in the language his profession demands.

1.1. Literacy may be perceived to be an active expressive mode of communication with the primary view of formulating and negotiating control over a wide range of social relations. The potency of control over the reading and writing skills is a major impetus for survival in an age advanced in Science and Technology. 'Literacy creates new systems of knowledge, particularly by its ability to store information in a semi-permanent form, in a manner impossible within an oral society" (Nieke, 1988). Career literacy may be perceived as basic skills plus specialised requirement for advanced skill performance. "...... while the basic literacy level is likely to be measurable, generalizable, unidimensional and stable, the career literacy level is measurable for each occupation, nongeneralizable across vocational choices, multidimensional and variable". (William R. Powell, in "Perspectives on Adult Literacy").

1.2. When one talks of career literacy, one could refer to acquiring know-
ledge

a) in one's area of professional specialisation. It is essential for a farmer or an unskilled worker in a factory to acquire knowledge in their respective fields of specialization. The farmer or the worker ought to be able to have the benefit of knowledge so as to independently transact documents and in turn interact with the concerned people.

b) in the socio-politics of one's environment which will enable the individual to participate in the democratic processes of one's village, taluk, district and eventually in the wider horizons of state and national politics.

Gorman (1976) identifies three sources on the needs of adult illiterates :

i) Reported needs—i.e. relating to tasks judged by informed observers to be necessary or highly useful.

ii) Expressed Needs—i.e. tasks which the learners involved express a desire to perform as a matter of priority.

iii) Observed Needs — which are recorded needs that the learners is observed or reported to be required to undertake in a specified period.

In this context, learners such as agricultural farmers or industrial workers, the essential needs are the ability to read and write letters, complete forms, read newspapers, notices, instructional material and work out cost and benefit analysis, so that the individual can take care of their home, and family needs, employment, leisure and the community. Having lost out on time in acquiring reading and writing skills, adult illiterates are in a hurry to perform. Davison (1972) has pointed out that "disadvantaged adults have qualitatively different preparation for the demands and behavioural requirements of the learning process than others do. The cumulative effects of their development, of their environment and social relationships include a faulty and incomplete development of audio and visual skills, poor perceptual discrimination skills, an impoverished language, a lack of classifying-relating and integating knowledge and a low tolerance of frustration". Therefore, having attained the basic skills, it would be worthwhile that learners are initiated towards furthering career literacy. For example :

a) In an agricultural situation, there are two kinds of manure, natural and chemical. The agriculturalist ought to know the pros and cons of using a chemical manure, he ought to be able to read and follow its instructions, etc.

b) In an age of tractor technology, he ought to be able to read literature before he decides to buy one, follow instructions on its use and handle minor repairs, replacements, and proportions of oil and diesel.

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c) In arithmetic skills he ought to be able to add, subtract, multiply and work out interest rates.

d) Career literacy will enable the individual to get rid of the exploitive role of the middleman and independently transact and negotiate procedures involved in taking loans.

1.3. The co-existence of major, minor and minority languages in India presuppose an overlap of functionality across domains of language use. The clearcut dominance of use of the standardmajor languages that exists in dominant monolingual countries cannot be assumed in a dominant multilingual society, where major, minor and minority languages play roles in differing domains. In a complex situation such as this, it is the minority and minor language speakers that are subordinated over. It is these communities who have to traverse through acquiring competence in several languages while the standard major language communities have the pleasure and bliss of not being forced to learn minor and minority languages.

Srivastav (1984) poses the question "are there any conflicts between the right of ethnic and linguistic minorities to use and preserve their language and the desire of the centralised states to establish a national language as a universal means of communication and administration? The answer was 'no' and 'yes'. 'No' because, the country's commitment to the principle of integration envisages that "different ethnic and linguistic groups maintain their identity in some respect but make them merge into a superordinate group in some other respects". (ibid) "Yes" because, the aim of achieving 'unity in diversity' dominant languages are empowered to administer the socio-economic polity of the nation, which, 'blocks the upward social mobility of members of other speech groups' (ibid). However, unity in diversity need not dictate assimilation nor empowerment of one language at the cost of another. Instead of generating conflict through planned action, if languages were so planned that they were used in different formal domains thereby ensuring complimentarity of use and generating respect for the different then there would be no need for such conflict. In the present situation, people belonging to the major, minor and minority groups tend to centre on inequality of opportunity.

Srivastav (ibid) goes on to show the dimensions of power languages acquire due to its use in education, administration and mass communication. English, in India, for example, is claimed as mother tongue by a small minority of people but its status across the power structure in society is incomparable. In other words, the concept of "Quantum" and "power" (ibid) is pertinent. The irony of the situation is that a language with −Quantum and +Power is most often the language with socio-political as well as economic status

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and prestige, and it is this language that most groups aspire to acquire, in its totality. And most often the failure or inadequate resources to reach the pinnacle leads to a thirst for knowledge in the language that has achieved legitimatization in the power structure, and eventually results in the unequal access to such privileges.

1.4. While all efforts are being conditioned to follow the UNESCO statement (1953, p. 11)

> "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that is in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically. it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than an unfamiliar linguistic medium".

at the same time, one could argue that in the quest to ride up the economic ladder, the individual is psychologically prepared to initiate himself into the expression and understanding of the language of power and therfore it is ideal for him to be socialised in an educational environment conducive to such growth.

The mother tongue develops a sense of positive outlook to oneself as well as the world at large. However, Freire's (1987) caution is that 'the goal should never be to restrict students to their own vernacular . . . Educators should understand the value of mastering the standard dominant language of the wider society. It is through the full appropriation of the dominant standard language that students find themselves linguistically empowered to engage in dialogue with the wider sections of society. It is therefore implied that the learners are taught from where they are and socialised to fade away from the culture of inhibitions, of negative self-worth and from the 'culture of silence' (ibid). The culture of inhibitions, the culture of negative self-worth and the culture of silence are value loaded terms which are liable to be interpreted in ways inimical to multilingual societies. In multicultural societies there is no question of fading away from one's culture and joining another but through complimentary maintenance of different languages and cultures, smaller groups get relative empowerment and get structurally incorporated in an overarching framework.

Career literacy when linked to social and economic development more specifically to agricultural production and training of industrial workers will result in qualitative and quantitative development. The importance

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of the ability to read and write is a conditioning factor in the process of development one's knowledge in career advancement and social and economic development. In fact keeping in view the different kinds of literacies, one can say that literacy does not refer to a single skill or technology but it covers a vast range of practices of reading and writing. As Lankshear (1989) put it

> "Reaching literacy is not a matter of transmitting some universal technology of competence. It is to pass on or reinforce some (more or less) specific practice or other of reading and writing, and a corresponding idea of what counts as using print appropriately; what it is to read and write, how one does it, and why. The same, of course, is true of *acquiring* literacy. A person does not acquire literacy *per se*. Instead, s/he acquires one or other of the myriad specific forms that reading and writing can take. In short, reading and writing are not all of a piece, and we do better to think in terms of *literacies* rather than literacy".

Considering the Socio-linguistic complexity of the Literacy Mission in India, it is essential to simultaneously promote career literacy so as to concretise fruition of the Government's ideology of eradicating illiteracy and mobilise greater participation in the social and economic development of the nation.

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KVVL. Narasimharao

Orality and Literacy Skills in Language Education : An Indian Perspective

The history of language education in our country traces back to the age of Vedas and Puranas. The oral tradition of transmission of knowledge existed during those days when it is believed that the Gurukula system existed. Inspite of the oral transmission of knowledge through the Vedic texts, it is believed that those texts remained unchanged and the scope for reflection and interpretation have also been claimed to have existed. The scope for such interpretation is generally believed to be the characteristic of written records particularly in the West. Neither the formal syllabus nor the curriculum nor the written instructional material were in existence during those days. But still, the process of instruction did not lack any "systematics" of concepts/themes/topics and the like as the Gurus were considered to be "all knowledge incarnates" possessing a systematic and the deepest knowledge with the widest spectrum. The process of learning

during those days was primarily based on the learners' imitation and repetition of the Guru's oral utterances which were taken as perfect and systematic. Interpretations and explanations were also provided only through oral communication which demanded a very high degree of concentration of mind and memory on the part of the learners; for the reason that once any aspect of teaching is missed by the learner, it is lost for ever. The process of instruction did not merely consist of teaching the text alone but it included mental and physical exercises like yoga etc,. It is from ages yore until perhaps in future also that the process of oral communication shall play a crucial and integral role in education in general and language education in particular.

Language is primarily considered to be a means of communication conveying "meaning" possessing two different forms of expression viz. "speech" and "writing". While speech came into existence almost from the emergence of mankind, writing came into being only around 3500 B C. Language education consists of both oral and written skills i.e. 'Orality' and 'Literacy' are complementary to each other in the context of language education. While the former helps developing the skills of listening and speaking, the latter helps developing reading and writing besides arithmetic.

Needless to say that the degree of ability of expression differs from one individual to the other . . . Incidentally it could be stated that the capacity of oration is a God given gift. It is quite possible that while an individual's storage of information is very vast and deep, his power of expression might be very weak and ineffective. Vice-versa could be true as well.

The concept of orality cannot be restricted to the possession of primary spoken skills, but it involves active and effective use of words and sentences and includes the use of suprasegmentals like stress, tone, intonation etc. It goes further to include the features of good discourse like coherence, cogency and precision. Added to all these are "gestures" which make the oral expression more powerful and effective.

The concept of literacy has so far been conceived as the possession of 3 R's viz. reading, writing and arithmetic. Even to-day as on 2nd October '90, eminent personalities, while arguing that 'Literacy' is a key to education, which in turn opens the gateways of Culture and Civilization; hold that this develops the concept of Social Status among individuals. Adm. Nadkarni had argued that 'Literacy' helps individuals in widening their socio-political ideas and brings in their social awareness and consciousness.

The degree or the extent to which the 3 R's are expected to label anybody as literate has not been possible to define so far and does not appear to be possible in the forseeable future. Literacy cannot just be left with this concept of possession of 3 R's as it could be of various kinds. It might be the Basic or General Literacy, Functional Literacy, Survival Literacy, Career Literacy and the like. It all depends upon the needs of an individual as to what type of literacy skills are required. In other words, it depends upon the societal needs of an individual. These needs could perhaps form the basis in making an attempt towards approximately defining, if not precisely and exactly, the extent to which the possession of different literacy skills is contemplated. This is not a solution in itself but can only form a subjective approximation of the needs of various individuals.

While Basic or General Literacy is believed to be the possession of skills of reading, writing and computing and do not include any specific content in particular; Functional Literacy presupposes acquiring of these skills concurrently with texts which are occupationally motivated. To cite an example, the Functional Literacy programme of an agriculturist includes texts dealing with tilling of land, use of manures and fertilizers, methods of achieving higher productivity, use of pesticides and the like. In other words, Functional Literacy programmes deal with texts of the individual's interest and motivation. Survival Literacy can be construed as the possession of the literacy skills so as to enable an individual to exist as an independent entity in a society and does not implicate knowledge of any field of specialisation.

Cereer Literacy implies acquiring of deeper and higher knowledge in the area of specialisation which in turn would help the individual improve his professional career.

Language education could be either mother tongue education or second/foreign language education. In the context of second/foreign language education, it is believed that the individual possesses different linguistic skills in respect of his mother tongue which through "transfer of habits" enables the individual acquire such skills in second/foreign language and the concept of 'biliteracy' comes into picture. One needs to be extremely cautious at this juncture as the scope and extent of different skills—oral and written—must be defined and defended keeping in view the individual's needs for using different languages in different situations. For instance, an individual might want to use his mother tongue at home and second/foreign language either as a subject or as medium of instruction in school

or as a symbol of social prestige. To cite an example, English though happens to be second language in our schooling system, the knowledge and use of English language is considered to bestow upon the individual a higher amount of dignity, status and social prestige. In this context, it should be made clear that defining and defending the goals and requirements of literacy skills with reference to MT, L_2/L_3 depend upon the need and scope of their use in different contexts by the individuals and consequently the framing of appropriate syllabus, curriculum and the preparation of appropriate instructional materials becomes possible. Such definition of goals and aims and needs to use different languages assumes more importance in the context of the 3 language formula in our schooling system. Of the three or more languages learnt, not—all languages are equally put to use nor are they used for the same purpose.

Language education cannot be restricted to the possession/acquisition of primary linguistic skills viz. LSRW but should include the possession/acquisition of higher order skills viz. Representation, Argumentation, Refutation and Establishment of one's own point of view, besides the skills of critical and creative thinking. The advanced skills assume more importance in the context of both the media of communication—spoken and written. If one has to draw a comparison between orality' and 'literacy', both possess their own merits and demerits. The higher order skills assume more importance in oral communication in comparison to the written communication. If one happens to possess good oration capacity, his expression becomes more cogent, coherent and precise and the physical gestures provide more meaning and effectiveness to the communication. However the aspects of a good discourse viz. coherence, congency and precision could be more effectively brought-in in written communication as opposed to the oral communication. However it must be admitted that an expert orator can easily bring in the aspects of an effective discourse even in his oral expression. The main disadvantages or lacunae in respect of orality (which is the spoken medium of expression) include non-feasibility of long term storage of information and retrieval. However, the fast development of scientific and technological innovations in geometric progression compensate these lacunae to a very great extent by providing means of long term preservation through aids like gramaphone records, magnetic tapes, computer diskettes and the like. Such aids of preservation of oral messages/texts however might be felt to be costlier when compared to the printed media. But the merits and effectiveness of orality gain an upper hand over the written communication system nullifying the negative or discouraging factors of preservation systems being costlier.

It is necessary at this juncture to mention that the oral medium of communication demands a higher degree of memory than the written medium of communication as, in the case of the former, the scope to look back does not exist while in the case of latter, it does. Some scholars have however argued that any message carefully listened to is more effective and remains for a longer period in human memory than what is looked at and read once. However one should not forget that irrespective of what the medium of communication might be, "Comprehension" plays a crucial role in the process of preserving the memory intact and for over a long period of time. It should be mentioned here that the memorising capacity and the capacity to recall primarily depend upon factors like motivation, need and interest in the subject rather than the medium of communication. One must agree that the "degree of systematics" is more in written communication as opposed to the oral communication system, for the reason that while aspects of good discourse could be well taken care of in written communication system besides avoiding undesirable and unnecessary repetitions.

If we look at the second/foreign language teaching system in India, we generally observe that it is the audio-lingual method that is adopted to begin with and later the written skills are introduced. Any instructional programme does not adopt the "particular method" as such but any and every teacher adopts his own class room techniques and strategies instantly on the spot picking and choosing different aspects of various teaching methods. This choice depends upon various factors like the motivation and the interest of the learners, their level of achievement and their linguistic competence in different languages. It becomes neeessary to consider factors like home language vs. school language, home language vs. the language of main stream and the like, particularly in the context of language education if they happen to be different. Defining and defending the goals, syllabus, curriculum etc., becomes a real task in such situations.

Even if one looks at the process of language acquisition among human beings, the child starts learning to imitate the elders surrounding by babbling. The process of child language acquisition gets initiated with the spoken form of language and it is perhaps only after its attaining of the age of 3+that it is introduced to reading and writing. The argument that the child language acquisition starts from babbling and imitation has been established beyond doubt. As such imitation and babbling start from the age of about 12-18 months and such babbling and imitations on the part of the babies are spontaneous although initially the spontaneous babbling and imitation might be restricted to sounds to begin with and in

course of time they extend to words, phrases and clauses and sentences and the like.

Looking at the linguistic scene of our country, one would notice that hundreds of languages—major and minor, written and unwritten—exist; although the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution recognises only 15 languages. If one thinks of the unwritten languages or languages without script, several crucial issues arise including questions as to whether such languages are to be taken cognisance of or not, whether such languages are enriched with any literature and if so the mode of its preservation and availability to the community, and whether such literature is in any manner inferior to the literatures of the major/written languages and the like. If one examines these issues with the correct perspective, it must be agreed to that no language or literature is inferior or superior to the other and every language and its literature are rich in themseleves and that the misconceptions of the one language being superior over the other should be washed off.

Coming back to the question of education system in general and language education system in particular, a wealth of data and information could be transmitted in a much lesser time and more effective manner through orality than the written mode of communication. This is perhaps why it is believed that there cannot be a 'substitute' to class room teachers. It is an accepted fact that speech is much faster than writing and the maximum speed at which one can read is at the rate of his loud reading. Thus we find that besides the spectrum of orality being wider and more effective, it possesses a very high utilitarian value in education in comparison to the written material. This however does not mean undermining or underestimating the importance of written material.

It might now be desirable to quickly examine the general characteristics of the two mcdia of 'speaking' and writing'. Aslam (1990) brings out the dichotomy between the two modes of expressions as follows: The production of language in any channel involves the process that Virginia Woolfe calls 'the stream of consciousness', the intention and motivation, and many other factors. Speech and writing have some parallels and some corresponding aspects. It should not be surprising since both are used to externalise the oppositional and relational aspects of the same deep reality-language.

Writing conveys something that is important enough to put the person through the drill of writing. For writing, more pressure has to be exerted and more concentration is needed. Tannen (1980) points out that only the most important things reach the stage of writing, whereas important

and unimportant sundry informations goes in speech, and only the important things filter through.

Writing may be formal or casual, official or personal just like speech. A letter scribbled to a friend or a lot of talk one indulges in through the day may have nothing by way of a concerete message. In fact, a lot of speech is to establish a rapport or to keep an established relationship. Speaking may simply be to fill in time as during a journey, or to avoid an embarrassing silence.

To conclude, it may once again be reiterated that there are differing opinions among various scholars regarding the superiority or inferiority in respect of Orality and Literacy. Detail merits and demerits of these two aspects have been brought out. While literacy opens the gates of educacation, Orality complements the literacy skills and both put together provide a stronger base for any individual to acquire knowledge and establish his personality in the society. Thus it must be agreed to that literacy and orality complement each other and help the formation of a good idealistic society in general and educated and cultured individuals in particular.

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Mushtaq Ahmed

What is National Literacy Mission ?

I think that it is an excellent idea to utilise the knowledge, research experience and expertise of linguists, social scientists and psychologists, gather together here, to enrich the adult education programme by their delibrations. Naturally the seminar will also delibrate upon the role of oral culture in its enrichment.

Therefore, perhaps it will be in order to present a description of the programme so that the academecians could clear understanding of it and it may prove easier for them to choose the area of the Programme in which they may offer concrete guidance and suggestions to us.

Aims and objectives of the programme

The Adult Education Programme (AEP) is now known as National Literacy Mission. For quicker implementation an autonomous body known as National Literacy Mission Authority (NLMA) have been established at the Centre. It was expected that similar bodies will also be established at the state level. But none of the states have done so. Some of them have established a separate directorate of adult education and in some it is still a part of education, with an additional director holding the charge of adult education.

The aim of the mission is to make 30 millions persons literate in the age group 15-35 by 1990 and 50 millions by 1995. The level of literacy to be attained is the minimum or initial level. In specific terms the literacy norm of the mission is *the ability to read with comprehension a passage written in a simple language, reading of sign boards, road signs etc; writing a simple letter or an application; ability to fill in the forms used in the area like Money Order Form, Post Office Forms etc; doing simple calculations using the four fundamental rules, time and measurement.*

Implementation strategy

The above goal is to be attained by the following four implementation strategies :

(A) Centre Based Approach

This was the approach so far. It was expected that 30 adult learners would assemble for about 2 hours a day at a place and time convenient to them, and acquire the skills of reading and writing. There is a part-time teacher who is paid an honorarium of Rs. 100 P.M. There is a hierarchy of officers to supervise his work. The centres financed by the Central Government are known as Rural Functional Literacy Programme (RFLP) and those financed by the states are known as State Adult Education Progrgmme (SAEP). There are no fundamental differences between the working of the two. There is now a strong conviction that neither the RFLP nor the SAEP are giving the results, except a volley of unreliable numbers.

(B) Involvement of Voluntary Agencies (VAs)

Quite a large number of voluntary agencies are given grant in aid by the Centre to implement the NLM. They also adopt the centre based approach. There has been wide spread criticism about the functioning of

most of them, though some evaluation studies show that their programmes are much better than the state run programmes. They carry out the programme independently from the government but the government functionaries have a lot of say in the processing of their application for grants in aid or in reporting the progress of their work. This control, it is widely felt, gives rise to corrupt practices.

(C) Mass Programme for Functional Literacy (MPFL)

This programme is carried out mostly by the students belonging to Secondary Schools, Colleges and Universities. It cannot be said that this approach had been a grand success. The student volunteers get no remuneration and the learners receive the teaching and learning free of cost.

(D) Area Eradication Approach

This is the most favoured latest approach. In this approach the efforts are not widespread. But a well defined and contiguous area is delimited and a time bound programme is launched. Before the actual teaching begins massive programmes of environment building through jathas, folk media, mass media, posters, wall writings, meetings etc; are launched. It is claimed that there efforts enthuse both the volunteer-teachers and the adult learners, that both put in continuous labour and effort at least for six months, in the holy crusade of eradicating illiteracy. The Collector of the district of Ernakulam was the first to adopt this approach. He launched a massive efforts to eradicate illiteracy from the district. And it is claimed that he has managed to make around 2 lakhs persons literate within a short period of six months at a total cost of Rs. 2,00,000.

Taking a lead from Ernakulam collectors from various part of the country are submitting proposals to eradicate illiteracy from the entire district on the Ernakulam model. On an average it costs about 3 crore rupees to make the entire district literate. The approach however is volunteer based as the teachers teach free of cost. Nevertheless, top level administrators and supervisors are handsomely paid, though for a short period. So far about 10 districts have come forward with proposals of total eradication.

It is almost now certain that the centre base approach will be given up and an approach which involves the community and the work is largely voluntary will be preferred.

Training

According to the laid down instructions the teachers in the centre base approach should be trained for an initial period of 21 days, followed by refresher training. A teacher is expected to look after the work of volunteer students. He is known as Master Trainer. His orientation lasts for a day or two. He in turn is expected to train the volunteer students for 7 days. The training, at all levels, has been found very unsatisfactory so far.

Teaching Materials

Different types of teaching meterials were used so far in different states. Some used a primer + a supplementary book + a workbook + an arithmetic book. Some had 3 primers + a workbook + an arithmetic book. Some had only a primer. The content and approach was also varied. The content mostly related to economic and social issues, presented in a prescriptive manner i.e. if you read my primer all your life's problems will be solved. Most of them adopted the word method of teaching and some of the alphabetic method. Even the word method was alphabetic in the sense that before making the key word into a sight word, it was immediately broken down into its components and both the lessons and the teachers drilled the letters of the word. In my experience and observation this method has not found favour either with the teachers or the learners and is summarily rejected by them. But since the state supplies only this method of primer, they purchase the alphabetic chart from market, drill the letters in about 30 days and then teach the word method primer from lesson one. So far the primers had no built in summative or evaluative tests. The learner outcome therefore, could neither be checked nor compared with learner in different parts of the country.

This approach of primer constructions has now been revised and is known as Improved Pace and Content of Learning (IPCL). The main features are :

A. the primer will be in the three parts each imparting a minimum level of skills

B. there will be no separate books for arithmetic teaching and a workbook for practices. These will become part of the primers. Each primer will contain sufficient number of exercises to drill the skills learned. Effort will be made to make these exercises 'learning by doing' type as far as possible.

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C. the *total learning* load will be such as all the 3 primers could be completed in 200 hours of learning or in about six months time.

D. after a number of lessons, there will be two summative and one evaluative type of test in each primer. They will be numbered sereially as T1 to T9. It is the T9 on the basis of which, it will be judged whether the learner has attained the NLM norms of literacy.

E. All the primers in the country will have a eore content which has been considered important from the national point of view. These are : (1) status of women (ii) national cohesion and harmony (iii) environment education and (iv) population education. In addition the states may have other contents relevant to the area. The treatment of lessons will be made not to present ready-made belief-solutions, lecture or prescribe to the learners but raise questions on basic issues, behaviours and beliefs and let the learners decide for themselves.

F. initially only 5000 copies will be printed, thoroughly tried out in the field, feedback obtained in a systematic manner before going for larger editions.

Continuing Education

To prevent the learners from lapsing into illiteracy, a large number of permanent institutions, known as Jan Shikshan Nelayam (JSN) will be set up throughout the country. These will not only house easy and interesting books to read but will also have a number of newspapaers and magazines, games and sport materials and some musical instruments. Necessary information about development programmes in the area will also be available here. It has been seen not as a library and reading room only but as a house of culture. So far 30000 JSNs have been established in the country. The guiding principle to establish one JSN for a population of 5,000. There will be a permanent Parerak (Rs. 200/-PM) who will provide the leadership for various cultural activities, hold occasional classes for learners who wish to polish up their reading skills and carry on a bicycle books to learners in nearby villages.

Policy regarding the use of mother tongue

The policy is that if the mother tongue differs so much from the regional language that communication is difficult and number of potentinal lear-

ners is large enough, basic instructions should begin with the mother tongue and gradually switch over to the regional language. A number of primers in the mother tongue have been prepared in Rajasthan, Karnataka and UP. The primer prepared in Brij Bhasha, it is reported has not found favour with the learners and it is being recast in the standard language. In addition the instructors are advised to converse in the language of the learners irrespective of the language of the primer. Since they come from the same area generally.

Technical Support

To provide technical support to the Mission 13 State Resource Centres have been set up and a large number of District Resource Units are being set up. Together they produce teaching and learning materials, a.v. aids, conduct training of functionaries of different levels, build public opinion, conduct research and studies, play a key role in the implementation of the Population Education Programme and prepare and distribute literacy kits in very large numbers, for the volunteer base programmes. They have been placed either under the universities or autonomous registered bodies of repute.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The day to day monitoring is done by the agency which run the Programme. Learners outcome is also assessed by them, But so far there is no systematic, uniform and reliable method of evaluation. The general tendency is to declare almost everybody literate. The psychology of number game prevails. But NLMA is now trying very hard to reverse this tendency and establish a reliable mechanism to assess the literacy level of learners. In addition to this internal evaluation, external evaluation is done by various social science institutions. For example a large number of evaluative studies have been done for the entire programme in the state by G.B. Pant Social Science Institute, Allahabad, Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh, Educational Consultants, Delhi, Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur, etc.

Conclusion

As I understand the main purpose of this Seminar is to invite a body of academicians who with their academic background would show us a better way to remove illiteracy from amongst adults, specially those in the 15-35 age group. I am sure any concrete suggestions will be most welcome to all of us.

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Ananthi Jebasingh

Tribal Literacy—A Challenge ?

Tribal literacy seems to be the greatest challenge before our nation in her struggle towards universalisation of education, and the tribal children seem to be the most deprived, and call for urgent consideration. The educational disparities between the tribal communities and others prompted the framers of National Policy on Education (1986) to give special importance to education among the Scheduled Tribes. However, the empirical evidence from the tribal areas is so discouraging that it elicits reconsideration of our approaches. The enrolment rate goes higher showing their desire to learn, yet there is no let up in the drop out rate. Sujatha K. (1987 : 26) points out that only 3.86 percent of the tribal children reach std X level. The financial investment, teacher resource and structural set-up, all end up in colossal wastage and stagnation. Under utilization of human resources culminating in huge loss of resource potential acts as a deterrent to renewed interest in tribal education.

Several reasons are given for this dismal state of affairs in the tribal sector. Their poor economic condition is often blamed as the cause of school drop out. Others cite the centralised curriculum that can neither relate itself to the tribal situation nor appeal to their interests. The dual administration in

the tribal schools also contribute to their poor performance. However, voices are raised by linguists and educationists and researchers and scholars that language is the major causative factor for the failure of education at the tribal areas. P.V. Rao (1988: 183) says that among the tribals of Inumanda village, failure to cope up with the medium of instruction, i.e. Telugu is an important reason for drop out rate. S.K. Banerjee in an article emphatically stated that it is not the geographical factor, but the medium of instruction which is a barrier to the progress of primary education among the tribal communities.

According to the UNESCO guidelines, our government has endeavoured to provide primary education in mother tongue to these tribal children. However, a review of literature developed in most of these tribal languages show that it is nothing more than the primers printed by the agencies. Among the more advanced and more numerous of the tribes, though a flair for writing has developed quite early, the picture is confused as one and the same language is written in several different scripts making literature produced in one state unreadable to the people belonging to the same language group in another state. Moreover, literature is produced in some neoliterary languages without them being introduced as the medium of education at the lowest levels of education. Hence the literary produce of the society is not consumed by the native speakers of the language.

The importance of language at the lowest level of education became explicit in one of my encounters in the experimental school for Alaknanda slum children in Delhi. A brother and sister, 6 & 5 years old attracted my attention. They were the only children to come neat and clean. When I asked the boy about the secret, he promptly pointed his finger towards his younger sister. I developed a high regard for the bright eyed little girl for her hard work, perseverance and intelligence. Sometime later when I had to utilize the services of a teacher who did not know her mother tongue, the child became dull and depressed. When I questioned the teacher, she replied that the child is not mentally sound. I was taken aback. I searched for a Bengali speaking teacher and gave her the freedom to use her mother tongue. It was not long when the teacher recommended the girl as the brightest child in the class.

If such is the case in an urban slum where there is possibility of acquiring orality in the regional language outside of the classroom, what will be the situation in remote rural areas where only the tribal mother tongue dominates and the children at a tender age are required to learn in a language unknown to them and put under teachers who do not know their mother tongue and so cannot communicate ? What other reason can we give for the high drop out rate ? Sita Toppo (1979 : 175) insists that education in

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the lower primary schools should be imparted through the tribal dialects which may attract a number of tribal children to school.

A tribal child by virtue of our policies, planning and implementation is indirectly forced to have his very initial literacy in an alien language. Through sheer perseverance or whenever parental help is available he completes his primary schooling. His education continues in the alien tongue albeit it is the regional language of the state. Mustering all his mental and psychological abilities he completes his higher education and gets a job in a government institution. But alas, there he is dubbed as inefficient, one who cannot go through his files and subsequently as one who wanders off instead of sitting at his desk. Even at this stage, a tribal has to conquer problems that seem insurmountable. Those who have had the privilege of having their education in English are able to tackle administrative responsibilities. Others who did their post graduation in the regional language are baffled, unable to cope up with communication in yet another language, English. But who can see through the maze of iron curtains that have played a mischievous role in the educational career of a tribal ? Without giving the language input he is expected to use the language in his work situation. Can we expect to reap what we have not sown ? Can we require our people to make bricks without straw ?

It is often said that in India, the poor are taught in their mother tongue, while the middle class and the rich learn in English. But the tribals are neither taught in their mother tongue nor in English. The fundamental flaw in the education system is linguistic in nature which does not manifest itself openly and does not get exposed unless one is determined to delve deep into the problems of low efficiency and high drop out. Moreover when we talk about mother tongue education, we mostly mean the regional languages, not considering the fact that for millions of people the regional language is not their mother tongue.

Amrik Singh (1990) rightly says that while aiming at social cohesion and national integration through neighbourhood schools, this problem will have to be sorted out first. Pattanayak (1981 : 83) is very clear about this when he says "The philosophical basis and goal of Indian planning is the development of a society with cultural and linguistic pluralism within the framework of national solidarity. Given the above goal and the constitutional commitment for equal opportunity of education for all, educational planning must have a programme of education for linguistic minorities which recognizes the identity of these groups and yet provides a strategy for regional and national integration."

This means elementary education through the language of early childhood with a well planned strategy to step up from literacy in one language to another and orality in one to another. Unless this is provided for in the

complex Indian language situation, our literacy efforts will be a failure in one way or other.

Step by step strategy for orality and literacy has to be provided for people around sixty millions, speaking hundreds of different languages and dialects spread over the vast tribal lands in the North and the South, in the East and the West and the Middle of India. In four districts of Gujarat alone 121 language are spoken. The situation is not very much different in other tribal areas. The educational and communication needs of these people have to be planned in a unified direction through a viable unified channel, so that their abilities and achievements can finanlly flow into the larger stream of the state and subsequently the nation. In the very peculiar tribal situation, where orality and literacy have to be learnt in several languages, it is imperative to frustrate their frustration by making the burden less on the individual. For this we need to have a constant which we can always refer to when we veer through the maze of languages and dialects. This constant cannot be anything but a common, scientific and acceptable writing system for all our tribal languages. Not only pedagogic reasons but also technological demands call for a simple single writing system. The one technology of radio can cater to hundreds of different languages. So also one typographic technology can free these languages from the oppressive, strangulating forces of other major languages and help their speakers have education in their mother tongue. This will make provision for large scale availability of reading material which is an essential precondition for the spread of literacy. Tchitchi and Hazoum (1983 : 187) point out that the introduction of a national alphabet in the Peoples Rupublic of Benin represents a major step in the solution of problems arising in connection with the use of several languages and in their struggle against illiteracy. India is a country with several languages and facing colossal problems of illiteracy.

The varied writing systems in our country not only make literacy an exasperating exercise, but also fragments the nation into a multination state. This was realised by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. India is one linguistic area and if we aim at a lasting solution to our language problems, we have to take the revolutionary measure of propagating a National Script Policy. However, none of the existing Indian scripts can be taken up on empirical or socio-cultural grounds. For a common script has to be technically viable, socially acceptable and pedagogically unquestionable. Only this will give us the right tool to boost up literacy efforts first in the tribal, then in other areas.

For what is literacy in its most fundamental concept ? Is it not the ability to decipher the written word or the capability to relate the scriblings made on a paper meanings in real life ? If it is so, is it wrong to say that these scriblings should be made as simple as possible to facilitate immediate transfer

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to the domain of meaning ? The Indian writing tradition, by laying stress on accuracy of phonetic representation has lost sight of economy of coding and facility in reinterpretation. Have we not taken literacy beyond the reach of the common man by introducing too many changes on the coding system ? Veena Nanda, who is involved in slum literacy with Deepalaya Education Society laments that it takes full seven years to teach these children read and write without mistakes. Our tradition has imprisoned us and put a lid on the flowering of creative abilities at a younger age. It is not a coincidence that in Kerala, the simplicity of the writing system has gone hand in hand with upgradation of literacy. Again it is not a coincidence that in countries that use the Roman alphabet, illiteracy is not so rampant. If a simple system can drastically increase the literacy rate of the country, we ought to take all efforts to make it simple enough to handle.

We have tried to sort out this problem of script for tribal languages through a full fledge research done in Jawaharlal Nehru University.

I will briefly outline the principles involved in arriving at the common script which is named Barati.

Taking into consideration the empirical data and the constitutional provision, we have taken the Nagari script for basic graphics while at the same time drawing features from other Indian scripts.

To make the great potential of Nagari into vibrant kinetic realisation in the onward movement of writing by man or machine, we have taken the first step of making the syllabary into an alphabet. This is done by the simple introduction of the symbol I of a vertical line to stand separately for the vowel inherent in the Indian syllabaries. Consequently the consonantal characters come to stand for a pure consonant and not a syllable. As a symbolic gesture of this change, we have removed the top bar. The subsequent changes dependent on this primary change is the removal of dual representation for vowels and raising of the matra symbols to the level of pure vowels.

The second step is to make the representation of sounds in the script systematic so that the script as a whole will operate as a system to represent any Indian language. The represented sounds are arranged according to the manner and place of articulation, in line with the Indian linguistic tradition. According to the manner, they are divided into three categories, the open sounds (vowels), the close sounds (stops) and the transition sounds. According to the place of articulation, they are divided into five categories, from the innermost point of articulation to outermost in the vocal chamber, i e. velar, palatal, alveolar, dental and labial respectively. Thus we get three sets of five basic sounds.

a	k	h
i	c	s
u	t	r
e	t	l
o	p	v

The other sounds are contrasts made on these basic sounds. To make the script system highly efficient at all phases of its application we decided to represent not more than two way contrats made on these basic categories.

Regarding the open sounds the Indian linguistic traditions invariably make length as the primary contrast. We have shown that nasalisation of vowels can only be a second level cantrast. Hence representation in Barati is given only to the length contrast, considering nasalisation as a variation and bringing the nasal feature within the phonemic fields represented by long and short vowels.

The second group is the group of stop consonants: The overall Indian linguistic tradition in making contrasts in this category is much varied. On the one extreme, the Southern most language Tamil, brings within this basic consonantal representation all variations belonging to each sound. It does not give independent representation in the script to voicing, aspiration or palatal contrasts. Only nasal contrasts are represented. But the Sanskrit tradition on the other hand makes a three tier contrast of voicing, nasalisation and aspiration.

To decide on representability, we have taken the criteria of less effort— more perceptible contrast and have deliberately struck off representation for aspiration. On the basic matrix, one way contrast of voicing and another way contrast of nasalisation are taken. Aspirated sounds will come within the phonemic boundaries of these primary contrasts. In this way we have made an attempt to eliminate phonological disparities between the script systems of the North and South by bringing the scripts of both sides half way to meet each other.

The third category is that of the transition sounds. The Indian linguistic area shows retroflection as the major contrast exploited at this level. Voicing contrasts of individual sounds are exploited by individual languages bringing in phonological disparity. We have taken the retroflection contrast for representation at all five positions. Voicing variants are left out except for which acts as a pervasive vowel glide.

Thus we have arrived at a system consisting of 36 alphabets. If this is used to code all tribal languages, then they will be free from the technologi-

cal restraints imposed by other script systems and thus make way for one Indian language keyboard and typographic technology. Production of printed matter will become easier, and we wiil be giving them opportunity to read and understand the output of other related dialects and contiguous languages. This will pave the way for standardisation and modernisation of languages in a natural way and also convergence of these languages to form link languages. Literacy achieved in one language will automatically facilitate acquiring of orality and literacy in another language.

So far, the help accorded by the government for tribal literacy is remedial in nature. Primary schools are established in tribal areas, hostels are built, freeships and free books are provided to tribal children as incentives to attract them to education. Notwithstanding all these, we still witness a high drop out rate. The gift of a superior writing system will provide them with the basic technology to achieve these benefits on their own.

It will drastically reduce financial investment and man power and facilitate free growth of knowledge. It will provide the right strategy for elementary education through the language of early childhood experience and allow a programmatic transfer to the mainstreams. When all peoples of India try to put their language in a common script to conquer the barrier between languages, it will catch the imagination of the youth and enlist the commitment of the experienced and build up a peoples movement to promote social cohesion and national integration. The role of government will then be to nurture and support the growth of literacy, unification of languages and universalisation of education. Such a step will make a unique impact on the educational landscape of the country.

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Dharam Singh

Own-Tone : A Study in
Orality and Literacy

The language plays a great role in human life. The effects of language are very remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from animal. The primitive people preserved their history, laws, traditions by oral accounts and handed down from—generation to generation. The use of people's language is a major concern for any literacy effort.

Literacy as a skill is obtained easiest through mother-tongue and literacy as a function is best maintained in the language of under communication.

Speakers require their speaking habits from earlier speakers, the only explanation of their habits lies in the habits of their earlier speakers. Yes

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the written word tends carry more conviction than the spoken, where speech differed from writing. The writing should be an attempt to represent the language, that was spoken. Written records give us direct information about the speech habits of the past. Writing is a relatively recent invention.

Real writing uses a limited number of conventional symbols, when the picture has become rigidly conventionalised, we may call it "character". A symbol represents a linguistic form in the sense that the people write the symbol in situations where they utter the linguistic form and respond to the symbol as they respond to the hearing of linguistic form. Actually the writer utters the speech-form before or during the act of writing and the hearer utters it in act of reading.

The principle of alphabet writing one symbol for each phoneme is applicable, of course to any language. The writer does not analyse the phonetic system of his speech, but merely writes each word as he has seen it in the writings of his predecessors.

Language is mean of communication. It is exactly said that the literate-communication is from writer to reader whereas the oral-communication is from speaker to listener. In communication the same person is transmitter as well as receiver.

The main types of speech in a complex speech-community can be roughly classed as follows—

(i) Literary Standard	: Used in most formal discourse and in writing.
(ii) Colloquial Standard	: The speech of privileged class.
(iii) Provincial Standard	: Spoken by the middle class.
(iv) Sub Standard	: Spoken by lower-middle class, and differing topographically.
(v) Local Dialect	: Spoken by the least privileged class, differs from village to village. The varieties so great as often to be incomprehensible to each other and to speakers.

In the above mentioned paragraphs the language (oral or written) has been described as a media of communication as well as a part of literacy. Here

I categorically emphasise on the Adult Literacy. The largest number of illiterate adults in India is a greatest problem of the Nation. By all means this illiteracy is to be eradicated.

The adult literacy is necessary part of Education. That is to say, the ability and efficiency of an adult to read, write and do arithmetic is an essential part of his/her learning. Moreover, the efforts to make them to understand, to think, to reasonout and to be aware of environment, self-development and aware of National values are necessary.

In new policy of education, it has been considered and emphasised on the alround development of adults. They must be uplifted individually, socially, economically, physically, mentally and intellectually.

It only then can be possible, when we motivate them to be literate through orality and literacy abilities. Motivation has been the central issue in literacy. Literacy in the spoken language has the advantage of going someway towards solving the fundamental teaching—difficulties of aiding motivation. In their orality or discourse, we find their culture, traditions, religion, service, moral and national values, horticulture, environment and so on. All the content areas are being discussed by them. Thus, we have to find out their reading interests.

Reading Interests

The reading interests of the neo-literates are not the same in all cultures, they vary from one society to another, individual to individual. They are based upon socio-economic needs. Though they prefer materials like kathas from puranas.

The reading habit is cultivated when the matter in a book touches the emotions and imaginations and reason of the reader.

Production Material

As a basis of producing localised material used such as collection and recording of Folk Tales, Folk Song Ballads, proverbs, jokes, riddles in common use in oral culture, transcribing in the script to be used for local language as well as standard language. Oral tradition has always provided the basis for the preparation of small books, which can be quickly read by the Neo-Literates, since they are conversant with the content through sense of achievement

in reading, they can proceed with enough self confidence to tackle other types of reading-material.

Orality

The adult operating in the oral mode, live in a State of Functional Orality. Orality is as much a cultural choice as literacy. The adults know the use of oral language meaningfully.

The process of literacy must continue interaction, between the orality and acquisition of reading and writing, and between the language experience and their views about world. Teaching-learning material can capture the imagination and interest of the adult-learner only if she/he makes her/him aware of the environment.

In olden ages the man has been getting the knowledge through oral language only. The knowledge of even Vedas has been transmitted from Gurus to Disciples through oral discourse only. The folk literature is recounted when people gather together in the evening to relax. Description of human situations and emotions are common in ballads, lays, wedding songs and lullabies.

Literacy

Literacy is not omniscience. It is not to be equated with mere learning of the alphabet. Reading-writing ability of alphabet should be accompanied by a process of understanding. The latter comes out of access to the capacity to co-relate the characteristics of human-being to the life situation and reasoning, thinking and perception.

It has already been considered and posed that the literacy (reading+writing) should lead not only to elementary general-knowledge but to training for work, more production and greater understanding of environment.

Literacy becomes a tool of :—

       (a) Communication and learning.

       (b) Acquiring and sharing of knowledge and information.

       (c) Understanding oneself.

       (d) Identifying one's strength and weakness.

       (e) An intelligent participation in the community life.

       (f) Sensitivity to human beings, direction and orientation to life and would make it better, higher, and nobler.

Own-Tone

Own-tone means change of own personality, own behaviour and own existence by own efforts based on self learning. The entire change means a personality change, its instincts, habits, interests, traits, etc., for the betterment of life. The literacy is pivotal component of this whole machinery. The acquired knowledge must be utilised into better dealing with the surrounding world.

It has been observed that the beings automatically learn from the Nature. They adjust, convert, change and modify themselves according to natural disposal. Whatever they learn from the Nature, that reflects on their behaviour, dealing and relation with the world. This own-tone is the only process which compels the man to think over on development and betterment.

In folk-literature—tales from the Puranas and epics, folk songs, folk plays, proverbs, fables, parables, jokes, puzzles, riddles etc., are main factors caused to liveliness of old traditions and customs of human life. The idea is that through this own-tone programme based on folk-literature, the adult, is to be literate. The folk lore already prevails in adults discourse.

The civilisation, culture, public interests, needs, emotions, habits, behaviour, history of the whole mankind, progress and downfall, socio-economic status of the public etc., are contained in folk literature. But the adults are not much aware and conscious about this valuable asset and costliest gem. But adult suddenly knows about this gem that it was of his only which hidden as yet, he becomes surprised and stimulated to know more and motivated to learn something out of it. This action is done by Own-Tone programme. We have made some efforts to literate the adults through this modified, simplified and renewed aspects of folk-literature. Though this Own-Tone is experimental programme.

This own-tone programme has some peculiar characteristics, such as—
(i) The listening, selection and reconstruction of the folk-lore at the level of Chaupal, adults meeting surrounded by fire at the evening time, or story-teller's meeting.

(ii) The collected and selected folk-lore has been joint into teaching-learning material.

(iii) The adult learners and youth of that particular region were involved on the preparation of teaching-learning material from beginning to the end.

We have collected and studied the folk-literature from Avadh and Kumaon region of Uttar Pradesh under this own-tone programme and compiled it

in basic teaching-learning material into standard language in such a manner that the originality of folk-concept should not be abolished.

I would like to mention some examples of folk literature which are very useful to the learners :—

(A) FOLK SONG (AVADHI)

Oh, bhaiya more hamka piyari lete aana,
Yahan sasu mori bari mizazin,
Cherua nahin charhati hain.
Oh, bhaiya more amma ko lete aana.
Yahan Jiji mori bari mizazin
Piyari nahin pinhati hain.
Oh, bhaiya more bhabhi ko lete aana.
Yahan nanad mori bari mizazin.
Kajra nahin lagati hain.
Oh, bhaiya more bahna ko lete aana.
Yahan dewar more bare mizazi
Bansi nahin bajate hain.
Oh, bhaiya more bansi bajane chale aana.

This song is called 'SOHAR'. It is normally sung on the occasion of birth of son. In this song, the sister has got a son, at her husband's house and on this happiest occasion the things have not been given to her.

Cherua by mother-in-law, *Piyari* by jethani, *Kajal* by Sister-in-law. Devar (husband's younger brother) did not blow the flute. Hence sister requested to her brother in her letter that the brother should reach to his sister with mother, sister etc., to celebrate the ceremony.

What is behind the song ? Why mother-in-law, sister-in-law etc., have not celebrated the ceremony ? Why they are angry ? I think either the sister has more children or her dealing with family members is not better. If it is so, why child should suffer ? The question is not about celebrating the birth ceremony or performing of their duties, but the question is of child care, maternity care. One must consider about small and happy family, so that the atmosphere of family could be cheerful, co-operative and prosperous.

Teaching Points

There are some valuable things hidden in this song : *Cherua* cherua is a compound of four things—peeper, termeric, cumin and dry ginger. These

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four things mixed with boiled water into a *Ghara* kept in labour-room for child and mother both. It is very hygenic, medicated, sterlised, nutritive, anti-diseased and anti-biotic.

Piyari : It is a saree dyed with termeric and flower's essence called **TESU** colour. It is also anti-biotic, hygenic.

Kajal : It is also an eye ointment used for children daily for eye-care.

Flute : Blowing flute is a symbol of happiness on the occasion of birth of son. Moreover it has scientific view also behind this. The sound of musical instruments makes the child awared. It helps in physical development even. The doctors intentionally make the child to weep in the hospitals for this purpose only.

Though the song is traditional and cultural values based but it has some valuable teaching points The consciousness about mother-child care, health, hygiene and sanitation, medicines, importance of small family, better-dealing with the family members, awareness, dutifulness, cultural heritage, and so many other aspects of human-life can be taught to the neo-learners through this song.

I would also like to mention one more *Kumaoni Song*, which has greater teaching values

जनों घरों होलो श्रो दाना घरम,
तनों घरों जाली श्रावा देवी लछिमा ।
जनों घरों मांझा होलो हंसन पुरुष,
तनों घरों जाए देवी तुम लछिमा ।
जनों घरों मांझा होली सुलछिड़ा नारी,
जनों घरों मांझा होली दूध दिणी गाय,
तनों घरों मांझा जाली देवी लछिमा ।
जनों घरों में दान न्हैंती घरम न्हैंती,
तनों घरों में जाली बैणा संझना ।
जनों घरों सदा भूठी सदा चोरी हुन्छ
तनों घरों में जाली बैणा संझना ।

Meaning of Song : Where there is charity, service, good deeds and cheerful man, the Goddess Laxmi will go thereby only. Where there is a housewife having better qualities, who cooks well, maintains house neat and clean, cares children and other family members and well literate, the Goddess Laxmi will go in that house only. But where there are liers, thieves, men of bad qualities and illiterates, the Evening (darkness) will go thereby only.

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This song directly teaches an adult the hardworking, literacy, awareness and many social and moral values, through which he may develop progress and may have the sense of looking-forward.

More or the less the adults are already very cautious and awared of these things. They have deep knowledge of such things but they cannot read and write. Therefore for the literacy part we can choose some key-words for teaching units of our Primers based on IPCL (Improved Pace and Content Of Learning). In this technopedagogical inputs, which include rapid literacy, learning methods and teaching aids. There are three levels of basic literacy incorporated into three primers with a detachable certificates indicating the level of literacy attained. The primers are based on the theory of programmed learning. For example, I can take the key word—"KAJRA" out of Awadhi Song and make the complete teaching-lesson.

Key word—

कजरा

Teaching Units—

क ज रा

Built words—

क   कर

ज   जर

र   रज   रजक

ा   राजा काज कारा राज

कारज जाकर जरा करजा

Reading exercise—

कर ।

काज कर ।

राजा का काज कर ।

कारा कर ।

कजरा कारा कर ।

This कजरा unit will be a lesson with lively and attractive illustrations. It is based on the content area of child care and health. It may be very effective for rapid and functional literacy. It is an analytical method. It is from word or sentence to the letter not from 'letter to word', because the words are already known to the adults. For rapid learning point of view, this analytical method is best. It is based on known to unknown method, which is very effective.

We have prepared eight Primers region based for the whole Uttar Pradesh and we are certainly achieving the Literacy goal successfully through this impressive effort.

Suggestions for the Seminar

1. The papers on orality and literacy should be graded on the basis of its importance and functionality. The gradation of its papers may be done by the National Literacy Mission Authority.

2. Some of the papers purely are related with the literacy, case-studies, monitoring, evaluation, preparation of teaching-learning materials and their training should be distributed to all State Resource Centres of all states, Directorate of Adult Education, Directorate of Non-formal Education, Universities, Colleges, Voluntary agencies and all concerning bodies of literacy campaign in all over India. For the purpose of consultation, refering, and faster imparting of literacy in their respective regions.

3. The papers pertaining to the linguistic aspects should be reviewed, simplified and reconsidered. They should also be sent to the Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi, for consultation on the preparation of language norms, helping in preparation of learning material.

4. The valuable and meaningful papers from each point of view should be printed in book for the ready reference for literacy functionaries.

5. The final report of the seminar, say the gist of the papers and the aim and objectives of the seminar should be published in the Journals of NLM and Directorate of Adult Education, New Delhi. A copy of final report of the seminar should be made available to all the members, who participated in the above said seminar.

6. If there is the monetary problem regarding distribution of the report, all the SRCs of India can be asked to pay the cost by the order of Director-General, NLM.

7. The evaluation and assessment of the above said seminar should be done by the competent and literacy concerned authorities and according to the findings after evaluation, such type of seminar should or should not be repeated in future,

B.B. Mohanty

Orality and Literacy : Some Communication Dimensions

The basis of language is not what one writes, but what one pronounces. As Eric Havelock put at : "The attempt to get behind the text—Sanskrit or otherwise—the roots as written to analyse the sounds of a language, and as a result you had a completely new science in which the linguistic elements, not the written ones, of any given language could be subject to analysis. That again is woven into the oral/literate problem obviously. What it did call attention to was the fact that the basis of language is not writing; it's acoustics. And the structure of language is acoustic; it is not even Choms-

kian, it is acoustic. It goes back to the relationship between sounds, not meanings. Meaning is derived from sound, but it's sounds''.

Any act of reading is an act of recollection. An orally formed word is put in a visual form · The act of reading is the first instrument that could be taught to primary school children. Reading skill, based on the act of recollection, is best mastered only when the word or words drilled orginate from the mother tongue of the learner. Therefore orality promotes literacy.

Roy Harris says that writing as a concept has undergone a remarkable transformation in the Western intellectual world over the past three decades. It is no longer a mere substitute for speech. It is also not taken as a useful way of preserving and transmitting knowledge. However, writing is as active and powerful cultural agency in its own right. He further says : "What distinguishes the literate from the preliterate society is no longer seen as being the possession of a superior communications technology which has overcome the intrinsic limitations of the spoken word and makes it possible to accumulate records and accounts ad infinitum. These advantages, long recognised within the traditional view of writing, now tend to be regarded as merely incidental and external. According to the modern view, the essential innovation which writing brings is not a new mode of exchanging and storing information but a new reality''.

Memory

There is another view which establishes that the mental difference between literacy and non-literacy has to do with memory. Oral cultures are constantly faced with the problem of handing down from generation to generation social and cultural wisdom which would otherwise be forgotten. In literate cultures this mnemonic burden need not be imposed on themselves, and they would be free to use their collective minds in other ways. In short, writing was the technology which freed the human mind from this burden of recurrent oral repetition. The validity of this theory begins to say when one questions the contention that literacy broadens the mind. To quote Roy Harris again, "Like all new technologies, writing was a mixed blessing in human history. In many respects, literacy can narrow the mind just as easily as broaden it. Furthermore as Socrates was aware, it can be argued that the effect of reliance on writing is not to liberate 'psychological space' but merely to weaken the memory. In addition, writing itself imposes 'storage requirements' on the mind. Learning one's

letters is not a simple matter of familiarizing oneself with a couple of dozen arbitrary shapes".

There is a Swahili proverb which says : "The mouth is the home of words". Andreas Fugelsang and Dale Chandler, two literacy experts, write that in a literacy centre, when Lute Mirla's name was writtten on the blackboard and was read aloud to her, she responded by opening her mouth with a petrified look in her eyes. While working in adult education projects in Africa and elsewhere, they have observed on many occasions such initial reactions of terrified disbelief in the written word. According to them, "Writing is such a matter of course to literates that we seem incapable of understanding how fundamentally it affects people's perception of reality. In oral societies, the mouth is the home of words and the soul inhabits the breath. Meaning emanates from a human face and not from a blackboard or a sheet of paper, "Experience of working in Third World villages has shown that people who cannot read and write often have exceptional memory. They can render with great accuracy detailed stories, particular events or circumstances and complicated procedures for action. They are capable of translating oral information into action or reproducing it verbatim. Names of several hundred trees and bushes are known to them and they can describe their different uses in detail. The role of the collective memory of the oral culture has not been properly understood and appreciated. The individual memory in an oral society does not play the predominant role; it is the interplay of many minds which is responsible for the enhancement of accuracy and detail.

Information System

The oral community functions as an information system in which storage and retrieval of data is highly efficient. It has been observed in several cases that traditional narratives recorded one hundred years ago or even earlier are remarkable similar to those recorded quite recently. The collective memory and decision making processes of oral societies are capabilities which can deal effectively with a variety of developmental issues. According to Andreas Fugelsang and Dale Chandler. "The strength of an oral society lies in its power of observation and the accumulation of experiential knowledge about the natural environment. This knowledge is critical to its survival. It encompasses not only technical or practical knowledge but also psychological insight and social wisdom. An oral culture is deeply civilised in the best sense of the word. The information acquired about nature is used not to control it implacably or transform it fundamentally but to adapt the society's relationship to nature. Premised on this attitude,

the collective memory works consensually, i.e. it processes information by reducing cognitive dissonance. As Maasai elders say, 'Meishaa elukunya nabro enageno' : one head cannot hold all wisdom. When it concerns intellectual capacity, the group is sovereign to the individual."

In view of the above considerations in mind, it is necessary to take a fresh look at the western approach to literacy, which largely focuses on individual performance rather than on a deepening of the collective memory of a group. Both Andreas Fuselsang and Dale Chandler seem to believe that "immediately when a person acquires literacy, her or his memory capacity degenerates drastically. When you can take notes or retrieve information from a book, it is not necessary to remember. The literate individual is no longer vitally related to the community and fails to trust its joint insights and wisdom. The literate community is no longer a community of shared interests. More aptly it is a group of individualists."

There is a sheer variety and richness of local literacies in different parts of the world. The western-oriented and narrow view of what literacy is, a model based upon the particular uses and associations of literacy in recent European and North American history gives no scope to the local literacies stated above. The cultural complexity of the local literacies has to be appreciated and taken into account. The western alphabetic traditional models of literacy are considered superior to other varieties of literacy practice using indigenous scripts, which have been referred to as restricted or backward. Ironically, it is the culturefree quality of the literacy that should justify the intervention of literacy workers.

Ruth Finnegan, an anthropologist working in Africa, has discovered that there was no "Great Divide" between orality and literay, as was assumed earlier, because all of the mental skills and operations attributed to literacy by previous scholars were distinctly present in oral discourses. The view that oral culture is irrelevant or even hostile to the acquisition of literacy is based on a fallacy. Writing is a process of direct communication having features similar to those traditionally associated with oral interaction. According to Brian Street, "This movement is also associated with the shift in theory to the recognition of 'mix' of oral/literate skills rather than the viewing of literacy and orality as separate skills. In daily life, after all, the written word is usually embedded in an oral context; people speak around it, write things down, read and speak again. x x x A mixed

reportoire of speech-and-literacy, where in a sense the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, is frequently required by modern work situations and the implications for classroom practice and for worldwide literacy campaigns are clearly considerable."

Illiteracy and underdevelopment

The map of illiteracy coincides with that of underdevelopment. Illiteracy is, in fact, both the cause and effect of underdevelopment; and its eradication, by adding written culture to oral culture facilitates the transition from a subsistence economy to a market economy and the exploitation of resources. Illiteracy arrests development, and the least developed countries in the world are also those with the highest illiteracy rate. To quote a recent Unesco document, "Not even the industrialised countries are immune—they are suffering from a progressive decline in literacy. In spite of a fall in the illiteracy rate worldwide, the number of illiterates in the world continues to grow. If present trends persist, it will approach the 1,000 million mark before the end of the century. The Indian scenario is reflected in the document entitled 'National Literacy Mission' as follows : "Number of illiterates in the age-group 15-35 increased from 91 million in 1951 to 110 million in 1981. On the basis of trend analysis, the number of illiterates in the age-group is likely to go up to 116 million by 1991 and decline to 110 million by 2001 AD." The 1991 census would perhaps show a literacy rate higher than 36.23 per cent for India, but one cannot hide the fact that it has the largest population of illiterates in the world.

Universal literacy should be our goal, for the accomplishment of which, it requires coordinated efforts towards primary education and adult education programmes. As mentioned in 'The World of Literacy : policy, research and action', a study by the International Development Research Centre, Canada, "The vast numbers of unschooled children and the almost equal numbers who drop out of primary schools before attaining even minimum skills of written communication provide little support for the hopes of some ministries of education that illiteracy will be cured by a national cumpulsory education act. Adult education literature generally asserts that educated households and educated parents encourage their children to stay in school, and school attendance statistics for children of schooled or literate parents are higher than for children of families without formal education." Tanzania had a mass literacy campaign in 1971 and by 1975, the adult literacy rate had increased from 25 per cent to about 60 per cent. It had another side effect. The literate parents pressured the Government to expand primary education. By November 1977, there were enough

schools to accommodate every child in the country. Tanzania, having a president like Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, had the political will to do it. Unesco's emphasis on Education for All goes to solve the schooling versus literacy instruction dilemma. The Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL) is a component of Unesco's major programme 'Education for All'. APPEAL "is designed to help ensure that no one is left illiterate and uneducated, and that countries are provided the support needed to educate the new entrants (the children), and adult illiterates. Viewed in this way, the target groups for this programme are the children, and the youth and adult illiterates." The World Conference on Education for All, held at Jomtien, Thailand, in March this year, proclaims in the Article-5 of the World Declaration on Education for All as follows :

"The diversity, complexity and challenging nature of basic learning needs of children, youth and adults necessitates broadening and constantly redefining the scope of basic education to include the following components :

—Learning begins at birth

—The main delivery system for the basic education of children outside the family is primary schooling.

—The basic learning needs of youth and adults are diverse and should be met through a variety of delivery system.

—All available instruments and channels of information, communications, and social action could be used to help convey essential knowledge and inform and educate people on social issues."

The International Commission on the Development of Education, constituted by Unesco in 1971, had observed in their report entitled 'Learning to Be—the world of education today and tomorrow' : "Every individual must be in a position to keep learning throughout life. The idea of lifelong education is the keystone of the learning society." And their first recommendation was : "We propose lifelong education as the master concept for education policies in the years to come for both developing and developed countries." Mahatma Gandhi's Nai Talim or Basic Education was designed to create a learning society to be sustained through lifelong education.

In the chapter on Adult Education of a Working Paper entitled 'Education for All by 2000—Indian Perspective', prepared by the National Institute of Edacational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, it is stated that "for achievement of a target of 80 million persons during 1990-95, it would be

necessary to set a target of about 20 million per year. Perhaps the achievement in 1990-91 would be 15 million or even less, but as the new programme pick up, it would be 20 million, and, perhaps, somewhat more during the close of the quinquennium for the achievement of a target of this size, we would need to adopt three distinct approaches : (1) centre-based approach (2) volunteer-based approach (3) campaign approach." The centre-based approach is a structured one and is associated with the problem of attendance by learners during fixed hours, whereas the volunteer-based approach is not structured and suits the learner's convenience and pace of learning. In many mass literacy campaigns organised in the Third World, the volunteer-based approach was utilised. Bhola characterizes the Cuban literacy campaign as a campaign of courage and a campaign of innovation. He writes : "Fiedel Castro closed all schools for a year to send all the 13 year olds and those older-boys and girls—and their teachers to go to teach peasants. This army of students that went into the rural areas and to the mountains, stayed in the homes of the illiterates, teaching small groups of two to three adults. This strategy not only gave the campaign the manpower it needed, it had far reaching educational and social implications. The students acquired a new class consciousness; the girls among them learned a new identity—an important first step towards the liberation of women in Cuba; and years later, these same boys and girls supplied the nation with the developmental manpower as they come to fulfill positions of party cadres, administrators, technicians and teachers."

In the Indian situation, we have to have a multiplicity of approaches. And the choice of an approach in a specific situation determines the curriculum design, types of materials and teaching methods. All these factors are linked with learner motivation. As Krishna Kumar has observed : "A realistic curriculum for adult literacy cannot be developed without acknowledging the presence of deep-rooted injustice and conflict in rural society. How can a programme that hides so significant an aspect of the life of poor peasant and the landless capture their imagination? Literacy classes have a poor turn-out rate because the curriculum taught in these classes does not relate to the life of the learners as it is—what it reflects is an artificial fantasy world which proclaims the success of the prevailing order." As Paulo Freire has observed, the pedagogy of the oppressed "is a task for radicals; it cannot be carried out by sectarians". Conscientization is the sole basis of his educational process.

Communication Channel

Orality and literacy are communication issues and they perform the communication functions in society Both orality and literacy have language as their channel of communication, and this language has to be the langu-

which is the true cultural repository of the people. Some of the State Resource Centres for Adult Education had made considerable progrerss in this direation when the National Adult Education Programme was on. They had produced materials that were easy to read, relevant to learners' lives and progressively built reading and writing skills. The primer 'Janile Jiniba', the monthly bulletin 'Halchal' and the wall newspaper Tundabaida' produced by the State Resource Centre for Adult Education, Angul, Orissa, were the examples of such materials developed on the basis of learning theories and communication theories. Some SRCs like the SRC, Bihar, SRC, Maharashtra and SRC, Rajasthan, are continuing to produce good materials.

IPCL

The National Literacy Mission, with a view to improve the ongoing programmes, systematically introduces technopedagogical inputs, which include rapid literacy learning methods and teaching-learning aids. The Improved Pace and Content of Learning (IPCL) is one such input, which presupposes certain actions for its success. The Directorate of Adult Education, Government of India, identifies these actions as creation of an atmosphere conducive to literacy promotion and learning, proper identification of functionaries and their training, adequate logistic support and most importantly, a drastic change in the methodology and design of materials preparation. The literacy norms given in the NLM document have been divided into three parts denoting three levels of basic literacy, "incorporated into three primers with a detachable certificate indicating the level of literacy attained." The design and development of the IPCL primers are based on the theory of Programmed Learning. No problem is foreseen in using IPCL in a bilingual strategy. Sarah Gudschinsky says: "There are three major elements in a person's transition to reading and using a second language. First he must have basic reading skills in his own language. His reading instruction should preferably include basic teaching about what the world is like in order to enlarge his world view. He needs an introduction to new areas of thought to help him understand twentieth-century life. Second, he must be carefully drilled in the phonetics of the second language, especially in the proper pronunciation of unfamiliar sounds or combination of sounds. He should strive for a fairly high standard in this regard to avoid falling into the habit of using only vernacular phonemes when attempting to speak the foreign language. Such attention to phonetic accuracy will help to ensure that he is understood by people outside his own area. The third element is control of enough of the grammar and vocabulary so that he can understand and be understood." In short, according to the above mentioned approach, the learner masters the basic skills before he moves on to transition materials. The NLM document, while describing the

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prescribed levels in 3 R's, is silent about 'the innovations to be used in a bilingual strategy. An urgent policy decision is necessary in the matter.

Innovations

Materials development is a critical input to the success of any literacy programme particularly in the context of orality and literacy. It is a collective and collaborative endeavour of experts in linguistics, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy, adult literacy, evaluation and communication. Best training in materials development and production can be imparted through special workshops in which the experts actually participate, so that one appreciates the disciplines of others and learns from the same in actual job situations. There has been an innovative development in this area. Marilyn Gillespie writes that the most effective reading materials can be those literacy students produce themselves. According to her, "Writing and publishing by adult beginning readers is a grassroots movement. It has originated primarily in small, community based programmes. Many kinds of writing exist. For some programmes, writing consists of training students dictate stories that then become the substance of reading exercises. In others reluctant writers start by using dialogue journals, a way of 'talking on paper', that allows students to make the transition from oral to written language by exchanging private notes or letters with a teacher or fellow student". Her recent experience in Massachusetts, USA, establishes "a low-cost, self-sustaining and empowering approach to producing literacy and post-literacy materials that new readers want to read," A.T. Mosher, when he was the Principal of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Naini, had used a similar approach many years ago in educating the local farmers about improved agricultural practices. Translation of oral literacy texts in Africa is a major research project of Professor Wilhelm Mohlig, who teaches at the Institute of African Studies, University of Cologne. As far as India is concerned, for working in this area, the sky is the limit. Unless we make a beginning in a big way, we run the risk of a vanishing oral tradition and culture in the wake up of a consumerist culture.

Training of instructors and other personnel has been a weakness in our adult education programme. In personnel management considerable importance is given to proper recruitment of staff possessing the necessary qualifications and aptitudes for the job, so that they can be trained effectively. In the field of adult education, selection of personnel on a scientific basis has not so far been attempted. There is a problem in identifying suitable instructors because of the low rate of honorarium attached to the position. The instructor has to be from the local area, in the context of orality and literacy, and his training should be of paramount importance. He has to be trained in phases, the first being an institutional programme and the following ones to be organised on the spot. His trainers, that is,

the superviser and the project officer should be sensitive and trained trainers, and their training should be the responsibility of experienced trainers at the State Resource Centres and National Resource Centre. Training is a continuous affair. Now it is possible to impart training to a vast army of literacy personnel through distance education on a regular basis. Training of instructors should use the method of micro-teaching with the help of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV).

Motivation has been the central issue in literacy. And the entire NLM has been designed to face this challenge. Literacy in the spoken language has the advantage of going some way towards solving the fundamental teaching difficulties of aiding motivation. Motivation of the instructor is as important as the motivation of the learner. The literacy methodology, learning materials, instructional delivery systems and media support to the programme contribute towards motivation. The electronic media of communication through their centralised structure, do not seem to have recognised the importance of orality. For example, the news bulletins in Oriya, broadcast from Delhi, and relayed by Cuttack, Sambalbur and Jeypore every morning and evening are not fully understood in the villages in Orissa, because of the type of Oriya used in the bulletins. This is more or less the situation as far as news bulletins in other languages are concerned. It is a fundamental principle of development communication that the message has to be situation and culture specific. If people have to be motivated for literacy, the message of motivation has to be in their language and the visual symbols used in the message have to be within the visual literacy comprehension of the people. Paule Freire goes a step further. He says that "education must help learners move to a higher, critical state of awareness, where they learn how to think for themselves, analyze how they are shaped by larger social forces and decide how they can control their relationship with those forces rather than be controlled by them." In the teaching methodology used by him, a generative word like FAVELA (meaning slum) from a syllabic language is decomposed and new words are formed from it. And the generative word initiates dialogues and discussions among the learners and puts the idea to a critical analysis. In this methodology, literacy becomes a by-product, and is promoted by orality. Motivation is the central issue in literacy, but orality is the central issue in motivation.

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The Indian Adult Education Association founded in 1939, aims at improving the quality of life through education visualized as a continuous and life long process. It directs its efforts towards accelerating adult education a process, a programme and a movement.

The Association co-ordinates the activities of various agencies—Governmental and voluntary, national and international—engaged in similar pursuits. It organises conferences and seminars and undertakes surveys and research projects; it endeavours to up-date and sharpen the awareness of its members by bringing to them from all over the world expert views on and experiences in, adult education. In pursuit of the policy, the Association has instituted the Nehru Literacy Award and the Tagore Literacy Award for Women's Literacy for outstanding contribution to the promotion of adult education in the country. It has also instituted the Dr. Zakir Husain Memorial Lecture, which is delivered every year by an educationist of repute and eminence.

The Association has brought out many publications on themes relating to adult education, including the Hindi-editions of several UNESCO publications. It brings out the Indian Journal of Adult Education, Proudh Shiksha, Jago aur Jagao and IAEA Newsletter.

The Association acts as the Indian arm of the International Council for Adult Education, International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations and the Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education. Its membership is open to all individuals and institutions who believe in the aims and objectives of the Association.

Its headquarters is located in Shafiq Memorial at 17-B, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-110002.

L. Halimane

The Autonomy of Oral Culture over Written Culture

Our concern and predicaments regarding literacy since the ages seem to be attaining an icon structure and shape. Worship Godess Saraswati as the embodiment of Education, awareness and creativity. But the interesting thing is that she represent both orality and literacy. It is this indivisible concept of 'Vidya' deluded the striking differences between 'Vaak' and 'Lipi' in the past. The audiolity of the speech and the visuality of the script never stood in the sharp contrast before. The present paper tries to explore, why a situation arose to that extent that only orality has gained the momentum and not the literacy even in the modern time.