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ABSTRACT

Data on the participants from university adult education institutions in Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania are examined in order to understand how existing university adult education programs strengthen differences between the educated and the uneducated. Not only does the gap between the two groups grow larger, but the rate at which this gap widens is increasing. For each of the programs studied, three types of information have been examined: environmental, educational, and occupational. The choice of Ghana, Uganda, and Tanzania reflects availability of data rather than an effort to select for geographical or political reasons. One assumption that is made is that decreasing the gap between the educated and the uneducated is desirable both in terms of social equality and permanent development. (CK)

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University adult education in most African Universities has grown out of the extra-mural traditions of British universities. British extra-mural departments have been concerned with the provision of studies which generally mirror the interests of residential students and staff. Although in Africa many of the extra-mural departments have changed their names to that of Institutes or Centres of Adult Education, their heritage and position as extra-mural departments remains strong. In some the requirements for enrolment may be lower than in others, in some a new range of courses may have been introduced, but if the institutions are examined closely, it would be clear that the courses are still of a generally academic nature and the participants of a relatively high educational background. In many of the adult education programmes the levels of both the courses and the participants are higher than in British universities, when compared to the respective population. When commenting on the development of university adult education programmes, Huberman and Bertelsen noted that, "The implication is that part-time or informal (adult education) programmes are most acceptable when they serve a clientele with the same academic interests as full-time students and staff."¹

Does this mean that extra-mural education as practised in Britain is not useful? Does this mean that the African University adult education which models itself on these institutions serves no function? Both the British and the African models serve useful ends, but one must look carefully at the difference between the two societies before accepting a form of university adult education that is closely patterned on western models.

In Britain or the United States, university extra-mural education but one of a very large array of programmes both formal and informal which cater to adults at all levels of educational development.



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Does this mean that extra-mural education as practised in Britain is not useful? Does this mean that the African University adult education which models itself on these institutions serves no function? Both the British and the African models serve useful ends, but one must look carefully at the difference between the two societies before accepting a form of university adult education that is closely patterned on western models.

In Britain or the United States, university extra-mural education is but one of a very large array of programmes both formal and informal which cater to adults at all levels of educational development. The general educational and economic level is high enough so that the gaps between the educated and the uneducated is small when compared with African nations. National resources are sufficient so as to allow more experimentation, specialisation in adult education. If university adult education in Britain caters for the interests of a generally higher educated group of people, there are other institutions which cater for those with less lofty educational achievements.

¹ Huberman, Michael and Paul Bertelsen. Renovation in Higher Education: The Dynamics of Interaction Between the University and Adult Education. Second World Conference of University Adult Education paper. Montreal, 1970.

In all African nations, the general educational level is low. There is a small group of people who have reached the secondary and university level, but the vast majority of individuals have at best a few years of primary schooling. The gap between the educated and the uneducated is enormous. The rewards for the educated are very high salaries, good housing, educational advantages for their children, and better diets for all members of the family. If university adult education serves the high levels of society, other alternatives must be available for the rest of the population.

In most African nations a wide array of adult education programmes for all levels of education and all parts of the country does not exist. In many countries university adult education may be one of few institutions involved in the general education of adults. National resources are scarce and general recognition of the need for broad spectrum adult education programmes has been slow. In the face of a scarcity of both programmes and resources, the programmes which do exist need to be examined with great care. We must be aware of exactly what effect our programmes have or might possibly have on development.

There are some authors who dismiss university adult education as of little use to any form of development in Africa. There may even be those who feel that academically based adult education is in the long run a disservice to national development. The point of this paper is not to support either of the above statements. It is the belief of the author that university adult education does have a very important role to play in the development of nations. But the role of university adult education can be strengthened only if the existing situation is examined openly and with a mental flexibility. Resistance to change is fatal in all fields, adult education is no exception.

In this paper, the author has examined data on the participants from university adult education institutions in Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania. Through the examination of this information, it is hoped that it will be possible to understand how existing university adult education programmes strengthen the existing differences between the educated and the uneducated.

Not only does the gap between the two groups grow larger, but the rate at which this gap widens is increasing. For each of the programmes studied, three types of information have been examined: environmental, educational and occupational. The choice of Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania

reflects availability of data rather than an effort to select for geographical or political reasons.² So as not to appear to be unfair to those organisations and individuals that have had done such good jobs in analysing their participants, it is felt that data from other universities would have shown the same trends. One assumption which the author consciously makes is that decreasing the gap between the educated and the uneducated is desirable both in terms of social equality and in terms of permanent development.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

The most logical place to begin looking at students of university adult education programmes is with environmental factors apart from education and occupation. What kinds of backgrounds do these students have? Do they represent a cross section of the nation in terms of parents' education or geographical distribution?

Most of the participants come from sections of the country which are already urbanised or are at least part of what has been called the 'modernizing sector'. In Tanzania for example, "Only $\frac{1}{3}$ (24.3) of Africans interviewed were brought up in isolated rural environments."³ Many of the participants of these programmes may be migrants from outside of the largest urban centres, but the areas from which they come are often isolated from everyday rural existence. In a system where boarding schools and missions have provided the background for educational development, individuals leave their villages at an early age and enter the world of electricity, cinemas and western education. "Such schools are often enclaves set in stark contrast to their surrounding traditional areas."⁴ In many cases the programmes are only offered in urban areas, so that it is rare that someone from outside of this urban background has a chance for those kinds of adult education opportunities.

Further information shows that these students come from families whose educational achievements have been much higher than that of the population at large. Prewitt said that Ugandan extra-rural students,

² Note on Data: The information from Tanzania is from 1967, a recent check however shows that the same patterns persist. The Uganda information is from 1966 and 68. Ghana is 68-69.

³ Snyder M.C. The Role of the Institute of Adult Education in The Process of Development in Tanzania. Draft dissertation for Ph.D. University of Dar es Salaam, 1970. p. 155.

⁴ Snyder. p. 155

"tend to come from families who have themselves had educational advantages."⁵ This information is supported in Ghana by statistics which show that 35% of the fathers of the O level students in workers colleges and 27% of fathers of all adult studies students have completed middle school education or higher⁶. This is a very high figure when compared with the population in general. This is in rather sharp contrast with 30% of the Tanzanian adult learners who come from a home where the father had not had any formal education. But in Tanzania where nearly all of the students in formal education programmes are first generation students, it is interesting to note that, 92% of the regular students come from families where all siblings also have at least as much education as do the adult students themselves.⁷

One has a situation existing whereby the offspring of families which already have comparatively high educational levels are receiving more of the benefits from the educational system than those with a less fortunate background. It may be that the ability to pay fees for studies enters into the picture to further distort the equality of educational opportunities. Obviously those families with high cash income are going to be able to send their children to schools at the expense of the vast majority of people with more limited means. The situation is more complex than merely that of one person who had the opportunity for formal education and another who does not. This will be the situation for many years in all developing countries. But when the person who has the educational opportunity comes from a segment of the population that already is better off the gap between the educated man and his family and the uneducated man and his family does not remain constant, but grows at an increasingly faster rate.

EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

Having shown that the participants come from a generally more modern higher educated environment, it is interesting to see what educational patterns they have adopted. The following table is published.

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EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

Having shown that the participants come from a generally more modern higher educated environment, it is interesting to see what educational patterns they themselves have established.

In Tanzania, 79% of the participants interviewed had Form I secondary education or higher. If the European segment of the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) student population (20%) were included, the

5 Prewitt, Kenneth. Uganda: Extra-rural Students and Political Development. Occasional Paper No. 1. Makerere Adult Studies Centre 1966, p. 4.

6 Adult Learning Research Unit. Adult Education on Ghana: Survey 1968 - 69. Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana 1970. p. 77

7 Snyder. p. 111.

figures would be much higher. In Uganda 91% of the students had junior secondary education or higher.⁸ As, Prewitt pointed out, "The educational level places this group among the two or three per cent best educated in the country"⁹ The Ghana figures show that nearly all of the students in the various programmes conducted by the university adult education section were middle school graduates or higher.¹⁰ It is probable that middle school graduation was an educational qualification for admission to the Ghana programme.

If these students come from a privileged background, they have gone beyond even these beginnings. It is not an unusual pattern for the sons of the educated to be educated in any society, and these participants follow this pattern. For Africa, the consequences are more severe. In European societies where the majority have reached fairly high levels of education, the gaps between the educated and the least educated are comparatively small. In Africa, where education is a scarce commodity for many people, the differences are sufficient to create an educational elite.

For many of these adults their participation in the courses of the Institutes or Centres of Adult Education is but one way which they are using to further their education. In Tanzania 1 out of every 2 students has taken adult studies outside of the Institute of Adult Education.¹¹ 60% of the Tanzanian participants were also in preparation for examinations external to the university programmes. In Uganda the number of students sitting for other exams runs as high as 96%.¹² The Ghanaian programme is designed to prepare adults for "O" level of "A" level exams, and 89.5% of the more than 4,500 participants are in courses which have these examinations as the direct purposes.

Both the fact that adult students are studying in several places and the fact that they are also studying for external examinations are factors which increase the gap between segments of the population. In the first case, a situation exists where a comparably highly educated

⁸ Kwesiga, Jassy B. Psyching Class Reconsidered. Occasional Paper No. 2 Makerere adult studies centre. 1968. p.6

⁹ Prewitt. p.3

¹⁰ Adult Learning Research Unit. Chapter two.

¹¹ Snyder. p. 191.

¹² Williams, W.T. Attitudes to Education Among Extra-mural Students in Uganda. Occasional Paper No.2 Makerere Adult Studies Centre 1966. p.3.

person is making use of more than one source of education in order to further his educational or occupational objectives. In a situation of scarce educational resources, the use of two educational institutions to educate an already educated individual may create long-range problems.

The fact that so many of the adult education students are also sitting for external exams create disparity. The case of Ghana must be examined separately, since the purpose of a large part of the university adult education is the preparation of adults for secondary level examinations. In Tanzania, where the expressed purpose of the Institute of Adult Education's programmes is the provision of education for improving individual performance in present jobs, the fact that so many students are sitting for exams needs to be examined differently. The adult education student already has a disproportionate chance at passing the exams due to their higher educational levels and environmental factors. In order to improve these chances they register for courses in the Institute often in the same subject for which they intend to sit. In such cases, adult education becomes an inexpensive tutor for those who are already in better positions to pass such examinations.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND

To further define the characteristics of the adult learners in these institutions, occupational patterns should be examined. In Tanzania 78% of the students fall in the occupational categories ranging from office staff to teachers to senior administrators.¹³ The bulk of Dar es Salaam residents outside the Institute would fall in the lower categories of semi-skilled or unskilled workers. The rural occupations are not represented at all. In Uganda a similar picture exists, but with a much higher percentage of school teachers. Williams notes in his study, that Makerere extra-rural students "are mainly teachers or clerks."¹⁴ In Ghana, 70.7% of the students in workers colleges, regional colleges and liberal studies courses fall into the occupational category of either skilled technical worker, administrative workers or lower professional.¹⁵

An interesting statistic for comparison of salaries of participants in the three institutions is obtained by comparing salaries

13 Snyder. p. 146.

14 Williams. p. 7.

15 Adult Learning Research Unit. p. 58.

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with per capita G.N.P. for each country.¹⁶ In the Tanzania sample for example 52% of the participants earn 16 times the per capita G.N.P. or more. The Uganda sample is less precise about earnings, but Kwesiga found that "many of the participants earned 250 shillings (7.4 shillings = 1 U.S. dollar) or more".¹⁷ This amount is 4.4 times Uganda per capita G.N.P. Ghana data showed that adult students were earning about 2.7 times per capita G.N.P. The Ghana participants are generally younger than those in the other programmes; and the majority of the participants are working in their first jobs. Tanzanian data includes only the evening course programme in the capital so reflects a higher standard of living than would be found if students from the towns up-country were included, but they would still be very high.

Despite the limitations of the information available, it is clear that in all three programmes the participants are earning many times more than the vast majority of people living in the respective countries. With the educational advantages that they already possess and the fact that many of the participants are just entering wage employment after being students, it is logical to assume that earnings will be going up still more in the coming years.

The occupational characteristics of the participants of the three programmes show that generally they are in middle to high level positions with relatively high salaries. The function that adult education is fulfilling is to provide assistance to these individuals to reach still higher level positions and higher earnings. Those individuals outside of this "system", have neither educational, occupational nor environmental advantages. Those who already have many of the tools for success in modern african society have unequal access to the sources for more of the tools for success.

THE TOTAL EFFECT

If the information on environment, education and occupation is taken together a picture emerges of the participant in university adult education who comes from a non-dominating section of the country, perhaps has a father with more education than usual, and most likely has other brothers or sisters with educations at least equal to his own.

¹⁶ G.N.P. data from Resnick Jane, Marunic & Harbison. Quantitative Analysis of Modernization and Development. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey. 1970.

¹⁷ Kwesiga. p. 7.

This individual himself has reached comparatively high levels of education himself. As a result of his education his facility with language is higher than average so that when he is faced with either adult education classes or external examinations he is better prepared for them than most. His middle to high level position is most likely in a place that makes it possible to further perfect language skills. He is earning many times the national average and may be studying for an exam which will place him still higher.

The rate at which this individual can learn before he arrives for adult education is higher than most people in the nation. The further education which he receives in university adult education increases his ability to take advantage of given opportunities. The person that does not participate not only misses the specific instruction that might be available through some type of broadened programme, but is not well equipped to make the most of what he is taught. The second individual falls further and further behind in the educational occupational race.

WHICH DIRECTION?

This paper should not be interpreted as a call for the limitation of university adult education. It does not state that there are no benefits to training this important segment of Africa's population. Indeed there are some educational planners who would argue that still more training and education should be provided for middle and high level manpower. At this level of national manpower advances and flourishes, they argue, the benefits of increased national productivity will begin to reach down to the bulk of society. This paper, although not in agreement with this type of educational planning, does not call for its termination.

What is important to understand is exactly what are the consequences of existing programmes. Whether one is encouraged or discouraged by the creation of educational elites, they are being created by existing university adult education. Regardless of one's view of the developmental process, the vast majority of people are not able, for any number of reasons, to take part in the existing programmes. The speed at which the advantages leave the disadvantaged behind is growing. This does not mean that in order to close the gap one has to pull those on top down to the level of those on the bottom.

Programmes can be designed that can provide for the participation of all the population on an equal basis.

University adult education has an important role to play in mass education in all African nations. Some of the suggestions for new programmes that follow come from the Tanzanian experience. Tanzania has recently begun to move in a direction to balance the evening course programme with activities which will directly benefit large segments of the population which previously have been ignored. These are not the only projects which could be discussed; they are presented only as a stimulus to those who would broaden adult education horizons.

1. Training programmes for adult educators in those organisation and ministries which are already involved in workers' and peasants' education:

The expertise in the teaching of adults, planning adult programmes, evaluating educational experiences and promotions of programmes can be used in extensive training programmes for the individuals working in the fields of community development and agricultural education.

2. Use of radio study group campaigns:

Tanzania is involved in the organisation and production of a radio study series that will reach over 20,000 individuals in organised study groups. This type of radio usage provides for both intensive study in groups of 10 to 15 as well as enjoyable information for other people who listen.

3. Follow-up materials for new literates:

A task that university adult educators could well take up is that of writing or organising the writing of materials to help insure that the adults who are made literate in national campaigns will not lapse into illiteracy because of a shortage of suitable material.

4. National Correspondence Education:

Correspondence education is extremely popular in Africa. Many African countries have already begun national institutes of their own. Many of the existing institutions cater for the same high level manpower.

The Tanzanian correspondence programme for which the course has already been written will offer courses in Kiswahili on subjects which can be readily utilized for training lower level manpower. Correspondence education in other countries might be able to benefit by offering courses in the vernacular.

There are more measures that university adult education could do to reduce the gap. Educational qualifications for participation in university adult education courses could be eliminated, courses in Kiswahili or in vernacular could be expanded, more rural centres could be established and courses not based on the ability to read and write could be developed. For each nation specific directions could be noted depending on the type of development that is desired, for if university adult education is to help in the mobilisation of all human resources these directions must be sought. Failure to do so means limiting university adult education to the role of a reinforcing agent for existing elite formations.

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