The concept of adult education for family planning is examined, and a strategy for program development in developing nations is suggested. Experience suggests that learning in groups is generally the most effective means for changing attitudes and behavior, but the skills necessary for participation in learning groups outside family and neighborhood structures are rare in traditional societies. Because of the gap between understanding the need to change and actual behavioral change, educators must create learning experiences and atmosphere in which people will want to learn and change their attitudes and practices in family planning. Subtle methods in programming and communication must be used because of the special problems of family planning education. Learners must perceive the problem for themselves and feel that they can solve the problem through their own choices. The logical method of developing a program for family planning education is by introducing it into the existing adult education structure. This method has several advantages—local teachers and trainers are accepted and are apt to have influence; linkage with other educational programs is beneficial for family planning education; participants are likely to be young adults receptive to new ideas; and outsiders are more effective when their teaching competence is recognized. World Education supports the idea of creating program development centers within national universities or interagency bodies. (KM)
Educating Adults in Family Planning

by Jack Mezirow

Educating Adults in Family Planning

A periodic paper examining an issue or event in the field of functional education for family life planning

A rationale and a strategy for developing countries

by Jack Mezirow

Education occupies an important place in any balanced population program, and efforts directed at adults of childbearing age outside the formal educational system are obviously a highly important component. Of course there can be reasonable differences of opinion over the degree of emphasis that should be given to education as opposed to mass communications or to nonformal as opposed to formal education. This is not the place to argue such questions. I propose simply to assume that any national program designed to encourage people to limit the size of their families must include nonformal education programs directed at adults. The reasons for this assumption will emerge during the discussion. From this premise I examine the concept of adult education for family planning and suggest a strategy for program development.

The educational process

In the United States the movement for adult education in family planning is an offshoot of family life education, "that branch of adult education which deals specifically with the values, principles, and practices of family life." 1 Family life education itself was established forty years ago out of an earlier movement advanced by voluntary organizations for parental education. The movement seldom dealt specifically with family planning until religious and governmental opposition to the spread of information on contraception in many areas of the world eroded in the 1950's and 1960's in the face of desperate population pressures.

With a sense of urgency, many developing countries launched campaigns using the mass media, established networks of family planning clinics, and began to introduce population education into the schools. It is only in the last few years that educational programs addressed to adults have been pioneered in such countries as India, Thailand, Turkey, Honduras, Costa Rica, and the Philippines. Fortunately these countries have several decades of relevant experience in literacy programs, community development, agricultural extension programs, cooperatives, credit unions, and other large-scale programs of nonformal education designed to change behavior at the village level.

This experience strongly suggests that learning in groups is generally the most effective means for bringing about changes in attitudes and behavior. The reasons are fairly obvious. In a group, competition for respect mobilizes a member's energies, the social support stimulates thinking, and the sifting of ideas in social interaction serves as an error-correcting mechanism. In traditional societies, moreover, individuals learn the meaning of new ideas and decide whether to change their behavior through the social interaction of primary groups—the family, relatives, and neighbors. The influence of the group's opinion on individual action is well established. It appears to be a function of the degree of group consensus that the individual perceives. When a group adopts a new norm there is powerful pressure on the individual to conform.

Yet the skills necessary for effective participation in learning groups outside family and neighborhood structures are quite rare in traditional societies. The common ways of meeting a problem are custom and the prescriptions of leaders. Indeed, the range of problems that can be newly recognized as such is limited from one generation to the next. The problem of families too large to provide for adequately, for example, is apt to be viewed as an act of God beyond human control. People seldom help one another to analyze such problems afresh and seek non-traditional solutions.

Thus peasant cultures are commonly characterized as lacking innovativeness, being fatalistic, seldom deferring present gratification for future advantages, and holding a unified view of the world. People in such cultures tend to believe that all the desirable things in life are in fixed sup-
make, even in the face of the special problems it encounters. This philosophy helps explain the mutual distrust in interpersonal relations, the low degree of empathy, and the limited aspirations one often encounters in traditional societies.\textsuperscript{2}

Peasants usually do what authorities tell them to do or what they sense the authorities want. Yet this compliance often is only a gesture to please or placate. Where a change in fundamental and intimate behavior is involved it is unrealistic to expect peasants to comply because authorities tell them to if compliance would otherwise violate their sense of right behavior. Thus though the educated leadership of developing countries is more and more willing to take public stands in favor of birth control, planners do not expect this alone will convince peasants to change their behavior. And though the overall goal of birth control programs is to help people see that they will be better off if they limit the size of their families, planners cannot expect peasants to understand this concept from merely being told it. It is much more effective for people to undergo learning experiences in which they discover for themselves the problems of family size and learn about potential solutions. This is where adult education has a special contribution to make, even in the face of the special problems it encounters in traditional societies. Paradoxically, the way to help people see the advantages of smaller families lies through leaving open the possibility of traditional behavior and large families. For the essence of education is that it does not drive people to accept predetermined ends but, instead, fosters the initiative for them to participate intelligently in the choice of ends.\textsuperscript{3}

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Carl Rogers has made this point well: "Anything that can be taught to another is relatively inconsequential and has little or no significance on behavior;... learnings which significantly influence behavior... must be 'self-appropriated';... truth that has been personally appropriated and assimilated... cannot be directly communicated to another.\textsuperscript{3}

Education, then, is concerned with guiding the process of social interaction within which the individual constructs meanings: The educator's problem is to fashion the context within which the learner himself will formulate the problems of family size and family planning.

Many educators are skeptical of deterministic explanations of behavior and behavioral change, which involve concepts like motives, attitudes, role requirements, cultural traits, social norms, and psychological processes. Attempts to link such influences to behavior, which are common in research in family planning, tend to bypass both the learning process and the educational process that nourishes it. Thoughtful educators tend, rather, to believe that an individual can suspend, alter, intensify, abandon, or replace such influences as he constructs the meaning of family planning for himself—within, to be sure, the context of social interaction woven for him by the educator—and decide, with this meaning in mind, whether to change his behavior.

Abundant evidence from studies of smoking, alcoholism, the mass media, and adult education programs attests to the existence of a gap between understanding a need to change behavior and actually changing it. Similarly:

KAP surveys in developing countries typically show that a majority of women in the childbearing ages say they want no more children and are interested in methods to prevent pregnancy. Yet, when family planning information and services are made available, only a small minority actually begin to practice contraception within the timespan of a year or two. The gap is substantial—perhaps 70% will express a desire and 20% will act on it, under favorable conditions of exposure to informational and motivational campaigns.\textsuperscript{4}

Another element of the problem for educators, therefore, is to create an atmosphere in the learning situation in which learners can more easily match their behavior to their knowledge and beliefs.

The process of adult education can best be understood as an organized and sustained effort to assist individuals who have never attended school or who have discontinued or completed formal schooling to acquire the attitudes, concepts, and skills more effectively

- to identify important problems, their implications for the individual's own situation, and the elements that can be solved through the individual's own initiative;
- to examine the widest range of solutions that existing resources permit and to anticipate their consequences;
- to decide to act, using rational criteria for choosing among these possibilities;
- to organize and take action;
- to assess the results in order to improve later performance.

The educator may be a teacher, program planner, counselor, village worker, trainer, discussion leader, or script or materials writer. His purpose is to help plan and assess appropriate sequences of learning experiences and to foster conditions under which the learner will want to learn. Educators who are in face-to-face contact with the learners can also provide the support, information, and clarification that learners often require in family planning education.

From this viewpoint, programs like mass media campaigns "to communicate the family planning message" are
important to disseminate information, to legitimize programs, to indoctrinate, or to sell. But usually they are not truly educational in themselves, for they serve only the first phase of the educational process. Not until this awakening is integrated with subsequent assistance in completing the other steps is the effort an educational one. It is true that research has not decisively clarified the relationship between the educational process and behavioral change. The evidence is even more tenuous, however, that any short cut exists that will bring about effective changes in family life behavior.

Donald J. Bogue wisely criticizes the misconception that “the problem of motivation is primarily one of finding the right technique of family planning and a psychologically powerful way of presenting it.” He asserts: “Until the meaning of high fertility is appreciated and challenged by educational methods in which the individual is left to think his way through the problem, no amount of Indian dancing shows in conjunction with family planning talks, or other nice entertainment gimmicks, will induce a change in behavior.”

The confidence and freedom to think new thoughts, challenge old myths, and acquire new abilities to control one’s environment is the central objective of education. It can be achieved only as the real issues are evoked for the learner, as he gives meaning to an idea by anticipating how others who are important to him react to it, and as he fits the new idea into his own unique experience.

Fitting this scheme of adult education to the topic of family planning, we find the concept evolves into a process of helping the learner to think of the problem of family size as his own and subject to solution by his own initiative; to examine the full range of feasible options open to him concerning his family’s size, the methods for limiting the number of children, and the available resources for doing

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so; to assess the consequences of these decisions on his and his family’s health, security in old age, family workload, marital relationships, opportunities for the children, and so on; to choose his course of action rationally—that is, to adopt a specific contraceptive practice, if that is his choice, as free as possible from the constraints of illogic and superstition; to use the selected practice; and to learn from the results of this action so as to improve his performance.

The last point is particularly important to forestall the spread of new myths in case a pregnancy occurs despite the use of a contraceptive method. The possibility of such failure must also be frankly treated in the course of the education program. Besides being necessary to convey information, such frankness is often taken as evidence of the
honesty and reliability of the family planning worker, and it satisfies the educator's obligation to provide situations in which learners see a broad range of problems and can trace and formulate them in their own terms.

Educators seek to facilitate the natural educational processes of problem-solving by drawing on certain inherent advantages of the group process. Discussion is a highly important method of instruction. Research has established that when the consensus of a group is sought, discussion is more effective than other methods. In the Taichung study, which is perhaps the best-known experiment in family planning communications, discussion meetings rated "effective" immediately afterward by the person who had conducted them resulted in greater acceptance of family planning than did home visits by health workers or other forms of communications.

Bogue similarly concludes, from his Indian experience, that the best way to introduce information on family planning to a village or neighborhood is in a meeting that includes entertainment, such as a puppet show or film, but is followed by group discussion and comments by local leaders. Bil Baird, the puppeteer, agrees with this. Such discussion fosters communication within families and among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The Taichung study just cited documented the potent role played by informal diffusion processes. Higher acceptance rates were found among people who believed that the practice of contraception was increasing among their relatives, friends, and neighbors.

A well-known principle for "achieving change in people" has been formulated by Dorwin Cartwright from small-group research findings: "Strong pressures for changes in the group can be established by creating a shared perception by members of the need for change, thus making the source of pressure for change lie within the group." This explains why adult educators place such emphasis on creating learning groups and "learning environments." They hope

"An adult's interest in educational classes has often been found to lie in the opportunities the classes provide to talk things over...

... the help of others is essential to a learner in finding what his problem uniquely and actually is. Each person has many motivations and resources to avoid facing the problems which he alone must learn to accept responsibility for and learn to resolve ideally with as much intelligence as possible. Others, if they become disciplined to the responsibility, can point out self-deceptions and avoidances, even as they learn to accept the same sort of painful help from others.

For peasants, however apathetic they may seem, the welfare of their children frequently elicits interest and concern. "Responsible parenthood" can be a fruitful point of departure for learning about such aspects of family planning as survival rate, health, educational opportunity, and inheritance. If such concepts call up old wives' tales or firmly held but erroneous beliefs, they must be dealt with before the learners can grasp the new information held by the educator.

Discussion must identify and cope with myths, prejudice, and misconception. But education must also make the vital distinction between dealing with these considerations and rational reservations arising from shared self-interest. It is entirely reasonable for a peasant to be concerned over who will provide support in old age and who will share the work in the fields... modern alternatives to the social security of large families must be explored...

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Keeping the attention on specific situations is the most dependable guideline. Concrete examples should reflect the learner's own life. The economic implications of smaller families are of central importance. Frequent review and repetition are important to fix the newly acquired learning.

Because learning is a social experience, the adult educator fosters a supportive climate in the group. Such a climate frees the learner from the anxieties he would feel if he thought the group were judgmental toward him, and it enables him to look at a learning task more objectively. This kind of climate lets him make errors in perception, comprehension, and performance and obtain feedback from the group, but does not penalize him for mistakes, as real life might.

Ideally, therefore, the learner enters a situation where he is protected as much as possible from ridicule, embarrassment, and rejection. In this situation he is able to discover how others act toward him regarding the ideas of family planning; to understand why they do so; to test the validity of his expectations about these responses; and to find support in understanding the implications of proposed changes for his own life situation. In this milieu he can be assisted to formulate for himself problems of family size and to realize that he can exercise control over them. He can be helped to assess more realistically the marital, health, economic, and cultural implications of a decision to limit the size of his family. He can understand the ways he may do this given the resources at hand. Finally, he may learn to use a more rational set of criteria to decide his course of action and to evaluate the effects of what he does. In short, he may undergo a genuine educational experience in family planning.

The skills required to create the atmosphere necessary for this kind of adult education are not commonly found among conventionally trained teachers in developing countries nor, indeed, in any culture. Nor are educational materials appropriate for family life education usually available in the languages and with the cultural focus necessary for any given setting. High priority in allocating resources for family planning education, then, must be given to the training of trainers and the development of instructional materials for their use.

Adult education, it must be emphasized, is a specialized kind of education. One does not learn how to teach grown people who have little or no formal schooling by teaching other kinds of students. Yet if teachers are not trained to do otherwise, they almost always teach adults as they would either children or college students. Neither approach is effective.

Conventional teaching in developing countries also tends to be rigid and authoritarian. The syllabus is tyrant. Instructors move like programmed robots from topic to topic. Describing a program in which rural community development workers were trained in Pakistan, James Green characterized a common problem:

... trainees left the institutes ... with a certificate and a notebook filled with notes garnered from instructors' lectures, which, as one principal remarked, "had been copied by these instructors during college lectures given by college professors whose notes had been obtained in the same manner."13

In training trainers it is highly desirable, of course, to use the methods one wants the trainers in turn to use. It is ludicrous to think of teaching trainers how to create supportive, stimulating environments through conventional lectures and a competitive, anxiety-producing course structure. Experience with the kind of atmosphere described here is essential for the instructors to be able to re-create it.

One promising new method of instruction uses pictures of familiar situations as projective techniques. Carefully selected and tested pictures can evoke perceptions, feelings, and ideas that can help the educator diagnose the group in terms of experience, insight, leadership, and readiness to learn. The educator is armed with knowledge of modal patterns of group response to each of a set of pictures. He also is familiar with a sequence of questions appropriate to the anticipated responses with which to lead discussion focused on such vital learning tasks as problem awareness, identification of myths and prejudice, analyzing rational reservations to family planning, anticipating consequences of adoption of family planning in the lives of learners, and facilitating and reinforcing decision-making. The beginnings of such a system of instruction are currently being developed and applied by the Ministry of Education in Thailand in connection with its program of adult literacy.

For developing materials there is a dearth of models suitable for illiterate, semiliterate, and newly literate adults. The best materials are locally produced. Such prototypes as there are require adaptation to local conditions, and all instructional materials must be locally tested and evaluated. Often materials must be produced at several levels of reading proficiency and sometimes in more than one language or dialect.

**Strategy of program development**

A broad network of nonformal adult education programs exists in almost every country. It includes a wide variety of literacy and other adult education classes, group meetings, and training sessions dealing with all kinds of subjects. They are conducted by departments of education, community development agencies, religious organizations, health and welfare agencies, agricultural extension services,
labor unions, peasant organizations, cooperatives, credit unions and housing associations, business and industry, political and social associations, the armed forces, and prisons and other custodial institutions.

It is logical to develop a program for family planning education by introducing it into this adult education structure. This strategy has been encouraged in the technical}

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assistance extended to several interested countries by World Education. World Education's reports show that agencies in both the public and the private sector often welcome the idea of incorporating family planning concepts into their programs.

But adult education for family planning in the past has usually been confined to the family planning clinic, clinic extension efforts, and, in rare urban cases, marital counseling and occasional courses for health, social, and religious workers. For the most part programs have been directed toward the relatively receptive urban middle class. The

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major task of reaching the masses of illiterate or barely literate young adults has rarely been confronted outside such pioneering programs as those initiated by World Education, the mobile teams in Costa Rica, India's massive effort to reach villagers through a corps of health aides and such pioneering programs as those initiated by World Education. World Education's reports show that agencies in both the public and the private sector often welcome the idea of incorporating family planning concepts into their programs. But adult education for family planning in the past has usually been confined to the family planning clinic, clinic extension efforts, and, in rare urban cases, marital counseling and occasional courses for health, social, and religious workers. For the most part programs have been directed toward the relatively receptive urban middle class. The

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be tested in the field and modified according to experience. Mahatma Gandhi said:

When an official becomes a reformer, he must realize that his official position is not a help but a hindrance. People will suspect him and his motives, and they will scent danger where there is none. And when they do certain things, they often do them more to please the official than to please themselves.

Bogue supports the idea of linking family planning education with other programs as psychologically one of the most potent tactics for family planning:

Programs to eliminate illiteracy, raise the level of educational attainment, to give greater freedom and rights to women ... to improve housing conditions, to improve and extend child welfare services, to adopt new methods of farming or manufacturing are all of this type. By being identified with these other programs ... the long-run effect will be to heighten acceptance of family planning.

Participants in almost any of the nonformal adult educational programs are likely to be young adults who are relatively receptive to new ideas and who are emulated by others. That they are involved in a training program means in itself that they are motivated to learn with others how to solve immediate practical problems. Introduction of family planning ideas into existing program reinforces and legitimates the ideas and identifies them with other already accepted organizational goals.

Among the existing adult education programs, those designed to teach adults to read are especially suited to introduce family planning ideas. This is true not only because the motivation to read is often great among people of childbearing age; literates are also the ones who are likely to be opinion leaders in their communities and to adopt family planning methods early. Then too, contemporary concepts of functional literacy emphasize relating literacy learning to practical life situations. The printed word is generally accepted by the newly literate as authoritative and credible, and family planning material aimed at them provides accurate information at the time that they are ready to learn

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and are searching for solutions. And by being read privately the information can be received without embarrassment.

Finally, an advantage of this approach to a family planning program is that the evidence we have suggests that even an outsider—will be more effective as an agent of change when his competence as an instructor is recognized
by adult trainees, when they like him and identify with him, and when they understand that he wants them to change. These conditions are more likely to be met in local nonformal education programs than in other types of programs.

In developing a program for incorporating family planning materials in a country's adult education programs there are obvious advantages to setting up pilot projects before launching an expensive nationwide effort. In this way concepts can be tested against reality; ill-conceived approaches can be discarded before much money, effort, and prestige are invested in them; promising approaches can be identified with more confidence and then improved.

Pilot projects take various forms but usually involve production of materials, teacher training, program analysis and evaluation, and arrangements for administrative support.

World Education fosters the idea of a project design group composed of representatives of participating agencies, which often are those devoted to family planning and adult education. These representatives may be administrators, trainers, materials specialists, researchers, or evaluators. This team establishes operational objectives and criteria for the project and analyzes the target audience. It determines locations, phasing, budgeting, staffing, linkages with the host organization and others, administrative arrangements, interagency coordination, materials, and equipment. It provides for evaluation of the program and analysis of its operations. Its work involves continual testing of plans against the realities of existing policies, programs, politics, interpersonal relationships, and availability of resources. It makes sure that plans are approved by participating agencies and that administrative arrangements are formalized.

Expansion from small pilot projects to a project of national scope is perhaps the most perilous phase of program development. Even if a project has been highly successful on a small scale, efforts to widen it often fall short.

"...men can learn to control themselves and their environment..."

or fail. One reason for this failure may be that the success of the small project arose in part from special factors that cannot be retained when a program grows and becomes routine. Such special factors can include the participants' sense of pioneering, their mutual dependence and respect, their shared sense of challenge, a small-group ethos of mutual encouragement, a concentration of leadership and skills, comparative freedom from bureaucratic constraint, the Hawthorne effect (heightened performance resulting from attention given an experimental effort), and other intangibles. Obviously such factors cannot be counted on in recruiting, training, and supervising personnel during the larger-scale expansion phase. Thus working with people who can direct the expansion from their regular positions within existing organizational structures is preferable to creating wholly new agencies. Another vital dimension of program expansion is extending the gains from a pilot project beyond the host agency through the country's network of public and private education and training for adults.

To provide long-range institutionalized support for program development, World Education is supporting the idea of creating program development centers within national universities or interagency bodies. In general, these centers will serve as clearinghouses and provide consultants on program design, development, analysis and evaluation, training of trainers, and development and dissemination of instructional materials for specific target populations. More specifically, the centers are expected to perform the following functions for adult education programs in family life planning:

- Design, develop, and test instructional methods and materials appropriate for different groups.
- Conduct a continuing program of in-service training for teachers and others engaged in nonformal adult education.
- Plan and carry out research, analysis, and evaluation of programs.
- Consult with various agencies and promote their interest in the subject.
- Conduct seminars and workshops on family life planning.
- Carry out a publishing program, including translations of instructional materials and research findings from other languages.
- Disseminate ideas, news, research, and publications and maintain liaison with other program development centers.

A center's staff would include a director and, usually, three operating sections headed by adult educators: training and program development, program evaluation and research, and materials development and publications. The sections would be staffed by part-time research and program assistants and by specialists in applied anthropology, health education, communications, and technical aspects of materials: production and research. In university settings, the heads of the sections might have teaching assignments, and other staff members would be faculty members or graduate students.

World Education seeks other international agencies and foundations to act as cosponsors. In operation, World Education expects to phase out its direct involvement with...
operating agencies after the first years of the pilot project while continuing to provide training and technical assistance to the center's staff. In this way it will smoothly transfer its technical assistance functions within the country to the program development center.

World Education's program cycle thus calls for working with an existing program to plan and conduct a pilot project, to train staff, and to develop a plan for nationwide expansion. It then expects to withdraw gradually while establishing an institutional base capable of providing continuing technical assistance.

This program of technical assistance will command the attention of all those who see education as an important process for planned behavior change. The approach is not congenial to crash development efforts or mass campaigns. It requires stamina and quiet commitment. This commitment is predicated on an ancient conviction that men can learn to control themselves and their environment—that freedom is possible—and that education must serve as both catalyst and solvent in this process. In the case of population control, the quality of the future may well depend upon how well this faith can be converted into action.

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