THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF BOTSWANA,1966-1991

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Frank Youngman
BA (Hons); Dip.Soc.Admin; M.Phil

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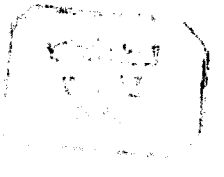

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

Adult education in the countries of the South takes place largely within the discourse of development. Policy-makers and practitioners set goals and assess performance in terms of ideas about what adult education can contribute to the processes of national development. An important issue for the study of adult education is therefore the relationship between adult education and development. However, the writing in this field consists mainly of descriptive accounts of adult education activities, reports of programme evaluations, and the results of small scale empirical research projects. There appear to have been few attempts to address the question of adult education and development at a theoretical level and to elaborate general propositions about the relationship between adult education and society in the countries of the South.

This is certainly the case in Botswana. A review by the author of adult education research in Botswana in the mid-1980s criticised the over-reliance on personal experience and unexamined assumptions and the lack of systematic analysis. In particular, it expressed concern about the dominance of research linked to the demands of specific programmes and the lack of basic research which could provide more general investigations of adult education and its social context:

> For adult education in Botswana to develop, there is a need for basic research which goes beyond the immediate concerns of practitioners and policy-makers. Such research would consider the socio-economic context of adult education in more depth and would consider issues and problems not in a narrowly technical way. Perhaps above all it would aspire to a more theoretical understanding of adult education in Botswana. (Youngman, 1986a: 15))

This problem is the focus of the present study. The study is therefore primarily a work of theory. It is based on a deductive approach which is concerned mainly with the construction of a theoretical framework and the delineation of research agendas derived from that framework. It applies these research agendas in the context of Botswana in order to examine the adequacy of the theory's concepts and general propositions. These applications seek to demonstrate the explanatory power of the theoretical framework whilst also providing insights into various aspects of adult education in Botswana. The emphasis is on theory-building because it is believed that this will be of value a) for the development of adult education research in the South; and b) for the generation of new directions in the study of adult education in Botswana. The study therefore provides an alternative approach to the atheoretical empiricism which often prevails in research on adult education and development (Paulston and Altenbaugh,1988: 115).

It is postulated that Marxist political economy provides a coherent theoretical foundation for understanding the complexities of adult education as a social phenomenon. However, a review of the existing literature on the political economy of adult education reveals that previous studies have not been comprehensive in using the

key elements of the theory. The study therefore seeks to elaborate a political economy approach based on Marxist social theory as the theoretical paradigm within which to examine the relationship of adult education and development in the peripheral capitalist countries of the South. It applies this theoretical framework to the specific case of Botswana.

The purpose of the study can be summarised as follows:

1. To elaborate a political economy approach to the study of adult education in peripheral capitalist countries based on Marxist social theory.

2. To develop research agendas on the main dimensions of the theoretical framework to guide applied studies on the political economy of adult education and development.

3. To demonstrate the explanatory capability of the political economy approach by applying the research agendas to an analysis of adult education in a particular country, namely Botswana.

4. To provide analytic insights which will assist adult educators in Botswana to clarify the contexts in which they work and assess the consequences of their activities.

5. To indicate potential areas for further research related to:

   i) the study of adult education and development in peripheral capitalism;

   ii) the study of adult education in Botswana.

SCOPE

The study has a theoretical focus on the relationship between adult education and development in peripheral capitalism. It has an applied focus on this relationship in the context of Botswana between 1966 and 1991. The study is based on a broad concept of adult education that embraces all forms of organised learning which adults undertake. Thus adult education denotes the organizational arrangements in society to provide people at any stage in their adult lives with opportunities for learning. The term does not in itself specify anything about levels or methods or settings but derives its definition from the nature of its participants, who are those regarded as adults by the society in which they live. However, it is well known that many of those who teach adults (say on family planning or business management) do not identify themselves as being involved in adult education. In many ways, therefore, the term adult education is an analytical construct that gives intellectual coherence at the level of deep structure to a range of activities which appear on the surface to be unconnected and which are perceived by their practitioners as unrelated. For example, it is doubtful whether literacy workers, industrial training officers and lecturers on part-time university courses often consider the commonalities in their work of helping adults to develop

particular skills, knowledge, values and attitudes. However, the assumption is made here that the commonalities do exist and that adult education has validity as a term to denote a field of study and of practice. The scope of the study therefore encompasses all forms of organised learning for adults. Hence a wide variety of adult education activities are considered, ranging from adult literacy, extension programmes and trade union education to home economics courses, radio learning groups and political consciousness-raising.

The term development is used to refer to the idea that deliberate action can be taken to change society in chosen directions considered desirable. It is an idea that has had currency since 1945 in the context of policies and programmes for the economic, political and social progress of those areas of the world which were formerly colonised. From the early 1950s these areas were referred to as the Third World, to indicate countries outside the First World of advanced industrial capitalism and the Second World of industrialised state socialism. However, the Second World collapsed in 1989-1991 and therefore this study has adopted the convention of South and North to refer to the major division in the global political economy. The study focuses on the capitalist countries in the South as these constitute the vast majority. Very few countries in the South since 1945 have attempted to follow a socialist model of development and in the 1990s little remains of these experiments. However, the adult education and development relationship within socialism is distinctive and would require separate analysis. Thus this study concentrates only on capitalist countries in the South. These countries are on the periphery of the main centres of the world's capitalist economy in the USA, Japan and Europe. Peripheral capitalism provides a common denominator that gives them a certain identity despite the manifold differences in terms of their levels of economic development, political institutions and national cultures. It is this identity which enables a degree of generalisation about the relationship between adult education and their development. However, it is the existence of differences which means that these generalisations have to be examined within specific national contexts.

The national context used in this study is that of Botswana, a peripheral capitalist country in southern Africa. The period of Botswana's history chosen for analysis is 1966 to 1991, which constitutes the first twenty five years after independence from British colonial rule. The period is of sufficient duration to discern patterns in the development process. It is discrete in that it covers the time span of six national development plans, documents which crystallised the state's development interventions. It is distinctive in that it was a period of uninterrupted economic growth. In 1992 there was a decline in formal sector employment for the first time which was an indicator that the country had entered into a new phase of development. The applied sections of the study focus on adult education and development in Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

SIGNIFICANCE

The study derives its significance from the lack of recent in-depth studies on adult education and development in the English language. A number of books on adult education and development appeared between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, notably those by Prosser (1967), Townsend-Coles (1969), Lowe (1970), Coombs and Ahmed (1974), Hall and Kidd (1978) and Bock and Papagiannis (1983). But since then

consideration of the topic appears to have been confined to conference papers, research reports, programme evaluations and articles in journal such as *Convergence* and *Adult Education and Development*. A major exception is the recent book *Adult Learning for Development* by Rogers (1992). However, this is an idiosyncratic and eclectic work. It does not provide a systematic review of the concept of development in relation to development theory nor take a critical stance towards the role of adult education in development. In particular it does not give a critical appraisal of the major shifts in development thinking during the 1980s represented by neo-liberalism and by the 'alternative' approaches shaped by feminism, environmentalism and cultural concerns. There remains a gap in the literature in terms of a comprehensive, up-to-date study of adult education and development from a consistent theoretical perspective.

Recent reviews of research in adult education, such as that by Deshler and Hagan (1990: 161), suggest that theory-building is important at this stage in the evolution of adult education as a field of study and that 'research related to economic and social development' is one of the 'promising directions' for the future. The theoretical approach to adult education and development embodied in this study should therefore advance adult education research related to the specific circumstances of the South. The need for such research to be undertaken from a theoretical position based on political economy is strongly made by Torres (1990) in his book *The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America*. He concludes his review of research by saying there is a

> ...need for a dialectical theory of adult education in dependent [peripheral capitalist] societies, a theory that is still to be developed in order to overcome the analytical weakness of the conventional views on adult education and development. (Torres,1990: 125)

The elaboration of the political economy paradigm in this study is intended to address the 'analytical weakness' Torres identifies in the writing on adult education and development.

This is a task which also has particular relevance to Botswana. The perceived importance of adult education for the future development of Botswana has recently been argued by the National Commission on Education which reviewed the country's education system. The *Report of the National Commission on Education 1993* recommended a coherent policy on out-of-school education (which included adult education) on the following grounds:

> Education can no longer be conceived primarily as a process of preparing children and young people for adult life - adults themselves need opportunities for continued intellectual development. In order to meet these needs, a responsive and relevant out-of-school education system is required, guided by a clear policy. The purpose of the policy must be to relate out-of-school education to the national development process and to emphasize that progress towards the nations's social and economic goals can be advanced by a more educated and trained population. For example, there is a link between low levels of education

> and socio-economic disadvantage, so that extending educational opportunity contributes to the goal of social justice. Similarly, a programme of continuing human resources development is indispensable to future economic growth. The value and significance of out-of-school education is derived from its potential to contribute to individual, community and national development. (National Commission on Education,1993: 284)

Given the assumptions about the positive role of adult education in development contained is this important policy statement, it is of great significance at this time to re-examine the relationship by analysing a period of Botswana's post-colonial history.

STRUCTURE

The study is divided between chapters which are concerned with theory-building and those which apply theory to the specific case of Botswana.

Chapter Two establishes the theoretical framework used in the study. It discusses the key elements of Marxist political economy and appraises recent critiques of Marxist theory and practice. On this basis a summary is made of a general political economy approach to the analysis of social phenomena. This summary is used to assess the theoretical foundations of previous works on the political economy of adult education. After this review, the theoretical framework of the study is presented.

Chapter Three considers the main theories of development that have evolved since 1945, focusing on: a) modernisation theory; b) dependency theory; c) neo-liberal theory; d) 'alternative' approaches; and e) political economy. It discusses how the changing ideas about the nature of development have had an impact on conceptualisations of the relationship between adult education and development. It concludes that the theoretical framework established in the previous chapter provides a valid and relevant basis for the analysis of adult education in the context of development.

Chapter Four introduces Botswana by providing a brief overview of development in the 1966-1991 period. It also gives a short introduction to adult education in the country. The chapter therefore provides the background information for the detailed analyses of adult education and development that are made in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five considers the place of peripheral capitalist countries within the global political economy in terms of the theory of imperialism. In particular, it theorises the role of aid in developing the necessary conditions for capitalist accumulation on a world scale. Aid is identified as having a significant impact on the nature of national development. The chapter than analyses the relationship between aid and adult education. It ends with a research agenda for analysing the economic, political, social and ideological consequences of foreign aid to adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism. In Chapter Six this research agenda is applied to the case of Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

Chapter Seven analyses the nature of social inequality in peripheral capitalist societies. It focuses on the inequalities of class, gender and ethnicity and their interactions. Social inequality is shown to be an important factor in shaping the development process. The chapter then considers the relationship between social inequality and adult education, including the ideological role of the curriculum. On the basis of the discussion, a research agenda is presented for the study of social inequality and adult education within peripheral capitalism. In Chapter Eight, this research agenda is applied to Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

Chapter Nine considers the political dimension of the development process. It elaborates the concepts of the state and civil society in peripheral capitalism. This discussion provides the theoretical basis for clarifying the political consequences of the role of adult education in development. The chapter concludes with a research agenda for studying the state, civil society and adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism. In Chapter Ten the agenda is used for an analysis of adult education in Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

Chapter Eleven is the final chapter and it provides a summary of the study. It concludes with a statement of the implications of the study for future theory-building and research on the topic of adult education and development.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Introduction

The study is based on Marxist social theory because it provides a coherent theoretical foundation for the understanding of adult education in society at both the macro and micro levels of analysis. Through its critical stance towards capitalism and its conceptions of an alternative social order, Marxism also provides insights into how adult education may contribute to social change. Its special significance as a social theory is its comprehensive scope and its transdisciplinary nature. Its transcendence of the conventional boundaries of philosophy, history, economics, political science, sociology and psychology gives it particular explanatory power in relation to the social phenomenon of adult education. Marxism is a powerful tool for comprehending the complexities of adult education. For example, a single adult education class may be simultaneously a locus of psychological activity, a site of cultural practices, an instance of social domination, an outcome of contested public policy and an economic process of reskilling labour. The tradition of Marxism offers a fertile source of propositions and concepts for a comprehensive approach to the study of these complexities.

The concept 'political economy' is used as a means to identify the study's analytical approach both with the Marxist tradition and *within* that tradition. 'Political economy' is often used as signifying a general Marxist perspective. But it is necessary to be aware that the label political economy is also used in different branches of economics. Originally, the term 'political economy' was synonymous with economics and was used to describe the work of classical economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo who studied the emergence of capitalism. Many of the writings of Marx constituted a critique of these economists and indeed one of the most significant statements of his social theory is contained in the 1859 introduction to his book entitled *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Marx, 1969). With the development of neoclassical economics at the end of the nineteenth century there was a separation of economics and political science in the dominant paradigms of Western social science and the use of the expression 'political economy' declined.

However, during the renaissance of Marxist thought in the 1960s and 1970s, radical economists concerned with analysing the dynamics of contemporary capitalism and the significance of its class structure adopted the term 'political economy' to distinguish their work from mainstream economics. Subsequently, social scientists in a variety of fields who worked within the Marxist tradition saw the concept as useful for expressing a holistic approach to social reality and for capturing the essential insight of Marx (expressed in the *Preface*) of the relationship between the economic organisation of society and its political institutions and cultural practices. This is the usage adopted here.

In the late 1960s some orthodox neoclassical economists also revived the label of 'political economy' to refer to their work. These economists took a particular interest in the relation of the state and the economy, especially the role of public sector

revenue and expenditure and its impact on the distribution of wealth and income, and in the analysis of public policy choices. Because of the significance of state intervention in the economic development of countries in the South, this new approach was also applied to development studies, as exemplified in the book by Uphoff and Ilchman (1972) entitled *The Political Economy of Development.* Thus it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction made by Beckman (1983) between classical political economy, critical political economy within the Marxist tradition, and 'new' political economy. This distinction can help to clarify potential confusions as illustrated in the Botswana context by two studies with similar titles but contrasting theoretical positions. The doctoral thesis by Parson (1979) entitled *The Political Economy of Botswana : A Case in the Study of Politics and Social Change in Post-Colonial Societies* is based on the Marxist tradition, whereas the book by Colclough and McCarthy (1980) entitled *The Political Economy of Botswana : A Study of Growth and Distribution* is an example of the 'new' political economy.

The use here of 'political economy' therefore denotes an analytical approach based on Marxist theory. But it also indicates a particular approach *within* the Marxist tradition, as will be elaborated in subsequent sections. This is an important point as Marxism is not a monolithic body of social theory but contains a variety of internal perspectives. These arise from the varying interpretations that can be placed upon the extensive body of work that Marx and Engels produced between 1840 and 1895. In the original writings there were diversities of emphasis, varying depths of analysis, gaps in coverage and ambiguities of formulation and these have provided the basis for a wide variety of subsequent interpretations and applications. Their work was the product of a specific historical period and its later uses are also historically bounded. Thus appeals to an authoritative and closed canon is to profoundly misunderstand the nature and possibilities of these texts. The value of the writings of Marx and Engels is that they provide a source of research problems, concepts and methods for the analysis of society, not a set of fixed truths.

The conception of Marxism on which this study is based is therefore an undogmatic one, antithetical to the tradition of 'official' Marxism associated with communist parties and the institutionalised role it played in the Soviet bloc. It is a conception shaped by the economic, political and intellectual history of the last twenty five years. The current stage of capitalist development has been characterised by the growth of transnational corporations, the microelectronics technological revolution, changes to the class structure of advanced capitalist societies, expanded consumerism, ecological crisis and the intensified (though uneven) incorporation of post-colonial societies into the global capitalist economy. Clearly such changes have produced new problems for analysis that were unforeseeable in earlier eras. In the political domain, developments such as the state's defeat of the general strike in France in 1968, the rise of the women's movement and other social movements, the transition of national liberation movements into governing parties, and the collapse of the Soviet bloc regimes have generated challenges for Marxist political theory and new ideas on appropriate modes of political practice. Responding to and influencing these changes have been intellectual developments involving not only debates amongst Marxists but sustained

critiques from outside the tradition, particularly by feminism and postmodernism. The current situation is that

> ...Marxism has been challenged and rewritten, both by its dialogue with other bodies of theory and by its effort to acknowledge the diverse political realities of the postwar world...it has become a much more varied discourse. (Nelson and Grossberg, 1988:11)

The need to address new realities and the range of theoretical challenges has led some writers on the Left in Western Europe and North America, such as Aronowitz (1981), to identify a 'crisis' in Marxism and question its adequacy as a theory. Indeed, some former Marxist writers have adopted other theoretical positions either against or 'beyond' Marxism. On the other hand, the collapse of 'actually existing socialism' in Eastern Europe has encouraged political theorists of the Right, such as Fukuyama (1992), to pronounce liberal democracy and free market economics as a political-economic system which cannot be improved upon and hence the final stage of social evolution. However, Marxist theory is not synonymous with state socialism and its deformation as an ideology legitimising repression. A tenable position remains of reconstructing the Marxist tradition so that it responds to the evolutions that have taken place within capitalism and reflects critically upon the experience of state socialism. The tradition can be developed to comprehend late twentieth century social reality and the varied currents that characterise Marxism today can be seen as a source of strength. Marxism remains a viable and creative social theory which can provide powerful tools of analysis for research into contemporary capitalist society and in particular for the study of adult education within its societal context. The following sections provide an outline of Marxist political economy and discuss the implications of some of the recent critiques of Marxist theory and practice.

Marxist Political Economy

This section presents a summary of the main elements of Marxist political economy as found in the writings of Marx and Engels and elaborated by subsequent writers. The starting point of Marxist political economy is the theory of society and social development which Marx and Engels (1970) in 1846 called 'the materialist conception of history'. This theory posits that the system of economic organisation in society is the key to understanding the various dimensions of social reality. This theoretical proposition is explicitly presented by Marx in a well known passage in the *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* of 1859:

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their

> being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. (Marx,1969: 503)

The essence of the theory expressed here is that there are different stages of economic development, each of which is characterised by particular kinds of labour process, technology and property relations. Thus societies in Europe in the Middle Ages typified as feudal were based on agricultural production using hand-tools and animal draught power with serfs producing for themselves and for the nobles who owned the land. Each stage of economic development has distinctive productive forces (including raw materials, technology, human skills, division of labour) and a particular set of production relations (based on who owns and controls productive resources). The importance of analysing the way the economy is organised is that the mode of production has an effect on ('conditions') all the other aspects of social life, including the social psychology of how people view the world ('consciousness'). Hence the essential emphasis of Marxist theory on the mode of production.

A number of modes of production can be identified as different epochs in history, such as slavery, feudalism and capitalism. In all except the earliest stage ('primitive communalism'), there has been an economic surplus produced by society, namely the difference between the total output of the direct producers and what they consume. It is this surplus which releases some people from direct production and in different modes of production this economic surplus is appropriated in different ways. It provides the basis for class relationships, which are defined by who owns the productive resources and thus appropriates the surplus product. As we have seen, in the feudal mode of production the class of landowners appropriated the surplus from the class of serfs.

The concept of the mode of production is therefore not narrowly economic because it embraces the social relations of class. The idea of class is pivotal to Marxist political economy. The procedure of class analysis to identify the nature of the class formation at any given time is central to its mode of empirical enquiry. Class relations are determined by the relationship of different groups to productive resources - for example, within capitalism, the capitalists own means of production such as factories, whilst the working class owns no productive property and has to work for wages. However, the relations of class encompass not only the economic dimension of exploitation but also the dimension of power, being characterised by domination and subordination, and they shape many areas of social experience. Indeed, it is the different situation of groups within the economic system that is a major source of social conflict and struggle for power as members of the different groups pursue their class interests, for example, in struggles over the ownership of land or over wages and conditions of work. The political economy approach argues that the existence of class

divisions conditions social and political phenomena and that class conflict is the major source of social change.

The mode of production given most attention by Marx and Engels and subsequent Marxist writers is capitalism. The central aim has been to explain the dynamics of capitalist accumulation and reproduction and show their impact on society. The capitalist mode of production is defined by capital being the main means of production and by characteristic relations of production, in which one class (the capitalist class or bourgeoisie) has private ownership of capital and another class (the working class or proletariat) owns no means of production and sells its capacity to work. Marxist political economy has revealed evolution and changes (in technology, economic characteristics, political institutions) as capitalism has passed through a number of phases from its origins in the fifteenth century. Its present phase is characterised by its global nature and the dominance of large transnational corporations. Marx identified the tendency of capitalism to spread around the world and develop a world market. The intensification of this process in the twentieth century has made it an important area of study for later writers, from Lenin's work on imperialism early in the century to contemporary studies of the global political economy and socio-economic development in the peripheral capitalist countries of the South.

An important purpose of social investigation for Marx and many others using his legacy has been to develop a theoretical analysis of capitalism that would help to identify the internal contradictions which would provide the conditions for its transformation and the establishment of a new stage of social development. These contradictions include the developments in technology that cause strains in the existing relations of production. For example, the growth of manufacturing technology and the development of the bourgeoisie as a class in France led to the Revolution of 1789 and the overthrow of the feudal aristocracy by the new class, which instituted political and legal arrangements to serve its own interests. A key element of Marx's theory is that the proletariat, which was created by the development of industrial production and which exists in an antagonistic relationship with the bourgeoisie, can develop the self-awareness as a class and the necessary political organisation to overthrow the ruling bourgeoisie and establish a new form of society. The essential contradiction in the capitalist mode of production between the social nature of production in large enterprises and the private appropriation of the economic surplus could then be overcome. In the new mode of production, initially socialism and ultimately communism, there would be no private ownership of the means of production. It would be based on a system of economic organisation that would enable the direct producers to have collective control over production and thus end the subordination of one class to another. The end of class exploitation and domination would end alienation and make possible human emancipation for all oppressed groups in society. Thus within the tradition of Marxist political economy, the working class is identified as the historical agent with the strategic location in the economy and the material interest to carry out the revolution that will end capitalist society and create a new stage of social development.

The concern with class conflict, class consciousness, struggles over power, agencies for social change and so forth are part of the political theory embedded in the

paradigm of Marxist political economy. The passage from the *Preface* quoted above refers to the 'legal and political superstructure' in society, which in essence means the institutions of the state, such as laws, courts, armies, legislatures and government bureaucracies. The *Preface* argues that the state arises from the foundation constituted by the relations of production. The state received some attention in the writings of Marx and Engels who regarded it as a class institution, a means through which the economically dominant class advances its interests. In a famous phrase they spoke of the state as 'a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie' (Marx and Engels,1950: 110-111), thus rejecting the position of Hegel that the state represents the general interests of society as a whole. The precise ways in which the state relates to class-divided society within the capitalist mode of production have been a subject of extensive investigation within Marxism since the 1960s. Although there is controversy over the extent to which the dominant class directly controls the state and the extent to which the state has autonomy as an institution, there is general agreement that the state serves the interests of capitalist accumulation and reproduction. Indeed, its capacity to do this (and stabilise the disruptions inherent in the mode of production) is an important feature of contemporary capitalism, which is why it has been so closely analysed.

The power of the state within capitalist society is a significant political fact for conceptions of the process of social change. An important concern of Marxist political theory is therefore how the proletariat can develop politically to undertake socialist revolution, that is, to take control of state power and bring an end to capitalism. Marxist politics focuses on the development of the subjective conditions of human agency and the organisation of working class struggles in the context of the structural contradictions which are endemic to capitalism. The development of modern political parties of the working class at the end of the nineteenth century raised a range of questions concerning the nature of socialist political practice. One central issue has been the appropriate relationship between class and party (Miliband, 1977). A dominant tradition, symbolised by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, is that of the elite 'vanguard' party of professional revolutionaries which seeks to bring socialist consciousness to the workers from outside and guide their activity. An alternative view, articulated for example by Luxemburg, has laid greater stress on mass participation by workers, whose involvement in various forms of political and economic activity (such as trade unions, cooperatives, workers councils, political campaigns) would develop their class consciousness in a process of working class emancipation through its own efforts. In this concept the party expresses and organises the self-activity of the working class. Despite their differences, both of these traditions see the party as the key political form of working class politics.

The issues of political theory and practice in Marxist political economy raise questions of social psychology - why do people hold a particular world-view and in what circumstances do they change their outlook? Marx (1969: 503) in the *Preface* argued that 'the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general' and that it is people's 'social being that determines their consciousness.' His social psychology is therefore based on a materialist theory of knowledge that sees ideas, attitudes, values and beliefs as being shaped by the class divisions of capitalist society. People's world-view arises from their position within the

social relations of production and their everyday experience, particularly in the labour process. But ideas and beliefs are also used to advance class interests in the conflicts between the classes. As Marx and Engels put it in *The German Ideology*:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production...(Marx and Engels,1970: 64)

They argued that bourgeois ideology is propagated through a number of social institutions and is the dominant way of thinking in capitalist society. For example, values of individualism, consumerism and private profit are taken for granted. The power of this world-view in society is such that it becomes difficult for the working class to recognise its own interests. The task of Marxist politics is thus to oppose the ideas of the ruling class and provide alternative ideas and experiences which will help make the working class aware of its own interest and its capacity for action i.e. to acquire class consciousness.

These issues of consciousness and ideology have received a lot of attention in Marxist theory, particularly in the current known as Western Marxism, which has focused on the demonstrated capacity of the capitalist class to exert its control over society and block the emergence of working class consciousness. The most important explanatory concept here is that of hegemony, developed by Gramsci. He sought to understand how the ruling class engineers consent to its rule amongst the mass of the population (in parallel to the coercion it can mobilise through the state when necessary). He used hegemony to signify political leadership by consent and showed how it was achieved by the diffusion of the dominant ideology through social institutions such as religion, the media, education and popular culture so that it permeates social life and becomes 'common sense' which is reproduced through daily experience. It was his contention that hegemony is not a given and is a terrain of struggle, as it is contradicted by some of the ideas and everyday experience of the majority of the population. Gramsci argued that the struggle for hegemony take places in all spheres of cultural and intellectual life and of social practice. He believed that there was a need for the working class to develop a new world-view which would undermine the legitimacy of ruling ideas and create an oppositional culture, a counter-hegemony. He concluded that socialist political activity should create intellectual leadership within the working class to develop a counter-hegemony through which the class could achieve its own emancipation.

This brief review of Marxist political economy has presented it as a comprehensive theory of society which goes beyond customary disciplinary boundaries such as sociology or economics. The theory provides a coherent conceptual framework. The main concepts are the following: historical materialism, the mode of production, class, capitalism, imperialism, social revolution, socialism, the state, the party, consciousness, ideology and hegemony. These concepts provide the basis for a distinctive mode of analysis which aims to uncover the relationships between the mode of economic organisation on the one hand and social and political phenomenon on the

other. It is a general social theory which provides the concepts and methodology for the study of particular situations. At this point it is appropriate to consider some of the recent critiques of Marxist theory and practice in order to examine their implications for the political economy approach.

Some Recent Critiques of Marxist Theory and Practice

Ever since the early formulations of Marxist social theory there have been arguments within and outside Marxism over its interpretation and application in social analysis and its implications for political practice. In the period from the mid-1960s to the present which has seen a renaissance in Marxist theory, renewed interest has been accompanied by new debates and critiques. Some of these critiques have been made by those who are sympathetic to Marxism and wish to 'reconstruct' the tradition so that it provides a more adequate theory and is more able to address present-day social realities. An early example was Habermas (1979) who published a long chapter in 1976 on the reconstruction of historical materialism; a recent example is the book *Reconstructing Marxism* (Wright, Levine and Sober,1992). But alongside internal debates, Marxism has always been confronted by external critiques which have sought to change it or to attack its validity. The last twenty five years have also seen such critiques, particularly from new traditions of feminism, post-Marxism and postmodernism. There is therefore a range of contemporary critiques (some sympathetic, some hostile) of Marxist theory and practice. Six areas of critique are examined below because they have particular significance for the political economy approach discussed above.

Marxism as a Theory

The first area of critique relates to Marxism's status as a theory which claims to provide a general account of society and its development. One dimension of this critique is the extent to which Marxism can or should be regarded as a 'science'. Working within nineteenth century paradigms, Marx and Engels clearly regarded their work as scientific and concerned with uncovering the laws governing social phenomena in a manner comparable to those in natural science. This positivist view permeated classical Marxism and much of the current of thinking known as Western Marxism has been based on a reaction to this scientism. It constitutes a critique not only at the philosophical level but also at the practical level, as the appeal to scientific authority legitimated communist parties, with the effect that official Marxism ('scientific socialism') became uncritical and a body of doctrine. The issue has been very controversial within Marxism, reanimated by Althusser's attack on humanist Marxism in the 1960s (Smart, 1983). It can be helpfully considered in terms of broader thinking about the nature of social science.

The position adopted in this study concurs with Giddens that social sciences do not need to imitate the natural sciences in terms of procedures or the nature of their findings because human/social phenomena are different from natural phenomena. However they can still be considered sciences in terms of their 'use of systematic methods of investigation, theoretical thinking, and the logical assessment of arguments to develop a body of knowledge about a particular subject-matter.' (Giddens, 1989: 21) This position is similar to that of contemporary Marxists such as Wright, Levine and

Sober (1992) who regard Marxism as a social science the validity of whose findings are open to the normal criteria of evaluation in terms of assessment of the evidence produced, the logic of the arguments and the adequacy of the theory in explaining the data. Hence the conception here of Marxism as a social theory open to development as it responds to new evidence and arguments. This conception agrees with Carver (1982) that a statement like Marx's *Preface* should be regarded as a set of propositions (a 'research hypothesis') to guide empirical enquiry rather than a fixed set of laws about society. Thus the study is aligned those within the Marxist tradition who wish to reconstruct it so that its explanatory strengths are retained and its weaknesses (in terms of internal consistency, flaws or inability to address new socio-economic circumstances) are resolved.

However, this implies that the author regards as indispensable for holistic social inquiry a theory which enables a systemic analysis of society and a search for causal explanations. Capitalism, like any mode of production, is a social system and analysis of aspects of social existence within it benefits from a theoretical starting-point that enables one to view society in its totality. This view conflicts with the second dimension of critique of Marxism as a theory, namely that put forward by postmodernism, which is critical of all grand theory ('master narratives', 'metadiscourses') as typified by Marxism. Indeed, postmodern thought is basically antagonistic to Marxism and its origins are in a politically conservative response to the defeat of the Left by the state in France in 1968. Writers such as Foucault and Lyotard have attacked Marxism in terms of its claim to be a science, its concept of historical progress, its concern with causality and its global theorising (Sarup, 1993). Its 'totalising discourse' is seen as coercive and the basis for the authoritarianism characteristic of Soviet-style state socialism. However, the logic of this position is questionable as there is no necessary connection between the nature of a theory and a particular form of politics. Furthermore, the theoretical alternatives offered by postmodernism, despite its insights into some aspects of culture and identity, are basically superficial as its models of language, texts, discourses and interpretations usually ignore or avoid issues of social contexts, politics, the state and the material reality of capitalism. Its approach to social practices is necessarily fragmentary (as a consequence of the rejection of totality) and it cannot assist inquiry into the structural contexts of social life. It is therefore concluded that it is tenable to utilise the political economy approach based on Marxist theory as a means of explaining the dynamics of capitalist society.

Economic Determinism

Another area of critique surrounds the question of economic determinism. In the *Preface* Marx argues that the economic base of society shapes the political and cultural superstructure, an idea summed up in the formulation that 'The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general.' (Marx,1969: 503) This concept of determination is central to Marxism but raises theoretical difficulties firstly in terms of how direct or indirect the relationship is between the economic foundation and various aspects of social life and, secondly, in terms of how general and inclusive the formulation is and the extent to which it is applicable to *all* social phenomena. Classical Marxism inclined towards a position which

sought to interpret all historical events, political activities and social practices in terms of economic factors. The critical and humanist current in Marxism reacted against this and placed its emphasis on issues of consciousness, experience and agency. A major debate on the issue took place between structuralist and culturalist Marxists during the 1970s. Their polarity in effect raised the question of the relationship between structure and subject in social life and tended to do so in a dichotomous fashion. This study accepts Smart's conclusion after reviewing the debate over the base/superstructure metaphor and the question of determination:

> In the works of Marx and Engels it is clear that the economy is determinant in the final instance and therefore the superstructures are in some sense determined. However, the latter are accorded some degree of effectivity which is not simply reducible to the economy. (Smart, 1983: 30)

Despite the criticism from inside and outside of Marxism of so-called economic determinism or reductionism, a distinctive and defensible feature of Marxist analysis is that the mode of production does provide the structural context of social existence. However, any particular institution, event or practice may be relatively autonomous of economic factors and other influences have to be taken into account. Furthermore, there can be reciprocal interaction between the economic foundation and the political and cultural levels so that in some instances these levels have an influence on the base. The nature of determination in any particular case is thus a question of empirical analysis. The dialectical resolution of the structuralist/subjectivist dichotomy is quite clearly made by Marx:

> Men [sic] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. (Marx, 1950: 225)

This study has adhered to the concept of 'political economy' to make clear its assumption that these 'circumstances' are best analysed within a conceptual framework derived from the *Preface*.

The Primacy of Class

Related to the discussion on the role of the economic structure in determining social phenomena is a third area of critique focused on the primacy given to class relations in orthodox Marxist accounts of social inequality and domination. A typical form of this critique is expressed by Giddens:

> ...if we recognise that certain fundamental forms of exploitation do not originate in capitalism, or even with class divisions more generally, we are freed from trying to squeeze them conceptually within standard Marxist analyses. There are three main axes of exploitation of this sort...These are exploitative relations between states, particularly in

> respect to control of the means of violence; exploitative relations between ethnic groups; and exploitative relations between sexes. (Giddens, 1981: 25)

This critique raises for a political economy approach the issue of how Marxist analysis should account for systems of inequality, such as those of gender, race and ethnicity, which are not specific to the capitalist mode of production and which do not arise out of the social relations of production.

This has been a major theme of feminism over the last twenty five years in its analysis of patriarchy, the power of men over women. A fundamental insight of feminism has been into the impact of the dynamic of power on everyday relations - 'the personal is the political' - and it has sought to uncover the sources and mechanisms of patriarchy in private as well as public life. It has demonstrated how gender relations are the basis for a specific form of social domination. However, as Spelman (1990: 187) has put it 'Though all women are women, no woman is only a woman.' and therefore the differences among women in terms of class and race/ethnicity have to be taken into account. A number of feminists, such as Barrett (1988), have engaged with Marxist theory in an effort to provide a materialist understanding of patriarchy and its specific nature within the epoch of capitalism, including the intersections of class relations and gender relations. They have analysed not only patterns of power within the family but also within the sphere of work, revealing how production relations impact upon women. For example, the majority of women in the workforce have poorly paid and insecure jobs, so that patriarchal oppression intersects with the dynamics of capitalist accumulation to cheapen the costs of labour. The social situation of women, including in relation to other women, is inescapably bound up with class relationships.

Alongside efforts to understand the interaction of class and gender has been the recognition that patterns of race/ethnic inequality also have their own specificity and distinctive patterns of intersection with both class and gender. Anti-racist writers such as Gilroy (1982) have dealt with similar problems to feminists in terms of addressing not only the specific aspects of racism but also how it reinforces and/or contradicts class and gender relations. The main conclusion of these perspectives is that people have multiple identities and contradictory situations in relation to systems of inequality.

In parallel to these kind of considerations, and sometimes influencing them, has been analysis of the nature of power by postmodernism. Particularly important has been the work of Foucault who has argued that power is not located in relations between classes or in a central point, such as the state, but it is 'decentred', diffused throughout society in many different forms. From the postmodernist viewpoint there are multiple patterns of domination within social life (and concomitant resistances) none of which should be privileged in relation to another.

The effect of feminist, anti-racist and postmodernist theorising has been to present a much more complex configuration of inequality in society than that suggested by those Marxist accounts which tend to reduce all oppression to class oppression. The challenge for contemporary Marxism is how to situate its concept of class causation within what Wright, Levine and Sober (1992) call a context of 'multiple causality'.

They argue that Marxism, which has traditionally accorded causal primacy to class, must acknowledge that other causal processes which are not reducible to class, such as gender relations, are at least as important. Significance must be given to cultural factors as well as economic ones. This is a vital area for the reconstruction of Marxist political economy and hence this study incorporates the idea of multiple causality into its model of inequality.

However, the critique does not invalidate the importance that political economy gives to the concept of class and the methodology of class analysis. Gender, racial and ethnic inequality may have sources independent of the relations of production but they are not autonomous of economic factors and their character is shaped at a general level by the capitalist mode of production and at a specific level by the existing class structure. Furthermore, the comprehensiveness sought by Marxism in its approach to social inquiry predisposes it to move beyond single issues to try and understand the complex web of interactions and contradictions between the various forms of social inequality. The importance of political economy is that it does not allow the linkages to be severed between social inequality on the one hand and economic exploitation and political domination on the other.

The Politics of Social Change

The debate over the sources and modes of operation of power in society connects with a fourth area of critique which concerns the politics of social change in capitalist society. Marxism as a social theory has always sought both to analyse social change and contribute to the process of social change. The rise of radical politics in the West in the 1960s, and especially the events of May 1968 in France, raised significant questions about orthodox Marxist thinking on the politics of social change. The protests in France were based on mass movements and arose outside the conventional structures of the left wing parties and trade unions. Similarly the protests in the USA around civil rights and the war in Vietnam took the form of social movements. Such struggles not only had an organisational form different from that of the working class party, they also had a content that could not be conceived simply in terms of class conflict. The development of what are known as the 'new social movements' (that is, political activity by groups organised around specific issues such as peace, the environment, black nationalism, women's liberation and gay rights) has posed important problems for Marxist political theory and practice.

At the level of theory this development has provoked new thinking about the nature of the 'revolutionary subject' and the extent to which the working class is necessarily the strategic centre of opposition to capitalist society. The new social movements and other organisations in civil society may question aspects of the capitalist social order but they do so not from experience located in economic relations. Also they do not seek to take control of the state. They therefore raise questions on the nature of power in society and the significance of the state. The idea of diverse social groups pursuing different issues resonates with postmodernist thinking about multiple subject positions and decentred power and with feminist thinking that the antagonisms in capitalist society cannot be seen only in economic terms. The political strategy emanating from this theoretical position has been most clearly articulated in the post-

Marxist views of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. They identify multiple sites of power and domination in society and argue for an articulation of political forces which cuts across classes, namely an alliance of various autonomous social movements. The goal of the coalition is to struggle for radical democracy against all forms of social domination and for the extension or defence of rights in civil society as much as the state. Radical democracy thus represents the transformation of the social relations of everyday life towards greater equality. These democratic struggles are separate from workers struggles, and are carried about by a plurality of subjects, so that the working class cannot be seen as a 'privileged revolutionary subject'.

At the level of practice, the new social movements represent alternative modes of organisation to working class political parties (particularly in the hierarchical Leninist tradition of the vanguard party) and they seek alternative modes of engaging their membership in political activity. The idea of plural sites of power and resistance negates 'the Leninist organisational practice of subsuming heterogeneous social, sexual, economic and political struggles under one political struggle controlled by a single party...' (Ryan, 1982: 195). The preferred practices of the movements are egalitarian and participatory, rather than hierarchical and elitist, in order to prefigure radical democracy. Of enormous significance in this respect has been the women's movement which has developed distinctive ways of organising along these lines, including the use of personal experience in group discussion as the starting point for raising awareness of the need for personal, social and political change.

Single issue, identity politics have been very controversial for Marxists, not least because there is no clear basis on which coalitions and political leadership can be built and because it is unclear how such politics can defeat the logic of capitalism embodied in the social relations of production and defended by the state. Nonetheless, the expansion of social movements and other organisations of civil society, their challenges to aspects of the capitalist socio-economic order, and their prefigurative modes of operation mean that they must be seriously considered in a Marxist rethinking of the politics of social change. This requires clarifying the role of the working class in relation to groups resisting other forms of domination and therefore must be informed by the kind of multi-causal analysis suggested above. The political economy approach adopted here therefore includes a broad concept of politics in terms of the agents and processes involved in struggling for the goal of a post-capitalist society.

Alternatives to Capitalism

Another area of critique relates to Marxism's conception of the alternative to capitalist society. An essential element of the historical materialism of Marx and Engels is that capitalism would eventually break down through its internal contradictions and the political activity of the working class and it would be superseded by a new stage of social development, socialism. Their work was largely motivated by the desire to show that what was morally and ethically desirable (an alternative society) was historically inevitable because of the very nature of capitalism. They envisaged socialism as an egalitarian and democratic society which would expand human freedom. However they

wrote very little about it in detail because they thought it would be developed as the product of working class struggles and not as a result of blueprints for the future.

In the period between 1917 and 1991 there were a number of countries in Eastern Europe whose political-economic structures were designed on the basis of Marxism. These countries called themselves socialist or communist and were widely regarded as a form of socialist society. The reality of 'actually existing socialism' confronted Marxists with severe problems because the model of Soviet socialism was clearly flawed from a very early stage. Indeed, the critical currents in the Marxist tradition largely developed in reaction to the failings of this model, regularly exposed over the years by dramatic events such as the denunciation of Stalin in 1956, the crushing of the Czechoslovakian experiment in 1968 and the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The final implosion of the model in the face of popular opposition between 1989 and 1991 has created a new conjuncture for thinking about post-capitalist society. The key question is whether Marxist theory is so responsible for the conception and legitimation of 'actually existing socialism' that the collapse of Eastern Europe terminally discredits the entire Marxist project. Or does the end of the detour represented by these deformations of socialism take the albatross from around Marxism's neck and allow it, through critical reflection on what has happened and theoretical reconstruction, to restate the arguments for socialism?

The postmodernist view is that Soviet-style socialism is a direct result of Marxist theory and the nature of that theory, totalitarianism being the product of 'totalising' theory. But this is too simplistic an analysis of the complex economic and political processes which led to the emergence of state socialism. Although conceptions of Marxism played a role within these processes, the nature of these societies was not the inevitable result of Marxism. The case of the Soviet Union is well discussed by Gottleib (1992: 77-105) who shows how the economic conditions, political circumstances and a particular idea of the party combined with the use of a specific interpretation of Marxism as an ideology of legitimation to produce totalitarianism.

Additionally, against postmodernism's critiques of the Enlightenment and its values, including those values embodied in Marxism's vision of social progress, equality, justice and human emancipation, it is necessary to point out that postmodernism offers no alternative social vision. As Sarup (1993) emphasises, it is permeated with relativism, cultural despair and nihilism and, lacking any theoretical basis for social criticism, ends up acquiescing to the status quo. The continuing failures of capitalism - its exploitation, injustices, and inequalities, which are particularly salient when viewed in a global perspective - make the articulation of an alternative as relevant as ever. It is therefore concluded that the critical stance towards capitalism and the ideas of socialism remain relevant characteristics of Marxist political economy.

Eurocentrism

Finally in this review of recent critiques it is necessary to consider the issue of whether a theory whose origins are in nineteenth century Europe can have relevance for countries outside Europe in the late twentieth century. Is Marxism Eurocentric? Can it comprehend the nature of contemporary global capitalism and the social reality of

countries which have been historically on the margins of capitalist development? The first question arises from the postmodernist antagonism to universal theories. Indeed Baudrillard has attacked Marxism for its 'theoretical racism' (Callinicos, 1989: 126) in applying its categories of analysis outside the context of industrial capitalism. Whereas it is true that Marx and Engels had limited information about other parts of the world and may have been wrong in some of their conclusions about areas outside of northern Europe and the nature of their pre-capitalist societies (such as their concept of the Asiatic mode of production), this does not invalidate the use of the political economy approach as a mode of inquiry in varying circumstances. All societies, at whatever stage of development and in whatever geographical location, undertake economic activities for survival and reproduction, and the way these activities shape their political and cultural life is a justifiable focus of analysis. There seems to be no logical argument for characterising Marxism a priori as 'Eurocentric' in terms of its potential as a mode of social inquiry. Of course, particular instances of Marxist theory and practice, including political economic studies, might have been colonising in their failure to take account of specific circumstances. But the approach does have universal application. However, whilst rejecting postmodernism's tendency to relativism, it is acknowledged that the political economy approach must be highly aware of the specificities of particular national and cultural contexts.

With regard to the second question on the analysis of global capitalism, Marx and Engels were well aware of the development of a world market and the spread of capitalism world-wide. However, this process was at a relatively early stage of its development and was not a major focus of their attention (although Marx planned to write books on international trade and the world market). But the intensified globalisation of capitalism has stimulated a lot of recent Marxist analysis of both the global dynamics of this process and its impact on the peripheral capitalist countries of the South. In fact this is one area where the updating and refinement of Marxist theory seems to have responded to contemporary developments. Therefore it is quite valid to apply the political economy approach to the analysis of socio-economic development in the South.

Summary

This section has presented an outline of the major concepts of the political economy approach and an appraisal of some recent critiques of Marxist theory and practice. It is now possible to summarise the analytical position which has emerged from the discussion. The perspective embodies the view that Marxism continues to develop and is able to provide a theoretical framework which is valid and relevant to the analysis of contemporary capitalist societies, including those of the South. This view also assumes that Marxist social theory generates findings which are open to the standard criteria of evaluation within the social sciences. The political economy approach that has been adopted for this study posits the following:

1. Social phenomena exist within a structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relationships. The dynamics of the mode of production and the nature of the class formation change over time and can be analysed and delineated.

2. The manner and extent of the influence of the economic foundation on particular aspects of society is a matter for specific investigation in each case.

3. The dominance of the capitalist mode of production at the world level means that country-level studies must situate their analysis within the context of the global political economy. The dynamics of socio-economic development in the peripheral capitalist countries of the South have to be located within the international context of imperialism.

4. The different classes which exist tend to pursue their own interests in society and these are fundamentally conflictual. These conflicts permeate all aspects of social life.

5. Whilst class relationships are an important determinant of social phenomena, they are not the sole determinant and other social inequalities, such as those of gender, race and ethnicity, have significant effects. A comprehensive analysis of social phenomena must consider these multiple effects and how they interact.

6. The conflicts in society arising from class differences and other social inequalities are reflected in the state, which institutionally serves the interests of capitalist accumulation and reproduction. Public policy must therefore be analysed in terms of how it relates to the inequalities in society.

7. Intellectual and cultural life is shaped by the capitalist mode of production and by the contestation between different classes and groups in society as the legitimacy of the socio-economic order is simultaneously defended and challenged. The struggle for ideological hegemony takes place both in the institutions of the state and in the organisations of civil society.

8. Opposition to the existing capitalist socio-economic order is expressed not only by political parties but also by social movements and other organisations in civil society which articulate alternative conceptions of society and how it should develop. These organisations seek to transform people's understanding of society and thereby engage their support in struggles to change society

The position summarised here provides the basis for developing a political economy approach specifically for the study of adult education. The next section assesses the theoretical foundations of some previous works on the political economy of adult education prior to putting forward the framework for this study.

POLITICAL ECONOMIES OF ADULT EDUCATION

The Radical Tradition in Adult Education

A distinctive strand of adult education as it has developed in capitalist countries world-wide since the nineteenth century has been the radical tradition. This encompasses adult educators and organisations concerned with social justice and struggles for social change (Lovett, 1988). The radical tradition is characterised by its emphasis on the link

between adult education activities and social action, particularly through collective participation (in contrast, for example, to the liberal tradition's individualism and emphasis on education for its own sake). Various political and philosophical positions have motivated radical adult educators, one of which has been Marxism.

From the beginning there was a close connection between Marxist theory and the practice of adult education. In 1847, in Brussels, Marx delivered a course of lectures on wage labour and capital to the German Workers Education Association, which he had helped to establish (McLellan, 1973: 177). Eminent Marxist theorists such as Lenin in St. Petersburg in the early 1890s and Gramsci in Turin in the early 1920s engaged in workers education. Such activity was consistent with their political conception of the role of the proletariat in social revolution and the need to develop working class consciousness. Mao Tse Tung was involved in the adult education of communist political cadres in Yenan in the late 1930s and 1940s and a number of his well-known works were delivered as lectures.

There is therefore a long-standing heritage within radical adult education in capitalist societies that has been explicitly based on Marxist theory. For instance, in the USA, Marxist socialists in 1907 developed the Work People's College linked to the trade union movement. The goals of the College were stated in 1923 as follows:

> This [college] recognizes the existence of class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more efficiently carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and realistically of a new social order. (Cited in Paulston and Altenbaugh, 1988: 123)

The College sought to educate workers to provide leadership in industrial unionism and socialist activism from a definite Marxist viewpoint. More recently, in Kenya between 1976 and 1982, the Kamirithu Community Education and Cultural Centre developed an adult education programme based on literacy teaching and community drama which challenged the cultural imperialism characteristic of post-colonial Kenya from a position influenced by Marxist perspectives (Youngman, 1986b: 226-232).

However, although some elements of the radical tradition have been Marxist, on the whole the linkage of adult education and social action has been inspired by reformist thinking, often derived from social democratic politics. Indeed, the two perspectives have on occasion been in direct conflict, as in the dispute in England in the years 1909 to 1929 between the Marxist Central Labour College (which emphasised independent working-class education) and the Workers Educational Association over the latter's acceptance of funding from the state (Armstrong, 1988). It is important to recognise as well that the radical tradition has also embraced a close relationship between adult education and non class-based social movements. This has been the case both historically, for example in the anti-colonial movements of the 1940s and 1950s in Africa and Asia, and during the contemporary period in the women's, peace and environment movements.

Marxist theory has therefore been one of a number of influences on the radical tradition in adult education practice since the mid-nineteenth century. However, the use of Marxism as a theoretical framework for the study of adult education is relatively recent and arose in the 1970s. Precursors in Britain include the adult educator Hodgkin (1950), who wrote an article on the relation of adult education to social change in the 1950s, and the educational historian Simon (1960; 1965) whose studies on education between 1780 and 1920 included analysis of contending trends in working class adult education. But the more widespread usage of Marxist theory in the English-language literature on adult education is a result of two factors: firstly, the renaissance of Marxism in the 1960s and its application to a variety of social fields, including school education; secondly, the writings of Paulo Freire.

Political Economies of Adult Education

The revival of political economy within the Marxist tradition that took place in Anglo-American scholarship in the late 1960s spread to the study of education, initially in the work of radical American economists. The idea of a political economy of education emerged in the early 1970s. For example, Carnoy published a collection entitled *Schooling in a Corporate Society: the Political Economy of Education in America* (Carnoy, 1972). He then extended this mode of analysis to the countries of the South in his book *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (Carnoy, 1974), which focused on the international nature of capitalism and argued 'that the spread of schooling was carried out in the context of imperialism and colonialism - in the spread of mercantilism and capitalism - and it cannot in its present form and purpose be separated from that context...The structure of schooling, since it came from the metropole, was based in large part on the needs of metropole investors, traders and culture.' (Carnoy, 1974: 15). The insight of the political economy approach that schooling serves the needs of the dominant capitalist classes was thus applied within the circumstances of the unequal international relationship between nations.

The most influential of the early studies was *Schooling in Capitalist America* by Bowles and Gintis (1976). They put the capitalist mode of production and its constituent social relations of production at the centre of educational analysis. In the book they elaborated the 'correspondence principle' (based on Marx's *Preface*) that the education system serves to reproduce the social relations of production and corresponding forms of consciousness through the social relations of education replicating the hierarchical division of labour. The school system itself has different levels to produce workers for different levels within the occupational structure. Changes in schooling that have taken place 'have been dictated in the interests of a more harmonious reproduction of the class structure' (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 132-3) at periods when the restructuring of production and its relations have created changed educational requirements for their reproduction. The book presented detailed evidence to support the argument that it is the underlying economic structure of capitalist society which shapes the nature of schooling. This structural emphasis was influential within the sociology of school education and the book soon had an impact within adult education, for example, in the collection *Adult Education for a Change* (Thompson, 1980).

Subsequent writings on schooling from within Marxist theory substantially developed this initial political economy approach. A major critique has been of the base/superstructure model used by Bowles and Gintis (1976) which has been seen as overly determinist. Their correspondence principle has been criticised for providing too simple an account of the relationship between economic factors and the nature of the education system. A more complex conceptualisation has been developed which accords greater autonomy to education and in which the role of the state gets more attention in terms of how the interests of capital are mediated and embodied in educational policies. The role of the state has been extensively discussed by Carnoy and Levin (1985) in *Schooling and Work in the Democratic State*. Here they argue that the state is a site of struggle between the different classes and groups in society. Thus whilst the capitalist class seeks to ensure that schools reproduce workers for the unequal division of labour, this is resisted by subordinated classes and groups who seek greater equality of opportunity through education. This analysis developed the view of a number of writers that there are processes of contradiction as well as reproduction in education.

The idea of struggle over the nature of education links with conceptions of education's role not only in economic reproduction but also in cultural reproduction. Apple (1979; 1982) has stressed issues of ideology and the role of schools in the constitution and contestation of hegemony. Studies with a focus on the cultural practices of education have looked at what actually goes on within schools in terms of the curriculum, textbooks, social relations, the work of the teacher and so forth to uncover the mechanisms whereby social inequality is reproduced and legitimated on the one hand, and resisted and contested on the other. Apple has also explored the dynamics of gender and race in education, areas neglected in Bowles and Gintis's analysis, doing so from a multi-causal position that regards them as related to but not reducible to the dynamics of class relations. The significance of Apple's work for Marxist analyses of education is that whilst he focuses on processes of culture and social domination he retains the importance of the mode of production and the class structure. Indeed, he subtitled his book *Teachers and Texts* (Apple, 1986) 'A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education'. In his endeavour to combine 'a structuralist focus on the objective conditions within a social formation and the culturalist insistence on seeing these conditions as ongoingly built, and contested, in our daily lives' (Apple,1988: 119) he has produced the most theoretically sophisticated approach to the political economy of school education. It most nearly encompasses the position summarised in the previous section with the exception that he concentrates solely on the USA and does not address the context of imperialism and the global political economy.

Marxist writers on school education have been a major source of influence on the development of the political economy of adult education. It seems to be generally the case that developments in the study of adult education lag behind those in school education. However, in the case of Freire adult education has a theorist who has had an influence on radical school educators as well as being a source of Marxist ideas in the study of adult education.

The impact of Freire on English-speaking adult educators has been significant since the publication in the early 1970s of his books *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Freire,1972a) and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1972b). In general terms, his position as a voice of the Third World and his philosophical-political stance resonated with the anti-imperialist and New Left ideas which characterised the radicalism that had emerged in Europe and North America in the 1960s. Thus his writings intersected with a variety of discourses, not only that of education. In the field of adult education the writings which appeared in the early 1970s gave new impetus to the key idea of the radical tradition that adult education should contribute to social change in favour of the poor and oppressed. His work espoused the view that education was inherently political and that education was either a force for reproducing social domination ('domestication') or for emancipation ('liberation'). It was distinctive because Freire was from Latin America and his ideas were related to his experiences of adult literacy and agricultural extension in peripheral capitalist countries of the South. It was especially significant because the practices of adult education that Freire advocated (centred on the process of demystifying patterns of domination that he called 'conscientisation') were based on an elaborated theoretical foundation. The philosophical basis of Freire's early work included humanist Marxism, which found expression in his concern with alienation, consciousness, dialectics and praxis, and in his suspicion of Leninist political practice, as well as in his clear opposition to existing capitalist society. Thus Freire generated a new and wider awareness of the relevance of applying Marxist theory to the study of adult education and the effort to understand its nature, effects and potential.

The importance for the development of political economies of adult education is that Freire gave currency in the 1970s to the use of Marxist theory. However his own position in his early writings was aligned to the culturalist tradition within Marxism and did not focus on the structural context of consciousness and cultural practices. Indeed the early writings were overtly hostile to orthodox Marxism and its emphasis on the economic structure of society. Therefore he himself did not use the conceptual framework of Marxist political economy initially. However in 1978 in his book on his work in Guinea-Bissau, *Pedagogy in Process* (Freire,1978), he did show a new concern with the structural determinants of adult education and utilised concepts such as the mode of production, material conditions, social relations of production and so forth for the first time.

It can be concluded that Freire's work was a critical influence on the ideas of a political economy of adult education that emerged in the late 1970s. He has not himself elaborated a political economy perspective in his subsequent publications in English. His main concerns have remained essentially around adult literacy and critical pedagogy conceived in terms of cultural politics, identity, subjectivity, knowledge, language, and experience. This position has resemblances with much of the discourse of postmodernism as illustrated in the recent book *Paulo Freire. A Critical Encounter* (McLaren and Leonard, 1993). Nevertheless his position can be clearly differentiated from that of postmodernism by its persistent emphasis on political action for freedom and social justice. Furthermore it retains a clear political economy approach, explicitly informed by the work of Marx, and it locates education within capitalism as a system

and stresses the need for class analysis. Therefore whilst he sought to avoid reductionism, Freire in the late 1980s did not reject a materialist stance:

> Liberating education can change our understanding of reality. But this is not the same as changing reality itself. No. Only political action in society can make social transformation, not critical study in the classroom. The structures of society, like the capitalist mode of production, have to be changed for society to be transformed...The issue of social conflict is absolutely important here. In the last analysis, conflict is the midwife of consciousness. (Freire and Shor,1987: 175-176)

Freire's body of work addresses many elements of the political economy approach summarised in the previous section, though not in a systematic way. Its strength is in its analysis of the processes of social domination, ideology and hegemony within adult education, and in its linkage of liberating education with oppositional social movements. Above all its rootedness in the context of peripheral capitalism in the South addresses the problem of Eurocentric bias and locates adult education within the international context of imperialism. Its major weakness in terms of the summarised approach is its neglect of the state.

One of the earliest published uses of the concept of a political economy of adult education was made by Hall (1978) in an important article 'Continuity in Adult Education and Political Struggle'. Here he provided a historical review of the tradition of adult education and social action, particularly in Europe and North America. In assessing the role of adult education in social change he wrote:

> A political economic view of adult education would not allow for the conclusion that adult education, or in fact any education alone, is an instrumental factor in changing society. The relationship of adult education to struggle, to social change, to the improvement of the distribution of wealth and resources amongst all classes is one of integral support...not instrumentality. Economic history gives us the basis for an analysis of social and political trends. (Hall, 1978: 13)

The article indicates his awareness not just of the history of adult education's links to the labour movement and other social movements (the 'radical tradition') but also to Marxist political economy's concerns with the economic basis of social phenomena and with class struggle and social change. The significance of the article is that Hall subsequently became the Secretary-General of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and promoted a research project under the aegis of the ICAE entitled 'The Political Economy of Adult Education'. The first phase of the project involved a planning meeting in 1980 at which ten working papers were discussed (Healey, 1983). Two of the papers focused particularly on conceptual and methodological issues in the political economy of adult education.

The paper by Filson and Green (1980) entitled *Toward a Political Economy of Adult Education in the Third World* is obviously a 'working paper', being poorly

structured and not very coherent. However, an approach to the political economy of adult education clearly surfaces, based on the works of Marx and Engels and recent Marxist writers. Its starting point is within the tradition of historical materialism:

> ...we are assuming that these societies' forces and relations of production fundamentally limit and condition their political and educational forms even though the political-educational realm has a relatively autonomous existence in relation to those productive forces and relations. (Filson and Green, 1980: 1)

The theoretical framework that emerges emphasises the mode of production and the significance of class relations. The writers argue strongly for a recognition of the specificity of the countries of the South, paying particular attention to the colonial period and the relationship ('articulation') of the new capitalist mode of production to the pre-capitalist modes of production. The paper discusses issues of consciousness, knowledge and ideology in relation to class-divided society, referring briefly to the role of the colonial and post-colonial state. Most of the examples of educational development are drawn from school and university education and there is little analysis of adult education per se, apart from some references to literacy and agricultural extension. For example, agricultural extension in the countries of the South is seen as incorporating the peasant class into the international market in a programme of 'modernisation' that usually benefits other classes. The framework they develop is not applied in any sustained manner to adult education. However, a political economy approach is clearly outlined and it has similarities with the position summarised in the previous section. Its theoretical weaknesses are threefold: a) it focuses solely on class and neglects other social inequalities such as gender; b) it does not accord enough significance to the role of the state; and c) it pays little attention to resistance and opposition to the dominant ideology.

The second paper by Mbilinyi (1980) entitled *Toward a Methodology in Political Economy of Adult Education in Tanzania* is also unpolished and rather incomplete. Nevertheless, it provides an important discussion of some of the issues surrounding a historical materialist approach to the study of adult education. Although Mbilinyi does not use the term mode of production, she does use the Marxist concept 'social formation' and she emphasises the significance of class relationships. She identifies class struggles at various levels, including at the level of the state (defining Tanzania as 'state capitalist' in nature) and at the level of ideology, where the ruling class's 'dominance is constantly under attack...and must be continually reconstituted' (Mbilinyi,1980: 4). Of great consequence is her identification of social contradictions which are not synonymous with class and her discussion of gender relations and patriarchy is extensive. Some reference is made to Tanzania's colonial history and the impact of international capital but no general case for the specificity of countries of the South is argued, though this is implied in her clear methodological emphasis on concrete investigation. The strong theoretical sections of the paper are followed by a largely descriptive account of the development of education in Tanzania which fails to apply her approach and which says very little about the political economy of adult education. The theoretical framework of the paper is congruent with the political economy approach established above, though it gives less attention to imperialism and

the state, and it does not address the question of organised opposition to the socio-economic order.

An article by Healey (1983) provided a review of the ICAE project. The article, entitled 'Who Gains and Who Loses? The Political Economy of Adult Education', gave information on the project and made an accessible statement of a political economy approach to adult education which is admirably clear and well-presented. He summarises the theoretical framework of the project and offsets some of the deficiencies in the individual papers, for example, by stressing the importance of the global nature of the capitalist mode of production and the significance of social divisions other than class, including not only gender but also race and ethnicity. He goes beyond the two papers by emphasising the capacity for action by subordinate classes to alter social and economic structures and by making a linkage to adult education which 'can have a major role in equipping subordinate classes for their struggles on their own behalf...' (Healey,1983: 53). The major theoretical weakness of the article is the total omission of the state.

From the two papers and the article it can be concluded that the theoretical framework which had begun to emerge during the first phase of the project was close to the one articulated at the end of the previous section. Unfortunately, the project did not proceed to the second phase so that the framework was not elaborated and no applied studies were undertaken. An important opportunity to develop the political economy of adult education was therefore missed.

The next major discussion of a political economy of adult education was undertaken by Youngman (1986b) in *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy*. The book was the first in English to attempt an extended application of Marxist theory to the study of adult education. Its main focus was teaching and learning but it situated the micro-level of pedagogy within the wider social context. It therefore contained in the first chapter a section on the political economy of adult education which drew attention to the structural context of the content and processes of adult education practice:

> This is not to say that all aspects of adult education are in some way directly determined by economic factors but simply to assert that adult education is not an autonomous institution which generates all of its own characteristics. (Youngman,1986b: 11)

As the basis for its analysis of the context of adult education it presented certain central concepts of Marxist social theory - namely, the mode of production, base and superstructure, class, the state and imperialism. The section illustrated how adult education is used by the ruling capitalist class to advance its own economic interests and consolidate its political position, for example in those courses in Britain in the late 1970s for the unemployed which in effect legitimated structural unemployment. But it stressed that adult education is also an area of class struggle and the dominated classes have also sought to use adult education to serve their own interests, for example in the '150 hours' paid educational leave achieved by the Metalworkers Union in Italy in 1973. Later sections of the chapter expanded the idea that adult education could play an important role in the struggle to transform capitalist society by being linked to

organised socialist politics. The next chapter, which considered issues of consciousness, knowledge and learning, included an extended discussion of the concepts of ideology and hegemony as a means of theorising the relationship between the cultural and the structural.

The theoretical framework presented in the book is similar to that summarised earlier in this chapter. However, it was unevenly developed, partly because the book's focus was on pedagogical practices rather than structural analysis. In terms of the approach summarised above, this meant that questions of ideology and hegemony were given greater prominence. The book did not elaborate on imperialism and the international context of adult education nor did it consider the specific nature of peripheral capitalism. Whilst it did discuss at some length the importance of class divisions for adult education it paid little attention to the divisions of race/ethnicity and gender, and it did not identify the need for a theoretical understanding which could encompass patterns of multiple causation. Its treatment of the state was superficial although its significance for the study of adult education was recognised. The book gave extensive consideration to the role of adult education in opposition to the capitalist social order but it focused almost exclusively on the centrality of the working class and did not accord enough importance to the variety of groups challenging social domination.

It can be concluded that *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* presented a comprehensive sketch of an approach to the political economy of adult education but that this outline was not systematically developed and contained a number of deficiencies. Some of these weaknesses were subsequently addressed in the article 'The Political Economy of Literacy in the Third World' (Youngman,1990) which focused on the particularities of the South, highlighted non-class social divisions such as gender, race and ethnicity, and gave prominence to the state. But within the confines of a short article it was not possible to elaborate these developments of the political economy approach.

One national study in the South was influenced by the framework established in *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy*. In *A Political Economy of Adult Education in Nigeria* (Filson, 1991) a team of researchers report on an empirical study of access to government-sponsored non formal education in three contrasting states within the Nigerian federation. The book is 'an attempt to situate Nigeria's existing adult education programmes in relation to its political economic structure' (Filson,1991: 13). There is no systematic discussion of the theoretical framework of the study but reference is made (Filson,1991: 4, 14, 24) to the relevant section of *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* and discussion is couched in terms of the different modes of production within the Nigerian social formation and of its class structures. The structural context of adult education is explained through historical accounts of Nigeria's economic development and its incorporation into the world capitalist economy, with the resultant penetration of the capitalist mode of production and displacement of pre-capitalist modes. However,the underlying theoretical position is not always satisfactorily integrated into the overall analysis - for example the concept of adult education as a site of class struggle is rather tacked on to the discussion of Nigeria's economy in Chapter Two and is not explored elsewhere in the book in the

analysis of particular programmes. The theoretical perspective is not sustained and much of the book consists of descriptive accounts and presentations of questionnaire data on differential access to programmes which are not related to a political economy analysis.

An important chapter does go beyond the outline in *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* and considers the impact of gender relations on access to adult education. The chapter considers the interplay of class and patriarchy and the significance of cultural and religious factors, including for example the resistance in Muslim areas to the perceived hidden curriculum of Western cultural norms of gender relations in state-sponsored non formal education. But on the whole the book does not capitalise on the opportunities for theoretical development. For example, the state's role in adult education is described but there is no clear theory of the state and hence no substantial analysis. Above all, there is no systematic treatment of the international context and the nature of imperialism, thus external aid to adult education, for example, is referred to but not problematised and investigated.

Overall, the book is disappointing as far as the development of the political economy approach to adult education in the specific circumstances of the South. Its focus is narrower than its title suggests (in terms of geographical coverage, forms of adult education, and focus of research) and there is a lack of theoretical discussion and reflection. The intention of linking the theory of political economy to an empirical investigation was excellent but perhaps because of its multiple authorship the book does not have a satisfactory degree of theoretical coherence.

Specially pertinent to the present study is a PhD dissertation by Gaborone completed in 1986 entitled *The Political Economy of Adult Education in Botswana with Special Reference to the Agricultural Sector* (Gaborone,1986a). The dissertation was influenced by earlier work by Youngman which advocated theory-based research that would locate adult education within the context of Botswana's political economy. It is based on Marxist theory and uses the concepts of the mode of production, imperialism and class to analyse the nature of the state's adult education programmes. It concentrates on the rural economy and the relationship of agricultural extension to the rural class structure created by Botswana's role in the regional economy. The dissertation uses many elements of the framework summarised earlier though its conceptualisation and application is uneven. For example, the mode of production and imperialism are more fully elaborated than the state and hegemony. The study is strong in its analysis of patriarchy and gender relations but it does not consider ethnicity and the organisations of civil society. The dissertation uses Marxist theory and fieldwork data to give an in-depth analysis of one facet of Botswana's political economy and one branch of adult education. It provides an important sign-post for a more inclusive study of a peripheral capitalist country that will elaborate all the elements of a Marxist political economy and give a comprehensive analysis of adult education provision.

Finally, Torres (1990) in his book *The Politics of Non Formal Education in Latin America* produced the most theoretically sophisticated account of adult education and the state. The major concern of Torres in the book is to study adult education and the state in peripheral capitalist countries. He believes that

> ...to clarify the social settings where adult education takes place, it is essential to develop a political sociology of adult education on theoretical grounds. To understand the peculiarities of adult education in peripheral or semi-peripheral societies, we must understand the development of public education and the rules of policy formation in the dependent state...In these dependent states adult education tends to have a clear-cut class orientation, in its target clientele and its policy formulation, as well as in its links and relationships to economic, social and political development. (Torres,1990: 115)

Building on the work of Gramsci and more recent Marxist writers, he develops a theory of the capitalist state and public policy formation. This is based on the position that the state serves to maintain capitalist accumulation and reproduction and to legitimate the political domination of the capitalist class, whilst adjusting in various ways to pressures exerted by the subordinate classes and other groups in civil society. Thus adult education policy is a product of economic and political factors and especially class conflict. In studies of adult education in Latin America and the Caribbean he explores and illustrates these dynamics. Torres' work provides a significant advance in this area of the political economy of adult education.

This section has provided a critical overview of various contributions to the political economy of adult education that have been made in the last twenty years. It is now possible to summarise the theoretical framework for analysing adult education which underlies this study.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The review of political economies of adult education above suggested that there has been an uneven coverage of the implications for adult education of the main elements of a political economy approach that were identified earlier in the chapter. Certain writers have produced significant elaborations of particular dimensions, such as Torres on the state But none have achieved an integrated approach of all the elements that would enable a comprehensive analysis of adult education. In the light of the review, the earlier summary has been adapted to provide a framework for the political economy of adult education in peripheral capitalism. The theoretical framework of the study is as follows:

1. Adult education activities take place within a structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relations. The study of adult education in a specific context must therefore provide an analysis of the development of the capitalist mode production and its relation to the pre-capitalist mode of production. It must also provide an analysis of the changing class structure and the processes of class formation. It is assumed that this analysis will give the structural background for explaining developments within the field of adult education.

2. The manner and extent to which the mode of production and the class relationships have influenced particular aspects of adult education are an area of investigation. It is assumed that these factors have a significant impact on adult education activities but that these activities have a relative autonomy from the economic basis of society and can influence its development.

3. The dominance of the capitalist mode of production at the world level means that socio-economic development in peripheral capitalist countries of the South must be located within the context of the global political economy. It is assumed that the dynamics of imperialism have an impact on the policies and practices of adult education.

4. Different classes have different interests and conflicts arise as they pursue these interests. It is assumed that these conflicts have effects on the nature and consequences of adult education at every level, including policies, organisation, and curricula.

5. Besides the relations of class, there are other important social inequalities, especially those based on gender, race and ethnicity. It is assumed that these inequalities have profound influences on adult education and its outcomes, including in ways which interact with those derived from class relations.

6. The conflicts within society that arise from class differences and other social inequalities are reflected in the state, which is a significant provider of adult education. It is assumed that the formation, implementation and outcomes of public policies on adult education can be meaningfully analysed in terms of how they relate to the inequalities in society.

7. Intellectual and cultural life is shaped by the capitalist mode of production and the contestation between different classes and groups in society over the legitimacy of the existing socio-economic order. It is assumed that adult education provided by the state and the organisations of civil society is an area in which struggles for ideological hegemony are carried out.

8. There are different views over the nature of society and how it should develop, some of which question aspects of the capitalist socio-economic order. It is assumed that the activities of political parties and of organisations in civil society which question the status quo have an adult education dimension because they seek to change people's ideas about society.

CHAPTER THREE: ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY

INTRODUCTION

The study and practice of adult education in the countries of the South is framed by the context of 'development', the idea of the necessity and possibility of progress towards a 'more desirable kind of society' (Bernstein,1983: 48). This idea has a particular history, one inextricably bound up with world economics and politics. The concept itself is value laden, as the notion of 'more desirable' indicates - who defines 'progress'? who benefits from it? who loses? It also embodies assumptions about deliberate action to change society in chosen directions. Theories of development therefore have been generated largely as a form of applied social science, intended not only to provide explanatory models of change but also to give guidance for policy-making. The location of adult education as an activity regarded as contributing to development makes it important to clarify these theories and their policy implications. This chapter reviews the evolution of different conceptions of development and their implications for adult education. It concludes that the theoretical framework of political economy established in Chapter Two provides a valid and relevant basis for the analysis of adult education in the context of development.

The focus of development is societal change and the social theory of Marx, Durkheim and Weber is an important intellectual legacy because of their work on the transition to modern (industrial, capitalist) society. However, the main basis of contemporary development studies is economics. This is because the definition of the field of study in the period after 1945 was rooted in a concern with 'economically backward' areas of the world and the identification of appropriate strategies for their economic development, seen essentially in terms of industrialisation. This concern with the question of economic development in Africa, Asia and Latin America had a number of origins in the 1930s and 1940s. One source was the reaction of Latin American policy-makers to the disruptions to their economies caused by the depression of the 1930s and the 1939-1945 world war. The collapse of international trade had exposed the economic vulnerability of their reliance on the export of primary products and they therefore sought paths to more self-sustained economic growth. Another source was the reconstruction of Europe after the devastation caused by the war. The large scale programme of economic aid to Europe by the USA (the Marshall Plan) showed the possibilities of planned intervention in national economies.

But the most important source was related to the shifts in global politics after 1945. This period was marked by the decline of the European colonial powers and the momentum to decolonisation, the emergence of the USA as the world's strongest economy, and the development of the Cold War in which the USA sought to contain the spread of communism. One dimension of the perceived threat of the USSR was that it was the only country to have industrialised outside of capitalism and it therefore provided an alternative model of development. In the early 1950s the concept of the 'Third World' emerged to indicate an area outside the First World of advanced industrial capitalism and the Second World of industrialised state socialism in which the two models of socio-economic development contended. The dominance of capitalism within the world economy has meant that the major theme within the discourse of

development has been one of capitalist development. However, there has been a minor theme of critique, derived theoretically from the legacy of Marx and practically from the experience of the USSR, China and countries such as Cuba.

Since 1945, the idea of development has been a powerful one in international affairs and in the internal affairs of those countries which have been on the periphery of the historic centres of capitalism. It has influenced a wide range of policies by international organisations and national governments and many activities by non governmental organisations and grass-roots bodies. Its meaning has been a site of contention and thinking about development has changed over the years. Although approaches derived from economics have been predominant, the ideas and processes of development clearly involve polities and cultures also and therefore it is preferable to take a transdisciplinary perspective. Indeed, as argued in Chapter Two, one of the advantages of Marxist social theory is its transdisciplinary character. This makes it particularly useful for the analysis of development.

Adult education is a form of social policy, the product of deliberate action by organisations to influence society (Griffin,1987; Torres,1990). It involves a variety of bodies, including the state and organisations of civil society, which seek to meet the needs, interests and values of different groups in society. The policy-making processes involving these organisations are shaped by competing definitions of what kinds of intervention in society are appropriate and hence what forms of adult education should be undertaken. In the countries of the South, the rationales for different kinds of social intervention are articulated in terms of ideas and values underpinned by theories of development. The nature of adult education in the South has therefore been influenced by the evolution of the different schools of development theory.

The literature on adult education and development reflects the changing ideas about development. In some cases, writers on adult education consciously align themselves with a defined theory of development, in others their adoption of particular assumptions about development indicates that they have accepted (perhaps unwittingly) a certain theoretical perspective. Thus a pattern can be traced in the literature, although it must be acknowledged that theoretical positions and forms of adult education in practice are often eclectic and defy neat categorisation. However, the chapter refers to selected writings to illustrate the impact of the major schools of thought on ideas about the relationship between adult education and development.

The chapter therefore focuses on the main theories of development that have arisen since the mid-1940s. This provides a broad overview although, as Hunt (1989) has emphasised, the categorisation of approaches to development necessarily over-simplifies and obscures the variety of differences within a given category. She also notes that those who have provided reviews of the field differ in their categories and in who they group together. Nevertheless, it is useful to show in broad terms the different trends that have arisen over time and the relationship of theoretical efforts at explanation to unfolding economic and political realities, whilst noting that new paradigms do not necessarily displace completely the influence of others. The identification of the main schools of thought will clarify the linkage between adult education and development. The chapter therefore considers a) modernisation theory;

b) dependency theory; c) neo-liberal theory; d)'alternative' approaches; and e) political economy. Where appropriate historically, the term 'Third World' is used. However, with the collapse of the Second World in 1989-1991, the expression lost its referents and so the terms 'South' and 'North' have been adopted as shorthand for the major division in today's global political economy.

MODERNISATION THEORY

The variety of approaches that can be grouped in the category of 'modernisation theory' provided the consensus view of development until the mid-1960s and continued to dominate mainstream thinking until the 1980s. The extent to which the work of Keynes had a direct influence on these approaches is a cause for dispute. However, it is undoubtedly the case that the adoption of his rationale of the role of the state in macro-economic policy in Europe and North America after the depression of the 1930s provided a legitimation for state intervention in the processes of economic development in underdeveloped countries. Indeed, the idea of government planning was integral to the modernisation approach, which was generally sceptical of neo-classical assumptions about the effectiveness of market mechanisms to stimulate appropriate investment for growth.

Modernisation approaches had their basis not only in economics but also in sociological and psychological theories. In terms of economics, they saw 'backward' economies as dominated by subsistence agriculture, having low rates of capital accumulation and investment, a small foreign trade sector and a low rate of economic growth. These economies were seen as poor because of low productivity but as having potentially abundant labour. The proposed economic strategy was therefore to develop a 'modern' sector based on industrialisation and commercial agriculture by mobilising the underemployed labour in the 'traditional' rural sector. Development was seen essentially in terms of economic growth based on the expansion of the modern sector and the export of primary products. The process required support by appropriate governmental measures accompanied by external investment and foreign aid.

The concerns of economic theory with the internal constraints on economic growth and how to overcome them merged with ideas about how societies as a whole change. The dominant school of sociology in the USA in the 1950s was the structural-functionalism of Parsons, working in the tradition of Durkheim. This school viewed social change as a process of evolution from simple, pre-industrial traditional society to complex, industrial modern society as exemplified by the USA. It identified the characteristics of each type of society and considered how traditional societies might make the transition to modern life, with its market economy, democratic polity, urbanisation, high levels of literacy and so forth. A psychological dimension to this dichotomy between the two kind of societies was also theorised and the idea of a modern personality postulated, with characteristics such as rationality and achievement motivation. Inkeles and Smith (1974), for example, argued that changes in attitudes and values were necessary to reproduce modern behaviour and the effective functioning of modern economic and political institutions. Their central assumption was that development required a shift from traditionalism to individual modernity. These sociological and psychological concerns supplemented economic theory and suggested

areas of social intervention, for example in education, which would help to promote economic changes.

The fundamental premise of modernisation theory was that there is a single process of social evolution, the highest stage having been reached by the USA in the 1950s. This view received its most celebrated articulation in the book by Rostow (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth* which sought to chart a series of historical stages in economic growth from traditional society to the 'high mass consumption' societies of the USA, Western Europe and Japan. The modernisation approach expressed an optimism about Western society that derived from the post-1945 period of sustained economic growth and full employment and it reflected the international economic and political hegemony of the USA. Although modernisation theory tended to use the concept of 'modern industrial society' its focus was in fact *capitalist* society and Rostow's book had the revealing subtitle 'A Non-Communist Manifesto', reflecting the location of ideas about development within the ideological conflicts of the Cold War.

A major assumption of modernisation theory was that overall economic growth (measured in terms of the Gross National Product and increases in average per capita income) would benefit everyone in society, it would 'trickle down' so that the incomes and standard of living of all would improve. One of the divergent trends within the modernisation school of thought took a more egalitarian approach. This approach was associated with European (as opposed to American) writers, such as Myrdal from Sweden, whose ideas on planning and welfare-oriented polices reflected the wide degree of consensus about the welfare state in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. It emerged prominently following the recognition that even after the efforts of the United Nations' First Development Decade (1960-1969), inequality and widespread poverty remained a characteristic of Third World societies. Writers such as Seers sought to redefine the meaning of development to include not simply economic growth but also trends in poverty, income distribution and employment:

> The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing, more especially if all three have, then it would be strange to call the result 'development' even if per capita income doubled. (Seers,1969: 3)

This current in modernisation theory may be regarded as social democratic in its distributionist concerns within the framework of capitalist development. It gained a brief period of importance in the mid-1970s following the intervention of the International Labour Organisation in 1976 to increase attention to poverty alleviation in the Third World through its proposals for a 'basic needs' strategy. The strategy advocated priority for meeting the basic needs of all, focusing especially on the poor. It proposed setting targets for meeting survival needs (such as food, clean water and shelter), for providing social services (such as education and health) and for creating

opportunities for work. It also included the social dimension of broadening popular participation in the development process. The strategy was based on continuing concern with growth in the modern sector whilst also redistributing investment in order to raise the incomes of the poor, through increased opportunities for productive work, and to extend public services. The underlying economic rationale was that an expansion in the employment opportunities and incomes of the poor would broaden the base of domestic demand in the economy and thus provide a stronger foundation for sustained economic growth than over-reliance on exports. Its policy implications included the promotion of small-scale, labour-intensive production in manufacturing and farming, and the expansion of government social services. Because the majority of the poor live in the rural areas, the strategy had a rural development emphasis. Foreign aid was seen as having a supportive role in assisting governmental efforts to meet targets.

This reformist approach to development was equity-based and assessed progress in terms of gains in public welfare and the reduction of poverty. Although the World Bank for a time in the mid-1970s showed a concern with poverty alleviation, the reformist approach did not have a significant impact on the policies of Third World government or major donor agencies. A major weakness of the approach was that it avoided the issues raised by the fact that those who would gain from greater equity would have to confront the political domination of those who benefit from inequality. However, it retained some appeal for non governmental organisations and had a continuing influence on UNICEF (Oman and Wignaraja,1991). It reappeared in the United Nations Development Programme's series of *Human Development Reports* which started in 1990.

In relation to education, modernisation theory from the early 1960s advocated a large expansion of schooling. This was based on the 'human capital theory' which had been advanced by Schultz. In an influential speech in 1960 he had argued that education was not a form of individual consumption but a productive investment indispensable to rapid economic growth. His speech focused on industrialised countries but he also argued for aid to underdeveloped countries to support education:

> It is simply not possible to have the fruits of modern agriculture and the abundance of modern industry without making large investments in human beings. (Schultz,1961: 322)

This idea had a major influence on governments such as that of the USA and on international bodies like the World Bank. They promoted the theory in relation to the Third World. It coincided with the argument of modernisation theory that countries were undeveloped because of their internal characteristics, such as lack of educated and skilled people. In line with the evolutionary thinking of the theory, educational development was seen in terms of developing systems similar to those in the industrialised countries.

In the 1960s the countries of the Third World therefore rapidly developed school systems because they would create the people (the 'human capital') with the skills and attitudes to develop and manage a modern economy. A strong, centralised education system was also seen as politically important in the process of nation building, creating

national unity and the authority of the state, often in territories whose boundaries had been defined by colonialism. Significant investments of public resources and foreign aid were made in expanding school systems, with universal primary education as a key goal.

Modernisation Theory and Adult Education

However, the rapid expansion of schooling led to problems in many countries. These problems included levels of social demand which exceeded the resources available, escalating costs and internal inefficiencies, and the growth of the educated unemployed. The crisis was evident by the late 1960s and was widely publicised by Coombs (1968) in his influential book *The World Educational Crisis*. He proposed a variety of solutions to the crisis, including nonformal education. He argued for investment in nonformal education a) to provide those who had never been to school with the knowledge and skills for national development; b) to upgrade partially qualified people to be more effective in their jobs; and c) to give training to the educated jobless. He gave priority to modernising the agricultural and rural sectors through farmer training, extension services and the training of rural leaders. His book helped to focus attention on the potential of adult education programmes to contribute to development within the modernisation paradigm. Subsequently many government and aid agencies gave increased support to the development of adult education, often under the rubric of nonformal education.

Much of the writing on adult education and development in the late 1960s was couched in terms of modernisation theory. This is typified by three well-known books. In the first section of *Adult Education for Developing Countries* Prosser (1967) discussed the relationship between adult education and national development 'with the intention of highlighting its prime role.' His main emphasis was on the role of adult education in helping people absorb the rapid social change associated with the transition from 'simpler societies' to 'a modern democratic state with its fundamental cash economy and maximum social mobility.' (Prosser,1967:3). His perspective reflected uncritically the structuralist-functionalist sociology embodied in modernisation theory. In a similar vein Townsend Coles (1969: 19) in *Adult Education in Developing Countries* argued for investment in adult education because 'The first priority in developing countries is to improve human resources, on which national development plans depend.' His starting point was that developing countries were poor because their human resources were poorly developed and he explicitly endorsed the human capital theory integral to the modernisation approach to development.

Finally, Lowe (1970) brought together a number of national and regional case-studies in *Adult Education and Nation Building*. The basic assumption of the book was of the benign relationship between adult education and development:

> The reason why governments in developing countries have to treat adult education seriously is plain enough. Resolved to achieve rapid economic and social growth and to promote national unity they must somehow produce a skilled and informed adult population. Capital investment alone will avail them nothing if human skills are wanting..(Lowe,1970:1)

Adult education was seen as indispensable to national development and the case studies presented descriptive accounts of adult education, focusing largely on technical issues such as planning, coordination, administration, finance, methods, and the training of adult educators. Whilst the writers acknowledged failures, for example in mass literacy campaigns, and problems such as inadequate resources, they seldom questioned the prevailing conception of development. Occasional discussion of the objectives of adult education, for example as the 'modern means to material progress' (Lowe,1970: 19), revealed little critical analysis of the nature of national development. There was a general optimism about the nature of development and the positive contribution of adult education, supported by international aid. Only the final commentary chapter raised questions about the conventional assumptions of development and considered alternative ideas. In doing so it prefigured the debates of the mid-1970s.

As mentioned above, the critique of the UN's First Development Decade led to the emergence in the mid-1970s of a reformist trend within modernisation theory that focused on the problems of inequality and poverty and the importance of meeting basic needs. This trend was reflected in adult education. Again a key figure was Coombs whose book *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help* (Coombs and Ahmed,1974) was an early advocate of using adult education to address the problem of rural poverty. The book, commissioned by the World Bank, was based on twenty five case studies of rural adult education programmes, including agricultural extension, farmer training, skill training for rural artisans and small entrepreneurs, and community development. Its focus was on increasing rural incomes and participation in the cash economy as a means to modernising rural society - 'For a subsistence farmer to become a better commercial farmer he must first visualize his farm as an economic unit - a business - and not simply as a way of life.' (Coombs and Ahmed,1974: 119) The book did not fundamentally question the modernisation paradigm. Rather it identified the problem of development in the fact that the rural poor had been left outside the modern life which the development process hitherto had brought only to the urban areas. The role of adult education was therefore articulated within a perspective of reforming the modernisation strategy to reduce the urban/rural gap and create greater equity.

The reformist trend of the mid-1970s was crystallised in the International Labour Organisation's 'basic needs approach' to development in 1976. The approach struck a chord with the social democratic tradition within adult education. This was symbolised by a large international conference on the theme of 'Adult Education and Development' which was held by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) in Tanzania in 1976. (Tanzania at that time was seen as a model of a country following a development strategy with emphasis on meeting basic needs, especially through popular participation in rural development.) The conference was dominated by the new 'basic needs' conception of development. A book sponsored by the ICAE (Hall and Kidd, 1978) contained major documents and reports from the conference that disseminated ideas about the role of adult education within this conception.

The original modernisation approach remains the theoretical basis of much mainstream adult education, such as government agricultural extension programmes. Its reformist variant has also continued to be influential, although increasingly in the 1980s it was absorbed into the more radical 'alternative' approaches to development.

DEPENDENCY THEORY

From the mid-1960s, the modernisation theory of development came under attack by various writers who can be categorised as working within a dependency paradigm that regarded development in the Third World as conditioned by the domination of the advanced capitalist countries. The most influential writers worked within a neo-Marxist approach whose origins lay in the work of Baran (1957). During the 1950s Baran analysed the problems of development from a neo-Marxist perspective, using concepts such as class and imperialism to study the relationship within the world economy between the advanced industrialised capitalist countries and the countries of the periphery. He focused on the idea of the economic surplus and on the processes of imperialism by which this surplus is extracted from the periphery to the centre. He argued that Western capitalism, from its earliest contacts with regions outside of Europe, had exported the surplus and had thus blocked capital accumulation taking place in the periphery. In consequence, industrial development in the periphery undertaken by a domestic capitalist class was unlikely to happen. Foreign capitalists dominate these economies, investing mainly in the production of primary commodities from mining and agriculture and partly in low-wage light industry, and they repatriate their profits to the centre. Therefore there is no national dynamic of capital accumulation controlled by an indigenous capitalist class. In fact the dominant domestic classes (particularly the landowners and commercial capitalists) use their control over the state to facilitate foreign investment and maintain the status quo, which serves their interests. Baran concluded that a socialist revolution and disengagement from the world capitalist economy would be needed to enable full socio-economic development to take place in the Third World.

Baran's conclusion that capitalist development was blocked in the peripheral economies departed from Marx's opinion that the process begun by the spread of mercantile capitalism to countries outside Europe would destroy pre-capitalist modes of production and lead to capitalist development in those countries. It was such departures from Marx's views that led to the classification of 'neo-Marxist' (Foster-Carter, 1974) to indicate the modifications to Marx's formulations undertaken by Baran and later writers who followed his lead in elaborating dependency theory.

The idea of blocked development also contradicted the fundamental premise of modernisation theory. The views of Baran thus went against the dominant thinking of development theorists in the 1950s and they had little influence at the time. However, they were picked up and developed in the mid-1960s by Frank. His work began to be published at a time when the confidence of Western society was being undermined by factors such as slowing economic growth, the disillusion of young people with the 'affluent' society, opposition to the Vietnam war and other political and social conflicts. At the same time, the initial optimism of the 1950s around prospects for development was ebbing as poverty and inequality persisted and internal conflicts and authoritarian

regimes emerged in the aftermath of decolonisation. Frank's publications therefore coincided with a time when both the model of society proposed by modernisation theory and the effectiveness of development policies undertaken within its prescriptions were coming into question. In this milieu, the neo-Marxist challenge to the orthodoxy of mainstream development theory received a degree of prominence.

Frank focused on the relationship between the centre and the periphery of the world capitalist system from the perspective of his historical analysis of the experience of Latin America. He argued that capitalism had penetrated Latin America in the sixteenth century from Western Europe and that colonial rule established a trading system which ensured that minerals and other primary products flowed to Europe. Merchant capital therefore integrated the peripheral economies into the international capitalist system in a subordinate role which extracted their surplus and dissolved their feudal structures. The fundamental feature of world capitalism is its polarisation into metropolitan centres and peripheral satellites, a commercial relation in which the periphery exports cheap primary products and imports manufactured goods. The development of advanced capitalist countries in Europe was based on this relationship and the export of surplus has led to the *under*development of the Third World.

Frank argued that the present situation of poverty and low productivity in the countries of the Third World had been produced historically by their subordination into the world market and it is not an original condition resulting from their internal characteristics. In a famous essay entitled 'The Development of Underdevelopment' he wrote that

> ...even a modest acquaintance with history shows that underdevelopment is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. The now developed countries were never *under*developed though they may have been *un*developed. (Frank,1969: 4)

He identified the dominant capitalist class in the periphery as 'comprador', that is, collaborationist. Its alliance with foreign capital meant that the dependent relation of Third World countries would be perpetuated. The domestic capitalist class is unable to generate an autonomous and self-sustaining form of capitalist development. His analysis was thus similar to Baran's, with some differences of emphasis, for example on the extent of capitalist penetration of pre-capitalist modes of production. Like Baran, Frank reached the political conclusion that a socialist revolution was required. He advocated class struggle against 'the immediate enemy' of the domestic ruling classes rather than support to the national bourgeoisie to build capitalism and oppose foreign domination, 'the principal enemy' of imperialism. (Frank,1969: 371-372) In this he contradicted the current political strategies of the orthodox communist parties in the region. The revolution in Cuba in 1959 and its subsequent development path provided a political model.

Frank's work became the most well-known in English of a group of writers who analysed development from the perspective of neo-Marxist ideas about

underdevelopment and dependency. The Caribbean writer Rodney, for example, published a celebrated book entitled *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Rodney,1972) which provided a historical account of the causes of underdevelopment in Africa. Other writers, such as the Egyptian Amin, explored further the idea of the single world capitalist system in which the peripheral countries are structurally dependent because of the domination of foreign capital over their economies. From this viewpoint, the dynamic of the world system is generated by capitalist development in the centre. The process involves the appropriation of the surplus from the periphery through unequal exchange (because terms of trade favour the manufactured products of the centre and devalue the primary products of the periphery) and the repatriation of profits (based mainly on the low-wage character of production in the periphery). For the peripheral countries, the impetus for economic development comes from the outside. Thus even if there are shifts in the international structure of production, for example, with some industrial activity being moved to the periphery, control remains in the hands of foreign capital and economic development is not self-controlled and self-sustaining.

The analysis put forward by dependency theorists, many of whom came from the Third World, challenged various assumptions of modernisation theory. Against the idea that there were stages of economic development which all countries pass through in evolution to advanced industrialisation, dependency theory argued that the advanced capitalist economies were developed on the basis of surplus drawn from the periphery and that this route cannot be replicated by present-day underdeveloped economies. Indeed, the world system is structured in a way that makes Third World countries remain dependent on the centres of capitalism. Thus the possibilities of independent industrialisation in the periphery are blocked by external factors rather than internal ones such as lack of capital and entrepreneurial skills, as argued by modernisation theory with its focus on development as an endogenous process.

Dependency theory challenged the notion that present-day underdevelopment is an original condition and argued that it was created by the unequal international relationship that has developed since the sixteenth century. This historical process had undermined the potential for internal development, as exemplified by British colonial action against cotton weaving in India in favour of raw material export to mills in Britain. It also attacked modernisation theory's dichotomy of 'traditional' and 'modern' as superficial and Eurocentric, neglecting the history of colonialism and the nature of capitalist penetration of pre-capitalist societies (some of which were more developed than Europe at the time). Furthermore, international trade is essentially exploitative and modernisation theory's encouragement of trade as mutually beneficial masks this inequality.

Dependency approaches had an impact at the level of theory in the late 1960s and during the 1970s but they had little impact on policy. The main conclusion of dependency analysis was that development must be based on a socialist revolution and disengagement from the world capitalist market. Certain development policies stemmed logically from this position, such as controls on foreign capital, reduction of imports, encouragement to self-reliance and the development of technological capacity. But ideas on policy were usually left at the level of generalities though in *Dependence and Transformation* the Caribbean academic Thomas (1974) did address in detail how a

worker-peasant alliance holding state power might carry out a planned socialist transformation. However, given the context of the Cold War and the global economic and political dominance of capitalism, it was predictable that dependency theory had little influence on national policies. It had some influence on certain Third World leaders such as Allende of Chile, Nyerere of Tanzania and Manley of Jamaica, and it was reflected in the arguments of the Third World in the mid-1970s for a 'New International Economic Order' (Hettne,1990: 97). But it seems reasonable to conclude that whilst dependency theory stimulated a lot of academic debate over development theory it had little impact on development policy. In the end, this is because its analysis was linked to radical political conclusions rather than the provision of technical guidance for development planners.

It has been shown that the emphasis of modernisation theory was on the internal characteristics of a nation that are an obstacle to development. Within this paradigm, education (supported by foreign aid) has the role of addressing obstacles such as the lack of human capital and the absence of modern attitudes. The focus of dependency theory is on the external factors which block development. The implications for education were outlined by the prominent dependency theorist Amin. He criticised the failure of imported educational models which were copied from the developed world in the same way as production techniques and consumption models. He advocated

> ...a self-oriented development strategy and...an education radically different from the borrowed model. The strategy must start with a direct definition of the needs of the masses, without reference to the European model; it must necessarily be egalitarian; it must be essentially self-reliant; it must awaken a capacity for autonomous technological innovation. (Amin,1975: 52)

Amin did not give examples of such a strategy but his writings at the time suggested that China under Mao provided an appropriate development model.

Dependency Theory and Adult Education

The presumption of a socialist government as necessary for ending underdevelopment meant that dependency theory had little practical impact on educational policies in the Third World. However, it did provide an analytical perspective on education and development, which was reflected in research studies on the external influences on school systems (Altbach and Kelly,1986). A similar situation obtained in adult education. For example, Amin in another version of his argument addressed the question of adult education in a paper to the 1975 International Symposium for Literacy in Persepolis. His proposals embodied the belief that successful literacy and adult education campaigns can only take place when 'accompanied by profound changes in the economic and social system' (Amin,1976: 90) and are therefore premised on the existence of a socialist revolution. As in school education research, some writers used the dependency perspective to analyse aspects of adult education in the Third World. Harrington (1987), for instance, considered non formal education in Papua New Guinea from a dependency view-point. She concluded that non formal education could meet

the national needs and provide equal opportunities and thereby contribute to a different, participatory model of development.

The most important source of dependency approaches within adult education was the early work of Paulo Freire. The intellectual milieu from which Freire emerged, the Latin America of the 1960s, was the source of the original thinking about the concept of dependency. Freire's practical activity in adult literacy and rural extension in Brazil and Chile in the 1960s was conceived in terms of challenging the underdevelopment produced by dependency. Through the publication in English of *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Freire,1972a), *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire,1972b) and *Education for Critical Consciousness* (Freire,1974)) and through his travels under the aegis of the World Council of Churches, Freire disseminated his ideas to the English-speaking world in the early 1970s. He stressed that his pedagogy had its roots in the Third World, specifically in the experience of South America where colonialism had resulted in economic dependence. He contended that in these societies 'The principal contradiction...is the relationship of dependency between them and the metropolitan society.' (Freire,1972b: 130)

An important dimension of this dependence to Freire is cultural, as the process of Europeanisation in the colonial era had been a 'cultural invasion', leading to alienation and a culture of silence. He therefore argued that the struggle for national independence must be accompanied by cultural action for freedom:

> The dependent society is by definition a silent society. Its voice is not an authentic voice, but merely an echo of the voice of the metropolis - in every way, the metropolis speaks, the dependent society listens.
>
> The silence of the object society in relation to the director society is repeated in the relationships within the object society itself. Its power elites, silent in the face of the metropolis, silence their own people in turn. Only when the people of a dependent society break out of the culture of silence and win their right to speak - only, that is, when radical structural changes transform the dependent society - can such a society as a whole cease to be silent towards the director society. (Freire,1972a: 59-60)

Thus there is a need to oppose both the comprador bourgeoisie ('the power elites') and the metropolis. The political thrust of Freire's approach to adult literacy, based on 'conscientisation', was to develop in marginalised rural and urban classes a critical consciousness that would question the dominant socio-economic structures. Hence the topics ('generative words') in the adult literacy groups ('cultural circles') were chosen not only for their linguistic usefulness but because they were aspects of people's lives which would stimulate discussion of the prevailing development situation. In the example from his work in Brazil in 1963-4 that is recorded in *Education for Critical Consciousness*, the seventeenth and last generative word was 'wealth', which had the following explanatory note:

> Aspects for discussion: Brazil and the universal dimension. The confrontation between wealth and poverty. Rich man vs. poor man. Rich nations vs. poor nations. Dominant nations and dominated nations. Developed and underdeveloped nations. National emancipation... (Freire,1974: 84)

It is clear that dependency theory was an important feature of Freire's early work and therefore it was an element in the influence he exerted on thinking about adult education and development in the 1970s. This influence reached its height at the UNESCO International Symposium for Literacy in Persepolis in 1975 and it permeated the final declaration (Bataille,1976). Thus through Freire and other sources dependency theory was one of the intellectual influences on thinking about adult education and development in the 1970s.

NEO-LIBERAL THEORY

The previous section discussed a critique from the Left of mainstream thinking about development within the modernisation paradigm. There has also been a critique from the Right and this has been highly influential since the early 1980s. This neo-liberal critique is derived from neo-classical economics and the theory of laissez faire capitalism, in which the unimpeded operation of the market is seen as leading to an optimal economic situation ('equilibrium'). For international organisations and national governments, neo-liberalism has become the new orthodoxy about development (Jenkins,1992). Although neo-liberal theorists fall within the overall framework of the proponents of capitalist development, their views diverge significantly from modernisation theory in their emphasis on the market and this has led to profound changes in development policies.

Neo-classical economics centres on the idea that market mechanisms are the means to ensure an efficient and productive economy and maximise economic welfare. This school of economics regards interventions by governments as disruptive distortions of free competition in the market place. For example, theorists such as Milton Friedman argue that it is governments which make money and thereby create inflation, so that the solution is to reduce the money supply and cut government spending. Thus they envisage that monetarist policies derived from this argument would restore the role of markets so that, after a short-term drop in output and rise in unemployment, there would be economic growth without inflation. A central concern of neo-classical economists is therefore the need for reduced government intervention in the economy. They explicitly oppose Keynesian ideas about government spending and taxation policies and they seek to dismantle the welfare state. The accompanying political philosophy is that competitive capitalism is essential for democracy and individual freedom.

The slowdown of the economies of the advanced capitalist countries in the 1970s and the growth of inflation provided an economic climate in which these monetarist challenges to the prevalent Keynesian approaches to economic policy fell on fertile ground in right-wing political parties. During the 1970s these ideas were also articulated in relation to development economics. This can be seen in attacks on the perceived Keynesianism embodied in development policies and in arguments for the

privatisation of public enterprises and for deregulation of government controls. Such proposals mirrored those for domestic policies and indeed in Britain an influential protagonist in the debate over development economics, Bauer (1972), was an adviser to the British Conservative Party and helped shape its monetarist polices. With regard to the international sphere, the neo-liberal theorists advocated the expansion of free trade and opposed protectionist measures. They argued that countries should compete according to their 'comparative advantage' in providing particular goods and services.

Between 1979 and 1982 right-wing governments were elected in Britain (Thatcher), the USA (Reagan) and Germany (Kohl) and they proceeded to implement monetarist domestic policies. These policies became influential throughout the advanced capitalist countries during the 1980s. Inevitably these views came to dominate also the bilateral aid policies of these governments and the multilateral bodies under their control, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In this emergent view, poor development performance was a result of erroneous policies by Third World governments which had allowed too large a public sector, had over-emphasised physical capital formation to the neglect of human skills, and had introduced too many economic controls and regulations. The conclusion was that Third World governments should change their polices.

This argument provided the basis for a massive intervention by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the internal policy-making of governments in the Third World. From the early 1980s lending was made 'conditional' on prescribed changes in economic policies. The possibilities for this prescriptiveness lay in the debt crisis in the Third World which emerged at this time and made countries more reliant on aid and vulnerable to external 'conditions'. In this context they turned increasingly to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for assistance to meet their foreign debts. These bodies began to give loans on condition that governments undertook 'structural adjustment programmes' that would alter their economic policies. In this way a policy of 'global monetarism' (Cypher,1988) was enforced whose neo-liberal prescriptions for the Third World involved the removal of restrictions on foreign investment and trade, the promotion of exports, the privatization of public enterprises, the reduction of government spending, the removal of price controls, the imposition of wage restraints and currency devaluation. The majority of countries in the Third World accepted structural adjustment loans. The overall aim of the World Bank and IMF policy was to liberalise capital flows and trade world-wide and to strengthen reliance on market mechanisms. This was intended to further integrate the world economy, in which Third World countries would operate as exporters in their areas of 'comparative advantage'.

The neo-liberal theory of market capitalism currently dominates international policy on development. The advanced capitalist countries use conditional aid to pressurise governments in the South to reduce their public sectors, to open up their economies to foreign trade and investment, and to adopt democratic reforms. This has significantly impinged on the sovereignty of many countries of the South and has reduced their autonomy over economic and social policy and political affairs. It has also caused social disruption and political unrest, with 'IMF riots' occurring, for example, in Brazil in 1983 and Zambia in 1986.

The implications of the neo-liberal perspective for education have been two-fold. First, it is argued that the education services provided by governments should be oriented to the needs of business. Secondly, the involvement of governments should be restricted to the minimum necessary and private sector funding should be encouraged. Education and training are seen in terms of developing the human resources necessary for economic growth and successful competition in the world market. In the context of globalisation, technological change and more flexible work organisation, schools are required to produce a workforce with the necessary skills and an educational base for future learning. The criteria for the development of education systems are enhancing individual productivity and national economic performance. Neo-liberalism sees inequality as a source of individual incentive, so its educational prescriptions reject the concern of welfare capitalism with issues of equity and stress the extension of individual choice, for example through educational voucher plans.

The consequences of neo-liberal theory on education have been most visible in the advanced capitalist countries, particularly Britain and the USA. It is symbolised by the educational reforms undertaken in Britain in the 1980s. During this period the education system was restructured, culminating in the Educational Reform Act of 1988 which, inter alia, introduced a curriculum intended to improve the preparation of the workforce and promote an 'enterprise culture', and established new approaches to educational funding that involved competition and privatisation. In the training system, the tripartite arrangements involving government, employers and unions were dismantled and key responsibilities were given to business-led Training and Enterprise Councils. The overall effect of the changes was that they 'ended the legacies of the postwar Keynesian framework, which had informed training policy, and substituted it with a neoliberal one, dominated by employers interests and measures to counteract labour market disincentives.' (King,1993: 215)

Neo-Liberal Theory and Adult Education

The impact of neo-liberal policies on adult education in the countries of the North has been significant (Law,1993; Centre for Educational Research and Innovation,1992). The increased emphasis on 'continuing education', 'skills training' and 'human resource development' reveal a new priority to meeting the needs of the economy which is displacing earlier paradigms of compensatory adult education as a redistributive mechanism and of adult education as a movement for social change (Millar,1991) The process of economic restructuring has focused attention on the skill levels in the existing workforce. It is the recognition of the need to train and retrain adult workers rather than wait for the new generations that has given the impetus to the new work-related kind of adult education. The impact of market capitalism in the case of British adult education in the 1980s has been discussed by Tuckett (1992). He describes the increased concern for a 'learning workforce' and the decreased support for leisure-oriented and liberal adult education. He discusses the range of new programmes targeted at adult workers, such as PICKUP (Professional, Industrial and Commercial Updating). Tuckett also makes clear that the government's stress on adult education related to the promotion of economic performance was combined with efforts to reduce public expenditure and increase self-financing by beneficiaries and employers.

The experience of the North is illustrative because although neo-liberalism's macro-economic prescriptions for the South have been made very clear through 'structural adjustment' packages, the implications for adult education policy and practice are only just emerging. The negative effect has been a reduction in adult education services as part of general cut-backs in government expenditure. But neo-liberalism also involves prescriptions for new approaches within adult education, namely a) it should be directed to meeting the needs of the economy; and b) the private sector should have an important role in its provision. The clearest statement of this is to be found in the 1991 policy of the World Bank on vocational and technical education and training which signalled a change in the previous policy of support to public institutions and pre-employment training. The following quotation captures exactly the neo-liberal conception of adult education:

> The development of a skilled labor force makes an important contribution to development. The challenges are to use employer, private and public training capacities effectively to train workers for jobs that use their skills and to do so efficiently in developing economies increasingly influenced by technological change and open to international competition.
>
> Training in the private sector - by private employers and in private training institutions - can be the most effective and efficient way to develop the skills of the work force. In the best cases employers train workers as quickly as possible for existing jobs. Costs are low compared with training before employment, and trained workers are placed automatically in jobs that use their skills. Larger employers often have the technology, and their supervisors have the expertise, to train in both traditional and newly emerging skills. Even the very small unregulated enterprises of the rural and urban informal sectors can provide the training needs for existing technologies and production practices. Private training institutions must function in the marketplace and be adept at changing enrolments and curricula to fit with the employment opportunities for graduates. The costs and benefits of employer and private training are equitably shared by workers and employers. (World Bank,1991a: 8-9)

The new policy stresses the need for all training to be market-oriented and promotes training by the private sector. It should be noted that the document is not as far-reaching as many policies on education in the North insofar as it recognises the value of training for the rural and urban informal sector as an equity strategy to help the poor, including women and minorities.

The recent emergence of the neo-liberal approach to development theory and policy means that its impact on adult education in the South has not yet been analysed in the literature. Nevertheless, trends can be discerned in relation to both of the key prescriptions. The first prescription gives priority to work-related training for adults. This is perhaps most visible in expanded concerns with urban adult education, especially adult training linked to the development of manufacturing and commerce. This is

especially apparent in those countries of the South in which a significant degree of industrialisation has taken place, as in South East Asia. For example, in Singapore rapid industrial expansion has been accompanied by rising levels of technology in production and a concerted strategy to upgrade the skills of the adult workforce through programmes of continuing education and training (Pillay,1992). The strategy sought to raise skill levels, increase productivity, develop a quality workforce and thereby enhance Singapore's competitiveness in the world market. Recent initiatives include the modularisation of part-time skills training programmes to make access more flexible and schemes to provide school-level education to prepare workers for skills training, including a special scheme for workers over 40 who lack primary education. Initially the strategy was based on public training institutions but increasingly it is undertaken either by employers in the workplace or by private training agencies.

The evolution of the training system in Singapore converges with the second prescription of neo-liberalism that encourages a greater role for the private sector in adult education, which historically has been dominated by the state, complemented by non governmental organisations. The focus here is on employers themselves providing training for their employees and on the expansion of private colleges, institutes and training centres. It is difficult to generalise on this point but the evidence available suggests an increasing number of private organisations providing adult education programmes to the public and contracting their services to employers and governments. Zimbabwe, for example, has a large private training market, with private colleges, training consultancy firms, and correspondence colleges. Given the predominance of the neo-liberal paradigm of development, it is inevitable that its prescriptions will profoundly affect the future of adult education policies and programmes in the South.

'ALTERNATIVE' APPROACHES

It has been argued above that the dominant influences on development policies since 1945 have been modernisation theory, which envisages capitalist development through significant intervention by the state, and neo-liberal theory, which sees capitalism developing though reliance on private enterprise and the market. During the 1980s it became increasingly clear that these policies in practice had not benefitted large sectors of the population in the countries of the South and indeed had a negative impact on their standards of living. This fact led to a variety of critiques of development thinking based largely on people's experience of development practices. These critiques propose 'alternative' approaches to development. In this section they are discussed together because although they have different perspectives, there are common themes and they share an opposition to the whole concept of development as it has been constructed since 1945: 'the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape...it is time to dismantle this mental structure...' (Sachs,1992: 1).

Feminism

One source of critique was feminism. The resurgence of feminism in Europe and North America from the late 1960s meant that feminist thinking on the oppression and subordination experienced by women permeated many fields of social action, including development. Women's struggles over economic and social policy in the North were

reflected in international thinking about development, for example when the United Nations declared 1975 the International Year of Women and 1976-1985 as the Decade for the Advancement of Women. These events focused international attention on the fact that development policies, especially those promoted by international agencies, were not meeting the interests of women, particularly poor women. There was evidence that development programmes either excluded women or worsened their situation, as in cash crop schemes which increased women's work load and lowered their nutritional intake. After 1975 many donors and Third World governments promoted 'women in development' programmes which were influenced by liberal feminism and were designed to improve the social and economic situation of women. These programmes sought to increase women's participation in the existing development process, for example, through income-generating projects to provide a cash income. However, it became clear in the 1980s that despite these programmes the socio-economic status of women was not improving significantly and pervasive structures of gender inequality remained. The sense of failure in relation to women was exacerbated by the debt crisis in Latin America and the food crisis in Africa which created a general perception of the inadequacy of development policies.

By the mid-1980s a more radical critique by feminists in the South had emerged. This was well articulated in the book *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions. Third World Women's Perspectives* (Sen and Grown,1988). The book argued that the assumptions behind the 'women in development' approach were incorrect, namely 'that women's main problem in the Third World was insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development' when in fact the real problem was 'the nature of the development process into which women were to be integrated' (Sen and Grown,1988: 15-16). It contended that the 'trickle-down' postulate of modernisation theory and the 'structural adjustment' of neo-liberal theory had not addressed either the unequal location of Third World countries in the international economy which makes them vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices or the acute internal inequalities that leave many people unable to meet their basic needs. Above all development programmes had been 'top down' and had ignored the voices of the poor. The argument was made for an alternative approach to development rooted in a feminist vision of women as full and equal participants in all areas of society and in a struggle against the multiple oppression based on nation, gender, class and ethnicity. The alternative approach advocated was a 'genuine people-oriented development' (Sen and Grown,1988: 49) focusing on the goal of eliminating poverty and inequality and on processes of participatory democracy which would empower women.

Environmentalism

Another major area of criticism of development policies came from the perspective of environmentalism. The growth of the environmental movement in the North in the 1960s raised concerns about the environmental costs of economic growth. This stimulated an awareness of environmental issues at the global level which inevitably led to a scrutiny of development policies. A major United Nations conference on the environment in 1972 generated the idea of 'ecodevelopment' (Hettne,1990: 186). The theme of the environment continued through the 1980s, expressed at the international level by the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987)

entitled *Our Common Future* and by the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992. The need for an environmental dimension to development policies is now captured in the concept of 'sustainable development' which stresses not only the problem of diminishing non-renewable resources (such as oil and coal) but also the vulnerability of renewable resources (such as forests and soil).

The idea of resource scarcity and the need for conservation contradicts much development thinking based on unlimited economic growth built on resource exploitation and industrialisation. Indeed it has been argued that the current levels of resource consumption in the industrialised North could not be sustained if enjoyed by the world's population as a whole as this would threaten the limits of the world's physical capacity. Thus the industrialised countries cannot provide a model of development for the South because a global perspective on development requires that the North reduces its levels of consumption (Riddell,1981). Furthermore, people's actual experience of environmental degradation in the South makes the environment an inescapable issue for development. Problems such as deforestation in Latin America and Asia, soil erosion and desertification in Africa, and industrial pollution in Bhopal and other cities of the South have been devastating on individuals and their livelihoods. The standard of living of many people has been badly affected by the environmental changes consequent on 'development'.

Although there is an apparent consensus that environmental issues must be incorporated in development strategies, this conceals many contradictory views on what should be done. Contradictions arise essentially because the structure of the world economy since the colonial era has been based on the South supplying primary commodities of minerals and agricultural products to the North and it is this activity which is central to the South's environmental problems. However, it is unlikely that the rich and powerful in the North and South will take environmental measures that threaten their own commercial interests. Hence at the 1992 Rio summit the International Forum of NGOs and Social Movements held an alternative summit that focused on the view that a genuine concern with environmental conservation and protection will require an alternative development paradigm. The alternative approach to environmental issues is 'people-centred' and focuses on community participation, local organisations, indigenous methods of resource management and self-reliance. It is often opposed to urban and industrial development and the centralised state (Woodhouse,1992: 113).

Cultural Concerns

Another critique of development theory is made from a perspective that emphasises local cultural traditions. This critique has two dimensions. Firstly, there are criticisms of the whole conceptualisation of development as Eurocentric, insofar as 'development' involves the imposition on countries of the South of external models of society derived from the economic history and Judaeo-Christian values of Europe (Wiarda,1983). The ideas and values underpinning the concepts of development promoted by the North and adopted by the dominant classes in the South are thus regarded as a manifestation of cultural imperialism, the ideological sphere of the North's economic domination. The conventional development process considers local institutions and culture as an obstacle and devalues indigenous knowledge systems, values and ways of doing things.

However, there are many cases in which indigenous practices have been supplanted by 'modern' techniques with negative effects, for example, some changes in areas such as farming and health have had deleterious effects on food production and health standards. This critique challenges Northern ethnocentrism in development theory and more generally regards the increasing homogenisation of global culture as undesirable.

The second dimension emphasises the neglect of cultural issues in development policy. It is argued that development theory has emphasised the significance of the nation state and the need for 'nation-building' as a task of development and in so doing has overlooked ethnic diversity. The idea of 'national integration' has invariably meant establishing the hegemony of one ethnic group within the state and antagonism towards the cultures, religions and languages of other groups. This is evidenced, for example, in the policy of Latin American governments to assimilate indigenous populations. One outcome has been increased ethnic conflicts, as ethnic identity has been mobilised for resistance to state policies which promote cultural domination alongside political oppression and economic exploitation. The range of action by ethnic movements has ranged from protests against local development projects, such as commercial forestry schemes in India, to full-scale civil war, as in Sri Lanka. In identifying this problem, writers such as Stavenhagen (1986) have called for 'ethnodevelopment', an alternative approach to development which sees cultural diversity as positive and therefore seeks to encourage the development of different ethnic groups within the national society. Both of these dimensions stress the significance of culture for development and advocate concern with local cultural traditions against tendencies towards homogenisation at the national and international levels.

The 'Alternative' Model

The discussion has sketched three of the main currents which have contributed to the ideas of an 'alternative' model of development. Other currents can be identified, such as post-modernism (Sachs,1992), and overlaps can be noted, as in 'ecofeminism' (Mies and Shiva,1993). However, although it is not possible here to provide more detail, it is possible to identify some of the commonalities in these 'alternative' approaches. Whilst not every alternative perspective coincides, there are a number of recurrent themes. The central theme is an opposition to development conceived as economic growth based on industrialisation and production for the world market, and which is carried out at the initiative of the state. This conception of development is regarded as Eurocentric, top-down, damaging to the environment, and destructive of rural society. In practice it is seen as having failed to meet the needs of the majority, who remain poor and powerless. The alternative conception therefore stresses peasant agriculture and small-scale commodity production with a focus on meeting the needs of the poor through self-reliant, localised economic activity using labour-intensive methods and appropriate technology. It proposes decentralised, bottom-up, people-centred planning which will mobilise and empower local communities through participation in decision-making, especially in social movements and non governmental organisations, and which will take account of indigenous culture and the environment.

The essence of the 'alternative' approaches to development is expressed in the following quotation:

> These alternatives constitute a Third Way. They involve the rejection of the capitalist way with its emphasis on limitless increases in consumption and waste, its disregard for the poor, and its indifference to any concept of appropriate development. They just as emphatically reject the big-state socialist/communist way with its typically centralised, non-democratic, authoritarian and equally affluence-and-growth-obsessed approach to development. The Third Way is about simple material living standards, local self-sufficiency, grass-roots participation and 'village' democracy, living in harmony with the environment, cooperation and zero economic growth. It is also about development defined more in terms of personal, ecological, community and cultural welfare and progress then in terms of the mere accumulation of economic wealth. (Trainer,1989: 6)

The philosophical underpinnings of the 'alternative' approaches can be typified as populism, which characteristically asserts the values and interests of agrarian societies in the face of industrialisation and urbanisation, and as anarchism, which characteristically values self-managing forms of social organisation and rejects the centralised state.

'Alternative' approaches became prominent during the 1980s in response to two circumstances. Firstly, the continuing penetration of the capitalist mode of production had affected even remote areas of the world, such as the tropical forest zones, and the mode of existence of agrarian societies was increasingly under pressure. Secondly, the economic crisis in the South very often led to reductions in formal employment and diminished markets and to a decline in the services provided by the state. The failure of the market and of the state after a long period of expansion stimulated the new conceptions of development and the formation of many non governmental organisations and community-level projects.

'Alternative' Approaches and Adult Education

It can be argued that whilst the 'alternative' approaches have identified very real problems in the theory and practice of development, many of the solutions they advocate are unrealisable on a large scale and fail to address the realities of political and economic power at the national and international level. Thus although some of their language has been coopted by the World Bank and international aid agencies, they are likely to remain as marginal programmes rather than a long-term alternative model of development. Nevertheless, these approaches have had a significant influence on adult education, resonating with the tradition of adult education as a popular movement for social change. The idea of 'people-centred development' necessarily puts great value on engendering the consciousness and abilities that are required for people to form and manage their own organisations. This gives prominence to forms of adult education that are highly accessible, especially to groups that are normally excluded, and very responsive to the needs and interests of the participants. From the early 1980s

the themes of participation, empowerment and popular organisation came to constitute a very visible trend within the theory and practice of adult education for development.

As was the case with adult education and basic human needs, an international conference of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) has symbolic significance in the emergence of this trend.[1] In 1982, at a time of recession and the beginning of the Third World debt crisis, the ICAE held a conference on the theme 'Towards an Authentic development'. The Report of the conference recorded 'basic agreements on the need for an alternative model of development and of the key role of adult education in this process' (Hall,1982: 6). The nature of the new model was not crystallised in the Report but it was clearly evolving from existing concerns in the field of adult education with basic human needs, derived from modernisation theory, and with self-reliance, derived from dependency theory. The new dimension was two-fold. First, there was opposition to the concept of development based on industrialisation, modern technology and consumerism and advocacy of the view that 'development is for people' (Barrow,1982: 49). Secondly, there was scepticism about the centrality of the state in the development process: 'The most important factor for the development of an authentic adult education is the specific role of non governmental and voluntary associations.' (Dumazedier,1982: 56) The emergent language on the goals, processes and organisational forms of adult education thus began to coincide with the conceptualisations characteristic of 'alternative' approaches to development.

The elaboration of the role of adult education in 'alternative' approaches to development has continued since the early 1980s, although in a piece-meal fashion. As yet, this distinctive paradigm of adult education and development does not seem to have been systematically articulated in a book-length work. For example, the recent book *Adult Education in Development: Methods and Approaches from Changing Societies* (McGivenny and Murray,1991) provides a series of case studies of community-based non formal adult education activities but it does not attempt to analyse the examples or theorise the relationship between adult education and development. The brief preface and concluding observations simply assert the need for 'encouraging citizens' participation in planning for development' (McGivenny and Murray,1991: 11) and the importance of non governmental organisations for mobilising community effort. The lack of a coherent, in-depth explanation of the new philosophy and approach and analysis of its strengths and weaknesses in theory and practice is surprising given its undoubted impact on adult education practice in the South.

This impact can be traced clearly in the journal literature and the grey literature of conference papers and reports. The important contributory influences have been the same ones that shaped the 'alternative' model, namely feminism, environmentalism, cultural concerns and the non governmental organisation movement. Only occasionally is a unified approach based on these elements applied comprehensively to an issue within adult education. One example is the article by Parajuli (1990) 'Politics of knowledge, models of development and literacy.' He argues that 'While the minimal goal of achieving functional literacy is still far away, there are now needs for ecological literacy, gender literacy and cultural literacy.' (Parajuli,1990: 289). He contends that the concept of literacy has to be redefined by revising notions of knowledge, the state and development, as the literacy programmes of the 'developmentalist state' have served

to 'delegitimize the knowledge of marginalized people...those betrayed by the development dream.' (Parajuli,1990: 289-290) He challenges the dominant ideology of development and its concomitant role for the state and argues that grassroots agrarian, women's, ecological and ethnic movements are now resisting the developmentalist world-view, concluding that 'Any viable programme of literacy in the 1990s will have to recognize these knowledge claims from the bottom.' (Parajuli,1990: 291) The article thus uses the philosophy and language of the 'alternative' model of development to argue for new forms of adult literacy programme.

It can be concluded that the 'alternative' paradigm of development has had an important influence on the conception and practice of adult education. However, although adult education programmes based on these ideas have expanded dramatically, it would appear they are concentrated in small-scale projects and hence are relatively restricted from a national perspective. Nevertheless, the themes of empowerment and participation have been widely adopted. Indeed, some writers identify participation as integral to the concept of adult education and thus conflate the 'alternative' paradigm with the whole field of adult education. But in using this normative approach they fail to situate their own values and methods within the wider context of the changing ideas about adult education and development discussed in this chapter.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

From the late 1960s a number of studies of development issues appeared under the title of 'the political economy of development'. However, as Staniland (1985) makes clear in his book *What is Political Economy?*, different writers have different conceptions of the term 'political economy'. In a general way, the term denotes a concern with explaining the relationship between political processes and economic processes. But the conceptualisation of this relationship varies enormously and ultimately derives from an underlying theoretical paradigm. For one group of writers the label refers to their efforts to introduce a political dimension to the paradigm of neo-classical economics in order to embrace analytically the role of governments in economies, particularly through the mechanism of public budgets. This approach emerged in the late 1960s and was called 'the new political economy'. It focused on the public choices inherent in economic decision-making by governments. It sought to identify those policy choices which would interfere least with market forces and which would promote private sector development. It was quickly applied to development economics because of its clear relevance to the role of the state in development planning. A characteristic early volume was that published in 1972 by Uphoff and Ilchman entitled *The Political Economy of Development* which included theoretical discussion and practical analysis. They defined 'the new political economy' as 'an integrated social science of public choice' (Uphoff and Ilchman,1972: 1). This approach has maintained its appeal and a recent collection by Bates (1988) entitled *Toward a Political Economy of Development* has the subtitle 'A Rational Choice Perspective'. Bates in his introductory sections explains clearly the book's approach, which focuses on how governments interact with markets and how and why public policies are chosen. Because of its concern with markets and the state the 'new political economy' approach has become an element in neo-liberal development policy. For example, the *World Development Report 1991* by

the World Bank (1991b) has a section on 'the political economy of development' in a chapter concerned with the state's role in ensuring markets work effectively.

However, it is often the case that the label 'political economy' is devoid of any clear content and the author's approach is left undefined, lacking an explicit theoretical reference point. For example, the book by Faaland and Parkinson (1986) entitled *The Political Economy of Development* contains the following assertion in the Preface:

> The reason for the introduction of the term political economy into the title of the book is obvious. The practice of economics cannot be conducted in isolation and has always to be related to the political and social setting of the countries with which it is concerned. In such circumstances many issues are matters for debate and political consideration which extend far beyond economic organisation. (Faaland and Parkinson,1986: ix)

This is the only explanation for the choice of the term and does not address at all their understanding of how the economic and the political are related. They provide no theoretical consideration of the issue or of its methodological implications for their study, which in fact appears to be written within the modernisation paradigm. Indeed in too many studies which use the term there is no clear reason why it has been adopted or what relevance it has for the nature of the study. This is exemplified by a recent collection on Botswana edited by Stedman (1993) which has the title *Botswana. The Political Economy of Democratic Development.* There is no indication at all in the editor's Introduction why the heterogeneous collection of papers should have been brought together under this title.

Many writers who adopt a political economy approach to development do so explicitly from within the Marxist tradition. Marx's central focus, as we have seen, was the development of the capitalist mode of production in terms of its historical emergence in Western Europe from pre-capitalist society and in terms of the dynamics which generate its expansion (and ultimate supersession). The question of socio-economic change is therefore at the heart of Marxist social theory. Although, as Carver has emphasised, Marx did not provide a coherent account of non-European societies his work did indicate a relevant 'research programme' (Carver,1985: 44) on the need to investigate the following: modes of production other than capitalism; transitions from one mode to another; the impact of capitalism on pre-capitalist society; and the development of capitalism itself through global expansion and the creation of a world market. It is therefore not surprising that the Marxist tradition has been an intellectual resource for the contemporary study of development.

The first major initiatives within this 'research programme' were undertaken between 1900 and 1920 on the topic of the global expansion of capitalism. In this period the concept of 'imperialism' was elaborated by Hilferding, Bukharin and Lenin, producing what Brewer (1980: 79) has called the 'classical Marxist theories of imperialism'. These writers sought to analyse new trends in the emergent capitalist world economy marked by the growth of monopoly capitalism based on large-scale production. They identified the dynamic of this stage of capitalist development as the

export of capital (rather than goods) and the search for the most profitable areas of investment. This search involved a struggle for dominance (economic, political and even military) over geographical areas, a process involving not only the subordination of less developed economies by more advanced ones but also rivalry between advanced countries (as in the 1914-1918 war). The concept of imperialism therefore denoted the process of capital accumulation in the period of monopoly capitalism and was integral to the Marxist theorisation of the continuing development of the world capitalist market. It was predicted that the export of capital would generate economic development in the backward areas.

The classical Marxist theory of imperialism laid a basis for considering the internationalisation of capital, the international division of labour, the geographical expansion of capitalist relations of production, relations between nation states and other aspects of the global political economy. Its main conclusion was that the development of the world capitalist system is essentially an *uneven* development as capital moves internationally to the higher profit areas. This means that variations occur both historically and geographically in the comparative levels of economic development of different countries and there are concomitant patterns of international inequality. This conclusion would find unsurprising the post-1945 pattern of the international economy which has seen such developments as the rise of Japan and the decline of Britain on the one hand, and the increasing differentiation amongst the countries of the South on the other.

However, the first specific application of Marxist ideas within development studies as it emerged after 1945 was in dependency theory. As noted in the earlier section, dependency theory has been characterised as 'neo-Marxist' because of its departure from earlier Marxist positions. The most central difference is that whereas classical Marxist theorists saw imperialism as essentially progressive in terms of creating economic development in backward areas, dependency theory regarded development in the core capitalist countries as having underdeveloped the Third World and blocked its possibilities for development. This alternative approach led to an extended debate in the 1970s and a strong critique from within Marxism (Chilcote,1982).

Marxist writers made a number of criticisms. Dependency theory was criticised for its erroneous characterisation of capitalism because of its focus on relations of exchange rather than relations of production. Thus Frank, for example, regarded capitalism as dominant in Latin America from the sixteenth century when in fact many pre-capitalist relations of production remained even though areas were increasingly drawn into trade within the money economy. The theory was criticised for its over-emphasis on the role of external forces and for insufficient analysis of the processes by which capitalism interacted with pre-capitalist modes of production. Indeed a major critique was made of the external focus of dependency theory which tended to concentrate on a nation's relations within the world economic system at the expense of analysis of internal class relationships and how they shape development, including their role in the mediation of external influences.

The central critique took issue with the main thesis of dependency theory that capitalist development in the Third World was a distorted form of development which would not develop the forces of production ('the development of underdevelopment'). This thesis was seen as misconceiving the nature of capitalism, whose development has always been 'uneven', with certain areas experiencing greater economic growth than others. The 'stagnationist' thesis of dependency was severely weakened during the 1970s by the rapid economic transformation of Brazil, South Korea and other 'newly industrialising countries' in Latin America and Asia. In fact, the very notion of 'dependency' was questioned because the opposite, 'autocentric development', did not seem a satisfactory representation of the advanced economies, in which external trade and investment play a significant role. This argument also brought into question the theory's policy logic of disengagement from the world capitalist economy as unrealistic and even more likely to retard economic growth and technological development. Finally, criticisms were made at the political level. The dependency theorists were criticised for implying that it is nations which exploit other nations rather than recognising class as the basis of exploitation. It was also argued that they had a utopian view of socialism and did not articulate a political strategy that related to the realities of class struggle. Often, they appeared to support a nationalist goal of autonomy rather than a socialist goal of changed class relations.

Despite these critiques, the significance of dependency theory (around which there were a lot of polemics on the Left in the 1970s) is that it not only exposed the limitations of modernisation theory but it also revitalised Marxist scholarship on the world economy and the issue of development. It stimulated Marxist theory to focus on the specific dynamics of Third World countries and not to see them, as the classic writers on imperialism had done, mainly from the vantage point of the advanced capitalist countries. Indeed a lot of the debate over dependency theory took place within the Third World, particularly in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. An important outcome has been a greater concern within Marxism to address the specificities of peripheral capitalism. This could be seen during the 1970s in approaches which focused on the internal characteristics of Third World countries and considered the historical processes by which the capitalist mode of production penetrated into existing pre-capitalist modes of production. This analysis considered the impact of capitalism and how it had related to the existing mode of economic organisation in terms of reinforcing, changing and finally displacing it.

The study of the articulation of the modes of production (Wolpe,1980) sought to explain how the externally introduced capitalist mode of production interacted with the internal pre-capitalist modes of production to generate the distinctive social formations of the different countries of the Third World. Studies focused on the processes by which old modes of production were dissolved over time and on the impact of this on class formation and class conflict, for example in rural areas with the establishment of private property in land and the creation of a landless proletariat. Clearly, this approach provided a counter-balance to the perceived over-emphasis of dependency theory on the external constraints on development. It also attempted a more country-specific analysis compared to the tendency to over-generalisation within dependency theory with its focus on capitalism at the level of a world system.

Sklair (1988) has argued persuasively that the existence of different Marxist theories of development is not evidence of a problem but of the fruitfulness of historical materialism as a 'metatheory' which has generated a variety of theoretical explanations and empirical research programmes on issues of development. It is certainly true that there is now a rich source of Marxist analysis to provide a political economy of development that applies the theoretical framework adopted in Chapter Two, as will be shown in the subsequent theoretical chapters.

A key theoretical text for the approach used in this study is the Preface to the English edition of *Dependency and Development in Latin America* by Cardoso and Faletto (1979: vii-xxv.) Cardoso and Falletto argue that capitalism in the periphery does lead to a development of the productive forces and economic growth. However, this development is uneven, reaching different levels in different countries and in different regions within countries. Furthermore, it contains the contradictions and inequalities that are inherent in the capitalist mode of production. To analyse peripheral capitalism they adopt a political economy approach:

> We attempt to reestablish the intellectual tradition based on a comprehensive social science. We seek a global and dynamic understanding of social structures instead of looking only at specific dimensions of the social process. ...we stress the socio-political nature of the economic relations of production, thus following the nineteenth century tradition of treating economy as political economy. This methodological approach, which found its highest expression in Marx, assumes that the hierarchy that exists in society is the result of established ways of organising the production of material and spiritual life. This hierarchy also serves to assure the unequal appropriation of nature and the results of human work by social classes and groups. So we attempt to analyze domination in its connection with economic expansion. (Cardoso and Faletto,1979: ix)

Their Marxist political economy of development has the following central elements:

* A recognition of both 'the structural conditioning of social life' and 'the historical transformation of structures' through social conflict.

* A focus on class exploitation and 'the mechanisms and processes of domination' that maintain existing structures.

* An analysis of classes and the contradictions that create 'possibilities for social movements and ideologies of change'.

* A recognition of the significance of political struggles and 'political capacity' based on 'organisation, will and ideologies'.

* A conception of 'the relationship between internal and external forces as forming a complex whole whose structural links are not based on mere external forms of exploitation and coercion, but are rooted in coincidences of interest between

local dominant classes and international ones, and, on the other side, are challenged by local dominated groups and classes.'

* A concern with the capitalist world system and the need 'to explain the interrelationships of classes and nation-states at the level of the international scene as well at the level internal to each country' in terms of both compatibilities and contradictions.

Cardoso and Faletto put forward an approach which applies concepts such as capital, imperialism, class and state from the general Marxist theory of capitalism. They do so in order to provide concrete analysis of societies in the economic periphery in a way that will account not only for the specificity of these societies in relation to advanced capitalist countries but also in relation to each other:

> The very existence of an economic 'periphery' cannot be understood without reference to the economic drive of advanced capitalist economies, which were responsible for the formation of a capitalist periphery and for the integration of traditional noncapitalist economies into the world market. Yet, the expansion of capitalism in Bolivia and Venezuela, in Mexico or Peru, in Brazil and Argentina, in spite of having been submitted to the same global dynamic of international capitalism, did not have the same history or consequences. The differences are rooted not only in the diversity of natural resources, nor just in the different periods in which these economies have been incorporated into the international system (although these factors have played some role). The explanation must also lie in the different moments at which sectors of local classes allied or clashed with foreign interests, organised different forms of state, sustained distinct ideologies, or tried to implement various policies or defined alternative strategies to cope with imperialist strategies in diverse moments of history. (Cardoso and Faletto,1979: xvii)

The theoretical position of Cardoso and Faletto outlines in the context of peripheral capitalism a political economy approach congruent with the framework presented in Chapter Two. It encompasses all of the eight elements in that framework with the exception of social inequalities other than class. It is therefore concluded that the theoretical framework established in Chapter Two provides a valid and relevant basis for the analysis of adult education and development in the countries of the South.

ENDNOTE

1. It should be noted that since its inception in 1973 the ICAE has been dominated by the social movement tradition within adult education and therefore it does not articulate the perspectives of other groups, such as the company training officers who are central to neo-liberal conceptions of adult education.

CHAPTER FOUR: AN OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA, 1966-1991

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a general picture of the political economy of Botswana as the background for the detailed analyses of particular aspects of adult education and development in the later chapters. The theoretical framework of the study posits that adult education activities take place within a structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relations. Thus considerations of adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism must provide a historical analysis of the penetration and expansion of the capitalist mode of production. They must then examine the contemporary processes of capitalist socio-economic development. Therefore this chapter firstly considers Botswana's colonial legacy and then gives an overview of development in the twenty five years after independence from Britain in 1966. It concludes with an introduction to the development of adult education.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The Pre-capitalist Social Formation

The territory that is now Botswana came into contact with imperialism at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time there were a number of independent though related Batswana[1] polities which had been established during the previous two hundred years and whose economic base was cattle rearing, crop production, hunting and gathering. These agrarian pre-capitalist societies were ruled by hereditary monarchs and were hierarchical and patriarchal (Tsie,1994). The hierarchy was class-based and included nobles, commoners, and serfs from non-Batswana ethnic groups. The monarch (*kgosi* or chief) appropriated surplus product in the form of tribute in labour and kind and controlled the land. Other nobles also appropriated a share of the surplus product, so that the ruling class accumulated individual wealth. The most important means of production was cattle, which were a male responsibility, whilst arable production was women's work. A system of cattle tenancy (*mafisa*), whereby wealthy cattle-owners loaned their cattle to those with no or few cattle, was an important element of the social relations of production. The monarchy provided the main political institution of the state and authority was exercised through the nobility and administrative officials, and the ward system of family groups. A public assembly of Batswana adult males, the *kgotla*, provided a mechanism for advice to the monarch, for the generation of consensus on public issues and for the execution of justice. These pre-capitalist social formations of the Batswana were 'autonomous, self-sufficient and ecologically sound' (Parson,1985: 47) at the time they first interacted with the capitalist mode of production.

The first direct contacts with European imperialism came soon after 1800 in the form of traders who travelled into the interior of southern Africa from Britain's Cape Colony. This trade stimulated a period of great economic growth, particularly from the 1850s as the 'Road to the North' increased in significance. This road through the territory provided a route for the wagon trade between the Cape Colony and central

MAP 4.1

BOTSWANA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Source: Andreassen and Swinehart, 1991:80.

Africa. The initial contact with the capitalist mode of production brought various economic and social changes - for example, manufactured goods undermined traditional handicrafts, the monarchies strengthened their position through control of trade, people entered into the money economy and wage labour, and missionaries disseminated European culture. However, the nature of change altered significantly following the discovery of diamonds in Cape Colony and gold in Transvaal in the 1860s.

The Colonial Period

From the 1870s, British finance capital invested in mineral production in southern Africa and required assured supplies of labour and political stability. Britain extended its area of control in the region, declaring the territory the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1885. Colonisation truncated the period of economic development in the territory that had been stimulated by merchant capital and ultimately it created a situation of structural dependence (Parsons, 1977).

Britain ruled Bechuanaland essentially as an extension of the Cape Colony. Indeed, the Protectorate was seen as a temporary measure, pending a final resolution of the regional political conflicts. When the British-Boer conflict was finally ended with the Union of South Africa in 1910, the Act of Union provided for the eventual incorporation of Bechuanaland. The possibility of transfer lasted until the 1950s. Because of the uncertainty over the future, the British sought to keep the administrative costs of the territory to a minimum. But whereas the political status of the colony was uncertain, economically it became fully integrated into a region dominated by South Africa.

The subordination of the Bechuanaland economy to South African mining capital led to the exploitation of the territory's labour resources. Mining production in South Africa was very labour intensive and low wages were central to the extraction of surplus value. This resulted in a particular form of capitalist accumulation based on migrant labourers on short-term contracts drawn to South Africa from all over the sub-continent. The gradual creation of Bechuanaland as a labour reserve involved the payment of wages at levels adequate only for the subsistence of a single worker and not for a family. The costs of the social reproduction of labour power were borne in the worker's home area in family subsistence through peasant agriculture. Migrant labourers did not form a settled proletariat in South Africa and were not dispossessed from the means of agricultural production in their home areas. They therefore experienced a particular, partial form of proletarianisation. The formation of the labour reserve took place on an extensive scale so that by 1943 half of the men between 15 and 44 were working outside Bechuanaland. Thus by the mid-1940s a significant proportion of the population had been partially proletarianised and the specific form of capitalist accumulation centred in South Africa had profoundly penetrated the pre-capitalist mode of production.

Prior to the 1950s, the colonial state made negligible investments in infrastructure and social services. Education, for example, was left entirely to tribal administrations and missionaries and those who did post-primary education had to go outside the country, mainly to South Africa. The state also did very little to promote productive development, apart from some funds for the cattle industry, whose main beneficiaries were the European settlers. Picard (1987: 117) concludes 'An examination of fiscal policy towards Bechuanaland reveals a parsimony that was unparalleled in the British empire.' However, after 1945 there was an international movement towards decolonisation and in 1948 the victory of the Nationalist Party consolidated racial segregation in South Africa. These events made the transfer of Bechuanaland to South Africa increasingly unlikely. From the mid-1950s the colonial state entered into a phase of 'development activism' (Morrison,1993: 35) with efforts to develop social services such as education and to modernise the economy, especially through the cattle export industry. Development planning began with an economic survey in 1959 and a five year plan in 1963. Hence just prior to Independence a new pattern was established of state development intervention, based on an approach which was responsive to the interests of both the dominant domestic cattle-owning class and foreign investors.

The Situation in 1966

However, the prospects for Botswana at Independence in 1966 seemed bleak to most contemporary observers (Colclough and McCarthy,1980: 54-55). The country was one of the ten poorest in the world. The Government was unable to cover its recurrent expenditure and needed grants from Britain for half of its budget. The normally chronic water shortages had been compounded by the drought of 1962-1966 which reduced the national herd by 30%, devastating the main industry, increasing inequality in cattle holdings and pauperising many of the rural population. At the end of 1965, 65% of the population was dependent for food on famine relief programmes supplied by foreign aid. Mineral prospecting had revealed deposits of coal, copper and soda-ash but the mineral sector did not appear to have significant potential. South African state intervention had blocked the possibility of industrial development in Bechuanaland whilst promoting its own sophisticated manufacturing economy. Commerce was dominated by South African companies. The country used South Africa's currency and was dependent on South Africa's banking and financial services. Unskilled migrant labour continued to be a major source of livelihood - in 1964 approximately 35 000 people were working in South Africa, compared to 20 000 in wage employment within the country. Transportation routes for imports and exports were through South Africa. Internal infrastructure was poor, with only twenty kilometres of tar roads in a country of 582 000 square kilometres (the size of France or Kenya). The north-south railway along the eastern edge was owned by Rhodesia. The landlocked country was surrounded by hostile white minority regimes in South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). 96% of the population of half a million lived in the rural areas. The country's educated and skilled human resource base was tiny - there were only 35 Batswana with degrees and only five qualified Batswana secondary teachers (Morton and Ramsay,1987: 191). The civil service was dominated by foreigners, many from South Africa. In sum, the colonial period had resulted in a dependent and impoverished country.

BOTSWANA'S DEVELOPMENT, 1966-1991

Economic Growth

From the unpromising beginnings of 1966, Botswana in the next twenty five years experienced a period of spectacular economic growth. Indeed in the period 1965 to 1990, its average Gross National Product per capita growth rate of 8.4% a year was the highest in the world (World Bank,1992: 219). In the peak year of 1987/88 the economy grew by 15.3% (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,1993: 1).

There were three main phases of economic development in the period. In the first phase, 1966 to 1972, the Government became financially self-sufficient as the renegotiation of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) agreement brought a larger share of customs receipts, enabling an end to British budgetary grants in 1972/3. During this phase, the foundations of subsequent mineral-led growth were laid with the opening of the Orapa diamond mine in 1971 and the development of the Selebi-Phikwe copper/nickel mine. In the second phase, from 1973 to 1981, the strategy of using mineral revenues for other areas of development, especially rural development, was

enunciated. State intervention included further development of the mineral sector, the commercialisation of the cattle industry, and investment in physical and social infrastructure. Finally, the phase from the opening of the Jwaneng diamond mine in 1982 to 1991 was marked by the height of the diamond boom and the growth of industrialisation, as well as a prolonged period of drought with significant effects on the rural economy. The twenty five years after Independence saw the expansion and consolidation of capitalism as the dominant mode of production.

The Mineral Sector

At the centre of the expanded reproduction of capitalist accumulation was the mining industry. The mineral sector was comprised of diamonds, copper/nickel, coal and soda ash. It was developed through collaboration between the state and South African mining capital. The leader of the mineral sector was diamonds, which were discovered soon after Independence. The first mine opened in 1971 at Orapa, the development of the mine, infrastructure and town being financed completely by De Beers, the main South African mining company. Subsequently, mines were opened in Letlhakane in 1977 and Jwaneng in 1982, under arrangements giving the Government and De Beers equal ownership of all the diamond mines. Botswana became the second largest diamond producer in the world. The income accruing from the minerals sector provided the Government with massive revenues and constituted 53.6% of Government income in 1990/1. The dominance of the sector within the economy reached a height in 1988/9 when it accounted for 53.3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 89% of exports (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,1993: 1 and 13).

Rural Development

At Independence the population was predominantly rural and agriculture contributed 40% of the GDP. The rural economy was based on cattle production dominated by large cattle owners, many of whom made loan arrangements (*mafisa*) to poor peasants. The distribution of cattle-holding was highly unequal. The majority of the population were engaged in peasant agriculture producing mainly for subsistence. Arable production was unpredictable and even in good rain years could not meet all the nation's food requirements. Grain shortfalls and many other foodstuffs were imported from South Africa.

In 1973 the Government crystallised its rural development policy in the *National Policy for Rural Development* (Republic of Botswana,1973a). The policy aimed to use revenues from the mineral sector as the basis for modernising agricultural production, developing rural employment and providing infrastructure and social services in the rural areas. The influence of the cattle-owning class on the state meant that in practice priority was given to the commercialisation of cattle production, symbolised by the 1975 *National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land* (Republic of Botswana,1975) which began the process of granting private rights to water and to areas of communally-held land. These changes in land tenure established the conditions for capitalist investment, the commoditisation of land and expanded rural wage-labour. This was one of a number of state policies that benefitted cattle-owners.

The comparative lack of priority to arable production ran the danger of neglecting the important political constituency of the middle and poor peasantry. Thus the *National Development Plan 1979-85* (Republic of Botswana,1980a: 133) led to a shift of emphasis based on the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP). This was aimed at 'small farmers' and comprised a package of measures including subsidies for inputs. It had the goal of increasing crop production, creating rural employment and raising incomes and it was articulated in terms of equity and of increasing economic independence through food self-sufficiency. In practice ALDEP was of most benefit to farmers who already had the resources of land and draught power to utilise the inputs to best advantage, in effect strengthening the rich and middle strata of the peasantry.

In fact the drought years of 1981 to 1987 devastated the rural economy, lowering crop production levels and reducing the national herd by 30%. The Government mounted a massive drought relief programme - in 1986/7 about 50% of the population received food aid (Republic of Botswana,1991a: 452). It is believed that no one died of starvation. However, the drought increased inequalities in cattle-holding, undermined arable production and reduced rural incomes. The drought exacerbated class differentiation in the countryside and by 1988 it was estimated that 45-50% of rural households owned no cattle at all (Republic of Botswana,1991a: 240). It also significantly accelerated processes of proletarianisation. Employment in peasant agriculture declined from 33% of the labour force in 1984 to 15% in 1991 (Jefferis,1993: 9). By 1990/1 the contribution of agriculture to the GDP had declined to 5.2% and in 1991 beef contributed only 3.7% of exports (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,1993: 6 and 13). The overall impact of rural development policies was to enable the large cattle-owners and rich and middle peasants to consolidate their economic position at the expense of the rural poor, who remained on the margins of the capitalist economy.

Commerce and Industry

The export of beef and minerals was for a long time at the centre of the state's development model, reflecting the strength of the cattle-owning class and of foreign capital. However, some efforts were made in the period to diversify the economy through commerce and industry. The colonial state had placed restrictions on trading by Africans so that at Independence commerce was dominated by European (and to a lesser extent Asian) settlers. However, they 'remained junior partners of South African commercial capital' (Tsie,1994). Thus in 1966 the indigenous commercial petty bourgeoisie was extremely weak and there was no indigenous manufacturing class.

The growth of a more complex economy during the 1970s saw the extension of South African capital's role within the wholesale and retail sector, road transport and tourism, as well as its continued avoidance of industrial investment. The growth of manufacturing in the 1970s took place on a small scale and in 1980 it accounted for only 4,5% of GDP. In the face of the competitive South African manufacturing sector, there was little industrial investment. The investment made was largely foreign - in 1979 '91% of manufacturing units were completely or partly foreign owned' (Parson,1984: 80).

At the beginning of the 1980s pressures were exerted on the state to develop a coherent policy on commerce and industry. On the one hand, the indigenous petty bourgeoisie (including some in the state bureaucracy) saw in the expanding economy new possibilities for accumulation through commercial investment. They began to criticise foreign dominance and argue for Government support to business investment, especially by citizens (Magang,1981). On the other hand, there was a growing crisis of unemployment creating a need to provide the wage-labour employment that would establish a stable urban working class. Thus the Government took steps to develop a strategy that would promote productive employment through increased foreign investment as well as indigenous involvement. In 1982 the *National Policy on Economic Opportunities* (Republic of Botswana,1982a) introduced a range of changes in policy, legislation, regulation and administrative practices and the Government promulgated the Financial Assistance Policy, creating a fund to subsidise the establishment of new businesses in the productive sector.

The impact of these measures was a significant increase in manufacturing employment and expanded opportunities for private accumulation by foreign and local investors. Manufacturing output grew at over 8% per year between 1980/81 and 1990/91 (UNDP, Republic of Botswana, UNICEF,1993: 126). However, the manufacturing sector was restricted in scope to consumer goods and it remained relatively small, so that its contribution to GDP in 1990/91 was only 4.3% (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,1993: 6). Overall, the efforts to diversify the economy and reduce its dependence on the mineral sector had limited success.

Employment

The massive expansion of the economy led to new patterns of employment. The configuration of employment at Independence showed a small internal formal sector, a relatively large number of people working in South Africa and the majority of the labour force engaged in peasant agriculture. During the period formal sector employment grew rapidly at around 10% per annum and migrant labour to South Africa decreased. An enormous change in the pattern of formal sector employment took place with increased proportions of workers in manufacturing, commerce and services. Of great significance was the increase in the proportion of the labour force engaged in wage employment. By 1991, 71% of the labour force were in paid employment in the formal or informal sector, whilst 14% were unemployed and seeking paid work (Jefferis,1993: 9). These figures reveal the extent to which capitalist relations of production expanded between 1966 and 1991.

Policies for rural employment creation and income security from the early 1970s stressed the development of diversified small-scale farming and small rural enterprises through wider access to productive assets and the organisation of labour-intensive public works. But the environmental constraints of erratic rainfall and poor soils, the class interests of large cattle-owners and rich and middle peasants, the profitability of capitalist accumulation in the urban areas and the economy's openness to cheap South African products, all converged to block the development of small-scale agriculture and petty commodity production. Thus policies to create rural employment failed and there was widespread rural poverty. The problem of how to ensure viable rural livelihoods

was not solved and by 1991 only 15% of the labour force were engaged in peasant agriculture.

Social Services

The state made a variety of interventions in the area of social services which had an important impact on people's lives. Its policies were guided by the ideas of welfare capitalism expressed in the modernisation theory of development and many public expenditure allocations helped to meet people's basic needs for health, nutrition, clean water, education, training and shelter. During the 1980s, expenditure on social services constituted about a third of all public expenditure (UNDP, Republic of Botswana, UNICEF,1993: 69). The welfare dimension of state policy contributed to the expansion of capitalist reproduction and supported the legitimacy of the socio-economic order. It undoubtedly led to improvements in the general standard of living. For example in the field of health, life expectancy rose from 48 years in 1965 to 60.2 in 1991 (Republic of Botswana,1991a: 18) whilst infant mortality fell significantly. In 1989 Botswana became one of the first countries in Africa to achieve Universal Child Immunisation. In the field of education, there was large-scale expansion in enrolments at all levels of the system (National Commission on Education,1993). For example, by 1991 83% of children of primary school age were in school and 95% of primary school completers proceeded to secondary education. The adult literacy rate dropped from 60% in 1971 to 31% in 1991. However, despite these increases in social welfare, structural inequalities meant there was substantial poverty, especially amongst female-headed households and low status ethnic minorities.

Public Expenditure

The fiscal situation in the period gave the state increasingly large resources at its disposal. Its main revenues were from the mineral sector and SACU receipts, with loans and grants from international development aid a subsidiary source. Total Government revenue as a proportion of GDP was 53.5 % in 1990/91. The huge scale of economic growth enabled a very high level of public expenditure, reflecting the dominance of the modernisation theory of development. Neo-liberal ideas began to have some influence in the late 1980s, for example in proposals for cost recovery for public services, but economic and social expenditure by the state remained high to the end of the period.

The development strategy of the state reflected the interests of the various classes from which it derived its support and its alliance with foreign capital. The large resources available to the state enabled it not only to pursue a pattern of allocation that strengthened the economic position of the dominant internal classes and ensured the profitability of foreign capital, but also to provide tangible benefits to subordinated classes in terms of social services and welfare. In agriculture, a variety of public investments and subsidies favoured large cattle-owners and the rich and middle peasantry. The emergent commercial and industrial petty-bourgeoisie received assistance especially from the early 1980s and a policy of high wages favoured the bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie. Foreign investment received many incentives from the state.

The development strategy was top-down and policies seldom arose because of pressures from subordinated classes. Nevertheless, the strategy was sensitive to the need to retain the active support of the rural majority and to ensure the quiescence of the urban working class. The availability of surpluses enabled the large-scale provision of infrastructure and social services, as well as a basic welfare safety net through feeding schemes and public works programmes, especially during periods of drought. It can be concluded that the state was very successful in the 1966-1991 period in using public expenditure both to expand the reproduction of capitalist accumulation and to secure legitimacy for this development path.

Political Stability

The sustained high level of economic growth between 1966 and 1991 was accompanied by an unbroken period of political stability within a liberal democratic framework. The Constitution of 1966 provided for a system of liberal democracy with the usual characteristics of regular electoral competition for the legislature and an independent judiciary enforcing the rule of law and guaranteeing various rights and freedoms. The political system remained unchanged during the period and every five years there were elections for the National Assembly and the local government councils. The elections were contested by a variety of political parties, which increased in number from three contesting parties in the pre-Independence election of 1965 to seven in the 1989 election. The main party was the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), which was formed in 1962, whilst the most significant opposition party was Botswana National Front (BNF), formed in 1965. Within the multi-party system the BDP had overwhelming dominance. It won every general election and held majorities in most local government councils. The success of the BDP lay in the social basis of its appeal and it managed from its foundation in 1962 to establish and maintain a historic coalition of classes.

This historic coalition was based more on material interests than on the party's modernising capitalist political ideology. The centre of the coalition was the cattle-owning class and the petty-bourgeoisie, with support from the class of monarchs and nobles dominant in the pre-colonial and colonial era and from foreign interests. This group of dominant classes secured mass electoral support from the majority peasant population. An important source of support were the relationships of patronage between cattle-owners and poor peasants (such as *mafisa*) as these provided a material basis for the BDP's appeal to the rural masses. The large-scale support for the BDP meant that it never had less than 65% of the vote in general elections.

The ability of the BDP to sustain its historic coalition was helped by the relative weakness of the opposition parties, although the BNF attracted urban working-class support around issues of unemployment, wages, housing and inequality which enabled important parliamentary and council victories in 1984 and 1989. However, the BNF lacked internal unity and a coherent programme and it failed to undertake grassroots mobilisation. It was therefore limited in its capacity to take advantage of the socio-economic changes that steadily weakened the BDP's electoral base through the creation of a larger urban and rural proletariat and a more diverse petty-bourgeoisie.

In the period 1966 to 1991 there was no electoral transfer of power from one party to another so the durability of the liberal democratic system was not tested. It was a 'de facto one party state' (Molomo,1991: 13) in which competitive electoral politics served to legitimate the rule of the dominant classes without seriously threatening their hegemony. The lack of a threat to this hegemony also meant that there were few pressures to jeopardise the political and civil rights enshrined in the Constitution and 'the country has for years enjoyed a positive human rights profile, among one of the best on the African continent.' (Andreassen and Swinehart,1991: 83) The main weaknesses in this profile related to the situation of women and ethnic minorities and to the extent to which adherence to constitutional guarantees would survive a political or economic crisis (Molokomme,1989).

The political stability Botswana experienced between 1966 and 1991 was based on the BDP's historic coalition, the strong economy and the weakness of opposition forces. Political development in the period saw the growth and consolidation of a strong state with an interventionist role buttressed by a modernising ideology of national development. The state through its alliance with foreign capital organised the economy to provide the conditions for expanded capitalist accumulation. It achieved legitimacy through regular parliamentary and local government elections, which provided a framework of multi-party democracy. These elections were dominated by a single party, the BDP, that was based on a historic coalition of classes that gave it overwhelming electoral support. This support was sustained by fiscal policies that used the large government revenues generated by the mineral sector to meet the interests of all classes in the coalition. Class, gender and ethnic conflicts were muted and there were few organised social movements, so that civil society remained weak. The opposition parties also remained relatively weak although the BNF made electoral gains during the 1980s so that the electoral arena became more competitive. In sum, the period was one of political stability and secure human rights. However, the growing contradictions created by the trajectory of dependent capitalist development provided the conditions for future opposition to the status quo which might test the durability of the liberal democratic system (Parson,1993).

Summary

Development between 1966 and 1991 was based largely on a strategy derived from modernisation theory. Neo-liberal ideas began to have an influence only at the end of the period, for example in *The Revised National Policy on Incomes, Employment, Prices and Profits* of 1990 (Republic of Botswana,1990). In the area of economic development, there was a sustained rate of high economic growth leading to significant increases in GDP per capita. Foreign debt was kept to a minimum. However, there was limited economic diversification and a very high level of reliance on a single commodity and on foreign capital. Thus whilst economic development was successful in terms of expanded capitalist reproduction, the economy retained the structural characteristics of peripheral capitalism. With respect to social welfare, the availability of government revenues enabled social policies which had a significant impact in areas such as health and education. But whilst some indicators of social welfare were impressive, a high level of inequality and poverty remained. Indeed, the UN estimated that for the period 1980-1991 Botswana had the highest degree of inequality in income distribution in the

world (UNDP, 1994: 164). In the sphere of political development, there was an unbroken period of liberal democracy with regular elections and secure human rights. This period of political stability was based on the dominance of the Botswana Democratic Party which used the state revenues accruing from rapid economic growth to sustain the historic coalition of classes that gave it a broad social base. However, the processes of class formation resulting from the specific trajectory of capitalist development began to undermine this coalition.

Botswana's pattern of rapid economic growth, improved social welfare and stable democratic politics between 1966 and 1991 went against many global trends in development, particularly in the 1980s when many parts of the South experienced economic crises, debt burdens, declining standards of social welfare, authoritarian regimes and civil wars. However, what was regarded by many commentators (such as Harvey and Lewis,1990) as a successful record of national development, was nevertheless a process of dependent capitalist development. Thus it did not resolve either the economy's vulnerability and subordination within the global system or the structural inequalities and contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

The penetration of the capitalist mode of production into the pre-capitalist Batswana social formations was accompanied by new forms of organised learning for adults. These were provided by the missionaries who organised two forms of adult education. The first was the sewing classes and other housework training for young women provided by the wives of missionaries and female missionaries from the 1830s (Mafela, 1994b). The second was adult literacy tuition in the context of teaching congregations to read the bible after the translation of the New Testament into Setswana in 1840. The work of the churches in these two areas of adult education continued during the colonial period. For example, in 1943 the Dutch Reformed Mission established the Mochudi Homecraft Centre to provide home economics training for young women.

The provision of social services by the colonial state was minimal and therefore it undertook very little adult education activity. Its main involvement was in agricultural extension, which started in the 1930s. The first major programme, the Cooperative Demonstration Plot Scheme, was established in 1947 with the aim of introducing new methods to 'progressive' farmers, that is rich peasants with substantial productive assets. It was followed by the introduction of the Pupil/Master Farmer Scheme in 1962 which was also targeted at the creation of a 'yeoman' class engaged in commercial crop production (Gaborone,1986a). Apart from agricultural extension, the colonial state provided hardly any adult education until the period of 'development activism' at the end of the colonial period when it established a number of institutions with an adult education role. These included the Bechuanaland Trade School in 1962, the Department of Cooperative Societies in 1964 and the Department of Community Development in 1965. As in other areas of development, the colonial legacy provided very little in the field of adult education.

In the early years after Independence, a number of initiatives were undertaken by private individuals and the organisations of civil society. These included the opening

of the first secondary level night school in 1967 in Gaborone and the establishment of an Urban Industrial Mission in the new mining town of Selebi-Phikwe in 1970 by the Botswana Christian Council. The Mission offered a number of adult education programmes including literacy. The 1971 census reported the adult illiteracy rate to be 60%. However, the main developments were associated with the growth of the state bureaucracy and the creation or expansion of programmes in agricultural extension, community development, health extension and cooperative education. In 1972 the Government established the Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning to coordinate the activities of the various ministries with extension programmes, creating for the first time a coordinating mechanism and the idea of a system of related organisations. There was a growing recognition that adult education could make an important contribution to the state's rural development policies.

The phase of economic growth that took place from 1973 saw a rapid expansion of new institutions, cadres and programmes. Adult education at the time was articulated in terms of non formal education, reflecting the international attention being given to the role of non formal education in development by international aid bodies such as the World Bank. Innovative techniques were introduced such as distance education, simulation training, video as a teaching aid, and the use of popular theatre for community education. A major event was the use of a large-scale radio learning group campaign in 1976 to inform the public about the state's new policy on land tenure. It was in this context of development and innovation that the Government in 1977 published the *National Policy on Education* (Republic of Botswana, 1977a) which stated that it would give high priority to non formal education. Although the document promised a separate policy paper on non formal education, this was never produced and subsequently the adult education sector lacked policy coherence.

By the beginning of the 1980s the institutional framework of state adult education was fully established. Eight central government ministries had a role in adult education and the RECC continued to provide a coordinating mechanism. The local government councils also provided adult education programmes, for example related to community development and to self-help housing. At the council level, District Extension Teams constituted a coordinating mechanism. Adult education cadres were to be found in most communities, where they formed Village Extension Teams. The majority of the state's programmes can be characterised as rural extension programmes, designed to provide adults with information and skills and to stimulate development activity at the community level. Besides these programmes, the main adult education activity of the state was the National Literacy Programme, started in 1980 by the Ministry of Education's Department of Non Formal Education. Alongside publicly-funded adult education, there were activities provided by the organisations of civil society such as churches, voluntary women's organisations and the trade union movement. Also by this stage the professionalisation of the field had begun and a system of training for adult education cadres was in place, provided by bodies such as the University.

The evolution of adult education during the 1980s reflected the new stage of economic development that was reached. The booming economy created the need for

skills for the formal sector and these were provided by new state programmes and by a proliferation of private training institutes. The expansion of new technologies, such as computing, was mirrored in new kinds of adult education courses. The rising levels of education amongst the population led to the expanded provision of continuing education for adults. The development of the private sector led to the employers' organisation taking an increasingly active role in training whilst the state in 1987 reorganised its extension services for small businesses. The consolidation of the capitalist mode of production during the 1980s therefore had a significant impact on the character of adult education.

This section has provided a brief overview of the development of adult education in Botswana. The main argument of the study is that the nature of adult education in the 1966-1991 period was shaped by the context of the political economy. This is illustrated in detail in later chapters. The effects of Botswana's position within the global economy on adult education are discussed in Chapter Six. The impact of social inequalities are analysed in Chapter Eight, whilst the relationship to political processes are considered in Chapter Ten.

ENDNOTE

1. The Batswana are an ethnic group whose language is Setswana. In the old orthography, their name was written as 'Bechuana'. Hence the British called the colony Bechuanaland. At Independence, the country was renamed Botswana, the land of the Batswana.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPERIALISM, AID AND ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the political economy of adult education in peripheral capitalist countries. Such countries, by definition, are on the edges of the historic centre of capitalism, whose origins lay in the expansion of commerce from Western Europe from the fifteenth century. The historical evolution of capitalism involved the steady incorporation of all the pre-capitalist areas of the world into a global economic system. It is this process of incorporation, impelled by external forces, which has given the peripheral capitalist countries their specific characteristics. The theoretical framework established in Chapter Two posited:

> The dominance of the capitalist mode of production at the world level means that socio-economic development in the peripheral capitalist countries of the South must be located within the context of the global political economy. It is assumed that the dynamics of imperialism have an impact on the policies and practices of adult education.

The most important feature of the global political economy is its structural inequality and the relative weakness of the countries of the South. External factors therefore have a significant role in the development of these countries, affecting not only the nature of their economic growth but also their politics and social forms. This chapter accordingly seeks to analyse the nature of external influences and their impact on adult education. Although the emphasis is on external influences, this does not ignore the theoretical position adopted in Chapter Two that the relationship between external forces and internal forces must be seen as a complex whole because external forces intersect with internal patterns of inequality, domination and resistance and they are mediated by the class structure and the state. The external influences in the periphery are discussed in this chapter in terms of the concept of imperialism. The specific impact of imperialism on adult education is considered in relation to the aid provided by the North to the South.

THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM

The expansion of capitalist trade created a world market by the late nineteenth century. Within this world market, distinct areas of influence had been established by the different capitalist countries, typified by the agreement on the division of Africa made by the European colonial powers at the 1884 Berlin Conference. The final quarter of the century saw the development of large-scale productive enterprises in Europe and the USA based on the concentration and centralisation of capital. This represented a new stage in the evolution of the capitalist mode of production as these monopoly companies came to play a central economic role. The enlarged capacity of the monopolies to generate surplus value led to increasingly available capital and the large banks and monopoly companies joined forces to invest capital in productive activities outside their national boundaries. Thus capitalist accumulation took on the new form of a world-level process, which Marxist political economy defines as imperialism. This new stage was characterised by the export of capital, where previously the export of manufactured

goods had been dominant. Thus in the twentieth century era of monopoly capitalism, the peripheral areas became not only a source of raw materials and a market for finished goods, but also places for profitable investment.

Imperialism is essentially an economic process, denoting the expansion of the capitalist mode of production to all parts of the world. However, it has important political consequences as the advanced capitalist countries seek to promote their economic interests. The political dimension of imperialism consists of varieties of direct and indirect external influence over the underdeveloped countries and international rivalry amongst the industrialised nations to extend their areas of influence in the periphery. Thus the state in the advanced capitalist countries, under the influence of dominant capitalist classes, plays an important part in helping to secure the conditions that will ensure the world-wide reproduction of capital and promote the interests of its corporations.

The character of imperialism has evolved during the twentieth century, particularly since the war between the imperialist powers in 1939-45 which led to a shift in the balance of economic and political power and the emergence of the USA as the dominant capitalist country. Since 1945 the internationalisation of capital has increased and the global economy has become more integrated. From the late 1940s the amount of foreign direct investment in production by USA corporations increased rapidly as they invested in the weakened European economies and in the underdeveloped countries. The USA quickly displaced Britain as the most important investor in Latin America and its advocacy of decolonisation in Africa and Asia was motivated by its desire to open up previously protected markets in the European colonies. In fact the advent of the notion of 'development' can best be understood in terms of USA capital's search for expanded economic opportunities and the role of the USA state in protecting corporate interests against nationalist or socialist regimes that would nationalise and curtail foreign investment.

The main institutional form of imperialism since 1945 has been the transnational corporation (TNC), which is a large capitalist firm operating in more than one country i.e. across national boundaries. The significance of TNCs has grown enormously since the 1940s and from the 1960s European and Japanese TNCs have arisen alongside those of the US. Their importance can be gauged by the fact that by 1980 350 TNCs controlled 25 000 subsidiaries and produced 28% of the GDP of the capitalist world (Jenkins,1987: 8). In some industries a small group of companies dominate production - for example, in 1983, three companies controlled 70% of world tobacco, nine companies produced 80% of the world's cars and seven companies 66% of the world's oil (United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations,1983). Their size can be illustrated by the USA's Dow Chemical Company which in 1987 had manufacturing plants in thirty countries and sales offices in seventy countries (Robinson,1987: 187).

The early focus of the TNCs in the underdeveloped countries was on the production of raw materials from agriculture and the extraction of minerals and fuel, involving companies such as the United Fruit Company and Exxon. But from the 1960s there was a shift into manufacturing investment in the periphery. This took two forms. One form was investment in underdeveloped countries for production to meet the

demand in their domestic markets, for example in Latin America. The second form was the development of export-oriented manufacture to produce goods for markets in the advanced capitalist countries themselves. This was the case in Asia, particularly in Export Processing Zones which offered special incentives to TNCs and low wages based on feminised and casualised labour. An important development consequent on changes in transport, communication and production technologies has been the globalisation of production of certain goods, whereby separate components (for example of a car or television) are made in different countries and finally assembled in another country. The increase in foreign manufacturing investment has created a more integrated global economy, with TNCs taking decisions to locate production in different parts of the world according to calculations of profitability involving criteria such as wage levels, transport costs, exchange rate stability, government policies and the political risks within 'the host country environment' (Robinson,1987).

The development of manufacturing in the underdeveloped countries has led to a shift in the international division of labour and a certain degree of restructuring has taken place in the global economy. But this process has been very selective as only a small number of countries in Latin America and Asia, the so-called 'newly-industrialised countries' (NICs), have experienced significant industrialisation. For example, in 1983 Brazil and Mexico accounted for a quarter of the entire stock of foreign direct investment (Jenkins,1987: 13). The TNCs have invested largely in middle-income countries rather than low income ones so that the overall effect of economic development in the peripheral countries has been very uneven, leading to increased differentiation between them. This became clear in the economic crisis of the 1980s when external debt and negative rates of economic growth led to deteriorating living standards in much of Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa. In terms of the economic criteria of income and industrialisation levels, the South can now be divided into three main categories:

a) The high income oil-exporting countries, mainly in the Middle East and North Africa.

b) The industrialising economies of Asia and Latin America, including not only the NICs but potential latecomers to increased manufacturing, mainly countries in Asia such as China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand.

c) The low income exporters of primary agricultural and mineral products, mainly clustered in Sub-Saharan Africa and Central America and increasingly marginalised in the world economy.

However, despite the differences between these groups, their experience is essentially a similar one of dependent capitalist development. They rely on the advanced capitalist countries for capital, technology and markets. Their economic structures involve high levels of exports and manufactured imports but they have little control over the terms of trade. The fundamental nature of imperialism and the basic hierarchy of the international division of labour have remained unchanged since the emergence of monopoly capitalism at the beginning of the century.

AID AS IMPERIALISM

The internationalisation of capital, the expansion of international trade and the integration of the world economy since 1945 have been supported by aid, that is, the transfer of public financial and technical resources from the industrialised countries to the peripheral countries. Aid is an integral part of international political and economic relations and it reflects the rich/poor division within the global economy. Indeed, the concept of the Third World has been defined in terms of those countries which are recipients of aid (Wood,1986: 5). For the countries of the South, aid represents their relative weakness within the international political economy and provides a channel for external influence over their development policies and programmes. Viewed from a global perspective, the varied activities of the state in the advanced capitalist countries carried out under the rubric of aid have a systemic role in developing the conditions for capitalist accumulation on a world scale. The Marxist political economy approach therefore regards aid as a dimension of imperialism (Hayter,1971).

The provision of aid is undertaken primarily in the self-interest of the providing countries. The ostensible purpose of aid is to promote development but although the language of aid suggests a disinterested and benevolent helpfulness, the reality is different. The provision of aid does in some instances represent a humanitarian response to poverty, a sense of charity or a moral commitment to redress the unjust balance between rich and poor nations. But normally aid is one dimension of foreign policy and supports a country's strategic interests and ideological alliances. This has been most clear in the case of the USA, whose aid has been used to support allies, such as South Vietnam in the 1960s, and has been withheld from countries whose policies it opposed, such as Chile in 1970-73 and Zimbabwe in 1983. But to a greater or lesser extent, the aid of other countries also reflects their strategic and diplomatic alignments, as evidenced by the orientation of British and French aid to their former colonies. However, the dominant function of aid for most countries is to advance their economic interests through encouraging domestic purchases, establishing foreign markets for exports and gaining access to areas for investment.

What is aid? Aid constitutes a transfer of resources in the form of either capital assistance (investment finance comprised of loans and grants) or technical assistance (comprised of experts, training and technology). It is defined by two dimensions. Firstly, it is 'official', in that the state in the industrialised countries uses public expenditure for the international transfer of resources to promote development. In fact aid is often labelled 'official development assistance'. Secondly, it is 'concessional' insofar as these transfers are provided more cheaply than market rates. Thus an official loan may be over a longer period and at a lower interest rate than a loan from a commercial bank. The extent to which aid departs from market rates defines its 'hardness' or 'softness'. Aid providers expect recipients to 'graduate' from greater to lesser degrees of concessionality (i.e. from soft to hard) as they become more creditworthy and as their income level rises. Although the concessional concept is important definitionally, it must be noted that a lot of aid is provided through development banks in the form of loans and therefore constitutes a debt which becomes a component of a country's overall debt obligations. Furthermore, though many countries in their directly-provided aid make outright grants which do not have to be

repaid, this concession is weakened by the stipulation that the recipient has to buy goods and services from the providing country. The extent of this 'tied' aid varies between providers but is common to all of them. In 1991, the proportion of bilateral aid which was tied varied for example from 65% for Italy to 19% for the USA (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,1993:96). The practice of tied aid benefits the providing country in terms of stimulating its own economy and encouraging continued commercial relations, for instance for spare parts. But it reduces the real value of the aid to the recipient who could purchase more cheaply on the open market. Indeed, although aid is defined as a transfer of resources to the South, the effect of having to service official loans and make tied purchases has been large reverse flows to the North. In the light of this:

> ...the imagery of gift giving embedded in most discussions of aid becomes questionable. Donors may receive more than they give, and recipients may repay more than they receive. ...the donor-recipient terminology reflects a basic asymmetry of power and status that lies at the core of the aid process... (Wood,1986: 14)

It is important to demystify the concept of aid as a gift in order to clarify its role within the world economy and as an external influence on development strategies in the South.

Aid is channelled to the South through a wide variety of different organisations. These organisations can be grouped into three types (Browne,1990):

a) *Bilateral.* The bilateral agency is a state agency, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), that channels aid from the provider country directly to the recipient. Such agencies closely reflect national interests and the political complexion of particular governments. There are approximately twenty-five bilateral donors, of which eighteen are the advanced capitalist countries grouped in the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD/DAC). In 1991 the four largest donors were the USA, Japan, France and West Germany, though proportionately Norway provided the most at 1.14% of its GNP (World Bank,1993: 274). In 1990, 75% of official development assistance was disbursed as bilateral aid (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,1992: A-23).

b) *Multilateral.* There are two types of multilateral organisation which disburse aid that has been contributed by member governments. The first are the twenty members of the United Nations system, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF). Here member governments have equal votes within the governing bodies so that recipient countries have an equal voice in their operations. These bodies mostly provide grants for technical assistance rather than capital loans. In 1990 their contribution constituted 38.0% of total multilateral aid disbursements (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,1992: A-24). The second type of multilateral organisation are the multilateral banks. The main bank is the World Bank group. This comprises the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which provides long-term loans at rates slightly lower than

commercial rates, the International Development Association, which provides soft loans to the low income category of poor countries, the International Finance Corporation, which provides loans to promote private sector growth, and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, which provides insurance for private investment in underdeveloped countries. These entities are controlled by governing bodies on which all member countries are represented but in which voting rights are weighted according to shareholding. Thus the USA, which is the largest shareholder, has around 20% of the vote in the IBRD. There are three regional banks, such as the African Development Bank, which operate similarly to the World Bank. Membership of the World Bank is conditional upon being a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the IBRD and IMF have a common board of governors. The IMF was established to promote international trade and monetary stability and it provides short-term loans to countries with balance of payment and foreign exchange problems. Although much of the IMF's lending is not concessional and cannot be classified as aid, IMF approval of domestic economic policies has become increasingly necessary for countries to get access to concessional sources. Therefore it must be regarded as part of the aid system.

c) *Private*. The third type of aid organisation is the private non profit body such as non governmental organisations like OXFAM and private foundations like the Ford Foundation. There are approximately 2 000 development non governmental organisations in the industrialised countries and they are increasingly important channels of aid. It has been calculated (Browne,1990: 82) that by the end of the 1980s these bodies disbursed aid equivalent to about 8.0% of the aid from the OECD/DAC countries. Whereas in the past private organisations depended on charitable contributions, they have become more reliant on government funding and many have thus become part of official development assistance. Their funding is channelled not only to governments in recipient countries but also directly to non governmental organisations, often at the community level.

The practice of aid arose alongside the practice of development and had its origins in the same process of reconstructing the world economy after the depression of the 1930s and the 1939-45 war. Aid policies reflect the changing economic and political contexts that influenced the evolution of development theories. Indeed ideas on the role of aid have a distinctive place within each theory. The origins of aid are to be found in the institutions established in the mid-1940s under the leadership of the USA, which exerted its new dominance in the world economy to promote an international economic order based on the free flows of private capital for trade and investment. The institutional framework was comprised of the IMF and IBRD established in Bretton Woods in 1944 and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established in 1947. The IMF was to provide international monetary stability, the IBRD capital for investment, and the GATT regulations for international trade. The initial focus of the IMF and IBRD, which were under USA control from the beginning, was on post-war reconstruction in Europe but they subsequently became a source of aid as the underdeveloped countries became more integrated into the world economy and involved in the geo-politics of the Cold War. Alongside these economic institutions, a number of specialised United Nations agencies were established in the 1940s, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), which later became important development agencies.

But the initial impetus for aid as concessional finance from strong economies to weak ones came from the USA's Marshall Plan, which provided large amounts of capital to Western Europe between 1948 and 1952. The Plan was significant less for its contribution to the economic recovery and political stability of Western Europe than for its role in establishing concessional external finance as a key element in the new USA-dominated world order (Wood,1986). In 1952 the programme of aid to Europe was merged into the Mutual Security Program which was the vehicle for the USA's bilateral aid to underdeveloped countries as part of its policy of communist containment. During the 1950s the number of countries with bilateral aid programmes grew but that of the USA remained the largest. The provision of aid came to have a significant place within the modernisation theory of development, which saw economies as backward because they lacked resources. Within this theory, aid was regarded as a source of capital for investment to promote economic growth and of technical assistance to help overcome constraints of skill and knowledge.

The increase in the number of independent countries as decolonisation progressed led to greater prominence for the idea of development and enlarged requirements for aid. At the end of the 1950s the underdeveloped countries through the United Nations (UN) pressed for a UN institution that would provide capital assistance and over which they would have control, unlike the IBRD. However, the idea of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development was resisted by the USA and the IBRD and instead a new soft loan facility, the International Development Association, was established within the World Bank in 1960. This is an important indicator of the USA's concern to retain a dominant role within the aid system. Multilateral lending increased in scale during the 1960s and in 1970 the World Bank overtook USAID as the largest provider of aid. The number of bilateral donors also grew during the 1960s and this contributed to the diversification of sources of aid available to particular countries, especially the ex-colonies of Africa and Asia.

The concern with poverty and inequality that arose in the 1970s after the UN's First Development Decade was reflected in aid policies, which were influenced by the 'basic needs' trend within development theory. These ideas had an impact on the World Bank, though its public pronouncements on poverty alleviation proved to be largely rhetorical in terms of its fundamental policies and actual disbursements (Hayter and Watson,1985). The ideas were more influential with respect to the bilateral aid policies of social democratic governments, resonating with the views of the Nordic countries for example. The commitment of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Canada to providing high levels of aid with an egalitarian focus on poverty and a concern for recipient participation led them to be labelled as the 'like-minded group' of donors, and they exhibited a distinctive approach within the OECD/DAC countries until the 1990s.

The impact of dependency theory on official policies during the 1970s was negligible. However, it did for the first time provide a critique of aid from the Left. This critique was typified by *The Debt Trap* (Payer,1974), a study of the IMF and the Third World. Payer argued that the IMF, under the influence of its most powerful member, the USA, used its leverage to support capitalist Third World governments and ensure that they pursued policies which were favourable to foreign trade and

investment. But she broadened her argument to a wider criticism of aid dependence contending that 'large-scale aid would be a pernicious influence on development even if no conditions whatsoever were imposed as a quid pro quo.' (Payer,1974: 211) Her conclusion was that reliance on aid was a symptom of dependency and that underdeveloped countries should adopt policies of economic self-sufficiency like China and North Korea.

The most important development during the 1970s was in fact the huge increase in commercial lending to the underdeveloped countries by private banks, which had excess liquidity in the form of 'petrodollars' after the oil price rise of 1973. The greater use of non-concessional funding made some countries less dependent on aid for a while. But a combination of factors in the late 1970s, including increased oil prices, lower commodity prices, recession in the industrialised countries and a rise in interest rates, led to the debt crisis in the South that became visible with Mexico's announcement in 1982 that it could not meet its debt obligations.

The debt problems of the underdeveloped countries made them vulnerable to the macro-economic policy prescriptions of the IMF and the World Bank. From the early 1980s the two institutions came to work more closely together and to adopt a common approach to lending that sought not only to stabilise economies in relation to balance of payments problems but also to change their structure. The IMF had always espoused monetarist policies and its approach was reinforced after 1979 by the accession to power of neo-liberal governments in the North which dominated the IMF/World Bank board of governors. Neo-liberal thinking was antagonistic to aid, seeing it as a form of Keynesian state interference in the market place. This view was well articulated by Krauss (1983) in *Development Without Aid*. He argued that aid was a product of the welfare-state ideology of American liberals and European social democrats, as typified in the report of the Brandt Commission in 1980 which called for greater transfers from North to South. Krauss contended that the role of the state must not be to redistribute income but to secure the conditions for the growth of the private sector. He argued that poverty can only be overcome by economic growth and the effect of aid had been negative as it had supported governments following bad policies and had crowded out private capital. The proper role of aid should be to induce recipients to follow appropriate polices that would free the private sector and open their economies to foreign trade and investment. Neo-liberal theorists such as Krauss articulated the arguments for the policy-oriented lending that came to dominate aid from the early 1980s.

The IMF and World Bank became central to aid policies, imposing conditions on access to aid which affected not only their own funds but also those of other multilateral and bilateral sources. Furthermore, agreement to their conditions also became a prerequisite for access to capital from private banks. The conditions for aid were that recipient governments should adopt a standard set of neo-liberal macro-economic policies known as a 'structural adjustment programme'. This programme comprised the following: currency devaluation to boost exports and limit imports; cuts in expenditure on social services; reduction in public sector employment; privatisation of government enterprises; removal of state subsidies on consumption items and to producers; restraints on wages; raised interest rates and limits on credit expansion;

dismantling of price controls; removal of barriers to foreign investment and of import protection; and raised agricultural prices to encourage production for export. The measures were intended to stabilise the economy, promote the private sector and create the growth that would generate the foreign exchange needed to pay foreign debts. These policy prescriptions became hegemonic and a means for the imposition of 'global monetarism' (Cypher,1988) In 1992, fifty countries were receiving adjustment loans on these terms from the World Bank (1992a: 20) and/or the International Monetary Fund (1992: 97-98). Structural adjustment programmes represented a decisive step in the integration of aid policies. But the enlarged role of the IMF and the World Bank also signified a new stage in the management of the world economy. The cooperation amongst the advanced capitalist countries in the Group of Seven (G7) was operationalised through the IMF and World Bank and through aid co-ordinating fora such as the OECD/DAC and the 'Paris Club' of creditor nations. This coordination of economic policy and aid policy has raised the degree of external influence of the advanced capitalist countries over the South to a new level as adjustment lending 'conditionality' imposes policy changes:

> Policy reforms cut into the sovereignty of recipient governments, place foremost emphasis on economic criteria and in some instances even countermand the policy mandates of elected governments. (Browne,1990: 126)

The 'alternative' approaches to development that arose in the 1980s are sceptical of aid. This reflects their antagonism to the state and their recognition that the dominant growth-focused development strategies have been heavily supported by aid agencies. Their view of aid is therefore that it should be channelled to community-level non governmental organisations and that it should be the result of partnerships between non governmental organisations in the South and the North, with recipients having control over its nature and use. A typical attack on aid from an alternative, environmentalist perspective is made by Linear (1985) in a book with the revealing title *Zapping the Third World. The Disaster of Development Aid.* He gives concrete examples of aid schemes such as large dams which have had damaging ecological consequences and describes as an alternative the work of a Dutch farmer in Ghana living in a village and using modified local methods to demonstrate how to increase agricultural productivity in a sustainable way. Other advocates of 'alternative approaches', such as Millwood and Gazelius (1986) in *Good Aid*, elaborate arguments for non governmental organisations providing appropriate and useful aid to small projects which help to improve people's lives and their ability to control their situation.

As noted earlier, the role of non governmental organisations in aid did expand enormously during the 1980s. However, this was due less to the influence of 'alternative' approaches than to neo-liberalism's opposition to 'big government' and its desire to reduce the state's role in economic and social development. The USA, for example, established the African Development Foundation in 1986 in order to channel funds to small scale community projects sponsored by non governmental organisations. In fact, non governmental organisations in both the North and the South became increasingly dependent on official development assistance. The discourse of 'alternative' approaches to development (participation, people-centred planning,

environmentalism, self-reliance and so forth) was co-opted by the aid providers. The World Bank, for instance, suggested that statism in Africa was an alien tradition and non state voluntary associations represented indigenous values. After 1987, the World Bank increasingly involved non governmental organisations in its projects (Gibbon,1993).

The changes that took place in aid policies in the 1980s have placed the IMF and the World Bank at the centre of an increasingly homogeneous system. The World Bank, and to a lesser degree the UNDP, coordinates aid programmes to specific countries whilst the IMF's seal of approval provides a 'cross-conditionality' whereby other aid agencies link their funding to IMF agreements. The impact of this common approach led by the IMF and the World Bank is multiplied because the acceptance of their policy prescriptions is also a condition of access to commercial loans from private banks and influences investment decisions of the transnational corporations. With the inclusion within this system of China from 1980 and Eastern Europe from 1989, the scope of aid within the world economy has reached a new stage. Aid has become a stronger mechanism for guaranteeing a world order in which there are free flows of private capital for trade and investment. Furthermore aid conditionality since 1989 has extended from the economic sphere to the political, embracing the concepts of human rights, democracy and good governance. The promotion of liberal democracy and efficient government is being used to strengthen the legitimacy of the market economy and the capitalist state in the periphery. It is the role of aid in reproducing and legitimating the conditions for capitalist expansion on a world scale that is the basis for regarding it as an important dimension of imperialism.

The impact of aid is economic, political, social and ideological and it shapes the nature of development strategies. The prescriptions of the aid providers enforce dependent capitalist development and prevent self-reliant development strategies. The external influences of aid reinforce the unequal structural location of the peripheral countries in the global economy by continuing to define their role as exporters of raw materials, markets for manufactured goods and areas of profitable investment. This international inequality is shown by the fact that since 1983 there has been a net outflow of official and private capital from the South to the North. Aid also serves to reinforce internal power structures within underdeveloped countries. The provision of aid promotes an alliance between the dominant classes and the state in the advanced capitalist countries on the one hand, and the dominant classes and the state in the periphery on the other. For example, the role of structural adjustment loans in promoting a 'favourable investment climate' is not neutral as the dismantling of wage controls and the imposition of restrictions on unions have a negative effect on the working class.

However, it is important to note that these external influences are not always unopposed. At various times, governments in the South have sought to gain greater control over their economies through the nationalisation of foreign corporations (as in Chile in 1970-73) or by the repudiation of foreign debts (as in Cuba in 1960). At times, the subordinated classes have resisted the imposition of IMF measures, either through militant demonstrations as in some Latin American countries in the 1970s and 1980s or by retreat into informal grass-roots survival strategies as in parts of Africa in the 1980s

and 1990s. Thus although imperialism and aid are backed by state power their influence does not always go uncontested.

The concept of imperialism provides a general theoretical framework for the analysis of aid, which is itself a form of capital export. This provides the background for undertaking research into aid provided to particular socio-economic sectors, such as adult education, and for examining the economic, political, social and ideological consequences of aid in particular national circumstances.

AID AND ADULT EDUCATION

Education is assigned an important role in the development process by all development theories. Thus despite changes in the conceptions of development and in rationales for providing aid, education has always been a target of aid provision. The focus of educational aid has shifted over the years in line with changing thinking. Under modernisation theory in the 1960s, ideas about 'manpower' development to meet high level skill gaps led to aid to secondary and higher education. The reformist trends in modernisation theory in the 1970s brought a concern with non formal education for rural development. The impact of the debt crisis and structural adjustment policies on basic services in the 1980s was so severe that a new focus was given to primary education to address the worsening situation of the poor. Many of the trends in educational aid have been associated with the World Bank, whose research has provided intellectual leadership and whose weight amongst the donor agencies encouraged common approaches (Samoff,1992). The World Bank is the largest single donor, providing 15.0% of total international aid to education in 1990 (Gordon-Brown,1991: 290). The promotion of the common approach was symbolised by the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien in 1990 that was convened by the World Bank and three United Nations agencies (UNESCO, UNDP and UNICEF) which sought to mobilise aid for a new concern with primary education for all.

However, the bilateral agencies also have distinct interests and philosophies. Germany's educational aid, for example, has always given a high priority to technical and vocational education, whilst Sweden has focused on basic education. Thus the pattern of aid to education has varied over time and between agencies. The proportion of aid given to education within overall aid budgets also varies significantly. In 1990 education comprised 7.2% of the World Bank's aid and 9.8% of the total aid of the OECD/DAC agencies. But within the OECD group the proportion differed considerably. For instance, the proportion of their total aid given to education by the four major bilateral providers was as follows: USA 2.2%, Japan 6.9%, Germany 14.2% and France 28.1% (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,1992: A-40/41).

The provision of aid to education in the countries of the South has been a noticeable factor in the development of their education systems. Even where the amount of aid has been relatively small in relation to the national budget, the input of aid has often been of strategic significance in influencing policy and practice. For example, full-time foreign advisors have been placed in the planning divisions of Ministries of Education and foreign staff appointed to teacher training colleges. The

aid and education relationship has therefore attracted some degree of analysis. An early work in this field by Cerych (1965), *Problems of Aid in Education in Developing Countries*, was based on modernisation theory. It assumed the net effect of aid to be highly beneficial to the recipient but identified practical problems in the provision and utilisation of aid. It addressed questions like the issues arising from different kinds of aid (such as the supply of foreign teachers, scholarships for study abroad and new educational technologies) and the relationship between different aid agencies. Its frame of reference was how to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in educational aid.

A more critical stance towards educational aid emerged during the 1970s as the ideas of dependency theory gained currency. Analysts gave greater prominence to the degree to which aid involved external interference in the internal affairs of the underdeveloped countries and symptomised their dependence on the industrialised countries. For example, Thompson (1977: 155) asked 'How far free are developing countries to develop systems of education tailored to their own individual needs?' and he discussed the mechanisms through which educational aid exerts influence. His list of mechanisms included the provision of foreign personnel as teachers and experts, scholarships for overseas training, the provision of textbooks and other educational materials, cultural links which support the metropolitan language as a medium of instruction, the work of foreign researchers, international debates and trends in educational policy, and the exported model of the university. He concluded that '...the aid flow remains a potent influence upon the policies of these countries...and it must be critically examined. In some of its forms, aid may tend to perpetuate dependency upon aid; in others it may distort patterns of development.' (Thompson,1977: 165) His conclusion indicates that the international economic order constitutes a form of neo-colonialism and aid reinforces dependency through reducing self-reliance and constraining domestic choices about appropriate development. But he does not provide a comprehensive theorisation of the nature of the world economy and the place of aid within it. Indeed much of the writing on aid and education lacks a theoretical framework that links the processes of aid provision to the global political economy.

However, the outline of a theoretical approach based on Marxist political economy has been developed by Carnoy (1980). He maintains that an explanation of how and why aid agencies influence educational policy in low-income countries must be rooted in an analysis of the nature of the international economic system, the state, and the inter-action between states. He argues that there are different theoretical perspectives on these issues and they lead to different views on the role of the aid organisations, as shown earlier in this chapter. His discussion is important because it confirms the significance of identifying the various theoretical frameworks which underpin discussion of aid and education even when they are not made explicit. He adopts a Marxist theoretical model as he feels it has more explanatory power than the other theories. His model sees the international economic system as imperialist and focuses on the role of the state because educational aid is an element of state policy in both the North and the South. He views the state as the political expression of capitalist economic power but also as an institution which reflects the conflicts and contradictions in capitalist society. Thus there are differences in the aid policies and approaches of the various capitalist countries at different times. Similarly there are differences among

the recipients in terms of the utilisation and consequences of educational aid. He concludes:

> ...the role of international agencies in educational change in low-income countries is to influence that change in certain directions consistent with the interests of the transnational bourgeoisies of the developed countries and the bourgeoisies in the dependent countries themselves. The recommendations made and the type of financing available for education has to be consistent with the transnational capitalists' conception of the international division of labour (where things are going to be produced and how), but also acceptable to the national bourgeoisie's concept of their role in the sharing of the surplus. Both concepts are subject to the struggle for power of the dominated classes in the low-income countries and the changing conditions of power in the industrial countries. ...The agencies are inserted in the struggle but they are not neutral in that insertion: they have a position to support, and they use their self-defined expertise (and funds) to do it. (Carnoy,1980: 281-282).

The model of educational aid sketched by Carnoy is consistent with the theory of aid as imperialism presented in the preceding sections of this chapter.

The literature on aid and school education is rather limited in scope and depth but there is an even greater paucity in the analysis of aid in relation to adult education. There seems to be a major gap in the research field with respect to the theoretical and empirical analysis of the significance of foreign aid for the policies, practices and consequences of adult education in the South. At the level of information, there is a lack of studies which document volumes and trends in aid flows for adult education. This is a complex task as the conventional aid category 'education' usually focuses on formal school education and it is difficult to disaggregate adult education from general data. Furthermore, many activities which can be classified as adult education, such as extension work in health or agriculture, fall into other data categories. King (1990) in his study of aid and education included a chapter on adult literacy and non formal education which gives an overview of the changing agency perspectives on aid to these forms of adult education but he did not attempt to provide quantitative data or assess impact.

There has been very little consideration given to aid in the adult education literature. The work of Gelpi (1985; 1988; 1995) has drawn attention to the inequality in North/South relations and its significance for international cooperation in adult education. He has considered the internationalisation of the world economy, the new international division of labour, the transnational corporations and the impact of technological change in terms of the problem of dependency and the implications for adult education, which he argues is increasingly 'exported' from the centre to the periphery. But his discussions of adult education within the global political economy have not included an extended analysis of educational aid.

One of the few examples of writing on aid and adult education is the series of articles from an International Council for Adult Education seminar held in 1986 on 'The

Role of International Aid in Adult Education in Developing Countries'. A common position emerges from these articles because the writers share a commitment to a concept of development and of adult education's role within it that is underpinned by the philosophy of the 'alternative approaches'. They see the purpose of adult education as helping to redress inequalities through empowering the oppressed to take action for social change. The non governmental organisation is seen as the best vehicle for achieving this goal. From this perspective, they regard non governmental organisations in the South as the most appropriate channels for aid because they are people-centred, flexible, democratic, cost-effective and a means for international solidarity (Hall,1986). This approach to the purposes and organisational form of development, adult education and aid provides the basis for criticising bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. Vio Grossi (1986), for example, is critical of the USA's official aid for its low volume, conditions and inefficiency, and he deplores the fact that so little OECD aid goes to non governmental agencies. Hall (1986) points out that aid agencies tend to follow their own priorities and use the language of partnership to obscure their relative power. Although reference is made to the debt crisis (Vio Grossi,1986) and to the emerging impact of neo-liberal governments in the North on approaches to development in the mid-1980s (Duke,1986), there is no systematic analysis of aid in terms of the international political economy and the state so that the critique of aid remains superficial. Thus the discussion embodied in the seminar summary (Kassam,1986) focuses on how to make aid more effective in the task of promoting bottom-up development.

The problem with these arguments is the assumption that aid agencies have a commitment to equality, poverty reduction and social change. Although poverty alleviation was on the aid agenda in the late 1970s, the commitment of bodies such as the World Bank was largely rhetorical. A partial exception was the Nordic countries whose aid policies extended their social welfare model of capitalism to the international sphere. In this connection, Stromquist (1986:17) makes the important point in relation to aid and the empowerment of women through non formal education that some aid agencies 'represent states where women have been able to demand and obtain greater social and economic concessions. Some bilaterals, in consequence, reflect national policies strongly committed to the advancement of women.' However, the role of the state in both the advanced capitalist countries and the periphery is not fully explored and no systematic conception of aid as state policy emerges from the articles. The writers do raise some important questions about the scope and impact of aid but these are not pursued in depth nor at a theoretical level. In the final analysis, the practical commitment of the writers to promoting a particular kind of adult education for a particular goal, namely participatory adult education for social change, meant that they adopted too narrow a frame of reference to address the full complexity of the aid and adult education relationship.

One full length study of aid to adult education utilising a political economy approach has been undertaken by Unsicker (1987). The theme of the study is the impact of international aid on the development of adult education in Tanzania, with specific reference to the folk development colleges. Unsicker does not provide an extended theorisation of aid through a systematic discussion of imperialism and the state but his overall perspective identifies aid with the world capitalist system and the

external influences that shape the dynamics of dependent development. The importance of his study for the literature on adult education is its empirical account of how foreign aid affects state activity in the adult education sector.

The study provides a nuanced analysis of the interactions between aid agencies and state bureaucracies, involving at various points cooperation, conflict and manipulation by both sides. His main focus is on the impact of the Swedish International Development Authority but some information is also given on the role of the World Bank, USAID and UNESCO. He shows how empire-building within the state bureaucracy was linked to access to foreign aid. For example, in a struggle between various ministries over residential training facilities, the Ministry of National Education gained control of most of them through Swedish aid given to promote the Swedish concept of 'folk education' although the Ministry of Agriculture managed to retain control of some centres because of a World Bank funded programme. The complexity of the relations between the aid agencies and the state is illustrated by Tanzania's involvement in the UN's Experimental World Literacy Programme, an international programme initiated in 1963 by the advanced capitalist countries to counter the model of Cuba's successful literacy campaign in 1961. UNESCO rejected Tanzania's proposal for general support to national literacy efforts and insisted on a selective, small-scale demonstration project. Tanzania in turn refused to choose just one or two villages but selected regions around Lake Victoria in order '...to increase foreign exchange income through increasing cotton production and to quell anti-TANU [the ruling party] sentiments among the Sukuma people who would be the primary beneficiaries of the project'. (Unsicker,1987: 181) Thus the state, whilst unable to meet its original objectives, sought to turn the project to its economic and political advantage. Unsicker's account of aid in practice shows how the multiple interactions of aid agency officials, foreign personnel and state bureaucrats which took place in the context of evolving state and aid agency policies contributed to the directions and forms of Tanzania's adult education.

The main value of the study lies in the way it reveals how the macro level of imperialism impacts on the micro level of adult education activities through the processes of aid. Unsicker shows how Tanzania's peripheral status in the world capitalist economy created the material and ideological conditions which shaped the individual behaviour of those involved in the aid relationship. Thus he concluded that whilst the motivations and actions of individual foreigners and state officials varied considerably, seen in structural terms their participation in aid programmes ultimately promoted the interests of international capital. However, the study did not attempt an in-depth analysis of the economic, political, social and ideological consequences of the programmes which received aid. The value of analysing aid in terms of a political economy approach encompassing its wider consequences can be illustrated by the examples of agricultural extension and trade union education.

Agricultural extension is an important form of adult education in many countries of the South. It originated in the late nineteenth century at the time when the USA was undergoing the transition from an agrarian society to an industrialised economy. Agricultural extension services were institutionalised by the USA state in the 1914 Smith-Lever Act. The aim of agricultural extension was to promote independent

capitalist farmers with the productivity to feed the growing urban industrial work force. The agricultural extension model spread internationally, for example to Africa. Here it was introduced initially by missionaries and foreign companies like the East African Tobacco Company but subsequently by the colonial state influenced by the reports on African education by the USA Phelps-Stokes Foundation in the early 1920s. Agricultural extension as a means of management advice and technology transfer became part of the colonial process of transforming the economy so that African peasants produced cash crops for the market (particularly for export) rather than for household subsistence (Yudelman,1975).

After 1945, as decolonisation began and the USA started to exert its dominance within the world economy, it was the USA state which was instrumental in diffusing agricultural extension in the South through its aid programmes:

> Administrators, researchers and extension agents were assigned to implement these technical assistance programmes in countries around the world. Three major types of assistance were made available by the United States:
>
> - commodities, including books, lab facilities, printing and teaching equipment and supplies, research and field tools, equipment and vehicles;
>
> - assignment of research, teaching and extension personnel to institutions and government ministries around the world;
>
> - scholarships for researchers, teachers and extension workers to pursue on-the-job training or study for advanced degrees at US universities and colleges.
>
> These technical assistance activities were massive. More than 20 000 men and women from 100 countries received some training in extension education in the United States alone between 1944 and 1966. (Prawl, Medlin and Gross,1984: 148)

Although the USA took the lead, the multilateral aid agencies have also been extensively involved. The UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation has had a key role (Maalouf,1987) and the World Bank has been influential in providing loans, promoting the training and visit system of agricultural extension in over forty countries between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s (Benor,1987). Thus the direct influence exerted by the colonial state at an earlier stage, for example in Africa, was followed after 1945 by the indirect influences transmitted world-wide through bilateral and multilateral aid. The main beneficiaries in the North have been the transnational corporations specialising in the marketing and processing of agricultural products, whilst in the South agricultural extension has tended to increase social inequality in the rural areas by favouring those with productive assets. The provision of aid to agricultural extension shows how the economic process of commercialising agricultural production in the South and

integrating it into the world capitalist economy has involved the introduction of adult education activities designed to change the attitudes and practices of peasant farmers.

The second example of aid and adult education is that of trade union education in the South which has been supported by American aid. By the end of the 1939-45 war the unions in the USA had been incorporated into tripartite arrangements including business and the state and they had come to conceive their role in the narrow terms of lobbying for economic benefits within an agreement on the overall political-economic system of capitalism. After the war, the international affairs division of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO) became an extension of the USA's foreign policy of communist containment (Thomson and Larson,1977). It promoted the ideology of economistic trade unionism in other countries and in international organisations such as the UN's International Labour Organisation. The AFL-CIO, funded by the USA state through the Central Intelligence Agency (Agee,1975) and USAID, and by USA transnational corporations, has taken an active role in encouraging trade union education in the South.

Godfried (1987) discusses the activities of the African American Labour Centre (AALC) which was established by the AFL-CIO in 1964. It sought to build up national labour federations and their leaders in order to curb labour militancy and radicalism. The AALC funded national union centres with an educational role, for instance, in Ghana and Nigeria. It organised educational seminars for African trade union leaders, provided American teaching staff and advisors, produced publications and supported research, funded study visits by leaders to the USA and gave scholarships for participation in industrial relations courses in American universities. The education supported by the AALC focused on the acquisition of technical skills in areas such as collective bargaining and leadership, and promoted a pro-capitalist ideology of union cooperation with business and the state. Its purpose was to create a compliant union leadership and very little training was given to the rank and file. This example highlights the role of American aid.

However, the effort to restrict worker's organisations to a non-political role within capitalist structures through a narrow focus on education in technical trade union skills, rather than a broader form of worker's education to develop class consciousness and commitment to social change, has also been undertaken by other aid agencies. Mudariki (1995), for example, shows that in Zimbabwe in the 1980s there were ten foreign organisations providing technical assistance to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, whose education programme failed to challenge the hegemony of capitalism. The provision of aid to trade union education in the countries of the South can therefore be seen as an ideological element of imperialism. It has sought to promote a pro-capitalist ideology within the working class in the periphery and to restrict the formation of a radical and politicised proletariat that might challenge capitalist development strategies. This form of adult education is part of political subordination and mediates the ideological legitimation of the capitalist world order.

The discussion has shown the centrality of the concept of imperialism for a political economy approach to development. It has also argued that the phenomenon of aid must be located within the concept of imperialism. Thus a theoretical framework

has been established for considering the economic, political, social and ideological significance of foreign aid to adult education. The critical analysis of aid has been largely neglected in the study of adult education and the next section suggests an appropriate research agenda.

A RESEARCH AGENDA ON AID AND ADULT EDUCATION

The theoretical position elaborated above is that aid is not neutral. Foreign aid agencies are inserted in the dynamics of a particular national political economy and advance a certain set of interests within that context. The task for research on aid derived from these theoretical assumptions is to identify the economic, political, social and ideological consequences of aid to the adult education sector and to clarify the processes which produce these consequences. The aim of this task is to contribute to the overall goal of the political economy approach to adult education which is to determine who gains and who loses from adult education policies and practices. The analysis of aid being proposed is therefore significantly different from technical evaluations of aid which are made to meet the decision-making needs of aid agencies. The proposed analysis is not concerned with standard evaluation questions such as the economic rate of return on capital assistance or the effectiveness of project implementation. It has a different focus as it seeks to relate the provision of aid to the wider dynamics of peripheral capitalist society and to understand how the external influences mediated by adult education interact with these dynamics.

The previous sections of the chapter have provided generalisations about the world economy and the role of aid but it is clear that national experiences vary considerably. It is therefore important to develop national studies to test the validity of these generalisations. It is suggested that the research agenda for analysing foreign aid to adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism should have four components, as follows:

Analysis of the National Aid Situation

The specific issues of aid to adult education have to be contextualised within the wider national aid situation. The analysis of this situation has to take into account the country's location within the international division of labour and its overall economic characteristics as well as its geopolitical significance. It must then trace the pattern of aid in terms of data on providers, sectoral allocations, overall flows and balance between capital assistance and technical assistance. Relevant data include the amount of official development assistance (ODA) per capita, ODA as a proportion of GNP and of development expenditure, the country's debt burden as indicated by its debt service ratio and foreign reserves, and the employment of foreign citizens in the public sector, because these provide some aggregate data on the extent of a country's reliance on aid. The state's policy towards aid, explicit and inferred, must be considered as well as the stated and unstated policies of the aid providers. The aim of providing a national picture is to show the degree of aid dependence and to indicate the impact of foreign aid. The national situation should be portrayed in a historical perspective as patterns of aid change over time.

Analysis of Aid to the Adult Education Sector

The national context provides the setting for considering aid provision at the level of the adult education sector. It must be recognised that adult education is not considered a 'sector' in terms of aid data and it cuts across categories such as human resource development, agriculture, social development and health. However, the analysis must seek to identify the pattern of aid to activities defined as adult education in terms of providers, areas of allocation, and overall flows and their composition. Information should be presented on the explicit and implicit policies of the providers in this field and their particular conditions, procedures and approaches. The influence of trends in the international discourse on adult education for development should be shown. Data should be provided on the kinds of adult education activities that have received aid, tracing changes over time, and on the state's perspectives of the purposes of aid in this sector.

Analysis of Aid Projects in the Adult Education Sector

The sectoral analysis provides the context for considering aid provision at the level of particular aid projects that provide assistance to some aspect of adult education. Analysis at this level includes more detailed questions on the nature of the provider(s) and the pattern of aid provision over time, especially as this relates to policy changes in both the provider and recipient countries. This should include the extent of joint financing by different providers, the degree to which this affects the institutional specificity of the aid's origins, and the operational impact of a group of varied providers. The volume of aid and the extent of counterpart funding should be identified. Analysis should explain how the project originated and the respective role of provider(s) and recipient in its identification and design, as well as the influence of international debates in the particular field. The implications of the provider's monitoring and evaluation requirements should be discussed. The role of the country representative(s) of the provider(s) should be analysed. This micro-level of analysis should focus on the mechanisms of aid activity in relation to the following dimensions:

i) Capital assistance in terms of loans and grants.

ii) Technical assistance, which has three main forms:

   a) Personnel in the form of foreign experts as consultants, advisers, teachers, administrators and researchers.

   b) Commodities in the form of equipment (such as vehicles and educational technology) and materials (such as books and curriculum materials).

   c) Training in terms of on-the-job training, local courses and scholarships for study abroad.

The aim of analysis at this level is to examine the mechanisms whereby aid in practice has an influence on a given aspect of adult education.

Analysis of the Consequences of Aid to Adult Education

The final level of analysis is that which seeks to relate the processes of aid provision to the wider society. The consequences should be considered in terms of four dimensions:

i) Economic consequences judged in terms of the effect of the aid project on the economic situation of the recipients with respect to their location within the national and international economy.

ii) Political consequences analysed in terms of the effect of the aid project on power relationships with respect to the location of the recipients in local and national political contexts and to the legitimation of the state.

iii) Social consequences considered with regard to the extent to which patterns of class, gender and ethnic/racial relations are constructed and/or reproduced by the aid project.

iv) Ideological consequences with respect to the extent that overt or latent ideologies embodied in the content and process of the aided adult education activities are adopted by the recipients.

An important aspect of this level of analysis, which focuses on how the external influences interact with the internal political economy, is the consideration of whether recipients resisted (actively or passively) the impact of the aid given so that the consequences did not match the outcomes intended by the aid providers and by the local decision-makers.

The research agenda proposed here is designed to focus attention on how the processes of imperialism are embodied in the provision of aid to peripheral capitalist countries and on the implications of this aid for adult education. The next chapter illustrates the applicability of this research agenda by reference to Botswana in the period 1966-1991.

CHAPTER SIX: AID AND ADULT EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

THE NATIONAL AID SITUATION

The research agenda proposes that the analysis of the national aid situation must begin by situating the country within the global political economy. In the case of Botswana, the characterisation of its relation to imperialism is made complex by its relationship with South Africa. The specific form of dependent development in Botswana was shaped by the trajectory of capitalist accumulation in the southern African region as a whole. The important feature of this development for the analysis of aid is the way in which Botswana was incorporated into the world economy.

Until the 1960s Botswana's incorporation into the world economy was mediated by its integration within the regional economy dominated by South Africa. The initial role of South Africa in the international division of labour after the discovery of minerals in the latter part of the nineteenth century was to provide primary mineral and agricultural commodities to Europe, whilst also providing a market for manufactured imports and a lucrative area of investment for finance capital. Bechuanaland participated in this subordination to European imperialism through exporting cheap labour and cattle to South Africa and importing foreign goods from there. From the mid-1920s, the South African state promoted a domestic process of industrialisation and import substitution so that a significant manufacturing sector developed for which the Southern African Customs Union area provided a captive market. The concentration and centralisation of capital within South Africa had created by the 1960s monopolies such as Anglo American Corporation, Sanlam and Barlow Rand which dominated the economy. These monopolies took on a transnational character and increasingly invested in the surrounding countries. The export of capital within the region (and beyond) has led Tsie (1994) to identify South Africa as an imperialist nation in its own right, rather than an agent of European or USA imperialism. Thus post-colonial Botswana can be characterised as subject to South African imperialism. At the economic level, this included not only the domination of investment in mining by the Anglo American Corporation and its affiliate De Beers but also foreign direct investment by South African capital in the commerce, tourism and service sectors, where it played the leading role. At the political level it involved numerous pressures to accept the domestic and regional policies of the South African state.

However, after its entry into the European beef markets in the early 1960s, Botswana also began to engage directly in the world economy. This process speeded up with the commencement of mineral production in the early 1970s and Botswana became inserted within the international division of labour as a primary commodity exporter of beef and minerals. Its direct imports from the world market remained small compared to imports from South Africa and the amount of foreign direct investment from non-South African sources was also much less significant. Thus it was not a major focus of direct business interests for the advanced capitalist countries. However, it had great geopolitical significance for them because of its location in the centre of the white settler regimes of the region, namely Mozambique, Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. The commitment at Independence to a capitalist economy and to a multi-party, multi-racial democracy made Botswana an important ideological model in

the region. For those advanced capitalist countries with significant investments and strategic concerns in southern Africa, namely the USA, West Germany and the UK, Botswana represented an ally in the search for moderate, peaceful change. It provided a model of capitalist development to pose as an alternative to the plans of the Marxist-influenced liberation movements, most of which had close ties to the USSR. For the Scandinavian countries, support to Botswana was a political response to domestic public opinion opposed to institutionalised racism in Southern Africa (Colclough and McCarthy,1980: 104-5).

Thus Botswana had a complex location in relation to imperialism. Its direction of trade illustrates the duality within its dependence at the economic level - in 1990 82% of its imports were from South Africa, whilst 87% of its exports went to Europe and North America (Ministry of Finance,1993: 14). At the political level, it was affected by contradictions between South Africa and other imperialist powers over how to secure the conditions for continued capitalist accumulation in southern Africa. This is the economic and political context in which aid was provided. The pattern of aid will be considered in relation to the three periods of economic development since Independence which were discussed in Chapter Four, namely 1966-1972, 1973-1981 and 1982 -1991.

At Independence Botswana was one of the ten poorest countries in the world and it was dependent on British aid for half of its recurrent expenditure and the majority of its development expenditure. From the beginning the state adopted the strategy of seeking high levels of external aid as the basis for economic development. The initial period of development was characterised by the attainment of budgetary self-sufficiency in 1972/3 and by the deliberate diversification of sources of aid for development expenditure. External finance for the period to 1972 was obtained from the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA), Denmark and British government and non governmental organisations such as OXFAM. The first major new bilateral agreement was made with the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) in 1971. In 1972, aid constituted 91.0% of development expenditure (Stevens,1981: 175).

The scale of aid increased quantitatively with the financing of the massive Shashe Project agreed in 1972. This involved foreign direct investment in the Selebi-Phikwe mine by the Anglo American Corporation and its USA transnational partner AMAX. There were additional loans from the South African state through the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and from the German state through the Reconstruction Loan Corporation (KFW). The South African loan is the only known example of South African state aid, whilst the German loan exemplifies commercial considerations as it was intended to secure nickel for the German steel industry (Harvey and Lewis,1990: 144). The project also involved large state investment in associated infrastructure for the mine and this was financed by aid, with the World Bank coordinating a group of providers including the Canadian International Development Authority and USAID. The project established a precedent for high levels of aid provided by multiple agencies.

The progress in Botswana's economic performance led to a change in its aid status. In 1971 the United Nations had categorised Botswana among the twenty five

least developed countries and therefore one of those most deserving of aid. But after 1973 the World Bank reclassified Botswana in terms of its criteria so that Botswana was no longer eligible for soft loans from the IDA. The improved economic prospects enhanced Botswana's ability to attract aid as it appeared able to generate the recurrent revenues to service its loans and sustain aid-assisted projects. The period from 1973 saw increased development expenditure and the establishment of the Domestic Development Fund for financing development from domestic revenues. The state also consciously sought expanded external assistance in terms of personnel as well as capital. Stevens (1981: 163) notes that '...a major effort was mounted to increase implementation capacity for all development projects. Agencies that provided expatriate technical assistance were asked to increase their ceilings, and did so.' In consequence a large number of foreign personnel were engaged in the state bureaucracy at management level as well as in technical and professional areas. The diversification of aid sources continued and a pattern emerged of certain providers showing preferences for particular sectors. Thus the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), which signed a bilateral agreement in 1973, showed a preference for rural projects intended to benefit low-income groups. By 1979, seven bilateral and three multilateral agencies were providing development finance. The four largest providers were the World Bank (16.6% of total aid), Sweden and the USA (13.5% each), and Britain (12.0%)(Stevens,1981: 175). Aid at this stage provided 57.0% of total development expenditure.

It is notable that during the post-1973 period when commercial lending to the South increased enormously, the Botswana state only once made a major commercial loan, namely $45 million to help finance the development of the Jwaneng diamond mine (Harvey and Lewis,1990: 295). It thus avoided the problem of the debt trap. The country's debt service ratio (i.e. the ratio of annual debt payments to export earnings) in relation to aid and commercial loans stood at 8.0% in 1972 and only 2.0% in 1980 (Harvey and Lewis,1990: 206).

In the period of economic boom from 1982 to 1991 the volume of aid increased to a peak in 1987 and then began to decline (UNDP,1993). The pattern of aid in the period was characterised by a large increase in the number of providers. By 1990, there were 12 UN organisations, 6 multilateral agencies, 16 bilateral agencies and 11 nongovernmental organisations, a total of 45 providers. The bilateral agencies provided 72.7% of the total aid in 1991. The four largest providers were Norway (22.0%), Germany (18.0%), Sweden (16.0%) and Britain (15.0%). The bilateral agencies and UN organisations generally provided grants, whilst loans were obtained from the multilateral banks, especially the World Bank and the African Development Bank. The increased role of non governmental organisations was a feature of the period and their contribution in 1989 reached a height of 20.6% of total aid. The pattern of providers showing clear sectoral preferences remained. For example, in 1991 Britain allocated 73% of its aid to the human resources development sector. A particularly significant form of aid during the period was food aid contributed to the drought relief and recovery programme of 1982-1990. Here a key role was played by the UN's World Food Programme. The most important type of aid was technical assistance providing foreign personnel, which accounted for 47.5% of the total aid in 1991. By the end of the 1980s it appeared that Botswana's economic prosperity would be begin to decrease

its attractiveness for aid providers. The Canadian University Students Overseas (CUSO) terminated its assistance in 1989 and other providers indicated plans to reduce their involvement.

The national aid situation in the period 1966-1991 showed a significant inflow of official development assistance. The state pursued an explicit policy of seeking high levels of both capital and technical assistance to promote its development strategies and it entered agreements with a large number of providers. Although the state was careful to control its level of foreign debt and keep high levels of foreign reserves, aid constituted a significant element of the development budget and the per capita level of aid was one of the highest in the world. The salient data are shown in the following table:

TABLE 6.1: DATA ON OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA) TO BOTSWANA

	1966	1991
GNP per capita (in US$)	$75	$2,530
World Bank category	Low income	Upper middle income
Total ODA (in $US)	$8.3 million	$135 million
ODA per capita (in $US)	$15	$102.5
Rank in World Bank list of ODA per capita	-	7th
ODA as % of GNP	-	3.7%
ODA as % of development expenditure	100%	21.0%
Public foreign debt as % of GDP	10.1%	12.0%
Debt service ratio	-	5.0%
Foreign reserves in months of import coverage	-	18
% of non-citizens in public sector employment	73.0%	3.1%

Sources: Bank of Botswana,1993: 39; Colclough and McCarthy,1980: 95 and 100; Hartland-Thunberg,1978: 11; Harvey and Lewis, 1990: 21; Murray and Parsons,1990: 159; Republic of Botswana,1991a: 59; Republic of Botswana,1991c: 19; World Bank,1993: 277.

During this period there was a reasonable degree of consistency in the policies of the major providers. The former colonial power, Britain, retained a high degree of involvement both bilaterally and through the European Community. Sweden and Norway were consistent in providing a high level of aid and in their focus on particular sectors and commitment to the rural poor. However, changes in provider polices were reflected in the nature of aid in some cases. For example, the change in the aid policy of the USA in the early 1980s to a more explicit promotion of private enterprise led to a new strategy in Botswana which focused on private sector support, channelled

particularly through the employer's organisation. General policy trends such as the increased interest in the role of non governmental organisations in the 1980s also affected the pattern of aid provision.

The level of aid to Botswana clearly had an impact on its political economy. On the whole aid was not linked specifically to foreign business interests, as in much of the USA's aid to Latin America for example. The most significant impact of aid was to support the state and its polices of capitalist development and liberal democracy. Aid enabled a scale of public investment in development projects which would not otherwise have been achievable, particularly before the post-1982 boom. It thus served to legitimate the state and to sustain the Botswana Democratic Party's historic coalition of classes. For example, aid played an important role in the Accelerated Rural Development Programme of 1973-76 which helped to generate political support for the ruling party during the 1974 general election. The most explicitly political aid intervention was the funding given by the German Frederich Ebert Foundation to the political education programme of the Botswana Democratic Party and to two non governmental organisations in the opposition stronghold of Kanye, namely the Rural Industries Innovations Centre and the Southern Rural Development Association. Aid also supported the processes of class formation fostered by the state, exemplified by the World Bank's funding of the Livestock Development Projects designed to develop capitalist ranching. At the practical level, the most important impact of aid came through the widespread use of technical assistance. Foreign personnel throughout the period played an influential part in the state bureaucracy and the influence of foreigners 'on policy formulation and the development agenda has been overwhelming' (Molutsi,1993: 58). In sum, the external influences of aid converged with the interests of the dominant classes within Botswana so that aid played an integral part in economic and political development. This is the national context within which aid was provided specifically to the adult education sector.

AID TO THE ADULT EDUCATION SECTOR

There have been no studies of aid to adult education in Botswana, although Hopkin (1993;1994) recently undertook pioneering research on aid to school education from the mid-1980s. However, aid to adult education between 1966 and 1991 was extensive. For example, the report of the UNDP (1993) on aid to Botswana in 1991 listed over 250 aid projects, of which about 35 were related to adult education.

In terms of providers, it is clear that the provision of aid was linked to provider policies and their areas of preference. Aid to adult education from the USA, for example, went largely to the area of agricultural extension, a traditional focus of USAID support. In fact, for a number of years after Independence, British aid continued to go to agricultural extension, which had been the main area of adult education in the colonial period. Until the late 1970s there were British advisers to agricultural extension in the Ministry of Agriculture and a British principal at the Botswana Agricultural College (BAC), the training centre for extension cadres. But increasingly USA aid supplanted British involvement, providing capital assistance for developing the BAC buildings, scholarships for training BAC and Ministry staff, and advisers and lecturers. This furnishes an example of aid diversification and of a new

provider extending its sphere of influence and displacing the former colonial power. Neo-liberal changes in USAID's own policies in the 1980s emphasising greater support to private enterprise were reflected in increased funding for the promotion of training in the private sector. For example, in 1986 USAID committed US$27 million to a new phase of a technical assistance project called the Botswana Workforce and Skills Training (BWAST) project. BWAST involved the provision of USA experts and overseas and in-country training for Batswana. By 1991, 200 participants had received long-term training in the USA, 52 had completed short-term studies and 1354 had received in-country training (USAID,1991).

Another major provider to adult education was SIDA. Swedish development aid has always included a strong commitment to adult education, influenced by its domestic experience of the role of non formal adult education and popular movements in the 'transformation of Sweden from a backward and poor agrarian society to a modern, industrialised society.' (Edstrom,1986: 196) Swedish educational aid policy has therefore consistently centred on non formal education, literacy and post-literacy programmes, making it distinctive amongst aid providers to education.. This approach was reflected in a SIDA survey of education and training in 1972 soon after SIDA had entered a bilateral agreement with the Government of Botswana. The mission found that 60-65% of aid to the education sector was directed to higher education and stated that 'A notable feature of the aid situation is that the only assistance given to adult education is in the field of agriculture and that these contributions are very small.' (SIDA,1972: 19) The report concluded that 'non formal education in Botswana is still in its infancy' but 'in order to succeed in its programme of rural development, Botswana will have to give considerable emphasis to non formal education and information.' (SIDA,1972: 83) It therefore recommended long-term support to non formal education. SIDA subsequently directed its educational aid to basic education, including adult education. In effect, it made funds available to an area which had not hitherto received priority from the state. One of the first programmes to receive SIDA support was a radio learning group campaign to popularise the third *National Development Plan*, which was run by the University's adult education section (Colclough and Crowley,1974).

But substantial assistance did not begin until after the promulgation in 1977 of the new *National Policy on Education* (Republic of Botswana,1977a) which supported non formal education. Swedish aid mainly took the form of capital assistance rather than technical assistance (Agrell, Fagerlind and Gustafsson,1982). The major focus of support was to the public library system and to the National Literacy Programme. SIDA also gave significant budgetary support to the Ministry of Home Affairs' Women's Affairs Unit which had been established in 1981 with a role that included the dissemination of information through adult education activities, especially by women's voluntary organisations. The commitment of the Swedish state to women's equality led SIDA again to give more priority to its area of concern than the Botswana state. A SIDA-commissioned evaluation of its aid to education in Botswana between 1981 and 1986 concluded:

> We suspect that SIDA is a good deal more committed to singling women out as a special target group than what seems reasonable to the

> Government of Botswana and most of its officials. In such a situation, other government agencies may resent a widened role which the Unit through strong Swedish funding would acquire vis-a-vis other units of government. (Lauglo and Marope,1987: 30)

This indicates the general trend of aid to the adult education sector that agencies provided aid largely in terms of their own policies and priorities. A final example can be given from the non governmental sector. Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) is a large non governmental organisation involved in over thirty countries. It runs a technical assistance programme composed of volunteers and it disburses small capital grants. A significant proportion of its funds come from the Canadian state through CIDA. CUSO commenced operations in Botswana in the early 1970s and a number of its volunteers worked as operational personnel in the field of adult education, for example in the University's adult education section in the early 1970s and in the Ministry of Education's Department of Non Formal Education in the late 1970s. CUSO espoused the 'alternative' approaches to development and in adult education it supported extension in appropriate technology (at the Rural Industries Innovation Centre), grassroots community projects (such as the Odi weaving factory), cultural action (such as the Cultural Development Project of the University's Institute of Adult Education (IAE) from 1979-1982) and women's programmes (such as the IAE's Women's Programme Development Project from 1983-1989). In 1989 CUSO unilaterally terminated its aid programme having decided that Botswana's level of economic prosperity no longer justified its involvement.

The composition of aid to the adult education sector included both capital and technical assistance. In terms of capital assistance, aid was provided for both programme activities, such as SIDA's support to the Women's Affairs Unit, and for physical infrastructure, such as the World Bank loan for the headquarters of the Department of Non Formal Education. But the majority of aid went to technical assistance. Particularly in the period up to 1982, a significant number of foreign personnel were involved in the adult education sector as advisers (in areas as various as agricultural extension, the training of community development staff and health education), as operational personnel (for example in the Botswana Extension College and the Department of Non Formal Education) and as lecturers (for example in the IAE and the BAC). One reflection of this foreign dominance was shown in the research and publications on adult education in Botswana. A bibliography of publications between 1960 and 1980 (Youngman,1981: xii) showed that less than 20% of the 578 publications listed had Batswana as authors.

However during the 1980s the number of technical assistance personnel diminished, although a large number of short-term consultancies were undertaken by aid-funded foreigners. The reduction in foreign personnel was largely the result of training programmes in adult education which led to a process of localisation. One element of this was aid-funded post graduate study overseas. The first Masters in adult education achieved by a Motswana was obtained in 1978 in the US and the first Doctorate in 1986 in the UK. Overseas training was a particular focus of British aid throughout the 1966-1991 period and many adult education personnel received training in the UK. This was part of an international trend in British aid to Africa - Mutangira

and Fordham (1989) record that between 1966 and 1983 more than 200 adult educators did post graduate studies in the UK from a sample of four Anglophone African countries, namely Ghana, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Tanzania. The exposure to foreign attitudes and practices in adult education through overseas study clearly had an impact on the recipients. The motivations of the scholarship providers were influenced by political and commercial considerations. For example, in talks at the University of Botswana in 1989 the Director General of the British Council made it clear that through scholarships Britain hoped to cultivate relationships with current and future leaders to facilitate political contacts and trade development. Similarly, a USAID document stated that those who study in the USA 'tend to go home preferring U.S. goods and services. They also have a better understanding of our values.' (USAID,1982: 8).

The aid given to the adult education sector reflected the wider trends in the national aid situation that were identified in the previous section. The trends included the influence of provider policies and preferences, the influence of aid on the nature of policies and programmes and the use of aid by the state to further its own interests. These generalisations are examined below in a case study of aid at the project level.

Case Study: The National Literacy Programme (1978-1987)

The case study considers the role of aid during the initial years of the National Literacy Programme, from its conception in 1978 to the resolution of its first funding crisis in 1987. Adult literacy in the years after Independence was not given priority by the state. A number of small-scale activities were undertaken by the Government's Department of Community Development, the University and some non governmental organisations but the Government rejected in 1972 a proposal by a UNESCO consultant (Brooks, 1972) for a nation-wide literacy programme. However, a major Government policy paper on education in 1977 (Republic of Botswana, 1977a: 12) stated an intention to consider literacy programmes. This encouraged the Ministry of Education's adult education section, the Botswana Extension College (BEC), to undertake two pilot literacy projects in 1977 and 1978 which revealed the social demand for adult literacy tuition and provided experience in running literacy activities (Botswana Extension College,1978a). In 1977 the USA Ford Foundation, which had provided significant funding to the BEC from its establishment in 1973, commissioned an evaluation of the College. The evaluation report recommended that the College should be incorporated into a new Department of Non Formal Education within the Ministry of Education with an expanded role in adult education beyond the BEC's original focus on distance education (Townsend-Coles,1978). In 1978 the Ministry of Education acting on the recommendations established the Department of Non Formal Education (DNFE) and appointed as its Chief Education Officer the foreign expert who had undertaken the evaluation of the BEC.

The Chief Education Officer was a Briton with extensive experience as a UNESCO field officer and consultant with special expertise in adult literacy. His position was funded by UNESCO. Immediately after his appointment he produced a proposal for a national literacy initiative and in 1979 a project was agreed by the Ministry of Education which aimed to eliminate literacy in the six year period 1980/1-1985/6. The thrust of the project coincided with the rural development focus of the new

national development plan. The proposed project was to have an experimental year in 1980/1 and then extend literacy tuition nation-wide to reach 50,000 new participants in each of the following five years (Republic of Botswana,1980b). The local government districts were to be the main unit of administration with coordination undertaken by a District Adult Education Officer, who was a permanent member of DNFE's staff. Each district would be divided into areas in which 10 to 20 literacy groups would be supervised by a Literacy Assistant engaged on a temporary full-time basis. Literacy groups consisting of fifteen participants would be taught by a Literacy Group Leader, who was to be a volunteer paid an honorarium. It was assumed that one year of tuition plus one year of access to follow-on literature would provide basic literacy and numeracy skills. The DNFE headquarters would produce teaching and support materials, undertake staff training, and provide technical support and supervision.

The National Literacy Programme was included in the *National Development Plan 1979-1985* (Republic of Botswana,1980a: 330-331) as a project with a capital budget to cover materials, vehicles, travel costs, and honoraria and training costs for group leaders. Although many of the costs were in effect recurrent expenditure, because the project was finite it was agreed to fund it through development (capital) funds (Ministry of Education,1979). It was envisaged that the costs of using the permanent staff of the DNFE on the project would be met through the regular annual budget whilst aid funding would be sought for the direct expenditure required. The estimated capital cost of the project for the period 1980/1 to 1985/6 was P6,011,000 (Republic of Botswana,1980b). The scale of the project is shown by comparison with the total recurrent budget for DNFE in 1979/80 of P212,000 (Republic of Botswana,1980b: 128).

At this point in Botswana's development external aid was sought for any new education project on this scale and accordingly a Project Memorandum (Republic of Botswana,1980b) was drawn up by the Ministry of Education's Planning Unit as the basis for seeking aid funds to cover materials (such as paper and printing supplies), vehicles (including trucks and motorcycles), honoraria for literacy group leaders, salaries for literacy assistants, staff training and transport (i.e. petrol and maintenance). The identification and design of the project was undertaken entirely by officials of the Botswana Government. However, a significant role in this process was taken by foreign personnel working in various parts of the state bureaucracy. For example, the impetus for the project had come from the newly-appointed Chief Education Officer. Furthermore, at the inter-ministry meeting in March 1979 which agreed on the project in principle, 19 of the 33 people who attended the full meeting were foreigners (Department of Non Formal Education,1979). The reality of the situation in the late 1970s was that there were few Batswana in senior positions in adult education although nationals did occupy the highest policy positions. It can be concluded that although no aid agency was involved in the initiation and design of the National Literacy Programme, foreign personnel funded by a variety of aid sources played a significant role at the planning stage.

The search for aid funding for the project was made at a propitious time as the Chief Education Officer was well aware from his international experience (Townsend-Coles,1988: 36-37). The establishment of a department with the title 'non formal

education' reflected current international trends and it was unsurprising that the new headquarters building was funded by a loan from the World Bank. Aid policies since the mid-1970s had expressed some concern with basic needs and a focus on non formal education and aid funding was secured very easily. Within a month of adoption of the project, the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) indicated willingness for its funds to be used in the project (Townsend-Coles,1988: 50). In 1980 the German government through its agency the Reconstruction Loan Corporation (KFW) began to provide commodity aid for the purchase of materials. Other agencies followed as soon as their next cycle of aid programming took effect: in 1981 the Dutch and Swedish governments began to provide grants and in 1982 UNICEF and the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) commenced their funding. The ease of securing aid can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, the national aid situation meant a ready availability of funds for education, especially at a time when international attention was being given to poverty alleviation and non formal education. Secondly, major aid providers to Botswana such as Holland and Sweden had explicitly egalitarian policies and a literacy programme for the mass of the adult population fitted in well with these policies. Thirdly there were close personal contacts between the foreign personnel working for the Botswana state and the staff of the aid agencies. For example, one of the officers in the Ministry of Education Planning Unit was a SIDA-funded Swede in close touch with the local SIDA office.

The volume of aid provided to the project in the first six years is shown in the following table:

TABLE 6.2: SOURCES OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS FOR THE NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMME 1980/81 - 1985/86 (in pula, 1986 prices)

Funding source	Six year totals	Distribution by source
SIDA	2 246 320	42.5%
GTZ	1 923 128	36.4%
Holland	272 729	5.2%
KFW	253 561	4.8%
UNICEF	107 291	2.0%
Domestic Development Fund	452 499	8.6%
TOTAL	5 255 528	100.0%

Source: Gaborone, Mutanyatta and Youngman,1987: 93.

The table shows that the five aid agencies provided about 91% of the direct expenditure on the project during the first six years, the remainder coming from the Botswana Government's own resources through the Domestic Development Fund. If the counterpart contribution to the costs of the project in the form of a proportion of DNFE salaries and other recurrent expenditure devoted to literacy work is taken into account, it is estimated that aid provided 72% of the total costs in the period (Gaborone,

Mutanyatta and Youngman,1987: 92). It should be noted that small aid contributions were also made by other agencies in the form of short-term consultancies, for example by UNESCO (to improve the literacy newspaper) and the German Foundation for International Development (for a mid-term evaluation and for materials writing).

The table reveals that the proportion contributed by the various agencies differed considerably, with SIDA (42.5%) and GTZ (36.4%) being the major providers. The nature of the aid also varied according to the provider. SIDA provided capital assistance to literacy through its overall support to the education sector. Sectoral funds were granted on a bi-annual basis and were subject to a joint annual review by SIDA and the Government of Botswana. SIDA provided general funding that was used on all areas of expenditure within the project. The Ministry of Education was given a high degree of discretion on fund allocation and consequently its officials regarded SIDA as flexible and cooperative in its approach. The annual review procedure provided occasions on which SIDA discussed detailed progress reports. Minutes of the meetings (for example, Republic of Botswana and SIDA, 1983; 1984) indicate that SIDA personnel regularly made recommendations on programme development, showing a consistent concern with the issue of post-literacy activities and materials for instance. However, such recommendations appear to have been given in the spirit of professional advice rather than as requirements for future support.

In contrast, GTZ provided a technical assistance package involving funds linked to the provision of a German expert to the programme. The funds took the form of a grant to all areas of expenditure (except vehicles). It was made on the expectation of a counterpart contribution of 10% and with a stipulation of progress reports every three to six months. The first expert provided was to the position of Literacy Coordinator for the period mid-1982 to mid-1985. The person appointed, who had no practical experience in adult literacy, was the key operational manager of the programme. Besides holding a senior organisational position, he had considerable power because of his influence with one of the major aid providers and because all GTZ experts have discretionary funds to support their work. He therefore had resources separate from the development expenditure controlled by the Ministry of Education which enabled him to take small-scale initiatives with immediate impact, such as establishing a formal training programme for Literacy Assistants at the University of Botswana and funding an overseas scholarship. When the position of Literacy Coordinator was localised in 1985, the technical assistance position was filled by an expert printer. This was at the request of the Ministry of Education though there was some reluctance on the part of GTZ because the post had no influence over departmental management, which GTZ regarded as weak.

The other three agencies provided only 12% of total funding between them and exerted little direct influence. KFW and Holland provided earmarked funds, for materials and equipment and for staff training respectively, but made few reporting requirements and remained distant from the programme's operations. UNICEF provided grants specified for supplies (such as paper) and equipment (such as motorcycles and a printing press) as well as for the training of Literacy Group Leaders. The organisation granted funds and made few demands in terms of reporting of how the funds were used or in relation to the nature of the programme itself.

The end of the initial project period created a situation in which the two major aid agencies made significant interventions. The original design of the literacy project had envisaged the elimination of illiteracy by reaching the estimated 250,000 illiterate persons in a six year period. However, the report of the mid-term evaluation published in mid-1984 (Ministry of Education,1984) showed that the programme was unable to meet its numerical targets. The Ministry of Education therefore recommended the continuation of the development project beyond 1985/6 and proposed that literacy and post-literacy activities should become a regular activity of DNFE, with the temporary Literacy Assistants converted into a permanent cadre of Extension Educators. This recommendation was included in *National Development Plan, 1985-91* (Republic of Botswana,1985: 158) though the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning only sanctioned a small proportion of the Literacy Assistants being made permanent on the grounds that aid grants could be used if they remained project staff. At this stage the future of the National Literacy Programme became a concern for GTZ and SIDA.

Major concerns were expressed by GTZ, which had three reservations. First, it felt that the mid-term evaluation had failed to assess the programme's effectiveness, especially as there was no information on learner performance. Secondly, it was dissatisfied with operational aspects of the programme and with departmental management, in particular the role of the Chief Education Officer who had taken over when the post was localised in 1981. Finally, it wished to use its funding primarily for technical assistance rather than financial assistance and queried the lack of Government commitment to recurrent funding. In late 1985 GTZ indicated that it might redirect its future funding for education in Botswana from literacy to technical education. In response to this, the Permanent Secretary and Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education went to GTZ headquarters in Frankfurt in February 1986 and managed to persuade the agency to renew its funding to literacy for 1987/88. However, there were three consequences as a result of GTZ pressure: in February 1986 the National Literacy Committee approved an external evaluation of the programme; in October 1986 the Chief Education Officer was replaced; and in January 1987 a GTZ consultant commenced an organisational development study of DNFE.

SIDA in late 1985 also showed concerns about the future of the programme in terms of its funding, effectiveness and management. SIDA made clear at the joint annual review that it felt the programme was over-reliant on aid funds for its recurrent costs: 'The Swedish team, whilst reaffirming its support to the programme, underlined that it would like an increasing proportion of the recurrent costs to be met from the recurrent budget of the Ministry of Education.' (Republic of Botswana and SIDA,1985: 4). Subsequently, an evaluation commissioned by SIDA of its aid to education to Botswana in the period 1981-1986 expressed apprehension over implementation problems and the lack of information on the effectiveness of the programme. It recommended that the programme should remain an area of high priority because it coincided with SIDA's own priorities for development cooperation. The first draft of the report in November 1986 concluded 'SIDA's long term commitment to this programme, and related facilities, may well - pending findings from the present evaluation [i.e. of the literacy programme] - be conditional on measures being taken to improve its effectiveness.' (Lauglo and Marope,1986: 8) It also suggested more

selective funding rather than general budget support. These ideas introduced a more critical note into SIDA's view of the literacy programme and its own role.

In this context the external evaluation of the programme undertaken by the University of Botswana's Institute of Adult Education became a critical factor in the politics of aid. In the event, the report of the evaluation, which was discussed by the National Literacy Committee in mid-1987, defused the funding crisis. The findings of the report (Gaborone, Mutanyatta and Youngman,1987) were generally positive, especially in relation to the learner's performance on a literacy test in which 81.0% got scores equivalent to passing the primary school Grade Four attainment test. Furthermore, its detailed recommendations suggested that improving the programme was a manageable task and that a concrete financial plan could be made for a transition to Government recurrent funding and selective aid support. The report met the requirements of the aid agencies and strengthened the Ministry of Education's case for recurrent funding in its dispute with the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. In particular GTZ, although it wrote formally to the Ministry of Education objecting to two paragraphs in the report referring to GTZ positions, regarded the report as opening the way for negotiations on future funding to the programme.

The case study provides an analysis of the influence of aid at the project level in relation to a particular adult programme. The wider consequences of the National Literacy Programme have been discussed by Youngman (1995). He shows that the programme was promoted by the state in terms of the modernisation of society and the extension of educational opportunity. Its equity dimension made it particularly attractive to aid providers. However, he argues that the programme in fact served to reproduce the class, gender and ethnic inequalities within society. Furthermore, at the political level the programme constituted a legitimation strategy of the state by demonstrating a welfare concern for providing the rural areas with social services. Ideologically, the programme planners in 1979 adopted a narrow and conservative conception of literacy and consciously rejected conscientisation or mobilisation approaches that might have empowered the learners - '... the political element in the [Freire] method was not seen as being appropriate to Botswana. There was also a negative response to a somewhat militant mass campaign.' (Townsend-Coles,1988: 41) The overall consequences of the National Literacy Programme, and therefore of the aid which sustained it, was to legitimate Botswana's capitalist development and social inequality.

SUMMARY

The chapter has analysed the national aid situation and the impact of aid to the adult education sector during the 1966-1991 period. The discussion indicated that aid had influenced significantly the formulation and implementation of adult education policies. The case study illustrated the impact of aid at the project level. Further evidence of the economic, political, social and ideological consequences of aid will be provided in Chapters Eight and Ten. It will be shown that most of the adult education programmes discussed in these chapters received aid support.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND ADULT EDUCATION

There are a number of divisions in society which constitute a system of inequality between different groups of people in which some groups benefit at the expense of others. From the perspective of political economy, the most fundamental divisions relate to the productive base of society, where differences in access and control over economic resources are the foundation of the divisions of class. Inequality is thus a structural feature of capitalist society because economic exploitation provides a basis for social domination. But although production is a major determinant of social relationships, there are other significant divisions in society whose origins are independent of class, such as gender, race, and ethnicity. These divisions intersect with those of class and form a complex system of inequality.

The theoretical framework established in Chapter Two posited that the analysis of social phenomena such as adult education must take into account the multiple effects and interactions of class, gender, race and ethnicity. Thus a Marxist political economy approach studies the impact of social inequality on the character and consequences of adult education. This was summarised as follows:

> Different classes have different interests and conflicts arise as they pursue these interests. It is assumed that these conflicts have effects on the nature and consequences of adult education at every level, including policies, organisation, and curricula.
>
> Besides the relations of class, there are other important social inequalities, especially those based on gender, race and ethnicity. It is assumed that these inequalities have profound influences on adult education and its outcomes, including in ways which interact with those derived from class relations.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to analyse social inequality in peripheral capitalist society and its implications for adult education.[1] It is argued that social inequality affects the nature of adult education at every level, including policies, organisation and curricula, and that it shapes the outcomes of participation in adult education activities. From this perspective, adult education is a resource in society which benefits some social groups and disadvantages others.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM

The study of social inequality is based on asking the questions 'who is disadvantaged, why, and with what consequences.' (Samoff,1982: 111) The aim of analysis is therefore to clarify the relationships between different groups in society, to explain the causes of inequality, and to examine the mechanisms by which inequality is reproduced or resisted. In Chapter Two it was argued that there is a complex configuration of inequality in society which has to be conceptualised in terms of 'multiple causality'. It was concluded that class, gender and ethnicity provide key explanatory variables for understanding inequality and social domination. Furthermore, there are processes of reinforcement and contradiction between these variables which have to be elucidated. It was also argued that adult education is one of the social mechanisms which serves to

reproduce or undermine the system of inequality. This chapter amplifies this theoretical framework by considering social inequality and the role of adult education in the specific context of peripheral capitalism.

Class

Within the framework of a Marxist political economy approach, the definition of class is rooted in economic exploitation. A class is a large group of people who share the same relationship to the productive assets in the economy. The fact that these assets are unequally distributed within capitalist society leads to a social hierarchy and to conflicting interests because their ownership and control is a source of power and social domination. The task of class analysis is to identify the nature of the different groups, to show the historical processes by which they are formed, and to examine the conflicts and struggles between them.

Whilst the origins of class analysis lie in the study of the advanced capitalist countries, the approach has been increasingly applied to the specific context of peripheral capitalism. In this context, account has to be taken of the special features which derive from the historical processes by which these societies were incorporated into the world capitalist economy, including the articulation of the capitalist mode of production with pre-capitalist modes of production, the role of the colonial state, and the uneven and dependent nature of their development (Alavi,1982a; Keith and Keith,1988). Thus the class analysis of peripheral capitalism, whilst using similar conceptual tools, has to comprehend the differences in the class structure of these societies in relation to advanced capitalism. In general, the class structure of peripheral societies is more complex, fluid and diverse than that of advanced capitalism (Hulme and Turner,1990). This is because the penetration of capitalism is a relatively recent phenomenon, so that the transformation of earlier classes and the formation of new classes is taking place rapidly and extensively, as it did in Europe in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Hence the two basic classes of capitalism, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, are less developed, the petty bourgeoisie has greater significance, and the incomplete transformation of pre-capitalist modes of production makes the peasantry a significant element of the class structure. However, not only are there differences in relation to advanced capitalism, but there are also significant differences between the peripheral areas themselves, for example between Latin America and Africa. The following conceptual summary is therefore derived from discussions of class analysis in Africa.

There is broad agreement that there are four main classes in Africa but there has been considerable debate on the characterisation of each of them. With respect to the capitalist class or bourgeoisie, a distinguishing feature (as elsewhere in the periphery) is that an important fraction of the class is foreign, usually in the form of transnational corporate capital. A significant debate centred on the domestic fraction of the bourgeoisie. The main issue was whether indigenous capitalists constitute a 'comprador bourgeoisie' that serves the interests of foreign capital on which it depends for its own reproduction, or whether they form a 'national bourgeoisie' which owns productive property autonomous from foreign control and seeks to generate independent capitalist accumulation. However, as Beckman (1980;1981) argued, the debate failed to

understand imperialism as a global system of capitalist accumulation. It was thus based on the misconceptions that imperialism is opposed to capitalist development in the periphery and that an autonomous form of capitalist development is a possibility. This led to a preoccupation with a false dichotomy between international and domestic capital rather than the recognition of two fractions of the bourgeoisie which, whilst sometimes in competition, share the same overall interest in the expansion of capitalist accumulation. In the final analysis, the origin of the bourgeoisie is less significant for the configuration of class forces than its relative weakness in many African countries.

The petty bourgeoisie is a rather heterogenous class as its fractions have different locations in the system of production relations. One fraction owns economic property on a small scale and engages in small business activities as traders, shop owners, building contractors, workshop proprietors, bus owners and so forth. The other fraction uses its assets of knowledge and skill to participate in professional and managerial positions in both the private and public sectors. It occupies the middle and upper levels of the state bureaucracy in the civil service, parastatal organisations, education system and the military. Because of the significance of the state in establishing and maintaining the conditions for capitalist development, the managers of the state bureaucracy play a dominant role in the political economy. The importance of the bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie is a characteristic feature of the class structure in the periphery. In Africa this class uses its control of the state to advance the interests of capital in general and to promote its own efforts to accumulate and rise up the class hierarchy (Cohen,D.L.,1981).

The penetration of the capitalist mode of production is marked by the increasing incorporation of rural dwellers into wage labour and their separation from the land and other agricultural means of production. This process of proletarianisation, often originating in migrant labour in the colonial era, is on-going and incomplete but a permanent urban working class has emerged. In many countries of Africa the urban proletariat is still a relatively small proportion of the economically active population. However, it is steadily growing as capitalist relations of production expand, evidenced by urbanisation and industrialisation. In parallel to this class formation, there is a growing lumpen proletariat fraction of the urban working class engaged in activities such as car washing, street vending, piece jobs in gardens, prostitution and similar activities. A rural proletariat is also in the process of formation, as many rural dwellers are increasingly dependent for their livelihood on the sale of their labour power, for example as farm workers.

The most distinctive component of the class structure of peripheral capitalism is the peasantry, which is engaged in agricultural production that is based mainly on family labour. The peasant class emerged from pre-capitalist modes of production in which the rural household was the main economic unit, largely self-sufficient in its production and consumption. However, with the penetration of capitalism, these households became drawn into production for sale in the market as well as for subsistence. The extent to which rural relations of production have been transformed by incorporation into the world capitalist economy since the colonial era and the extent to which pre-capitalist forms have been conserved or modified is an area of debate and clearly varies from one country to another (Cliffe,1985).

It is characteristic of contemporary rural class structures in Africa that they are not yet dominated by capitalist farmers employing landless labourers. Rather the rural economy is based on production by a peasant class that has marked internal inequalities. There is a continuum of rural producer relations embracing rich, middle and poor peasants. At one end there is a comparatively small group of rich peasants who have significant means of production (land, animals, implements), who hire labour as well as using family labour, and who generate large surpluses for sale. This group often have small businesses also. At the other end there is the majority of the peasant class who lack adequate means of production. They are unable to survive only on farming and have to sell their labour and engage in other income-earning activities such as craft production and beer brewing in order to secure a livelihood. Some of the poor peasants engage in migrant labour, entering into the process of proletarianisation in an initial stage in which they are partly workers and partly peasants. There are very few rural households engaged solely in subsistence production. It should be noted that the processes of rural class formation have a gendered character as the rural poor are disproportionately women, especially female headed households.

The class structure is a system of inequality. Class differences are linked to economic inequalities of wealth and income, political inequalities of participation in decision-making, and social inequalities of status and access to services such as health, education and housing. The class structure is inherently conflictual and classes pursue their own interests in society. Their success in doing so depends on the extent of self-awareness and organisation within the class, its capacity to act for itself. The dominant capitalist, petty bourgeois and rich peasant classes usually have the political as well as the economic and social power to advance their own interests, especially through control over the state. They seek to contain the opposition of the subordinated classes, through a range of coercive and non-coercive measures. However, the subordinated classes try to protect and advance their own interests in various ways. Cohen,R. (1980) shows how African workers oppose their domination and inequality not only through overt and organised means, such as strikes, unionisation and political demonstrations, but also in silent, unorganised and covert protests, such as absenteeism, slow working, sabotage and theft. Similarly, in the countryside, whilst poor peasants and rural workers sometimes form themselves into collective organisations for change, very often their resistance to domination by the wealthy and powerful takes more informal and disguised forms. Scott (1989) has analysed the 'everyday forms of resistance' that include covert activities such as poaching, pilfering, false compliance and cultural expressions against the ideology of privilege. The inequalities inherent in the class structure of peripheral capitalism do not go unchallenged.

Thus the process by which classes are formed and reproduced is one of conflict and struggle. There are also complex processes of contradiction and alliance between classes and between fractions within classes. These processes shape the changes in society and impact on development policies and practices. The trends in development will reflect the configuration of class forces at any given time. Indeed 'development strategies themselves have an essential class content.' (*Review of African Political Economy*,1975: 7) The implications of the social hierarchy of class for adult education policies, practices and outcomes must therefore be examined in the specific circumstances of particular situations.

Gender

The second form of social inequality is that related to gender and the subordination of women to men. The concept of gender refers to the social and cultural differences between females and males, who are physically distinguishable by their sex. Social research reveals that whilst there is a biological distinction between men and women in the capability of women to bear children, the nature of feminine and masculine identity and the expectations of the behaviour of the sexes are socially determined. Gender relations have varied widely between cultures and historical periods. Nevertheless, a gender division of labour and the social inequality of women have been constant. Thus in all spheres of social activity there are institutions, practices and ideologies which maintain women's subordination and distribute the benefits of society unequally.

The contemporary concern with gender inequality in society is a product of the renaissance of feminism since the late 1960s. Although there is a wide variety of feminisms, it is possible to identify three broad trends in feminist thought which have sought to theorise the reasons for male domination. Liberal feminism is largely articulated within the framework of functionalist sociology and portrays sex discrimination as the product of outmoded values, an abberation within a modern economy and liberal democracy. It tends to isolate gender inequality from other social divisions. From the viewpoint of liberal feminism it is envisaged that equality can be achieved within capitalist society through legislative action for equal rights and through action for attitudinal changes against sexism, for example in education. The trend of radical feminism sees men as a group dominating women and benefiting from their subordination, a system of unequal relations it calls patriarchy. It believes that the system of patriarchy is universal throughout history and is independent of class relations. Patriarchy has its basis in men's control over the labour power of women in the household and over women's reproduction and sexuality (a control which is often enforced by violence). Radical feminism regards change as being brought about by a separate struggle of women against men for power rather than a change in the economic system.

The third trend, Marxist feminism, has tended to regard gender inequality as derivative from the class relations inherent in capitalism, with women's subordination serving the interests of capitalist accumulation. In this perspective, the abolition of classes within the socialist mode of production will provide the conditions for gender equality by ending the source of exploitation. Marxist writers have resisted the notion of male domination as an autonomous system of inequality and have therefore been critical of the concept of patriarchy for its failure to acknowledge the historical significance of changing modes of production and for portraying a false homogeneity among women of different classes. Their analysis has focused more on the impact of capitalism on women than on male exploitation of women. However Barrett, a prominent Marxist critic of patriarchy, in the recent edition of her book *Women's Oppression Today* (Barrett,1988: xii-xiv) expressed a greater willingness to recognise 'the independent character of women's oppression' and 'the "patriarchal" nature of social relations in capitalism'. Her new position illustrated the strand within Marxist feminism which has sought to combine the concepts of patriarchy and capitalism. For

example, Hartmann (1981) argues that women's exploitation has a material base and both men and capital benefit from the fact that women perform unpaid domestic labour for men and receive lower wages in employment than men. From this viewpoint, women are exploited both by men and by capital and the struggle for women's equality will need to continue within socialist society.

The multiple causality conception of inequality in the Marxist political economy approach adopted in Chapter Two regards the three systems of inequality (class, gender race and ethnicity) as analytically separable but dialectically inter-related. Thus whilst it is true that patriarchy existed in pre-capitalist societies, its contemporary forms are shaped by capitalist relations of production, as well as by the context of racial and ethnic divisions. This is well expressed by Walby (1990: 20):

> I shall define patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women ... Any specific empirical instance will embody the effects, not only of patriarchal structures, but also of capitalism and racism.

Hence any analysis of the gender inequality in a given society must also contextualise it in relation to the class structure and the racial and ethnic hierarchy.

The post-1960s concern with gender inequality in the advanced capitalist countries has had an effect on development thinking. This was demonstrated initially in 1975 in the United Nations' International Year of Women and the subsequent UN Decade for the Advancement of Women. Since the 1970s there has been a growth of feminist thinking and organisation in the South. The differing theoretical perspectives on gender have been reflected in the debates over development and its impact on women and their social relations with men. The dominant paradigm has undoubtedly been that of liberal feminism which has easily been accommodated within modernisation theory. The approach deriving from this position is that of 'Women in Development' (WID) which seeks to integrate women in the capitalist development process, through overcoming traditional institutions and practices which provide an obstacle to greater opportunities for women. Since the mid-1970s this approach has underpinned much of the work with respect to the situation of women by the UN, the aid agencies, and governments and non governmental organisations in the South. WID strategies have practical activities such as the promotion of women's projects, particularly income-generating groups, and policy activities, such as the establishment of government departments responsible for women's affairs. These strategies have sought to improve opportunities for women but they have not challenged the prevailing definition of development and its associated political and economic structures:

> WID thinkers fully subscribe to this view [i.e. modernisation theory]. Their difference with their male counterparts lies merely in the argument that the benefits of the Western development model have accrued only to men. (Bandarage,1983: 497)

However, the other feminist trends have also had an impact on development thinking, providing an important influence on the 'alternative' approaches to

development. At the theoretical level, this is illustrated by the book by Mies (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* which extended the idea of capitalist patriarchy to an analysis of gender within the international division of labour and Third World development. Her argument led her to question 'growth' models of development (both capitalist and socialist) and to propose an 'alternative' model of self-sufficient development. At the practical level, ideas derived from the radical and Marxist trends in feminism have influenced the conception of 'empowerment', which is an important component of the 'alternative' approaches. This concept involves the establishment of women's groups that can enable collective action by women to exert control over their lives and their bodies. Of course because such activities challenge the gender hierarchy, there have been various modes of containment by male-dominated institutions, including the cooption and dilution of the idea of 'empowerment' so that it is now used in many different contexts. However such containment strategies have not been hegemonic. The deterioration of women's economic and social situation in the 1980s, particularly the feminisation of poverty under neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes (Feldman,1992), created material conditions which demonstrated the inability of 'development' to meet the needs of women. This situation generated gender-consciousness and a search for alternatives.

The Marxist political economy approach adopted in this study seeks to analyse how changes and evolutions in the mode of production affect gender relations and to identify the forms that patriarchy takes at any given time in a particular society. It focuses on a number of key sites of gender inequality in peripheral capitalist society, namely: a) the household and its internal economy and social relations; b) paid work and the labour market; c) the state and public policy; and d) culture and ideology. There is an expanding literature on the development of the contemporary gender hierarchy in Africa that resonates with this approach (see for example, Robertson and Berger,1986; Stichter and Parpart,1988; Meena,1992). The methodology suggested by this literature includes a historical perspective that seeks to show how gender divisions in pre-capitalist societies were affected by the penetration of capitalism under colonialism and how these processes shaped post-colonial gender relations.

Gender relations constitute a system of inequality that is perpetuated by male-dominated institutions and practices. Men benefit from women's inequality in material ways, in social status, and in the exercise of power in the public and private domains. The ideologies upholding women's inferiority are hegemonic. However, they do not go uncontested and women resist both individually and collectively. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that there are increasing challenges to gender inequalities in Africa: 'Throughout the continent women are demanding to be heard, organising, questioning men's rights over them, throwing into doubt customary practices through which they are controlled, being "difficult".' (Baylies and Bujra,1993: 3) The key issue facing the struggles against gender inequality centres on which demands and modes of organisation advance the interests of women in general and which advance the interests only of women in a particular class or racial or ethnic group.

Gender is a key explanatory variable when analysing social inequality in peripheral capitalism and its impact on people's lives. The pattern of gender relations in a given society conditions the development process and the policies of the state. As

Pearson (1992: 292) states 'All policies, however technical or neutral they may appear to be, will have gendered implications.' Thus gender must be considered as part of the social context of adult education, whose policies, practices and outcomes will necessarily have a gendered character.

Ethnicity

The third dimension of inequality is ethnicity, whose origins lie outside the material base of society though the ethnic hierarchy is closely articulated with the class structure. The concept of ethnicity is based on the notion that there are groups within society which are identified by cultural distinctions, such as those based on common language, religion, customs or place of origin. It is therefore used to designate different social groups like Anglophones and Francophones in Canada, Muslims and Hindus in India, and Scots and English in Britain. Ethnicity is an ascribed status insofar as people are born into a particular group and are socialised within its culture. However, the salience of ethnic differences varies by time and place, definitions of ethnic identity change, and the boundaries of ethnic groups are permeable so that some individuals move between groups, for example by religious conversion. Ethnicity is distinguishable from the concept of race, which denotes divisions based on socially defined biological distinctions that are signified by differences in physical appearance. Nevertheless, in certain circumstances the two overlap when a group identified in racial terms also has distinct cultural attributes, such as the Asians in East Africa. Ethnicity is a system of inequality because in multi-ethnic societies there is a hierarchy of domination and subordination between ethnic groups which has been formed by particular historical processes. The inherent contradictions of inequality lead to various forms of ethnic competition and conflict. The task of social analysis is to clarify the groups within this hierarchy, to examine how they were formed and how they are maintained, and to consider the economic, political and social consequences.

The concept of ethnicity within the social sciences has received renewed attention over the last twenty five years, largely as a result of the emergence of organised ethnic movements in the industrialised countries. Glazer and Moynihan noted in the mid-1970s the changed usage of the term 'ethnic group' - there had been a 'steady expansion of the term from minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society - groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome - to major elements of society.' (Glazer and Moynihan,1975: 5) Analysis shifted from 'minority groups' to the total structure of ethnic relations in society and the overall patterns of ethnic domination and subordination within the boundaries of the nation state. There was also a reconceptualisation of the nature of ethnicity from the position that cultural identity is pre-ordained and fixed to the view that ethnicity is situational, its definition and significance varying according to the wider economic and political context. Thus ethnic identity came to be seen as socially constructed, often through political mobilisation, and liable to shift according to circumstances. In particular it is constructed in relation to other ethnic groups.

Alavi (1989: 224-225) gives the example of Muslims in Bengal in 1947 who united with Hindus as bearers of 'Bengali' identity proposing an independent Bengal. The proposal was blocked by more powerful political forces so that in the post-

Independence framework the people of West Bengal were incorporated in India, separated from the Muslims of East Bengal merged in Pakistan. Subsequently the people of East Bengal broke away to form Bangladesh because despite the shared Muslim religion they felt disadvantaged by Punjabi domination of the Pakistan state. Thus the basis of their ethnic identification stressed their regional rather than their religious attributes. The example also draws attention to the important role of the state, as the state and development policies affect differentially the economic opportunities, political participation and social status of the varying ethnic groups. Hence the mobilisation of ethnic identity is often undertaken in the context of struggles over the state and its policies.

The concept of ethnicity has always been an element within development studies. The dominant approach has been that of modernisation theory in which ethnicity was seen as an obstacle to development. Ethnic identity was seen by theorists such as Geertz (1963) as a 'primordial sentiment', a vestige of traditional society that stood in the way psychologically and socially of the meritocratic social mobility essential to a modern society. Furthermore, in political terms ethnicity represented an obstacle to the key task of nation-building. Modernisation theory coincided with the political experience of many post-independence leaders who had mobilised support for the anti-colonial struggle on the basis of nationalism which appealed across ethnic differences. The rhetoric of the post-colonial state therefore sought to delegitimise and depoliticise ethnicity, stressing citizenship for all within the nation. In practice, the state's responses to ethnic diversity varied from modes of accommodation, such as balancing civil service recruitment between ethnic groups, to forms of repression, including military suppression. Efforts were made to project the neutrality of the state even when one ethnic group was dominant within the classes holding state power. But the state remained an arena of ethnic competition, an important phenomenon given the centrality of the state in the political economies of peripheral capitalism (Brown,1989).

However the 'alternative' approaches within development theory have articulated a position which is hostile to the centralised state and positive towards the mobilisation of ethnic identity. From this viewpoint, the state itself is the obstacle to development and ethnicity is to be encouraged because it can meet societal needs and form the basis of decentralised modes of political organisation (Ronen,1986). These ideas coincided with the economic crisis of the 1980s which in many cases reduced the state's ability to provide economic opportunities and social services, so that people mobilised ethnic networks as a strategy for survival. 'Alternative' approaches therefore advocate ethnodevelopment because they see ethnicity in a positive light as ethnic assertion can help dominated groups to struggle for economic, political and social justice.

These trends of theory and practice are visible within the context of Africa (Doornbos,1991). Most contemporary African nation-states lie within boundaries determined by colonial powers which demarcated territories in ways that ignored the realities of pre-colonial societies. Thus African states are generally multi-ethnic internally, with some ethnic groups (such as the Somalis) split between states. The colonial state also constructed distinctive patterns of ethnic domination and subordination. In some cases, it favoured certain ethnic groups, for instance the Baganda in Uganda, giving them access to greater political and economic power than

others. In other cases it participated in processes that created new ethnic identities, as Ranger (1989) shows in his study of different ethnic identities among the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe. The anti-colonial nationalist movements mobilised support across ethnic divisions, appealing to the concept of the nation-state. Thus the borders defined by colonialism were accepted as sacrosanct in post-colonial Africa and nation-building became a key goal of politics and development, typified in slogans such as 'One Zambia. One Nation'. However, although the modernising state promoted a 'national' identity, for example, through language and educational policies, in practice struggles for control of the state and its allocation of resources were often expressed in ethnic competition, sometimes breaking out into violent conflict as in Rwanda and Burundi.

The ideology of ethnicity in Africa is usually known as 'tribalism' (Mafeje,1971; Saul,1979). This concept originated in the colonial era when anthropologists and colonial officials labelled the various ethnic groups as 'tribes' (Ranger,1983) but it has persisted in the post-colonial era. Appeals to ethnic identity are usually stigmatised as 'tribalism', which is portrayed in negative terms as divisive and threatening to the integrity of the nation state. But although tribalism is branded by the state as illegitimate, the notion of the tribe has been used to mobilise support for a variety of social and political purposes. However, the ideology of ethnicity has changed in content over the years, as Shaw (1986) has argued. In the period of economic growth experienced in the years immediately after independence, whilst ethnicity was officially decried, the holders of state power used ethnic connections as forms of patronage which strengthened the state and their own economic and political position. But in the period of economic crisis which has affected most of Africa since the early 1980s, ethnicity has had a grass-roots appeal as a means of self-reliant survival away from the weakened and decreasingly effective state:

> ...ethnicity has been reinforced as people have retreated from malfunctioning cities to relatively self-reliant rural areas. The politics of survival has meant the revival of traditional technologies, priorities and life-styles as 'modern' inputs of imported fuel, foods and goods no longer exist. In general, of course, people have returned to their particular 'ethnic' area, so reinforcing such identities and connections. (Shaw,1986: 589)

This social and economic response has created a positive conception of the ideology of ethnicity, reflected at the theoretical level by the protagonists in Africa of the 'alternative' approach to development, such as Wangoola (1995). Thus the ideology and reality of ethnic identities and interactions change over time, an important factor in the nature of ethnicity as a dimension of inequality in African societies.

Marxism has traditionally been opposed to social theories such as cultural pluralism which see race and ethnicity as the main factors in social organisation and political conflict because of its own emphasis on materialist rather than culturalist explanations. However recent Marxist modes of analysis have accepted that causal variables of inequality and domination such as ethnicity cannot be reduced to class. It is clear that in a range of circumstances people do exhibit a strong ethnic consciousness

and identification and that ethnic constituencies are mobilised for various kinds of social and political action. There are also processes of ethnic categorisation and labelling which are used by dominant groups to rationalise the subordination and oppression of other groups. In both cases, a collective identity is defined in cultural terms which transcends the social divisions of class. The Marxist political economy approach used in this study therefore seeks to explain why people are mobilised or oppressed in terms of ethnic identities and focuses on the contexts in which these processes occur. Whilst it accepts that cultural identities are not epiphenomenal, the approach denies that they are totally independent of the material base of society and accordingly concentrates on the interactions between class relations and ethnicity (Samoff,1982: 109-111). The approach regards '... ethnicity not as a cultural imperative, but as a strategy in the struggle for resources...' (Worsley,1984: 245), a strategy which will inevitably have a class content. Thus it asks questions such as what is the class position of ethnic leaders, what is the class content of expressed ethnic demands, what class interests are served by ethnic ideologies, and which class benefits from ethnically-based activities?

Ethnicity is an important explanatory variable of the social inequality in peripheral capitalist societies. The ethnic hierarchy has an impact in terms of differential access to economic opportunities and in terms of social status. It is accompanied by ethnocentric ideologies which legitimate the pattern of superiority and inferiority. It is influential in the composition of the state and affects the nature of development policies. Ethnicity therefore has implications for adult education policies, practices and outcomes and must be examined as part of the overall analysis of the structural inequalities that impact on adult education.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND ADULT EDUCATION

During the 1950s and 1960s functionalist sociologists such as Talcott Parsons promulgated a view of education as an objective mechanism for social selection and the allocation of roles in adult life. It was argued that the objective measurement of educational attainment in schools ensured that achievement was based on ability and motivation and therefore individuals progressed on merit. Thus students advance as far as they are able and their social background is rendered irrelevant because the same standards are applied to all students, irrespective of their class, gender, race or ethnic group. This conception of education provided the basis of the view that education can redress social inequalities. If everyone has equal access to education, then all individuals have an equal opportunity for developing their ability. The logic of this position was that there should be more upward mobility for individuals within the existing hierarchical structures rather than fundamental change to those structures. This thinking had a significant impact on educational policy. The expansion and reform of education in many advanced capitalist countries in the 1950s and 1960s was influenced by the ideas that education can create a more equal society and equality of educational opportunity can lead to a more efficient use of the nation's human resources. These ideas were incorporated in the modernisation theory of development and its proposals for educational policy. They have therefore had a significant impact on educational development in the South.

The view that education can reduce social inequality is influential within adult education. One important adult education tradition sees it as providing 'compensatory education' for those who missed out as children in order to help them advance their social and economic situation. This position was reflected in Britain, for example, in the major report in 1973 by the Russell Committee entitled *Adult Education: A Plan for Development*. Important themes of the Report were meeting the needs of the 'disadvantaged' by renewing 'educational opportunity in terms applicable to the state of disadvantage', and providing 'second chance' education 'to create opportunities for people whose education has been curtailed' (Department of Education and Science,1973: 93 and 96). The potential for adult education to redress social inequalities is often cited as a rationale for its expansion in the countries of the South.

From the early 1970s this conception of education came under extensive critique from the revived tradition of Marxist political economy. Writers such as Carnoy, Bowles and Gintis developed an alternative analysis which contended that education does not diminish inequality but in fact serves to reproduce the social hierarchies of capitalist society from generation to generation. The elaboration of this analysis by Apple, Giroux (1983) and others in the 1980s suggested that as schools reproduce social hierarchies they also reproduce the contradictions inherent in those hierarchies. Thus whilst education is a social institution in which the social inequalities of class, gender, race, and ethnicity are reinforced, there is also some resistance to these forms of social domination by students and teachers. Studies based on this approach considered not only the outcomes of education, for example in terms of occupational status, but also the processes within the school which produce differential outcomes, such as the hidden curriculum. The implications of these ideas for the study of adult education were first explored in 1980 in *Adult Education for a Change* (Thompson,1980) and were developed in *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy* by Youngman (1986). From the mid-1980s the specific issue of the relationship of adult education to gender inequality was discussed in a growing feminist literature on adult education (Stalker,1993).

However, the role of adult education in reproducing and/or undermining social inequality has not been extensively examined from this theoretical perspective in the context of peripheral capitalist societies. One exception is the collection by Bock and Papagiannis (1983) *Non Formal Education and National Development* which makes a start in developing such a perspective. The book includes theoretical discussions on non formal adult education and development and presents empirical case studies drawn from peripheral capitalist societies. The aim of the book is to challenge the assumption that non formal adult education has 'considerable potential for providing an alternative channel of upward social and economic mobility for low status social groups.' (Bock and Papagiannis,1983: 8) Its theoretical basis is the centrality of power and conflict in society and the rejection of the idea that adult education can of itself resolve problems of unequal distribution and participation. The key theme is 'who benefits from investment in non formal education? Simply directing a given program at a subsector of society does not ensure that group will be the ultimate beneficiary.' (Bock and Papagiannis,1983: 9)

Non formal adult education is therefore examined in terms of its social and economic consequences, for example in relation to occupational mobility. The case

study from Zambia on skill training programmes for unemployed rural youth shows how the programmes lowered the occupational aspirations of school drop outs and prepared them for low-skill, low-paid jobs. This process of mediating the contradictions in the capitalist economy by limiting the claims for upward mobility served 'to legitimate inequalities from which only the urban elite benefit.' (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983: 88) The overall conclusion of the book is that:

> As a socially created institution, non formal education, in common with schooling, serves many of the same societal functions, including socialization, recruitment, and mobility management. It acts as an agency that defines and constrains the life chances of those it processes. (Bock and Papagiannis,1983: 21)

Thus there are ideological ('socialization'), economic ('recruitment') and social ('mobility') consequences for participants in adult education. The importance of the collection is that it demonstrates the possibilities of applying to peripheral capitalism approaches which relate adult education to the reproduction and contestation of social inequality.

A comparable case study in article form is provided by Ginsburg and Arias-Godinez (1984) on educational radio in Mexico. They raise the theoretical issue of how non formal education programmes for rural adults in developing countries 'may work either to reproduce or transform existing relations of domination and subordination' (Ginsburg and Arias-Godinez,1984: 117). This issue is explored in terms of two contrasting radio projects. The first project run centrally by the state linked radio broadcasts with a tutor and provided literacy tuition. It was individualistic in orientation and those with a higher socio-economic status were most likely to be successful learners. Its child-oriented teaching materials and traditional hierarchical relations of teacher and taught seemed to reinforce the peasants' sense of dependency. The second project was run by priests on a community basis, involving direct interaction with the listeners. The contents of the programmes addressed the concerns of local peasants, such as land rights, and promoted issues chosen by the organisers, such as the rights of women. It was concluded that the topics covered by the project had transformative potential as they sought to stimulate critical thought and collective action by the peasants. The case study illustrates the relevance of the theory of reproduction and resistance for the analysis of the nature and outcomes of adult education programmes in peripheral capitalist countries.

THE CURRICULUM AND THE MEDIATION OF INEQUALITY

The discussion has shown the relationship between adult education and social inequality. A key element of this relationship is to be found in the content and processes of adult education, that is, in the curriculum. The link between knowledge and social interests in the framework of political economy is analysed through the concepts of ideology and hegemony (Youngman,1986b: 59-76). Ideology refers to a system of ideas, beliefs and values which promotes the interests of a particular social group, such as sexism or racism. Gramsci's concept of hegemony refers to the process by which the ideology of a dominant social group is diffused throughout society, so that everyone tends to

accept as 'common sense' a set of ideas and beliefs which in fact only promote the interests of the dominant group. This diffusion takes place through a number of institutions in society, particularly through education because hegemony involves shaping people's ways of thinking: 'Every relationship of hegemony is of necessity an educational relationship' (Gramsci,1971: 350). However, for Gramsci, the dominant ideology is never totally hegemonic and uncontested. Ideology is a terrain of struggle and subordinated groups are able to resist and challenge the dominant world-view. Adult education therefore has the potential to undermine the legitimacy of dominant ideas and promote an alternative system of ideas and values, a counter-hegemony.

The question of ideological reproduction and resistance concentrates attention on the curriculum of adult education. These issues have been explored at length in the sociology of schooling. They were first raised in the phenomenological approaches of the so-called 'new sociology of education' initiated by the collection of Young (1971) entitled *Knowledge and Control* which focused on the sociology of knowledge in educational institutions. The fundamental premise of the book was that 'Education is a selection and organisation from the available knowledge at a particular time which involves conscious or unconscious choices.' (Young,1971: 24) The key question was therefore the nature of these choices. This question generated a large body of school-based research on the content of what is taught (the 'overt' curriculum) and on the processes in the classroom (the 'hidden' curriculum of tacitly transmitted norms and values). However, as Young and Whitty (1977: 8) pointed out, many of these analyses failed to locate the question of choices in education to the broader economic and political context. Marxist researchers therefore sought to situate school knowledge within the wider structures of inequality and social power. The concept of ideology became central to their analysis of the role of the school in the constitution and contestation of hegemony. Marxist researchers looked at areas such as textbooks, language, modes of assessment, teaching techniques and communication in the classroom to uncover the processes of ideology. The work of Apple (1979; 1982; 1986) was especially comprehensive in revealing how the choices of knowledge represented in the content of the overt curriculum and embodied in classroom practices are the mechanisms whereby social inequality is reproduced and legitimated on the one hand, or resisted and contested on the other. In particular, he sought to explain the complex interactions between class, race and gender ideologies (Apple and Weis,1983; Apple,1988).

The concept of the curriculum has not been widely applied in the context of adult education. As Boshier (1988: 15) has written: 'Whereas pre-adult educators develop 'curriculum' (based on a discipline or subject matter) adult educators are more inclined to plan 'programs' based on the needs of individuals, organisation and communities'. Nevertheless, adult education as a form of planned learning is based on choices about what is taught and how it is taught that involve the same processes as school education. It can therefore usefully be considered within conceptualisations of the curriculum. The first extended study to adopt this position was *Curriculum Theory in Adult and Lifelong Education* (Griffin,1983) which attacked the idea that adult education was distinctive and could not be analysed in curriculum terms. The book argued that the practices of adult teaching and learning must also be problematised in

relation to knowledge, power and ideology. The book is significant for signposting a fruitful line of enquiry within adult education.

However, there does not seem to be a body of published empirical research on the curriculum. Two rare examples show the potential for studies of both content and process. Coles (1977) undertook a content analysis of adult basic education readers which concluded that they conveyed sexist and racist ideologies and an acceptance of the capitalist class hierarchy. Kelly (1991) reported a classroom observation study analysing linguistic interaction in a mixed gender group of adults on a training course. She found that the men talked considerably longer than the women and took more turns to speak. The methods by which the men achieved this linguistic domination included impatience, interruptions, sarcasm and aggressive language. The men thus effectively silenced the women and impinged on their learning opportunities, a reproduction of gender inequality that the tutor colluded with. Both of these studies are from advanced capitalist countries, the USA and Britain respectively.

Although Freire's work has raised important issues of knowledge, language, consciousness and the social relations of teaching and learning that draw attention to the processes of ideology and social domination within adult education in the South, research on the curriculum of adult education in peripheral capitalist societies seems to be a neglected area. From the perspective of the Marxist political economy of adult education and development it should be an important part of the research agenda. Curriculum investigation can reveal how conscious and unconscious choices affecting the content and processes of adult education reflect the structure of inequality in the wider society. The overt and hidden curriculum mediate social inequality and are thereby a vehicle of the reproduction and contestation of class, gender and ethnic hierarchies.

A RESEARCH AGENDA ON SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND ADULT EDUCATION

The theoretical position elaborated in the preceding sections is that social inequality shapes the character and consequences of adult education. The task for research is therefore to clarify the systems of inequality in a given peripheral capitalist society and to examine their impact on adult education. It is postulated that inequality has multiple causes. The three major systems of inequality identified above are class, gender and ethnicity. These three systems need to be analysed both in parallel and in terms of their interaction. This analysis then has to be linked to adult education in order to determine the processes by which adult education either reproduces or undermines the patterns of inequality. This involves considering the effects of inequality on adult education policies, on the way adult education is organised, and on the curriculum in terms of its topics and the social dynamics of the teaching and learning situation. It also involves assessing the consequences of participation in adult education in terms of the outcomes for the learners in relation to their economic situation, social position and ideological outlook.

In the light of these assumptions, it is proposed that the research agenda for analysing social inequality and adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism should have the following five components:

Class

Class denotes the social inequality arising from the social relations of production. Class analysis begins with examining the nature of the mode of production, which in peripheral capitalism involves specifying how the capitalist mode of production articulates with pre-capitalist modes of production. It then proceeds to identify the classes and class fractions which comprise the present class structure. The current situation should be conceived as a particular moment within the movement of class formation so that the historical processes by which the various classes have been formed should be examined as well as their likely future trajectory. The analysis should assess the size of each class and its significance within the political economy, paying attention to the degree of self-awareness and organisation of each class. This assessment should be linked to the relationships between classes in terms of conflict, struggle, collaboration and alliance in order to indicate how these factors affect the state and development policies and are leading to change in the society. Finally, the consequences of class inequality should be elucidated.

Gender

Gender refers to the socially constructed inequalities between men and women. The analysis of gender relations begins with a study of the situation in pre-colonial society and examines the impact of the penetration of capitalism in the colonial era. It then considers the contemporary pattern of gender relations, paying particular attention to: a) the household and its internal economy and social relations; b) paid work and the labour market; c) the state and public policy; and d) culture and ideology. Gender analysis should reveal how gender inequality is reinforced through institutions, social practices and ideologies. It should show the extent and modalities of individual and collective resistance to patriarchy. The analysis should identify how gender relations intersect with the class structure and class conflicts and with the ethnic hierarchy and ethnic conflicts. Finally, it should show the social consequences of gender inequality.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity denotes the social divisions arising from cultural distinctions between different groups in society. The analysis of ethnicity starts with an examination of the ethnic hierarchy that existed in pre-colonial society and considers the impact of colonialism in reinforcing existing ethnic divisions and creating new ones. It must then investigate the current pattern of ethnic domination and subordination and the ways in which it is being reproduced or transformed. This requires also identifying the ethnic tensions and conflicts that exist and the way these are reflected in ethnic ideologies and modes of organisation in order to reveal the modalities of ethnic hegemony and resistance. In particular, it should consider ethnic influences on the state and development policies. The analysis should examine the class nature of the ethnic phenomena in society and show how the ethnic hierarchy articulates with the class structure and relates to class conflicts. It should also examine the relation of ethnicity and gender inequalities. Finally, the social consequences of ethnic inequality should be elucidated.

Adult Education and the Reproduction of Inequality

Analysis seeks to show how adult education reproduces the various forms of inequality, both in parallel and in interaction. Class analysis considers adult education policies, organisation and curricula in terms of their impact on the reproduction of existing classes and on the formation of emergent classes. It also studies the relationship of adult education to the conflict between classes in terms of how adult education assists dominant classes to contain the opposition of subordinated classes. In terms of gender, analysis examines how adult education reinforces unequal gender relations and serves to inhibit the questioning of women's subordination. In relation to ethnicity the question is how does adult education contribute to the processes which form and maintain ethnic identities as part of a hierarchy of dominant and subordinate groups. Inquiry also considers how adult education assists dominant ethnic groups to contain challenges to the legitimacy of the ethnic hierarchy.

The final stage of analysis is to examine the extent to which adult education acts to reinforce two or three kinds of inequality in interaction. In all cases the reproduction effects must be examined in terms of whether they are the result of deliberate intention or an unenvisaged product of social dynamics.

Adult Education and Resistance to Inequality

Analysis here seeks to show how adult education policies, organisation and curricula enable resistance to the various forms of inequality, again both separately and in interaction. In relation to class it examines the ways in which adult education activities enable subordinated classes to contest their unequal situation. In terms of gender it investigates how adult education challenges patriarchy and helps to empower women. In terms of ethnicity it studies how adult education enables subordinated ethnic groups to question the ethnic hierarchy and to assert their ethnic identity in opposing their ascribed inferiority.

The final stage of analysis is to examine the extent to which adult education acts to undermine two or three kinds of inequality in interaction. In all cases resistance must be examined in terms of how it takes place, why it is undertaken and what the consequences are. It should be examined along two dimensions. First, some forms of resistance involve the conscious design of programmes to challenge forms of inequality through the deliberate choice of participants, forms of organisation and curricula. Such programmes often involve organised groups at both the level of planning and of participation. Secondly, there are forms of resistance which are unplanned and individualistic, for example in the case of learners dropping out or refusing to participate because they perceive a programme to be antagonistic to their interests. Such informal modes of resistance may be hard to identify but nevertheless they have a 'hidden logic' (Quigley,1990) which research should be able to reveal.

The research agenda outlined here is marked by its complexity (compare Apple and Weis, 1983: 23-27). On the one hand, there are three parallel but interacting systems of inequality. On the other hand, there are various dimensions of adult

education which have to be taken into account. The following chapter seeks to illustrate the potential for research on the relationship between social inequality and adult education in peripheral capitalist countries by applying the agenda in the case of Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

ENDNOTE

1. In the case of Botswana, the most important social inequalities are those of class, gender and ethnicity so these are the focus of this chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CLASS, GENDER, ETHNICITY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

CLASS AND ADULT EDUCATION

The post-colonial class structure was shaped by the expansion of capitalism in the region following the mineral revolution in South Africa from the late 1860s. Chapter Four indicated the processes of class formation and reproduction which took place between 1966 and 1991 as the capitalist mode of production became dominant within the country. The most important feature was that the class structure acquired a more capitalist definition as the remaining pre-capitalist social relations of production were displaced. The spread of wage employment and the new opportunities for capitalist accumulation created a class structure typical of peripheral capitalist society. However, it had its own specificity because of the particular trajectory of capitalist development that took place within Botswana. The historical roots of the class system can be found in the significance of cattle as a form of property in the rural economy and in the development of migrant labour during the colonial era. Post-Independence developments with an impact on class formation included the rapid growth of the state and the huge expansion of wage employment. Class analysis identifies the classes in the 1966-1991 as the capitalist class, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the proletariat.

The Capitalist Class

The capitalist class, as in most African countries, was characterised by the importance of the foreign fraction. Foreign capital played the leading role in the mining industry, manufacturing and commerce. The domestic bourgeoisie was found primarily in the agricultural sector, based on large-scale cattle ownership. Part of this fraction was constituted of white settlers who acquired freehold farms during the colonial period. The other part was constituted of Batswana with large cattle holdings who from the mid-1960s increasingly commercialised their cattle operations, investing in boreholes, gaining de facto control over communal grazing lands, investing in fenced farms and employing wage labour. These large cattle owners had an independent source of capital accumulation which was not dependent on foreign investment and they played a key role in the political economy. The domestic bourgeoisie in the urban areas was tiny, although the post-1982 economic boom provided an expanding base of accumulation in activities such as manufacturing and property speculation.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

The main fractions of the petty bourgeoisie were those who owned small businesses and those who held professional and managerial positions in the private and public sectors. At the time of Independence both these fractions were very small and were dominated by foreigners. With regard to business, the colonial state had placed restrictions on trading by Africans so that businesses were largely owned either by foreigners or white settlers and Asians. With regard to management, there were few private sector companies and the colonial civil service was staffed mainly by British and South African citizens. Although the petty bourgeoisie was small, it was a key element of the

BDP's historic coalition of classes discussed in Chapter Four. After 1966 it expanded and consolidated its position, increasing its importance within the political economy.

The opportunities provided by economic growth in the 1970s enabled cattle-owners and high income earners to diversify their sources of income and enter into a variety of commercial activities. The capacity of the emergent business petty bourgeoisie to influence the state was revealed in the early 1980s. In 1982 the Government's *National Policy on Economic Opportunities* (Republic of Botswana,1982a) introduced incentives to increase the participation of Batswana in private business. The establishment in 1982 of the Financial Assistance Policy made state capital available to assist the petty bourgeoisie to enter new areas of accumulation in productive enterprises.

The growing private sector also opened opportunities for Batswana to enter senior management in capitalist companies, particularly as foreign firms sought at least token localisation to legitimate their operations. Relatively large numbers of senior civil servants moved into management in the private sector, especially during the post-1982 economic boom. But the most significant members of the professional and managerial petty bourgeoisie since 1966 were those managing the state bureaucracy, which grew enormously on the basis of mineral revenues. The number of employees in central and local government (including education) rose from 13,550 in 1972 to 34,900 in 1982 to 71,300 in 1991 (Nengwekhulu,1985: 16; UNDP, Republic of Botswana, UNICEF,1993: 22) creating a large management cadre. The strength of this group as a class fraction promoting it own interests was shown in the 1986 salaries review and 1987 job evaluation exercise which both significantly widened the salary differential between senior civil servants and their subordinates (Molutsi,1989: 112). The petty bourgeoisie in the state bureaucracy had a strategic role in development, managing a process which expanded capitalist accumulation and consolidated its own economic and political power.

The Peasantry

The majority of Batswana were rural dwellers and therefore the rural class structure was central to the overall class structure. An important rural class was the peasantry which, as elsewhere in the periphery, had significant internal divisions. These divisions were related primarily to the ownership of cattle, the most important means of agricultural production because they are both a commodity and draft power for crop production. Three main fractions of the peasantry (rich,middle and poor) could be identified in terms of their relations to the means of production, use of labour, and pattern of consumption and sale. For most of Botswana the critical indicator was cattle because cattle ownership was closely correlated with the other variables.

All empirical studies between 1966 and 1991 showed that cattle holdings were highly skewed. This pattern had its origins in the large holdings of the royalty and nobility in the pre-capitalist mode of production. Analysts such as Cliffe and Moorsom (1979), Cooper (1982), Nengwekhulu (1985) and Gaborone (1986a) have differed in the variables and categories used to identify the fractions of the peasantry. For present purposes, following Litschauer and Kelly (1981: 23-25), the single indicator of cattle

holdings is used as follows. The rich peasant category owned more than 40 cattle, a number that enabled regular cattle sales, permanent draught power and regular crop sales, and a breeding nucleus to survive a drought. The middle peasant category owned between 10 and 40 cattle, the minimum necessary for sustaining a ploughing team, producing basic food needs, and enabling occasional cattle sales to meet cash requirements. The poor peasantry category owned less than 10 cattle, a number inadequate for meeting subsistence needs through agricultural production. The vast majority of poor peasants owned no cattle at all. Surveys indicated very unequal cattle ownership and in 1988 it was estimated that 45-50% of peasant households had no cattle whilst 14% had more than 40 cattle (Republic of Botswana,1991a: 240-242).

The most important feature of the peasantry was the situation at the lower end of the scale, where the poor peasants were increasingly dependent on wage labour for survival. The situation of the poor peasant fraction reflected the distinctive history of Botswana's incorporation into the world economy. The development of Bechuanaland under the colonial state as a labour reserve providing migrant labour meant that a significant proportion of the peasantry engaged in wage labour in South Africa. These migrant workers were not fully separated from their means of production and oscillated between the mines and the rural areas. Their low wages in South Africa were predicated on the basis that the costs of subsistence and reproduction of their families would be met through agricultural production. Retaining formal rights to land and perhaps owning some means of production, the migrant labourers were not fully proletarianised. Indeed their households were often involved in residual pre-capitalist relations of production, for example gaining access to cattle through the *mafisa* system of cattle tenancy and to labour through a variety of forms of mutual aid, such as *molaletsa*. Yet these households relied on the income from the various forms of wage labour by their members. The poor peasant fraction of the peasantry therefore became part peasant and part proletarian. However the process of proletarianisation speeded up during the 1980s, decisively expanding capitalist relations of production. This is evidenced by two crucial pieces of data. Firstly, the use of *mafisa* had virtually died out by the end of the decade, with only 1.3% of rural households holding *mafisa* draught power in 1990 (Molutsi,1992: 147). Secondly, the 1991 census showed that only 15% of the labour force was still engaged in peasant agriculture (Jefferis,1993: 9).

The Proletariat

The proletariat at Independence comprised the small number of urban workers in the public sector, commerce and the railway, the agricultural labourers on the freehold farms, and the relatively large semi-proletariat of migrant labourers to South Africa. The class grew in size after 1966 as the economy and the towns expanded. Parson (1980: 46) calculated that in 1976 the working class within Botswana numbered about 48,000 or 12% of the total labour force. This was the peak year of migrant labour to South Africa when there were 40,400 men away in the mines (Peat,1983: 196). Research in the mid-1970s in the new town of Selebi-Phikwe (Cooper,1982) showed very close rural links were retained by urban dwellers, with the urban class structure closely reflecting the divisions within the rural class structure. Although it grew in size during the 1970s politically the class remained weak, with restricted trade union rights,

though various forms of overt class struggle such as strikes and demonstrations over wages took place.

During the 1980s the proletariat increased in size significantly in both the urban and rural areas. The proportion of the population in the urban areas grew from 18% in 1981 to 33% in 1991. The 1991 census showed that 71% of the labour force were in wage employment and 14% were unemployed and seeking paid work (Jefferis,1993: 9). Thus the urban proletariat and lumpen proletariat expanded, a fact reflected politically in the increased support for the Botswana National Front. Meanwhile the rural proletariat also grew as the drought stimulated increased dependence on wage labour, especially in state public works schemes. However, the continuing political weakness of the rural fraction was shown by the refusal of Parliament in 1990 to establish a minimum wage for agricultural workers. Nevertheless the urban and rural proletariat became numerically significant and though it was organisationally weak it seemed likely to play a significant role in the political economy in future.

The Class Structure and Adult Education

The research agenda presented in Chapter Seven identifies two dimensions of the interaction of the class structure and adult education for study. Firstly, what is the impact of adult education on the reproduction of existing classes and on the formation of emergent classes? Secondly, in what ways do adult education programmes, either deliberately or incidentally, enable subordinated classes to challenge their unequal situation? Having analysed the class structure in the 1966-1991 period, it is now possible to illustrate how this particular structure affected the character of adult education and shaped its economic, social and ideological consequences.

The majority of adult education programmes were provided by the state. It was argued in Chapter Four that the state was dominated by the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the rich peasants. In this situation the political economy approach expects that state-provided programmes would in general serve the interests of these classes. As in other peripheral capitalist countries, this was most evident in the case of agricultural extension, one of the largest adult education programmes. Gaborone (1986a) shows how agricultural extension services had a clear class content. The programmes introduced in the colonial era, namely the Cooperation Demonstration Plot Scheme in 1947 and the Pupil/Master Farmer Scheme in 1962, were specifically aimed at consolidating the rich peasants who owned substantial agricultural resources and employed labour. The schemes involved not only cognitive benefits in terms of skills and knowledge gained but material assistance through access to means of production, credit and marketing facilities. In 1966 there were 2,165 participants in the Pupil/Master Farmer scheme, a significant proportion of this fraction of the peasantry. In 1973, following concerns that agricultural extension was 'elitist' and only reaching the wealthy, state policy moved to 'a more broadly based extension scheme' (Republic of Botswana,1973a: 5) intended to reach all farmers rather than a select few. However, Gaborone argues that this form of adult education continued to benefit primarily the rich and middle peasants because of the fact of the unequal distribution of agricultural resources. Thus in a study of a Farmer Training Centre in 1980 he found that even

when poor peasants participated in farmer education, they lacked the necessary resources to put into practice most of what they had learnt (Gaborone,1980).

The continuing role of agricultural extension in reproducing the rural class structure was demonstrated in the 1980s with the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP). This programme which began in 1981 was aimed at households with less than 40 cattle, that is, the middle and poor peasants. It involved extension support linked to financial assistance to acquire draught power, implements, fencing and water tanks. The assistance included a grant covering 85% of the costs but a down payment of 15% was required which proved a major obstacle for the poor peasants. The main beneficiaries were those who already held resources, particularly the middle peasants though even rich peasants with more than 40 cattle participated despite the original aim (Arntzen and Silitshena,1989).

Whilst agricultural extension clearly brought material benefits to particular classes, other programmes more indirectly served to reproduce the class hierarchy. An example is the National Literacy Programme (NLP) which was started in 1980. It was seen by the state as part of its strategy to 'increase educational opportunities and reduce inequalities in access to education.' (Republic of Botswana,1985: 158). Its participants were drawn mainly from the poor peasants and proletariat in the rural areas and the unskilled workers and lumpen proletariat in the urban areas. A major motivation for the majority of participants was that acquiring literacy and numeracy skills would help them get wage labour in the formal sector (Gaborone, Mutanyatta and Youngman,1987: 68). However, the programme provided only minimal skills in Setswana and numeracy and very few opportunities to learn skills more important for employment such as English and productive skills. In fact participation in the programme did not lead to paid employment for many literacy graduates. The NLP certainly provided educational opportunity to many thousands who had not previously had access to education and therefore it was a form of compensatory adult education. But it did not address the fundamental inequality derived from the class structure:

> It can be postulated that the social outcome of the NLP in relation to class was that a small proportion of literacy graduates did enter or consolidate their position in the working class. A small proportion of others were enabled to become petty producers on their own or in income-generating groups, while some may have advanced their situation within the strata of the peasantry. But it seems likely that the overall impact of the NLP was to enable very little upward mobility within the existing class structure. The NLP therefore in effect reproduced class divisions and even the aspirations for advancement of the learners were articulated within the existing class hierarchy. There is no evidence to suggest any activity within the programme (at the level of policy or practice) that called into question the class divisions within the social order. (Youngman,1995)

The examples of agricultural extension and the NLP show that one consequence of the state's adult education programmes was to reproduce economically, socially and ideologically the existing class divisions. But whereas in the advanced capitalist

countries the class structure is relatively fixed, the ongoing processes of class formation in the periphery give adult education a role not only in reproduction but also in class formation. This is illustrated by the following case study.

Case Study: Extension Services for Small Businesses

An example of adult education specifically designed to contribute to class formation is the extension services provided for small businesses. These adult education programmes have promoted the development of the business fraction of the petty bourgeoisie. The promotion of the petty bourgeoisie is a key component of the modernisation theory of development, which sees developing countries as lacking not only capital but also entrepreneurial skills and attitudes. Furthermore, modernisation theory sees the development of a strong middle class as the basis of political stability. The Botswana state, following the precepts of modernisation theory embodied in its capitalist development strategy, sought from Independence to foster a strong class of indigenous entrepreneurs. This policy reflected the composition of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party's historic coalition of classes and opened up economic opportunities which had been limited by colonial restrictions on African businesses. From 1966 onwards the state had an explicit commitment to promoting indigenous small business, as stated in *National Development Plan 1970-75*: 'The encouragement of local entrepreneurial talent will continue to be a cardinal feature of Government policy.' (Republic of Botswana,1970: 64)

The growth of the business petty bourgeoisie during the 1970s influenced the new policies which followed from the *National Policy on Economic Opportunities* of 1982 (Republic of Botswana,1982a). These policies included capital assistance to enter the manufacturing sector through the Financial Assistance Policy and 'reservation' policies in industry and commerce restricting certain kinds of business activity only to citizen-owned enterprises. A significant number of citizen-owned small scale enterprises (i.e. those with 10 or less employees) were established in the manufacturing, trading, construction, service and transportation sectors of the economy. The theme of a strong small business sector continued in the late 1980s as the ideas of neo-liberal development theory led to increasing emphasis on private sector development. It is within this overall policy context of promoting the formation and consolidation of the business fraction of the petty bourgeoisie class that an explicit role for adult education was enunciated. This was made clear soon after Independence in *National Development Plan 1970-75*: 'The Government recognises the need to provide an extension service to assist new entrepreneurs.' (Republic of Botswana, 1970: 60). The organisation of the state's adult education programme for small business evolved after the establishment of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1973. It had two main phases, from 1974 to 1987 and from 1987 onwards.

In 1974 the Batswana Enterprises Development Programme was started with the goal '... to provide assistance for the development of enterprises owned and managed by local entrepreneurs so that citizens may play a greater part in commercial and industrial development.' (Republic of Botswana,1973b: 248) The Batswana Enterprises Development Unit (BEDU) within the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (largely funded by SIDA, NORAD, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation and

using USA Peace Corps volunteers) aimed to provide small entrepreneurs with advice, training, and access to loan capital. BEDU initially centred its attention on developing industrial estates and providing training and finance to small businesses on the estates. By 1979 it was supporting 78 businesses (Republic of Botswana, 1980a: 206). After 1980 it placed increased emphasis on extending its support beyond the estates and its loan facilities were handed over to the National Development Bank.

Alongside BEDU's service to entrepreneurs in the manufacturing sector, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1974 established the Small Traders Extension Service for the commercial sector. In 1977 this was renamed the Business Advisory Service (BAS). At this time a USA non governmental organisation, Partnership for Productivity (PFP), sponsored by the Botswana Development Corporation and funded by USAID, also developed extension services for the trade sector. The two bodies worked together with BAS operating in the north of the country and PFP in the south until 1982, after which PFP shifted its role to running a credit scheme (Swartzendruber,1988: 12). The third component of the state's services was established in 1980 as part of the rural development and employment creation focus of *National Development Plan 1979-1985*. This was a cadre of Rural Industrial Officers (funded by USAID and staffed by Peace Corps) based in district centres with the brief to promote small scale enterprises in the rural areas through identifying viable activities and entrepreneurs and organising appropriate training.

During the 1980s as the emphasis on the private sector increased, it became clear that the three components of the small business extension services had begun to overlap and needed rationalisation. In 1987 the Ministry of Commerce and Industry therefore created the Integrated Field Services (IFS) to form a single extension service, to which SIDA and USAID provided significant capital and technical assistance (Integrated Field Services,1988: 23). IFS focused on technical and management training and on providing advice on marketing and access to finance, especially through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP). It developed a network of field offices throughout the country, with the former BEDU estates playing the role of 'industrial resource centres' for training in areas such as construction, metalwork and garment production. In 1990/91 it had 18 field offices and 8 resource centres (Department of Industrial Affairs,1991: 23).

The content of the training provided by the extension services for small businesses has remained consistent throughout the period in terms of its objectives of providing technical and business management skills and of developing the 'entrepreneurial spirit'. The IFS field officers were responsible for identifying the training needs of entrepreneurs and for coordinating training activities. A wide range of short courses was offered in various places throughout the country, taught by IFS staff and other resource persons. In 1991 the IFS catalogue included over 300 courses. Novice and upgrading courses were provided in a variety of technical skills, ranging from bakery to metalwork. Management training included financial management (for example, book-keeping) and business management. After 1987 a key component was a five day course based on 'Improve Your Business' materials developed by ILO with SIDA support which focus on management accounting. Overall the aim of management training was not only to convey specific skills but also relevant knowledge and attitudes:

'to give an entrepreneur a full package of business ideas' so that s/he 'is better oriented about the business field.' (Integrated Field Services,1988: 11)

The adult education programmes provided by the state to develop the small business class had fairly wide coverage. For example, between 1985 and 1990 the IFS provided training to 2 827 entrepreneurs (Republic of Botswana,1991a: 167). These programmes were complemented by the work of a number of non governmental organisations, such as the Institute of Development Management, the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower, and the Rural Industries Innovations Centre, all of which ran short courses for small enterprise development.

This form of adult education had particular economic, social and ideological consequences. At the economic level, it is evident that the extension services provided the training and access to credit which enabled a proportion of the small enterprises to be economically viable and therefore become a basis for accumulation by some members of the class. On the other hand a proportion of businesses no doubt failed. For example, by 1983 a third of the businesses supported by BEDU had collapsed (Chipasula and Miti,1987: 76). Thus weaker members of the class may have slipped down the class hierarchy. At the social level, it is hypothesised that economic success increased social status. However, in small rural communities where there were residues of pre-capitalist ideology, it may be that increased wealth disturbed social relations. In a sociological study on small enterprises in four villages in 1981, 88% of those interviewed agreed with the statement 'It is often thought that when people become wealthy it creates jealousy and the person who becomes rich is not liked.' (Narayan-Parker,1983: 102-103) At the ideological level, a major goal of the programmes was to inculcate an enterprise culture, developing and reinforcing positive attitudes towards capitalism and the ideology of free enterprise (profit, competition, risk and so forth).

Finally it should be noted that within this process of class formation there was a significant gender dimension. A number of studies considered the constraints facing women small entrepreneurs (see, for example, Somolekae,1992). A significant number of small enterprise proprietors were women. They were largely operational in stereotyped business activities deriving from women's role in the gender division of labour within the household, namely crafts, garment production and food preparation. Whilst they faced many general problems in developing and consolidating their businesses, such as competition from South African imports and high utility costs, they also faced particular problems as women. These problems included legal constraints, such as the requirement of a husband's signature for loan applications, and social constraints such as household responsibilities. This latter problem had an impact on their participation in adult education: 'Most female entrepreneurs have to divide their time between business and domestic work. As a consequence, many of them find it difficult to spare time to attend training courses.' (Silitshena,1992: 39) The constraints faced by women led to a number of proposals for designing extension programmes that should specifically address the situation of women and thus facilitate their participation in the formation of the business petty bourgeoisie.

The examples given above illustrate the role of adult education programmes in class reproduction and formation. There was very little class resistance through adult education. The research agenda suggests two modes of resistance, namely specifically designed programmes and informal learner behaviour. In the first case attention must be directed to organisations which appear to represent the interests of particular dominated classes. It might be expected, for example, that trade unions would provide education designed to strengthen the position of the working class and challenge capitalist inequalities. However, the programmes of the Trade Union Education Centre established in 1972 were restricted to narrow technical issues of running unions rather than developing a critical consciousness of capitalist hegemony (Mogalakwe,1994).

One of the few adult education programmes designed to challenge class inequalities was the weavers factory established in 1973 in the small village of Oodi in Kgatleng district, a major area of labour migration. It was set up by a Swedish couple with the explicit purpose of providing an alternative model of development based on cooperative rural industry. The factory workers were drawn mainly from the poor peasantry and were unskilled with little formal education. They had previously been migrant workers in South Africa, domestic workers in Botswana towns or engaged in agriculture in the village. The factory, which employed around 50 people, provided full-time employment and reasonable wages. From 1975 it contributed 25% of its profits to a special village development fund.

The factory was conceived not only as an economic institution but also as an adult education process. The intention behind the project was to develop the workers' skills and awareness so that they could produce high quality articles, manage the factory themselves, and take a role in village development. It was therefore designed to develop rural proletarians with the confidence and capability to participate in economic and social decision-making. The organisational form of the production cooperative explicitly challenged capitalist social relations of production and class subordination.

The adult education process involved both formal tuition (for example in technical and management skills) and informal learning through the efforts required to take collective responsibility and through the creative work of producing narrative tapestries. The Swedish facilitators deliberately sought through a Freirean pedagogy of dialogue to develop a critical consciousness of society, discussing concepts such as migrant labour, exploitation, oppression, racial conflict, worker's control, cooperation, national liberation and social commitment. Many of these socio-economic and political issues were reflected in the tapestries (Byram,1980a). The outcomes of the adult education activities for the factory workers were increased security and independence at the economic level, a change in status at the social level, and greater critical awareness at the ideological level.

Because such a large proportion of the poor peasantry were women, the factory had a significant gender dimension also. Seventy per cent of the workers were women. Whilst on the one hand the predominance of women may have reflected a perception that weaving was 'women's work', on the other the absence of men in the South

African mines and the poverty of many women meant that the new economic opportunity inevitably attracted more women. The impact of the factory was to strengthen the economic situation of women workers and increase their personal independence. It gave women experience in managing their own situation and raised their awareness of the subordination of women and the issues of gender inequality. There was evidence of 'women's growing assertiveness and self-confidence in running their own affairs.' (Byram,1980a: 237) The factory is an isolated example of adult education explicitly designed to challenge the unequal rural class structure and gender relations.

The second form of resistance is informal learner behaviour, which might range from active contestation of a teacher's ideological viewpoint to less articulated reactions such as dropping out. The 'hidden logic' behind a variety of learner responses is difficult to identify but Gaborone provides two examples. He suggests that the high drop out rate of subordinated rural class members from the radio learning group campaign in 1976 on the new land tenure policy constituted 'voting with their feet', a spontaneous form of resistance to learning about a policy which was against their class interests (Gaborone,1986a: 353). In his evaluation of a farmer training centre he found that one explanation for not attending the courses was the perception that they were only for 'master farmers' (i.e. rich peasants) who have sufficient resources (Gaborone,1980: 10). Thus drop out and non-attendance constituted informal resistance by poor peasants.

GENDER AND ADULT EDUCATION

Gender Inequality

The origins of women's subordination in the 1966-1991 period are to be found in the gender relations which characterised the pre-capitalist society of the Batswana. This society was controlled by male elders and was strongly patriarchal in nature. There was a clear gender division of labour in which men were responsible for cattle-rearing and hunting, whilst women produced crops, gathered wild foods, prepared food and maintained the household. The males controlled the productive assets of the household, including land, livestock and labour, and although women played an important economic role they were dependent on men. Cattle were central to the society not only as a key means of production and source of accumulation but also in terms of social relations. Cattle were the main form of social exchange and bridewealth (*bogadi*) expressed in cattle formally secured women in marriage and conferred male rights over women's productive labour and reproductive capacity. The production of children was an important source of new labour for the household economy and women were responsible for child care. Women were largely confined to the domestic sphere whilst men dominated public life. The centre of public decision-making, the village assembly (*kgotla*) excluded female participation. Furthermore, in legal terms, women were 'treated as perpetual minors, being subject for life to the authority of male guardians' (Schapera and Comaroff,1991:3). A wide range of social institutions and cultural practices therefore contributed to women's subordination in the pre-capitalist social formation.

Modifications to the nature of women's domination were brought about by the penetration of the capitalist mode of production during the colonial era. The economic, social and cultural changes, such as the introduction of the money economy, the spread of education and the propagation of Christianity, all had an impact on gender relations. In particular, as Bechuanaland was transformed into a labour reserve for South Africa, the expansion of the migrant labour system to various parts of the country had profound effects on the household as a socio-economic unit. The low wages paid to migrant labourers was predicated on the reproduction costs of their families being borne at home. A major effect of labour migration was to increase the workload and responsibilities of women in terms of maintaining themselves and their children. This sometimes included a shift in the gender division of labour, for example in the ploughing season, but mostly it meant increased economic insecurity as crop production suffered from a lack of male labour and access to cattle as draught power.

In social terms, the absence of males for prolonged periods affected the structure of the family and patterns of sexual behaviour. Although women remained under the guardianship of men (fathers, uncles, and brothers in the absence of husbands), they increasingly became de facto heads of households. Thus, as Peters (1983: 100) has pointed out, the effects of migrant labour were contradictory. Whilst women's social and economic security deteriorated, to some extent the absence of men enabled women to have a new degree of autonomy in household decision-making, sexual relationships and economic activity. Schapera writing on women in Kgatleng in the 1930s observed:

> Labour migration...by drawing her husband away from home for lengthy periods, has increased her spirit of freedom. Theoretically, she is under the control of his senior relatives during his absence, but in practice she is certainly less restricted in her actions...(Schapera,1971: 256)

However, not all areas of the country were affected by labour migration and even where it was prevalent women's subordination persisted in relation to the law, social norms, customary practices and public decision-making.

The patterns of gender inequality that were derived from pre-colonial society and modified under the impact of colonialism provided the historical sources of the gender relations which obtained after Independence. The nature of gender inequality in the 1966-1991 period can be considered along four dimensions.

The first dimension is that of the household as a socio-economic institution. The major phenomenon in the period was the continuation of the colonial trend towards de jure and de facto female headed households as migration for work within Botswana expanded. The marriage rate declined and men and women were more likely to enter transient sexual relationships. By 1991, women headed about 45% of the households in urban areas and 50% in the rural areas (Central Statistics Office, 1994: 244 and 246). Such households were essentially matrifocal, often comprised of a mother, unmarried daughter and grandchildren. In these households, unmarried women were the main economic actors and decision-makers, the evidence suggesting that their ties to extended families, male relatives and reciprocal assistance networks were diminishing.

Whilst there were obviously differentiations amongst female headed households, they were disproportionately amongst the poorest groups in society in terms of income and productive assets. There were many constraints on their ability to be productive and self-reliant. For example, in the rural areas such households usually held few or no cattle, managed low acreages of land and could not produce their own food needs. Also women had to undertake a variety of alternative livelihood strategies to meet their needs for cash, including casual wage labour and petty trading and services. Often state transfers, such as feeding schemes, played an important role in the domestic economy. It was calculated that in 1985 69% of urban and 73% of rural female headed households had an income less than the Effective Minimal Level required to meet basic needs (Republic of Botswana and UNICEF,1989: 60-61). Thus the poverty of female headed households in both the rural and urban areas was a significant feature of gender inequality in the period. The feminisation of poverty constituted an intersection of gender and class differentiation.

The second dimension is that of work for cash and female participation in the labour market. As capitalist relations of production came to dominate the social formation after 1966, women became increasingly involved in paid work. By the end of the period a significant proportion of women were working for cash outside of the household and thus engaging in transformed socio-economic relations. However their involvement in the labour market was on unequal terms compared to men. In 1991, the labour force participation rate was 50% for women and 91% for men (Republic of Botswana,1994: 12) and men held two thirds of formal sector jobs (UNDP, Republic of Botswana and UNICEF,1993: 21). Women tended to be in stereotyped work such as nursing, teaching and domestic service which reflected their traditional place in the division of labour. There were significant earning power differentials between women and men in the formal sector so that income inequality had a gendered character (CSO and SIDA,1991: 56). Women predominated in the urban and rural informal sector and in rural public works schemes, where income was low and insecure. Furthermore, with respect to unemployment rates, in 1991 17% of women were unemployed compared to 12% of men (UNDP, Republic of Botswana and UNICEF,1993: 23). The overall picture in relation to the labour market is that women were disproportionately in low paid, unskilled and insecure work, giving gender inequality a significant class dimension as women were clustered in the rural and urban proletariat and lumpen proletariat.

The third dimension is that of the gender biases of the state and public policy. The fundamental position of the state was expressed in an early statement in *National Development Plan 1970-1975* (Republic of Botswana,1970: 12) to the effect that most women 'will assume the natural role of home-maker'. Most development policies have conceived women as home-makers, largely engaged in household production and child-rearing in families headed by men. In line with international trends, from the mid-1970s there was increased concern with 'women in development' and some policies such as the Arable Land Development Programme and the Financial Assistance Policy, had special provisions favouring women. In 1981 a Women's Affairs Unit was established but it remained under-resourced and marginal and its draft National Policy on Women in Development in 1988 was never adopted. State activity in some respects improved the situation of women, for example in terms of health status, but it did not

confront dominant stereotypes about women's role in society or seek to alter the balance of gender relations.

Women had little success in entering the realm of political decision-making. Although after Independence they were given the right to participate in the *kgotla*, they remained peripheral in that forum, whose significance for public policy-making in any case was in decline. In political parties, leadership positions were dominated by men. In parliament, female membership did not exceed 5% of MPs and only two women became cabinet members. The legal status of women remained one of inequality in relation to men and at least twenty five statutes had provisions which discriminated against women, including important areas related to marriage and property that perpetuated male control (Republic of Botswana,1994: 31). Thus whilst women did become increasingly active in public affairs and did have some new rights in post-colonial society, in practice many constraints remained on their equal participation in the public domain.

Finally, it is important to note that cultural and ideological practices continued to reinforce the subordinate position of women in society. The processes of socialisation raised girls and boys differently and reproduced unequal gender relations:

> ...straight after birth, boys and girls entered completely different worlds. The girl's world prepared her to become a wife and developed her [homemaking] skills, whilst the boy was prepared straight away to be in control and learn the art of decision making. (Mosojane, cited in Motts,1994: 84)

Cultural values and social norms continued to regard women as minors dependent on men. Thus the ideology of male superiority inherited from pre-capitalist society proved resilient despite the many economic, political and social changes that took place from 1966 to 1991.

In the face of the powerful social forces reinforcing gender inequality, there was little organised resistance to male domination. At the individual level, there were undoubtedly various forms of self-assertion and efforts to reduce dependency on men and expand personal autonomy. For example, some have argued that many women chose to have children with multiple partners and not to marry in order to retain independence from male restrictions exerted through the family structure. Thus the actual behaviour of individuals implicitly challenged patriarchal ideology. However, at the collective level, there was little action on behalf of women's rights. Most women's organisations, such as the Botswana Council of Women, supported the status quo, for example, running beauty contests to raise funds. Only Emang Basadi Women's Association, established in 1986, had an explicitly feminist agenda: 'to mobilise for the removal of discriminatory laws that undermine the social, political and economic development of women; to undertake actions that enhance women's position to develop themselves socially, politically and economically...' (NORAD,1989: 137). Predictably, the state labelled the association's activity against discriminatory laws as the work of unrepresentative, frustrated women under foreign influence and appealed to tradition for support. Women's collective action in the period did not develop the strength to alter

the balance of power between men and women that was upheld by the state and by male-dominated social and economic institutions.

Gender Inequality and Adult Education

It was in the above context of female subordination and inequality that gendered forms of adult education manifested themselves between 1966 and 1991. The most striking feature of adult education is the extent to which the prevailing assumptions about women's role in reproduction and in the gender division of labour its permeated policy and practice. In terms of the research agenda developed in Chapter Seven, the overall impact of adult education was to reproduce women's subordinate position in society. Very little adult education challenged the ideology and practices of patriarchy in an organised way, although the experience of adult education at the personal level may have had contradictory outcomes.

The provision of adult education can be considered in terms of two kinds of programme, namely those open to all adults and those targeted specifically at women. Programmes open to all adults usually had a gendered character because of the social reality of gender relations. Thus the courses offered by commercial schools in subjects such as secretarial skills attracted predominantly women students because within the labour market secretarial work was identified as women's work. Agricultural extension provided another example, as the mainly male extension officers tended to work with those owning productive assets (especially cattle) who were mostly men. Where they did work with women, as Gaborone (1986a: 392) has pointed out, these were rich women with assets, so that class differentiations were reinforced.

The case of the National Literacy Programme (NLP) also illustrates how a programme open to all adults had particular effects in relation to gender inequality (Youngman,1995). Almost two thirds of the learners in the NLP during the 1980s were women - for example, the figure in 1989 was 62.1 per cent (Department of Non Formal Education, 1990: 8). The reason for this high rate of participation is to be found in the large numbers of female-headed households and the disproportionately large numbers of women amongst the poor, unemployed and unskilled adults who are the programme's target.

To a large extent it is apparent that participation in the NLP served to reinforce women's social position. For example, one purpose of literacy that often appeared in official statements was to learn how to read and write letters. The significance of this is that many women in the rural areas were on their own because men had migrated in search of wage labour, so that letters were an important form of communication. Thus the NLP reinforced the status quo of migrant labour and women's marginalization. Furthermore, there is evidence of men being reluctant to allow women to join the programme (Gaborone, Mutanyatta and Youngman,1987: 68) and of female participants going to great lengths to conceal their participation from their partners (Gaborone, 1986b).

However, the implication of emancipatory possibilities suggested by the men's reluctance indicates that to a certain extent the acquisition of literacy may have been a

step for individual women towards exerting greater control over their own situation. Gaborone (1986b) quotes one participant as follows:

> My partner used to keep two bank accounts, one for us and the other for girlfriends. And because I was unable to read and make sense of this, he used to leave information lying about. I did not know how much he earned or his wage. But I now know and make him account for every thebe ['penny'] he spends.

Therefore it is apparent that the personal effect of the NLP for some women learners was to pose a challenge to their social situation. However, the NLP had no policy commitment to promote forms of consciousness and collective social action that would enable women to free themselves from patriarchal oppression. Thus the NLP reproduced the gender inequalities in society while at the same time interacting with the latent contradictions in unequal male-female relationships in ways which had the potential to bring these disparities into question.

There were various adult education programmes directed specifically to women as a target group. These reflected prevailing assumptions about women's role in society. Thus a lot of health extension activities addressed women in terms of their reproductive role, focusing on maternal and child health. The main health extension cadre, the Family Welfare Educators, were overwhelmingly women, their title and composition revealing the conception of their work, which included talks on topics like family planning at venues such as ante natal clinics. The agenda of health education was not a radical one (say of stressing women's control over their own bodies) but rather of health measures within existing family structures. The family was seen primarily as the domain of women and the possibility of developing new male roles in the family was omitted.

Some women's programmes sought to reach women otherwise excluded from adult education activities theoretically open to all. This was the case with agricultural extension between 1975 and the mid-1980s when policies were followed which reflected international trends on women in development. In 1974 a British consultant working as part of advisory team on agricultural extension funded by British aid, submitted a report entitled *Women's Involvement in Agriculture in Botswana* (Bond,1974). The report demonstrated the important role of women in crop production and small-stock rearing but showed that the extension services, comprised mainly of male officers, were 'reaching families through the men, and this favours households headed by a male.' (Bond,1974: 2) It therefore recommended a new extension service directed towards women. Although the idea of a new service was not accepted, the Ministry of Agriculture established a headquarters post of Agricultural Officer/Women's Extension in 1975, to which the consultant was appointed. The aim of the post was to ensure that more women were reached within the general agricultural extension programme. The strategy followed included special efforts to involve women in extension activities, encouraging the election of women to Farmers Committees. working with organised and informal groups of women, and providing special women's courses at the Rural Training Centres, which were short-course residential centres for adults run by the Ministry of Agriculture (Bettles,1980: 33).

The women's courses were intended to cover agriculture and homecraft topics and in 1976 two Rural Home Instructors were appointed to two centres. The instructors were home economists and they weighted the courses to homecraft skills, reinforcing the stereotype that women's courses = home economics = domestic topics and neglecting the reality of women as farmers. In 1980/81 the courses were evaluated from a radical feminist perspective (Higgins, 1981). The evaluation concluded that separate courses for women were valuable but that they must reflect the many responsibilities in women's lives, not just women as home-makers. It recommended a new title, 'Women's Farmers Courses', and a new curriculum with four components: Home Management Education, Agricultural Education, Social and Civic Education (including literacy) and Education for Income Generating Activities (Higgins,1981: 103-107). The evaluator felt the new curriculum had the potential to challenge gender inequality.

Following her report she engaged in a curriculum development project aimed at introducing the broader approach to the women's courses (Higgins,1982). However, her subsequent analysis of the courses (Higgins,1984) revealed that the attempt to change the curriculum had not been successful. She reached two major conclusions. Firstly, that the danger of separate provision of programmes for women is that they can entrench the marginality of women by tending toward domestic topics and exclusion from the more powerful knowledge embedded in mainstream courses (for example, information about sponge cakes rather than sources of credit). Separate courses may therefore increase social subordination rather than facilitate empowerment. Secondly, the tendency towards the domestic was exacerbated by the fact that the background of the teachers was in home economics and they were unable to transcend the stereotyped definitions of their subject. The nature of home economics is considered in the following case study.

Case Study: Home Economics Education

In 1975 the Economic Commission for Africa estimated that 50% of all the non formal education offered to women in Africa was in home economics (Rogers,1980: 88). Similarly, in Botswana a significant proportion of adult education in which women participated between 1966 and 1991 was in home economics. However, the economic, social and ideological consequence of home economics education was to reinforce female subordination. Indeed the synonym domestic science provides an echo of Freire's concept of education for domestication. Rogers (1980, 78-120) has discussed at length the role of home economics in developing societies in domesticating women and perpetuating discrimination. She focused especially on the income-generating projects for women advocated by aid agencies from the mid-1970s as a means of 'integrating women in development'. She concluded that women's projects had almost exclusively involved home economics training and their overall impact had been to relegate women to marginal and stereotyped economic activity. The experience of Botswana is supportive of her conclusions.

The origins of home economics for adult women in Botswana are to found in the work of the missionaries in the pre-colonial and colonial era. The wives of the London Missionary Society missionaries provided sewing classes to Batswana women from as

early as 1831. Subsequently, in the early colonial period, the wives and female missionaries continued to give informal housework training for young women in the Bangwato and Bakwena areas, focusing on European foods, clothes and housekeeping procedures. Mafela (1994b) argues that this adult education conveyed a sexist ideology derived from Victorian England and served to promote a European middle-class notion of the Christian family and female domesticity.

The missionary effort to reconstruct African womanhood took a more institutionalised form in the Mochudi Homecraft Centre, founded by the Dutch Reformed Mission in 1943. The Centre offered a residential programme for young women aimed at training them to be suitable wives for educated Christian Batswana men. However, although the main thrust of the Centre's training was directed at women's role in the household, from the 1950s the curriculum had a more commercial emphasis, responding to the penetration of capitalism and the perception of Batswana that domestic science could open up opportunities for cash income (Mafela,1994a). This illustrates the duality of home economics, insofar as it mainly prepares women for domestic labour whilst also potentially equipping them for entry into wage labour. However, to the extent that it facilitates women to enter the capitalist labour market, it restricts them to gender-stereotyped work activities. This duality became more apparent during the 1980s.

After 1966, home economics was a significant programme of both the state's extension agencies and the voluntary women's organisations. Initially the main organisation responsible was the Department of Community Development, which from 1967 to 1969 ran a home economics pilot scheme to investigate the educational needs of women and lay the basis of future programmes. Although the report on the scheme (Galetshoge,1970) recommended its transfer to the Ministry of Agriculture, this was not implemented. The provision of home economics courses remained a major element of the work of community development extension throughout the period, amplified by its support to women's organisations.

During the 1970s, the adult education branch of the Ministry of Education also began a programme in home economics. In 1976 the newly-established Botswana Extension College (BEC) started the Village Home Affairs Leadership programme intended to train leaders who would learn skills and then instruct other women in the villages. However, it appeared that the participants were often elite women interested in acquiring prestige skills (such as cake making) for themselves rather than teaching the rural poor (Rogers,1980: 92). In 1978 the programme was renamed Skills for Development (*Ditiro tsa Ditlhabololo)* and it was supported by printed materials and a weekly radio programme (Botswana Extension College,1978b). It became part of the provision of the Department of Non Formal Education when it absorbed the BEC later in 1978.

Until the early 1980s, it can be argued that home economics education for adult women concentrated largely on their domestic role. However, the *National Development Plan 1979-1985* (Republic of Botswana,1980a) introduced a new emphasis on income-generating activities and the creation of rural employment opportunities. This coincided with international trends towards the establishment of income-generating

projects specifically targeted at women as a means of expanding their access to cash incomes. In this context, home economics was perceived as a means of providing skills for income generation.

The new policies and projects of the 1980s were significant because they related to a central problem identified by women. Surveys suggested that 'the major need articulated by women was for a regular cash income to help them meet their basic needs.' (Godt and Nkwe,1985: vi) However, the adult education activities for women around this issue were largely unsuccessful in terms of expanding women's access to income and employment and in reducing gender inequality. A number of surveys during the period (such as Godt and Nkwe,1985; Jones-Dube,1990) showed that the training of women was confined to production skills in 'women's activities' and it failed to teach broader business skills. Many of the women's income-generating projects failed or produced only very small cash returns inconsistent with the time and energy expended. The result was that small projects did not bring women into the mainstream of development or lead to their social and economic empowerment.

This could be seen in the National Literacy Programme. A major element of post-literacy provision was home economics through the *Ditiro tsa Ditlhabololo* programme, whose participants in 1988-9 were 98% female (SIAPAC,1990: 34). Most of the income-generating groups that the Department of Non Formal Education promoted amongst literacy graduates were involved in traditionally female occupations, such as knitting, sewing, weaving, basketry and baking (Department of Non Formal Education,1990: 3-4). Thus whilst women's participation in post-literacy projects sometimes generated a small cash income that provided material benefits and a greater degree of personal autonomy, it simultaneously entrenched the individual in the lowest levels of the capitalist production system in stereotyped women's work. Post-literacy projects therefore did not alter the status quo of gender and class inequality.

By the end of the 1980s the home economics programmes provided by a range of state extension agencies and women's voluntary organisations constituted a relatively large programme of adult education activity, reaching over 1,000 households in 1988-1989 (SIAPAC,1990: 50). The aspirations of participants surveyed in 1989 focused on improving their opportunities to get work (60%), though many emphasised the home-based benefits of their training (SIAPAC,1990: 38). These aspirations reflected the dual nature of home economics for adults. However, both aspects of home economics reproduced gender inequality. Home economics directed at home-making and the family accepted prevailing assumptions about women's role in domestic labour, whilst its extension to training for the sphere of paid work confined women to gender-stereotyped economic activity which was poorly paid and insecure. Home economics education was a form of adult education taught by women to women which served to perpetuate the marginalisation of women from social and economic power and the mainstream of development.

Summary

Gender inequality during the 1966-1991 period was marked by the poverty of many female headed households and the weaker position of women in the labour market and

by the ideologies and practices of female subordination. The outcomes of participation in adult education by women seldom changed their social and economic situation or raised their consciousness about the possibilities for change. The lack of adult education programmes designed to challenge the status quo can be attributed to the lack of organisations with a feminist agenda which could mobilise collective action. Only towards the end of the period, after 1986, did the Emang Basadi Women's Association organisation arrange adult education activities on women's rights designed to empower women. Thus it is concluded that the vast majority of adult education programmes in the period functioned to reproduce gender inequality.

ETHNICITY AND ADULT EDUCATION

The relations between ethnic groups between 1966 and 1991 period reflected both pre-colonial history and the impact of the colonial state. The geographical territory enclosed by the colonial borders at the end of the nineteenth century was comprised mainly of a number of independent polities established in the area by Setswana-speaking groups from the mid-eighteenth century. After a period of political flux, the political geography of the area had stabilised around 1840 (Wilmsen,1989: 101) and by the establishment of colonial rule in 1885 the Batswana polities were already multi-ethnic in character. Within these polities Setswana culture was hegemonic and other ethnic groups had been incorporated in a number of different ways. Some groups, such as the Bahurutse had joined the polities voluntarily when displaced from the Transvaal region by the disruptions consequent on the difaqane wars of the 1820s and the later expansion of the Boer republics. Other groups had been conquered, such as the Bakalanga whose powerful Batua state had succumbed to the Amandabele in 1838, enabling the Bangwato polity to incorporate part of the Batua territory and its people. Other groups had been subjugated as the Setswana-speakers extended their rule westwards across the Kalahari. These included the San-speaking people or Basarwa, who were dispossessed of their livestock and their land.

The different ethnic groups were incorporated into the social structure of the Batswana polities in descending order of status. Some groups, such as the Bahurutse, were categorised as 'commoners' and attained equal status with non-royal Setswana-speakers. Some groups, such as the Bakalanga and Ovaherero, were categorised as 'foreigners', retaining their group identity whilst subject to suzerainty by Setswana-speaking overlords. Other groups, such as the Basarwa and Bayei, were subjugated as serfs to Batswana masters. Those categorised as serfs were not accorded access to political institutions (such as the *kgotla*) or to economic rights, such as access to land. In general, those ethnic groups who were at a cultural distance from the Setswana-speakers were accorded the lowest status whilst those culturally closer began to lose their distinct identity (Datta and Murray,1989: 59).

The impact of colonialism was to solidify the hegemony of the Setswana speakers as the boundaries of the existing polities became in effect the administrative units of the area British named 'Bechuanaland', the land of the Bechuana[1] or Setswana-speakers. The British called these eight units 'tribal reserves' and undertook indirect rule through the *kgosi*/chief in each reserve (i.e. the rulers of the pre-existing polities), giving them authority over all inhabitants of a reserve. The colonial authorities

regarded these polities as belonging to distinct 'tribes' (such as Bangwato, Bakwena and Bangwaketse) when in fact there were no linguistic or cultural distinctions between these groups, who did not perceive themselves as ethnically differentiated although they had formed separate political entities. The ethnic distinctions actually lay between the Setswana speakers and other groups and the colonial practice of indirect rule reinforced the domination of the Setswana speakers. The legitimacy of this domination was challenged on occasion during the colonial period, most notably by the Bakalanga and the Bayei. But colonial state policy upheld the pattern of ethnic subordination exercised by the chiefs. The colonial period was therefore important in the historical processes of shaping ethnic identities and establishing their significance within society.

In post-colonial Botswana, it was possible to enumerate fourteen language groups. Whilst discussion in Chapter Seven indicated the dangers of reifying ethnic groupings, the framework of language distinction is often one within which ethnic identities are mobilised. In the Botswana context, language appeared to be the most significant ethnic marker; religion, for example, was unimportant in this respect. The following table therefore provides a map of the terrain on which ethnic identity and discrimination might be mobilised and contested in particular circumstances.

TABLE 8.1: LANGUAGE GROUPS IN BOTSWANA

LANGUAGE GROUP	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
Batswana	900,000	71.8%
Bakalanga	110,000	8.8%
Bagkalagadi	80,000	6.4%
Basarwa	45,120	3.6%
Ovaherero/Mbanderu	40,000	3.2%
Bayei	31,000	2.5%
Bambukushu	18,000	1.5%
European	18,000	1.5%
Bapedi	4,000	0.3%
Basubiya	2,000	0.16%
Nama	1,500	0.12%
Balala	1,500	0.12%
Ndebele	1,000	0.08%
Bateti	600	0.05%
TOTAL	1,252,720	100.13%

Source: Adapted from Hitchcock,1992: 10.[2]

The importance of the table is that it confirms the ethnic heterogeneity of post-colonial Botswana despite the common misconception of homogeneity constructed during the colonial era. Indeed, in certain areas of the country, such as Central District and Ngamiland, which were the modern administrative districts based on the pre-colonial polities of the Bangwato and Batawana, it is calculated that the Setswana-speakers were outnumbered by other language groups (Datta and Murray,1989: 58). Most communities throughout the country included more than one ethnic group.

The ethnic hierarchy that had been consolidated during the colonial era was reinforced at Independence. The new name of the country, Botswana, meant the place of the Setswana-speakers and confirmed symbolically the hegemony of Setswana culture. The Constitution established an upper house of parliament, the House of Chiefs, comprised of the eight 'principal tribes', namely the main groups within the Setswana-speakers. The policies of the post-colonial state reproduced this hegemony and the politics of nation-building identified the idea of the nation with Setswana culture (Datta and Murray,1989: 70). For example, Setswana was declared the national language (alongside English as the official language) and it was prohibited to use the languages of other ethnic groups in educational activities or the media. The question of ethnic identity became a taboo subject and the state promoted strongly an ideology of national unity based on Setswana dominance rather than cultural diversity. The state and the dominant classes within the state labelled as 'tribalism' any activity that questioned the domination of the Setswana-speaking ethnic group.

However, there were various forms of resistance to this ethnic hegemony. As discussed in Chapter Four, ethnicity was a dimension of opposition party politics. The Botswana Independence Party and the Botswana National Front (BNF) mobilised support among the Bayei in Ngamiland and the Botswana People's Party mobilised support from the Bakalanga in North East District and Francistown. All three parties at various times secured parliamentary and local council seats on the basis of ethnic support. The BNF had an explicit policy of equality for all ethnic groups. Within civil society there were debates around the use of languages other then Setswana. In 1985 the Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language was established and in 1990 it was reported that the Bakgalagadi were in the process of establishing a society to promote their language and culture (Kebaagetse,1990:12). The issue of representation in the House of Chiefs by other ethnic groups was continually raised with the Constitution being identified as an instrument of ethnic domination (see for example, Bule,1991: 16). In the period to 1991 the state regarded the main threat to the legitimacy of the ethnic hierarchy as coming from the largest and strongest minority, the Bakalanga, who were perceived as trying to infiltrate key political and economic institutions. The state succeeded in containing ethnic opposition to its legitimacy and there were no open ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, a variety of ethnic tensions were present in the society and inequality between ethnic groups was evident despite their formal equality before the law.

Inequality was most manifest in the relationship between ethnicity and the class structure. Setswana speakers were distributed throughout the class hierarchy. The class situation of minority ethnic groups was largely a product of their mode of incorporation into pre-colonial Batswana polities in terms of access to the key means of production.

For example, the agriculturalist Bakalanga in the north eastern part of the country retained access to land and other means of agricultural production and the pastoralist Ovaherero in the north west retained their cattle herds and grazing areas. Such groups appeared to be evenly distributed within the class structure. However, the ethnic groups incorporated as serfs were dispossessed of their livestock and land. The Basarwa were labelled pejoratively as 'Bushmen', a generic term that referred to people without livestock, living by hunting and gathering and therefore considered economically inferior. In fact there is considerable evidence that they had a history of stockholding prior to the dispossession of their herds by the Batswana from the late eighteenth century onwards. Indeed one group which managed to retain its herds, the Bateti, were not categorised as Basarwa even though they are San-speaking, showing that the ethnic category Basarwa had a clear class dimension (Wilmsen,1989: 278,327).

The dispossessed Basarwa were reduced to a propertyless class of serfs, alienated from the land and working as herding labour on the cattleposts of Batswana and Ovaherero and on the freehold farms of Boer settlers, or forced into foraging in the more inaccessible parts of the Kalahari and forming 'a secondary labor pool, maintained at no expense to the controlling classes' (Wilmsen,1989: 133). In the post-colonial era, the Basarwa and other marginalised ethnic groups such as the Bakgalagadi constituted the majority of the rural proletariat, working for irregular payments in cash and kind. For Basarwa women, to the dialectic of ethnicity and class was added the subordination of gender, as there was evidence of sexual exploitation by Setswana-speaking males as well as physical mistreatment by Basarwa men (Mogwe,1992: 26-29.)

Ethnic Inequality and Adult Education

The research agenda in Chapter Seven suggests two dimensions of the interaction between ethnicity and adult education for analysis. Firstly, in what ways does adult education contribute to the reproduction of the ethnic hierarchy? Secondly, to what extent do adult education activities enable subordinated ethnic groups to contest their unequal situation? It is postulated that adult education which focuses on homogeneity as the basis of national integration tends to reproduce ethnic inequalities, whilst activities that value ethnic diversity and the recognition of difference pose a challenge to the hierarchical order.

The majority of adult education programmes were provided by the state and therefore embodied the state's position that ethnicity is a problem. Thus they reflected the dominance of Setswana culture. This can be illustrated by the National Literacy Programme where the decision was taken at the planning stage in 1979 to use Setswana as the medium of instruction despite the preference of the professionals involved for the use of mother-tongue instruction:

> It was at this juncture that political rather than educational or functional considerations carried most weight. To achieve national unity, there had to be the submergence of local, tribal, languages; this was the practice in formal education and this example had likewise to be followed in

non-formal education despite the fact that this seemed likely to decrease the motivation of some of the potential learners. (Townsend-Coles, 1988: 40)

In practice, as the professionals had expected, language became an obstacle and a source of drop-out. Indeed, drop-out may have been a passive form of resistance to Setswana hegemony, as Nganunu (1982) suggested in her study of some Bakalanga participants. Nevertheless there appeared to be little pressure from learners to change the policy because for some minority ethnic groups learning literacy in Setswana was perceived as increasing the possibilities for participation in the society and economy. An analysis by Youngman (1995) on the relationship of the National Literacy Programme (NLP) to the ethnic hierarchy concluded as follows:

> It is suggested that participation in the NLP had contradictory outcomes for Botswana's subordinated ethnic groups. The acquisition of literacy in Setswana ... may have enabled their fuller participation in the mainstream of society. But the terms of that participation were likely to involve reduced cultural identity and greater incorporation into the hegemonic culture. Also, though it may have reduced the extremes of economic exploitation experienced by some ethnic groups, it was likely to provide little advancement within the overall class structure. Thus any transition from marginality to incorporation which was facilitated by literacy would not have significantly altered the pattern of social inequality, and may indeed have served to legitimate it by reducing the visibility of ethnic discrimination.

A similar conclusion may be reached on a radio learning campaign on civics education (*Lesedi La Puso*) undertaken in the Kalahari in 1979 (Byram, 1980b). The campaign was carried out in Setswana, which few participants had as a mother tongue, with the aim of increasing people's knowledge about government institutions and their own role within a representative democracy. It is likely that rather than empowering the ethnic minorities in the region (mainly Basarwa and Bakgalagadi), the campaign served to integrate them further into the status quo.

Only a few programmes showed a concern with cultural diversity. These were provided by non governmental organisations. Some of the ethnic minorities have written languages but, in the face of official discouragement, very little adult literacy was undertaken in these languages. An exception was the Adult Education Centre run by the Lutheran Church in Sehitwa which taught literacy in the language of the Ovaherero in 1985-6. The University of Botswana's Institute of Adult Education (IAE) ran a 'Cultural Development Project' between 1979 and 1982 which organised cultural groups and festivals amongst three different ethnic groups in the central and north-eastern areas of the country. The project sought to stimulate cultural identity and assertion and was based on the idea that national unity requires a positive recognition of cultural differences between ethnic groups (Nfila, 1985). However, its cultural action remained in the domain of the performing arts and did not directly challenge economic and political structures. In fact no adult education programme in the period attempted specifically to empower members of a subordinated group to challenge ethnic

inequality. It can therefore be concluded that the overwhelming effect of adult education in the period 1966-1991 was to reinforce the unequal ethnic hierarchy. The following case study illustrates this conclusion.

Case Study: The Remote Area Development Programme and Adult Education

The anthropological research undertaken in the 1960s and early 1970s documented the economic and political marginalisation of the Basarwa, who were portrayed at the time as hunters and gatherers representing a pristine aboriginal way of life. In response to this publicity, the state established a Bushmen Development Programme in 1974 to gradually integrate them into the wider society. However, in 1976 the Rural Incomes Distribution Survey (Republic of Botswana,1976) revealed extensive rural poverty affecting other ethnic groups besides Basarwa. Furthermore the establishment of a programme targeting a particular ethnic group had been criticised within Botswana as a form of 'separate development', echoing the racially and ethnically-based strategies of neighbouring South Africa. The programme was therefore broadened in concept in 1977 and was renamed the Remote Area Development Programme aimed at:

> ...rural citizens who (a) are poor (below the poverty datum line, (b) live outside villages (or on the fringes), (c) are generally non-livestock owners, (d) depend at least partially on hunting and gathering for daily subsistence, (e) are often culturally or linguistically distinct. (Hitchcock,1992: 7)

The programme thus came to focus on the situation of all those who lived in small communities outside of recognised villages. This categorisation incorporated people from a variety of other ethnic minorities but very few Setswana-speakers. The programme's focus on 'the poorest of the poor' in effect gave it a class basis which overlapped with those grouped at the lower end of the ethnic hierarchy. As Wilmsen pointed out, the conception of remoteness was more about economic status and ethnic distance than about geography, and it was San speakers who 'are generally conceived to be the most remote from Setswana society even if not from settled villages.' (Wilmsen,1989: 274) Thus despite the new name for the programme there continued to be ambiguity as to whether it was a special programme for discriminated ethnic minorities (particularly Basarwa) or an extension of national rural development activities (see for example, Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere,1990: 15-17).

In 1977 the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) was decentralised from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to the district councils and units with field officers were established in seven of the ten districts, serving a target population of at least 50,000 people. The programme's objectives were stated in 1978:

1. Increased awareness of rights.
2. Self reliance.
3. Access to land.
4. Extension of services to remote areas.
5. Establishment of water rights. (Ministry of Local Government and Lands,1978: 123)

The programme (which was funded primarily by SIDA and NORAD) concentrated on the provision of social services, the extension of economic opportunities, and issues of political, legal and cultural rights. The extent to which its objectives were met was assessed in a number of evaluations.

An evaluation of the RADP in 1990 (Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere,1990) concluded that progress had been made in relation to social services and physical infrastructure. For example, 48 primary schools and 30 health posts had been constructed under the programme and around 20 new settlements had been established. However, it was judged that there had been little progress in relation to economic opportunities in spite of the establishment in 1989 of a special Economic Promotion Fund. The problem of poverty remained acute and it had only been mitigated after 1982 by drought relief food and cash income from the public works schemes. Unemployment and underemployment were widespread and those working on freehold farms and on cattle posts were severely exploited as there was no minimum wage for agricultural labourers. An important element of the economic insecurity of the remote areas dwellers, particularly the Basarwa, was the problem of access to land and natural resources. The expansion of Tribal Grazing Land Policy commercial ranches from the late 1970s carried on the process of land dispossession begun in the nineteenth century by the Batswana polities and confirmed by the colonial state, for example in its allocation of the Ghanzi freehold farms to Boer settlers in 1899. The continued lack of land rights was rooted in the myth of the Basarwa's nomadism and lack of a land tenure system. Despite their formal equality within the national land tenure system derived from Setswana custom, in practice their access to grazing and arable land was limited. Finally, the report recorded even less progress with respect to political, legal and cultural rights. The remote area dwellers were politically marginal and hardly represented in decision-making institutions such as district councils and Land Boards. The Basarwa felt that their culture was looked down on and this was illustrated by the lack of official concern that many children and adults did not understand Setswana and were thus disadvantaged in situations ranging from schools to *kgotla* meetings to court proceedings. The general impression given by the report was that despite the efforts of some individuals and some achievements there were negative attitudes to the RADP and the programme had a low priority within the state bureaucracy. The report confirmed the conclusion reached in 1979 by the first officer in charge of the programme that for the state the RADP was in essence a token welfare programme rather than a vehicle for social justice (Wily,1979: 171).

The need for an adult education component of the programme was identified at an early stage. For instance Wily (1979: 114-115) noted that the programme had focused on primary education and had neglected the need 'to implement adult education on a wide scale' in areas such as vocational training, literacy and non formal education. In the target population of the RADP there were low levels of spoken Setswana and English, of literacy, of technical skills and of citizenship knowledge. For example, Hitchcock (1978: 366) in a study of households in the western region of Central District in 1977-78 found 99% illiteracy. A decade later in the same district, a study of four settlements found illiteracy levels of 100%, 94%, 90% and 65% (Mutanyatta, 1992: 67). Women had lower rates of literacy and knowledge of Setswana than men. However, despite the objective of the RADP to extend educational services there were

hardly any agricultural extension and community development workers in the designated areas and few family welfare educators. The National Literacy Programme was operational in some communities but it failed to recruit and retain many adults in the literacy groups. It was evident that the lack of adequate and appropriate adult education programmes weakened the RADP's efforts to develop community institutions, agricultural projects, income-generating activities, awareness of cultural and legal rights, and political participation, all of which have a significant adult education dimension. The 1990 evaluation concluded 'The potential of adult education remains very little tapped in many remote communities.' (Kann, Hitchcock and Mbere,1990: xiv). Organisational policies and practices had led to a low level of adult education provision despite the identified needs. The failure of the state agencies to provide adult education programmes thereby contributed to the reproduction of the ethnic hierarchy. The perfunctory nature of adult education within the RADP helped to perpetuate the economic, social and ideological subordination of the Basarwa and other marginalised ethnic groups.

The RADP was the state's only development programme with an ethnic dimension. It reflected the state's concern for national integration but embodied a tokenist approach that served the vested interests of the dominant classes and ethnic group. However, despite the strategy of containment, by the end of the period it seemed likely that in future the issues of ethnic discrimination would gain greater political salience and that non governmental organisations would facilitate a process of strengthening the self-assertion of the Basarwa (Mogwe,1992). In this context the possibility emerged of adult education playing a role in the empowerment of ethnic minorities and consciously joining the world-wide trend of 'alternative' approaches to development that emphasise adult education for indigenous peoples.

THE CURRICULUM AND INEQUALITY

It has been argued above that adult education between 1966 and 1991 had economic, social and ideological consequences in relation to inequality. Economic outcomes can be seen, for example, in the material benefits accompanying agricultural and small business extension. Social outcomes can be seen in adult education's capacity to both reinforce (for example through home economics) and challenge (for instance at the Oodi weaving factory) the hierarchy between men and women. The identification of ideological outcomes is harder as they are more intangible. However, the political economy approach of this study contends that there is a link between inequalities in economic and social power and the kinds of knowledge that get diffused through adult education programmes. This linkage is evident at the level of content and of processes so that both the topics taught and what goes on in the classroom carry messages about society and the distribution of power in society. Thus materials promoting 'the entrepreneurial spirit' and teacher-learner relations which are authoritarian both legitimate a certain kind of society. On the other hand, topics on the rights of women and forms of cooperative learning raise questions about existing social hierarchies.

During the 1966-1991 period the curriculum of adult education received very little analytical attention. There were a number of technical evaluations of courses, such as the curriculum of the Y.W.C.A.'s evening classes (University of

Botswana,1989). But there are very few examples of research examining the curriculum in sociological and philosophical terms, the main exceptions being the study by Lecha (1987) of the National Literacy Programme and the studies of farmer training by Higgins discussed above. The following case study therefore provides an example of ideology in the hidden curriculum and illustrates the mediation of class, gender and ethnic inequalities in the classroom.

Case Study: Ideology in the Adult Education Classroom

The case study is based on the transcript of a tape-recorded lecture included by Malikongwa (1982: 48-59) in his study of Family Welfare Educators (FWEs), a cadre of village-level health educators. The lecture was given by the Regional Public Health Nurse, a senior state official, as part of an in-service training course for 59 FWEs held at an adult training centre. The tutor and all except one of the FWEs were female. The lecture took place mainly in English and was based on the job description of the FWEs. The tutor sought to identify the duties of the FWEs and discuss the problems of carrying them out. Malikongwa (1982: 58-59) commented on the authoritarian teaching style of the tutor: 'In spite of the stated plan for an open discussion, the lecture was still delivered in a didactic fashion with the FWEs parroting like small children learning a nursery rhyme.' He therefore drew attention to the social relations of the classroom and their potential influence on the FWEs, who would be likely to imitate this teaching style with their adult learners rather than a style based on dialogue. But he did not go further to analyse the ideology expressed by the tutor in her comments on issues raised by the learners. In fact the tutor's comments during the teaching session constituted a hidden curriculum of ideological positions in relation to class, gender and ethnicity.

Firstly she expressed a class-based ideology in derogatory comments on the poor. One of the tasks of the FWE was to organise community meetings to discuss environmental sanitation and to promote the building of toilets:

Tutor: ... you want to talk to the community about toilets - that there are no toilets in the village so you call them together to tell them that. ...

FWE: If people tell me that they cannot afford to build toilets because they haven't got the means, what do I do?

Tutor: Tell them not to leave faeces everywhere like cattle.

This comment was followed a little later with another similar remark in the context of the FWE's work with family planning:

FWE: Most of my clients tell me they have no money to pay for things like contraceptives.

Tutor: That's not true. They have money, they spend it on beer drinking.

In these comments the tutor, a member of the bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie, clearly expressed an ideology of class superiority in relation to the rural poor who the FWEs work with. The tutor projected a view of the poor as subhuman ('like cattle'), liars and given to irresponsible behaviour (spending money on beer rather than contraceptives).

Secondly, she colluded with the group in gender stereotyping and articulated her own acceptance of sexist ideology when the only male FWE in the group commented on the topic of mothercraft classes:

Male FWE: I managed to organise some mothercraft classes and the women came to do some knitting. (A big laugh from the group.)

Tutor: Yes. As a man you shouldn't have a problem. Women would automatically be attracted to your classes.

Male FWE: I'm already being accused by jealous husbands of having affairs with their wives.

Tutor: Typical of Batswana men.[3] I wouldn't be surprised if they said that. But what else can we do?

Here the tutor explicitly supported the prevailing assumptions about relationships between men and women and diffused the message that they cannot be changed.

Thirdly, the tutor expressed an ideology of superiority in relation to the Basarwa (Bushmen) minority ethnic group. This arose in a discussion on using popular theatre as a means of dramatising health issues:

FWE: People in my village are not keen on popular theatre, they find it boring.

Tutor: What a pity. If your people (she names the village) get bored with popular theatre, how are they going to learn? ...

Three FWEs with long experience in popular theatre describe how they had used it with success in dealing with sensitive issues like sexually transmitted diseases. Before that people were shy to come to the health facilities for treatment. Now they are not.

Tutor: You see! It is only the Bushmen from (names the village) who would get bored with popular theatre.

The tutor's remarks expressed ethnic prejudice. However, it is interesting to note that this last comment elicited the only dissenting view expressed by a participant during the session:

FWE: It is not necessarily the Bushmen. Even some enlightened village leaders are against popular theatre. They feel it is rude to dramatise sensitive issues before a public audience.

In this statement one of the participants questions the views of the tutor, indicating that her authoritative and domineering positions were not automatically accepted by all the participants.

The analysis of the session reveals a hidden curriculum of dominant class, gender and ethnic ideologies expressed in the spontaneous comments of the tutor. It thus provides an example of how hegemony is diffused in the adult education classroom. The apparent compliance of the participants with the tutor's comments does not necessarily show acceptance and the dissent expressed by one FWE over the ethnic aspect of this hegemony shows the possibility of resistance to the dominant ideologies expressed. But overall the hidden curriculum was a vehicle for the reproduction of class, gender and ethnic inequalities.

ENDNOTES

1. In modern orthography 'Bechuana' is rendered as 'Batswana'.

2. These figures are informed estimates as no language-related questions are allowed in the national census.

3. In the published transcript, the phrase reads 'Typical of African men.' However, the author informs me that this was spoken in Setswana and a more accurate translation is 'Typical of Batswana men.'

CHAPTER NINE: THE STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION

The perspective of Marxist political economy argues that adult education is embedded in the political processes of society. It suggests that the nature of adult education policies, programmes and practices reflects the interests and values of different social groups and the distribution of power in society. Hence the study of adult education must include political analysis. In particular, it must address the question of the extent to which adult education serves to reinforce the existing power structure and its socio-economic order or contributes to social change based on alternative ideas about society and its development. In peripheral capitalist societies, the state has had a central role in the provision of adult education and therefore the character of the state and of public policy related to adult education require investigation. But significant adult education activities are undertaken outside the state by organisations in civil society. Thus the adult education work of village associations, religious groups, non governmental organisations, trade unions and similar bodies must also be examined in terms of its political implications.

The theoretical framework established in Chapter Two embodied the political considerations that have to be taken into account in the political economy of adult education. These were summarised as follows:

> The conflicts within society that arise from class differences and other social inequalities are reflected in the state, which is a significant provider of adult education. It is assumed that the formation, implementation and outcomes of public policies on adult education can be meaningfully analysed in terms of how they relate to the inequalities in society.
>
> Intellectual and cultural life is shaped by the capitalist mode of production and the contestation between different classes and groups in society over the legitimacy of the existing socio-economic order. It is assumed that adult education provided by the state and the organisations of civil society is an area in which struggles for ideological hegemony are carried out.
>
> There are different views over the nature of society and how it should develop, some of which question aspects of the capitalist socio-economic order. It is assumed that the activities of political parties and of organisations in civil society which question the status quo have an adult education dimension because they seek to change people's ideas about society.[1]

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate the political dimensions of adult education in peripheral capitalism and to develop a research agenda on the state, civil society and adult education.

THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM

Political analysis is an integral part of Marxist political economy. It seeks to elucidate such issues as the distribution of power in society, the relationship between state and society, the character of the political regime, the nature of civil society, the configuration of political forces and the agencies of social change. It has two main concerns, one material and one ideological. Firstly, it is concerned with the struggles over the distribution of society's resources, and secondly, with the conflicts over definitions of the good society. Political analysis therefore focuses on power and how the exercise of power is used to advance the interests and values of different classes and social groups. Central concepts for this analysis are those of the state and civil society.

The State

The state is defined as the political institutions and agencies of government which rule over the citizens of a given territory, its authority based on codified laws and backed by control of coercive power (Giddens, 1989: 302-303). It is comprised of a complex of publicly-funded bodies (state apparatuses) which include the legislature, the civil service bureaucracy, the courts and prisons, the police and the armed forces. These bodies enact legislation, decide policies, administer public resources, provide social services, maintain law and order, and manage external relations with other states. In its modern form as the sovereign nation-state it is associated with the historical development of the capitalist mode of production. A number of different political theories have sought to interpret the nature of the modern state.

A review of these theories by Held (1983) suggests that today there are two main theoretical positions, namely those derived from the liberal tradition and those in the Marxist tradition. The liberal tradition stresses the importance of the private sphere independent of the state in which individual rights are protected and the individual citizen exercises freedom of choice, for example within the capitalist market economy. The state is seen as a neutral institution which guarantees the 'common good' or 'public interest' in contrast to the private interests of individuals. It therefore operates in the general interest of all citizens. A major source of difference within the liberal tradition is over the extent to which state intervention is desirable, with neo-liberals promoting minimal state intervention. But there is general agreement that the identification of the common good and the accountability of the state is achieved through representative (liberal) democracy.

This view of the state is contested by Marxist theories which contend that in a divided society the state, like any other social institution, cannot be neutral and stand apart from the conflicts between classes and other social groups. The state has a class character and has biases in relation to gender, ethnic and racial contradictions. Furthermore liberal democracy, whilst providing some important political and civil liberties, is viewed as an incomplete form of democracy because there is no economic democracy - people can participate as citizens but not as producers. Marxist theorists have given particular attention to the nature of the state in advanced capitalism since the late 1960s. What Held (1983: 31) calls Marx's 'ambiguous heritage' has enabled two different approaches to be derived from Marx's work. In the first ('instrumental')

approach the state is considered as directly under the control of the economically dominant capitalist class, which manipulates the apparatuses of the state as instruments to advance its own interests. The limitation of this approach is that it tends towards economic reductionism and a simplification of political phenomena.

In the second ('relative autonomy') approach the state is regarded as having a degree of autonomy from the capitalist class whose internal fractions are not always in agreement. However, because of its material base in the revenues generated by capitalist production, the overall thrust of state policies is to sustain the general framework of capitalism. Thus although the institutions of the state have the capacity for independent action their activity is shaped by the structural constraints of the capitalist social relations of production. The state is 'an institutional expression of class relations' (Johnson, 1985: 176). From this perspective, the state has a dual role, firstly to guarantee the conditions for capitalist accumulation and reproduction, and secondly to organise the legitimation of the capitalist socio-economic order. In carrying out this role the state is a site of struggles between classes and groups in society and political outcomes reflect the configuration of forces at a given time. For example, trade union rights and women's rights are the historical products of social struggles but the scope of these rights changes as the balance of power between classes and groups alters. This second approach is the one used in this study because it enables a more complex political conceptualisation of the state and its activities.

Civil Society

Complementary to the idea of the state is the concept of civil society, which was revived for use in contemporary political analysis in the 1970s (Keane,1988). Its revival was influenced by a variety of disparate factors, including the publication of Gramsci in English, the experience of the democratic opposition to state socialism in Eastern Europe, the trend to neo-liberalism in conservative parties in the USA and Europe, and the rise of new social movements such as feminism and environmentalism. These developments refocused analytical attention on state-society relations and especially on the nature of social life beyond the limits of the state. In general terms civil society refers to the realm of social affairs between private life in the family on the one hand and the political sphere of the state on the other, a realm in which individuals voluntarily form associations of various kinds. Thus the organisations of civil society include professional associations, trade unions, employers' federations, religious bodies, ethnic organisations, women's groups, peace campaigns, environmental movements and so forth. The boundaries between the state and civil society are dynamic, the balance between the two constantly shifting as the scope of state intervention expands and contracts. The space available for the operation of the organizations of civil society varies according to the nature of the political regime and their relationship to the state may be cooperative or conflictual.

As with the state, the two traditions of political theory have differing ideas about the nature and significance of civil society. Within the tradition of liberalism, the notion of civil society is consonant with the ideas of pluralist political science about the plurality of organised interest groups which exert pressure on the state. These ideas had an impact on the democratic movements of Eastern Europe which established

independent organisations that sought to mobilise public opinion and expand citizenship rights without explicitly confronting the political power of the state. The dissent generated by these organisations of civil society, such as Solidarity in Poland in the late 1970s, was conceived as 'antipolitics' because it was not expressed in political parties and was not aimed at the capture of state power. However, it was seen as integral to the processes of democratisation. In the conservative thinking of neo-liberalism the idea of civil society is synonymous with its project of reducing the state and expanding the scope of the market and the 'private' sphere. In sum, in the tradition of liberalism, civil society is the domain in which individuals can exercise their rights as citizens and set limits to the power of the state.

Although Marx in his early writings discussed Hegel's concept of civil society, the term did not become a central element of his conceptual framework. The contemporary usage of the concept within the Marxist tradition derives from the work of Gramsci. He used the idea as part of his efforts to explain the defeat of the working class in Western Europe after the First World War and the resilience of the modern capitalist state. He identified the capacity of the capitalist state to survive in its ability not only to exert coercive power but also to generate consent through exercising ideological influences both within state institutions and beyond, namely in the sphere of civil society. He argued that the dominant class diffuses capitalist ideology through a wide range of associations and organisations, thus reinforcing its power and protecting the state. The task of socialist politics is therefore twofold. Firstly to counter this hegemony through working class cultural and ideological struggles in the organisations of civil society with the aim of undermining capitalist legitimacy. Secondly, to develop the workers' party in order to take control of state power (Hoare and Smith, 1971: 206-207).

Gramsci's ideas about civil society introduced into Marxist political thinking a broader approach to social transformation by adding to the traditional focus on working class parties and state power. In the 1980s an important analytical trend went beyond Gramsci to stress the anti-capitalist significance of the new social movements and other organisations in civil society whilst denying the leading role of the organised working class and the centrality of the state. This trend was crystallised by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* which sought to theorise a wide range of social conflicts and struggles. The book outlined a new 'post-Marxist' conception of politics, namely 'the struggle for a radical, libertarian and plural democracy' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 4) which would be broader than the struggle for socialism. Two arguments are central to this trend. Firstly, it discounts the traditional Marxist view that the working class is the key agent of social change because the economic location of the workers means that their class interests will be met by socialism. Instead it argues that there are numerous sources of oppression in society and social conflict arises in many areas which can lead to opposition to the capitalist status quo. Thus all social relations are important, not just the social relations of production. Hence organisations which struggle against racism or patriarchy, for example, are agents of social change. Secondly, because power is exercised in a multiplicity of social contexts, struggles for change need not be focused only on the state. Hence it is important to extend the field of struggle for a new order

to civil society, deepening democracy through greater equality in a variety of social relations.

In terms of the theoretical framework adopted for this study, civil society is seen as a fruitful concept. This is because it extends the analysis of social change beyond the traditional Marxist emphasis on working class parties to a consideration of organisations outside the political contest for state power which may also be critical of capitalism and agents of social transformation. However, three points must be emphasised. Firstly, civil society is not apart from the class structure and other social divisions and it is therefore a site of inequality and conflict. Secondly, as a consequence of social divisions, whilst the organisations of civil society may oppose exploitative and oppressive elements of the status quo, they may also promote the hegemony of dominant classes and social groups. Finally, despite the potential of the organisations of civil society to change social relations and influence the state, any vision of a post-capitalist society must address the central role of state power in upholding capitalism.

The State in Peripheral Capitalism

The concepts of the state and civil society developed in the context of advanced capitalism and state socialism have become increasingly important in the analysis of peripheral capitalist societies. A general portrayal of the state in peripheral capitalism can be made although concrete situations obviously vary. Marxist analysis of the state suggests that there are distinctive factors that shape the character of the state in peripheral capitalism although its basic functions are the same as those in advanced capitalism, namely securing the conditions of capitalist accumulation and organising legitimation (Alavi,1982b). An important distinctive factor is the colonial legacy, especially for the countries of Asia and Africa which emerged from colonialism after 1945.

The colonial state had a number of characteristics which had a subsequent influence on the development of the post-colonial state (Potter,1992; Thomas,1984) Six may be identified as particularly important. Firstly, the colonial state was a foreign intervention, an imposition from outside which ruptured pre-colonial political institutions, introduced an external dimension to local politics and subordinated local interests to those of the economically dominant classes in the metropolitan power. Secondly, the territorial definition of the nation established by the colonial state was often arbitrary and did not coincide with pre-existing polities. Thirdly, the colonial state was usually established by force and maintained through the coercive apparatuses of the state which repressed all opposition. Fourthly, the regime type was authoritarian with very limited participation in decision-making. Fifthly, the state played an interventionist role in the economy, spreading capitalist relations of production, developing infrastructure, establishing agencies to control the sale and export of primary products, and generally regulating production and trade. Finally, the ending of colonial rule, which resulted from the post-1945 international conjuncture and the anti-colonial struggles of the nationalist movements, was accompanied by constitutional settlements which sought to restrict the mass popular participation expressed in the movements for independence and to secure a political and legal dispensation favourable to capitalist accumulation. In only a few instances, such as Vietnam and Mozambique, did the

national liberation struggle lead to a radical break with the colonial state and socio-economic order.

This is the historical context from which the post-colonial state in Asia and Africa emerged in the 1950s and 1960s and which influenced its development to the 1980s. The distinctive factors of this period of state formation include the class context, imperialism, economic underdevelopment and problems of legitimacy. The class structure of peripheral capitalism is more complex than that of advanced capitalism. In particular the domestic capitalist class is weak and there are a number of dominant classes. The state was therefore subject to conflicting pressures from within the dominant classes and it was used by the emergent petty-bourgeoisie as a basis for its own accumulation and consolidation. Because much of the economy was controlled by foreign capital, the presence of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in the class structure was also significant. Imperialism represented by foreign capitalists, the functionaries of advanced capitalist states and the international aid agencies was a major influence on the peripheral state. Although in some circumstances the divergence of interests between domestic and international capital was expressed in assertions of economic nationalism, the state upheld the fundamental prerequisites of the capitalist mode of production.

The post-colonial state operated in a situation of economic underdevelopment. It assumed a central role in the economy, not only in terms of economic management and the enforcement of controls and regulation, but also directly in the productive sphere through state-owned enterprises. The state became an important source of economic opportunities and the main appropriator of economic surplus. Its intervention was more extensive then in advanced capitalism and generated a large bureaucratic apparatus. State expenditure based on local surplus value and foreign borrowing became a significant proportion of GDP. Nevertheless, in the context of relatively low levels of production, the state had a weak fiscal base and was often unable to meet mass demands for improved standards of living, for example, through education and other social services. This was one aspect of its problem of legitimacy, despite its promulgation of the ideology of 'development'. Two other aspects were important. The ethnic heterogeneity in the inherited territorial boundaries made it difficult to construct a national identity, despite the ideology of 'national unity'. Secondly, imperialism placed significant limitations on national sovereignty which were barely masked by the ideology of nationalism.

In the period from the 1950s to the 1980s the state in peripheral capitalism had a segmented class base, it was subject to imperialist pressures, it expanded institutionally within a weak economy, and it had problems in establishing capitalist hegemony. It was thus the focus of a wide range of social struggles (including coups, armed insurrections, civil wars and separatism) and it was inherently unstable. These factors produced states which appeared strong, for example in the scale of the bureaucracy and the coercive machinery. However, there were in fact weak in terms of their effectiveness in securing capitalist reproduction and gaining popular support and legitimacy. Indeed in some cases, such as Uganda and Lebanon, the state virtually collapsed as a central authority. The nature of any given regime was a product of the particular form of capitalist accumulation and of the particular configuration of political

forces. On the whole, the regime types[2] were mostly authoritarian constitutional forms (such as Kenya) or military dictatorships (such as Iraq), with very few multi-party liberal democracies (such as India).

The international and domestic economic crises and political developments of the 1980s initiated a period in which many of the peripheral capitalist states were restructured. The debt crisis in the South weakened the forces of economic nationalism and enabled the advanced capitalist states to accelerate the process of integrating the world capitalist market. One of the political conditions for this integration was to reduce the intervention of the peripheral capitalist state in the economy, in areas such as import controls, marketing boards, and publicly-owned enterprises (Beckman,1993). The state was attacked as invasive and inefficient and its role in development was redefined to give greater scope for global market forces. Hence the conditions of World Bank and IMF structural adjustment loans included restructuring the state by curbing public expenditure, for example through cutting public sector employment, social services and subsidies. The fiscal crisis of the peripheral capitalist state thus decreased its sovereignty and further undermined its legitimacy. The external pressures to restructure the state converged with internal social forces which opposed repression and sought to develop democratic forms of political regime. Democratisation was therefore a feature of the restructuring of the peripheral state from the early 1980s, a process responding both to popular struggles and to efforts by the foreign and domestic dominant classes to build legitimacy for a new stage of capitalist accumulation.

At the ideological level, the process of restructuring was heavily influenced by neo-liberalism (Colclough and Manor, 1991). This draws attention to the normative conceptions of the role of the state in society which are embodied in development theories (Mackintosh, 1992). In modernisation theory, the state is assigned a key role in the development process. It encompasses a liberal view of the state as benevolent and acting in the national interest on the basis of technical expertise and rational public policies. Dependency theory, on the other hand, views the state in an instrumental Marxist perspective as a tool of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and the local comprador classes. The theory's socialist development strategy emphasises the need to capture state power and use it in the interests of the working class and the peasantry. Both theories are therefore 'statist' insofar as they put the state at the centre of development. In contradistinction, neo-liberal theory regards the state as an obstacle to development. In its language the state is a 'predatory' 'leviathan' of 'rent-seeking' bureaucrats which must be 'rolled back' to allow space for the free operation of market forces. This view provides the ideological underpinning of the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programmes. The 'alternative' approaches also typically reject statist models of development. They advocate development 'from below' based on decentralised, self-managing and participatory forms of organisation such as non governmental organisations and community bodies.

Civil Society within Peripheral Capitalism

The antagonism of neo-liberalism to the state and the anti-statism of 'alternative' approaches reflect developments with respect to state-civil society relations that have taken place in the South since the early 1980s as well as the shifts in theory and

practice in the North. The general assumption in the analysis of civil society within peripheral capitalism is that it is similar in character and function to civil society within advanced capitalism and state socialism. At the descriptive level, the kind of organisations and social movements which have been identified as comprising civil society in the North can be found within peripheral capitalism, though their specific form varies according to context. Thus significant organisations such as religious organisations may take the form of Catholic base communities in Latin America or Islamic brotherhoods in Africa, whilst the form of social movements also reflects specific circumstances, such as the Chipko environmental women's movement in India organised to oppose commercial deforestation. At the analytical level the prominence that has been given to the nature of civil society reflects the processes of restructuring the peripheral capitalist state which have occurred since the early 1980s.

The interaction between state and society has been conceived in terms of engagement-disengagement and Bratton (1989a) has developed a useful typology to capture the shifting balance between the two. He uses the concept engagement to refer to situations in which the population has close ties with the state and disengagement as the situations in which the population is at a distance from the state. Thus development planning is an example of state-sponsored engagement, whilst structural adjustment programmes are state-sponsored disengagement; efforts to influence state policy by the organisations of civil society are society-sponsored engagement, whilst withdrawal into indigenous community structures is society-sponsored disengagement. Within this framework it is possible to map the changing relationship between state and society.

In the case of Africa, for example, in the late colonial era society-sponsored engagement occurred in the participation of the organisations of civil society, such as professional associations, ethnic welfare societies, peasant movements and trade unions, in the anti-colonial struggle. Then in the period of the repressive post-colonial state, state-sponsored engagement reduced the scope of civil society. The subsequent fiscal and legitimation crisis of the state in some cases led to society-sponsored engagement, for example in pro-democracy movements, and in others to society-sponsored disengagement, such as increased reliance on informal credit associations and mutual aid societies. The consequent restructuring of the state has been mainly state-sponsored disengagement as the state has contracted its activities. The essential point is that the boundaries of state and civil society are not fixed. Rather the space available for civil society is shaped by the nature of the political regime and the scope of state intervention on one hand, and the strength and focus of the organisations of civil society on the other.

The relationship of the organisations of civil society to the peripheral capitalist state ranges on a continuum from cooperation to confrontation. Some organisations function as vehicles for the diffusion of capitalist hegemony. This function may be undertaken directly by the state itself, as in the case of state-sponsored trade unions or peasant cooperatives. Or it may reflect the power of dominant classes or groups to control independent bodies such as women's organisations or village associations. However, other organisations are oppositional and engage in activities which challenge the status quo of peripheral capitalism. This opposition has two important dimensions.

The first dimension is the role of the organisations of civil society in promoting democratisation in the South in the face of typically authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. These organisations have had a key role in pro-democracy movements, such as the churches in Malawi and the trade unions in Zambia. Indeed, for many analysts, such as Kamrava (1993), a strong civil society is a precondition for democracy. Insofar as peripheral capitalism has been characterised by repressive states, the organisations of civil society in theory and practice represent a source of opposition to the existing order and an agent of democratic change.

The second dimension is the part of the organisations of civil society in constructing alternative models of development that meet the interests and values of subordinated classes and social groups, in contradistinction to state-centred development that has served the dominant classes and groups. The contraction of the state during the 1980s led to a proliferation of voluntary development organisations. A number of these bodies articulated an approach to development which explicitly challenged the development strategies of the peripheral capitalist state. Their critique focused on the failure of these strategies to meet the needs of exploited and oppressed groups, such as the rural poor. This failure was seen as rooted in the 'top-down' approaches of the state. Their practical alternative was the community-based organisation whose own procedures would be participatory and democratic, thus creating more equal social relations. These grassroots organisations were conceived as having the capacity to empower the poor and challenge existing power structures, as in the case of peasant organisations in Asia fighting for the rights of the landless. For some, the essence of these organisations was self-reliance and disengagement from the centralised state (Wangoola, 1990); for others, voluntary organisations had the potential for advocacy to influence the policies of the state (Clark, 1991). The common oppositional characteristic was to confront the socio-economic order of peripheral capitalism with the vision of a more equal and democratic society and with practical action for social change.

The struggles in civil society for greater democracy and for people-centred development have challenged many aspects of the socio-economic order of peripheral capitalism. However, this has not necessarily meant that they have questioned fundamentally the capitalist mode of production. The oppositional activity for democracy has usually been articulated in terms of multi-party liberal democracy and curbing the powers of the state. The advocates of 'alternative' development have often portrayed it as a 'third way' which avoids the statism of both capitalism and socialism. The struggles in civil society to change peripheral capitalist society have therefore seldom been socialist in character and with the collapse of state socialism since 1989 the very discourse of socialism has been constrained.

It can be concluded that in relation to social transformation in peripheral capitalism, civil society is a contested terrain in both theory and practice. At the ideological level, this is illustrated by contrasting the ideas of radical writers with the way neo-liberalism uses the concept of civil society to justify its project of reducing state intervention in the South (Beckman, 1993). For example, Post (1991: 49), in the African context, sees an alliance of organisations within civil society having the potential 'to develop a left populist, democratic and socialist-leaning ideology that could

gradually become hegemonic in the Gramscian sense...'. At the practical level, the contestation can be seen over the role in development of non governmental organisations (NGOs). The radical proponents of NGOs see them as a embodying an alternative vision of society and development and as a means to empowering the poor (Sen and Grown, 1987). However, there is increasing evidence of a concerted effort by international aid agencies (which are the main source of NGO funds) to co-opt NGOs to be dispensers of charitable social welfare services whilst the state's role in the provision of social services is cut back (Fowler,1992). Thus the NGOs are assigned a role in neo-liberalism's project of privatisation.

The concepts of the state and civil society help in the analysis of the political dimensions of the development process and in the identification of the material interests and ideological values that are involved nationally and internationally. The nature of the state and civil society changes over time, responding to internal and external factors. The colonial and post-colonial periods were distinctive conjunctures in the development of state-society relations in peripheral capitalism. A new era commenced in the 1980s when major changes in the global political economy converged with internal economic and political processes to initiate a reordering of the state and civil society. These considerations clarify the context for studying the political consequences of the role of adult education in development.

THE STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION

The concepts of the state and civil society developed in the preceding sections have been elaborated in order to explore the political dimensions of adult education in peripheral capitalism. The analytical point of departure is that the nature of the state and civil society shapes the character of adult education. Thus it is suggested that public policies on adult education will reflect the dual role of the state in promoting capitalist accumulation and legitimating the socio-economic order. With respect to civil society, it is postulated that whilst the adult education activities of some organisations reinforce the hegemony of dominant classes and social groups, in other organisations adult learning is part of efforts to change society. The political analysis of adult education from the perspective of Marxist political economy therefore seeks to investigate how adult education relates to the distribution of power in society and to the contending interests and values of different classes and social groups.

This is an area of study which has not had much systematic attention in the literature on adult education. The practitioners of adult education have often been very clear about the political implications of their work, whether as proponents of the status quo or as radicals seeking social change. For example in the USA, the organisers of 'Americanization' programmes in the public evening schools after the First World War explicitly sought to assimilate immigrants into the hegemonic culture (Knowles,1977). In contrast, the civil rights adult education of the Highlander Centre in Tennessee in the 1950s and 1960s was designed to challenge the institutionalised racism in American society (Glen,1988). But Thomas (1991) indicates that theoretically-informed political analysis of adult education only started to develop in the mid-1980s, especially in North America and Western Europe. Two full-length works have appeared in English which begin to fill the gap.

The first is an edited collection by Pogeller (1990), *The State and Adult Education*, which brings together a range of contributions of varying scope and quality. The collection reflects the intervention by the state in Europe during the 1980s in ways which limited the adult education work of socially-oriented voluntary organisations and promoted adult vocational training linked to the economy. This change in the reality of adult education focused analytical attention on the state. Although the authors do not theorise the nature of the state and civil society they do identify a number of issues with regard to the political dimensions of adult education. The most useful contribution is that of Bown (1990), who takes a historical and comparative perspective. She considers the nature and significance of state involvement in adult education in different national contexts and periods in terms of its policies, its supportive actions and its constraining influences on the work of voluntary organisations. She also considers the extent to which adult education has had an impact upon the state as illustrated by its role in working class movements in nineteenth century Britain and in Guinea-Bissau's national liberation movement from 1956-1974. Her argument supports the hypothesis that adult education is shaped by and influences the shifting balance between the state and civil society. Her contribution strengthens the case for political analysis and she regards adult education and the state as a 'neglected theme' (Bown,1990: 445).

A more unified and in-depth treatment of the theme than the Pogeller collection is contained in the book *Adult Education and the State. Towards a Politics of Adult Education* by Jarvis (1993). He seeks to apply political theory to the education of adults in the context of contemporary Britain. The book is useful in that it highlights the political implications of adult education, criticising the emphasis in much adult education literature on a narrow concern with adult learning and teaching that is 'based on an individualistic conception of the person in which little or no consideration about the person-in-society, let alone the person-in-a-state, has been given.' (Jarvis,1993: 18). It therefore includes discussion of some central concepts of political analysis including civil society, the state, state policy and justice, the bureaucracy, democracy and citizenship, rights, interests, civilised society and utopia. But the book is uneven in its exposition of these concepts and does not develop a coherent theoretical perspective even within its liberal framework. However, a recurring theme is that of the growing intervention of the state in civil society and the implications for adult education. Jarvis argues that in Britain there has been a decisive shift in the nature of adult education. It has become an instrument of the state used for social control and for serving the needs of industry and commerce. Simultaneously the state has reduced the scope for adult education in the context of interest groups and social movements, thus constricting its potential to promote citizenship, democracy and social change.

These two books begin to develop the theoretical issues and research questions which can guide analysis of the role of adult education in relation to the distribution and organisation of power in society. However, they are eclectic in terms of theoretical perspectives and they do not address the political analysis of adult education from within a Marxist paradigm. Apart from brief considerations in Thompson (1980) and Youngman (1986b), the implications of the state for a Marxist political economy of adult education were not explored in depth until the publication of *The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America* (Torres, 1990). The particular significance of the book for this study is that it seeks to develop a consistent theory of the state,

politics and adult education in the context of peripheral capitalism. The book includes theorisation of the peripheral state and adult education supported by case studies.

Torres' theoretical position is that public policy on adult education reflects the state's role in the reproduction of capitalism and its project of legitimation. Thus in the context of Latin America his explanation for the marginal role of state-sponsored adult education is as follows:

> Why has adult education in Latin America had a marginal role in public policy formation, in terms of financial expenditure and enrolment? I suggest that adult education lacks correspondence with the model of capitalist accumulation and has little utility for the model of political domination. (Torres,1990: 33)

To support this contention he makes two main arguments. Firstly, in relation to economic development, he adopts the conception of a segmented labour market in which the primary sector has stable, well-paid, skill-dependent jobs and the secondary sector had unstable, low wage, unskilled jobs. The dominant Latin American development strategy of import-substitution industrialisation relied on the primary labour market. Thus adult education like on-the-job training and professional upgrading were provided to enhance the productivity of the primary sector. But few state resources were allocated to adult basic education and training for the labour force in the secondary sector which was seen as economically marginal. Secondly, in relation to legitimation, the economic marginality of those in the secondary sector was a source of political weakness so that the subordinate classes were limited in their ability to demand adult education provision by the state. Hence little was done in terms of public adult education. However, in some situations the state's need for legitimation led to adult education as a welfare policy designed to build support, as in the case of the Brazilian mass literacy programme (MOBRAL) in the 1970s. Torres notes that such reformist state adult education programmes were not designed to enhance civic and political participation and that they were kept inexpensive so that they did not draw resources from other areas of state activity. Any meaningful development of adult education only took place when there was a change in political regime and in economic strategy, as in Cuba after 1959 and Nicaragua after 1979 where policies for greater economic and political participation were adopted.

The focus of Torres' book is on the state and on adult education as public policy. He therefore does not provide a theorisation of civil society although he makes clear that the analysis of the policies of non-state institutions carrying out adult education is an important task (Torres,1990: 129). He shows that many 'popular education' programmes in Latin America represent an alternative to state-sponsored adult education and have an explicit emphasis on social mobilisation and political development. These programmes are run by organisations in civil society such as church groups, trade unions and social movements, some of which consciously resist the hegemonic practices of the capitalist state. However he notes that the state often impinges on these organisations, especially through funding, and that international aid also modifies the nature of adult education programmes initiated in civil society. The conclusion can be drawn that the struggle for hegemony in civil society is also played

out within adult education. This is an important point because many radical discussions of adult education and popular education linked to social movements emphasise their counter-hegemonic nature and seldom consider congruences between the ideologies of organisations in civil society and those of the state. Welton (1993), for example discusses the new social movements as 'particularly privileged' sites for adult learning and for an emancipatory praxis of collective action to change power relations in civil society. But whilst he shows an awareness of conflicts within social movements (such as class and race biases within a women's movement dominated by white middle-class feminists), he does not problematise these movements as sites of ideological struggle.

The theoretical perspective on the relationship of the peripheral capitalist state, civil society and adult education derived from Marxist political economy can be summarised as follows. The political consequences of adult education provided by the peripheral state are the promotion of its model of capitalist accumulation and the legitimation of the capitalist socio-economic order. In some situations where there are strong oppositional organisations within civil society, the state provides adult education as a concession to demands from within civil society. The political consequence of adult education organised in the context of voluntary associations is either to advance capitalist hegemony or to promote an alternative vision of society that questions the socio-economic order. In some cases, the alternative conception of society has an explicit socialist character.

This conclusion can be briefly illustrated by the experience of British colonial Africa. A major adult education programme sponsored by the colonial state was agricultural extension which had the aim of transforming subsistence peasant agriculture into cash crop production, largely for export. The state's adult education activity in this case clearly served the colonial model of capitalist economic development based on the export of primary commodities. In the period from the mid-1940s, as the British sought to control the forces of nationalism, the colonial state introduced community development programmes. These programmes ostensibly sought to mobilise African participation in local decision-making and development projects but their fundamental purpose was to contain popular dissatisfaction and reinforce the legitimacy of colonial rule. The work of voluntary associations during the colonial period often reflected the hegemony of European capitalism. For example, adult education programmes provided by missionary bodies transmitted Western conceptions of the family and of economic relations and upheld the colonial system and capitalist values. On the other hand, a wide variety of indigenous associations, such as ethnic associations, sports clubs and women's unions, provided informal and organised modes of learning which developed nationalist consciousness and opposition to colonialism. In some cases, the adult education of these organisations of civil society had an explicitly socialist dimension, as in the workers' education undertaken within the Sudanese trade union movement from the mid-1940s. The example of British colonial Africa indicates the potential of a political analysis of adult education in peripheral capitalism within the framework of Marxist political economy.

A RESEARCH AGENDA ON THE STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION

The theoretical position put forward in this chapter is that adult education is embedded in the political processes of society that are expressed in the state-civil society relationship. A significant proportion of adult education is provided by the state whose policies reflect its role in securing the conditions of capitalist accumulation and generating legitimacy in a context of social divisions. But a wide variety of adult education activities are also undertaken by the organisations of civil society. These organisations are a site of struggles for hegemony by the dominant classes and groups and some organisations support the status quo whilst others seek social change. Thus adult education activities, whether undertaken by the state or by the organisations of civil society, have political implications because they reinforce or undermine the existing distribution of power in society. The task of research is therefore to clarify the nature of the state and civil society in a given context and to investigate their significance for the form and consequences of adult education policies, programmes and practices. The research agenda based on these considerations has four components. These components are separated for analytical purposes but are closely interrelated.

The State

The analysis of the peripheral capitalist state starts from the idea that the state is in a process of formation and that its character changes over time. Therefore the development of the state should be periodised so that distinctive phases of state formation are identified. For territories which emerged from colonialism after 1945, there is a need to examine the nature of the colonial state and the independence settlement. Then the period of the initial post-colonial era should be considered, followed by analysis of the contemporary period that started in the 1980s. Within this historical perspective, four main factors should be taken into account:

- Social inequality. Which domestic classes exert a dominant influence over the state and how does the state contribute to the processes of class formation? What impact do the subordinate classes have on the state and its policies? How does the state relate to other social inequalities, particularly those of gender, race and ethnicity and how do they affect public policy?

- Imperialism. What influence does foreign capital have on the state and how is this influence mediated by the state? What degree of national sovereignty is exercised by the state and what impact do external pressures have on public policy?

- Underdevelopment. What model of development does the state espouse and what pattern of capitalist accumulation is taking place? What is the level of economic development and what fiscal resources are available to the state? What is the nature and scale of state intervention in the economy and what is the scope of the state (indicated, for example, by its share of GDP and of formal sector employment)? How effective is the state bureaucracy in the implementation of development policies?

Legitimacy. What is the regime type and how much political authority does it have? How successful is the state in generating capitalist hegemony and what strategies does it use to secure legitimacy for the socio-economic order? What degree of popular support does the state have and to what extent are there popular struggles over the nature of the state and public policy? What social forces challenge the legitimacy of the state?

The analysis should provide a historical account of the development of the state, assessing how weak or strong it is at any given point and indicating whether it is expanding or contracting in terms of its penetration of the economy and society. The assessment should elucidate how the processes of state formation and policy formation are related to particular configurations of political forces and identify the sources of changes that have taken place.

Civil Society

The analysis of the character of the state provides the basis for examining civil society, conceived as the associational life beyond the limits of the state. The main premise with respect to civil society is that it is in a dynamic relationship with the state, so that it responds to the nature of the political regime and to the expansion and contraction of the state. The changing balance of the state and civil society over time can be analysed in terms of Bratton's typology of engagement-disengagement. Thus a historical perspective is required which analyses the evolution of civil society in relation to the different periods of state formation.

The analysis requires identifying the number and nature of organisations in civil society and examining their autonomy and strength in relation to state institutions. Important indicators are the sources of funding (domestic and foreign) of the particular organisations and how indigenous they are. Given that civil society occurs in a context of social inequality, the role of the different organisations is relation to the status quo has to be ascertained. In particular, the investigation must ask the questions: which organisations serve to diffuse the hegemony of the dominant classes and social groups? which organisations are oppositional and challenge the socio-economic order? For those organisations which are oppositional, further analysis must be undertaken in terms of the anti-capitalist significance of their ideology and practice and the extent to which they may be agents of the fundamental social transformation of peripheral capitalism.

The State and Adult Education

Analysis here seeks to show how the character of the state has an impact on the nature of adult education policies and practices. It questions why the state at any given time provides adult education and it addresses the central issue of which classes and groups within the structure of power in society benefit from the public resources allocated to adult education. What forms does publicly-funded adult education take and whose interests and values in society does it serve?

In particular, analytical attention focuses on two dimensions. Firstly it considers the way in which public adult education policies and programmes reflect the state's

model of capitalist accumulation. How do the state's adult education activities relate to its economic development strategy and the reproduction needs of capital? How do state adult education programmes providing technical skills and knowledge support capitalist accumulation and prepare adults for various locations within the labour market? Secondly, political analysis considers the ways in which the adult education apparatus of the state serves to promote the legitimacy of the state and the socio-economic order it upholds. How does the state's involvement in adult education promote its own authority amongst the citizenry? How do state-sponsored programmes fulfil the ideological function of socialising adults into certain values and rationales and thus generate capitalist hegemony? In what ways does the state's adult education activity promote forms of participation in public life consonant with the nature of the political regime and its mode of political representation and control? Finally, analysis considers in what circumstances the state itself initiates adult education policies and in what circumstances the provision of adult education is a response to demands from within civil society. What is the nature of adult education in these two sets of circumstances?

Civil Society and Adult Education

The focus of this level of analysis is adult education undertaken outside the state. It considers how the shifting balance between the state and civil society influences forms of adult education provided by voluntary associations. An important consideration is the extent of state engagement with independent adult education providers. Does the state seek to restrict and control their adult education activities, for example by regulations? Does it positively encourage their adult education work, for example by subsidies? If so, what are the political implications of state support? What effects do the changes in the relationship between state and civil society have on adult education outside the state? In what circumstances do organisations in civil society make demands on the state for various kinds of adult education provision?

Against this background, the research agenda has two main areas of concentration. The first is adult education activity undertaken by organisations in civil society which serves to reinforce the hegemony of the dominant classes and social groups. What kinds of organisation provide such adult education and what forms does it take? Whose interests and values are served and how is their influence over adult education policies and programmes exerted? The second area is the adult education within those social movements and other organisations which have the goal of changing society and its prevailing power structure. What kinds of organisation provide adult education linked to social change objectives and what forms does it take? What ideologies and alternative conceptions of development are promoted through such adult education activities? How do adult education practices strengthen agencies for social change and contribute to democratisation and empowerment? A set of similar questions in relation to counter hegemonic adult education applies to those organisations whose alternative vision of society is explicitly socialist.

In each area of concentration analysis also seeks to uncover how the conflicts generated by social inequalities have an impact on the policies, programmes and practices of adult education. How does the struggle for hegemony in civil society affect

the adult education activities of both kinds of organisation, namely those committed to capitalist hegemony and those committed to social change? The overall aim is to reveal the nature and political implications of adult education in civil society.

The research agenda outlined here focuses on the struggles over power in society and the politics of development in peripheral capitalism. It studies the impact of these struggles on adult education policies, programmes and practices and seeks to illuminate the political implications of different forms of adult education. The following chapter illustrates the political analysis of adult education and development within peripheral capitalism by applying the agenda in the case of Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

ENDNOTES

1. For the purposes of this study, adult education undertaken by political parties is not discussed as its partisan nature defines and makes clear its aims and political implications.

2. Regime types are differentiated by the modes in which political power and representation are institutionalised.

CHAPTER TEN: THE STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

THE STATE

The nature of the colonial state provides the background for considering the evolution of the state in Botswana from 1966 to 1991. The state inherited at Independence was based on a legacy typical of the colonial era although the apparatuses of the state were less developed than in most other parts of British-ruled Africa. The British declared Bechuanaland a protectorate in 1885 and by 1899 had determined its external borders and its internal administrative division into tribal reserves, crown lands and blocks of freehold land held by Europeans. The new territory encompassed most of the pre-existing Batswana polities (formalised as 'tribal reserves') whilst the borders mainly reflected the regional geo-political situation. The fiscal base of the colonial state was established in 1899 with the introduction of the hut tax and it was extended in 1910 through receipts from the Southern African Customs Union. The British sought to keep administrative costs to a minimum as it was assumed that the territory would eventually be incorporated within South Africa.

The initial development of the colonial state was based on the concept of 'parallel rule', whereby the colonial administration was to regulate the affairs of the Europeans and maintain borders and law and order, whilst the rulers of the pre-existing polities, the chiefs, would have control over the tribal reserves. Thus the chiefs were given responsibility for the important tasks of tax collection and the encouragement of migrant labour. However, the colonial state became increasingly interventionist in the 1930s, strengthening its own role and reducing the powers of the chiefs (Picard,1987). The colonial state promoted ethnic divisions and racial discrimination. It was an authoritarian regime and whilst it sought legitimacy through a variety of advisory bodies, such as the Native Advisory Council established in 1919, it did not allow participation by Batswana in policy formulation. It repressed any challenge to its dominance and its promotion of capitalist accumulation in the region through migrant labour. Thus it curbed opposition from the chiefs by a variety of means and where necessary it used coercive means to ensure sufficient labour supplies to the mines in South Africa.

Prior to the 1950s, the colonial state made very little investment in economic development, infrastructure or social services. However, when it became clear in the 1950s that Bechuanaland would not be incorporated in South Africa and that decolonisation was a possibility, a period of development activity began with efforts to modernise the economy and expand social services. The state apparatuses were extended and a new pattern of state development intervention was initiated, one which was responsive to the interests of the dominant local class of large cattle-owners and to foreign capital (Morrison,1993). The emergent petty-bourgeois class, created largely by the expansion of state employment, adopted a bourgeois democratic nationalism which the state nurtured in the last few years before Independence, for example by supporting the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) as a counter-balance to the more radical anti-colonial Botswana People's Party (Picard,1987: 138-141). The transition to Independence was completed by the overwhelming victory of the BDP in the first

parliamentary elections in 1965 and the adoption of a Westminster-type constitution. The independence settlement therefore secured constitutional arrangements and a government in power which were supportive of a capitalist socio-economic order.

The character of the post-colonial state in the period to 1991 was one of steadily growing strength and scope, based on an expanding economy and a firm coalition of class forces. The Botswana state did not suffer the fiscal and legitimation crises common within peripheral capitalism in the 1980s. Therefore the periodisation suggested by the research agenda in Chapter Nine is not appropriate to this case and the post-colonial era to 1991 can be treated as a single phase of state consolidation and expansion.[1]

Botswana at Independence was one of the world's ten poorest nations and the revenues available to the state could not cover the Government's budget. The state was therefore reliant on British grants for half of its recurrent expenditure and looked to foreign aid and investment for development finance. However, despite this fiscal weakness and external dependence, the state was controlled by a government with a high degree of legitimacy based on a large electoral majority. The government represented the interests of the dominant cattle-owning and petty-bourgeois classes and had mass support from the peasantry, so that the state had a strong class base. In relation to the economy, the state was the major employer - in 1968 it provided 28% of formal sector employment (Colclough and McCarthy,1980: 177). Within the context of extreme underdevelopment, the state was therefore relatively strong and it was able to continue the interventionist role in the development process that had started in the late colonial period. However, its impact was limited in scope until after it achieved fiscal independence in 1972/3.

The model of development implemented after Independence was also a continuation of the pattern established in the mid-1950s. It was based on the state promoting capitalist accumulation through the encouragement of foreign investment in the productive sector and the use of aid to develop infrastructure and social services. In particular, it involved an alliance between the state and South African capital to develop the mining industry, leading in the early 1970s to the opening of the Orapa diamond mine and the Selebi-Phikwe copper-nickel mine. It also involved large scale state support for the commercialisation of the cattle industry through a wide range of programmes and subsidies (Hubbard,1986). These policies directly met the interests of one of the dominant classes in the ruling coalition, namely the large cattle-owners.

The activity of the state during the 1970s stimulated the development of an expanding and more complex economy, which in turn led to an enlarged state bureaucracy. The centrality of mineral and beef exports to the economy and public policy reflected the influence of the cattle-owning class and foreign capital over the state. But policies to diversify the economy into manufacturing at the beginning of the 1980s showed the growing influence of the indigenous petty-bourgeoisie, which sought state support for business investment especially by citizens. The Financial Assistance Policy of 1982 created a fund to subsidise new productive businesses and there was a subsequent increase in manufacturing, expanding opportunities for private accumulation by both local and foreign investors. Nevertheless, the mineral sector continued to be

central to the economy and it was the opening of the Jwaneng diamond mine in 1982 that fuelled the economic boom which lasted until 1991.

Throughout the period 1966 to 1991, the state expanded steadily, growing in scope and strength as the economy increased its revenue base. It can be characterised as a strong state from a number of different viewpoints. It was strong in fiscal terms. For example, in the period from 1982/3 its revenues grew at 28% per annum and in 1990/91 they represented 53.5% of GDP (Bank of Botswana,1993). It was the largest employer, its personnel constituting 31% of formal sector employment in 1991 (UNDP, Republic of Botswana and UNICEF,1993: 22). It played a key role in national economic and social development and sustained a high level of public expenditure - 42% of GDP in 1990/91 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning,1993: 1). Furthermore, in terms of the chosen development model, the state bureaucracy managed the process of development planning and implementation with a comparatively high degree of effectiveness (Lewis,1993). The state therefore secured the conditions for a period of rapid capitalist accumulation that met the interests of the dominant local and foreign classes and consolidated its own class basis.

Additionally, the strength of the state derived from its capacity to establish capitalist hegemony and the legitimacy of the socio-economic order. The regime type throughout the period was that of liberal democracy established in the 1966 constitution. Parliamentary and local government elections were held every five years and were contested by a variety of political parties. Within this multi-party system, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) had overwhelming electoral dominance, winning every general election with at least 65% of the vote and dominating most local government councils. In effect there was one-party rule and the liberal democratic system was never tested in terms of an electoral transfer of power. However, the BDP demonstrated a high degree of public support in elections so that multi-party politics served to legitimate the rule of the dominant classes.

The BDP also used its control over state power to implement policies and allocate public resources that would provide tangible benefits to subordinated classes. These benefits included the provision of infrastructure and social services, especially in the rural areas. Roads, water supplies, education and health facilities were extended to most villages. The state organised various public works programmes to provide rural employment and during the major drought of 1981-1987 provided a large-scale drought relief programme that gave food aid to half the population. The state's strategy of welfare capitalism ensured that a proportion of state expenditure was directed to the public at large, helping to strengthen the legitimacy of the state and its development model.

Nevertheless, despite the strength of the state and the political authority of the ruling party, opposition parties were able to mobilise various forms of dissatisfaction with the status quo. Some resistance to the nature of the modern state came from elements of the nobility who opposed the restrictions on the powers of the chiefs introduced after Independence. Thus in the 1969 general elections Chief Bathoen II of the Bangwaketse helped the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) win three seats in his region. However, the chieftainship issue declined in political significance in

during the 1970s as the modern state was consolidated. There was also some resistance to the post-colonial state because it had entrenched the ethnic dominance of Setswana-speakers and its policies often discriminated against the interests of ethnic minorities. Three opposition parties, the Botswana Peoples Party, the Botswana Independence Party and the BNF, all won parliamentary and local government seats on the basis of ethnic minorities in various parts of the country. Finally, the urban working class was from the beginning excluded from the BDP's historic class coalition and represented a source of opposition to the state's capitalist development policies. The BNF in the 1980s succeeded in mobilising support from this class around issues of unemployment, wages, housing and inequality and it gained significant parliamentary and council electoral victories. These electoral gains demonstrated that the expanding urban proletariat had material interests which contradicted those of the dominant classes and that this class was beginning to question the state's development model. However, the BNF was a heterogenous alliance of varying tendencies, ranging from royalist to Marxist. It did not have the ideological or organisational coherence to develop working class dissatisfaction into a fundamental challenge to the post-colonial state and its policies.

The Botswana state in the period 1966 to 1991 maintained hegemony through building support by ideological appeals to national development and social justice and by public policies which met various class interests. Although coercive state power was used occasionally against strikers, students and other protesters, there were few direct challenges to the state and a positive human rights record was preserved. The reliance on foreign investment and aid did not generate widespread concerns about national sovereignty, although the large number of foreign personnel and the slow process of localisation was a cause of discontent. In fact on the whole the state was successful in using international support ideologically and materially to enhance its position (Molutsi,1993). It can be concluded that the legitimacy of the state and the socio-economic order it upheld remained strong throughout the period.

CIVIL SOCIETY

The nature of the state-society relationship during most of the period was one of state-sponsored engagement, allowing little space for the development of autonomous organisations in civil society. Although the constitutional form of liberal democracy led to regular elections and the protection of human rights, the state limited popular participation in decision-making and implemented a top-down model of development. The dominant classes, through the state, exercised control over economic and political power and sought to limit the potential for civil society to provide alternative sources of power and of influence on the state. Hence the processes of public policy formulation and implementation were state-centred:

> ...policy initiation takes place within government ministries; persuasion is presented as consultation; limits are placed on participation in politics; government dominates communication processes; and ministries create and control most organized groups. For the most part, this transformation has proceeded by default because civil society lacks the capacity and initiative to organize itself. (Molutsi and Holm,1990: 327)

In fact, these processes did not arise by default but rather the weakness of civil society was the product of conscious state intervention. As Endo (1992) has noted, the Botswana state used the range of 'regulatory instruments' that Bratton (1989b: 576-580) has identified as means of state control over the organisations of civil society, namely monitoring, coordination, cooptation, and dissolution.

Prior to Independence there were few modern indigenous voluntary associations and the end of the colonial era was not characterised by the involvement of such organisations in anti-colonial struggles as elsewhere in Africa. However, the immediate post-colonial period was marked by a proliferation of modern non governmental organisation (NGO) activity. The limited resources of the state in the first few years after 1966 provided room for NGOs to engage in development activities. Managed largely by foreign personnel, they initiated a range of projects with the support of non governmental foreign aid. Grant (1981: 45) notes that

> ...it was non-government inspiration and effort which created the first libraries, the first cooperative society, the first community centres, the first dental clinics, the museums, paid for the first modern village water supply improvement projects, created the Brigade movement, the first real afforestation schemes, assisted the disabled, opened the first book shops, the first publicly owned marketing agency for handicrafts and which first introduced applied technologies.

However, the increase in domestic revenues and in aid from foreign governments and international organisations led to the state's increased capacity to provide social services and infrastructure. The state formally took over a number of NGO-initiated projects, such as schools, libraries and health facilities, and began to provide grants to other projects, such as the community-based vocational training centres called Brigades. The rapid expansion of the state apparatuses from the early 1970s reduced the scope for voluntary initiatives.

The state's penetration of society was accompanied by efforts to contain potential opposition based in civil society. The regulation of civil society began soon after Independence and took a variety of forms. For example, the Societies Act of 1972 provided for the registration and monitoring of voluntary associations whilst the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Acts of 1969 made provision for the registration of trade unions and the introduction of restrictions and controls on their activity. From 1969 the Brigades movement was brought under the aegis of the Ministry of Education through a coordinating instrument, the National Brigades Coordinating Committee. The imposition of a standard constitution for Brigade Boards of Trustees from the mid-1970s ensured their cooptation through direct state participation in the governance of Brigades. The case of the Serowe Brigades illustrated the state's determination not to allow organisations in civil society to become a base for oppositional activity.

In the mid-1970s the leadership of Serowe Brigades envisaged their education with production centre as a microcosm of alternative development that would meet the needs of the poor peasant and rural proletariat classes who were being increasingly marginalised by state development policies which focused on urban areas, formal sector

employment and commercial cattle production. The alternative development model was underpinned by a socialist ideology that challenged neo-colonialism and dependency and which was disseminated in study circles amongst the staff and in a development studies course for trainees. In 1978 the state undertook a concerted attack on the centre, which it regarded as promoting 'communism' and linked to the main opposition party the Botswana National Front. The state focused on seeking to impose the standard deed of trust and excluding staff and trainee representation on the Board, threatening to withdraw its subsidies if there was no compliance. As the Trust Secretary later wrote: 'The financial dependence of the Brigades thus became an effective lever for achieving state control.' (van Rensburg,1984: 48) The subsequent collapse and reorganisation of the Serowe Brigades transformed it into a conventional vocational training centre.

In certain situations, such as the strike by mine-workers in Selebi Phikwe in 1975 and the demonstrations organised by the University's Student Representative Council in 1976 and 1978, the state used armed force to quell opposition based in civil society. The strengthening and consolidation of the state through the 1970s circumscribed the development of the organisations of civil society, particularly those which posed a potential challenge to the status quo upheld by the state.

Nevertheless, during the 1980s new NGOs were established. This reflected international development trends and the new organisations represented topical concerns such as the environment, rural production, disability and women's rights. In 1989 there were about 50 NGOs, half of which had been established since 1980 (NORAD,1989). Virtually all of the NGOs were dependent on grants from the state and/or foreign aid. Indeed foreign aid organisations such as USAID played an active role in promoting NGO development. But the expansion in the number of NGOs and of other organisations in civil society, such as professional associations and chambers of commerce, did not lead to a significant liberalisation of state-society relations in terms of broadening the influences on public policy-making and extending accountability (Holm and Molutsi,1992). Thus society-sponsored engagement expressed in efforts by the organisations of civil society to influence the state remained weak.

The state retained its interventionist approach to development and although it paid greater attention to the economic role of the private sector from the mid-1980s it did not fully embrace the neo-liberal policies that underlay aid agency emphasis on NGOs and the strengthening of civil society. Its own policy of containment towards the organisations of civil society continued to the end of the period. This was illustrated by the Ghanzi farms controversy in 1991. In this case a group of five local development NGOs formed a consortium in 1989 at the request of Ghanzi District Council to help develop three farms which the council wished to allocate to Basarwa. The NGOs worked with local and central government officials and the Basarwa over a period of eighteen months to plan appropriate developments based on community participation. However, central government became suspicious that the project represented affirmative action for the empowerment of the Basarwa and might be, in the words of an Assistant Minister, 'politically motivated' (Mmegi,1991:2). It was reported that the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands argued that the NGO consortium had 'no right to be there without permission from the government' (Tsiako,1991: 11) and attacked the NGOs for not following the 'proper

channels'. Despite documented evidence of the council's agreement with the NGOs, the council gave into pressure from the state and ordered the NGOs to cease their involvement in the project. The consortium was dissolved at the end of 1991. The case illustrated firstly the state's suspicion of NGO potential to mobilise marginalised groups and articulate alternative models of development, and secondly its strategy of restricting autonomous activity by organisations in civil society.

In the period 1966-1991 the organisations of civil society were relatively weak. This situation was created by a strong state under the control of classes and groups which sought to retain their dominance within society. The majority of the voluntary associations served to diffuse the hegemony of the dominant classes and social groups. For instance, the Botswana Employers Federation, which was reorganised in 1988 with USAID support as the Botswana Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Manpower, had a strong role as the lobby of private enterprise, whilst the long-established women's organisation the Botswana Council of Women reinforced women's subordinate role in society. Very few organisations posed a challenge to capitalist hegemony. The trade unions, for example, did not question the capitalist system as such but sought to defend the immediate interests of their members. Thus whilst union-led illegal strikes defied the state's role in upholding capitalism, they did not reflect a working class project to overthrow the capitalist state (Mogalakwe,1994). Perhaps the only anti-capitalist challenge to the socio-economic order from within civil society came from the Serowe Brigades in 1977-1978 and this was quickly contained by the state. State power was used throughout the period to prevent the possibility of dominated classes and social groups using organisations in civil society either to achieve empowerment through grassroots democratic development or to question the legitimacy of the state and the capitalist socio-economic order.

THE STATE AND ADULT EDUCATION

During the 1966-1991 period the state was overwhelmingly the main provider of adult education. Its programmes were organised through a variety of central and local government bodies. For most of the colonial era, there had been very little publicly-funded adult education, with the exception of agricultural extension which had been started in the 1930s. However, in the years immediately before Independence the colonial state had established a number of departments with adult education responsibilities, such as those undertaking cooperative education and community development. The scope and range of state adult education programmes grew steadily after 1966 as new departments, cadres and programmes were created as part of the overall expansion of the state bureaucracy.

By the beginning of the 1980s the institutional framework of state adult education was fully established. A review of provision at this time (Townsend-Coles,1982: 46-77) indicated that eight central government ministries had a role in adult education, as follows:

- Ministry of Agriculture (agricultural extension and cooperative education);
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry (small business and rural industries extension and wildlife conservation education);
- Ministry of Education (non formal education and brigades);
- Ministry of Health (health extension);
- Ministry of Home Affairs (libraries, museums and prison education);
- Ministry of Local Government and Lands (social and community development and remote area development);
- Office of the President (broadcasting and public information).

Also, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning's Rural Development Unit played a key coordinating role through its responsibility for the Rural Extension Coordinating Committee comprised of central government representatives.

The review estimated that 8.8% of the total recurrent budget of these ministries in 1980/81 was allocated to adult education (Townsend Coles,1982: 66) and it noted that a significant proportion of their development expenditure was designated to adult education projects in *National Development Plan, 1979-85.* Apart from central government provision, a number of adult education programmes were provided through local government councils, particularly for community development, remote areas and self-help housing. Youngman (1983: 132) calculated that there were around 1,700 full-time posts for adult educators in the public sector in 1982/3, compared to 6600 in primary education and 840 in secondary education. Thus by the early 1980s the state's involvement in adult education was extensive.

The main form of publicly-funded adult education in the 1966-1991 period can be characterised as extension programmes. These programmes sought to extend to adults information and techniques which would help them to improve aspects of their life, such as their health status or agricultural production. The programmes in some cases also sought to organise adults for collective action to address problems of development in their communities. Besides the extension programmes, the largest sustained programme of adult education was the National Literacy Programme started in 1980 by the Ministry of Education's Department of Non Formal Education. The Department also offered limited distance education opportunities for the study of secondary school qualifications. Finally, the state provided a variety of programmes for the in-service training of its own personnel, for example through civil service training bodies like the Botswana Institute of Accounting and Commerce, the Botswana Police College and the Local Government In-service Training Unit.

It is postulated in the research agenda in Chapter Nine that publicly-funded adult education programmes reflect the state's model of economic development and the reproduction needs of capital. Two important extension programmes illustrate how the

Botswana state provided knowledge and technical skills to support its economic strategies, namely agricultural extension and business extension. Throughout the period, the largest extension programme was that of agricultural extension.

The rural economy was an important element of the economy because it provided the majority of the population with food, income and employment opportunities and for some it was a source of significant capital accumulation. The agricultural sector had two main branches, namely cattle rearing and crop production. The two branches were closely interlinked as cattle were the main means of draught power for arable production, which means that the large proportion of peasant households with no or few cattle also have low crop yields. At the time of Independence, about 96% of the population lived in the rural areas and agriculture constituted 40% of the GDP. By 1991 only 67% of the population was rural and agriculture's contribution to GDP had fallen to 5.2%. Despite the decline in the proportional economic significance of agriculture because of urbanisation and the growth of the mineral industry, the development of agriculture was an important part of the state's economic policy throughout the period. The major focus was on improving cattle production and commercialising the livestock industry. Beef was the only major export besides minerals. However, after 1979 increased emphasis was given to arable agriculture with improved producer prices and more subsidies, especially through the Arable Lands Development Programme started in 1981. The greater commitment to the arable sector reflected international trends favouring smallholder production and local political and economic concerns about maintaining adequate peasant livelihoods through promoting food production, rural incomes and employment.

Agricultural policies therefore sought to increase rural productivity through improving standards of animal husbandry and introducing better arable farming techniques. These policies included a variety of measures, especially extension service packages which involved not only the provision of information and advice but also access to improved technologies and subsidised inputs. The Ministry of Agriculture therefore had a large extension service based on a cadres of agricultural demonstrators and veterinary assistants. It inherited from the colonial state an elitist extension approach based on the Pupil/Master Farmer and Pupil/Master Stockman schemes which focused on a small number of peasants who had the requisite resources to modernise their production. But in 1975 the extension services were reorganised in order to decentralise and extend coverage to a greater number of farming households. Another reorganisation in 1990 divided extension services clearly between the livestock and crop sectors.

The goals of the agricultural extension services were consistent with evolving agricultural policies. In the livestock sector, extension workers sought to improve cattle management (for example, through the use of vaccines, dehorning and better grazing practices) and to encourage a more commercial attitude that would lead to higher rates of off-take. In the arable sector, extension efforts were directed to improved techniques (such as row planting, weeding and early ploughing) in order to increase crop production for both consumption and sale. The effectiveness of agricultural extension was questioned throughout the period, with persistent criticisms of the limitations of its coverage and of its tendency to favour the wealthier farming households and neglect the

significant number of rural households with inadequate means of production (see, for example, Mayende,1993: 69). Nevertheless, the state invested considerable resources in this branch of adult education, providing a ratio of about one extension worker to 300 farming households from 1970 to 1991 (Republic of Botswana,1970: 37; Republic of Botswana,1991a: 263). By 1991 there were 283 agricultural demonstrator posts and 304 veterinary assistant posts. The scale of the state's adult education related to agriculture reflected the sector's significance for the state's model of development.

Whilst agricultural extension supported the state's rural development strategy, the extension services for small businesses promoted the growth of small-scale industry and commerce in both the rural and urban areas. As discussed in Chapter Eight, these services were established in the early 1970s as part of the model of capitalist development underpinned by modernisation theory with its emphasis on indigenous entrepreneurship. They were consolidated in 1987 as the Integrated Field Services (IFS) of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at a time when neo-liberal ideas were beginning to influence the state's development strategy and the private sector was being identified as an 'engine of growth'. In this context, state support for local private enterprise attained greater priority and this was reflected in efforts to improve the small business extension effort. In 1989 there were 45 industrial officer posts in the IFS offices in the districts.

The state also sought to meet the reproduction needs of capital through adult education. One role of the state in securing the conditions of capitalist accumulation is to take responsibility for ensuring an appropriately skilled labour force. The development of the state's involvement in adult vocational training to provide skills for the workforce in the modern sector can be seen in this light. This occurred from the mid-1980s when the post-1982 economic boom revealed shortages of appropriately skilled workers, especially in the construction and manufacturing industries. In 1986 the Ministry of Home Affairs opened the Madirelo Training and Testing Centre which not only managed a new apprenticeship scheme for young adults but also ran short skills upgrading courses for existing workers seeking to take trade tests. The expanded provision of vocational training by the state for young adults and older workers reflected the new requirements of the rapidly growing labour market in the private sector for skilled and semi-skilled workers.

The second dimension of publicly-provided adult education identified in the research agenda in Chapter Nine is its role in advancing the legitimation of the state and the capitalist socio-economic order the state upholds. A number of the Botswana state's adult education activities between 1966 and 1991 clearly fulfilled this legitimation function. The largest state programme in terms of coverage of adult learners was the National Literacy Programme (NLP) which began in 1980 and reached over 100,000 participants. The programme provided basic reading and writing skills in Setswana to literacy groups nation-wide and some post-literacy activities in a few areas. It was promoted by the state in terms of the extension of educational opportunity, modernisation and the enhancement of the individual's role in national development. It was perceived by participants largely as an avenue to paid employment, although objectively their possibilities of formal sector jobs were limited. An in-depth study by Youngman (1995) argues that the NLP was one of a number of social welfare

programmes provided by the state to generate support from the rural and urban poor in a period of increasing class divisions. The apparent equity in the role of the NLP in extending access to education helped to legitimate the state as acting in the interests of all. But in fact the NLP in practice served to reproduce the existing patterns of class, gender and ethnic inequality so that its outcome was to fortify the position of the dominant groups and reinforce the unequal socio-economic order. Thus through the NLP the state strengthened its own authority amongst the citizenry and advanced capitalist hegemony.

Another significant use of adult education as part of the state's legitimation strategies can be seen in the forms of participation in public life which the state promoted. The regime-type throughout the period was that of liberal democracy, whereby the state derived authority from regular elections. However the ideology of democracy was also fostered through a rhetoric that encouraged people's participation in development. Thus in 1970, for example, President Khama's foreword to *National Development Plan 1970-1975* spoke of ensuring 'the people of Botswana participate to the greatest practicable extent in the formulation and implementation of government policy...' (Republic of Botswana,1970: np). Throughout the period the state professed commitment to participation in relation to public policy, development planning and project identification and implementation. But the concept of participation is an ambiguous one, susceptible to differing interpretations. In the Botswana context between 1966 and 1991, participation in practice meant information-giving or non-binding consultation. The state thus gave the impression of seeking people's involvement whilst pursing an essentially top-down and paternalistic approach to development and democracy. Forms of participation were therefore implemented to extend the legitimacy of the state and its policies whilst leaving power in the hands of the dominant classes and social groups.

The state's adult education apparatuses, particularly the extension services, played an important part in these legitimation processes. Noppen (1982), in a study revealingly entitled *Consultation and Non-Commitment*, looked in detail at the evolution of the system of district-level planning based on consultation which emerged between 1976 and 1980. He showed how adult education techniques were used as 'tools' for the consultations carried out in preparation of the district development plans. These techniques included district conferences of village representatives, discussion in *kgotla* meetings, discussions with village groups based on printed materials and cassettes, and various forms of opinion survey. The consultation activity was carried out mainly by extension workers, especially the community development workers, and their activities were coordinated through Village Extension Teams and District Extension Teams. However, Noppen questioned whether the information gathered had any significant influence over decision-making. Furthermore, he noted that consultation was restricted to the area of social infrastructure and services and did not cover economic activity and production relations (where the interests of the dominant classes would clash with those of the rural majority). He also revealed that involvement in discussions was largely confined to village elites, thus excluding the rural poor. Above all, he concluded that the state as represented by politicians and civil servants had no real commitment to participation that might alter the economic and political status quo:

> The active political commitment on the part of the Government is an essential factor in stimulating a broader involvement in decision-making by the people than is the case under the present circumstances. No indications were found to show that such commitment existed. Consequently, involvement has been limited to the planning of the social services, a sector which does not affect the economic position of the rich. (Noppen, 1982: 171)

The idea of popular participation in development planning and implementation was a recurrent theme throughout the period and it was portrayed by the state as part of Botswana's open democratic environment. It was seen as an important task of extension work to generate such participation. Thus the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning's Rural Extension Coordinating Committee sponsored major workshops in 1985 (Tsiane and Youngman,1986) and in 1990 (Republic of Botswana,1991b) on 'The Theory and Practice of People's Participation in Rural Development'. However, it was evident from these workshops that the forms of participation implemented were not altering the existing distribution of power or enabling the rural poor to influence decision-making. In practice adult education activity around participation contributed to the state's legitimation strategies and reinforced the hegemony of the dominant classes and social groups. This is illustrated in the following case study.

Case Study: The Radio Learning Group Campaign on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy

Cattle were central to the rural economy and had significant cultural as well as economic value. Whilst small-scale holdings provided important economic and social resources, large-scale cattle-ownership was the basis of social prestige and political influence as well as wealth. The commercialisation of cattle-rearing began in the colonial era, gathering speed in the mid-1950s when beef exports for the world market became a key element of the economic development strategy. During the 1960s the dominant class of large cattle-owners used its influence over the state to enlarge the range of programmes and subsidies favouring livestock development.

By the early 1970s, the problem of over-stocking and over-grazing in the unfenced communally-held areas was identified as the major constraint to the continued development of the cattle industry. The traditional modes of land tenure and cattle-rearing were seen as an obstacle to more ecologically sound and efficient production. A series of official studies and policy documents in 1972 and 1973 enunciated the state's conclusion that private land-holding by large cattle-owners would enable improved range management and productivity whilst easing the pressure of cattle numbers in the communal areas. The outcome was the declaration in 1975 of a large-scale reform in land tenure, the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP).

The TGLP proposed the rezoning of tribal land into communal areas, commercial areas providing exclusive lease-hold rights to fenced ranches, and areas reserved for future use. The policy's overt aims of environmental conservation, greater equity and improved productivity did not disguise the major goal of the policy to provide the institutional condition essential to the development of capitalist agriculture,

namely, the private ownership of land. The policy was thus a state project designed to meet the interests of the dominant cattle-owning class. The policy document recognised the socio-cultural significance of the planned changes:

> Proposals are made here for implementing Government policy on grazing land development. This means changing the traditional system of land tenure in the tribal grazing areas. It will change the Botswana way of life; it will affect directly or indirectly virtually every Motswana. (Republic of Botswana,1975: 1)

The state realised that the transformation implied in the privatisation of a hitherto communal resource required legitimation by the cooption of the peasantry and therefore undertook a major public relations exercise to gain public support. This exercise, announced as a process of consultation, included a large adult education component in the form of a radio learning group campaign.

The consultation process organised by the state sought to inform the public about the policy, sound out public opinion on its implementation and defuse any criticisms. At the centre of the process was a large-scale radio learning group campaign. The radio learning group campaign model of mass adult education had been pioneered in Tanzania (Kassam,1978: 50-60) and had been adopted in Botswana by the University's Division of Extra Mural Services in a campaign in 1973 on the national development plan. The model was a form of non formal distance education which involved organising people into groups to listen to and discuss a series of radio programmes and accompanying study materials.

The nation-wide campaign on the TGLP (which was funded by British aid) took place over a five week period in mid-1976 (Republic of Botswana,1977b). It was organised at the centre by a committee involving the responsible government ministries with technical support from adult education specialists in the Division of Extra Mural Services and the Botswana Extension College. In the field, the responsibility for recruiting radio learning group leaders lay with the government extension workers in agriculture, health and community development assisted by primary school head teachers. The significance the state attached to the exercise was indicated by the fact that the extension personnel were instructed to spend 50% of their time on the campaign (Noppen,1982: 83). The extension workers recruited 3,500 group leaders who were trained as facilitators to run twice-weekly group sessions. Each session involved group members listening to a radio programme with accompanying illustrative flip-chart, listening to the leader read from the study guide, engaging in discussion and helping the leader complete a report form. The report forms recorded the group's answers to the pre-set discussion questions and noted the questions they wished the government to answer. This information provided feedback on public opinion about the policy and inputs to new radio programmes addressing questions raised by the groups. The campaign reached about 55,000 people (approximately one sixth of the adult population), of whom about 40% were illiterate. It was therefore a very large scale adult education programme.

The nature of the radio learning group campaign and the evaluation of its success were the subject of controversy. Undoubtedly, in technical terms the campaign was an achievement in that it organised large numbers of adult citizens into a non formal learning context in which information was conveyed and discussed. But questions arose as to the basic purpose of the campaign. The policy document was contradictory and the exact meaning of 'consultation' was an area of contestation (Picard,1987:246-252). Whilst the document raised the possibility of revising the policy in the light of public opinion, its emphasis was on public information about agreed decisions and it indicated that allocation of ranches in the new commercial areas would begin before the public consultation. On the basis of the statement that the policy might be changed as a result of consultation, the main campaign organiser claimed that the consultation was a democratic process which 'must be unusual in the history of government anywhere.' (Crowley,1977: 19) More considered opinion took the view that the consultation was essentially token and that the campaign was primarily a public relations exercise (Cliffe and Moorsom,1980:51; Holm,1982: 96-97; Molomo,1989: 240). The position taken here is that the campaign represents an example of what Holm and Molutsi (1992: 83) had in mind when they said consultation is a means whereby 'Botswana's political elite aggressively manipulates public thinking.' Thus adult education methods were used to legitimate a public policy that met the interests of a powerful minority. The radio learning group campaign exemplified the use of adult education by the Botswana state to legitimate its policies for expanding the capitalist socio-economic order.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND ADULT EDUCATION

It was argued above that the state-society relationship throughout the 1966-1991 period was one in which the strong state restricted the development of autonomous organisations within civil society, especially those which had the potential to challenge state policy. In this context it is unsurprising that the voluntary adult education sector was small and limited in its scope. Nevertheless, a number of the organisations in civil society did provide adult education activities. The majority of these served to reinforce the hegemony of the dominant classes and social groups. This can be illustrated with examples from the work of the churches, the NGO sector and the employers' association.

There were over 150 registered churches, including the denominations of the mission churches and many indigenous African Independent Churches, and most of them engaged in social welfare as well as providing religious services. The churches had a long tradition of involvement in adult education. Indeed the first adult literacy work was done in the context of teaching congregations to read the bible, the New Testament having been translated into Setswana by 1840. A major form of adult education provided by the churches in the period under consideration was bible study. A number of churches also ran informal programmes of cookery, home-keeping, knitting and sewing for women members of the congregation. Two churches ran home economics centres for young women. In Serowe, the Catholic Ursuline Sisters started the Tlhwaafalo Training Centre in the early 1970s which provided a two year domestic science course for young women with primary level education. The aim of the course was to provide practical skills to enable students to obtain employment. The syllabus

included religious education. In 1989 the centre had an enrolment of 39 students. The other centre was the Mochudi Homecraft Centre run by the Dutch Reformed Mission, which was discussed in Chapter Eight.

In some church circles, such as the distance education-based Kgolagano College of Theological Education after 1982, there was identification with the ideas of liberation and black theology that were part of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. But in most churches the dominant theology was a conservative one that promoted an approach to social issues that was apolitical and oriented to charity. Thus the ideology mediated by adult education in the form of bible study was generally supportive of the existing socio-economic order. The ideology of home economics also served to reproduce the status quo by reinforcing the stereotypes of women and their position in society. The largely informal and uncoordinated adult education activities of the churches were therefore hegemonic in their impact.

The NGO sector included organisations which had an adult education component to their work. For example, the Botswana Red Cross Society, with 100 groups nation-wide, carried out extensive training programmes in first aid and primary health care, thus providing skills in basic health care and prevention to a large number of volunteers. The Botswana Council of Women (BCW), which was the largest women's organisation with over 300 branches, encouraged adult education amongst its members, for example in homecraft. It also undertook specific projects including the promotion of backyard gardening, the training of women's leaders and, from 1988, health education relating to AIDS. However, it did not have an explicit concern with changing the status of women. The impact of both organisations was to promote the status quo. For example, a sociological survey of six rural villages in 1980 which included consideration of the Red Cross and the BCW concluded: 'Voluntary organisations in general appeal to the elite, the educated and the traditionally respected families. They are based on the middle and upper classes almost totally excluding the poor.' (Kjaer-Olsen,1980: 41). Their adult education activities therefore served to reproduce the existing patterns of social inequality and distribution of power. This was consistent with the overall position of most NGOs that they were development partners of the state whose programmes should complement those of the state.

One of the most powerful organisations in civil society was the employers' association. The Botswana Employers' Federation (BEF) was established in 1971 and represented the interests of large capitalist enterprises. It established itself as one of the few effective lobby groups in civil society (Holm,1989: 152). The BEF was recognised by the state as a major interest group and it was given representation on important government committees such as the National Employment Manpower and Incomes Council. With the economic boom of the 1980s the BEF's membership grew and it also consciously sought to encourage small business membership. By 1989/90 it had 635 members employing more than 50,000 people (BOCCIM,1990: 4). Its development was heavily supported by USAID and from the early 1980s it articulated many of the ideas of neo-liberalism on the role of private enterprise in development.

The USA's funding from 1982 gave particular encouragement to the BEF to assist in the training of employees in private companies, for example, by giving access

to scholarships in the USA. Indeed, in 1986 the BEF took over from the state the management of the large-scale Botswana Workforce and Skills Training project through which the USA provided funding for adult education that supported private sector employment creation. In 1988, with USA support, the BEF was reorganised as the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM) with a mandate which included specific responsibility for promoting continuing education and training for the private sector. After 1988 BOCCIM's training section developed an adult education programme which included the direct provision of courses in management skills (particularly for small and medium enterprises) as well as commissioned courses by local training bodies. The adult education activities of BOCCIM show an organisation in civil society using adult education to strengthen and expand the capitalist mode of production through disseminating appropriate skills and attitudes.

The work of the churches, NGOs and the employers' association show adult education in civil society which reinforced capitalist hegemony and the power of the dominant classes and social groups. The state sought to contain potential opposition based in civil society and therefore there are few examples of voluntary associations or social movements which had goals of social change based on alternative conceptions of the socio-economic order. Hence very little adult education can be characterised as counter-hegemonic. Two associations and one social movement illustrate the limited scale of adult education which questioned the prevailing power structure.

Two NGOs established in the mid-1980s had explicit social change goals which raised questions about the status quo. In 1986 the Emang Basadi Women's Association was founded by a group of middle class women with the aim of enhancing women's position socially, politically and economically. Its main focus initially was a response to a Law Reform Committee and it sought to mobilise support against discriminatory laws. From 1986 to 1990 it undertook adult education on the theme of 'Women and the Law' in a series of workshops. The association quickly achieved a high profile and raised public awareness on issues of discrimination and gender stereotyping that challenged male dominance. However, it lacked a permanent secretariat and the organisational capacity to reach out to the working class and the peasantry so that its adult education activities were restricted in their impact.

In 1986 Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE) was established (largely with Dutch aid) to promote producer cooperatives through education and technical assistance. It started with four enterprises and by 1990 it had 22 member groups including furniture-making, printing, baking and pottery enterprises. The organisation espoused the aims of the 'alternative' approaches to development based on self-managed manufacturing and agricultural enterprises using natural resources and environmentally-sound sustainable agricultural practices. Its social goals stressed participation, gender equality, the rights of ethnic minorities and community empowerment. Its adult education programmes included raising awareness about the potential of cooperative enterprises, the provision of practical production skills and training in cooperative management, as well as Leadership Development Training courses for other NGOs. CORDE championed an alternative conception of development based on employment for the poor and grass-roots democracy and it saw

itself as a policy advocate in relation to the state. Thus its basic approach to the state was not confrontational. However, it initiated the NGO consortium attacked by the state in the 1991 Ghanzi farms controversy and it became the main focus of state hostility so that its relationships with many state structures deteriorated (CORDE,1993: 10). Overall the impact of CORDE in its first five years was limited as many member groups were in a fledgling state and the organisation itself was constrained in its capacity to meet its objective adequately. Thus whilst it had the aim of promoting an alternative model of socio-economic development, its adult education activities to support social change remained small scale.

The only social movement whose objective reality might have generated counter-hegemonic adult education was the trade union movement. The constitution of the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) included a major objective 'to provide training, education, literature and other facilities for the advancement of workers and the labour movement' (Molutsi, Mufune and Mogalakwe,1993: 67). Worker and trade union education had the potential to advance class interests which would conflict with those of the dominant classes in the capitalist mode of production. However, the work of the Botswana Trade Union Education Centre, which was established in 1972, was funded and largely staffed by aid bodies which specifically sought to contain the development of radical trade unionism in the South, particularly the USA's African American Labour Centre and the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Through the Centre the BFTU ran courses for both union members and leaders which covered general topics, such as health and safety at the work place, and basic trade union skills, such as organising and collective bargaining. There was an active programme of seminars, workshops and short courses in the 1970s and early 1980s though this subsequently declined (Molutsi, Mogalakwe and Mufune,1993). But the adult education work of the Centre took place within a perspective on trade unionism which focused narrowly on the immediate economic interests of members and did not raise broader questions about the capitalist mode of production. During the period as a whole a good number of trade unionists were reached by the Centre's programmes - for example there were 2,000 participants between 1972 and 1974 (Simkin,1975). However, the impact was limited to the development of a trade union consciousness rather than an anti-capitalist consciousness. Thus adult education in the context of the trade union movement contributed to what Mogalakwe (1994: 178) has accurately called 'ideological habituation', namely, the acceptance of capitalist hegemony.

Finally, the research agenda in Chapter Nine draws attention to the possibility of adult education within organisations in civil society that espouse an explicitly socialist vision. The only example in the period was the adult education associated with the Serowe Brigades between 1969 and 1978. In the late 1960s van Rensburg, the founder of the Serowe Brigades, began to develop a socialist ideology derived from writers such as Rene Dumont and Franz Fanon and from the example of the Cultural Revolution in China. In 1969 he established Boiteko as a model rural development project of education, training and employment for poor adults based on self-managed production. Its conception was influenced by the model of a socialist cooperative and by his understanding of what was happening in China at the time, where rural development was emphasising labour-intensive methods, cheap technologies and small-scale collective

production (van Rensburg,1994). The model aimed to raise rural living standards and also:

(f) To encourage co-operation and interdependence;
(g) To encourage spontaneous capital formation and to promote the control by ordinary people of their own enterprises and capital;
(h) To impart and to improve skills;
(i) To broaden the horizons and increase the awareness of participants. (van Rensburg,1974: 100)

The project involved men and women and maximised the use of local raw materials, such as lime and animal skins. By the early 1970s over 100 adults were engaged in a variety of productive activities such as gardening, weaving, tanning and brick-making. van Rensburg envisaged the model of the village cooperative as a context for imparting *technical and management skills and providing general education including literacy.* Above all the cooperative would create 'a new reality in people's lives to shape...a new consciousness.' (van Rensburg,1974: 104). In fact Boiteko ran into a number of problems deriving from organisational issues and the wider socio-economic environment and it was unable to provide sufficient income to retain its members. The number of participants dwindled in the mid-1970s to less than twenty, all of whom were women.

van Rensburg's socialist ideology developed in its sophistication and in its theoretical basis in Marxist analysis. By 1976 he saw Serowe Brigades as a centre for preparing young people from poor peasant and rural proletariat backgrounds to oppose capitalist exploitation and fight for social transformation. As part of this strategy he encouraged consciousness-raising adult education by Brigades staff amongst the unskilled workers in the Brigades (such as cooks and drivers) and amongst Boiteko's members (van Rensburg,1984: 41-43). But these activities were short-lived as Serowe Brigades came under sustained attack by the state in 1977 and 1978, leading to van Rensburg's resignation in 1979. By 1983 the Serowe Brigades had collapsed and in 1984 Boiteko was registered as an Agricultural Management Association under the Ministry of Agriculture, a conventional income-generating project engaged in vegetable and poultry production. Thus the state contained the oppositional potential of the Serowe Brigades and Boiteko and successfully limited the impact of the socialist adult education experiment.

ENDNOTE

1. Needless to say, this is not to imply that the Botswana state is exceptional and immune to fiscal and legitimation problems. Indeed the economic and political difficulties experienced since 1991 suggest that a crisis of the state may well occur during the second half of the 1990s.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

The purpose of the study as stated in Chapter One was essentially one of theory-building. The study sought to elaborate a theoretical framework for a political economy approach to the study of adult education and development and to generate research agendas which could guide research applying this theoretical position. In order to examine the explanatory capability of the approach, these agendas were applied to a particular peripheral capitalist country. The resultant analysis provided an interpretation of the context and nature of adult education in Botswana during the first twenty five years after independence from British colonial rule. The study was therefore divided between chapters with a theoretical focus and chapters discussing the specific case of Botswana between 1966 and 1991.

Chapter Two provided a discussion of Marxist social theory in order to establish the study's analytical approach based on Marxist political economy. It advocated an undogmatic and creative conception of Marxism that can address new realities and theoretical developments. It provided an outline of Marxist political economy that focused on a number of key concepts, namely: historical materialism, the mode of production, class, capitalism, imperialism, social revolution, socialism, the state, the party, consciousness, ideology and hegemony. It was argued that these concepts provide the basis for a distinctive type of analysis which examines the relationship between the mode of economic organisation on the one hand and social and political phenomena on the other. The chapter then assessed six recent critiques of Marxist theory and practice. Following the discussion, a summary of the political economy approach was presented. The summary furnished the basis for reviewing the literature on the political economy of adult education which had been since the mid-1970s. The literature was found to be uneven in terms of its conceptual basis, its analytical sophistication and its coverage of the field of adult education. The review concluded that none of the previous works had achieved an integrated approach using all the key elements of the theory included in the summary. However, taken together they did illustrate the analytical potential of applying the Marxist political economy approach in research on adult education. The chapter concluded by presenting the theoretical framework of the study.

The central argument of the study was that adult education in the countries of the South takes place largely within the discourse of development, that is the idea that deliberate action can be undertaken to change society in chosen directions considered desirable. Policy-makers and practitioners set goals and assess performance in terms of ideas about the relationship of adult education to development. Chapter Three therefore provided a discussion of the evolution of different conceptions of development and their perspectives on adult education. It considered five schools of thought about development, namely modernisation theory, dependency theory, neo-liberal theory, 'alternative' approaches and political economy. It showed that each of the first four paradigms has a distinctive position on the nature of development and the means for achieving it. Consequently they have differing ideas about the role of adult education in relation to development. Finally the chapter considered political economy as a

theoretical approach to the analysis of development. It argued that the Marxist tradition of the political economy of development provided a fertile source of analytical approaches to the study of social phenomena in the specific context of peripheral capitalism. Hence it concluded that the theoretical framework established in Chapter Two provided a valid and relevant basis for the study of adult education and development.

The theoretical framework of the study posited that adult education activities take place within a structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relations. Thus considerations of adult education in the countries of peripheral capitalism must provide a historical analysis of the penetration and expansion of the capitalist mode of production and an examination of the contemporary processes of capitalist socio-economic development. Chapter Four presented on overview of development in Botswana between 1966 and 1991 within this perspective. It showed that the initial contacts with the capitalist mode of production had led to a period of economic growth but that this had been truncated by colonisation, which had reduced the territory to a labour reserve for the mining industry of South Africa. At Independence in 1966, Botswana was dependent and impoverished, one of the ten poorest countries in the world. However, the discovery of diamonds had led to spectacular economic growth and the consolidation of capitalism as the dominant mode of production. A modernisation model of development had been followed by a ruling coalition of classes based on the cattle-owning class and the petty-bourgeoisie which had secured mass support from the majority peasant population. This had created a period of political stability within the framework of liberal democracy, as the revenues available to the state had enabled policies favouring the dominant classes and social welfare measures that assisted the subordinated classes. However, there was a very high degree of income inequality. It was argued that Botswana's record of development in the period was one of dependent capitalist development. Despite its apparent success, its development path did not resolve either the economy's vulnerability and subordination within the global economy or the structural inequalities and contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production. The chapter concluded with a brief introduction to adult education in Botswana within this structural context.

The focus of the study was the political economy of adult education in peripheral capitalist countries. Such countries are by definition on the edges of the historic centre of capitalism, whose evolution involved the steady incorporation of all the pre-capitalist areas of the world into a global economic system. The study maintained that it is this process of incorporation, impelled by external forces, which gives the peripheral countries their specific characteristics. In Chapter Five this position was theorised in terms of imperialism, that is, the process of capitalist accumulation on a world scale. Since 1945, imperialism has involved the internationalisation of capital, the expansion of international trade and the integration of the world economy but the international division of labour continues to be characterised by a high level of inequality. The peripheral countries depend on the advanced capitalist countries for capital, technology and markets. This global political economy is supported by aid, which is the transfer of public funds by the state in industrialised countries to the South. It was argued that aid provides a channel for external influences over development policies and programmes and that it has a systemic role in developing the conditions for world-wide

capitalist accumulation. The nature of the aid regime was discussed in terms of aid as imperialism. The provision of aid to adult education was identified as an important factor in the development of adult education in the South and this was regarded as one of the modes of mediation of imperialism. The ways in which this mediation takes place were discussed and illustrated by the examples of agricultural extension and trade union education. The chapter concluded with a research agenda for studying aid and adult education within specific national contexts. The agenda had four components: the national aid situation; aid to the adult education sector; aid projects in the adult education sector; and the consequences of aid to adult education.

The next chapter applied this agenda to Botswana between 1966 and 1991. It showed that the state had pursued an explicit policy of seeking high levels of aid to promote its development strategies so that aid constituted an important element of the development budget and the level of aid per capita was one of the highest in the world. It was argued that the external influences of aid converged with the interests of the dominant classes so that aid was an integral part of the country's economic and political development. The extensive provision of aid to Botswana generally was shown to be the case in the specific sector of adult education, where the majority of programmes received aid in various forms. The nature and impact of aid was demonstrated in a case study on the initial years of the National Literacy Programme. The chapter showed that aid had significantly influenced the formulation and implementation of adult education policies.

The theoretical framework of the study posited that social inequality is a structural feature of capitalist society. It suggested that the analysis of social phenomena such as adult education must take into account the multiple effects and interactions of the inequalities of class, gender, race and ethnicity. Chapter Seven argued that social inequality affects the nature of adult education at every level, including policies, programmes and curricula, and that it shapes the outcomes of participation in adult education activities. From this perspective, adult education was seen as a resource in society which benefits some social groups and disadvantages others. To explore this viewpoint, the chapter considered social inequality in peripheral capitalism along the dimensions of class, gender and ethnicity. It then related inequality to the provision of adult education and the effects of adult education in either reproducing or undermining the hierarchies of the status quo. The discussion led to the presentation of a research agenda for the study of social inequality and adult education within peripheral capitalism. The agenda proposed that the specific nature of class, gender and ethnicity in a given country must be analysed as the basis for studying how adult education reproduces the various forms of inequality or involves resistance, either formally (for example in the choice of curriculum contents) or informally (for example, through drop-out). The complexity of the agenda was noted as it needed to comprehend three parallel but interacting systems of inequality.

Chapter Eight applied this agenda to Botswana in the 1966-1991 period. It analysed the class structure and showed how the majority of adult education programmes contributed to the reproduction of existing classes or assisted in the formation of emerging classes. A case study of extension services for small businesses illustrated how adult education contributed to the formation of the petty bourgeoisie.

On the other hand there was little evidence of resistance to class inequalities through adult education, with the exception of a production cooperative and some examples of informal learner behaviour. The nature of gender relations was analysed and again it was concluded that most adult education activity reproduced the subordinate position of women in society. Home economics education exemplified the extent to which prevailing assumptions about women's role in reproduction and the gender division of labour permeated adult education provision. Very little adult education challenged the ideology and practices of patriarchy in an organised way, although it was shown that for some women the experience of adult education may have had contradictory outcomes at a personal level. The pattern of ethnic inequality was examined and a clear ethnic hierarchy revealed. It was shown that adult education overwhelmingly reinforced this hierarchy and avoided a concern with ethnic diversity and the empowerment of ethnic minorities. This conclusion was illustrated by a case study of the Remote Area Development Programme. Finally the chapter provided an example of curriculum analysis which showed how the hidden curriculum of adult education in the classroom can convey dominant ideological positions in relation to class, gender and ethnic superiority.

The final element of the theoretical framework of the study was the contention that adult education is embedded in the political processes of society. It was suggested that the nature of adult education reflects the interests and values of different social groups and the distribution of power in society. Thus the study of adult education must investigate the extent to which it serves to reinforce the existing power structure and its socio-economic order or contributes to social change based on alternative ideas about society and its development. The key concepts identified for political analysis were the state and civil society and Chapter Nine elaborated these concepts in the context of peripheral capitalism. It was argued that the state has a dual role: a) to guarantee the conditions for capitalist accumulation and reproduction; and b) to organise the legitimation of the capitalist socio-economic order. It defined civil society as the associational life beyond the limits of the state and indicated that it is a domain of ideological contestation. Hence there are organisations in civil society which oppose aspects of capitalist society and propose different ideas of development, some of which embody a socialist vision of society. It was suggested that these concepts provide the basis for assessing the political dimensions of adult education in peripheral capitalism. Thus the adult education provided by the state is likely to reflect its role in promoting capitalist accumulation and legitimating the socio-economic order. Similarly the struggle for hegemony within civil society is also played out in adult education. Some organisations of civil society provide adult education which is congruent with the ideologies of the state, whilst others engage in counter-hegemonic adult education activities that promote social change. The chapter finished with a research agenda on the state, civil society and adult education designed to reveal the political nature and implications of adult education in a given national context.

Chapter Ten applied the research agenda to Botswana. It provided analysis of the Botswana state between 1966 and 1991 which concluded that the legitimacy of the state and of the capitalist socio-economic order which it upheld remained strong throughout the period. The assessment of the state-society relationship was that the state allowed little room for the development of autonomous organisations in civil

society and contained any potential opposition. It limited popular participation and implemented a top-down approach to development. The organisations of civil society were relatively weak as the strong state was under the control of classes and social groups which sought to retain their dominance within society. The majority of voluntary associations served to diffuse the hegemony of these classes and groups. Thus very few bodies posed a challenge to capitalist hegemony. This balance of power in society was reflected in the sphere of adult education. It was shown that the state was overwhelmingly the main provider of adult education. Its programmes, such as agricultural extension, supported its model of economic development. Adult education was also used as part of the state's legitimation strategies, as shown in the case of a radio learning group campaign on a new land tenure policy to facilitate capitalist livestock production. With regard to civil society, it was shown that the adult education work of the churches, the non governmental organisations and the employers' association served to reinforce capitalist hegemony. There was very little evidence of counter hegemonic adult education even within the trade union movement. The only exceptions were a programme on women's rights and a brief experiment with socialist political consciousness-raising within a village cooperative and skills training centre.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study had a theoretical purpose and therefore two thirds of the thesis was devoted to elaborating the Marxist political economy of adult education and development. To illustrate the application of this theory, the rest of the thesis comprised a historical analysis of adult education in Botswana between 1966 and 1991 based on documentary sources. The results of this theory-building exercise have a number of implications for the study of adult education in the South in terms of theoretical development and empirical research.

The Study of Adult Education and Development in Peripheral Capitalism

The development of adult education as a field of study has been hampered by the tendency for research to focus on empiricist studies so that the building of theories embodying conceptual schemes and general propositions has been restricted. However, the example of this thesis suggests that the effort to develop appropriate theoretical frameworks for the study of adult education in the South is worthwhile as it has provided explanations of a wide range of adult education phenomena. The implication of the study is that different theoretical frameworks based on other paradigms should be elaborated and applied so that they too can be judged in terms of their ability to generate research questions, their internal consistency and their explanatory power.

The study suggests that a specific area for increased theoretical awareness is that of development theory. There is a need to identify the theoretical foundations of trends in development policies and to reveal their implications for adult education. The conscious identification of development theory will enable a more analytical approach to adult education and the avoidance of normative discussions which leave theoretical assumptions unexamined and unexplained. Thus clear distinctions will be apparent between the model of development being studied in a particular situation and the conception of development held by the researcher. Two tasks are particularly important

at this time. First there is need for an in-depth critical analysis of neo-liberal development theory and its significance for adult education. Secondly, there is need for a comprehensive study of the 'alternative' paradigm of development, including an analysis of its strengths and weaknesses and a discussion of its implications for adult education. The fact that by the mid-1990s the study of adult education has not yet fully analysed these two schools of thought about development which emerged in the 1980s provides a lesson for the future: research on adult education in the South must identify trends in development theory as soon as they become discernible in practice and in the specialist literature and immediately debate their ramifications.

The theoretical framework of Marxist political economy used in this study needs to be refined and extended in a number of ways, as follows:

- Refinement of the conceptualisation of the development of the capitalist mode of production in terms of the idea of uneven development in order to encompass the increasingly varied levels of development within the South, for example in South and East Asia compared to Sub Saharan Africa.

- Extension of the analysis of imperialism and adult education to include the impact of the transnational corporations on the nature of adult education.

- Extension of the scope of social inequalities and adult education to include a greater consideration of race and additional areas of social division such as religion and caste.

- Refinement of the analysis of the state and adult education to encompass situations in which the state has collapsed, as in Liberia and Somalia.

- Extension of the area of political analysis to include political parties and their adult education activities.

- Refinement of the idea of post-capitalist society to take into account theoretical and practical developments since 1989-1991. As part of this exercise, implementation of historical studies of adult education in the South in countries which followed a socialist model of development such as China and Cuba.

- Extension of the framework to include the political economy of the environment and of adult education related to ecological issues.

In general terms, the adequacy of the framework needs to be tested by applying it in a variety of different national contexts to produce studies similar to the one on Botswana for comparative purposes.

The theoretical framework of the study provides the basis for detailed empirical studies of aspects of adult education which will have the following characteristics: a) an explicit theoretical foundation; b) a historical perspective; and c) an appreciation of the structural context of adult education. The guidelines for empirical studies within

the political economy framework are to be found in the research agendas presented in the conclusions to Chapters Five, Seven and Nine:

i) *Aid and adult education.* There have been very few empirical studies of aid and adult education. Hence there is need for a variety of studies ranging from national policy studies (including statistical analyses) to micro-level studies of aid's impact on specific programmes (including ethnographic investigations). Particularly interesting would be studies designed to examine the extent to which policy-makers, practitioners and participants resisted the external influences embodied in the aid process and followed agendas of their own which diverged from those of the aid providers.

ii) *Social inequality and adult education.* The growth of feminism has made it increasingly likely that empirical studies of gender relations and adult education will be undertaken, which is to be welcomed. But it is important that studies related to class and ethnicity are also carried out so that the full scope of the research agenda is covered. A special area of attention should be the interaction between the various systems of inequality as it poses complex problems of analysis. Overall, two lines of enquiry may be especially fruitful. The first is outcomes research that analyses over time the consequences of participation in particular forms of adult education, perhaps through tracer studies and life histories of participants. The second is research into the content and processes of the curriculum, using textual and content analysis, classroom observation and other qualitative techniques.

iii) *The state, civil society and adult education.* The political analysis of adult education is a neglected area of research so that the field suggested by the research agenda is wide open. A broad variety of areas of empirical inquiry arises, ranging from policy studies relating to state programmes to case studies of particular organisations in civil society.

The Study of Adult Education in Botswana

The study applied the research agendas derived from the theoretical framework to a specific period of Botswana's post-colonial history. Many aspects of these agendas had never been previously explored, such as aid to adult education or ideology in the curriculum. The interpretation of the documentary evidence indicated the potential of the political economy approach to explain the nature of adult education phenomena in the context of Botswana's development. It is suggested that this provides the starting point for empirical studies that analyse current adult education activities. This should include the examination of particular aspects of adult education in great depth. The brief case studies illustrated how aspects of adult education could be investigated in detail. The implication of the study is therefore that there is a need to undertake a comprehensive programme of research guided by the three research agendas.

Finally, it should be noted that the analysis of the political economy of adult education and development in Botswana between 1966 and 1991 showed that virtually all adult education activity served to reinforce the status quo. It is concluded that those committed to research as critical praxis must explore how the study of adult education can contribute to adult education for social change.

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