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**NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA: A CASE
STUDY OF THE SENEGALESE EXPERIENCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED
SCHOOLS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

MBAROU GASSAMA-MBAYE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2004

School of Education

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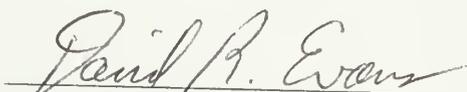
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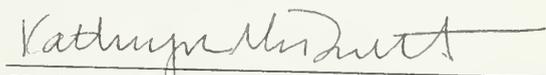
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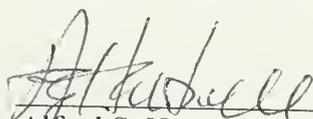
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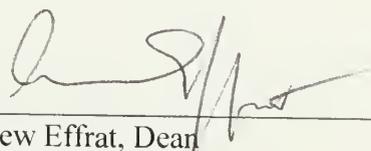
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DEDICATION

To my mother Adja Marie Ndiaye and the memory of my father Mamadou Gassama

To my husband El Hadj Ahmadou Mbaye and my children

Mame Maryé, Abdou Aziz, Yaye Kéne, Ibrahima and Abass for

all your love and support

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I am mostly and deeply grateful to my husband El Hadj Mbaye for his patience, support, understanding and love.

ABSTRACT

NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF THE SENEGALESE EXPERIENCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED SCHOOLS

MAY 2004

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The study reviews the history of education in Francophone West Africa from the post-colonial era to the current period. It gives primary attention to the conflicting goals of formal and Islamic education, the place of nonformal education during colonial period and looks at the attitude of policymakers towards nonformal education after independence. Furthermore, it examines the role of international partners of development, the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF and bilateral cooperation in shaping education policies in Third World countries; presents the background of the Education for All (EFA) movement, its goals, and rationale; and analyzes the Fast-Track Initiative (FTI), the place of nonformal education in the movement, and its implications in Third World education policies.

The study focuses on the Sénégalaise experience. After presenting the education system and the strategies of the government to achieve Education for All in 2015, the author, drawing on field research using interviews, focus groups, surveys, and observations, describes different models of community-based schools and contrasts

government and NGO schools. The study analyzes the attitudes of parents, students, and teachers, officials of the Ministry of National Education, the Delegate Ministry of Professional Training, Vocational Education, Literacy and National Languages and NGOs towards community-based schools and raises the issues of girls' education, religious education, and teacher' training. At the end, the author highlights the challenges that community-based schools face and provides recommendations for the state, communities, and school administrations to improve access and to assure the relevance of education to local populations.

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INTRODUCTION

Nonformal education was developed in Third World countries in the 1970' to face the increasing demand for formal education, the limitation of the state resources, and the lack of adaptation of formal school graduates to development needs. Nonformal education becomes an important issue in a situation where most people are illiterate and when all sectors of development are priorities: health, education, agriculture, industry etc. because of the urgent need to promote critical sectors of development. The state has asked communities, NGOs, associations, etc (generally non-traditional partners of formal schools) to support the education system and has encouraged communities to take responsibility for their schools. Many community schools were created in this context.

Theorists of alternative education believe that the role of the community school is to promote awareness about community issues and connect the school to local realities. From the functionalist perspective, the community school is a complement to the network of formal schools, its main goal being increase access, by establishing schools in locations that the government cannot reach.

In practice, formal and nonformal education approaches have been combined .in community schools to provide education to underserved children in developing countries with a focus on learning outcomes. Escuela Nueva is an example of a nonformal community school model, implemented in rural Colombia that has been expanded to more than ten Latin American countries. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) is another example of community schools that were implemented

in thousands of villages in rural and poor urban areas in Bangladesh. (Farrell, 2003). Upper Egypt, another example of community schools contributed to bringing schools into resistant Muslim communities, and increasing girls' enrollment in school. These models have brought community issues into the school, used local languages, and made the school more relevant to the local context. They have been identified as an effective strategy to achieving Education for All in Third World countries and have inspired many developing countries. Senegal is among countries that attempted to use nonformal education to achieve education for all

I am interested in community schools in Sénégal as an alternative to formal education to achieve EFA in 2015. Since independence, the government of Sénégal has been committed to achieving universal primary education through the formal education system, introduced along with the colonization. Despite the progress that the government has made during the last decade years (gross enrollment rate has increased from 56.81% in 1990/91 to 75% in 2004ⁱ), in 2004, more than 25% of the school population cannot attend schools despite an increasing budget allocated to primary education, and the support of the international development partners.

Community-based schools were introduced in Sénégal in 1991/92 following the United Nations World Conference on Education for All to provide education for underserved populations, rural and poor urban children. Although the experience has lasted ten years, there is little information about people's perceptions of the experience.

ⁱ Source: Diagne, Daffe, Wane; Unite de Politique Economique/ *Centre de Recherche Appliquées, Université de Dakar et Ministère de l'Education Nationale* (2002).

I decided to explore the attitudes of different stakeholders toward community-based schools to learn more about nonformal education in Sénégal.

The purpose of the study is to describe attitudes of different stakeholders, compare government and NGO community schools, identify challenges and make recommendations. The study was located in five regions: Dakar, Thies, Saint-Louis, Diourbel, and Louga and the result were a description of different experiences and recommendations at the state, school and community levels. The study is a contribution to the educational policy analysis and the state. NGOs and *opérateurs* can use the findings to improve the practice.

Chapter one clarifies definitions of informal, formal, nonformal education, and community schools; it focuses on characteristics of formal and nonformal education and looks at the implications of these models for Third World countries. In addition, it poses the problem of the relationships between formal and nonformal education in Sénégal.

Chapter two presents the objectives of the study, research questions and the methodology used to conduct the study.

Chapter three explores the history of education in Francophone West Africa, the relationship between formal and nonformal education, and the attitude of stakeholders towards nonformal education through pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

Chapter four describes the role of the international of partners of development in shaping Third World education policies through the Education for All (EFA) movement. It presents the background and the goals of the movement and analyzes the place of formal and nonformal education.

Chapter five presents different experiences of community-based schools in Sénégal and compares the NGO schools with the government schools.

Chapter six looks at the attitudes of parents, students, teachers, NGOs and the government towards community-based schools and raises the issue of girls' education, the role of the community, and the place of religion in the school.

Chapter seven identifies challenges that community-based schools face and chapter eight looks at implications of the experience of community-based school on the promotion of nonformal education in Sénégal and provides recommendations for the government, community members and for community-based school administration.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM: FORMAL AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION

The study is concerned with the relationship between formal and nonformal education in developing countries. The chapter explores the terminology as defined by a variety of education thinkers and suggests specific references to Sénégal.

General definitions

The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCE) distinguishes three main categories of education: formal, nonformal and informal education. UNESCO added a fourth category, experiential learning, which includes “learning by doing and self-directed learning” (Torres, 2001, Para 9). Education systems can be classified into two main clusters: organized and non-organized education.

In non-organized education, individuals learn without defined objectives, for example through personal experiences, interactions with other individuals or nature (Ahmed & Coombs, 1975). It also includes education received from the family and the society (Torres, 2001). Informal education is part of this category and is defined as:

The life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily living experiences at home, at the workplace, or in any social situation (Berstecher, 1985, p. 43).

By contrast, organized education has defined objectives and targets a defined population. Organized education includes formal, nonformal education, and experiential learning. Chu (1994) defines formal education as:

Intentionally organized full-time learning events with regular fixed duration and schedule, structured hierarchically with chronological succession of levels and grades, administration requirements, and formal registration, catering mainly to the population 5-25 years of age that is enrolled in established educational institutions, and using pre-determined pedagogical organization, contents, methods, and teaching-learning materials (Chu, 1994, p. 96).

La Belle defines nonformal education as:

Any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children (La Belle, 2004, Para 3).

According to Roger (2004), experiential learning refers to applied knowledge and entails the personal involvement of the learner: a self-initiated learning that has a lasting effect on the learners resulting in personal change and growth. It is based on principles of relevance of the subject to the learner and the confidence and trust of the learner in the teacher. These principles and goals coincide with those of nonformal education.

Formal education

From the functionalist perspective, formal education prepares students for the job market, and to achieve this goal, schools concentrate on subjects that the market values. The model assumes that access is easy and everybody is qualified to be educated (Hanrahan 2000). Education contributes to developing a modern society, stimulates economic growth, and promotes equality, a culture of shared values, norms and conventions among its citizens and makes the society functional (Hanrahan, 2000). The outcome of formal education is a degree or diploma that confirms the student's

readiness for the job market or its potential to further his/her education in other systems, which are quite similar around the world. Formal schools can be public or private.

Formal education has three competing goals based on two principles: to build an ideal democratic society and to produce an outcome that fits in the market system. These principles can be translated into three sets of goals: democratic equality, social efficiency and social mobility (Labaree, 1997).

With the goal of democratic equality, the school prepares children to become citizens. Education is viewed as a public good that should be accessible for all. Equal access to education for different groups will give equal opportunity to all citizens (Labaree, 1997, p.21).

With the goal of social efficiency, the school delivers productive workers. Education is a public good for public and private sectors. Vocational schools and the stratification of education into different levels (primary, secondary, tertiary and vocational) facilitate the adaptation of school curricula to the needs of the labor market.

With the goal of social mobility, the school provides skills for students to move to an upper social status. This goal is centered on the individual consumer. Education is a private good for personal consumption. (Labaree, 1997, p. 18-22).

Labaree's analysis of the formal education system can be expanded to developing countries whose education system aims at achieving the same goals in a different economic context.

Nonformal education

In the 1970's, radical theorists viewed education as an instrument of political awareness and economic and cultural freedom for social change (Dedominico 2002). The radical theory is concerned with "man's emancipation from the structures which limit and stunt his potential for development" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 17). The radical approach to education includes the theorists of the de-schooling movement (Illich, 1970), dependency theory (Rama, 1985), liberation theories: Paulo Freire (2000), Gramsci (1977), and Mayo (1994) among others. From these perspectives, education should not just be an instrument of development but also political liberation.

Evans classifies nonformal education according to their relationships with formal education. He identifies three models:

- The *complementary* model that targets formal school students and provides complementary activities to curriculum such as sport clubs, choruses, languages clubs etc. The content of the program links the training to the school curriculum.
- The *supplementary* model that is an addition to formal schools. It targets primary school leavers and secondary school unemployed graduates. It provides professional training for these students and links the training to the community life.
- The *replacement* model targets adults and children who don't have access to formal education. The program provides basic literacy, numeracy, practical life skills in health, nutrition, agricultural extension etc. (Evans, 1981, p. 21-22).

Nonformal education is characterized by the political orientation of the school, the population targeted, the community participation, the method of teaching, students' evaluation, the material used, and the funding agencies.

From the radical perspective, nonformal education raises consciousness and encourages participants to take responsibility for their own learning process (Evans, 1981, p. 37). The community, often poor, actively participates in the school management and students have an independent student government body that raise their concerns within the school.

Students are encouraged to develop their critical thinking ability, to focus on the process rather than their grades. The teaching method is based on problem-posing and collective response. It provides a context to learning, connects the school to the community. It is child-centered, and uses a peer-tutoring approach (Schiefelbein, 1992; Farrell, 2003; Hartwell, 1997).

The model uses self-guide books; students are responsible for their own learning, and progress at their individual pace. The school is a non-graded model, and participants develop their individual abilities. The curriculum is oriented towards local, often rural needs (Schiefelbein, 1992).

Learning objectives focus on developing observable skills, useful in daily life, such as functional writing and reading o general knowledge related to the pupil's environment (Hartwell, 1997, p. 3). The assessment of learning happens through systematic observation rather than examinations. The role of the facilitator is to observe and assess the pupil's competencies. Being able to write the name of the village, of family members, names of important places of the village can be a form of assessing students' writing skills. The model sees evaluation as part of the growing process rather than a control over the learning process. The objective of evaluation is to better orient the learning in relation with the curriculum (Hartwell, 1997).

Schools oriented towards nonformal education are often financed by religious and charitable organizations, concerned with uplifting and improving the life of poor people. (Fletcher, 2000, Bray, 1988). Such schools have difficulties finding long-term support. In many countries, they are funded through short-term projects, and this limits their sustainability (Farrell, 2001, p. 12).

The Escuela Nueva in rural Colombia and Upper Egypt community schools are typical examples of the nonformal education that proven that nonformal education can be instrumental in improving students learning achievement and enrollment. The use of nonformal education in community schools has also contributed to increasing adult education, community organization and improving agricultural extension (Hartwell, 1997; Schiefelbein, 1992).

Relationships between formal and nonformal education

In most Third World countries, nonformal education was developed to better adapt the education system to development needs and to provide education at least cost. Most policies use a combination of formal and nonformal education to achieve the goal of sending all children to school. However, educationists and many parents believe in the higher quality of formal education and this perception is still dominant in many developing countries.

Formal education is perceived as a step to access to a higher social status. According to Sheffield, the issues of social mobility and social efficiency have made education an important issue for parents, private, and the public sector. Formal education enables

parents to secure their child's future; as such it is viewed as a good investment. From the state perspective, increasing formal school graduates promotes private and public economic development sector. These expectations have made formal education a growing domain throughout the world (Sheffield, 1972, p. 241).

The international community of donors that has largely influenced education policies in developing countries has supported formal schooling to improve economic growth and modernization. According to La Belle (1976), formal education was viewed during the 1950's and 1960 as an instrument of economic development, modernization, and nation building. However, education systems did not meet these expectations, failing to adjust to learning objectives, development needs, to local knowledge, and realities (Farrell, 2003; Manish, 1997; Honig, 1998).

Because formal education, imported from First World, is designed for the modern sector, different levels of education (primary, secondary, university, vocational), consistently coincide with the segmentation of the labor market of industrialized nations. However, this design does not fit into the structure of Third World economies, dominated by informal and rural sectors. The modern sector cannot offer jobs to most formal school system graduates (Honig, 1998).

Furthermore, the importation of formal education, along with the colonial foreign language and culture contributed to re-enforcing a cultural dependency and the neglect of local languages. In addition, formal schools are expensive and most Third World countries cannot afford them for all children.

These challenges led governments, NGOs, and the community of international donors to explore alternative to the formal system in the 1970's. Evans views nonformal

education in developing countries as a response to the crisis of the formal education system: the limitation of the national budget to finance education, the lack of connection between the formal school training and the job market, and the failure of formal education to satisfy the demand of education (Evans, 1981).

The promotion of effective nonformal education in policies, parallel to the formal education system, contributed to better managing educational resources and connecting the education sector with local needs. McDermott compared nonformal and formal school graduates, trained to work in a modern sector that often is not able to provide enough jobs and said that, in a context of under development, formal school graduates are more likely to emigrate in modern nations to find jobs relevant to their training, causing a brain drain, which is a loss for the community. Nonformal education is more cost-effective than formal education (McDermott, Personal communication, September, 2003).

Honig believes that the manufacturing sector in developing countries has not grown enough to provide adequate jobs for qualified formal school graduates. This lack of opportunities discourages students from enrolling and staying in school. Investment in vocational schools contributes to modernization and provides more skilled workers for the informal sector (Honig, 1998, p. 73). The author suggests diversifying the secondary school curriculum, combining academic with vocational /adult education in order to promote self-employment jobs, and to help graduates strengthen the informal sector such as micro-enterprises in services, small scale production etc. The following table helps to differentiate categories of formal and nonformal education.

Table 1: Comparative categories: Formal /nonformal education. (Adapted from Cunningham, 1994, p. 907)

Categories	Functionalist/formal	Radical/nonformal
goals	Consensus, social cohesion	Radical transformation
Role of the state	Important	Marginal: NGO, religious organizations
Definition of community	Geographical community	Geographical; racial/ethnic, gender, social class.
Location	Poor urban, and rural areas	Poor urban areas. and rural areas
Community involvement	Low School management, social mobilization, discipline of teachers and students	High Building the school Teaching Managing Generating knowledge
Learning methods	Product oriented, focus on tasks	Process oriented, focus on process of thinking
Teaching methods	Centered in formal, use of nonformal Passive learning Formal system methods Frontal teaching Teacher centered Rote learning Command method	Centered on nonformal, use of formal Active learning Nonformal methods Individualized teaching Student centered Problem solving Discovery method Context relevant Peer tutoring
Teachers' qualifications	Highly qualified, longer training	Lower level of education, shorter training
Teachers' salary	State Grants Full time, Part time Better paid	Community, state, NGOs Volunteers, Part time Lesser paid
School management	Government, private sector	Community
School Financing	State, learners	NGOs religious organization, communities, learners
Assessment	Standardized tests and quantitative approach of assessment	Qualitative approach Observations of acquired competencies and skills

Formal/ nonformal education: community schools in Africa

In most African countries, community schools combine formal and nonformal dimensions of education with pre-dominantly formal education. Community schools are characterized by the involvement of the community in the management of the school, the poor population targeted the location of the school, the cost-sharing among community members, and the use of formal school curriculum.

Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder (2002) identify three categories of community school in Africa:

- Newly created and community-owned schools: These use the same curriculum, teaching methods, and approaches as the formal school. They are managed by the community.
- Newly created alternative community-owned schools: These operate as alternatives to formal school, using creative methods of teaching; they are less costly and more adapted to the needs of the community.
- Government schools: These are government-owned community schools, which are managed by the community.

The first and third groups follow the supplementary model defined by Evans (1981). Schools target the formal school population and use the same curriculum as the formal primary school. The authors perceive community schools as a supplement to the network of formal schools. They enroll a category of population that would not have access otherwise. All three models prepare students to enter formal schools and have the same goal as the latter.

Community schools can combine a formal and nonformal approach or use one of the two methods exclusively. Government community schools often use the “command”

model, which concentrates on regulations, and control and are highly dependent on the central authority. The curriculum mainly covers the formal school curriculum to enable students to continue in the system (Farrell, 2000; Schiefelbein, 1992). As a complement to the formal school network, community schools contribute to increasing access to underserved and marginalized population. (Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder, 2002).

However, community school students have difficulty to continue in the formal school system because of the use of national languages. A study conducted in Mali and Malawi in 1997 showed that community school students are less likely to continue beyond sixth grade. The use of national languages limits those students to move to regular formal schools that use French or English. In addition, community schools are often financed by partners of development and communities are less likely to pay teachers' salary, the supervision, and school materials at the end of the project. (Muskin, 1997). The lack of sustainability of community school and the limitations of possibilities of social mobility has led some parents to perceive community schools as a second class education.

Table 2: Mapping of community schools in Africa

Nature of the school	Formal	Nonformal
State	X	X
Private	X	
Community schools	X	X
Other programs		X

Community-based schools in Sénégal

Community schools in Sénégal are labeled “Ecoles Communautaires de Base” or community-based schools. They complement the network of formal schools and are a state initiative in conjunction with NGOs. To better understand the situation in Sénégal, I will explore community-based schools within the overall context of nonformal education. Diouf, Mbayc & Natachan (2001) group nonformal education into three categories: the complementary, alternative, and unrelated to the formal education. They all share the communality of being “out-of- school programs”, and seek to solve a problem of development.

The *complementary* model is labeled the “modern model”. It follows the formal school curriculum, schedule, and methods of teaching; it aims at re-integrating drop-out pupils and providing academic support for those who attend double shift classrooms. Nonformal methods of teaching and learning are used in addition to formal school methods. Schools target primary school pupils and also provide them with practical training. These are often neighborhood schools: teachers are volunteers, unemployed university graduates, and resources persons from the local community. These schools have few financial resources (examples: ACAPES, Enda Tiers Monde, CIFOP, CEVA, associative school).

The *alternative* model provides functional literacy, post-literacy for adults as well as community-based schools for youth. Functional literacy programs target as a priority illiterate women and the rural population. The alternative model provides

literacy, numeracy and civic education. The post-literacy program is intended to create a literate environment in villages by providing books and newspapers to consolidate the reading skills acquired through the literacy program. The government, through the project PAPA, initiated community-based schools with other NGOs. Community-based schools target dropout students and those who don't have access to formal schools. The school has two objectives: to prepare students to enter formal schools, and provide professional skills. The state plans to enroll 5% of pupils in such schools in 2010 to achieve the objective of Education for All (EFA) (Examples of community-based schools: PAPA, ADEF/ Afrique, Plan International, Aide & Actions).

Models unrelated to formal education include literacy numeracy, and professional training. Those link education with the development, and use nonformal techniques. The objective of these models, initiated by NGOs, is the social and professional integration of marginalized children. (Example: ANAFA) (Diouf, Mbaye, Natachan, 2001, p. 22-27).

Koranic schools labeled "Daaras" can also be considered as types of the nonformal education, contributing to increasing the literacy level. Religion is not taught in Sénégalaise public schools. Daaras are religious schools that focus on Islamic education, enrolling children from five to fifteen years old. The objectives of Daaras are to increase Koranic knowledge and promote income-generating skills. They are among the oldest forms of nonformal education in Sénégal, and have no link with the formal system. In the regions of Diourbel and Kaolack, they compete with formal schools. For example, in rural areas, parents prefer to send their sons to the Daara rather than to formal schools to learn their religion.

Conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter, I presented a definition of formal and nonformal education based on the dichotomy, functionalist and radical approaches of education. My goal was to present a theoretical model that would help to better understand the relationships between formal and nonformal education and its implications on the current situation of community schools in Africa. In addition, breaking down the concept of formal and nonformal education into categories helps to assess the contribution of the two types of education in policies and can facilitate a policy analysis. In addition a close monitoring of the categories of formal and nonformal education can prevent from running into the same problems as for schools (disconnection between the school and the local culture, the job market etc.). However, in practice, the boundaries between the two forms of education are blurred and different categories of formal and nonformal often co-exist in a same school. For example some community schools can use more formal (or nonformal) categories and still be labeled nonformal schools and the same can happen in formal schools. Policymakers and parents are less concerned with functionalist or radical approaches of the school, but rather with the learning outcomes. Nonformal community schools are recognized as good schools by the state and parents when they can provide a same or a better education than formal schools and when they enable students to further their education in the formal school system.

In this study, I will use the extended definition of nonformal education as presented by Diouf, Mbaye, and Natachan (2001), which includes all out-of-school programs that seek to solve a problem of human and socio-economic development.

Nonformal will include alternative to formal schools, adult education, and Koranic schools.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Significance of the study

I am interested in community-based schools for a professional reason. I would like to contribute to promoting a better understanding of the Sénégalaise experience of community-based schools that have existed for ten years and are still at the experimental phase. I am also personally committed to working with underserved populations and would like to see a better contribution of community-based school in enrolling girls, poor urban and rural students. This research will help me to explore alternative forms of education to increase access and achieve EFA by the year 2015 in Sénégal. Furthermore my belief in participatory approaches to education led me to choose the community school as a field of interest. I believe that development cannot occur without everybody's participation, and community schools promote a participatory approach involving community members in the school. I support this approach to development because it encourages people to take control of their own lives. In addition, I would like to develop competencies in policy analysis and develop an expertise in the field of nonformal education.

Purpose of the study

The overall goal of the study is to describe and explain current attitudes and perceptions about nonformal education, using the history of education in French West

Africa, the education for all movement, and community-based schools in Senegal as a case study. My specific goals are:

- To explore the history of nonformal education in Francophone West Africa;
- To analyze the concept of nonformal education within the Education for All (EFA) movement;
- To present the experience of community-based schools in Sénégal;
- To describe and explain different attitudes and perceptions of community-based schools (from the perspectives of parents, members of school management committees, teachers, students and policymakers);
- To identify challenges the implications of the promotion community-based schools in the education policy.

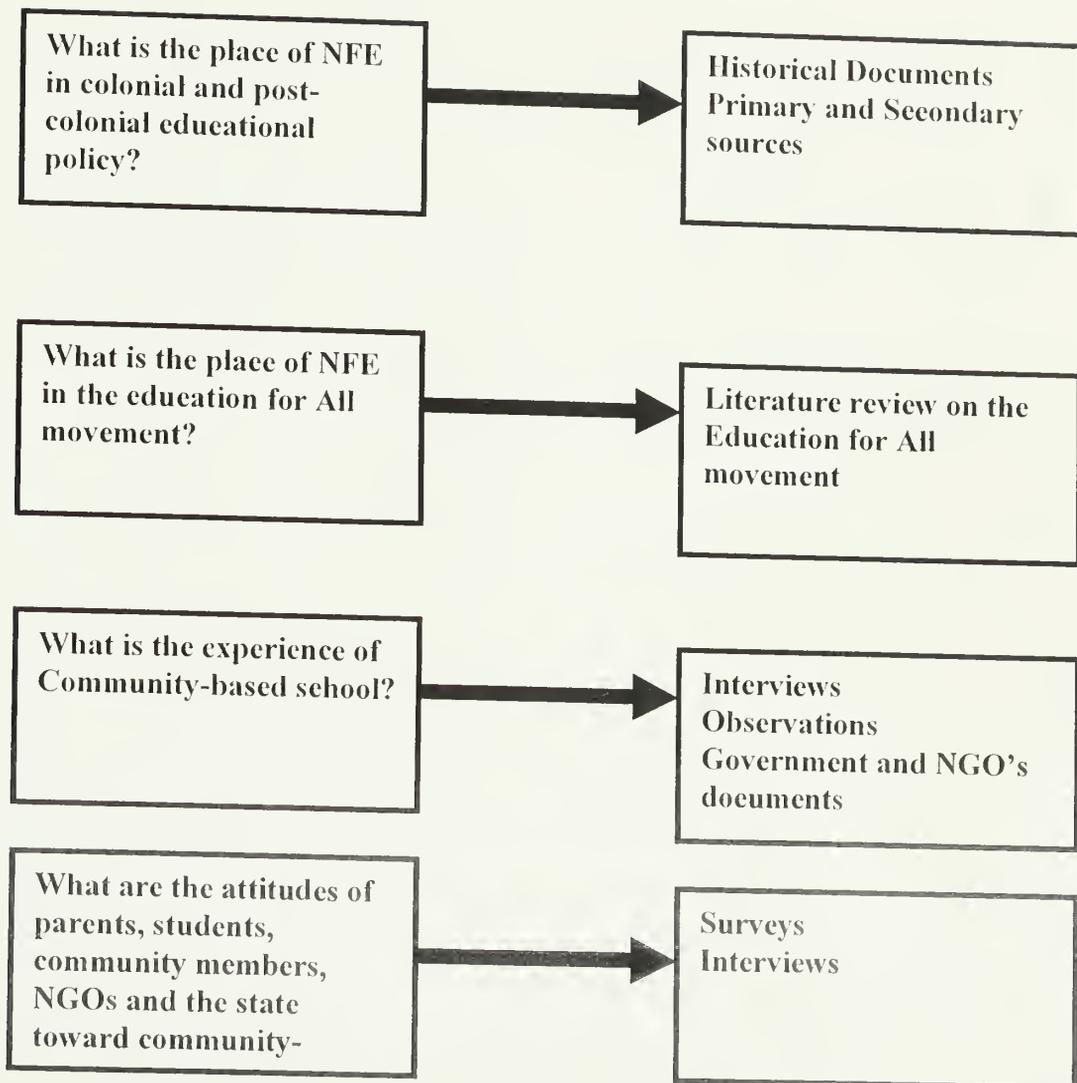
Research questions

To comply with the purpose of the study, I identified the following questions:

1. What was the place of nonformal education within the colonial and post-colonial education policy in French West Africa?
 - What was the education system?
 - What were the relationships between formal and nonformal education?
2. How is nonformal education included in the Education For All (EFA) movement?
 - What are the background and goals of the movement?
 - What is the place of nonformal education?
 - What are the challenges of the movement?
3. What is the Sénégalaise experience of nonformal education?
 - What are the different experiences of community-based schools?
 - What is the difference between the government and NGO community-based schools?
4. What are the attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders toward community-based schools?
 - What are the attitudes of parents, community members, students, teachers, NGOs and the state toward community-based schools?
 - What are their expectations about a good school?

5. What are the constraints to promoting community-based schools in Sénégal
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of these schools?
 - What are the implications?

Figure 1: Research questions and research design



Research design: mixed method

Strategies

Robinson & Driscoll define a case study as a methodology to explain a process, a reason, or a history. Case study is an in-depth exploration of a program, an event or a process that takes the researcher deeply into the setting. This method of research can be applied to study any contemporary phenomenon (Robinson & Driscoll, 1993, Para. 10; Marshall, & Rossman, 1999). Rossman & Rallis (2003) stated that a case study is not a research genre, but a research strategy that uses multiple methods to gather information: interviews, focus groups, observations, documents analysis and surveys. In the case study strategy, the researcher can apply quantitative and/or qualitative approaches.

A research method that combines quantitative and qualitative approach is called mixed method. The approach has expanded since the 1990's and was developed as an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of quantitative and qualitative analysis in social and human sciences. Mixed method is applied to many fields of research: psychology, nursing, geography, management, interpersonal communication, health, education etc. and the literature has flourished since then (Creswell, 2003, p. 208-210; Petter & Gallian, 2004).

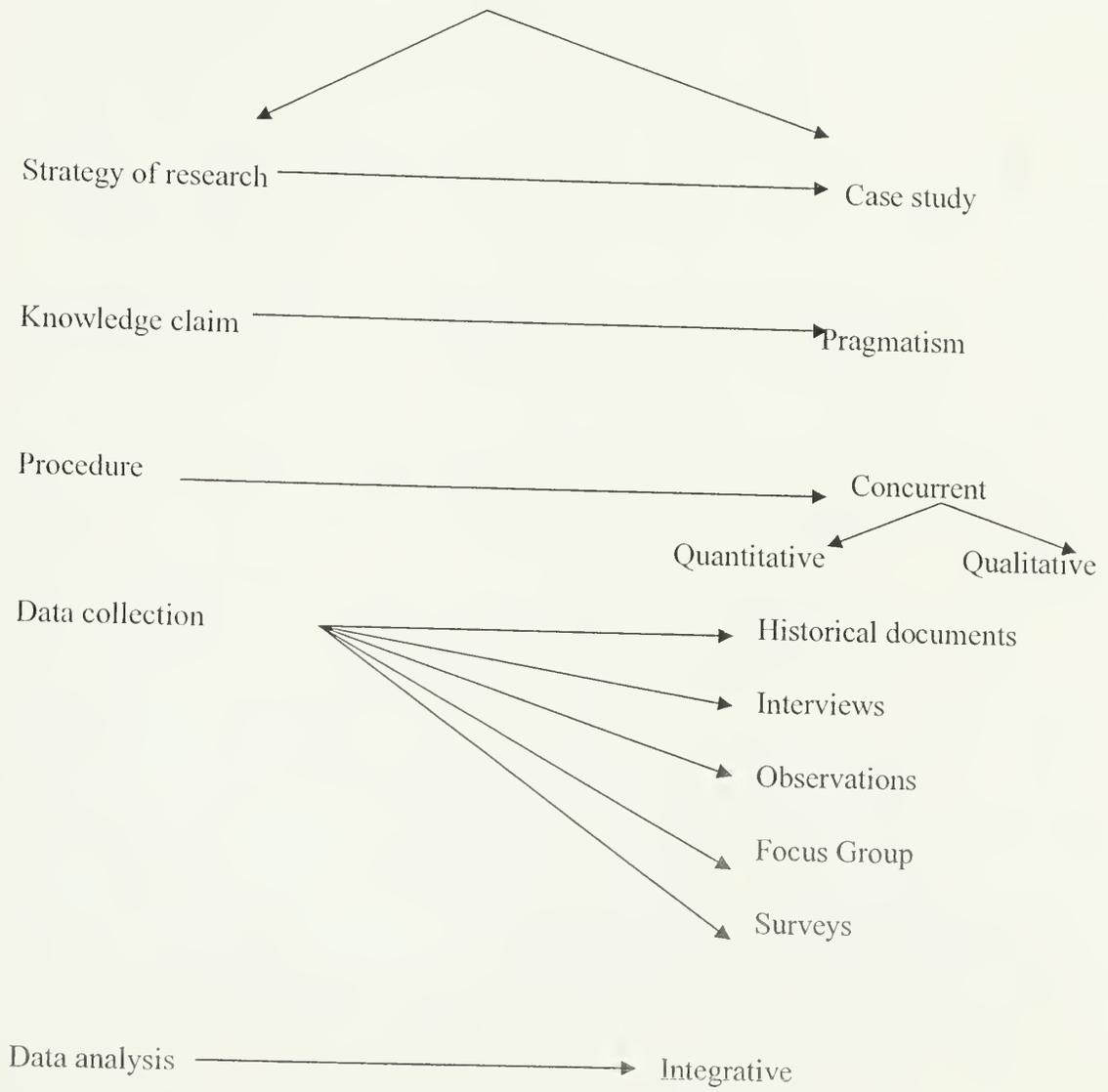
Mixed method is applied when the researcher tries to complement qualitative with quantitative analysis or vice-versa; in addition, the integration of both methods increases the credibility of the findings and provides a better understanding of an activity or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2003). Petter & Gallian (2004) perceive the method as a positive step in advancing knowledge. However, the use of the method requires a

familiarity of the researcher with both qualitative and quantitative methods, and her availability because the data collection and analysis require a fair amount of time to (Creswell, 2003). Petter & Gallian (2004) believe that the lack of theory underlining the mixed method could be a weakness of the method and they also are concerned with the possibility of confusion between qualitative and quantitative analysis with the use of this method.

I used a mixed method to provide a better understanding of the attitudes of different stakeholder toward nonformal education. The answer to the research question required a historical analysis, a description of schools, which involved observations as well as a survey of different schools. The use of survey and interviews helped me to study the attitudes of students, parents, teachers, members of school management committees toward community-based schools. In the study, quantitative analysis complemented and strengthened the qualitative analysis. For example, the frequency of the preference of parents for specific subjects taught in the school strengthened the findings from interviews.

I gave a priority to qualitative data collection and analysis. I collected data simultaneously and integrated them during the phase of analysis.

Figure 2: Summary of the research process



Knowledge claim: Pragmatism

The overall knowledge claim of the study is pragmatism, which is a philosophy that arises out of action and situations and is concerned with problem solving.

Pragmatism is concerned with finding an applicable solution to a problem and is not limited to one philosophy or one approach. The researcher can apply any method that provides an answer to the problem. "Investigators use both qualitative and quantitative data because they work to provide the best understanding of a research problem" (Creswell, 2003, p. 12).

Sampling

Quantitative approach

"Sampling in quantitative research is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such way that they represent the large group from which they were selected" (Gay & Airasian, 2000, p. 121). The selection of the sample can be random or non-random. In random sampling, all elements of the population have the same chance to be selected, while in non-random sampling, the researcher purposefully chooses the group he wants to study. The random sampling is the best way to provide accurate information; however, it is not always possible to select a random sample (Gay & Airasian, 2000, p. 137). Within the non-random sampling there are specific methods: convenience sampling in which the sample is selected from available individuals, purposeful sampling (mostly used in qualitative analysis), in which the sample comes from those who have the knowledge or experience, and quota sampling for which the researcher identifies specific characters and determines the proportion (quotas) of the

population he wants to study. The quota sampling is used when data on the population of interest are not available or when it is impossible to list all members of the population of interest (Gay and Airasian, 2000, p. 138). The method presents some advantages: it is less costly than the random sampling, can be administered easily, does not require a list of potential respondents, and does not need a sampling frame. However, when the method is applied, there is no possibility to estimate the standard deviation and the study could be biased because only those who are accessible are selected and the sample might not reflect the main characteristic of the population of interest. Since the sample is not random, it becomes difficult to estimate the accuracy of the findings. To apply the method, the population of interest is segmented into mutually exclusive groups; a unit is selected from each group based on specific proportions (Quota sampling, 2004).

I applied the quota sampling method because of the lack of available data on community-based schools. In Senegal, contrary to formal schools which regularly collected and reported, community-based schools do not. At the Delegate Ministry of Professional Training, Vocational Education, Literacy and National Languages, which oversees community-based schools, only partial information on government schools were available and NGOs schools were not included in the information system. To collect information, I initially selected six regions: Dakar, Thies, Diourbel, Louga, Saint Louis, and Kolda; the latter was excluded because of lack of financial resources. The five regions were selected because of their proximity to Dakar to minimize the cost. Within each region, I selected two villages that hosted a community-based schools

based on the accessible of villages and the existence of a functional school. In each school, I chose one classroom.

The government oversees 355 community-based school classrooms located in ten regions and enrolls 10,118 students. Each school comprises five classrooms. Plan Sénégal operates in four regions, supports twenty one classrooms, and 577 pupils. Each school comprises one classroom. Aide & Action operates in two regions, and supports ten classrooms in Dakar that enroll about 1,600 students and thirty classrooms in Kolda that enroll 900 students. The number of classrooms varies. In all schools, each classroom has one teacher (Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique, de la Formation Professionnelle, de l'Alphabétisation et des Langues Nationales et Coopération Canada-Sénégal, 2002, p.1; Mangane, Niang & Wade, 2000, p. 14-15; Plan Sénégal, 2003; Sambe, 2002, p. 5). I excluded Aide & Action community-based schools located in Kolda and other NGOs community-based schools because of lack of financial resources and the social instability in the Southern part of Senegal (rebellion in Casamance). According to Mangane, Niang & Wade (2000), other NGOs intervene in the sector and oversee community-based schools: Club Martin Luther King, Tostan RADI, ADEF/Afrique, Paul Guerin la Joie.

Table 3: Sample of schools and students

	PAPA	Plan	Aide & Action	Church	Total
Schools	355	21	10	1	586
Sample	7	3	2	1	13
Percentage	1.97%	14.28%	20%	100%	2.21%
Students	10,118	577	1,600	327	12,622
Sample	108	63	31	9	211
Percentage	1.06%	10.9%	1.93%	2.75%	1.67%

The sample includes thirteen schools located in five regions:

- Region of Dakar: the sample includes three different types of community-based schools: two associative schools supported by Aide & Actions, one government community schools (PAPA) and the Church community schools (four schools).
- Region of Louga: the sample includes one community-based schools supported by Plan Sénégal and two supported by PAPA (three schools).
- Region of Diourbel: the sample includes two schools supported by PAPA (two schools).
- Region of Thies: the sample includes two schools supported by PAPA, and one by Plan Sénégal (three schools).
- The region of Saint Louis: the sample includes one school supported by Plan Senegal (one school).

Table 4: Distribution of grade levels

■ Total student population:	211
■ First year students	11.8%
■ Second Year	28.9%
■ Third year	41.2%
■ Fourth year	18.0%

The sample of parents and members of school management committees comprised those who attended the meeting called by the NGO or the *opérateurs*. The sample of teachers and supervisors comprises those whose classrooms were visited.

Table 5: Summary of participants and schools

Regions	Schools	Students	Teachers	Parents	Supervisors/ Operators	School Management Committees
Dakar	PAPA (1)	23	5	12	1	9
	Church (1)	9	1	-	1	-
	Aide et Action (2)	31	3	11	1	8
Thies*	PAPA (2)	39	2	23	1	8
	Plan (1)	21	1	9	1	2
Louga	PAPA (2)	21	2	14	1	9
	Plan (1)	27	2	12	1	2
St Louis	Plan (1)	15	1	3	1	3
Diourbel	PAPA (2)	25	2	12	1	8
Total	13	211	19	96	9	49

In the region of Thies, I visited a vocational community-based school and conducted a qualitative study in January 2003 that I included in the findings.

The quota sampling method presents some weaknesses because some characteristics of community-based schools might not be included in the sample. For example, all schools of Plan Senegal that I selected were fourth year classrooms, while government schools did not comprise any fourth year classroom because the sampling was based on

the accessibility of schools and the availability and participants. The sample from the Church school included a mixed of second, third and fourth year. However, the sample represents the current situation of community-based schools, which are not homogenous. Some classrooms are single-grades while others are multigrade. The concentration of the sample schools in the western part of Senegal is also a limitation.

Qualitative approach

The sampling in qualitative research focuses on the context and the perspectives of participants because the approach is not concerned with generalization, but with the individual's point of view. One of the goals of the researcher is to analyze how people understand a phenomenon, and to develop a pattern of meaning (Creswell, 2003, p. 8-9). "Qualitative researchers choose participants whom they judge to be thoughtful and who have information, perspectives, and experiences related to the topic of research" (Gay, Airasian, 200, p. 139).

I applied the purposeful sampling method for the interviews and focus groups; I targeted participants with specific characteristics: Senior officers working with the government, private cabinet, and NGOs who have knowledge of nonformal education and community-based schools. The sample included teachers, students who graduated from community-based schools, parents, and members of school management committees.

To conduct an in-depth interview, I drew the sample from the population of parents, members of the school management committees that took the survey. I selected three parents based on their knowledge of the school and their availability. I selected

one parent and two members of the school committee in each of the first three schools I visited. I applied the same procedure for teachers involved in the in-depth interview. Students who graduated from the community-based school were selected among those who still lived in the village. Thirty five persons were interviewed:

- Three senior executives MEN (3)
- Two senior executives Ministry of Literacy(2) and three (3) staff members,
- Four officers Plan Senegal (4)
- One officer ADEF/Afrique (1)
- Two officers Aide & Action (2)
- One officer from a private cabinet for education (1)
- Three operators (3)
- Parents (5), Teachers (3), SMC (5), students (3)

The sampling presents some limitations because only available participants were included and they may not reflect the diversity of the population.

Methods of collecting information

To collect the information, I used different instruments. For qualitative analysis, I used historical document analysis, observations, focus groups, and interviews, while in the survey I combined quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Historical documents

Historical document analysis is defined as:

A method of discovering, from records and accounts, what happens in the past. Historical analysis is particularly useful in qualitative studies for establishing a baseline or background prior to participant observation or interviewing (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 123).

To conduct historical analysis, the researcher can use records that tell the past. The material includes eyewitnesses written reports, documents, newspapers, history books, and reference books. The historical document analysis presents some advantage: it enhances the trustworthiness and the credibility of the study; however, the incorrect interpretation of authors and the possibility of deliberate falsification of facts could be a disadvantage of the method.

To study the place of nonformal education during colonial and post-colonial period in Francophone West Africa, I used government historical documents (Sénégalaise National Archives) related to French education in colonial period as primary sources. I used secondary sources of information, which included history books and Internet information.

Interviews

Kahn and Canell (1957) define interviews as “a conversation with a purpose” (as cited by Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 108). The interview can be an informal conversation, guided by pre-defined questions, or standardized open-ended questions. Creswell (2003) advocates using open-ended questionnaires, “to listen carefully to what people say or do in their life setting” (Creswell, 2003, p. 8).

The method presents many advantages: the researcher can quickly collect a large amount of data and ask follow up questions. However, to gather some information, the

interviewer needs to have good communication skills and have enough time to conduct the research because the data analysis is time consuming (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 110).

I used two interview guidelines: one for state officers and another for NGOs and the private cabinet. Interview guidelines were designed in English and translated into French. All interviews with senior officers were in French. In Dakar they took place in headquarters of NGOs or in offices at the Ministry of National Education and the Delegate Ministry of Professional Training, Vocational Education, Literacy and National Languages.

Since I speak *Wolof* and French, I used *Wolof* for parents and members of school management committee to discuss questions I brought up and I asked them to elaborate further and expand their ideas that emerged when I posed close ended questions. I used interpreters for two parents who could not speak *Wolof*. In villages, interviews took place in public places, often under a tree sometimes within a classroom.

Focus group

Focus groups are informal group discussions that bring together at least six persons to discuss defined issues and are facilitated by a moderator (Nielsen, 1997, Para. 1). The smallest number of people should be four and those selected should share some commonalities relevant to the study (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p114). Focus groups allow the researcher to bring out spontaneous reactions of participants who can confront their ideas, within a natural setting. The confrontation of ideas allows the researcher to observe and learn from group dynamics. The method is inexpensive and allows the

researcher to directly observe participants and interview many of them at the same time; however, the approach presents some disadvantages: the difficulty keeping the group focused on the issue to be discussed and letting all voices be heard and the difficulty of finding a representative sample of the population of interest (Nielsen, 1997; Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

I organized four focus groups of between four to fifteen people in three villages and in the suburb of Dakar. The sample was composed of members of the management committee, teachers, and parents. Discussions took place in Wolof. I did not use an interview guide. My questions were about participants' thoughts about the schools, their motivations and their roles within the schools. However, other issues were brought up during discussions such as girls and boys' education and religious education. My role was to facilitate the discussions and to collect information from different perspectives. I used tape recording and field notes. However, I found it difficult to keep the discussion focused on school issues because villagers were more concerned with the broader issues of the village development (access to water, equipment etc.). Women were present but rarely raised their voices.

Observations

Marshall & Rossman (1999) define observation as a "detailed, nonjudgmental, and concrete description of what has been observed" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 107). The researcher can be a "complete participant", a "participant", a "participant observer" or a "complete observer" (Creswell, 2003, p. 186). This technique presents some advantages: it provides a true picture of those who are observed, takes place in a

natural setting, and examines naturalistic behaviors. However, the approach presents some limitations: the interpretation of situations can be subjective and biased (Gay & Airasian, 200, p. 283).

I chose to be a complete observer in order to respect the classroom sessions and not to disturb the setting. In each classroom, I looked specifically at the arrangement of tables and chairs, classroom interactions (teachers-students, students-students), artifacts used as learning tools, bulletin boards, classroom decoration, teachers' references, books, and students' notebooks. I used a camera to capture some images. However, the limitation of my classrooms observations could be my bias toward women and girls and women's issues; I had particular concerns for girls and women who attracted more of my attention. Another limitation of my observations could be the unusual setting of three of the classrooms I visited. Students were invited on purpose to come back to school to meet with me while the school was closed; this unusual setting might limit the findings.

Surveys

A survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population (Creswell, 2003, p. 153).

Surveys are often used in descriptive research, which is concerned with the study of attitudes, opinions, preferences etc. The researcher pre-determines data to be researched and uses surveys to gather information (Gay & Airasian, 200, p. 290). In this method, the researcher seeks to generalize the findings from a sample to the larger population of

interest. The survey can be cross-sectional (data collected at the same time) or longitudinal (data collected at different points of time). The researcher can use different measuring instruments, among which is the attitude scale. "Attitude scale determines what an individual believes, perceives, or feels about self, others, and a variety of activities, institutions, and situations" (Gay & Airasian, 2000, p.156). The rating scale is a specific instrument used to measure attitude and comprises the Likert scale and the check list among other instruments. In the check list, the researcher asks participants to check the most appropriate answer among a list of answers and in the Likert scale instrument, the participant is asked to rate his preference or performance using a numerical scale (Gay & Airasian, 2000, p.157-58). The survey presents some advantages: it is inexpensive, can guaranty the anonymity of participants; and allows the researcher to score the items quickly; however, its inability to explore details and explain some complex issues could be a limitation (Gay& Airasian, 200, p. 283).

The survey I developed was conceived and written in English, translated into French, and orally administered in *Wolof*. I posed the question in *Wolof* to the participant and reported the answer in French on the survey sheet. The questionnaire was divided into two parts: the first part contained multiple choice questions and the second part contained open ended questions (qualitative analysis). The goal of the multiple choice questions was to define frequencies and generalize the findings by using a representative sample of the population because one of my goals was to provide accurate information about the attitude of the majority of the population toward community-based school. Open-ended questions provided an opportunity for participants to explain why they picked some specific answers.

To collect the information, I used the cross sectional technique in which data are collected at the same time and a self-administered survey; however, since the majority of the population of interest was illiterate, the instrument was designed as a questionnaire in English, but orally administered in *Wolof* as an interview.

I applied the Likert attitude scales and the check list instruments. The first part of the survey was about the background of participants: gender, location of the village (urban or rural), level of education, level of income, and involvement in the school. I used a check list to tally frequencies

The questionnaire was also designed to measure the attitudes of parents, students and members of the school management committee toward the school. I asked parents to rate the usefulness of the school, varying from positive to negative. A strongly positive attitude statement was rated 4, while a negative attitude was rated 1. The attitude score was the frequency of the statements of all parents and members of the school management committee. To measure the attitude of students and parents, I used the check list to measure their preference for subjects taught in the school, among French, national languages, professional training and religious education.

Data analysis procedure

In mixed method, data analysis can be sequential or concurrent. In Sequential approach, qualitative and quantitative data are separately analyzed, while in concurrent approach, data are simultaneously analyzed and can be integrated (Creswell, 2003). In the mixed method, the researcher can predominantly use a qualitative or quantitative data analysis. Creswell (2003).

[Qualitative] data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation of the mass of collected data... it is the search for a general statement about relationships among categories of data (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 150).

Marshall & Rossman (1999), Rossman & Rallis (2003), and Creswell (2003)

identify six steps to analyze qualitative data:

- The first step consists of organizing data by transcribing interviews, typing field notes and arranging information based on defined criteria (example sources of information, chronology etc.).
- The second step consists of generating categories, themes and patterns and note down personal thoughts about the data. According to Rossman & Rallis (2003), categories can be generated through a deductive or inductive analysis. In the deductive analysis, categories emerge from the researcher's experience or from the literature, while in inductive analysis, categories emerge from the data.
- The third step consists of coding data, which is defined as "a formal representation of analytical thinking" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 155). Codes can be abbreviations, keys word, or colors etc.
- The fourth step consists of evaluating data and analyzing their relevance to the research question.
- In the fifth step, the researcher presents different perspectives of participants and tries to find other possible explanations of the data.
- In the last step the researcher writes a report and presents the lessons he learned through the research process. Rossman & Rallis (2003) advocate using an "on-going analysis" described as: a way of analyzing and reflecting formally about data, asking analytical questions and writing memos throughout the study. Writing memos helps to organize the data, provide insights, and identify areas of further data gathering.

To validate the findings, qualitative researchers advocate checking its accuracy by involving more than one researcher to independently analyze the data or by using the triangulation method. Stake (1995) defines triangulation as a set of protocols that enable the researcher to provide additional information and present detailed information that

contributes to make better inferences. Guion (2002) distinguishes four types of triangulations: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation, and environmental triangulation. The goal of all these specific methods is to provide accuracy for the results and reflect the real situation.

I applied a concurrent mixed method that combined quantitative and qualitative to seek convergence of findings. The data analysis was integrative and I followed predominately a qualitative data analysis procedure. I combined inductive and deductive analysis, with a dominant deductive analysis because most of the categories of interest were pre-defined in the survey, however, I was opened to new themes that could emerge from individual and group interviews or from observations. I applied a separate procedure to organization my information.

I organized my data by instruments. I used field notes to record my observations. I jotted down the time the place, the name of teachers, and some students; I drew pictures of the classroom to better remind me of classroom setting and artifacts. I took pictures of classrooms and school environment that I put in the observation file. I arranged field notes from observations by regions and villages. I used an “an on-going analysis”; I wrote my impressions and feelings after each observation in one page report to reflect lessons I learned, and find more information.

I transcribed tapes of interviews and focus groups from Wolof to French and identified categories, gathered them into themes, and patterns based on the participants’ visions. Themes and relevant quotations for the research questions were translated into English. Each interview was filed with the name of the person interviewed and the name

of the organization. I used my field notes to add the name of the location and the place, and the date.

The documentation I received from NGO and the government was organized by institution. I completed information for some documents that did not have a reference.

I entered all qualitative information in the computer (in French), with a wide large left margin I coded data by hand writing in the margin categories that emerged. I identified one hundred fifteen categories that I summarized into five main themes related to the research question: the description of schools, the attitudes of parents, attitudes of students, attitudes of teachers, attitudes of NGOs' officers, government officers. Other categories emerged such as girls' education and religious education.

I applied SPSS (Statistics Package for Social Sciences) to enter quantitative data from the survey. I separate data by category of participants: students, teachers, members of management committee, and supervisors. I used frequency analysis from SPSS to generate figures and charts to better visualize the frequencies. I used the frequencies to identify the preferences and attitudes toward the community-based school. To present the result of the quantitative analysis I provided the sample size and the rate of response for each item and the proportion of participants who selected each item.

I used frequencies obtained from the survey to strengthen the findings from individual interviews. Thus, the findings on frequencies allowed me to summarize individual statements; in addition, quantitative data helped complement qualitative data that described the schools. For example, the survey helped to determine girls' enrollment and the age pyramid of the school.

I used data triangulation to seek a convergence of information collected from different sources: observations, focus groups, surveys, documents of the organization, and interviews. Different data analysis techniques strengthened the findings.

Limitations of the study

The lack of time was one of the challenges to conduct the study; being a student in the USA, and collecting data in Sénégal during my academic holidays was difficult because most schools were closed in June. I conducted field research in January, June - July 2003 in Dakar, Thies, Louga and Saint Louis for Plan, Aide & Action and PAPA community-based schools. I did not have time to visit all schools during the same period and my brother administered the survey in some schools in Thies, Dakar and Diourbel. This gap could be a limit of the study. Furthermore, Kolda is the region where the first community-based schools were implemented; I included it in the proposal but was not able to incorporate it in the study because of the cost of collecting data in a remote region.

I was able to find nine schools that were still on session, but in four schools, teachers asked students to come back to class on purpose to meet with me; this can limit the findings. However, classrooms still had relevant artifacts for my study; for example, I found intact the setting of tables and chairs, class schedules, cleaning sign up sheets, bulletin boards in classrooms, which I found helpful in my observations.

The use of different languages was also a limitation. Although, most participants in villages and urban areas speak *Wolof*, for some interviews I used an interpreter to

translate from *Serere* or *Pular* into *Wolof*. In addition, I lost some aspects of conversations while translating through three languages: *Wolof*, French and English.

The presence of a representative of the funding agency, the NGO or the operator during my field research might prevent teachers' and villagers from expressing their opinions. I used Plan Sénégal transportation because most villages were not accessible and most of the time, the *opérateur* was with me in the field.

Ethical issues

Rossmann and Rallis (2003) define ethics as standards for conduct, based on moral principle. They argue that in the field, the researcher should bear in mind moral principles, evaluate and self-judge her own actions; she should be able to determine the "rightness or wrongness" of her actions. (Rossmann & Rallis, 2003, p.70). To conduct a study, the researcher should follow an ethical code that guides her activities in the field. The code is a set of rules and procedures to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participants and build trust between the researcher and the researched (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 2000, p. 30).

To follow ethical procedures during my research, I informed participants about their roles in the study and their rights to withdraw anytime during the research process. They also knew their right to ask questions and to review the material. I informed participants about the general nature of the research through official letters, and oral communications. I sent out letters during the month of June 2003 to the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Education, the Minister of Technical Education, Professional

Training, Literacy, and National Languages, to NGOs: Plan Sénégal, Aide & Action, and ADEF/Afrique to explain the purpose of the study, and my expectations. I have contacted communities through NGOs and *opérateurs* that oversee community-based schools.

To protect the identity of participants, I used numbers for NGOs and regions that were involved in the study. Furthermore, participant institutions will receive a copy of the dissertation and a summary in French at the end of the process. As Locke, Spirduso & Silverman (2000) recommended, I sent thank you cards to all participants from different institutions.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICA

This chapter describes the evolution of the education system in Francophone West Africa. It gives primary attention to conflicting goals of traditional education and Koranic schools, on one hand and formal education on the other. It also analyzes the place of nonformal education in educational policies along with parents and policymakers' expectations about schooling. The chapter is divided into three main periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, to understand attitudes toward nonformal education and identify the hindrances to its development.

Pre-colonial period

Islamic and traditional education

Arabo-Berbers brought in Islamic religion along with education in the 10th century, through Muslim traders who served as “self-appointed missionaries” in West Africa (Chailley, 1968; Falola, 2002). They contributed to the spread of Arabic religion, values, and beliefs in local cultures. Nevertheless the influence of Islam as a religion did not have the same intensity throughout West Africa. For example, while Dahomey and Cote d’Ivoire remained predominantly Christian and animist, Mauritania became strictly Muslim; Mali, Niger and Sénégal were predominantly Muslim, but had a few Christians and animists. Chailley argues that Islam did not flourish in some regions because Arab colonizers considered these zones as areas of supply of slaves. Some ethnic groups, such

as the Mossi and Dogon (part of Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali) were hostile and resisted Islam (Chailley, 1968, p. 34 and p. 78). The religious conquest and West African leaders' trips in Arab countries in North Africa and the Middle East contributed to the diffusion the Arabic culture and beliefs in West Africa. Furthermore, Falola argues that prior to French penetration, Mansa Musa a former Emperor in Mali had already established an Islamic education system in 1324, upon his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca. He built an Islamic university in Timbuktu with the support of Arab countries (Falola, 2002, p. 85-88). In addition, Momouni said:

In Muslim countries or regions, until the eve of colonial conquest, there were a large number of schools and university centers which provided education in Arabic, and the various fields of knowledge and abstract thought held an important place in them. Along with teaching in Arabic tongue, literature developed in *Peulh*, *Hausa* and *Kanouri* which used the Arabic transcript (Momouni, 1968, p. 23).

Koranic schools

Koranic schools were under the control of the *Marabouts*ⁱⁱ (Koranic teacher) in Muslim areas. Islamic education did not have an administrative organization and the registration was not compulsory. However, in some ethnic groups, the enrollment was a formal ceremony during which the student's hair was shaved and the word of "*Allah*" written on his hand (Bray, Clarke, and Stephen, 1986, p. 82). Schools were located under a tree, in Mosques, or private houses. Advanced Islamic schools were labeled "*Ilm*" schools, which taught *Tafsir* (interpretation of the Koran), literature, *hadith*

ⁱⁱ *Marabout* is anyone who acquires a reputation of saintliness for Koranic learning. Those who found a brotherhood and have followers may inherit the title (Thompson and Adloff, 1957, p. 572).

(which covers marriage, divorce, inheritance, personal conduct, and overall management of an Islamic society). Mauritania had *Ilm* schools since the 13th century.

Islamic education was an endless process in which the student could remain in the system until his older age; it did not emphasize on diploma; however, an “*Ijaza*” (diploma) could be given to students to allow them to teach in Koranic schools. The time schedule was arranged by the teacher and classes were often held during mornings and evenings from Saturday to Wednesday, with holidays on Thursdays and Fridays. The relationships between teachers and students were hierarchical, teachers were assumed to have the knowledge to be provided to students who should be submitted to their teachers. The teaching was based on memorization. Graduates from *Ilm* schools were allowed to join the community of scholars could wear a turban. Graduates could become *Imans*, (prayer leaders, chief of mosques, teachers, or judges). Islamic school teachers had a high social status: they provided information to people, lead social activities and were highly respected.

Islamic schools were financed by students ‘small fees, parents’ gifts and donations. Students whose parents could not afford the school fees were required to work on the teacher’s agricultural field. The low cost of financing was justified by the need to spread Islam (Bray, Clarke, and Stephen, 1986, p. 80-84).

A child learned to recite all the Koranic verses, to understand and comment on them; he also learned other subjects such as law, geography, and history. The length of schooling was three to five years, and at the end of the training, the male graduate gained the title of teacher “*Malam* or *Alfa*”. He had three choices: to continue his education with his *Marabout*, to go to other surrounding areas and find a different

Marabout, or attend Islamic universities such as the university of *Timbuktu*, *Diguinray* in *Futa*, *Sokoto* in the *Haousa* County, and *Djenne* in Niger etc. (Moumouni, 1968, p. 27). In Islamic education, mostly boys are allowed to further their education in universities; girls at this age are expected to have the basic Koranic knowledge necessary to educate their children.

Traditional education

Moumouni (1968) describes African pre-colonial traditional education as an education dominated by the family, the clan, the tribe or the ethnic group. Education did not take place in a classroom setting, but was part of the daily life. He argues that traditional education was highly valued in the society. Achieving a good education would enable the child to gain an entry to adulthood and the title of “Man” (Mounouni, 1968, p. 16). A Wolof proverb says that: “If a child’s hands are clean, he can eat with adults”. From this perspective, education facilitates the child’s entry into adulthood. At the early age (up to six years old), the family socialized the child into dominant social values (how to be a good member of the community); when the child reached puberty, community members chosen for their knowledge assured his education. The child learned skills by imitating or observing adults at work; he mostly learned by doing and by playing games (Moumouni, 1968, p.26). In most West African societies, one’s occupation was hereditary and the professional skills were transmitted through generations.

The child received two complementary educations: an individual professional training transmitted through generations (related to the child’s caste) and a group

training in social skills such as sexual life, religion, knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants, etc. acquired during initiation (Moumouni, 1968, p. 26-27). The group training concerned children of the same age and/or same sex. Overall traditional education was geared toward developing practical skills useful for the community; receiving a good education did not mean changing social status, but maintaining and reinforcing the current social order.

In Sénégal, the cast system dominated the traditional social structure. Diop (1981) defines the cast social system as a set of sub-groups characterized by its social stratification based on the social division of labor: the “*Guer*” or high class owned the land and practiced agriculture; the “*Nienio*” or lower classes were specialized in craft industries (announcements, metal work, shoemaking, fishing, weaving etc.). The goal of education was to perpetuate the social division of labor and ensure the continuity and reproduction of the society (Diop, 1981).

Pre-colonial western education

Before the implementation of the colonial administration, Catholic missionaries introduced formal school in French West Africa. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to implement formal schools in Africa in the mid-1600. In the 19th century, British, French and later American missionaries ran formal schools in Africa. According to Thompson & Adloff (1957), priests, nuns and laymen founded French West African schools for boys and girls in Saint Louis, Sénégal and later expanded to other coastal towns. French became the main language of teaching, and continued throughout the colonial period until now. Two religious groups dominated the formal education system:

Protestants and Catholics. Evangelical missions from the European Protestant church focused on teaching literacy and practical skills, while Anglican and Catholic Church concentrated on academic education.

French colonization was not implemented in a virgin land: West Africa previously had a traditional education, Islam already had brought new ideas, new beliefs and values that were closer to West African traditional societies, and European Churches were already present. This juxtaposition of different cultures and education systems affected the implementation of the formal education system during the colonial period and continues to influence current policies.

Colonial period (1600-1960)

Historical Background

French colonization started in West Africa in 1638 with the first settlement in Saint Louis, Sénégal. The French West Africa Federation was officially launched in 1904, and was composed of eight colonies: Sénégal, Mauritania, Guinea, Sudan (Mali), Dahomey (Benin), Niger, Cote d'Ivoire and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). Togo, formerly a German colony, became part of the Federation after World War I. The Federation *Afrique Occidentale Française* (A.O.F.) or French West Africa established its first capital in Saint-Louis, Sénégal. Each colony had a Governor and a separate budget. The Governor General, residing in Dakar, coordinated the overall policy of the Federation (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 23; De Benoist, 1979).

African subjects were divided into two categories: citizens and indigenous populations. African French citizens were those born in the four communes, Dakar, Rufisque, Gorée and Saint-Louis. Any African born outside of these defined communes was considered an indigenous person. The first group had the right to vote and elect representatives in the French parliament, while the second group did not enjoy the freedom of speech, or movement, and could be forced to work without any compensation such as building roads, and railways. Indigenous populations also had to pay direct taxes from their cash crop, which African citizens (those born in the four communes) did not (Falola, 2002, p. 191).

Furthermore, the French colonizer used assimilation as a key principle of the colonial policy. The policy of assimilation was based on the assumption of the intellectual and technical superiority of western civilization coupled with the recognition by Africans of their ignorance, and willingness to adopt a “universal civilization” (White, 1996, p. 8- 9). The assimilation policy was reinforced by the connection between formal school students and French culture, and the hope that formal education would lead to a better life.

The education system in A.O. Fⁱⁱⁱ.

When the administration of the A.O.F was officially launched in 1904, the colonial state took charge of public schools, previously dominated by the Church.

ⁱⁱⁱ A.O.F.: *Afrique Occidentale Française* or French West Africa was the official name of the French colonial federation, composed of eight countries.

Faidherbe, the French General Governor laid the foundation of western education in the federation in the late 1850's (Clark & Phillips, 1994, p. 124)

At the early stages of colonization, the education system could be divided into two main categories: formal and nonformal education. Formal schools were developed in the capital of A.O.F, Dakar, and were rudimentary in other colonies. Nonformal education included the Fundamental Education Program, *Medersas* and Koranic school. However, The Federation AOF only financed *Medersas* and Fundamental Education Program and attempted to control the expansion of Koranic schools. Other nonformal education programs which were under the state control started developing toward the end of the colonization (Fundamental Education Program, *animation rurale*) (Thompson & Adloff 1957; Mbaye, A. 1999, p. 7).

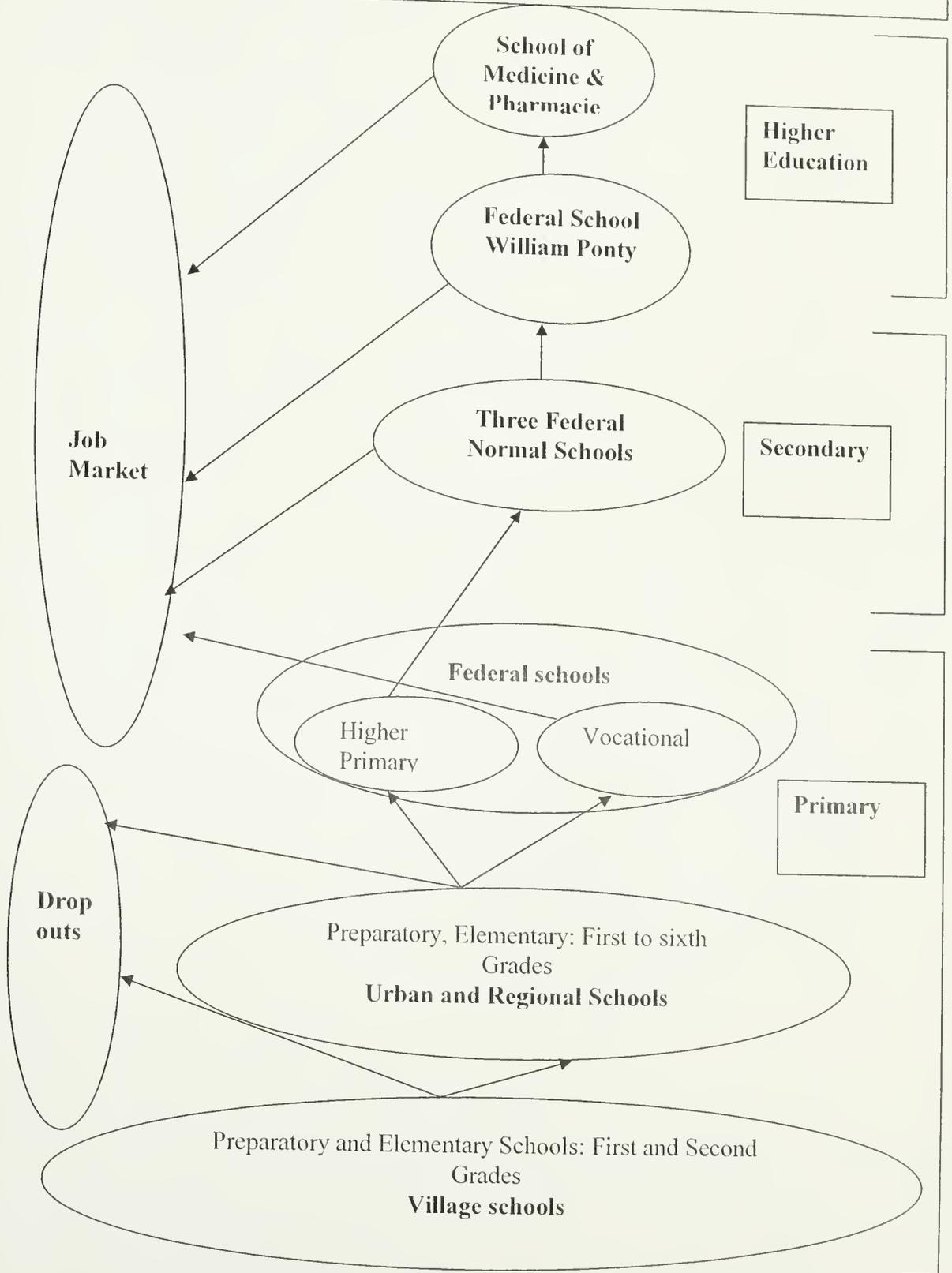
Formal education

In 1854, Sénégal had four priest schools: two in Gorée, and two in Saint-Louis. In the same year Faidherbe created the school for the sons of chiefs, whose first name was "*Ecole des fils d'otages*", or prisoners' sons' schools^{iv}. In 1857 the first lay school was established (White, 1996). By 1884, one secondary and nine primary catholic schools existed in Sénégal. By 1900, French West Africa had seventy formal schools, of which 70% were state schools and the remaining 30% were missionary schools (White, 1996; Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 516-517).

^{iv} According to Imperato (1986), the school of prisoner's sons was the first name of the School of Sons of Traditional Chiefs. The school enrolled the sons of defeated to serve the colonizers and taught French language and culture.

The *arrête*, (formal decree) of November 24, 1903 organized public schools. According to De Benoist (1979), the school system was designed in the early 1900's, but the commitment of the colonial government in public education only started after World War I.

Figure 3: Colonial formal education in French West Africa in 1900-1918



In the 1920's the school system was organized into three main levels: village, urban/ regional, and Federal schools. Village schools considered as African schools provided a mass education at the preparatory and elementary levels (up to four grades). Regional and urban schools were implemented in cities and had a full primary school from grade one to six. The aim of the lower primary education was to teach basic French and enable students to be functional in their environment. Most Africans did not reach the upper primary, which enrolled the best students from cities and villages. The government provided for vocational students in Federal schools with free room and board.

Higher primary and vocational schools required an entrance examination; they selected the best students. Vocational schools taught shipping, post and telegraph, colonial administration, agricultural, and services. The best among higher primary school students were sent to the three Federal Normal schools that trained elementary school teachers. The best of Federal Normal students were sent to William Ponty to become high school teachers, veterinarian doctors or lawyers. The School of Medicine and Pharmacy of Dakar was at the highest level of education in 1918; it trained medical doctors and pharmacists (Thompson & Adloff, 1953, p. 518; White 1996, p. 4; De Benoist, 1979, p. 78).

Higher education excluded indigenous people, only Europeans, mulattos and residents of the four communes (Dakar, Rufisque, Gorée, and Saint-Louis) were allowed to attend (Kelly, 2000). Thus, villagers were obviously channeled to attend the vocational schools.

For many years, secondary schools existed only in Sénégal (started in 1884). They began to expand throughout French West Africa before World War I. In 1910, they enrolled more Frenchmen than Africans who represented 24% of the student population (174 out of 723). However the access was still limited. In 1953, twenty three institutions of secondary education existed in French West Africa, but only 22% of primary schools students were enrolled and 11% of the secondary school population was girls. The democratization of secondary education had opened doors to higher education for many Africans. The best students were sent to France or Dakar to continue their education (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 538).

After World War II, colonial policymakers pushed for universal primary education by the year 1995, (with a focus on basic education).

All members of that conference [Brazzaville, 1944] agreed on the need for a rapid increase in primary education facilities and for the continued use of French... as a medium of instruction. By advocating the building of a school in every village having at least fifty children of school age, the men of Brazzaville optimistically envisaged universal primary education for all French Black Africa by 1995 (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 521).

From 1946, African policymakers advocated for a focus in secondary and vocational education, similar to French education. During the Brazzaville Conference on colonial education in 1944, the idea of adapting education to the African context was developed. It was decided to expand the system to reach more Africans, to recruit African teachers. However teaching in French remained among the policies (Thompson & Adloff, 1957).

Formal education was elitist, geared toward a select category of the people, and was not accessible to indigenous people. Only the best students, who originated from the Four Communes, were designated for higher education.

Despite the steady increase in the number of pupils and schools, there existed in 1935 only three hundred –odd villages schools throughout the federation, with a total of 29,294 pupils, and about eight regional schools attended by 23,321 children. Each year fewer than one hundred African graduated from William Ponty and Dakar Medical School together, and a handful of these went on to higher studies in France” (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 518).

The scarcity of schools and the limited access, combined with their potential for providing social mobility, made formal schools a valuable product in urban areas. Going to formal school was considered a privilege. It also was an opportunity for graduates to be among the elites of the society (particularly for those who did not belong to the traditional elite). For those who were already sons of chiefs, education legitimated their traditional leadership position. By expressly inviting sons of traditional chiefs to attend the formal school, the colonizer used education to perpetuate the traditional class relationships (White, 1996; Thompson & Adloff, 1957). Most S n galese citizen students stayed away from vocational schools, which were perceived as second class because graduates were not guaranteed a job. Those from William Ponty and the School of Medicine and Pharmacy of Dakar were guaranteed government employment.

Nonformal education

This section presents and discusses the three forms of nonformal education:

Koranic schools, *Medersas*, and Fundamental Education Programs.

Koranic schools and *Medersas*

A strong network of independent Koranic schools existed parallel to the formal school system. In 1910, existed in Guinea 6,400 Koranic schools that enrolled 27,000 students and there were very few western schools (Bray, Clark, and Stephens, 1986, p. 80). This situation disturbed the colonizer in areas where formal schools were implemented for two main reasons: they prevented children from attending formal schools, and they were considered to be powerful channel for spreading radical Islam. According to the Official Journal ANS, in 1903, Camille Guy, Lieutenant Governor, in conjunction with the Inspector of Education Risson, signed a decree controlling Koranic schools. The law required Koranic schools to enroll at least twenty students, to financially be able to support students without sending them to beg in the street and to schedule their teaching hours outside the formal school hours. The *Marabout* or Islamic teacher was required to enroll his students in formal schools in order to be allowed to hold the Koranic school. In addition, the teacher was required to have a minimum level of qualification, asserted by local Muslim scholars (As cited by Harrison, 1988, p. 58). Koranic schools that could not meet these requirements were closed. Many schools were officially closed, but they never stopped functioning (Harrison, 1988).

To better control Islamic education, colonialists opened the first *Medersa* federal school in *Djenne* (Upper Sénégal and Niger) in 1906, based on the Algerian experience. A *Medersa* was a French-Arabic school that taught Islam and selected French subjects. The model was launched based on a popular interest in learning Islam; it promoted a modern Islam and sought to break away from the fundamentalist vision. Marian, an Inspector of Muslim education in A.O.F said:

The goal of the *Medersa* is to train according to our methods young men capable of giving a liberal interpretation of the Koran, and of spreading our language, our idea of justice and tolerance ... The *Medersa* should not be the center of Islamic learning, but rather the French spirit must give it life (As cited by Harrison, 1988, p. 63).

According to the official journal ANJ, in 1910, Saint Louis, Sénégal started the first federal *Medersa* enrolling fifty pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds and different geographic regions: Sons of chiefs, of *Marabouts*, traders, farmers etc were enrolled and students came from Sénégal (the majority), Mauritania, and Niger. The curriculum included Koranic and French subjects. Pupils learned the “civilizing” role of France in Africa (Harrison, 1988, p. 62). *Medersa* graduates were not automatically given a job by the state as formal school students were. Among the seven graduates of 1910, only two found a job in public service. Later, the Governor General Ponty decree of October 31, 1910, that reserved public service jobs for “official school” graduates only, excluded graduates of *Medersas* from public service. It became clear that the goal of the *Medersa* was not to educate and integrate its graduates in the social life but to “purify the Islam noir” (Islamic for black people) (Harrison, 1988, p. 65). Teaching in Arabic schools was the only accessible job for *Medersa* graduates.

Harrison (1988) noticed that the strategy of controlling those schools was not universally accepted by colonialists. Some viewed Islamic school as a “moral force” and instead called for collaboration between the two forms of education. Coppolani, a junior writer, civil servant of the colonial administration wrote in 1895:

Let us make our collaboration serve the development of French influence, otherwise the Muslims will continue to raise their children away from us and left to themselves; the *Coranic* Schools will conserve their predominantly religious influence. To suppress the schools would be dangerous; to abandon them to themselves would be folly (As cited by Harrison, 1994, p. 58).

The Fundamental Education Program

Fundamental education Programs are adult education program designated for rural and newly created urban areas. Prior to the Fundamental Education Program, adult education had existed since 1935 in French West Africa. About 200 classes were implemented and enrolled 8,400 participants. After World War II, many of them ended because of lack of attendance. In 1949 the first small-scale Fundamental Education Program started in Labé Guinea. It included adults as well as youth and taught numeracy, literacy and socio-economic development; it aimed at introducing modernization in rural areas. (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 545-46).

In 1952, after the experimental phase, the A.O.F Government decided to expand the Fundamental Education Program throughout the federation, to Guinea, Sénégal, Mauritania, and Dahomey. Selected villages that did not have access to basic infrastructures, schools or dispensaries, or were isolated and resistant to the penetration of formal schools, received the program. The staff was composed of a primary school inspector, an African doctor, an agricultural instructor, and a European radio operator. Facilitators provided literacy, health education and agricultural extension. The mission offered free medical consultations and medicine for populations. The Program used some strategies of nonformal education: people were involved in selecting the topic of

interest, the program attempted to adapt to local needs and to use the local languages (the Centre Français d'Information sur l'Education de Base, 1966, p. 22).

Some examples of the Fundamental Education Program

The Sénégalaise experience: in 1953, during the pilot phase *Darou Mousty*, and *Mboumba*, villages located in Sénégal received the Fundamental Education Program. Both villages were dominated by Muslim brotherhoods: *Mourides* in *Darou Mousty* and *Tidjani* in *Mboumba* (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 548). The two villages received a forty-day fieldwork that provided literacy, numeracy, health and agricultural techniques, using French and Wolof. The training involved adults and children in separate sessions: day classes for children and night classes for adults. Adult education helped populations to become familiarized with Western medicine, modern agricultural techniques, and prepared them for the implementation of a new formal school that came into existence five months after the mission. The report said that adults lacked interest in literacy classes, and among 127 initially enrolled; only 40 completed the training in *Darou Mousty*, Sénégal (Centre Français d'Information sur l'Education de Base, 1966, p. 17).

Guinean experience: Unlike the Sénégalaise experience, Guinean villages were more interested. They requested more French and rejected the local languages as the medium of instruction because they felt that French was more useful to communicate with the local administration; they thought that learning French would free them from interpreters and help them to write. The experience was among the most successful nonformal education during the colonial period and lasted three years in *Labé*, two years

in *Popodara* and *Tarambali*, and one year in *Poréko*. It involved youth and adults, adults represented 70% of the participants who regularly attended classes. They learned many subjects varying from taxes to health and agricultural issues. Guinean women joined literacy centers and often requested subjects related to family and household management. A women's literacy center was opened in *Popodara* (Centre Français d'Information sur l'Education de Base, 1966, p. 22).

Mauritanian experience: Fundamental Education Program was launched in two new urban areas *Akjout*, and *Atar*. The goal of the urban program was to help indigenous people made the transition from rural to industrial life. It was less successful than the Sénégalaise and Guinean experiences because many children were already literate and the town had many educated adults who spoke French. Consequently, programs that dealt with primary health care, mines and miners, hygiene etc. did not attract many people (Centre Français d'Information sur l'Education de Base, 1966).

A policy analysis of the colonial education

I applied Haddad's (1995) framework to analyze the education policy in French West Africa during the colonial period, based on three categories: desirability, affordability, and feasibility. The desirability looks at three elements: the impact of the policy on different interest groups, the compatibility of the policy with the dominant ideology, and the impact of the policy on political development and stability. The affordability looks at the fiscal, social and political costs of the policy, the private and opportunity costs for the consumers. The feasibility looks at the human resources

needed to conduct the program, the financial costs, the time needed, the political and financial sustainability. It also looks also at the feasibility within the macro-economic context (Haddad & Demsky, 1995, p. 33-34).

Desirability

The different interest groups were the colonizers, and African people divided into two groups, those living in the four-communes, considered as French citizens and indigenous and rural people. The education system, under the control of the French Federation, first served the interest of the colony because of its hegemonic position. Gramsci defines hegemony as: "A social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class" (Mayo, 1999, p. 35). Colonizers controlled the state and its law, and the school as a state institution was used to socialize populations into the dominant culture. Gramsci argues that hegemony is not a static position, but rather a permanent process in which the dominant group tries to build/ and or to maintain its hegemony (Mayo, 1999, p. 38). Formal education was instrumental in socializing African into the western culture, improving the colonial economy and promoting a better communication between colonizers and populations.

Colonial education benefited French African citizens from traditional lower social status, who were born in the four-communes. Graduating from the formal school system enabled them to move to a higher social status: for example, metalworkers' son, graduated from school no longer worked in the workshop, but rather held a higher position in the government or the private sector. The social mobility was particularly advantageous for students of lower cast that used formal school to change class and

profession. Formal schools enabled traditional leaders to strengthen their leadership positions.

Koranic schools were the threatened group because Koranic and formal schools competed for the same age group and had the same hours of teaching and the colonizer who had a dominant political power favored formal schools. Muslims who chose Islamic education were the threatened group. However, colonizers also could be a threatened group because education could increase students' political awareness and led to a demand for a political and economic independence. However, the curriculum was not directed toward self-awareness, but rather aimed at reproducing traditional relationships.

The losers of the colonial education system were indigenous people that only had access to mass education and could not use it to improve their individual living conditions. Rural populations perceived formal education as a waste of time because the education system did not address their needs, and did not provide social mobility.

Indigenous people benefited from the Fundamental Education Program, but most of them were not interested in the program, particularly in Sénégal and Mauritania, where the attendance was low and irregular. It is important to recall that the program was a pre-package and rural people were not involved in the design. French experts developed it based on assumed needs of Africans. The program was part of the colonial ideology of teaching modernization to indigenous populations. The selected villages in Sénégal, *Darou Mousty* and *Mboumba* had a strong presence of Muslim brotherhoods, *Mourides*, and *Tidjani*, and the report did not show how their concerns as Muslim were integrated in the model.

Medersa schools did not benefit graduates who were not guaranteed a job. It principally served the colonialist to contain radical Islam during that period.

Affordability

The colonial federation supported all forms of education through federal taxes, except Koranic schools. From 1949, education was theoretically mandatory, but the Federation could not afford sending all children to formal schools, so education was in fact not compulsory because of lack of schools.

Colonial education did not entail direct private costs, because it was free. Throughout the colonization, the state paid scholarships (particularly for citizens) to encourage students to attend formal schools and *Medersas*. The state invested more in formal schools than in Fundamental Education Programs. The first were permanent while the second were temporary missions.

However, formal schools had an opportunity cost for rural children who enter the labor force at an early age. Sending children to school during daytime was a loss for parents. In 1946-47, when the in “*Indigenat law*^v” was abolished, and parents had the choice to send their children to school or not; most of them preferred retaining them at home for other tasks, because formal education was perceived as a waste of time.

Overall, the formal school system, instrument of the assimilation policy, was costly for the French Federation, AOF and led to a loss of investment because many

^v *Indigenat Law* is the law that separates African into two groups: those living in the Four Communes, considered as French citizens and those living outside the Four Communes labeled indigenous people or *Indigenes*.

students, being supported by the state throughout their education, decided to remain in France after graduation. According to the *Nouvelle revue Française d'Outre Mer*, February, 1955:

A little over half of the grant-aided overseas students who received their degree in 1953 were still in France, and many of them with the idea of remaining there permanently (As cited by Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 542).

Feasibility

The feasibility looks at human and financial resources, as well as the time necessary to conduct the project. The human resources involved in formal education were at the beginning essentially French teachers who were progressively replaced by Africans. The Fundamental Education Program was based on the integration of local culture, and community concerns and the implication of community members in solving local problems. In practice, agents that conducted the program did not really interact with the population, and local human resources were not consulted and integrated into the program. Only “experts” composed of the doctor, the veterinarian, the agriculture extension, and the radio operator facilitated the sessions. Most of the programs were pre-packaged, sometimes difficult to apply.

In formal and nonformal education, colonizers held prejudices about the Africans who were considered ignorant. They treated them as empty containers that needed to be filled with modern ideas. I cannot say that the Fundamental Education Program was a nonformal education that could lead to social changes; it did not include local cultures and was mostly used to strengthen the goals of the colonial power. After World War II, policymakers attempted to Africanize the formal school curriculum, to

adapt it to the local context and encourage teachers “not to reproduce metropolitan curriculum” to make the formal school more attractive to the population (Kelly, 2000, p. 239).

Impact of the colonial education on students’ attitudes and values

Mass education contributed to developing a lack of self-esteem among students in rural areas. Koffi, a primary rural school student is an example. In his French essay, he said that he will never occupy a position such as a writer or a teacher and after graduating from primary school, he decided to stay a farmer like his father. Koffi did not see any successful model of formal school graduates in his village because during colonial period Africans held jobs such as tailoring, weaving, masonry, farming etc. (Kelly, 2000, p. 196).

In urban areas, students yearned for the European style of living that was thought to be the best, but the power structure of the colonial period limited their ambitions:

When students described educated rich Africans who live on the coast, they expressed some admiration. Those Africans possess autos, wore European clothes, and lived in European houses. Students however, were aware that such African would only possess the used goods of the European society (Kelly, 2000, p. 198).

Colonial formal schools created a dual society within West African and among educated and non-educated (Kelly, 2000, p. 190). In addition, colonial education created a loss and confusion of identity among students:

Students in their essays identify themselves as black, living in a world arbitrary ruled by whites ... they express no ambivalence about white; it is only when students describe themselves and other Africans that a mixed feeling about who they are and where they belong as educated African arise (Kelly, 2000, p. 199-200).

According to Lord Haley, the contact of West African students at an early age with French culture created a feeling of connection and unity with French culture, and the socialization process through formal schools influenced later African graduates who became education policymakers, and today it still continues to play an important role.

The graduates of French West Africa's secondary schools gained not only familiarity with French ideas and habits of thought, but also a feeling of identification with them. ... Thus, when the post-war period put more power into their hands, they pressed for the ultimate creation in French West Africa of an education system identical with that of the metropole, and for almost unlimited access to France's higher schools in the immediate future (As cited by Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 520).

Post-colonial education (1960-1990's)

To analyze the post-colonial education, I applied Orivel & Shaw (1994) framework. They identified three phases: The first decade called the "golden age" 1960-1970's, the second phase called "decade of aborted reforms" (1970's), and the current phase "State financial crisis era". However all countries did not follow the same historical path.

The "Golden Age"

Continuation of the colonial policy

During this period, education systems in Third World received large support from former colonies. Education became a priority among many African countries after

independence in the early 1960's. According to Ejlaga & Zelega (2003) they faced many challenges: the elimination of inequities within the education system, the increasing demand of primary education, the need to expand the education system to include higher education and vocational schools, the shifting of priorities from the colonial needs to the national development, the urgent necessity to replace colonial administration and train the local manpower etc. All these new issues required either a large technical and financial support or a radical change of educational policies. Countries were more concerned with increasing enrollment than providing a relevant education, suitable to the new context of political and economic independence (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 21).

Most countries attempted to copy and expand the French model, using the same textbooks, and methods. French government financially supported most of the educational programs. Even though newly independent states had different approaches of educational policies after independence, they shared the common goal of linking education to modernization and economic and social development, replacing the colonialists, training enough workers to develop the country (Orivel & Shaw, 1994, p. 165).

During the first decade after colonization, education systems in French West Africa did not show major changes vis-à-vis the colonial policy. As a result, attitudes toward formal education did not change: people had a preference for formal school because of its possibilities for social mobility.

Nonformal education during the golden age

Nonformal education was used to catch up on the tardiness of development, and integrate rural population into the modern world. Countries had different levels of commitment towards nonformal education, and most of the programs lacked government and community support.

Burkina Faso rural schools

According to Haddad & Demsky (1995), nonformal education was developed in rural areas in Burkina Faso as a post-independence policy to cope with the high demand of education in rural areas and the lack of state funding to provide education for all children. The program, conceived and politically supported by French cooperation, lasted seventeen years (1959 – 1986). The length of schooling was shorter than regular formal schools (three years instead of six years) and focused on agricultural development. Upon request of rural people and local policymakers, the program was abandoned in 1986. Since then, rural schools received the same program as formal urban schools. The policy assessment of the program in 1970 said:

Rural education had not had much of an influence on the economy ... and low agricultural productivity continue to contribute to out-migration from the rural areas ... the centers were able to reach only about one-fifth of the targeted population ... The centers gradually turned away from teaching agricultural skills and had become poor substitutes for primary education (Haddad & Demski, 1995, p. 63).

Overall, neither the government nor the villagers were interested in rural schools. Parents were more attracted to formal schools that could lead to jobs in urban areas and the government wanted to generalize the formal school system.

Guinean « *Centre d'Education Révolutionnaire* »

After independence, Guinea undertook radical transformations of the educational system, and tried to wipe out colonial education that was believed to be the main problem of development. O' Toole & Bah- Layla (1995) said that between 1968 and 1986, public schools were renamed *Centre d'Education Révolutionnaire* (CER), or revolutionary education centers. The staff and teachers were Africanized; local languages were used and the curriculum was re-written. The school was oriented toward practical training, linking education to work, and educating youth for social mobilization, and social cohesion under the socialist ideal. Cuban and Chinese were the inspiring models (O' Toole & Bah- Layla, 1995, p. 73). However, this orientation has not contributed to increasing education enrollment. In 1990, Guinea had one of the lowest enrolment rates in Africa, which was 31.8% (19.4 for girls, and 44.2% for boys).

Sénégalaise experiences

Sénégal was a special case among French West African colonies. It inherited the foundation of the colonial educational system with many federal schools, vocational and a higher education institution. The policy after independence was a natural continuity of the colonial practice with the existence of thirteen of the twenty federation schools (60%). (Thompson & Adloff, 1957, p. 538).

In Sénégal, the state was primarily concerned with extending formal schools to rural areas. However, it introduced nonformal education in rural development areas to link education and development: “*Animation Rurale*”, “*Maisons Familiale et Rurale*”, “*Foyers d'Enseignement Pratique*” Evans (1981).

Animation rurale: Moulton defines *animation rurale* in French West Africa as a “program for training the rural population to participate in building institutions of economics and social development” (Moulton, 1977, p. 20). The concept of “*animation rurale*” addresses the issue of adult education in rural areas, and aimed at actively involving the rural people in the national economic and social development, promoting a community development, and the modernization of rural areas. According to Moulton, the concept of “*animation rurale*” belongs to the socialist-oriented rural development strategy, aiming at empowering rural populations through direct participation in the decision-making and the nation building. It has historically played an important role in the political conscientiousness of rural population; because of its potential for radical change, it threatened the government that decided to stop the initiative, and change the orientation of the program:

It is no longer a crucial component of the government national plan...its primary objective is technical training for economic progress rather than conscientiousness raising an institution-building for political and economic unity... and the locus of initiative in rural development is no longer with the villagers and their *animateurs* but with government officials working in rural expansion centers in the arrondissement” (Moulton, 1977, p. 114).

Enseignement Moyen Pratique (EMP): The EMP, rural vocational schools were introduced later in 1978 in Sénégal to provide practical training for primary school graduates and dropouts. These schools were implemented in many villages and aimed to adapt formal schools to local realities. The government planned to enroll 80% of primary school students who failed the middle school entrance examination^{vi}. The

^{vi} During that period, only few primary schools students (about 20%) were enrolled in middle schools because of the state lack of funding to build schools.

program was geared toward rural activities, mechanical work in villages, and carpentry in urban areas. These schools were used to stop rural exodus; however, most of them were not as successful as expected and were closed at the end of the financial support. Only a handful of these schools have survived and are state funded (Mangane, Niang, Wade, 2000, p. 17). In January 2003, I visited Ngekhokh vocational school created in 1978. Among the four teachers, only two were state employees and received a salary, the two others worked as volunteers. The Director allowed them to run private businesses within the school because they did not receive compensation.

My brother is specialized in metalwork, he is unemployed, but he teaches here. I asked him to produce and sell for himself as compensation (Personal communication, Senior Staff, January, 2003).

Overall, nonformal education did not prosper during the 1970's; most programs were funded through external donors, and ended with the funding. The state did not allocate an important budget to these programs. It was only in 1993 that the government wrote its first strategic plan to officially include nonformal education in the policy.

The experience of nonformal education in Mali

During the colonial period, only four of the twenty Federal schools were located in Mali. After independence, the government was open to any idea that could contribute to achieving universal primary education, given the state lack of education infrastructures and the increasing demand for education. There was a favorable attitude towards nonformal education; however, policymakers recognized the need for mentality

change to recognize nonformal and vocational education. The Director of primary education in Mali in 1969 said:

The need for tremendous effort to instill a new mentality in our students... true mystic of the land, ... value... manual labor, craftsmanship, and the cultivation of the land... Students who are not welcomed in the class of ninth year ... should be welcomed by the state farms already in existence ... and students could specialize in agriculture, fishing, and handicrafts (Ly, 1977, p. 224).

According to Ly (1977) Mali was among the first West African countries involved in UNESCO's and UNDP's large nonformal education in the early 1970. Contrary to Sénégal, Mali had a more elaborated nonformal educational system, which in 1973 included centers for functional literacy designated for adults' agricultural producers, and youth; centers for rural animation; vocational training schools (*Centre d'Orientation Pratique*); sports and recreational programs; science circles; women's and girls programs; radio and press educational programs. Nonformal educational programs were linked to the economic and social development in rural areas. The programs aimed at increasing agricultural productivity, and peasants' well-being. The youth programs aimed at increasing the moral and cultural development, and promoting youth contribution in the community. Some programs such as scientific circles aimed at increasing students' scientific knowledge, related to their local environment. In urban area, scientific circle dealt with formal school science program, while in rural areas, they dealt with agricultural issues. The programs used local languages, and were based on the local culture. (Ly, 1977).

In Mali, the model had difficulty expanding because of a lack of teachers willing to serve in rural areas and a lack of students' interests. Since the first graduates returned

to their villages without a job, parents perceived the program as a waste of time. Other than the lack of jobs, students did not have an opportunity to apply their skills in traditional settings, because younger people were not allowed to raise their voices before adults (Ly, 1977). Furthermore, the government of Mali was not able to carry out nonformal education reforms because of financial problems; and most of policymakers, formal school graduates, applied an academic approach of education in designing and evaluating nonformal programs (Ly, 1977).

The Decade of “aborted reforms “

The “golden age” was followed by the “decade of aborted reforms” that mostly happened in the 1970’s. The phase was dominated by a Marxist, neo Marxist and a *Panafricanist* vision that claimed the autonomy of newly independent countries from the former metropolis. During that period, many international conferences on education put emphasis on strategies to achieving a universal primary education, and promoting an alternative education that did not perpetuate the colonial cultural and economic domination (Orivel & Shaw, 1994).

Post-independence nonformal education programs flourished in that period. Ejlaga & Zeleza (2003) divided African countries in two groups: “capitalist-oriented” and “socialist-oriented” countries. “Socialist-oriented” countries opted for a radical policy change of the education system. The movement was based on leftist theories that believe in involving grassroots organizations in the development process, and the promotion of practical skills. In the model, vocational schools were considered as a means to reduce the unemployment and create jobs through self-employment.

“Capitalist-oriented” countries used the colonial education as a foundation to undertake reforms and make education more relevant to the country’s needs. Local culture was introduced, and the curriculum was reformed without moving away from the French education system, thought to be of a better quality. French was still used as the teaching language, and policymakers were concerned with increasing the standards of African education at the level of French schools to enable graduates to further their education in French institutions of higher education (Ejlaga & Zcleza, 2003).

The period of financial crisis

The third phase, between the 1970’s and 1990’s was still characterized by reforms based on the claim of a national identity and an attempt to find alternatives to formal schools. The vision includes the introduction of the local languages into the school, the adaptation of the curriculum content to the local reality, and the introduction of “productive work” in the school. The period was characterized by a state financial crisis in funding of education. Since the late 1970’s many francophone African countries had difficulty financing the education sector, consequently, pupils-teacher ratios increased and real salaries decreased. The quality of education decreased as a consequence of a lack of funding, and graduates were not able to find jobs (Orivel & Shaw, 1994).

This period also coincided with structural adjustment programs and neo-liberal policies in education, which were characterized by the democratization of education to enlarge access; the end of the welfare state, the reduction of the state social spending on education; decentralization, local participation and privatization. Neoliberal policies

emphasized on the role of the market (Labaree, 1997). According to Lockeed & Vespoor (1991), the reduction of public expenditures on education largely contributed to decreasing the net enrollment rate in Africa.

Liberal policies implied budget cuts in education, which affected mostly teachers' salaries, the school supply, equipment, construction and maintenance; however, it put more responsibility on communities and opened doors for nonformal education that is assumed to be cheaper and more adapted to local needs.

Conclusion of the chapter

Overall, nonformal education did not prosper in the post-independence period. In Burkina Faso, the program was abandoned after evaluation because parents and students felt that the program did not lead to social promotion. In Mali, Burkina Faso and S n gal, nonformal education faced similar constraints: lack of funding, lack of clear orientation, lack of connection with formal education system. Among the main achievement in the three countries were the strong links with local development and the introduction of national languages.

Le Brun argues that: "In some countries truly innovative projects have been launched, but in the end they have been absorbed by the conventional system because of the resistance of change from within" (As cited by LY, 1977, p. 226). He believes that policymakers, who are products of formal schools and main actors of educational reforms, are the problem. They perceive the world with this bias due to their formal school training and have difficulties to undertake radical changes. According to Farrell, parents, teachers, and policymakers are not mentally ready for alternative schools and

the lack of readiness explains their resistance to radical changes in education systems
(Farrell, 2001, p. 6).

CHAPTER 4

NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND THE EFA MOVEMENT

In addition to analyzing historical trends, I examined the Education for All (EFA) movement to explore attitudes of international development partners and Third World policymakers towards nonformal education. I will first explore the Education for All movement, its background, definition, and purpose; furthermore, I will give a particular attention to the dimensions and place of nonformal/formal education within the EFA discourse and policy implementation. The overall analysis of the movement will help me to identify the challenges to promoting nonformal education within the movement.

Presentation of the EFA movement

Background and context

The Education for All movement started in 1990 during the United Nations Conference on Education for All. The movement is based on two concepts: human rights and human capital.

The human rights concept refers to equity and equality among all. Equality is regarded as sameness and uniformity; it is considered as a numerical value for which individuals get the same size of the share. Equity refers to fairness and social justice; it is a value judgment that can comprise equality and inequality (Stone, 1997, p. 42). It implies different perceptions of norms and justice (Farrell, 1999, p. 158). Minorities,

poor children's, or girls' access to education is an equity issue; favoring these categories of the population would lead to a social stability. The role of the state is to evenly distribute education considered as a primary good whose access enhances development and democracy. According to Farrell (1999), equity and equality are often at the core of the changes in educational systems. Equity and equality would increase opportunities to access to wealth and power and close class differences among different groups.

Furthermore education is viewed as a contribution to human capital (Farrell, 1999). According to the theory of human capital, education is the engine of economic and social development and is as important as physical capital; it consequently deserves investment (Haddad, 1990; Psacharopoulos, 1999). The formal education system is perceived as an instrument to achieve modernization and to satisfy the demand of the labor market.

The greater the proportion of children that governments can place in school, the more likely these children will become more productive citizens and lead their countries to faster growth in the future (Englebert, 2000, p. 19).

According to the UNESCO Newsletter (April June 2003), the future structure of the labor market justifies the investment in education. The joint survey by UNESO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has shown that industrial production will double in Third World by 2020 and unskilled labor will account only for 10 to 15% of the labor force. Investing in education is necessary to adjust to the upcoming change of the labor market. (UNESCO, 2003, p. 5).

United Nations agencies and bilateral cooperation have mostly supported primary schools in Third World countries using the human capital and human rights approaches. Despite the support, Haggis (1991) argues that many Third World countries

were not able to provide education for all children and adults. According to UNESCO, in 1991 more than 960 million adults were illiterate, 2/3 of whom were women; over 100 million of children, including at least 60 million girls living in Third World countries, were not able to access to schools (UNESCO, 2001b, Para. 2-3). This alarming situation led to the World Conference on Education for All (EFA), held in March 1990, in Jomtien, Thailand (Haggis, 1991).

The World Bank, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UNICEF, and UNESCO sponsored the Conference. In addition, 155 governments, 20 intergovernmental agencies, and 150 Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) attended. The preamble of the United Nations World Conference on Education for All (UNWCEFA) recalled that education was a fundamental human right and recognized the importance of traditional knowledge and culture in development. It also acknowledged the importance of basic education as the foundation of education that leads to other levels of education, science, technology, life learning and a self-reliant development (UNESCO, 2001a).

This was followed by a Mid-decade Evaluation Conference in Amman, Jordan in 1996 to assess the progress made, and the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000. During this last Conference the “Dakar Framework Plan of Action: Meeting our Collective Commitments” was adopted (UNESCO, 2001a). The Dakar Conference was an assessment of basic education systems. The findings showed that although the number of children in school had increased from 599 to 681 million between 1990 and 1998, and many countries were close to achieving full enrollment in primary education, 113 millions children were out of school, discrimination among girls was persistent, and

nearly a billion adults were illiterate. The report also noticed that schools lacked qualified teachers and learning materials (UNESCO, 1981, Para. 8). In contrast to Jomtien, the Dakar Conference framework set international targets: achieving UPE by 2015, reducing adult illiteracy by 50% in 2015, and achieving gender equality in 2015 (Chabbott, 2003, p. 62). During that Conference, donors made a formal commitment to support the movement, and governments committed to achieving a quality basic education by 2015 in their respective countries.

Definitions

Basic education

From the literature, two visions of basic education emerged. The first one defines basic education within the formal education system (Mingat & Winter, 2002; Haddad, 1990). According to the first authors, the concept of basic education should include at least nine years of formal education: completion of primary school, and a few years in the middle school. By contrast, others look at education as a holistic experience. Among these is Gandhi whose philosophy of basic education goes beyond the actual formal school and seek to develop the body and the mind of the child. He believed in the early integration of manual work and local religions into the school curriculum to better connect the child with his environment and promote positive values toward his culture. He also encouraged the use the local and Indian inter-provincial languages to better root the student in his community and promote a national identity. He believed that basic education should be self-supporting, through the production of marketable goods to sustain the school (Prabhu & Rao, 1967, p. 2-3).

Ahmed & Coombs (1975) consider the first vision, which includes four to six years of primary schooling or its nonformal education equivalent as a popular approach and gave a more comprehensive definition of the concept which includes formal, nonformal, informal dimensions of education. It includes six elements:

The acquisition of constructive attitudes, characters, traits and values conducive to effective personal development and to contributing to community and national development; functional grasp of literacy and numeracy; a scientific outlook and rudimentary understanding of one's natural and social environment; basic knowledge and skills for rearing a family and managing a household; functional skills and knowledge for earning a living; the knowledge and skills requisite for effective civic participation (Ahmed & Coombs, 1975, p. xxxii).

Basic learning needs

The concept of "basic learning needs" includes two components: essential learning tools such as literacy, numeracy, oral expression, problem solving on the one hand, and basic knowledge and skills, values and attitudes necessary to fully participate in the development process on the other. (Berstcher and al, 1996; Ahmed, 1997, p. 444). According to the document of the Conference (1990)

The basic skills are those required by human beings to be able to survive, develop their full capacities to live and work with dignity ... to make informed decisions and to continue to learn (As cited by de Siqueira, 2002, p. 8).

The satisfaction of these basic needs contributes to promoting social justice, tolerance, environment protection, and a common understanding of "humanistic values and human rights" (UNESCO, 2001a, Para. 2).

"Basic Learning Needs" can be achieved through early childhood, quality primary education, out-of-school education, literacy, knowledge and life skills and training for youth and adults. The concept of Basic Learning Needs involves the use of

traditional and modern means of communication to better inform and educate the population and focuses on learning achievement, equitable access, and sustained participation. The World Conference on EFA acknowledges that the first step to meet Basic Learning Needs would be:

Preferably through an active participatory process involving groups and the community, the traditional learning systems which exist in the society, and the actual demand for basic education services, whether expressed in terms of formal schooling or non-formal education programmes" (UNESCO, 2001a, Para 23).

Meeting "Basic Learning Needs" requires an involvement of non-traditional and traditional partners of education: the family, the community, private enterprise, non-governmental organizations, international institutions, etc.: the new vision also requires a multi-sector approach of education, which includes all sectors of development (UNESCO, 2001a, Para 24).

Goals of the Conference

The overall goal of the first World Conference was to give a new direction to education in Third World countries by turning around the downward trend of falling enrollments and completion rates, and improving learning within the primary school system. The year 2000 was targeted to achieve the new goals (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 4). Furthermore, the Conference gave an opportunity to the international community, in conjunction with nation states to reaffirm the importance of basic education, to articulate the concept of "basic learning needs", and put in place strategies to meet these needs (Ahmed, 1997). The concept of education was related to the vision of development based on "integrated development" or "development centered on man"

(UNESCO, 1982, p. 11). Ten years after the first Conference, the goals were assessed and specified during the Dakar Conference in 2000, which adopted the six following goals:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skill programmes;
4. Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. (UNESCO, 2001c, para.8)

To achieve these goals, EFA focuses on completion and acquisition of functional skills rather than enrollment rate; it stresses the importance of culture and experiential learning, effective learning and a concomitant openness to new technologies, the implication of marginalized groups such as women and girls, ethnic minorities, and rural people (Haggis, 1991). The conference encourages nation states to involve the civil society in achieving EFA (Basile, 1997; Bradshaw, 1993; Cummings & Nielsen, 1997), and to link the education program with the national strategy to reduce poverty (UNESCO, 2001c). EFA strategies also include the acquisition of skills that enable students to be functional in the local community, skills that increase awareness about

the quality of life in the community and also skills that enable students to find a job in the labor market (Haggis, 1991, p. 2).

Nonformal education in the EFA movement

To analyze the place on nonformal education in the EFA movement, I compared the categories of formal and nonformal presented in the definition with those presented in the goals and strategies of the movement. Many dimensions of nonformal education were included in the strategies: inclusion of marginalized groups and the local culture into the school, promotion of skills for life and adult literacy, creativity, continuing education, participatory approaches etc. EFA strategies included the acquisition of skills to enable students to be aware of the quality of life, be functional in their local communities, and to find job in the labor market (Haggis, 1991, p. 2).

EFA gave a particular attention to categories of population who were not able to enroll in the formal school system for economic, social or cultural reasons. Girls, women, poor urban, marginalized, rural children and adults are explicit targets of the movement. Introducing marginalized population into the mainstream also can promote a social order. Educating this category of population can lead to creating conditions for enlargement of democracy, and increasing opportunities for participation in economic and social development. It can contribute to promoting modernization in the society.

The integration of the cultural dimension contributed to valorizing traditions, beliefs and values and empowering students and local communities. In this context, the school has a potential for generating local knowledge by using local languages, involving community members in producing the learning materials. This knowledge can

contribute to promoting creativity, challenging the hegemony of the dominant culture, and ultimately can lead to social transformation.

The social dimension of the curriculum, which incorporates health, environment, etc., promotes skills for life and increases students' awareness about local issues and encourages them to take actions for change. In addition, the new approach includes traditional partners of nonformal education. NGOs, which used to play a minor role in educational policy formulation, are invited to the policymakers' table:

NGOs shall be part of all formal structures for the implementation of EFA at all levels; local, national, regional and international... subsequent major international meetings and Conferences relative to the Education for All movement shall include NGOs as full delegates (Chabbott, 2003, p. 60).

Furthermore, the new approach promotes active participation, involvement of local communities, parents, partnership between ministries, different governments, public and private sectors, and mobilization of resources at the national and international level that strengthens international solidarity.

Although nonformal dimensions appear to be dominant in the discourse, the steps to guarantee an integration of these categories, particularly, culture and language are not clear in many national educational policies. Questions remain to be answered. Are the stakeholders ready to see a new system of education? Are there enough human resources to promote the nonformal model?

Critiques of EFA goals

Different perspectives on the EFA movement

Who were the initiators of the agenda of the World Conference on EFA? What was the power of developing countries, the main focus of the Conference?

According to Colette Chabbott, Director of the Board on International Comparative Studies in Education at the National Academy of Sciences, the EFA Conference first drafted in 1988 was initiated by leaders of three large international organizations: UNESCO, the World Bank and UNICEF; UNDP joined the group later on (Chabbott, 2003, p. 12). Federico Mayor of UNESCO, Barber Conable of the World Bank, and James P. Grant of UNICEF initiated the Conference, and "None of the three men had either an academic background in or professional experience in basic education" (Chabbott, 2003, p. 29). Although the three leaders were not experts of the field of education, the Executive Secretary of the Inter-Agency Commission of the Conference Wadi Haddad, Coordinator of the World Bank education policy paper and the "long-term advocate of cost-benefit analysis" - is an expert in the field of education- (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 8). The three organizations had different motivations and used the World Conference on EFA to achieve other goals. According to Chabbott (2003), UNESCO was already committed to mass and adult education. However, the Conference was used as an opportunity to solve political problems the organization was facing. In 1986, the main financial partners, the United States and United Kingdom, in addition to Singapore, withdrew from UNESCO to protest against the corrupt political climate under the leadership of Ahmadou Mactar Mbow, the Director General. The

Conference was used to achieve two goals: re-affirm the leadership position of UNESCO in education policies in Third World Countries and present a better image of the organization. For UNICEF, the Conference was an opportunity to promote the Health for All in 2000 Initiative, and the World Bank used it to follow up the sector plan loans on education in developing countries.

The World Bank needed commitments from national governments to spend their own funds on education, as well as grant commitments from other donors' organizations to supplement the bank loans. (Chabbott, 2003, p. 29).

Furthermore Chabbott said:

According to many observers, the World Bank interest in EFA was tied to its interest in finding partners to provide grants for the technical assistance needed to plan and implement the Banks' anticipated education loans in Africa, loans it hoped, would revitalize African development effort in general and restore investor confidence (Chabbott, 2003, p. 97).

In the initial drafting of the EFA document in 1988-1989, there appeared different focuses to education: human capital and human rights, with the prevalence of the first. While UNESCO and UNICEF were more intentional about human rights issues, the Bank was more concerned with human capital. In Conference document, the World Bank clearly expressed its preference to link education with "National accounting ... individual earnings ... savings ... investment ... and the well-being of the society" (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 8).

The World Bank staff brought to the table econometric research on positive economic returns to formal primary education and a strong preference for working with existing governmental structures. UNICEF staff brought hands-on experience with nonformal approaches, a keen appreciation for the potential value of mass media for mass mobilization, and no hesitation about working outside existing government structures, with or without NGOs. UNESCO staff brought expertise in adult literacy (Chabbott, 2003, p. 130-131).

According to de Siqueira, the World Bank controlled the EFA movement:

From Jomtien on, although UNESCO was officially the lead agency, the World Bank took control of the process, putting the UN institutions and their goals in a subordinate position (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 8).

Furthermore, the World Bank initiatives were largely influenced by the United States (US) liberal policy. The goal shift of the Bank in 1982 from “development project” to “debt manager” was initiated by the US Deputy Secretary of Treasury T. T. Mc Namara and George Schultz whose intention was to “connect the World Bank policies to Reagan’s restructuring and monetarist market perspectives” (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 6-7). The U.S. leadership position in the Bank re-enforces the liberal approach because decisions of the Bank are made by the largest contributors, which are the US that made 17.7% of the contributions, Japan 8%, Germany 6.2%, France 5.9%, and the United Kingdom 5%. In addition, the presidency of the World Bank is always occupied by the United States (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 9).

Donors’ preferences: formal/ nonformal education

The major donors view formal primary education as the best approach to deliver Education for All (Chabbott, 2003, p. 60). According to Brock-Utne, the Jomtien Conference had a “disproportionate focus on formal primary schooling” (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 11). Formal primary education was given preference for different reasons: it is an organized institution, easier to deal with (compared to other forms of education), can provide available data for education policy formulation and planning, is quite uniform throughout the world (formal schools systems present almost the same characteristics, and exist in many places), and it can immediately provide the service.

While endorsing customized delivery systems for young children, adults and youth in each country, the declaration endorses formal primary education as the main system for children. Creating custom delivery systems required time, so already existing primary education systems provided the most immediate site for international donors to quickly increase their funding to basic education, contributing to what later would be seen as a bias towards formal education in the EFA initiative” (Chabbott, 2003, p. 60).

The World Bank intentionally targeted formal primary education, despite the request of representatives of developing countries to stress the broader concept of basic education, which includes nonformal, adult education and secondary education. Representatives from the South were also concerned with an overall education framework which includes higher education (Brock-Utne, 2000 p. 9).

Some authors explain the preference for formal primary education by the frequent confusion of the terms basic education and primary school. Most of the literature after the Jomtien Conference associated “education” with “schooling”. To support this argumentation, Brock-Utne identifies books whose title refers to education for all, and whose content deals with schooling. She cites Colclough, C. & Lewin, K. M: “Educating all the children: strategies for primary schooling in the South” whose content primarily deals with strategies to expand primary education (Brock-Utne 2003). Press releases on the Education for All movement confirm this concern, as read in DevNew Media Center November 27, 2002, a World Bank website:

The agreement under the Education for All Fast Track Initiative (EFA-FTI)” will begin the process of ensuring that developing countries reach the United Nations Millennium Development goal to provide every girl and boy with a complete primary school education by 2015 (World Bank, 2002, Para. 2).

The declaration of the Minister of International Development, Ms Hilde Johnson of Norway, in the Website states:

Today we also have a better understanding of the need to focus on quality not just quantity. We must focus on curricula; on the quality of teaching ... poor parents must be able to see the purpose of sending their children to school. They must see education as a way out of poverty and insecurity (Johnson, 2003, Para. 9).

In addition, Haddad said,

The World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA)... called on the Third World community to take up the challenge of providing schooling for all (SFA) by 2000 (Haddad, 1990, p. 526).

The confusion between education and schooling could be linked to the socialization of policymakers and scholars into the formal school system as the main instrument to educate children. Most of these leaders have been educated through the dominant formal education system. Personally, before entering the field of education, I was not able to make the difference between education and schooling. This concentration of effort on the formal school system compromises the larger goals of EFA, and has different implications.

Social and financial implications

According to de Siqueira (2002), when education is limited to schooling, poor and marginalized individuals will not have access to it. Children who already live within a stable family are more likely to attend school than others who live in war, conflict, post-conflict situation, or marginalized children for economic cultural and social reasons. If Education for All limits its strategies to formal school, it will not address those needs and reach all children in poor countries. In addition, continuing to apply the traditional model of formal primary education would limit the possibilities of collaboration between the school and other partners of education as defined during the Conference:

parents, communities, non profit organizations etc. There would be no place for local knowledge production for the school.

The preference for formal schools also has financial implications; it contributes to increasing formal primary education capacity to the detriment of nonformal education. According to Colclough, USAID and the Swedish International Development agency (SIDA) allocated 80-90% of their education aid to primary schools (as cited by Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 10). Currently, formal education provides most data for education planning. This contributes to re-enforcing the dominance of the formal school model in policy formulation at the detriment of the nonformal education.

Challenges to EFA

Macroeconomic policies and management of education systems

In Sub-Sahara Africa twenty one (21) out of the forty three (43) countries are less likely to achieve EFA by 2015 because of lack of resources. Macro economic reforms that reduce public spending, the low level of taxes, and the high level of debt jeopardize EFA goals. (Bradshaw, 1993; Mingat & Winter 2002). In addition, the decentralization policy has politically lessened the state control and given more power to local authorities over the education systems. However, the state in reality has only transferred the financial burden to communities and local governments that are not able to provide education resources. Cummings & Nielsen (1997) advocate a policy change from the top-down to bottom up, which would give real power to local communities to achieve EFA.

Power relationships: developing countries and financial partners

During the World Conference, and after the Conference, African policymakers requested a broader vision of basic education, one which integrates different levels of formal education, primary, secondary, higher, vocational as well as nonformal education; however, most international organizations preferred supporting formal schools. According to UNICEF –UNESCO, the main concern of Africans was to preserve African culture through education. African Ministers during regional Conferences in Yaoundé and Johannesburg in 1996 engaged discussions with development partners to replace foreign languages with African languages and to enlarge the definition of basic education; however they did not receive support from the World Bank. Instead UNESCO supported these initiatives (Brock-Ute, 2000, p.9-11).

From these different perspectives, the voices of Third World Countries were not heard in the EFA initiative. Human capital and modernization dominated the theoretical and methodological approaches. Those who defend the two theories assume that developing countries will follow the same path of development as industrialized nations if their children attend formal schools and learn to become modern; these assumptions are still dominant among bilateral and multilateral organizations and are guiding donors' investments (Kinyanjui, 1994, p. 286).

The power relationship between developed and developing countries also appeared through the dominance of the liberal vision in the EFA movement. Furthermore, policymakers and scholars also might have economic reasons to comply with the liberal thought. Using the case of Tanzania, which can be generalized, Brock-Utne (2000) showed that the power of the money helps convince African intellectuals

and policymakers to support World Bank policy. This is shown by the statement a Tanzanian university teacher, who is very influential in the government policy, made:

How can I possibly refuse such an offer? Just the per diems for these five days are more than what I earn in half a year as a professor at the University of Dar es Salam. How can I behave in such a way that I am invited back and still come with some of my criticism? (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 12).

Education data management

The slow process of financing education as requested during the Dakar Conference is related to the production of reliable data in Third World countries. This problem prevents the World Bank and the donors' community from honoring their commitments as promised during the Conference. The lack of reliable data on population, according to Rose, makes difficult the elaboration of a strategic plan to support developing countries to achieve EFA goals.

Poor quality on government and external expenditures, unreliable population projections, enrollment and completion data, unpredictable economic growth, and unrealistic assumptions about domestically generated resources... assumptions regarding transition rates to secondary and changes in teacher training needs not explicit ... exclusion from costing of key demand and other cost -increasing strategies (gender, HIV/Aids) (Rose, 2003, p. 6).

Knowledge control

According to de Siqueira, the Bank tries to control the knowledge production in developing countries by building an Education Knowledge Management System (EKMS) whose objectives are to manage and to centralize the production, distribution and sharing of knowledge at the international level. The data base includes good practices of teaching, projects, policies etc. that can serve as models in the education sector. However, Siqueira perceives the creation of this service as: "a sterilization" and

"standardization" of knowledge which re-enforces the hegemony of developed over developing countries (De Siqueira 2002, p. 24). She believes that this service would be at the advantage of education companies from developed countries such as "corporations, NGOs, international banks that are looking for opportunities in the Third World" (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 18). She perceives the World Bank new service as another form of domination of the developed world. De Siqueira believes that the intention of the World Bank is to make education a service for private enterprises, which can compete to provide the best services. Despite the Bank commitment to finance education policies through the Fast Track Initiative, de Siqueira does not believe in its willingness to support education as a human right.

Financial constraints

Definition and context of the Fast-Track Initiative (FTI)

During the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum, the major donors (bilateral and multilateral agencies) committed to providing a financial and technical support to education systems in the Third World through the following declaration:

No countries seriously committed to Education for All will be thwarted in their achievements of these goals by a lack of resources (Dakar, World Education Forum, 2000, UNESCO, 2001b, Para. 5).

The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was based on the pledge of the international community of donors to support EFA goals. The World Bank, following the Development Committee endorsement of the action plan in April 2002, elaborated the program in partnership with recipient countries. The objectives of the Fast Track initiative are:

To accelerate progress towards the achievement of Universal Primary Education through a combination of stronger national policies, improved capacity and incremental financial resources, both domestically and from the donor community (World Bank, 2003, Para, 20).

To be eligible, country recipients should have a Poverty Reduction Strategy Program (PRSP) and a sector-wide education policy document, using a participatory approach. The document should also demonstrate a political commitment to achieve EFA, which includes policies to improve quality, equity, and efficiency in primary education. At first, eighteen countries were identified in September 2002; eleven of these were in Africa: Burkina Faso, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mauritania, and Niger were among the selected group. The eighteen countries represented seventeen million children out of school. In addition, some countries with large illiterate populations such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo were also invited to present their strategic plan: they account for fifty of 113 million children out of school. The first agreement under the FTI concerned seven developing countries from Africa and Latin America: Burkina Faso, Niger, Mauritania, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guinea, Guyana (Oxfam, 2002; World Bank Press release November 27, 2002). The estimated need to finance their education plan through 2003-2005 was US \$ 400 million per year (Oxfam, 2000a,b); Rose, 2003, p. 5).

According to the World Bank press release of April 8, 2002 DevNews Media Center, to achieve EFA, the 47 countries at risk would need an increase of their annual education spending from 7.4 billions dollars to 16.4 billions between 2002 and 2015. Although the Bank recognized the need to financially support some developing

countries during the transition period to achieve EFA goals, its overall suggestion is to complement national effort to support education and "the money could be generated by countries themselves with increased national commitment to education" (World Bank, 2002, Para. 10). According to Haddad, the international community will support 28% of the needed budget to finance EFA, based on projection of expected revenues of developing countries (Haddad, 1990, p. 530). The World Bank expects the client countries to undertake reforms that contribute to building capacities and facilitating the Bank provision of support. According the World Bank press release of November 27, 2002, the financing would be allocated to training new teachers, paying teachers' salaries, financing activities for quality primary education, building new schools, and promoting HIV/AIDS education, (World Bank, 2002, Para. 4). Since then, the program has not yet started despite many donors' meetings.

Critiques of the Fast Track Initiative (FTI)

Oxfam reacted to the failure of the World Bank Development Committee to finance the FTI as the press release on September 2002 said:

Despite the fact that 12 countries have developed new education plans and are poised to deliver them, rich countries have failed to announce the promised funds. The money is needed immediately and such a stubborn refusal to fulfill their side of the bargain is unacceptable (Oxfam, 2002, Para. 2).

Many NGOs are skeptical about the Fast Track Initiative and think that the criteria of eligibility are not clearly defined; they also fear the conditionality of the Bank that might lead to another Structural Adjustment Program and worsen the education problems (Oxfam, 2000a). This situation has contributed to a lack of trust in World

Bank policies. According to Brock-Utne, the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) believes that the World Bank used the EFA Conference to legitimate the structural adjustment policies on education using African governments and UNESCO (Brock, 2000, p. 34). They are concerned that the reforms would be the same as the Structural Adjustment Program package “one size fits all” for different developing countries with different educational needs. According to Oxfam, the key for the success of the FTI lies in the capacity of recipients and donor countries to develop a partnership and dialogue without conditionality to achieve EFA goals.

According to de Siqueira (2002), the 1999 World Bank document on education sector analysis promotes the commercial aspect of education for private education firms. The document also describes systemic reforms the Bank would support, which are: the promotion of standard curriculum and achievement assessment, governance and decentralization, non- government agencies as providers and financers of education services, effective teacher training through distance education and the use of Internet. Further, she said that the World Bank would encourage Third World countries to develop good national assessment systems and training courses for policy-makers. In addition, the Bank will create an Internet information exchange highlighting investment opportunities in education in client countries.

Thus, education is neither treated as a human and social right ... but as a fast and disposable topic that can be delivered ... by any education enterprise of choice, with more affordable price (de Siqueira, 2002, p. 20).

If the formal education system has to be transformed into a commodity for which the private sector competes to offer the best service, it will not be at the advantage of developing countries. Developed countries that already have a wider experience of

formal education system would have a comparative advantage to become the first ones to provide education services. This situation will encourage the brain-drain from developing countries, widen the gap between rich and poor countries, re-enforce dependency, and enhance the current hegemonic position of developed over developing countries.

“Recipe approaches” through Structural Adjustment Programs have shown their limits to solve development problems. Although they have contributed to increasing economic growth rates, they have also increased poverty rate and widened the gap between rich and poor in developing countries. Promoting the liberal approach in the education and opening it to the global market would marginalize the Third World knowledge production and reinforce the social stratification within developing countries. If the liberal policy is to be applied what would be the guarantee that learning objectives will prevail over profit making objectives? When a private company invests its money, its first concern is its profit and not education for development.

Conclusion of the chapter

Nation states and professional educators did not have the leadership role in the Education for All movement, which was initiated and carried out by the three leaders of international organizations, predominantly liberal, mostly not familiar with nonformal approaches of education, with different political agenda (Chabbott, 2003).

Despite the commitment to use different channels to increase access and make education relevant to people in developing countries, it appears that the formal school system would remain the dominant instrument of learning. However, promoting

alternative education need not entail rejecting formal schools. Alternative and formal education can complement each others. Today policymakers from developing countries face the dilemma of promoting two apparently opposite types of education: an education system which reflects the local values, culture and promote their identity; and another system based on the western model of formal education that uses predominantly international languages and culture to enable its graduates to compete in the global labor market.

CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY-BASED SCHOOLS IN SENEGAL

The Senegalese education system

By the year 2000, Sénégal had 9.5 million inhabitants, an annual population growth rate of 2.7%, and a large urban population of 46%. Today, the GNP per capita is 1,510 dollars, which classifies the country among low income-countries with the rank of 154th out of 173 (UNDP Human Development Indicators). It also is among the Less Advanced Countries (LAC) with a poverty rate of 65.3%, and an illiteracy rate of 65%, (74% of the illiterates are women) (UNDP, 2001). The combined Gross enrollment rate in primary, secondary and tertiary education is 36 % (1999) (United Nations Development Program, 2002, para.1). Senegal has 5,405 formal elementary schools and 24,112 classrooms that enrolled 1,197,081 students (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 2002, p. 2; p. 12).

Overview of the education system

The Ministry of National Education defines the educational policy and oversees the Delegate Ministry of Technical Education, Professional Training, Literacy, and National Languages. At the regional and departmental level, Academic Inspectors represent the Ministry of National Education and its Delegate Ministry. Since 1996, the new decentralization law allows local governments to define and implement their education policy under the coordination of the Ministry of National Education.

The Ministry of National Education directly manages the formal education system, which has three cycles: a fundamental cycle composed of pre-school, elementary, and middle schools. The secondary cycle includes secondary and vocational high schools. The third cycle includes all higher education institutions: two universities, and many private and public institutions (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1998). Another Ministry of Family issues and early childhood was created after 2000; it oversees part of early childhood education.

The Delegate Ministry of Technical Education, Professional Training, Literacy, and National Languages (Delegate Ministry) oversees the nonformal education which includes literacy classes, community-based schools, the “Third type of school^{vii}” (street schools and associative schools), and French Arabic Schools (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002, p. 15). The first national nonformal education policy document that organized the sector was written in 1993 during the Colloquy of Kolda, which defined the ten-year action plan (1993-2003). It was followed two years later by the Colloquy of Saint- Louis in 1995 that expanded the alternatives models for basic education and included community-based schools in the national EFA program. Alternative education is part of the basic education system, but does not directly depend on the Ministry of National Education.

^{vii} Third Type of School is the official label of schools that are not officially recognized, but accepted because they contribute to enrolling children in underserved areas. They function as private/ community schools, charge low fees and are supported by NGOs and communities.

Goals and principles of the Ten-year education program (PDEF)^{viii}

From 1998, the government developed a ten-year education program (PDEF) to achieve Education for All (EFA) in 2010; the program was extended to 2015 to be consistent with the international agenda. The PDEF has three major objectives:

- Increase access to education,
- Strengthen the quality and the effectiveness of education and training,
- Coordinate educational policies (Ministère de l'Education Nationale (Ministère de la Famille et de la Petite Enfance, Cabinet du Ministre Délégué Charge de l'Enseignement Technique, la Formation Professionnelle, et des Langues Nationales, 2002).

The program is based on principles of liberalization of the education sector, decentralization, promotion of quality education and equity, adaptation of the content of schooling to local realities, transparency in the management of the education system (Diouf, Mbaye & Natachan, 2001, p. 13).

The PDEF is consistent with the principles and goals of the World Conference on Education for All, which targets all children with a concentration on marginal groups and girls and encourages any educational initiatives that contribute to increasing youth enrollment in schools and increase of adult literacy rates. The principles of the PDEF also are consistent with World Bank recommendations that encourage the private sector and non-government organizations in the field of education. The government has adopted the principle of “faire faire”, in which non-government actors (NGOs, private

^{viii} PDEF *Programme Décennal de l'Education et de la Formation* is the ten year national education programme (2000-2010). It is extended to 2015 to be consistent with the EFA international agenda.

sector, and development associations) are encouraged to intervene in the field of education.

Strategies to achieve EFA

To increase enrollment within the limited resources, the government has used different strategies: promotion of the private sector, multi-grade schools, double shift classrooms, use of volunteer teachers, equity policy, and community-based schools.

Privatization

Parallel to the state, the private sector intervenes at all levels of the education system. It represents 70% of pre-schools, 9 % of elementary schools, 49% of middle schools, 55% of high schools, and 20% of technical schools (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 2002, p.13).

To increase enrollment, the government gave incentives to private schools that receive subsidies based on the number of students enrolled. In the region of Dakar, where the demand for education is higher, the private sector is as important as the public sector and represents 49.5% of elementary schools, while in other regions, the private sector is not important. For example, in the region of Kolda and Thies it represents respectively 0.7% and 7.2% of elementary schools. (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 2002, p. 23). In the capital, Dakar that offers more job opportunities in the modern sector, education is perceived as a productive investment and is more valued than in the inner regions dominated by agricultural activities. Parents send their children in private schools because of the quality of education offered compared to public schools (example pupils/teachers ratio) and the lack of available public schools.

Double shift and multigrade classrooms

Hamadache (1994) defines a double shift classroom as a one in which two groups of pupils and one or two teachers use the same facilities. In rural areas, 11.3% of elementary school students are enrolled in double shift classrooms, while this percentage is 33.3 % for students in urban areas (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002, p. 23). The double shift system is mostly implemented in populated quarters or in suburbs where the state has not built enough schools. Hamadache (1994) argues that the evaluation of the strategy in Venezuela, Chile, Guyana and Sénégal has proven that students have the same level of achievement as in regular schools, but in Nigeria and Malaysia, pupils have a lower achievement. According to Bray (1989), the main advantage of the model is the reduced unit cost (As cited by Hamadache 1994, p. 4133). Despite these positive findings, the government is committed to reducing the number of double shift classrooms by building more classrooms in rural and poor urban areas and the policy has already started in the suburb of Dakar, and in rural areas (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002).

Hamadache (1994) defines a multi-grade classroom as a grouping of several grades into one classroom. The same classroom serves children of different ages at the same time. The model has financial and pedagogical advantages: it reduces the cost of education and promotes peer tutoring among students of different grades. The strategy is viewed as an efficient way of learning (Hartwell, 1997; Schiefelbein, 1992). However, the implementation of multigrade classroom have some constraints, Benveniste and Mc Ewan perceive the capacity and the willingness of teachers as a core factor of implementing successful a multigrade classroom. In Sénégal, 13.6% of students in rural

areas attend multigrade classrooms and 1.1% in urban areas (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002, p. 23). The state implemented multigrade schools because it could not build enough classrooms in remote villages or when the school age population was not large enough to build a school. Students are enrolled in a single classroom and the teacher follows different curricula. This type of classroom requires more training for teachers than regular school.

Use of volunteer teachers

Another strategy to increase the enrollment rate and improve the quality of education was to decrease the teachers' salaries, which absorb 99% of the budget of elementary school (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002). From the perspective of the government, the policy of "volunteers of education" was initiated in 1994/95 to reallocate education resources from teachers' salaries to other school inputs to improve the quality of education and increase enrollment rate (Eco Afrique, 1997). The government planned to use this strategy to build 2,000 classrooms a year and hire more teachers to enlarge the access to elementary schools. According to a senior officer at the Ministry of National Education, at least 1,000 classrooms have been built through this program during these last four years (1998-2002). The policy of "volunteers of education" is irreversible. According to senior officer at the Ministry of National Education, today, all teachers' training schools are closed, and all teachers have to pass through the "volunteers of education" system if they want to apply to be teacher. Most policy-makers interviewed found this strategy relevant.

The policy of volunteers of education is the most relevant initiative of the PDEF. It has been successful. Initially, it was planned to last four years, but we are now at the eighth year (Senior Officer, Ministry of National Education).

The policy of volunteers of education increases the number of teachers and contributes to achieve EFA (Staff member of the Ministry of Literacy, National Languages and Professional Training).

The policy of volunteers of education contributes to promoting citizenship among the youth by participating in educating other young Sénégalaise. Nevertheless the state should secure the profession and define a career plan for young volunteers. (Senior Officer, Delegate Ministry).

Policy of equity

The government is committed to reducing the gap between urban and rural, boys and girls. Today, most of the construction effort is put into rural schools. From 1999 to 2002, the number of new classrooms in urban areas increased from 10,234 to 10,801 (5.2% increase), while those in rural area increased from 11,496 to 13,311 (13.6%). Nevertheless, rural areas still receive the less qualified teachers and are less well equipped: 70.1% of urban schools have clean water against 12.8% in rural areas; for the latrines, the ratio is 67.6% against 34.4% in rural areas. Much more effort is still needed to balance urban and rural schools (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002, p. 25).

The government has made efforts to correct the inequality between boys and girls by increasing the investment in school buildings and by developing social mobilization strategies to encourage parents to send girls to school. Girls' enrollment in elementary schools largely contributed to increasing the overall enrollment rate between 1992 and 1997 (Diagne, Daffe & Wane, 1997).

In spite of all these efforts, government schools were not able to enroll all children, particularly in rural and poor urban areas. Community-based schools were implemented in 1992/93, after the World Conference on Education for All to provide education to underserved populations using nonformal education approaches.

Community-based schools as a solution

Background

To study the background of community-based schools, I used document analysis from the government, the project PAPA, and different Non-Government Organizations: Plan Senegal, Aide et Action and the Church school. I also used interviews. The sample of senior officers interviewed included those who initiated the experience, officers at the Ministry of National Education, the Delegate Ministry, and NGOs. To learn about the history of community-based schools, I included in the interview guideline a question on the history of the implementation of community-based schools in Senegal. Most of information came from documents analysis and the interview with one of the designer of the experiment.

According to a founding member of community-based school in Sénégal, the first experiment officially started in 1991 (*Loi d'orientation 91-22 du 16/02/1991*), and was initiated by the NGO A.D.E.F/ Afrique^{ix}. The experimental phase took place

^{ix} ADEF/Afrique: Association pour le Développement de l'Éducation et de la Formation en Afrique

between 1992/93 and 1995 and was inspired by the experience of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee model (BRAC) (Senior officer, NGO #2).

Following the experiment, in 1994-95, Aide et Action implemented schools in the rural area of Kolda and in the suburb of Dakar and Mbour (*Pikine, Rufisque, Mbour*). In 1995-96, Plan International established twenty five schools. The same year (1996), the government launched a national project PAPA^x to expand the experiment. Two hundred schools were opened in ten regions. Later, different NGOs were involved: Club Martin Luther King, Tostan/RADI, *Démarcation pour le Sénégal de l'Ordre des Ecoles Pies (D.S.O.E.P)*, Paul Guerin la Joie. Most of them worked with the government as sub-contractors.

The experimental phase lasted two years, from 1993 to 1995. After the assessment of the experiment by the Ministry of Basic Education, Plan International and Aide et Action established new schools. ADEF/Afrique expanded its network of community-based schools from fourteen to sixty (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

Different NGOs shared the same philosophy of the community-based school with the government, which is “a school for the community and by the community”. The community-based school is perceived as a structure of education for dropouts, children who are not enrolled, and adults. From the perspective of the NGO and the government, the school should be managed by the community and combine a theoretical training and the production of good for the community. To achieve its goals, the school

^x PAPA: *Projet D'appui au Plan d'Action en matière d'éducation non formelle*. PAPA is Government Project geared toward promoting literacy and community-based schools in underserved areas.

should use mainly national languages as a medium of instruction (Plan Senegal, n.d., p. 3; Diop, n.d., p. 5; ADEF/Afrique, n.d., p. 2).

The association ADEF/Afrique initiated community-based schools to contribute to the goal of Universal Primary Education. To achieve that goal, [the NGO] used two strategies: community-based schools and volunteers of education. [The NGO] wanted to develop a model in which the community self-manages the school (Senior Officer NGO #2).

The government shares with NGOs the philosophy of community-based schools designed for the community, in addition, the government perceives the school as “an answer to the multiple problems and limitations of formal schools”. “Community-based schools should be understood as a complement to the formal school system, allowing a generalization of basic education” (Diop, n.d., p. 3).

NGOs collaborated with the government at the early stage of the project and PAPA provided funds for NGOs to implement schools.

During the first years, 1995 to 1999, community based-schools were funded through PAPA. Since 1999, Plan Sénégal directly manages community-based schools. Nevertheless we have good working relationships with PAPA [the government project] (Senior Officer # 1, NGO # 1).

The overall goal of community-based schools was to increase access, promote an education geared toward community development, and promote a model more efficient than the formal school system: a school able to enroll all school-age children and provide a relevant education for rural and poor urban areas, particularly for those who are difficult to reach for economic or social reasons,.

Five regions were selected to conduct the experiment: Kolda (Kolda), Dakar (*Pikine*), Saint-Louis (*Podor*), Kaolack (*Ndoffane*), Louga (*Kebemer*). Those regions

were targeted based on their low gross enrollment and low literacy rates, and the high level of poverty of their communities. The model offered two options: the transitional option labeled “*passerelle*” (bridging) and/or vocational option. The bridging option provided an opportunity for students to transfer into the formal school system and encouraged dropouts to return to the formal school system. The vocational option provided professional skills for students. Community-based schools combined the two options, accompanied with an economic project or a school micro-project (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

School micro-projects are educational activities that happen outside of the classroom. They provide an opportunity for students to work with the community, develop professional skills and generate money to support the school. The community in collaboration with the *opérateurs* or the NGO decided about the nature of the school micro-project. Most projects are related to agricultural activities or art craft (agricultural production, poultry, heifer, production of traditional ovens, tie-dying etc.)(Diop, n.d, p.7). The funding varies and depends on agencies: the amount varies between 100,000 to 500,000 FCFA (200 -1,000 dollars US).

Presentation of community-based schools

To present community-based schools, I used document analysis, classroom observations, survey interviews, and in-depth interviews. I used official documents I received from different organizations I visited: PAPA, Aide et Action and Plan Senegal, I did not receive any documents from the Church school; however, the Director answered many of the questions through emails. Observations included the thirteen

classrooms visited in five regions and the vocational school I observed during the pilot study in January 2003. I also included the environment of schools in my observations.

Overall, government and NGO community-based schools target youth of nine to fifteen years old living in rural or poor urban areas: dropouts, children that did not have a chance to enroll in formal schools, and illiterate adults. The model uses primarily local languages as the medium of instruction during the first two years; French or Arabic are introduced from the third year. All community-based schools use the same model.

Table 6: Community-based schools and equivalency with formal schools

Community-based School	1 st year		2 nd year		3 rd year	4 th year
	CI	CP	CE1	CE2	CM1	CM2
Formal school	1 st grade	2 nd Grade	3 rd Grade	4 th Grade	5 th Grade	6 th Grade
Languages of instruction	National languages				French	
Learning outcomes	Basic knowledge to solve daily life problems: basic skills in literacy, numeracy and problem solving				Basic skills to manage individual or collective economic and social projects	
Weekly hours	30 hours				30 hours	

The model, presented as a nonformal education, was designed to fit into formal schools and to allow students at the end of the fourth year to take the national middle school examination to enter the formal school system. The goal of the community-based school was to provide for students a six-year primary education in four years in addition

to a professional training. Initiators of the experiment assumed that the use of national languages would help students to learn better and quicker (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

Government schools

The government does not intervene directly in community-based schools; it uses the “faire faire” strategy, in which, *opérateurs*^{xi} from the civil society, NGOs, development associations, and private organizations compete for government funds to implement community-based schools on its behalf. *Opérateurs*/NGOs identify urban or rural areas that don't have formal schools; work with local communities to reach an agreement, and establish a school. They hire and pay teachers and supervisors. The project PAPA coordinates teacher training and conducts the assessment of PAPA community-based schools.

The government requires enrolling a majority of girls, at least 65% of the student population. Teachers and resource persons are recruited from the local community. They are expected to teach, share their knowledge with students and the community, and participate in the local development. The government has two types of schools: traditional community-based schools labeled PAPA community-based schools and vocational schools labeled “articulated” community-based schools.

PAPA community-based-schools

^{xi} *Opérateurs* are members of the civil society; NGOs, associations, or individuals who sign contract with the government to implement community-based schools or literacy classes.

PAPA or *Projet d'Appui au Plan d'Action de l'Alphabétisation en matière d'éducation non formelle* (Nonformal Education Project) started in 1996 and is funded by the Canadian Cooperation (ACDI) and the government of Sénégal. The project PAPA comprises two basic components: literacy classes and community-based schools. The project promotes basic nonformal education focuses on youth and women. The current financing is eight billion CFA (about 15 million US dollars); ACDI provides 70% of the funding and the Government 30% (Senior Officer # 1, Delegate Ministry).

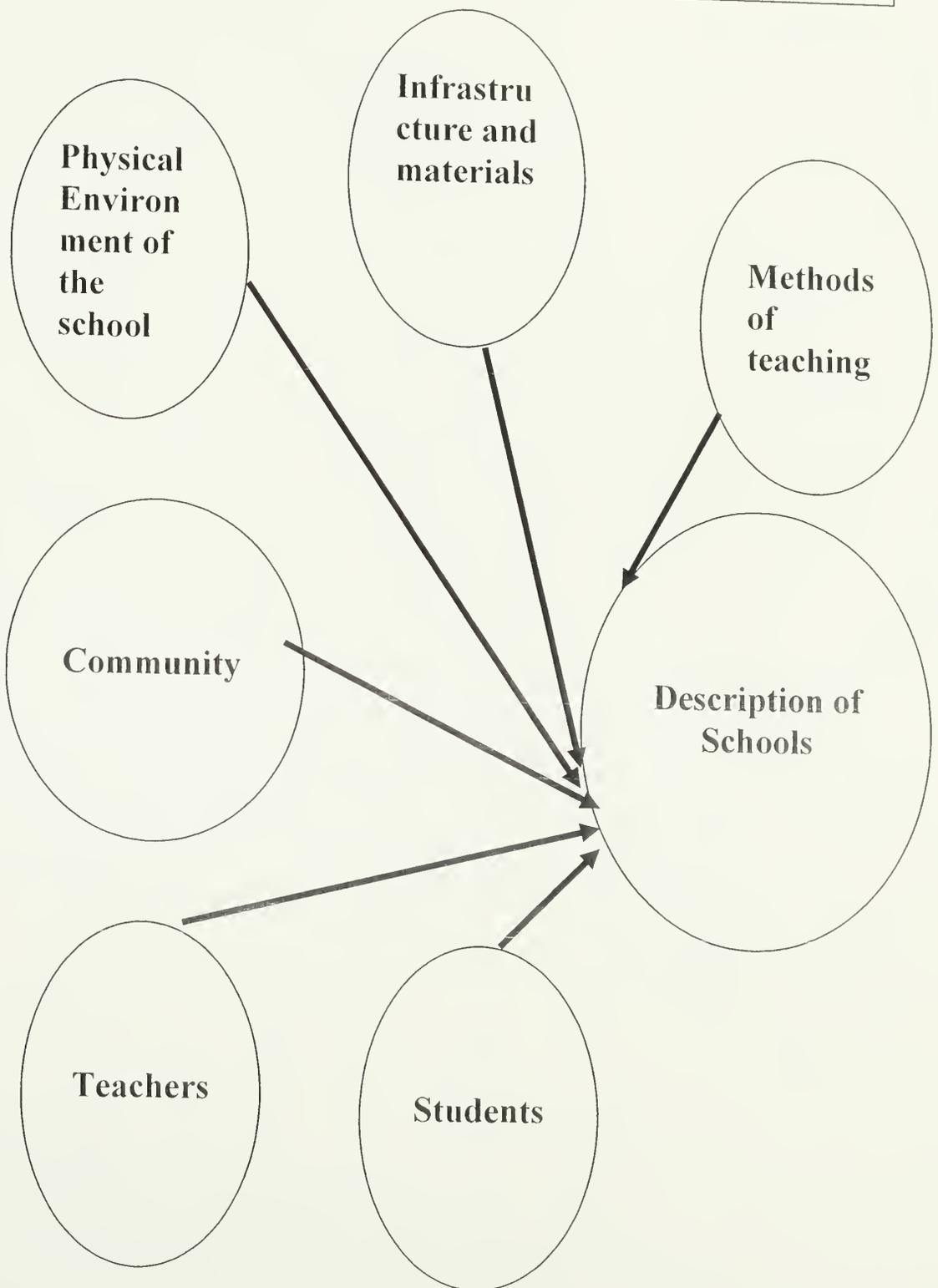
From 1996 to 2001, (first phase of the project) the government implemented 200 classrooms and enrolled 6,000 students of whom 71% were girls. Each school was composed of five classrooms, and each of them enrolls twenty to twenty five students of nine to sixteen years old. Seven national languages were used in schools, of which Wolof was mostly used (56% of classroom used Wolof). During the program, students learned literacy, numeracy, and practical skills through school micro-projects (agriculture, commerce, and other areas of interest identified by communities). PAPA provided an initial funding of 250,000 FCFA (500 US dollars) to finance school micro-projects (Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique et Coopération Canada Sénégal, 2002, p. 10).

During the current, second phase of the project (2002-2007), 10,118 students, 65% of whom are girls, are enrolled in 355 classrooms. Nevertheless, schools still cannot satisfy the demand for education in rural areas, and some times classes over enroll students for social reasons:

Some schools over-enroll students, but we accept it for social reasons. Often parents, the *opérateur*, or the community pay for over enrolled students. The project PAPA sponsors 20 students per classroom (Senior Officer # 1, Delegate Ministry)

I used classroom observations and interviews to describe PAPA community-based schools. Seven classrooms were observed: one in the suburb of Dakar and six in rural areas: two in the region of Thies, two in the region of Louga, and two in the region of Diourbel. I used the following categories to describe schools: the environment of the school, the infrastructure and materials, students, teachers, the method of teaching and the community (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Design of the description of community-based schools



Environment of the school: Regular family houses often surrounded PAPA community-based schools, which made the access easy for students; nevertheless noise often disturbed the school. In rural areas, the environment of the school was spacious and clean, while in the suburb of Dakar, the quarter, flooded and poor, did not have access to the main road and electricity. The majority of the population was unemployed, most women and girls worked as small traders in the nonformal sector or as maid in the city.

Infrastructure, equipment, and materials: among the seven schools I visited, five had permanent buildings while two schools were made of straw. In the region of Thies, classrooms had cement walls and a roof was made of straw. In the region of Dakar, the school was a rented house. The *opérateur* didn't have a large space to host all five classrooms in the same place. He split them into two different locations about fifteen minutes walk apart. Among seven schools, six were owned by communities. In the region of Thies, the school # 2 was funded by Canadian Cooperation, in the region of Louga; the buildings were funded by the Federation of Agriculture Associations. The dimensions of classrooms varied some were spacious, while others were very small. I did not see any running water but in some schools *opérateurs* provided bucket of drinkable water. Latrines were available and clean in all schools.

Schools didn't have a typical school administration. In the region of Dakar, teachers had their own meeting room and the school was managed from the NGO's offices, located a twenty minutes walk from classrooms. In rural areas, teachers did not have a meeting room.

All classrooms were equipped with tables and chairs, facing the blackboard, and students sat three or four for each table (normally two students sit per table). PAPA provided textbooks (reading and math) and notebooks to students. I did not see any other educational resources in different schools. Students relied on teacher's knowledge. In Dakar, the operators plans to establish a library. I did not see any school library in the seven schools.

Although the project PAPA provided textbooks and notebooks for all students, resources were limited: for example, in the suburb of Dakar, one slate eraser was available for twenty students. The teacher distributed a small piece of chalk everyday to students.

Students: The sample of PAPA comprised 170 students. Girls comprised the majority of students (65% or more). Classrooms had between twenty five to thirty students. The age of students varied from eight to twenty years old despite the state requirement to enroll population of between nine to fourteen years old. Students of different ages who were recruited at the same time stayed in the same cohort for four years. In spite of the provision of five classes, PAPA community-based schools mixed students from different ages in classrooms and most classrooms were single grade. I noticed a lack of participation and shyness among older students in PAPA classrooms, compared to younger students. I noticed a high level of participation and interest in subjects taught. I attended a session on health education in the region of Dakar, and students participated, using their mother tongue. The teacher found it difficult to control the class because all students wanted to participate in the discussion. Students use rote

memorization, they acquired their knowledge by repeating after the teacher and learning by heart.

Teachers: Eleven teachers of PAPA community schools (See table 5) were involved: five teachers in Dakar and two in each of the following three regions: Thies, Louga and Diourbel. Teachers' experience varied from eight to one year; they all had a previous experience in adult literacy classes.

Method of teaching: Overall, most PAPA community-based schools focused on the bridging option, putting emphasis on the subjects taught in formal schools. Students learned to recite their lessons of history, geography and sciences before the teacher. In all classes I visited, teachers used frontal teaching and memorization methods. The dominant national language of the community was mostly used. In Dakar, the community-based school used *Wolof* and *Pulaar*. I found that the knowledge was not shared among students. After asking students to solve a numeracy problem, a teacher in the suburb of Dakar said, "hide your answer when you are done, don't cheat". In addition, a student said, "*Madame ki mongui triché*" (Madame, he is cheating). Nevertheless students learned to connect with the community and to perpetuate local traditions. The day I visited the same school, one of the teachers went with his students to present their condolences to another student who had lost her father. All students contributed 25F CFA (about three cents US) to support the cost of the funeral. I did not observe any group project or peer tutoring among students.

The community: Although community members were associated through participatory research methods (MARP) in the initial stage of the project, they were not involved as resource person in classrooms. Their role consisted of hosting the teacher,

controlling students' and teachers' attendance. In Dakar, teachers were not hosted by the community. The community financially supported the school by paying a monthly student fee, which was 500 FCFA (about one dollar US) in urban area and about 25cents, US dollars in rural areas. The fees helped to pay the rent in urban areas and buy school supplies in rural areas.

Table 7: Summary of the description of schools and teachers

Region	Nature of the school		Teachers		
	Cement Building	Straw Building	Male	Female	Years in the school
Dakar	X		3	2	1
Louga	X X		1	1	3 and 2
Thies		X X	2		8 and 7
Diourbel		XX		2	2
Total and average	3.5	3.5	6	5	2.3

The evaluation of the first phase by the government showed that the outcome of the “bridging” option was not as successful as expected. Most students were not able to pass the middle school entrance examination that would allow them continue in formal schools; in addition students did not have enough skills for the job market. As a result, the government decided to emphasize the vocational training option and involve government vocational schools in the program to increase the effectiveness of community-based schools.

The Direction of Literacy and Basic Education realized ... [that] there were not enough human resources for the professional training; the volunteer teacher is a generalist and is not able to teach at that level. It was the responsibility of the *opérateur* to sign contracts with specialized teachers ... The evaluation showed that those actors were not involved. We realized that the theoretical model did not coincide with the budget we negotiated with the operator. [The budget] did not include the honorarium for special teachers. (Senior Officer, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

Vocational / "Articulated community-based schools"

After the evaluation of the experience of community-based schools, the government decided to use public vocational schools to expand the experience and focus on professional training. Vocational community-based schools are under the supervision of the Delegate Ministry through the Direction of Literacy and Basic Education (DAEB). The government used boys' vocational schools or *Foyer d'Enseignement Moyen Pratiques (EMP)*, and girls' vocational training centers or *Centre d'Enseignement Technique Feminin (CETEF and CRETEF)* to implement the project of "articulated community-based schools". The experiment officially started on January 29, 2002 (*Arrête n° 163 EPT FP 29 Janvier 2002*). The project was co-funded by the government and by Canadian cooperation (ACDI) through the "*Fond Local de Development*".

Vocational community-based schools are labeled "articulated community based schools" because of the connection (articulation) between literacy and professional training. Schools tried to provide professional skills to students. In July 2003, the Direction of Literacy and Basic Education (DAEB) implemented the program in fourteen training centers: four boys' vocational schools, and ten girls' vocational schools (Interview, Officer # 2, Delegate Ministry).

The creation of these articulated community-based schools helped us to solve a problem: They are now located in vocational schools and students will have an opportunity to do a practical training. Now we have more hope for the future of the experience (Senior officer, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

To present the experience, I used classroom observations and interviews. The sample school comprised one vocational school observed during the pilot study in January 2003. I interviewed two senior officers at the Delegate Ministry and the Director of the school located in Region # 2.

I visited the *Foyer* in January 2003. The school had three sections: a Household Art, Electricity, and Mechanics section. The project (PAPA) funded two community-based school classrooms within the vocational school: one Household Art, and Mechanics class. The school received from the project PAPA 41,000 FCFA (about 75 US dollars) per student per year. According to the Director, the school recurrent budget was 210,000 CFA (400 US dollars) a year for 47 students. From the DAEB, I learned that in the current phase of the project, PAPA increased its funding from 41,000 to 70,000 FCFA per student per year to cover the cost of professional training (Senior Officer # 2, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education)

Environment of the school; the school was located at the edge of the village and was not isolated from housings. The school was near a middle school but there was no rivalry between the two schools because they did not target the same people: middle schools enroll students who passed the middle school entrance examination, while EMP enrolls dropout students. The two schools complement each other. The school was accessible and located on the main road. Agriculture was the dominant activity of the population.

Infrastructure and materials: The school was composed of four permanent buildings, built in the late 1970's with the support of the World Bank (Interview, Director). The school had three large classrooms and open spaces for workshops. The school had still metal workshops and carpentry materials. Classrooms I visited did not have the minimum equipment. Most of the tables and chairs were broken. The school had neither running water nor electricity. The Director's office was dusty and unusable. Instead, he uses his house, located near the school as an office. The school telephone was connected to the Director's home where the interview took place.

Students: Traditionally the school trained workers specialized in metal, carpentry, electricity, and mechanics. According to the Director, all graduates found jobs in factories as specialized workers. I observed a mechanics class and a household art class. The first class had twenty two students, all primary school dropouts. The classroom was not well equipped: only ten tables were usable and the others were broken. Students mostly learn technical skills; I did not get any evidence that the school offered literacy classes. The Household Art class was composed of twelve girls and one of them had the tenth grade level of education. She came to the school because she failed the high school entrance examination and did not have any other opportunity to further her education in the small town. The school followed the formal school schedule and focused on vocational training.

Table 8: Household Art students' levels of education

Level of previous education	Number of students	Percentage
Fourth grade	1	6.5%
Fifth grade	1	6.5%
Sixth grade	10	65%
Elementary school certificate	2	13%
Tenth grade:	1	6.5%
Total	15	100%

All students were formal school dropouts and most of them had already a sixth grade education level. The limitation of space in middle schools prevented primary school students from continuing in formal schools. The EMP was a solution to a problem of the formal education.

The children we receive here are formal school dropouts...; they try to find a job. In general, they don't know how to read and write in French and providing literacy classes in national language help them to better learn and have skills that will enable them to have a profession. (Interview, Director of EMP School).

Teachers: The school had four teachers: three volunteer teachers and one full time teacher, one woman and three men. The full time teacher was a civil servant paid by the government. Volunteer teachers got their incomes from the sale of products made by students. Teachers were specialized in their respective domains: household Art, mechanics, electricity and wood carpentry. The school had a full time Director, a civil servant who was paid by the government.

Method of teaching: Students learned in workshops and teachers were more focus on practical training than theoretical training. In the Household Art class, they sat around the table with the teacher. In the mechanics classroom, tables were aligned in columns and they were dusty. I did not see any bulletin board, class schedule or artifacts

of a regular classroom. This implies that students did not sit to study in the classroom and their activities did not happen in the classroom, but in workshops.

Community: the community was not involved in the school. The establishment of the articulated community-based school was a decision of the government. Apparently, the school was not integrated into the community. Some community members labeled the school EMP: “*Ecole Mekk Poth*”, Wolof expression for woman who takes good care of her husband. This name was given to the school to lower the standard of the school (Interview, Director of the school). When I came to the village and asked about the direction of the school, the person who gave me the direction labeled it “weird school” in Wolof “*Ecole bu doy war*”.

Non-Government community-based schools

NGOs received part of their funding from PAPA (government). They also received funds from other donors. They have wide-ranging development activities that vary from child development and health education to providing resources for the formal school system (Example, Aide & Action). They are connected to international networks of NGOs. To describe different NGO community-based schools, I used the same categories as government community-based schools: background of the organization; environment of the school; infrastructure, equipment, and materials; students; teachers; methods of teaching and the community.

Aide & Action: Associative schools

Aide et Action was involved in two categories of community-based schools: The “Third Type” or “Associative school”, located in the suburb of Dakar and community-based schools located in Kolda (government model). The study is limited to associative schools. I used classroom observations, document analysis, and interviews. For my observations, the sample comprised thirty one students, three teachers and two schools. I interviewed two senior officers of Aide et Action and parents who took the survey.

According to Sambe (2002), Associative schools are spontaneous organizations of parents and youth whose goal is to improve access to education in poor areas; they don't function as public or private schools. Students pay small fees that don't cover the total cost of their education, but help to pay teachers and the rent. Associative schools cannot be labeled private school because they don't generate a profit; they don't function as public schools because they charge a fee. However, the private sector fights them because they are their competitors. A regular elementary private school charges between 5,000 and 7,500 CFA (10-15 US dollars), while the associative school charges between 1,000 FCFA and 3,000 FCFA (2 - 6 US dollars).

The program started in 1995 and was a spontaneous reaction to the decrease of the enrollment rate in poor suburban areas of Dakar. Schools were located in *Thiaroye*, *Guinaw Rail*, *Pikine*, and *Guèdiawaye*. Aide & Action provided advising support to formalize these schools. The NGO also organized sensitization campaigns to educate parents to take charge of the school (Sambe, 2002).

The environment of the school: Schools were located in a poor and populated suburban area. The area had formal primary schools that cannot enroll all student population. The quarter had access to water and electricity.

Infrastructure, equipment and materials: The school #1 was established in a two bedroom rented house and the school shared the house with a regular family. The school # 2 was composed of two community-based school classrooms, six formal school classrooms, one kindergarten classroom, and one sewing training center financed by the United Nations Development program. Aide & Action provided for the community-based school equipment, tables and chairs and teaching materials.

Students: The study involved twenty three students of whom thirty one were girls; they represented 74% of the student population. Associative schools target school-age children who cannot enroll because of lack of classrooms in the locality, formal school dropouts, students who attend double shift classes and need to take complementary classes to improve their grades, or adults in literacy classes. Associative schools helped students take the entrance examination to public middle schools and to continue in the formal school system (Sambe, 2002).

Teachers: three teachers were interviewed and took the survey: one female teacher in school # 1 and two teachers in the school # 2 (one man and one woman). The teacher from the school # 1 had a high school diploma (thirteen years of education) and two years of experience in the school. The teachers from the school# 2 had a middle school diploma (tenth grade) and six and two years of experience working in community-based schools. They all had an experience in literacy classes before working in the community-based schools.

Method of teaching: teachers followed the formal school curriculum and tried to provide skills that will enable students to take the middle school entrance examination. The choice of the formal school method of teaching contributed to increasing students' level of achievement, which made the success of these schools. According to a parent, she withdrew her children from formal school to the associative school because of the high rate of success to the entrance examination (Interview Parent).

Community: The community supports the school because of the high level of achievement and the lack of space in formal schools. The demand for these schools is high. According to Sambe, in 2001-2002, 1,600 students were enrolled in the suburb of Dakar. (Sambe, 2002, p. 5-8). Associative schools flourish in urban areas because the government cannot satisfy the demand for education. The creation of the school is the choice of the community and is supported by Aide et Action.

Aide & Action [NGO] identified these schools and decided to provide support to improve the quality of education. This category of schools is often considered illegal and does not receive support from the government. Our job as NGO is to provide assistance and improve the quality of education. Currently, we organize training sessions for teachers and act as liaison between these schools and the inspection for a minimum supervision (Senior Officer # 1, NGO # 3).

Plan Sénégal

To describe the experience, I observed three classrooms in three regions: Thies, Louga and Saint-Louis, interviewed parents and four officers: one in the headquarter (Dakar) and three regional officers of the different regions I visited.

The experience of Plan Sénégal began in 1995 in four regions: Kaolack and Louga. In Kaolack four villages were selected: *Keur Ndiaga Diallé*, *Thiamène Diogo*, and *Mandéra*. In Louga four villages were also selected to establish a community-based

school: *Ndakar Ndiaye, Sam Seck, Teud Bitty, and Mbourgueul*. The lack of formal schools was the main criterion for selection (Senior staff # 1). In 2001, Plan Senegal had twenty five community-based schools located in four regions: Saint-Louis, Louga, Thies, and Kaolack and supporting children is the core mission of Plan Senegal.

Environment of the school: Most of the villages I visited were isolated, very poor, far from main roads, and did not have access to a minimum infrastructure. The village # 1 was connected to Louga, the nearest large town, twice a week (Monday and Thursday) by animal cart. In case of emergency, only animal transportation was available. The village had one health room that was not functioning.

Infrastructure, equipment and materials: the model of community-based schools had one classroom built by villagers with the support of the NGO. Plan Senegal provided tables, chairs, books, notebooks etc. The NGO financed the school micro-projects in amounts that varied from 100,000 to 500,000 FCFA (200 to 1,000 US dollars), depending on the nature of the project. The most expensive was a heifer project (500,000 FCFA), in which villagers bought a cow on behalf of the school, fed and re-sold it.

Students: The study involved sixty-three students of whom fifty-two were girls (83% of the population). One of community-based schools I observed in the region # 5 was composed exclusively of twelve girls. During the focus group, the Village Chief said:

When Plan first came, the school was for two villages. because none of them had a formal school. Boys from [the village 2] were enrolled but they quitted after the second year. Only one boy from the [village 1] was enrolled. Parents prefer sending boys to the Koranic school in other villages; this is why the school is composed only of girls, who are expected to stay in the village. (Focus group Parent, Region # 5).

Classrooms I observed predominantly were fourth year. To learn about the nature of the classroom (single or multigrade), I included in the check list a question on the number of years the student has spent in the school. I did not see any multigrade classroom except in the region # 3 where students of second and third year were enrolled in the same class. The age of students varied from twenty to seven years old, contrary to the policy.

Teachers: Overall, the program had twenty teachers and three teachers were involved in the study, one female and two male teachers. Two had a middle school diploma and one attended the university for one year. They all had experience in literacy classes. Their experiences in the school vary from six years to two years.

Methods of teaching: Although the model included theoretical and practical training, most schools focused on literacy and numeracy. When I visited a school in region # 5, on July 24, 2003, students just started the practical training in crocheting in village # 1. In region # 4, the school micro-project was a heifer fattening, which involved more parents and members of the management committee than students. Students attended the sale and helped advertise. In the Village # 2, I did not see any practical training. The teacher was focused on preparing students for the middle school entrance examination. Among the six students that took the primary school examination, one passed. The teacher said:

I could not register my entire class for the national examination because most of them did not have a birth certificate, which is a required document. In addition, it was at the last minute that students were registered to take the examination (Teacher NGO # 1).

The school followed the government model. Students memorized their lessons without understanding. In region # 2, I asked a student (who the teacher said she was the best) to recite a history lesson about the *Cayor* (Senegalese Historical Empire) and she did very well, but when I asked about the name of former Chief of the empire, she was not able to answer my question. This showed that this student learned her lessons (in French) without understanding it.

Students learned to master the formal school curriculum and sometimes the content is not related to the local issues. For example, in the same village, region # 2, students learned skin diseases, which was not a current issue in the village, but was part of the formal school curriculum.

The community: The NGO used a participatory research approach to involve the population in the implementation of the micro-project. The creation of all schools I visited was an initiative of the NGO who contacted the villagers for the implementation. The school management committee participated passively in the school: control of students and teacher's attendance. Teachers used daily village activities as educational instruments: for students. For example, in the region # 4, the teacher said that she took her students in the field to watch how to extract milk from cow and to learn from farmers different methods to cure animals etc. Parents did not pay any school fees.

Church school

To describe the school, I used classroom observations and interviews with the Director and teachers. The church community-based school began in 1996 and was an initiative of the *Piarist Fathers (Church)*. The objective of the organization was to work with underserved populations to promote alternative education.

In 1996, we chose this quarter to start the project because of the lack of infrastructure. We discussed our plans with local authorities and recruited forty students. The Imam's daughter and the Village Chief's son were among our students. We applied the government criteria that required enrolling at least 65% of girls in the school (Senior staff # 2, Church School).

Environment of the school: The school is located in a poor quarter in the suburb of Dakar; it does not have access to electricity despite its closeness to the city. The school survey showed that 10% of students come to school without having breakfast, which results in their sleeping during morning sessions (Interview, Teacher # 1)

The school had a particularity of being juxtaposed to a regular formal elementary public school that was created in 1995, which is rare because community-based schools are designed for areas that don't have public schools. However, since the public school could not enroll the entire school-age population of the quarter, the Church school did not violate the rule. According to the Director of the school, there was no rivalry between the two schools; however he had some concern for students who wanted to leave the public school for the community-based school, which is better equipped than the public school.

When we first came, we realize that the community-based school is a complementary school. We are not competitors because we enroll dropout students and those who don't have access to formal school. The danger is that some parents decided to withdraw their children from the public school for the

community-based school. But up to now, we absolutely forbid this. (Senior Staff # 1, Church School)

Infrastructure, equipment and materials: The school was composed of two buildings with three floors each. The school had a library, a computer room, a sewing room, poultry, and a fish pond in the middle of the school, where the school planned to implement a fish production project.

The school generated income from different school projects, for example, renting one room for social gatherings (wedding, baptism, or youth weekend parties), or selling chickens and eggs from the school micro-project. The school also organized end-of year project display and sold student pieces of working (sewing and crocheting). The income generated by the school helped to buy school supplies for the sewing and crocheting training (Senior staff # 1, Church school).

Students: The school had nine classes that enrolled 327 students. Each class had an average of thirty five students. The study involved nine students from different years (grades): year two, three and four. However, the sample does not reflect the nature of classrooms, which was single graded. I visited the school in early July when it was closed and the Director invited students to participate to the study. Students learned all subjects; girls and boys learn sewing and chicken rearing techniques. The dropout rate of 25% during the four year program was considered as low by the Director of the school who compared the community-based school to other nonformal education programs. "For example, the dropout rate for literacy classes of the Club UNESCO in three years was 75%" (Senior Staff #1, Church School).

Students were divided into groups based on their different ages. The same cohort of students who enrolled the same year was separated into two groups: group A, composed of students from eight and half to ten years old and group B composed of students from eleven to thirteen years old. The group B, composed of older students who had never attended formal school, achieved better than group A (Senior Staff # 1, Church School).

Teachers: The school had nine volunteer teachers for general education, of whom four were women, and there were three technicians for computer training, agricultural techniques, sewing and crocheting training. The income generated by the school contributed to motivating teachers who received a monthly salary.

Methods of teaching: The school provided a general education and practical training and follows the government model. In contrast to other classes that used frontal teaching, the fourth grade teacher did not use it; instead, students were organized into groups.

At the beginning of the year, I started the frontal teaching method, but through my readings, I find out that students learn better when they work in groups. Since then, I change the tables settings, students are no longer seating in two rows, but instead, they form groups. Students help each others, and it is working very well. (Senior Staff # 2, Church School).

The community: The community did not initiate the school and was contacted by the organization to establish the school. The community is not actively involved in the management of the school. The school charges a non-mandatory fee to parents: those who cannot afford are not withdrawn from the school (Senior staff # 1, Church School).

Comparison Government / Non-government community-based schools

Social and political orientation

All community-based schools followed the government model initiated in 1993. In the early stages of the experiment, NGOs and the government shared the same philosophy of the community school and worked together to conduct the experiment. The outcome was a network of schools based on the same approach. The community-based school provided skills that enabled students to be functional in the community and helped the government to bring schools to underserved areas. In the experiment, NGOs and the state tried to adapt formal schools to local needs. From the perspective of the government, the goal of these schools was to strengthen the capacity of students, balance the school deficit, and adapt the curriculum to local educational needs. All organizations perceived the community-based school as a human right and they all worked toward bringing education in underserved areas.

Our ambition is not to make intellectuals, but to promote the foundation of knowledge and develop an interest in education among youth that do not have access to formal education (Senior Officer, Delegate Ministry).

Supporting the implementation of community-based school is first a humanitarian act and a human rights' issue. Our goals as an NGO is to open schools in backward areas and give to all children the same chance to be educated (Senior Officer, NGO # 3).

From the perspective of the three NGOs, community-based schools complement the network of formal schools. I did not find any radical approach to education; organization and the government worked toward the same goals and had a working

group named “*table de concertation*”, which meets regularly to discuss the issues community-based schools.

The organization of the school mostly followed the formal school model: the two types of school had the same schedule of classes. Classes started at 8:00 am and finished at 1:00 pm; summer vacations were organized similarly. No community member was actively involved in setting the curriculum, and the local issues were not the first concern of the school. NGOs provided the same textbooks for different regions. Students had access to one reading and one math book.

Nature of the support

NGOs and the government had different approaches to supporting community-based schools. In government community-based schools, the project PAPA contracted with *opérateurs* who directly hired teachers, managed the school, and worked with communities to develop education programs. The project PAPA provided for the operator a yearly stipend of 41,000 FCFA per student. Parents participated through monthly fees (Senior Officer # 3, Ministry of National Education).

NGOs had a different approach: Plan Senegal and the Church school directly administered schools, hired and paid teachers and supervisors. Parents didn't pay school fees in Plan community-based schools. In the Church schools, parents were charged a non-mandatory school fees. Aide et Action provided material and technical support. The NGOs did not pay teachers salary. Schools were directly administered by initiators who charged a small mandatory fee that helped pay teachers and manage the school.

Plan Sénégal supported communities to build their own school using local materials at minimum costs. The organization also created opportunities to reinforce the participation of the community in education projects. Non-Government Organizations provided more resources than *opérateurs* to support communities and schools because they had access to different findings. Most *opérateurs* did not use other funding agencies than PAPA. Some *opérateurs* used the Canadian *Fond Local de Développement* and agriculture organizations to build community-based schools. The Association of parents contributed to build straw schools in the region of Diourbel.

Student enrollment and achievement

Government community-based schools enrolled more than 75% students and are established in ten out of eleven regions of Sénégal while NGOs intervened in a limited number of regions: Plan Senegal worked with five regions, Aide et Action two regions and the Church one region. The government through the project PAPA is the largest funding agency of community-based schools.

In the government and NGO schools, the language of teaching seemed to be the criterion of separation of students in all schools. National languages are used as medium of instruction and not as a subject.

The outcomes of community-based schools are different. In PAPA community-based school, the average passing rate for the elementary school certificate or CFEE^{xii}

^{xii} Sixth grade primary school students and fourth year community-based school students have to take the same standard national examination. Those who have a pass grade receive a certificate (CFEE), and the top 35% enter public middle schools.

was 32.5% for the first phase of the project (1996-2001). Among 86 candidates, 26 passed the CFEE, and 5 passed the middle school entrance examination (*Ministère de l'Enseignement Technique*, 2002, p. 12). I don't have the current figures.

In associative schools in the suburb of Dakar, students overall achievement in the national test was higher than the national average. According to a departmental Inspector, the outcome of these associative schools was positive; in 2001, 55% of their students passed the CFEE, and 45% passed the middle school national entrance examination. Nevertheless, the Senior Staff of NGO # 3 was skeptical:

I am very careful with these figures. Most of the students have repeated the sixth grade many times in public school. Is the level of achievement related to the nature of the school? Who is registered to take the examination? May be only the best student are registered to take the examination. I cannot make any judgment about their rates of achievement.

The Church school also had high level of achievement compared to other public schools and was on a constant improvement, compared to PAPA schools. For the first generation of students in the Church school, among fourteen students registered to take the national examination, one passed the primary school certificate (7.15%). For the second generation, seven passed among forty candidates (17.5%), for the third generation, seventeen passed among fifty candidates (34%). For 2002/2003 school year, among sixty students enrolled in the fourth year, forty seven took the national examination and twenty one (44.6%) passed the CFEE and nineteen (40.4%) the middle school entrance examination (Senior staff #1, Church school).

For us these outcomes are very important, our school is among the best in the zone. In school competition, *Genie en Herbe* (Jeopardy version), spelling, writing our students often are finalists (Senior Staff, Church school).

The government enrolled more students in community-based schools, but the passing rate was higher in Associative schools and the progression was more constant in the Church school.

Teacher selection and community involvement

To select teachers, NGOs and government schools applied different procedures; however, they all required that teachers have a minimum level of middle school diploma (BFEM). In PAPA community-based schools, teachers did not take a test. *Operateurs* hired them based on their experience and their relationships. Nevertheless not all teachers had a kinship with the *opérateur*.

I don't have any family connection with the teachers I hired. I knew them through literacy programs and decided to integrate them in the staff. But one of them comes from my home village. He replaces a volunteer who found a job before the financing. (*Opérateur*, Region # 1).

Plan Sénégal organized pre-screening tests to choose among the best teachers. Among other criteria of selection was residency in the area, a minimal level of education of middle school diploma (BFEM), and good communication skills. Teachers attended a pre-service training and at the beginning of each year and an in-service training during the academic year.

The Church community-based school required literacy training for teachers who did not take tests. In addition, teachers were trained in Wolof transcription; most of them had already experience working with children.

We require a minimum teacher's level of education of middle school in addition to literacy training. Four of the volunteers have that level; one has earned a university first degree diploma (DUEL). The other has 12th grade level, but did not graduate from high school (Senior Staff, Church School).

Although most teachers in government and NGOs schools had a good level of French evidenced by the questionnaire, some of them have difficulty expressing their ideas in French. I found also that a few teachers did not write correctly in French. I also discovered that students whose teachers had a university degree had higher achievement; those teachers were more open to different methods of teaching and were more willing to further their readings.

Teacher training and supervision

Elementary school Inspectors and Literacy Regional Representatives did most of the training of community-based school teachers. Other private cabinets were also involved in the training. Although formal and nonformal educations apply different methods, elementary school inspectors who trained community-based teachers, mostly focused on formal school aspect of education. The training included sessions on project design and management. From interviews, I learned that elementary school inspectors had not received enough nonformal education training.

Elementary school inspectors said:

I have trained community-based school teachers in the region of Fatick, but I have simply transferred my formal school skills. However, I always remind my participants that they deal with adults and not children (Senior Officer, Delegate Ministry).

During my training as an elementary school inspector, nonformal was a one semester-course of two hours a week, and the teacher focused more on the communication aspect rather than the methodology of adult education. We learned techniques to better communicate with adults (Senior Officer, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

In addition to the pre-service training, mostly geared toward formal education, community-based teachers were invited to formal school monthly in-service training sessions. This did not expose them to nonformal methods of teaching. Community-based school teachers did not share their personal teaching experiences among themselves; instead they learned from formal schools in-service training and tried to apply what they learned in a different setting. This predominance of formal over nonformal methods in teacher training is reflected in their perception of nonformal education. Most of them were not aware of the difference between formal and nonformal.

Do you think that your trainers focused enough on nonformal education?
(Researcher)

An elementary school inspector trained us. He focused on formal and nonformal education (Teacher, Region # 4).

What is the difference between formal and nonformal education? (Researcher)

The integration of the national languages and vocational training are the main differences. All subjects taught in the formal system are taught in the community based school in addition to Wolof and agricultural techniques (Teacher, Region # 4).

Conclusion of the chapter

The community-based school experiment began as a non-government experience and involved the government and the civil society to bring schools to underserved areas. The model directly involves *opérateurs* and NGOs and the government that controls the majority of schools is indirectly involved. The government provides most funding through bilateral cooperation, signs contracts with *opérateurs* and NGOs, which operate as providers of a combination of a private education and community services. *Opérateurs* and NGOs are sub-contractors of the government, and as a result, they follow the government guidelines. I found that there are no major differences of approach between government and NGOs community-based schools.

CHAPTER 6

ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY-BASED SCHOOLS

Attitudes of parents

To study the attitudes of parents toward community-based schools, I used questionnaires, focus groups and interviews. The questionnaire was divided into two parts: close ended questions and open ended questions. I used close ended questions to provide information about on the school and the background of the participants (name of the organization sponsor, gender, profession, socio-economic status, level of education of the participant, and the relationship between the participant and the student enrolled in the class). Close ended questions helped me to gather data on parents' perceptions about the community-based school (the initiators of the school, the usefulness of the school, the reason why parents choose the community-based school and parent's preferred subjects). I applied check list and Likert scale instruments, in which parents choose the category that correspond to their answer.

I used open ended questions to expand information and provide for participants an opportunity to develop their arguments about why they choose a specific answer. The survey was followed by focus groups in some regions and an in-depth interview for one parent in each of the five regions I visited. In-depth interviews from NGO officers and *opérateurs* helped me to gather information about the attitudes of parents toward the community-based school.

The questionnaire involved ninety six parents and fifty seven members of school management committees. Members of school management committees varied: some

schools had a committee composed of twenty members, while other schools had a school committee of five members. Overall, the thirteen schools I visited had 116 members of school management committees and 57 were selected based on their availability, the sample represented 49% of the population.

The sample of focus groups varied. In Dakar, the focus groups involved twelve parents (five were members of the school management committee), the supervisor, and the *opérateur* (fourteen). In Saint-Louis, the focus groups involved five members of the management committee and three parents, non-members of the school committee, one teacher and the supervisor (ten participants). In Thies, eight parents, members of the management committee, two non-members, the supervisor, and the teacher participated in the focus groups (twelve).

Parents living in urban area represented 23.4% of the population surveyed. Members of the school management living in urban area represented 31.6% of school management committee participants.

I used frequencies to describe the background of participants: parents' level of education, their socio-economic status, their motivations, and expectations about the community-based school.

Table 9: Parents' level of education

Parents' education	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Illiterate	33	35.1	35.1
National Languages	23	23.4	58.5
Koranic school	30	30.9	89.4
Primary school	10	10.6	100.0
Total	96	100.0	

I found that 67% of parents who participated in the study were female and 10% had a primary school education, 89.4% were illiterate in French (those who did not attend formal schools), and 23.4% attended literacy classes and 30.9% attended Koranic schools. Parents also were poor, 63.8% worked in the agricultural sector, 33% worked in the informal sector as small traders, and 3.2% had a government job (drivers and policemen). Parents' yearly income was low, compared to the national income per capita which is 1,510 dollars a year. 97.9% of parents earned less than 1,200 dollars a year (500,000 CFA).

Table 10: Parents' level of income

Levels of income	Frequency	Percentage
50.000 to 100.000	25	26.0
100.000 to 200.000	44	45.8
200.000 TO 500.000	25	26.0
500.000 and plus	2	2.1
Total	96	100.0

An *opérateur* confirmed this situation of poverty among parents during the focus in region # 1.

Parents are often very poor, most of them are unemployed and those who work cannot make ends meet. The majority of inhabitants of the quarter doesn't own a house and have difficulties paying the 500 FCFA school fees (one US dollar) (*Operateur*, Region # 1).

The low level of income of parents and the dominance of farmers among them have financial implication on parents' capacity to pay school fees and to help students at home. I also will increase the teacher's work load. These findings were not surprising because community-based schools are designed for poor people who don't have access to the formal school system, or for communities that rejected the formal school system for social and cultural reasons.

To study the attitudes of parents toward community-based schools, I looked at their motivations and expectations from the community-based school, their perceptions of boys and girls education and the introduction of the religious education into the school.

Motivations

To examine the motivation of parents, I applied the Likert scale and asked parents to define their attitudes toward the community-based school by rating the usefulness of the school. If the school was important for them, they rated it four and if it was not important they rated it one. I complemented the quantitative findings with the interviews of parents. I compared the findings with the interviews of founding members of community-based schools to learn about the evolution of the motivations of parents since the implementation of community-based schools.

Overall parents found the community based school very useful for the community and 77.7% chose the score four, which rated the community-based school as

very useful; only 2.1% found the school not useful and rated it a one, members of school management committees found the community- based school very useful for the development of the village at a lesser degree than parents because 55% of the participants checked the scale “four”.

Table 11: Attitude of parents toward the community-based school

Perceptions about the community-based school	Frequency	Percent
Not important	2	2.1
some what Important	10	10.4
Important	9	9.4
Very important	75	78.1
Total	96	100.0

The community-based school was well accepted among villagers who realized the positive effect of the school on their personal and community development. Parents' interviews confirmed these findings.

Those who are not educated are like animals, because they cannot think rationally. Education will help to develop agriculture, cattle rearing and trade (Focus group Region # 4).

Now that my daughter knows how to read, I will not have to go all the way to *Rao* [closer large village] to read my letters. Last time, I received a letter from the state veterinary service for animal vaccination, and my daughter was able to read and provide me with the information. It saved the time I would have wasted to go to *Rao* (Focus group, parent, Region # 4).

According to an NGO officer, parents progressively accepted the community-based school. In the early phase of the experiment in 1993, rural people rejected the model because the school did not meet their expectations; however after many sensitization campaigns, the school was progressively accepted.

In *Same Yoro Guèye* [village in Kolda], people perceived the community-based school like formal schools, considered as an instrument of perversion. They rejected the school when we first introduced it to villages. The use of participatory research approaches helped us to sensitize and involve villagers in implementing those schools that became successful in rural areas (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

People progressively accepted community-based schools because they realized the importance of education and perceived the community-based school as an opportunity for access to education. Despite parents' interest in the experiment, none of the villagers took the initiative to implement a school. NGOs or *opérateurs* established all community-based schools I visited.

When the NGO # 1 first contacted us to implement a community based school, we refused because we thought that western schools pervert children. However, when NGO # 1 came the second time, we [villagers] accepted, and this is the fourth and last year of the program. I feel sorry because we need more schooling (Parent, focus groups, Region # 4).

In *Pallene Fall*, parents are strongly motivated to promote community-based schools. Although an Arabic school existed in the village, they hired a French teacher for their children. Later on a community based-school was open, and now a public elementary school exists in the village (Senior Officer, NGO # 1).

In addition to the lack of access, parents chose this type of school for economic reasons; they sent their children to community-based schools because they cannot access to public schools (because of lack of classrooms) and cannot afford private schools.

Educated parents first try to send their children to formal public schools. They choose community based schools when they cannot afford private schools (*Opérateur*, Region # 1).

Expectations

To study the expectations, I used interviews, surveys, and focus groups. In the survey, I asked parents to choose their preferred subject taught in the community-based school among Arabic (religious education), national languages, vocational training, and general education with a focus on French. During the interview and focus groups, I asked parents to elaborate and develop their ideas on their expectations about the community-based school.

The findings shows that the majority of parents (45.7%) chose the national languages as their preferred subject, while 38.3% chose the general education with a focus on French to enable their children to read, write, and decipher their letters.

Table 12: Parents' preferred subjects

Subjects	Frequency	Percent
Arabic	4	4.2
National Languages	44	45.8
Professional training	11	11.5
General education with focus on French	37	38.5
Total	96	100.0

Questions I asked to parents during interviews and focus groups helped strengthen the findings and parents explained why they preferred French or national languages.

National languages will help to better understand French; in addition, it is always better to first know one's mother tongue before any other foreign language (Interview parent, Region, # 5).

I put my child in the school to develop her intellectual capacities, and I have seen the outcome already because the school has enabled him to read my letter. This is one of the advantages (Focus group, Region # 4).

Here French was introduced after the second year. I was in the hurry and was looking forward to finishing Wolof and starting French. Nobody in the village knows French, when we had a letter we had to go until *Rao* to have it read. In addition, overall, education is a “benefit” for the learner, because he is always above the non-learner, and nobody can mislead him (Focus group, Region # 4).

In cities, parents preferred French to the national languages, believed to be a language of social promotion. In addition, since French is the official language of the Senegalese administration, learning it would be useful. The survey showed that parents did not find vocational training as important for their children’s education within the community-based school, 11% of parents rated it as important.

However, school management committees did not share the same vision as parents. The research showed that 38.6% of school management committee members preferred the practical training and 29.8% preferred French.

Table 13: The preferred subjects for the School Management Committee

Preferred subjects	Frequency	Percent
Koranic education	10	17.5
National languages	8	14.0
Professional training	22	38.6
French	17	29.8
Total	57	100.0

I also asked parents to scale the importance of manual work for them using the Likert scale. The findings showed that 59.6% of parents perceived manual labor as very important in the local environment; although 11.7% of parents thought that professional training was important for community-based schools. These two findings seemed to

contradict findings about parents' preferences, but strengthened the findings on the importance of vocational training for the school management committee. This situation could be related to the lack of emphasis on practical training in the school. This shows that parents had a preference for the national languages, the professional training, and French.

Table 14: Importance of manual work for the SMC

Scales of manual work	Frequency	Percent
Not important	11	19.3
Some what important	4	7.0
Important	8	14.0
Very important	34	59.6
Total	57	100.0

Schools I visited focused more on general education. However, the Church community-based school hired technicians to teach sewing and computer classes. In other community-based schools, often there was only one teacher per classroom, and resource persons for practical training were not involved. The government did not provide money to pay resource persons (Interview, *opérateurs* in regions # 1 and # 5). The NGO # 1 implemented the school micro-project at the end of the program in the region # 5. Students learned to crochet during the last month of the program, just before receiving the funding. In region # 4, the school micro-project consisted of buying and selling cow, which did not involve many educational opportunities. In region # 2, the vocational training was not part of the modules for four years.

The first cohort of students did not receive any professional training, but the last one received funding. Our objective is to integrate graduates in the economic activities of the village (Senior Officer, NGO # 1)

Parents perceived the school micro-project as an economic rather than an educational instrument and villagers mostly viewed it as an income generating activity for the community. Today, some NGOs had a mixed feeling about micro-projects in community-based schools.

Parents take over the students' educational project, and children are not really involved. The staff in region # 5 said that the project disturbs rather than educate children, because parents are only interested in the productive aspect and don't believe that the project first serves the professional development of students. Nevertheless, In Saint Louis, villages of *Ngniling Mbao* and *Ndioubnane* successfully combined the educational and economic aspect of the school project, but many community based schools failed this integration (Senior Officer, NGO # 1, Region # 4).

This perception of the school micro-project might explain parents' opinion of the vocational training within the community-based school.

Overall, the community-based school was accepted, but some parents found the length of schooling too short to fulfill the educational needs of the village. They thought that NGO # 1 should build more classrooms and extend the program beyond four years (Focus group, Region # 4).

The community-based school did not meet my expectations; I wanted my child to further his education beyond the primary school. Now he will have to terminate it after four years. The school fails its objective because the program ends when children start to awaken, and their education stops at the beginning of the process. Because of this, education becomes worthless (Focus group, Region # 4).

Perception of girls' education

To learn about parents' perceptions of girls' education, I included in the survey a question on the issue. I asked parents to check yes or no if girls' education was

important for them. I used the focus groups and interview to discuss the importance of girls' education.

I found that all parents surveyed said girls' education was important. I found that parents had a positive attitude towards girls' attendance in the community-based school.

Some parents said:

“The community-based school will help her later to manage the household, to be a good wife and a good mother;

It will help her to teach later on her life;

School increases girls' cleanliness, politeness, seriousness, and knowledge;

School increase awareness;

The community based school will help girls to stay in the village” (Focus groups Regions #1, 2, 4, 5).

Parents were willing to send girls to the community based-school because of its closeness. The school was perceived as a safe place. Often, boys did not attend the school for economic and social reasons. Parents preferred sending them to *Daaras* (religious schools) or involving them in agricultural activities that could generate income to support the family.

My son is nine years old, and I really wanted to send him to school, but my husband refused because he takes care of cows that are our main wealth. However, he accepted sending our daughter to the school (Mother, Region # 4).

Overall parents in community-based schools understood the importance of education particularly for girls and encouraged them to attend. The implementation of the community-based school contributed to promoting a better acceptance of the change

in gender roles within the family. In order to send his daughters to school, a father agreed take charge of some household chores, traditionally done by women.

I decided to send my two daughters to the village community-based school because I am an illiterate and want my family to be educated. I have asked my wife to take care of the household chores, and myself I will take care of the baby to enable my daughters to attend the school (Interview parent, Region # 4).

I found contradictory parents attitude toward girls and boys enrollment in the community-based school: the survey showed that 77% of parents think that the school was useful and important for their children and the development of the village, this result was confirmed by interviews and focus groups. If the findings were true, why did not parents send boys to school if the school was so important for the village? If boys are supposed to become the head of family later on in their lives why didn't they attend the community based-school?

Religious education

Although religion was identified as one of the main constraints of students' enrollment in the formal school system, I was surprised to notice that Arabic was not a preferred subject for parents; only 4.2% of them ranked it as a preferred subject. According to a supervisor in the PAPA community-based school, Arabic and community –based schools target the same group of children. Students in the community based school are those whose parents made a choice to learn French instead of Arabic. This may explain the outcome of the survey.

Overall, parents did not perceive the community-school as a place where Arabic should be taught. They preferred sending their children to *Daara* or Arabic schools to

learn religion and Arabic. Religious education was not introduced in community-based schools I visited, because populations did not identify it as an educational need. "Parents requested to have a community-based school parallel to the Koranic school" (Supervisor, Region # 5).

During the focus groups in Region # 4, parents said that they preferred community-based schools to Koranic schools because of the level of awareness it brings to the child, while another parent said that despite the implementation of the community-based school in the village, he still preferred sending his child to Arabic/Koranic school in another village because religion was more important than schooling for his child (focus groups Region # 4). Arabic and community-based schools competed for the same group and this created tension.

Arabic is not taught in the community-based school because all villages have already an Arabic school. We had some difficulty with villagers when we implemented the first community based school, however, we found solutions that allow children to combine both, community based school in the morning and Arabic school in afternoon or when they don't have class (Senior Officer, NGO # 1)

Community involvement

All community-based schools I visited had a school management committee (SMC). Men represented 51.8% of participants. Agriculture was the dominant profession of its members, and 90% were not able to read French. School management committees sensitized parents to send children to the community-based school. This role was particularly important in areas where parents were illiterate, didn't understand the importance of school, and in religious milieus where education was limited to Koranic

school. In addition, the school committee helped to generate income through school micro-projects and sensitized parents to pay school fees.

During the first year of implementation, the management committee with students and teachers had initiated a collective agricultural project that generated income that was used to support the school (*Operateur*, Region # 5).

The school micro-project was an incentive that motivated parents to send their children to attend the school; it created the hope that schooling was not useless and graduates could be self-employed at the end of the program. The micro-project also helped the school to maintain children at school, because the contract between the *opérateur* and the project PAPA depended on the students' enrollment rate and parents did not want to lose the school project. This led *opérateurs* and the community to work together to achieve the same goal of maintaining students at school.

The role of the management committee was reduced when the school was financially independent and when the culture of schooling was accepted by the community members. In the Church school, the management committee was involved in generating money from renting a room and selling the poultry products. The money was handed over to the school administration that managed the fund. The role of the school committee was not very important because the school had enough equipment and resources to market itself and was able to attract students. The school did not depend on the community fund raising.

The school committee does not manage the poultry, instead teachers do it. It is why we don't have problem like other schools where economic objectives dominate educational goal of the school project. The income generated by the poultry is distributed to teachers to motivate them. The school poultry are a pedagogic and not an economic tool. The management committee is happy; members manage the show room and help us to sell our product. We meet once a month to tally the money generated. (Senior staff, Church School).

In PAPA community-based school in region # 1, the school committee played a more active role; it sensitized parents to maintain students at school, encouraged them to pay students fees, and to generate money to cover cost that the project PAPA did not pay.

In villages, the school management committee managed the school materials, controlled the micro-project, worked with teachers to generate income, and oversaw the attendance of students and teachers. None of the members of the SMC was involved in selecting teachers and they did not feel that their role was to teach in classrooms or to be involved in the selection of subjects to be taught. Some parents were passively involved in practical training. For example, students with the teacher observed cattle rearing activities and asked questions to parents when they were feeding animals (Observation, Region # 4, NGO # 1).

Attitudes of students

To better understand the attitudes of students toward community-based schools, I used questionnaires and interviews. The sample of graduates interviewed included three graduates and the survey included 211 students, composed of 71.1% of rural students and 28.9% of urban students. Urban students were those living in the suburb of

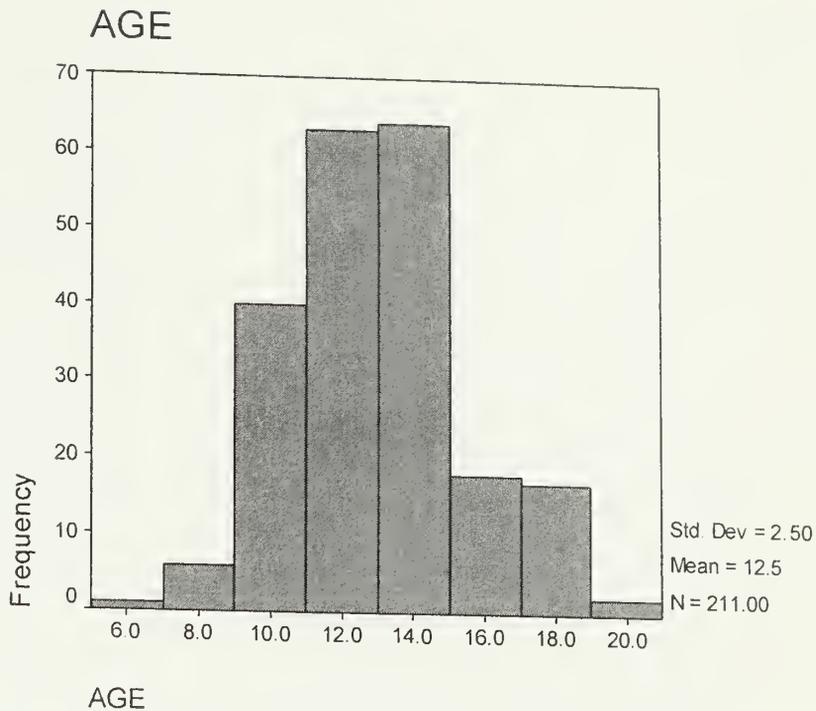
Dakar. The sample of urban area comprised three schools: one government school, one associative school and one Church school. The ten rural school included government and NGO schools.

The questionnaire was divided into close ended and open ended questions. The close ended questions were related to the background of the student, the motivations of students to choose the school, his preferred subjects, and student's projects after graduating from the community-based school. I used open ended question to gather more information about the rationale of their choices.

The research showed girls represented 76.3% of the student population involved and 74.7% of students surveyed had spent at least three years in the school.

The age of students varied between six and twenty years old. I did not use the school roster. To learn about the age of students, I asked them to give their age. Often, parents changed their children's birthday in order to meet the criteria of the school; which is nine to fourteen years old at the date of enrollment. The research showed that the age criterion was not followed by parents who send their children to the community-based school because they don't have another solution.

Figure 5: Age of students



Motivations

To study the motivations of students, I asked students to select the answer that corresponded to their motivations in attending the school: the closeness of the community-based school, the lack of formal schools, the nature of the community-based school (national languages and professional training), or other.

I found that 42.7% % of students chose the community-based school because of its closeness and 26.5% because of the lack of formal school in surrounding areas.

Table 15: Students rationale for the choice of the community-based school

Rationale for the choice	Frequency	Percent
Closeness	90	42.7
Lack of formal school	56	26.5
Nature of the school system	48	22.7
No other choice	17	8.1
Total	211	100.0

I also asked students about their future projects after graduating from the community-based school: if they wanted to continue in the formal school system, in vocational schools, travel to foreign countries, or others. The research showed that 69.2% of students wanted to further their education in the formal school system, 27% wanted to attend vocational schools, 3.5% wanted to go to foreign countries, and 0.5% did not know what they wanted to do after the school.

In the survey, I asked about their preferred profession, most of them wanted to embrace professional career such as medicine or teaching job. Only two students wanted to work in the agricultural sector.

At the end of the project, I want to enter the middle school and later to continue my higher education to become a medical doctor (Student, PAPA Region # 1).

The dropout rate was low because overall, students liked the community-based school. In addition, the closeness of the school helped parents to control students' attendance.

None of my students dropped out of school. I am sure that they can be successful with a little help. My students' interest in the school encourages me to continue my efforts. Today, we were not supposed to have class, but they all came because I have asked them to do so (Teacher, Region # 1).

When we first opened the school in 1999, I had fifteen students; after a sensitization campaign to encourage parents to send their children, I registered twenty four. After one year, two girls dropped out to get married, and two boys left to go the *Daara*, but one girl was recruited. She was a maid in Dakar and decided to come back to the village when she heard that the village had a new school (Teacher, NGO # 1).

Preferred subjects

Among students surveyed, 69.2 % preferred French as a subject and 20.4% the national languages; while only 4.3% preferred professional training, 6.2% of students just wanted to go to school (because community-based school was the only opportunity).

Table 16: Students' preferred subjects

Subjects	Frequency	Percent
National languages	43	20.4
French	146	69.2
Professional training	9	4.3
Just go to school	13	6.2
Total	211	100.0

From students' perspective, French was important for them for different reasons.

I attend the community based school to learn French (Student, Region # 4).

I am more interested in learning French to be able to speak and write it (Student, Region # 1);

I like French as a subject, because it will help me to become an important person in the society“(Student, Region # 1).

I want to learn French to become a Minister (Student, Region # 1).

For those who preferred Wolof, they said that using their mother tongue helped them to better understand subjects taught in class. Most of students in urban areas

preferred French because of the possibilities of job opportunities, social promotion or communication (read letter or be able to speak in French).

Graduates' perceptions of the model

I used in-depth interviews to learn about graduates perceptions of the community based school. I asked them about the usefulness of the community-based school in their lives. The sample includes three graduates: one from the Church school and one from the NGO # 1 in region # 5. I selected them based on their availability. Some community-based school graduates thought that the school fitted into the local culture and that the subjects taught helped them to be better Muslims. Some graduates expanded the school micro enterprise and became successful entrepreneurs.

When I attended the community based school, I learned to knock at the door before entering any room, when I read Koran, I found it in the book. I also learned about cleanliness in the school, which is one of God's recommendations. I am applying the knowledge gained in the community-based school in my daily life (Community-based school graduate, region # 5).

In *Niagalam Komé*, Department of Kédougou, the project PAPA financed a village store as a class project for 250,000 FCFA [500 US dollars]; the project is still on going and very successful. Other projects were also successful. For example, in *Mboltogne*, Fatick, the village store has generated 700,000 [1,400US dollars] after a 250,000 FCFA investment (Scnior Officer, Delegate Ministry of Technical Education, Professional Training, Literacy, and National Languages).

A graduate from the community-based school still lived in the village and got married after he finished the school. He was an active member of the school management committee. The school helped him to better manage his life and be a successful entrepreneur.

The most important skills I gained from the community-based school are literacy and numeracy that facilitate my work as a trader. Most of my classmates are more awakened than before. The school has helped us to better understand our social environment. (Community-based school graduate, Region # 5).

Some graduates found that that the community-based school helped them enter formal schools and further their education. The school provided an extra chance for students to pursue their education in the formal school system that could not accommodate them because of its lack of flexibility.

A former graduate of the Church school said:

I am seventeen years old. I was enrolled for the first time in the Church school at the age of thirteen; because of my age, no public school admitted me. When I was accepted here, I could not believe it. I graduated four years ago, successfully passed the entrance examination, and currently, I attend a middle public school. Here I learned the computer, sewing, and crochet skills beside a general education. (Community-based school graduate, region # 1).

Other graduates, at the end of the program were employed as village registry officers, some became literacy monitors, and other used the class project to start their micro-enterprises and became small entrepreneurs. A senior officer in NGO # 2 believed that the real success of a community-based school was not in the percentage of students who passed the middle school entrance examination, but in students' capacity to apply their education in the local environment and solve the daily problems of life (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

However, the majority of students were not as successful. At the end of the community-based school program, most students left villages because of lack of follow up programs in villages. Most students now lived in cities and worked in the informal

sector (Senior officer, NGO # 1). Finally, community-based school benefited more cities than rural areas.

Attitudes of teachers

To study the attitudes of teachers, I used questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. I analyzed the motivations of teachers to choose community-based schools, their participation in the local development, and their preferences for the teaching language.

Nineteen teachers were interviewed and filled out the questionnaire, 60% of teachers were male, 13 % had a university degree (four years after high school); 20% had spent at least two years at the university; 20% had a high school diploma and 47% had a middle school diploma (tenth grade). Although the tenth grade was the required minimum level of education, most teachers had at least fourteen years of general education in the formal school system. Teachers had an average of three and half years of experience.

Motivations

To study the motivation of teachers, I used open ended questions included in the survey, in-depth interviews, and observations. Overall, teachers were motivated to promote the community-based school for different reasons. Some teachers felt tied to the *opérateur*, whose contract with the government helped to pay their salaries as a result; teachers felt the need to advertise the school and encourage parents to send their

children to school. Some teachers felt that they belonged to the same class as the people they helped and they wanted to uplift their own people.

When the operator commits and signs a contract, we have to support him because; if he loses we will not have a job (Teacher # 1, Region # 1).

We need to support the program and encourage parents to send their children to school. To motivate parents, we explain the goal of the school, and the opportunities a graduate can have: finding a good job and earning money for the family. We ask parents to give enough time to children to do their homework (Teacher # 2, Region # 1).

My parents are peasants and I would like to help my community to improve their living conditions. I find subjects learned in the community based-school very practical and suitable to the rural development (Teacher, region # 2)

I had an opportunity to teach in the formal school system, but I decided to do it in the community-based school because I am really concerned with local development. I would like to uplift underserved people in rural areas to provide them with the same opportunities as people living in urban areas (Supervisor, Region # 1).

Other teachers chose the community-based school because they could not find a teaching job in the formal school system, which requires passing a national entrance examination. Some teachers perceived their job as a temporary position. Although most teachers wanted to work for the underserved population, the community-based school did not always guarantee teachers' salary.

"I took the teachers examination [formal schools] twice and failed; it is why I am here" (Teacher # 1, Region # 2).

I would like to work in rural areas and help populations; however, I prefer having a formal school position for security and a better future (Teacher #1, Region # 3).

Although the payment is regular, I feel that the job does not provide security. Community-based schools are not sustainable. After four years we might be unemployed. The job is not guaranteed. The formal school system offers more guarantees (Teacher, Region # 3).

After six years, in the school, the model has not met my financial expectations because the issue of the sustainability of the school is still a problem. Nevertheless, I feel that I contribute to the local development through the community-based school. I realize that students learn French and numeracy better through the use of the mother tongue. I'm pleased to be here (Supervisor, Region # 3)

Participation in the local development

Teachers were involved in the school as well as in village activities, and I found them well-integrated into the communities they served. They spoke the language, helped in literacy classes, agricultural activities, and after school programs.

The teacher in region # 4 holds a literacy class for women on afternoons, she wrote the minutes for the women's organization. In Region # 5, the teacher # 2 helped in agricultural chores during the summer vacation.

I live in the house of the President of the women's organization; the villagers take care of me. I teach literacy classes in the afternoons and advise the women's organization. I go home every other week. I feel comfortable living here (Teacher, Region # 4).

I don't like being useless, I have helped elders of the village in agricultural tasks during the summer vacations; I also have helped students outside of the classroom (Teacher # 2, Region # 5).

Generally, in rural areas, teachers were better integrated into social activities. In urban areas, teachers followed the formal school model; they taught class and didn't have further contacts with the population. However, they actively participated in sensitization campaigns to encourage parents to send their children to school.

Perception of the teaching language

Overall, teachers focused on French because they wanted to achieve a high pass rate for the middle school entrance examination, which evaluated their accomplishment. They perceived the national languages as an instrument to better understand French and subjects taught in the school.

Some of my students come from the formal school system. They dropped out because they were not able to understand subjects taught in French. The use of Wolof as a medium of instruction enabled them to better understand the materials; in addition, it liberates them. In the formal school system, students are passive because they don't know how to express their ideas in French (Teacher # 3, Region # 1).

I taught Wolof for two years and introduced French at the third year, but I realize that was late because I had to prepare my students for the national entrance examination; none of them passed it (Teacher, Region # 4).

Attitudes of *opérateurs*/NGOs

To describe the attitudes of NGOs' officers and *opérateurs*, I used document analysis, observations and interviews. The sample included five government officers at the Delegate Ministry, two Aide et Action officers, four Plan Senegal officers and three *opérateurs*. To learn about the motivations of NGOs and *opérateurs*, I looked at the goals of the organization and compared them to those of the community-based school, I also analyzed the perceptions of officers toward the community involvement, the place of nonformal education in education policies, and their perception of the relationships between formal and nonformal education.

Motivations

NGOs and *opérateurs* had different aspirations for the community-based school. NGOs are guided by the larger mission of their organizations that is not limited to working exclusively with community-based schools. Their goals often embraced many domains of development: women, children, health sanitation, access to drinking water etc. For example, Plan Sénégal, an affiliate of Plan International focuses on children. Apart from community-based schools, the organization intervened in health education, rural sanitation, women's empowerment, access to water, poverty alleviation etc. The organization supported adult literacy programs, but decided to focus on children to meet the goals of the organization, which is a child sponsorship program.

After an evaluation of the investments in nonformal education programs [adult literacy, community-based schools, professional training], we decided to focus on community based schools, which are more relevant to our mission (Senior Officer # 2, NGO # 1)

Aide & Action, which is an affiliate of a French association of the same name, is committed to education in general in developing countries, based on the sponsorship principle. The organization supports formal as well as nonformal education and targets children living in underserved areas. The NGO supported the formal school system by providing school supplies, building and equipping classrooms, supporting curriculum development to improve the quality of the formal education system. Community-based schools are part of its larger mission of supporting education in Third World countries, helping to complement the state education program, and reaching people in underserved areas.

Contrary to NGOs, *Operateurs* often are limited to nonformal education: literacy classes and community-based school. Associative schools have a more complex organization. The Associative school # 1 included in the school two community-based school classrooms, six formal school classrooms, one kindergarten and one professional training classroom (observation associative school # 1, region # 1). *Operateurs* usually had smaller organizations than NGOs and they managed community-based schools with a smaller budget; however, this lack of means does not prevent *opérateurs* from having a moral commitment to developing education in poor areas. Some operators utilized their own funding to supplement the initial government budget and enabled children to attend school:

When I started the school, I spent about 500.000FCFA [1,200 US dollars] to renovate the school building; PAPA did not pay for that; I am also planning to train the school management committee because most members are illiterate and need to have basic skills to manage the school. In return I hope that these investments will have a positive return on the school (Operator, Region # 1).

The lack of resources of *opérateurs* has implications on parents' financial contribution in the community-based school. Parents will compensate cost that the *opérateur* cannot cover.

However, some policymakers had a different perception of the attitude of *opérateurs* considered as selfish and going against the interest of education. They said that some *opérateurs* hired their family, or ethnic group members as teachers, regardless of the quality of the service offered. They believed that *opérateurs* perceived community-based schools as opportunities to provide jobs for family members and make money, undermining the educational and development objectives. A policymaker said that community-based schools are a "waste of money and resources" that the state

could invest in the formal system to promote a better quality of education and increase the access. Another said that “*Operateurs* are taking advantage of community-schools projects considered as a business” (Senior Officers # 4, Delegate Ministry).

Community involvement

Most NGOs and *opérateurs* thought that communities willingly accepted the community school model. However, other NGOs perceived people’s acceptance as the result of the lack of choice. Experience showed that whenever a regular formal school was implemented near a community-based school, parents preferred sending their children to the regular formal school.

People accept the community-based school because they don’t have any other alternative. *Guinaw Rail* is populated of more than 10,000 inhabitants, but only two elementary schools exist in the area. They send their children to these schools [community-based schools] because they don’t have the choice (Senior Officer, NGO # 3).

NGOs officers thought that people are not actively involved in promoting their communities and this lack of initiative reflected in all aspects of the local development. They believed that local communities still had a passive role toward the school and expected from NGOs or *opérateurs* to provide a solution to their problems. However, NGOs and *opérateurs* worked toward promoting community participation for the survival of the community-based school project. From the perspectives of NGOs, the active participation of the community will help to develop strategies to generate income and later, enable the community to take charge of teachers’ salary. From the perspective of *opérateurs* and PAPA, community participation helps maintain the level of

enrollment and support the school. Some *opérateurs* believe that parents' financial participation will increase their interest in the school.

We need to help the people take direction of their own lives. They play a passive role and have adopted a wait-and see attitude, expecting NGOs to solve their problem. (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

When parents don't pay school fees, I cannot send the child home because I have to maintain the same level of enrollment throughout the four years to maintain the contract with the project PAPA. I hope to use the management committee to better sensitize parents to continue paying fees and enroll their children in the school (*Opérateur*, Region # 1).

When you invest your money, you will care about it. Women participate in social activities [baptism, wedding, funeral etc.] and put their money because it is important for them. They should do the same for the community-based school, which is a valuable investment (*Opérateur*, Region # 1).

Place of the community-based school in educational policy

From interviews with NGO officers, I learned that although community-based schools were not directly managed by the government, formal education was still dominant over nonformal education. They explained the domination by the lack of proper inclusion of nonformal education in the overall national educational policies. From the perspective of other NGOs, the state changed the initial project design in which, communities had a central role in the school and nonformal education was dominant. In practice, the community-based school currently is geared towards the formal education system and teachers are the most important actors instead of communities.

The state showed its willingness to promote nonformal education by creating a ministry in charge of the issue; however, the state did not take steps to spread the community-based school experience, to harmonize curricula, to assess the experience, and did not put enough money to continue the experiment (Senior Officer # 1, NGO # 1).

People took shortcuts. When we first designed the project, national languages and local issues were the foundation. The agricultural technicians as well as parents were supposed to play an active role in educational projects. The experience showed that those actors have not participated in the community-based school. They have played a passive role (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

In addition, NGO officers thought that the state failed to implement reforms to improve the nonformal education sector. For instance, for more than five years, the government has worked on a policy document regarding community-based schools, which was never finalized and put into practice.

The government created a commission composed of eight representatives of the government, NGOs, private cabinet and lawyers to design a legal framework and we hope to see the outcome soon and to move forward (Senior Officer , NGO # 2).

Some NGOs perceived the deadlock situation as “reluctance to formalize nonformal education” (Senior staff, NGO # 2). It is believed that putting restrictive guidelines would cause the community-based schools to lose their flexibility and adaptability. Other NGO officers linked the lack of attention to nonformal education to the lack of knowledge because most policymakers who initiated reforms are former formal school graduates and are not familiar with nonformal education.

Policymakers are often former teachers, they have blinkered attitudes because they only know the formal school system, and they will never be able to implement what they don't know (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

Those who decide are those who attended formal schools, they don't know the nonformal education sectors; they are mostly university graduates. Population has not taken active role in the design of the ten-year plan (Senior staff, Church School).

Nonformal education was not well integrated into the ten-year educational program (PDEF) despite the presence of a group, composed mostly of NGOs working in the nonformal sector, in committees. Some NGO officers thought that nonformal education is neglected because it concerns only the poor, whose voice is not heard. According to a senior staff from the Church school,

The "*Table de Concertation*"^{xiii} requested a better representation of nonformal education, and particularly community-based schools, in the new version of the PDEF. I am not sure about the outcome. Will the government listen to them and incorporate their proposition in the third version? I am not sure (Senior staff, Church school).

An operator thought that the large amount of money injected in the nonformal sector spoiled the field of nonformal education and reduced the volunteer participation of learners and teachers. He believed that participants were more committed to nonformal education when there was no money and no government and NGO support.

When we did not have the money, literacy centers were better. We hold volunteer positions, and had the passion for education. Learners were never late. Now money is the driving force, we have to follow guidelines and procedures of donors (*Operateur*, Region # 1).

Relationships between community-based and formal schools

From an NGO officer perspective, the experience of community-based school could be used to enrich the formal school system. For example, the use of national languages and the introduction of the practical training in the community-based school are experiences that can enrich formal schools. In addition, the formal school system alone cannot satisfy the educational needs of the population and a linkage between the

^{xiii} Table de Concertation is a working group focused on community-based schools; it is composed of NGOs and the government

community-based school and the formal school system could help the state to enroll more children while increasing parents' awareness about education.

The community-based school cannot disappear. This experience should be evaluated and used in the formal school system that starts developing strategies to combine theory and practice in primary schools. The community-based school could be used as a test (Senior staff, NGO # 2).

Attitude of the state

To understand the attitude of the state toward community-based schools, I looked at the motivations of the state to initiate community-based schools, the vision of policymakers of the relationships between formal and nonformal education, and their attitudes toward international partners of development that support nonformal. I used document analysis and interviews. The sample included three officers at the Ministry of National Education and five officers at the Delegate Ministry Education in Senegal. From the perspective of the government, basic education includes formal as well as nonformal education and is defined as:

Learning to live, learning to learn, and to be able to acquire new knowledge throughout life. Basic education is an instrument of authentic liberation: political, intellectual and psychological liberation, cultural, scientific and technological liberation (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 1995, p. 20).

The government includes nonformal education in basic education and uses the conventional radical approach of education for social transformation and cultural and economic freedom. The government perceives community-based schools as an opportunity to provide a basic education for all (minimum skills to be functional in the community), because of its flexibility and affordability, which makes it easy to use.

Community-based schools helped the state to reach communities that were resistant to formal schools and expanded the formal education system using nonformal education. Furthermore, the government used community-based schools to integrate religious communities, which were resistant to formal schools. Religion is not mandatory in community-based schools, but it is perceived as an instrument of reconciliation between the school and some Muslim groups.

Religious education is not a requirement in the community-based school, but the *opérateur* can implement it at the request of communities (Senior staff, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

The flexibility of community-based schools will enable us to reach students whose religious convictions prevent them from attending formal schools. Some religious groups in Sénégal have asked to close formal schools that did not meet their educational expectations; this was the case in the *Mourides*^{xiv} community. When community schools were implemented, they were able to reconcile the school and people through the integration of local languages and religion. (Senior Officer # 1, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

The community-based school is a school that we can implement anywhere in the country. It only requires the willingness of the host community, few resources, tables, chairs, some books, etc. (Senior Officer # 1, Delegate Ministry).

From the perspective of the government, learning French is not a major goal of the community-based school. The introduction of French gives students more opportunities to communicate and create opportunities to continue their education in formal or vocational schools.

^{xiv} *Mouridism*: Is a Muslim Sufi brotherhood. *Mouridism* is an adaptation of Islamic faith to the Wolof context.

Community-based schools as a complement of formal schools

I included in the interview guideline a question about the relationships between formal and nonformal education. I found that for some Government officers, community-based schools helped the government implement schools anywhere in the country and overcome the rigidity of formal schools. Lacking the requirements of formal schools, community-based schools can be widely implementing wherever needed; however, the state has prioritized formal schools over the community-based schools to achieve education for all.

The new vision of the PDEF [national policy document] is to enroll all children in the formal school system. Community-based school should disappear at least three year before the end of the PDEF (Senior Officer # 1, Ministry of National Education).

Some policymakers were critical of the state bias in favor of formal schools. They linked the place of nonformal education in the national policy with the lack of activism its participants. They said that the state provides more resources for formal schools to avoid disturbance and social and political instability. Nonformal education doesn't get its fair share of the educational resources because its students never demonstrate or go on strikes like formal schools.

The Minister of National Education first thinks of formal schools as a priority, because these schools can demonstrate ... it is normal, we don't complain. Community-based school students are not those who protest and riot; the Ministry of National Education will never focus on nonformal education ... participants are the poorest, the weakest (Senior Officer # 1, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

Although the state is committed to adult education as well as youth, it supports more formal schools (Senior Officer # 4, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

Other policymakers believed that the lack of clear guidelines for nonformal education and the lack of accuracy of the statistics of nonformal education reduce the efficiency of the sector. They believed that the state should be more attentive to the work of *opérateurs* in the field and their management of the state funding.

I would like to remove the label nonformal and replace it with adult and adolescent education because, most of the time, people equate nonformal and informal education, which has no rules and regulations. They believe that they can do whatever they want with the funding. The state invested a lot of money in nonformal education and part of it was embezzled because of lack of clear rules (Senior Officer, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

This statement was strengthened by my observations in the field. I noticed that the Ministry of National Education had yearly updated information on formal schools and had accurate statistic of all formal schools, but the Delegate Ministry did not have the statistics of community-based schools. Only information on PAPA community-based school was available. When I did field research in the region # 4, the Regional Representative of Literacy, in charge of community-based schools was not able to provide me information for NGO community-based schools.

However, policymakers have undertaken actions to make nonformal education more visible. “The objective of the Direction is to allocate more resources to community-based schools in order to balance the deficit of the formal school system” (Senior Officer # 1, Direction of Literacy and Basic education).

The state plans to increase funds allocated to community-based schools to balance the formal school deficit and capture all early dropout children and those who don't have access to formal schools (Senior Officer # 1, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

Overall, policymakers perceived community-based schools as a short term strategy to provide basic skills for poor people who don't have access to the formal school system and I felt that the experience was not taken seriously. The state does not allocate an important part of the budget to community-based schools, mostly supported by the Canadian cooperation and other NGOs (more than 75%).

International partners of development

I included in the interview guideline a question about the role of funding agencies in the promotion of nonformal education. I found that policymakers had a positive attitude toward international partners of development. They said that international partners of development are interested in the issue of nonformal education in Senegal. The World Bank and the Canadian Cooperation were cited as one of the most important partners.

Overall the issue of nonformal basic education interests our financial partners. They have intervened since 1996 through literacy programs. The World Bank has funded the [national literacy program] PAPF for two billions CFA; ACDI funded the literacy project PAPA for six billions CFA for the first phase and four billions for the second phase. The World Bank is ready to put more money in the sector, because Sénégal achieved the defined objectives. (Senior Officer # 3, Direction of Literacy and Basic Education).

Conclusion of the chapter

School was generally perceived as an instrument for social promotion, and the community based school was not an exception. Parents of community-based school students overall expected the same outcomes as formal schools; they preferred focusing in the same subjects as those taught in the formal school system and earning a diploma.

Learning to master the French language and being successful in passing the entrance examination test is the major goal of teachers, parents, and students. Some parents perceived the vocational training as the most important subject. The school was perceived as the springboard for professional life.

The government and students had different motivations and expectations. The government used community-based schools to provide basic skills for those who could not access to formal schools and to stop the rural exodus, while students expected to gain theoretical knowledge to continue in the formal school system, live in cities and work in the modern sector. For NGOs and *opérateurs*, the community-based school helped to uplift the underserved people and provide education in poor areas; however, some *opérateurs* perceived it as a business that can be used to make money.

The vision of the state about community-based school as a temporary solution has policy implications. Perceived as short-term educational policy, community-based schools did not receive the required attention from the state: they did not receive funding for school buildings; the state did not hire permanent teachers and did not invest enough in nonformal education teacher training. This lack of investment strengthens the vision of nonformal education as second class education, used as a “spare tire” for formal education.

CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The experiment of community-based schools in Sénégal, where more than 65% of the population is illiterate, showed its strengths. The new type of school fitted into the local culture, particularly in rural areas; helped to better understand subjects taught in class through the use of the local languages; was less costly, more flexible than formal schools, and accommodated students of low socio-economic status, of different religious backgrounds etc. Overall, community-based schools provided education to adults and children in areas that would not have access to formal schools. The involvement of the community in schools contributed to raise awareness about the importance of education in the local development. The introduction of the local languages developed a feeling of pride and contributed to easily delivering education. The use of French as a second language helped children to decipher letters for their parents and the community. The experiment overall was positive in Sénégal and most of villages accepted it.

However, community-based schools face some challenges: parents, teachers and communities viewed a good school as the one that enables students to transition to the modern world and the community-based schools did not address this expectation. The school faces internal challenges related to the school and external challenges associated with the community participation and the state educational policy.

Internal challenges

The analysis of attitudes of different stakeholders showed that community-based schools strived to meet the formal school expectations even though the two models have different missions. Although the community-based school does not have enough resources, teachers, parents, and students try to increase the school standards to make it look like formal schools, which are perceived as the model.

Lack of resources

Overall community-based schools lacked infrastructures, materials; and equipment. PAPA community-based schools were rented houses in the capital, in some villages, they were made of straw. Classrooms were generally small and students sat by three or four in each row. All schools did not have enough equipment: students did not have other educational resources than the teacher's information. No school had a library.

Plan Senegal built a one-classroom school and hired one teacher who often stayed with the same students for four years. One Associative school was located within a family housing. The nature of the school building composed of one class, or a temporary housing, similar to a regular family housing that surrounded it; its lack of equipment, the poverty of its students made community-based schools a low quality education and a school for the poor or those who don't have any other choice. This perception of the community-based school as a temporary solution for people who did not have a choice is a constraint to expanding the experience.

The research also showed that parents of students attending community-based schools were very poor and had a low level of education. Most community-based schools charged a fee that contributed to paying the rent and buying school supplies in PAPA community-based schools. In associative schools, the fee helped pay teachers' salary and manage the school. These fees put more constraints on parents who were already among the poorest. In contrast to formal public schools, which were free, community-based schools put a financial burden on parents. Although some *opérateurs* considered the school fee as a motivation to involve parents and community in the school, it was still a burden and could prevent children whose parents could not afford it to drop out of school.

The lack of resources in community-based schools was reinforced by teachers' preference for formal schools. Many teachers planned to leave or left the community-based schools for formal schools, which offered a longer term contract and a job security. Often teachers quit their job after receiving some training and gaining experience. In region # 5, among five teachers Plan Sénégal hired and trained in 2002, two left to teach in formal schools. This weakened nonformal education and drained resources from nonformal to formal education. I suggest that the state offers longer term contracts and social security benefit to community-based school teacher until local collectivities are able to take charge of these teachers.

I suggest continuing to implement community-based schools in urban and rural areas and focusing on literacy and numeracy for four years since parents and students are more interested in literacy, numeracy and French. I suggest implementing vocational schools, equipped with enough resources in each *arrondissement*. Vocational schools

should provide room and board for students coming from rural and urban areas.

Students who successfully pass the middle school entrance examination will continue in formal middle schools, while those who fail and those who want, will enroll in vocational schools.

Perception of quality of education

The research showed that parents, teachers, and students perceived a quality education as the one that leaned towards the formal school system. Parents wanted their children to learn French and use national languages as a tool to better understand subjects taught in French. Teacher's objectives were to increase the pass rate for the national middle school entrance examination. This perception of a quality education drove teachers to orient the school toward national examinations, which did not always coincide with the local educational needs.

Observations of classroom settings showed that all community-based schools arranged tables and chairs in columns as in regular formal schools. This attempt to imitate formal schools constitutes a hindrance to the development of nonformal education, which should use creative ways to educate children. For example, in the Bangladesh model, children sit on rugs in a U form, facing the teacher, they use local materials and teachers introduce the local culture into the school. For example, in Senegalese Koranic schools, students sit on mats, made of local materials; they surround the teacher who can have an eye on all students. Sitting on the ground is part of Senegalese culture. However, in the S n galese experience of community-based

schools, the culture is not brought into play as an educational resource, only the formal school system is used as a reference.

The dominance of the formal school expectations led NGOs and *opérateurs* to reduce the length of the use of the local languages as the language of instruction. In the initial design, community-based schools were supposed to primarily teach in the local languages; in practice, this length of time was progressively reduced from two to one year. Now French was introduced after the third trimester to give more chance to students for the national examination. In rural areas some parents were proud of the use of the national languages, however, learning local languages is not really helpful in an environment where French is the official language and all products are labeled in French.

The research showed that most teachers had more than the required level of education, some have already graduated from the university, and others have a middle school diploma; most teachers from the last category have experience in literacy classes. Overall, teachers had a larger experience with formal education than nonformal education. In addition, they received a training that does not prepare them enough for nonformal education. I suggest specializing teachers as well as inspectors who monitor and evaluate them in nonformal education and accelerated learning methods that encourage creative teaching and the use of local materials.

Escuela Nueva model could be used as a reference model. In the experience, teachers learned from their experiences in the field. They met regularly in “quality Circle”, in “Micro Centre”. The in-service training was the most important aspect of the professional development: teachers learned from each other, shared their experiences

and developed strategies to improve the quality of teaching and learning. (Schiefelbein, 1992).

Curriculum, methods of teaching and organization of schools

The research showed that although the government enabled communities to be involved in the school by not imposing a standard curriculum to community-based schools, this opportunity was not efficiently used to include communities in generating the local knowledge. The lack of direction and guidelines led teachers and *opérateurs* to use the formal school curriculum. In the design of community-based schools, the first two years were oriented toward teaching the national languages and promoting child awareness and the third and fourth year were designed to promote practical skills. In practice, after the third year, the curriculum tended to merge with the formal school curriculum because teachers wanted to increase students' chances to pass the national examination based on the formal school curriculum. Textbooks were uniform and were provided by the project PAPA or the NGO and the uniformity of the learning material may prevent teachers from adapting the curriculum to local realities.

Other than the Church school in which one teacher used the child-centered teaching, all used frontal teaching. I did not see any peer-education, group learning, or group projects in community-based schools I visited. Teachers gave lectures and students memorized. The teacher was still the only resource person who has the knowledge. Although the use of national languages had encouraged students' participation in social sciences and on issues that particularly affect their lives, students still prefer gaining knowledge in French and this idea was supported by most parents in

rural and urban areas. Students in each classroom I visited were proud to greet me in French.

The participation of community members in the school was limited to controlling the attendance of students and teachers and managing the school project. Furthermore, I did not see any student organization in the schools I visited. The Church school had one, but students were limited to environment, sports and social activities. The first committee took care of the cleanliness of the school and the second dealt with sports and social activities.

Although the community-based school was intended to provide professional and theoretical training in literacy and numeracy, overall, only the second aspect was effectively put into practice. After four years, students learned more literacy than practical skills. Hiring a teacher who had only general education background, implicitly was favoring the formal education system. Although the model required an involvement of a resource person from the community, PAPA and Plan Sénégal did not provide funding for the resource person to teach technical skills. The Church school was the only community-based school which combined equitably both forms of education, theoretical and practical training.

The community-based school lacked flexibility, teachers tried to adapt the formal school time schedule, and this affected girls, who generally had more free time in the afternoon, after preparing the family meal and household chores.

One of my student dropped out of school ten days ago because her mother said that she needed her help on mornings; however she told us that she could attend only on afternoon. The girl likes the school, but we teach only on mornings (Teacher, Region # 1).

Overall, the curriculum, methods of teaching, and the schedule of the community-based school followed the formal school model; this made the community-based school a duplicate of formal school.

I suggest engaging local communities in generating their own knowledge. They could be involved through students' research and surveys that teachers supervise and the outcome could be transmitted to elementary school regional inspectors to generate a school curriculum with populations' inputs. The model used in Escuela Nueva was successful. In the model, community members, besides building schools, participating in its management, and providing materials such as shelves, taught and actively participated in generating knowledge; craftsmen were invited to teach literacy to pupils using alphabetical letters built from clay, mothers were invited to teach local cuisine, grand parents surveyed on the history of the community etc. All these sources of information became part of the learning materials. Involving community members would help students to value and connect their education to the real life of the community (Schiefelbein 1992).

Monitoring and evaluation

The research showed that community-based schools and formal school students were evaluated and monitored on the same basis. Many factors prevented community-based school students from bridging the gap and continuing in the formal school system: the shorter length of schooling, the middle school entrance examination as a one time evaluation, the age of students, the lack of birth certificate and the retention of lower achievers.

Although the length of schooling and the use of French as instructional language was shorter in the community-based school than the formal school (four years against six years of schooling, two years instead of six years in learning French), students from the community based schools and those from the formal school system took the same tests to enter public middle schools. Overall, community-based school students' pass rate was lower than formal school students.

Plan Senegal and Aide et Action authorized a fourth year class to repeat because students failed the middle school entrance examination. However, in general, students did not repeat and had only one chance to be evaluated at the end of the fourth year. The national examination served as a one-time evaluation, which was an unfair criterion for those who failed and might have assimilated other knowledge in national languages, literacy, and other subjects taught in the community-based school but not included in the formal school program.

Furthermore, the selection of candidates to the middle school entrance examination based on the age of students (thirteen years old or less) was a disadvantage of community-based school students who enrolled at a later age than formal school students.

Community-based school students who did not have a birth certificate, which is common in rural areas, as well as those that the teachers thought will not be successful, were not registered to take the examination. In this setting, community-based school did not recognize learning achievement. Only scores accomplished through national examination were used to recognize students' learning achievement.

Although community-based school was considered to be nonformal education, qualitative evaluation was not used. Teachers did not document students' progress and the non-academic skills they acquired; students' literacy and numeracy skills helped villages, but were not recognized at the same level as the national examination.

As Schiefelbien (1992) pointed out, In Escuela Nueva, students took formative tests at the end of each unit and self-evaluated their own work. The teacher made the decision on successful students based on the final summative evaluation. Students did not progress by grade levels, but by modules. Students were required to know different materials in class, and they did not repeat.

External challenges

Institutional constraints

In Sénégal, the place of community-based school was clearly defined within the Ministry of Basic Education and National Languages in 1993 when the government launched the first community-based schools. The Ministry of Basic Education included formal and nonformal education. Today, with the change of Ministries, community-based schools are included in the nonformal education sector. This separation of the educations sector prevents the state from developing a holistic policy on basic education. In addition, basic education is scattered into three ministries: National Education, Family and Early Childhood, and the Delegate Ministry of Professional Training, Professional Education, Literacy and National Languages. The research showed that the statistics of formal schools were regularly documented and informed

about progress made to achieve EFA objectives, but this was not the case for community-based schools, which contributed to achieving the same objectives. This situation is the result of lack of coordination between different ministries that oversee different components of the basic education system. This situation prevents the state from measuring the real contribution of community-based schools in achieving EFA and developing an effective strategy.

Contrary to formal schools which are permanently overseen by the Ministry of National Education, community-based schools move back and forth between the basic education, nonformal education, and professional training departments. Today, they are under the supervision of Ministry of Literacy, National Languages and Vocational Training, which sometimes is a full ministry, and sometimes a delegate ministry, under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education. This institutional instability limits the continuity of the actions and the implementation of a consistent policy.

The policy of “*faire-faire*” adopted by the government in nonformal education opened the education sector to the private sector, associations, and NGOs. In addition the decentralization policy has broadened the local participation in educational policy formulation. However, the state remains the main financial provider for nonformal education. It negotiates most of the funding with international donors and signs contracts with NGOs and *opérateurs*, which allows the state to set rules and regulations and control the sector. *Opérateurs* follow procedures and are not allowed to make changes and take initiative before consulting with PAPA. Although nonformal education is meant to be a flexible model, community-based schools are controlled by the state.

Lack of a written policy

Discussions with NGO officers showed that community-based schools have existed for ten years, but did not have a written policy. The project PAPA has a framework of reference that set guidelines for *opérateurs* to apply for a grant and to implement schools and policymakers are still working on the decree that will provide community-based schools with a legal framework.

There is no clear and defined policy of community-based schools, projects, and NGOs have spontaneously supported the initiative. The literacy policy is very clear, but the community-based school is not (Senior Officer # 1, Ministry of National Education).

We [NGOs] have been involved since 2002 in writing the project of decree, but it looks like forgotten. We have asked the government during those meetings to take charge of the salary of volunteer teachers from the third year and to offer him a more solid career pace (Senior Officer # 1 NGO # 11).

The task force is chaired by the project PAPA [government] and is composed of the Director of Elementary Education, a representative of the Ministry of Professional Training, of ADEF/ Afrique [NGO], the former Director of Literacy, two private cabinets designated because of their expertise in the field, and lawyers. The task force is composed of eight persons and we are still working toward developing a legal framework for community based schools (Senior Officer, NGO # 2).

However, some policymakers had concern about a written policy that meant formalization of nonformal education and a reduction of its mission. The task force was aware of the situation and wanted the government to choose a clear option among the following three choices: either to transform the community-based school into a formal school, a vocational school, or combination of both forms of education. The role of the task force was to use the experience and help the state to better define the role of different actors. However, the reluctance to formalize nonformal education, combined

with the changing of ministries that oversee community-based schools slowed down the process. The work was on progress and clarifying the legal framework would contribute to efficiently use the experience of community-based school in the formal education system.

The international community of donors

The literature review showed that international donors and bilateral cooperation provided more resources to formal than nonformal education. The school buildings could be an indicator of international donors' investments in education; they helped build 29.6% of formal schools buildings (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2002, p. 17), but no money was invested in building permanent community-based schools. The transitory aspect of nonformal education does not encourage partners to make long term investment because activities are perceived as temporary. Formal schools showed their sustainability while nonformal demonstrated its temporality, which makes it a vulnerable sector.

Furthermore, the dependence on grant money and projects is a hindrance to the sustainability of community-based schools, which are perceived as short-term projects. This affects teachers, pupils, and the community who might view community-based school as insignificant.

Although the literature on EFA highlights the unbalanced support of the World Bank and bilateral donors towards the formal education system, policymakers are generally satisfied with the international donors' intervention in nonformal education.

Cultural barriers

Although the importance of education was perceived in cities and villages, some communities were still not aware of the importance of education. Some parents believed that domestic chores came before the school. "Borrowing" children while they attend a class was still common in rural and poor urban areas. *Operateurs* and teachers sensitized local communities about the importance of the community-based school. In addition, most teachers living in villages, helped students after the school to catch up on tardiness due to household chores; however, the irregularity and the "borrowing" of students slowed down their progress and impeded the advancement of the class.

In the traditional culture, the child is never considered as a mature person; it is believed that adult should make decision for him; this belief limits children's capacities to develop independent ideas from what they have learned at school. This situation was reflected in the school projects, which were often a village activity. Most of the time, the school initiates the same activity as the village without any improvement in practices.

Girls' education and gender issues

The education and the place of women in the society were still an issue and affected girls' education in the community-based school. While the government is committed to encouraging girls' education and working toward gender equality at school, most teachers in community-based schools were not gender sensitive. In schools I visited, only the Church school was aware of the problem. Girls and boys learned the same subjects; they took turns cleaning the classroom. In PAPA school in Dakar and in Plan schools, only girls were scheduled to clean classrooms after school. In addition

parents considered social events as more important than school and girls were often asked to miss classes during religious holidays to get their hair done and help mothers at home. Furthermore, girls were influenced by the surrounding models: friends who get married, mothers household wives etc. Teachers' and parents perception of gender roles limited girls' education.

In our society, men and women have different functions. Women's social function is the cleanliness and the maintenance of the house. Girls are enthusiast to broom the classroom everyday, because it is their natural role. I have also asked boys to take care of the security of the classroom when I am away. In the quarter, unemployed boys take care of residents' security; we don't have any problem with it (Teacher, Region # 1).

I need to sell bread to make my living, if my daughter attends the class in the morning, it means that nobody will be at home to cook and take care of children. If I stay at home I will not earn money to support my family. My daughter really wanted to attend the school, but I have to make a difficult choice because I know the importance of the school (Mother, Region # 1).

Sometimes, girls want to leave the school because of the influence of the local surrounding. This year I had a girl [student] who decided to drop out of school and stay with her friends in the quarter, because most of girls don't go to school. She decided to dropout of school to join a circle of friends (Teacher, NGO # 4).

Women were active participants in meetings and school activities during interviews and focus groups. However, men's voices were dominant in the selection of school projects and family decision of sending children to school despite the participatory research method used. Most school micro-projects were agricultural, cattle rearing etc. while girls were the dominant population of these schools. Apparently, men made the decision for the school micro-project and students enrollment.

Since the village is composed of men and women, we need to expand activities and not limit them to cattle rearing and agricultural extension. Women are interested in crocheting, and sewing as well as girls in the school (Teacher NGO # 3).

One of my students comes to school when her father is at work, because her mother wants her to attend the school. The mother has attended a few years of primary school and wants her daughter to do the same. But the father refuses.... She is one of my best students (teacher, Region # 1).

Conclusion of the chapter

The research shows that community-based schools prepare students for formal schools rather than the community life and they also face internal and external challenges. At the school level, formal education is used as the model: teachers focus more on numeracy and literacy than vocational education; most of them aim to prepare students to take the formal middle school national examination. Teachers follow the formal school curriculum and NGOs/ *opérateurs* provide standard textbooks, which are the principal educational resource for students. The lack of resources combined with the lack of teacher training in nonformal education prevents community-based schools from being real alternatives to formal schools.

At the community level, the culture of education is not well established and the importance of the school is still not well perceived. At the state level, the separation of the basic education between formal and nonformal education prevents the state from effectively including community-based school in a long-term education policy. These challenges limit the promotion of community-based schools.

CHAPTER 8

LESSONS LEARNED AND CONCLUSION

The review of the literature helped to better understand how colonial education played out in marginalizing nonformal education in French West Africa and socializing policymakers, parents, and communities into the French culture. This led to a preference for formal schools and the use of French. These preferences are still on-going in the current policy; this reflects on the place of nonformal education in national policies, the place of technical education, and the lack of funding and human resources available for nonformal education. This also echoes the attitudes of parents and students toward schools that do not look like formal schools and use national languages. The colonial education which relegated nonformal to poor and rural areas is kept alive in the current policy. Furthermore, the Education for All movement whose design and discourse gave primary attention to nonformal education ended up funding in priority formal schools. The case study of community-based schools in Sénégal helped to better understand the place on nonformal education in policies.

Nonformal education in Sénégal includes literacy classes, vocational schools and community-based schools. In the initial design, community-based schools were supposed to promote a model of education based on the needs of the community and reach people that formal school could not enroll. The school was supposed to teach literacy, numeracy, and professional skills to make students functional in their respective communities. However, the acquisition of numeracy and literacy skill became the main focus of these schools because of the lack of professional teachers in

vocational education, the lack of school materials, and the lack of parents' interest in the professional training.

Although the government classified community-based schools among nonformal education programs, teachers and communities work towards reinforcing formal school standards by limiting the use of national languages and preparing students for formal school entrance examinations. The first evaluation of community-based schools showed that most students did not have enough literacy and numeracy skills in French and they were not well-prepared for the job market at the end of the four-year program. During the second phase of the project, the government decided to reinforce traditional vocational schools and use them as support institutions to promote a new type of school labeled "articulated community-based schools". I perceive two future trends of community-based schools: government developing a model geared toward professional training, using traditional vocational schools, and NGOs leaning towards formal schools. The second trend is less costly and does not require a long term commitment.

The role of the government in the initial stage of the experience was instrumental in orienting community-based schools toward a functionalist model. The government negotiated most of the funds and financed NGOs and *opérateurs*; it plays a central role in coordinating community-based schools in the country.

During my field research, people's perception of the introduction of Arabic and religion into the community-based school surprised me. Although Islam was cited among the main factors that prevent children from attending formal school, I noticed that only a few parents perceived it as important subject for their children's education. Instead, rural people found French and the national languages more important for their

children. I expected from parents a feeling of pride in learning the local languages; instead, I learned that French was more important because learning to decipher official letters, being able to read notices, etc. could help parents to be more functional.

Learning the national languages was just a means to better understand subjects taught at school. Overall, parents had a positive attitude toward the school, but were disappointed with the short length of schooling. Parents and students shared the perception of the role of French as an instrument of social promotion and communication in S n galese society.

I was not surprised about the acceptance of girls' attendance by rural communities. The national sensitization campaign of the government ten years ago paid off; people are aware of the importance of girls' education. Most of the time, poverty was the main factor that prevents parents from sending girls to school, particularly in poor urban areas where most mothers work in the informal sector. Often girls helped in household chores, in income generating activities to support the family. The school enrolled more girls than boys who often went away to other villages to study the Koran.

The research showed that although parents welcomed community-based schools as an alternative to formal schools to provide basic knowledge and professional training, they perceive it as a means for social promotion for their children as formal schools. These attitudes reinforced the domination of formal school and drove community-based schools to lean towards the prevailing model.

Nonformal education, whose goals are to promote social change, has not developed autonomous attitudes among communities. Villagers and poor urban areas still expect the state and NGOs to initiate actions, and I did not find any sign of villages

taking over their own development despite the claim that of nonformal education would increase awareness and help people take charge of their own development.

Areas of further study

- Evolution of the enrollment and drop out rates in community-based schools.
- Relationships between teachers' level of education and students' achievement in community-based schools.
- Relationships between the level of income of community members and the promotion of community-based schools.

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