Education for rural development in Côte d'Ivoire: school based cooperatives as a vehicle for a successful transition of primary school leavers/dropouts from school to real life.

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EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CÔTE D’IVOIRE: SCHOOL BASED COOPERATIVES AS A VEHICLE FOR A SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS/DROPOUTS FROM SCHOOL TO REAL LIFE

A Dissertation Presented

by

JACQUELINE A. GNAGNE

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2002

School of Education
EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE:
SCHOOL BASED COOPERATIVES AS A VEHICLE FOR
A SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS/DROPOUTS
FROM SCHOOL TO REAL LIFE

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School of Education
DEDICATION

To my daughter Assoumou Adjenna Betsy Ann Myriam Meliane,

You used to say, "Mom, why don’t you become a doctor that cures people? I hope I did not disappoint you. If I can only contribute to people’s well being through their education, I will be satisfied. Thank you for your support, thank you for putting up with a student as a Mom, and getting by with very little for such a long time. I love you.

A mon Père, Gnagne Agnimel Etienne,

A ma grand mère Akesse Edibah Sarah, et mon grand père “yéykoli”

A mon tres chér oncle Memel Gnagne Benoit “Brogobio”

A mon oncle Memel Meless Pierre

A ma grande soeur et amie Akpess Amari Julienne,

IN MEMORIAM

Papa: Je sais que tu es fièr de moi et me souris de là haut. Voici, c’est fait Papa, ce doctorat est en ton honneur.

M’bah: tu as toujours eu confiance en moi et Je ne suis jamais senti aussi aimée et protégée comme tu m’as aimée et protégée, Je te dédie ce diplôme.


Amari: ton amitié m’a donné une nouvelle famille et un support sans pareil. Ce diplôme est dédié à ta mémoire. I miss you so much.
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It has been a humbling learning experience. I am thankful for having been blessed along the way with special people whose support and friendship sustained me through.

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To my mother Memel Melei Marguerite: Popo, your patience is golden. Thank you for being a strong woman.

To my sister Essis Essiou Marguerite and niece Diane Essis Maritza Melyou. Maman, thank you for helping me with the statistics. Diane your strong sense of family always warms my heart. Thank you.

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To the new friends I made in America: you represented my extended family here and have enriched my life experience in a valuable way. I cannot name all of you, but you know who you are. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COTE D'IVOIRE: SCHOOL BASED COOPERATIVES AS A VEHICLE FOR A SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS/DROPOUTS FROM SCHOOL TO REAL LIFE

MAY 2002

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Students dropping out of school at an early stage represent a problem in developed and poor countries. It becomes even more critical when the disappointment and frustration cause parents and their children to question the goal of education, which for them is to find meaningful employment.

Unemployment among young people in Côte d'Ivoire is reaching staggering proportions, and poverty among rural dwellers is at its worst. Meanwhile, rural areas are drained of any young substance. Clearly, the battle for development is being lost.

This study explores the attitudes of students, parents, teachers and school officials toward rural development and explores school-based cooperatives as a way to help primary school dropouts make a successful transition from school to real life. A qualitative method was used in combination with quantitative method to give a voice to ordinary Ivorians
through 300 surveys, 12 in-depth interviews, one focus group with teachers, school officials, students and parents. Subjects took a close look at the education available, reevaluated their attitudes and speculated on how they can take advantage of the education that is available to them prepare for a meaningful life in the rural areas.

The findings and implications are:

(1) The attitude toward rural development is negative.

(2) The occupational aspirations of youth are predominantly prestigious white-collar jobs.

(3) To be successful, teachers need better training and better salaries.

(4) The introduction of national languages will facilitate parents’ interaction with schools.

(5) Rural areas are not attractive enough for young people to want to make a living.

(6) Education by itself cannot solve all the problems of underdevelopment.

(7) A school to work transition program is necessary.

(8) Private organizations need to finance new programs in education.

(9) Development of the rural areas needs to occur alongside the development of urban areas.

(10) Land reform is needed to facilitate land ownership.

(11) A change in mentality and attitude needs to occur.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgment</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Tables</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter

#### I. SCHOOL, PRESTIGE, HOPE, DESPAIR AND PURPOSE: IVORIAN RURAL CHILDREN’S ADVENTURE

- A. Schooling for Rural Development ........................................... 1
- B. Statement of the problem .................................................... 3
- C. Background of the problem ................................................... 4
- D. Presentation of self ............................................................ 9
- E. Rationale for the study .......................................................... 15
- F. Purpose of the study ............................................................. 21
- G. Importance of the study ......................................................... 22
- H. Organization of the study ..................................................... 24

#### II. SCHOOLING FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT .................................... 26

- A. Areas of the literature review ............................................... 26
- B. National development ............................................................ 27
  1. Introduction ............................................................................. 27
  2. Development: a definition of terms ......................................... 30
  3. Modernization and development .............................................. 30
     a. The meaning of development ................................................. 30
     b. Successive stages of development ....................................... 34
     c. Dual economy theory of development .................................. 41
     d. Development through increase of per capita income ................ 42
     e. International dependence theory of development ................... 43
     f. The dualistic development thesis ........................................ 46
     g. Marxist and socialist approaches to development as opposed to capitalism ........ 46
a. Educational objectives
   i. Pedagogical aspects
   ii. Cognitive aspects
   iii. Cultural aspects
   iii. Moral aspects
b. Social and political objectives
c. Economic and short term objectives
d. Long term objectives

8. Analysis of the results
   a. Political implications
   b. Economic implications
   c. School/Industry partnership
d. School/Financial institutions partnership
e. School/health service partnership
f. School/parents/community partnership

9. School based cooperatives of today, NGO and self-help initiative tomorrow

10. Conclusion

G. Vocational education
   1. A definition and introduction
   2. The birth of vocational education in the USA
   3. Vocational education: the drawbacks
   4. Vocational education in the developing world
   5. Vocational education: a necessity
   6. Vocational education today: a new definition

H. Transition from school to work
   1. A definition
   2. Outcomes of school to work programs
   3. Why are school to work programs necessary?
   4. How are School to work programs conducted
   5. What is a comprehensive STW system
   6. How do business get involved
   7. Who finances School to work programs
   8. Parents’ involvement
2. Teachers’ attitude
3. School officials attitude

D. Skills, knowledge and competencies needed for rural development

E. How does the present education provide the knowledge, the skills and competencies to participate in rural development

F. Reasons for the inadequacy of present schooling in Côte d’Ivoire

G. Expectations of the average Ivorian student of himself/herself and parents’ expectations of them after a primary education

H. Attitudes of students and parents toward School-based cooperative preparing students for rural development

I. Teachers’ attitudes toward participating in school based cooperative activities as a vehicle for rural development

J. Development and implementation of school based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development: School officials’ attitudes

K. Concluding remark
V. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
A VISION FOR AN EDUCATION WITH A PURPOSE ............... 185

A. Introduction .......................................................... 185
B. Implications for parents ............................................ 185
C. Implications for teachers ........................................... 187
D. Implications for school officials ................................. 188
   1. The consequences of a top down administration .... 188
   2. Lack of communication ........................................ 188
E. Implications for students .......................................... 189
F. Policy implications .................................................. 189
   1. Issue of land availability .................................... 190
   2. Land reform policy and land distribution ............. 190
   3. Lack of economic incentives ................................ 190
   4. School reform/school to work Transition ............... 191
   5. Information/orientation/guidance ........................ 191

G. Possible implications for further studies .................... 194
H. Concluding remarks ................................................ 195
   1. Students .......................................................... 195
   2. Parents .......................................................... 195
   3. Teachers ........................................................ 195
   4. School officials ................................................. 196

APPENDICES .................................................................. 198

A. SURVEY (FRENCH VERSION) ....................................... 198
B. SURVEY (ENGLISH VERSION) ..................................... 208
C. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS .............................. 217
D. GUIDE D'INTERVIEW PARENTS ................................. 218
E. GUIDE D'INTERVIEW OFFICIELS .............................. 219
F. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL OFFICIALS ............... 221
G. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STUDENTS ............................ 222
H. GUIDE D'INTERVIEW ELEVES ................................. 224
I. GUIDE D'INTERVIEW ENSEIGNANTS .......................... 226
J. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS ............................ 228

BIBLIOGRAPHY .............................................................. 230
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Comparison between Côte d’Ivoire and Cuba</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Different policy approaches to Third World Women and development</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A chronological order of a few important vocational education acts</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Participants’ age distribution</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Students’ attitudes toward a policy of “Return to the land”</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reasons why some young people cannot secure employment in the city</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reasons why some young people would opt to live in rural areas</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reasons why young people would not consider life in rural areas</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Study participants’ living conditions</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ivorian students’ nutritional status during the academic year 1996-1997</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Parents’ attitude toward their children’s choice to become farmers</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Parents’ opinion about their children’s choice to become farmers</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Students who would like to participate in a program that would give them the necessary skills to become farmers</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Students who would choose to become farmers if they had the knowledge and the skills</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Students’ opinion about the return to Land</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

SCHOOL, PRESTIGE, HOPE, DESPAIR AND PURPOSE: IVORIAN RURAL CHILDREN’S ADVENTURE

A. Schooling for Rural Development

"Ma mère voulait que je parte à l’école. Elle ne voulait pas que je parte grimper au palmier ou faire la pêche comme les autres. Parcequ’elle savait bien que par l’école je pouvais être une multitude". Pr. Harris Memel Foté. Novembre 2000.

“My mother wanted me to go to school. She did not want me to go climbing palm nut trees or go fishing like the others. Because she knew very well that through school I could become a multitude.”


These words of a respected university professor, poet, writer, and philosopher, recently turned politician from Côte d’Ivoire, are excerpts of the speech he made as a movement bearing his name was being launched. The message was meant to encourage young people to seek an education. But it also sent the opposite message, given the fact that it was being delivered in a rural setting, where some young people might be struggling with the idea of seeking a livelihood in their village versus going to the city like everyone else.

Côte d’Ivoire is a country whose economy is based on agriculture. Eighty percent of its population is located in the rural areas, and they are typical of any rural population in the developing world. The majority of that population is composed of women, children and the elderly. They
are the most vulnerable members of the society, for they are generally deprived of the minimum necessities as human beings. Most of them suffer from extreme poverty, which as Solomon and Lebeau (1993) wrote, is the problem of rural underdevelopment in third world countries.

The children of these rural dwellers are the ones who often are not accommodated in the secondary schools. They are the ones for whom no structure is put in place to ensure a successful transition from primary school (which for most is the only education they might have access to, World Bank, 1988) to real life and meaningful occupations. They are the voiceless and the forgotten ones, the ones who will turn to the cities in the hope of a better life, and in the process, exacerbate urban problems. Their parents, strongly influenced by the mirage of development, give them urban-biased education, and point them toward the towns (Chambers, 1983).

There are few real job prospects in the urban areas for the level and quality of education they have received. These children will be the frustrated, unskilled, and unemployed young men who will make up the urban population of tomorrow, for life in the rural areas appears to hold no options for them. These youngsters are the future of Côte d’Ivoire. They represent an untapped resource, for they are the hands that could effectively replace the aging rural population. Ignoring their existence, their needs and the problem they represent is in effect ignoring the rural
population. It was the rural population that through its hard labor once sustained the country in its effort to achieve political and economic independence from the colonizer. Not investing in their education, health, and welfare is plunging the country into a bottomless abyss and will eventually lead to social upheaval.

B. Statement of the problem

Of 80 percent of the nation’s children enrolled in primary schools, only 30 percent can succeed at the very competitive secondary school entrance examination and be accommodated in the secondary school system (Knowles, 1977, MEN, 2000). Secondary schools are located only in urban areas. The 50 percent who cannot be accommodated into secondary schools are mostly the children of poor peasants, children who have been brought up by their parents to turn to the city for a better life.

Existing schooling does not prepare students for the school to work transition, and discourages them from effective participation in rural life. The inadequacy of the curriculum, the poor training and quality of the teachers, the lack of instructional material, and the difficulty of French, the language of instruction, contribute to this failure (World Bank, 1988). The education that this fifty percent receives does not prepare them to seek livelihood in the rural areas, let alone in the cities where they all turn. As a consequence, they are not productive for themselves, their
parents, and the country. They render investment in primary education non-cost effective.

A country that chooses not to improve the situation of 50 percent of its future adult citizens, the ones who can successfully support the rural population and the country’s economy is perpetuating the cycle of poverty and national underdevelopment.

C. Background of the problem

At the time of its independence in 1963, Côte d’Ivoire did not base its development on heavy industries. It could not afford to do so because the colonial government did not prepare the young country for that kind of enterprise. Côte d’Ivoire secretly entertained the hope of catching up with the rest of the developed world, and to do so, it relied on its human resources in its race for development. The country invested more than 40 percent of its national budget in education, with the intention of producing high-level graduates to replace expatriates and take over the leadership of the newly independent country.

Unfortunately, the country’s emphasis on urban oriented development has resulted in an uneven distribution of developmental resources between the rural and urban areas. The rural area is becoming increasingly trapped in poverty, while urban society continues to
modernize, to strive for greater economic returns, to grow in affluence and to be where modern, educated men and women want to be.

This has led to the exodus of rural dwellers to urban areas in search of a better life, which in turn contributes to the ongoing disparity between the social classes. This disparity is exacerbated by the reality that the labor of these peasants supported the way of life of the wealthy and paid for the children of the wealthy to go to secondary schools and attend universities around the world (Psacharopoulos, 1985). For a country that has based its development on the hard labor of small peasants, very little has been done to promote the actual economic development of this part of the population.

The Ivorian peasant is poor. He or she lives in the remotest part of the country where there is sometimes no communication with the outside world, no decent roads, no electricity, no running water, no medical facilities. He/she has a meager annual or seasonal income. He is too poor to afford the monthly bills that come with the maintenance of modern commodities. He/she must sometimes choose to go hungry for days so that his/her children can have one meal a day. He/she cannot afford to pay for medication and is forced to watch his/her children die of easily curable diseases. He/she can hardly meet his/her basic needs as a human being. He/she is the one for whom even free schooling is not affordable because of all the expenses that come with it. His/her children
represent the 50 percent “laissez pour-compte” that cannot be accommodated in secondary schools, and end up being the academic failures that make up the statistics. His/her children end up feeling that they have no other option than to flee to the cities in the hope of a better life.

Rural populations are the invisible ones, the forgotten ones, and non-existent, not represented in any political or decision-making arena. They are the voiceless, or, when they do have a voice, it is ignored. For them, education whose role was to assert their cultural identity, promote their integration into the nation, further their personal development and prepare them for working life”, has failed them (Seya, 1988). Decision-makers comfort themselves by playing political cards, or by holding a naive understanding of the reality of their people. They are failing to measure the impact of the backwardness of rural areas on their country’s overall developmental effort. The governments have fallen short because their rationale for rural development appears artificial, and follows the same pattern as international donors who conceive solutions to rural development issues from the comfort of their air-conditioned offices, visualizing rural areas as small scale cities” (Chambers, 1987). They have not involved the rural peasants in the decision making process as responsible agents of their own development.
Côte d’Ivoire’s vision of rural development is summed up as follows in Jacqueline Dutheil’s book on Côte d’Ivoire’s economic development.

La politique de promotion rurale vise à améliorer les conditions matérielles d’existence du paysan, à détruire le complexe d’infériorité qu’il nourrit à l’égard des milieux urbains plus favorisés, à lui redonner goût à vivre à la campagne en faisant parvenir le progrès moderne jusqu’à lui.

Jacqueline Dutheil de la Rochère

The politics of rural promotion is intended to improve the peasant’s material condition and destroy the inferiority complex that he nourishes towards regarding his counterparts living in rural setting. It is intended to give him back a taste for life in the rural area by bringing to him modern progress.

Jacqueline Dutheil de la Rochère

No amount of modern goods will rid the peasant of the “inferiority complex” that he/she nourishes towards anything and everything that has to do with the city. The inferiority complex that tints the peasant’s attitude has been nourished since his earliest contacts with the European world. It has been aggravated by the fact that his/her education, economic system, and language values were negated, and perceived not only as inferior, but to some degree, insignificant and nullified (Furet, 1978; Touré, 1978). This has left him/her feeling inadequate to pass on any strong values to his/her children.

The current education system does not prepare the average Ivorian for a full participation in the development of the country. Only a privileged few are provided the opportunity to find a place in the sun,
the advancement of the nation. The vast majority of Ivorians are denied the chance to contribute to national advancement and be artisans of their individual growth. The issue the country is facing is not about achieving Universal Primary Education. The challenge is the relevance, the adequacy and the orientation of that education. The difficult economic condition of the country (debt, collapse of cocoa price, political instability) eliminates the likelihood of further expansion or advancement in the quality of schools. The reality is that the country needs as many hands on the plantation as it needs heads in the office. Rural development is a pressing issue that will not go away without sound measures that will incorporate all sectors of the country’s economy. There is no denying that it is the most difficult challenge that a nation and its educational system can face.

There is a need to rethink the development process, and redefine the priorities of the country’s development strategies. One step in this process will be to reorient the effort of future educational investment. Promoting rural development to benefit the rural people, especially women and children, should be the educational priority of the country. There is a need for a sound, practical education that can be put to immediate use by children. No one can deny the importance of at least a primary level of education, which currently is the only form of education accessible to many children (World Bank, 1988). There is also a need for
an education that prepares people for effective participation in rural development.

D. Presentation of self

My first contact with school happened in Orogaff (Vieil Aklodj), a small rural Ivorian village. The community was sold on the mirage of development, and villagers were socialized to believe that education was the sine qua non of that development. The community put its efforts together to erect two brand new buildings to house the very first school in the village. The government saw this as a step towards commitment on behalf of the villagers, and in return sent two teachers to start the adventure of education the western way.

School was a new experience in the village. Neither the parents nor the children knew what schooling entailed, nor did they know what they were getting themselves into. In the midst of different emotions—curiosity, enthusiasm, apprehension, and fear—they were sure of one thing: wherever the ambiguous adventure was leading, the road was worth traveling. For the rural parents who felt they had missed the boat of development, modernization brought to their doors an opportunity, and they would not let their children miss it. It was clear to them that school was a stepping-stone to a dream life in the city. Sending their children to school meant their children would have access to all the prestige and material things that the people in the city had, and which
their present condition as mere peasants did not allow them to dream of. It meant their children would have access to wealth, and power.

To some extent, the goal for schooling was in sync with a popular cultural belief, that a child was an investment. It is no wonder that in the villagers’ mind, a comparison was quickly made between their educated children, (who were long-term investments, likely to yield an outstanding monthly revenue when they would reach maturity), and the cocoa plantation, (which would only yield an annual income subject to the government’s will and local buyers’ whims). Without a doubt, the prospect of school appeared more lucrative than the cocoa plantation. However, these investment strategies were made with no regard to the law of supply and demand within the Ivorian employment market.

As a result, the social demand for education in Orogaff (Vieil Aklodj) was far greater than what the state could offer. It was no surprise that with only two classrooms, all the candidates for education could not be accommodated. At that time, age could not be a viable criterion for selection, since most of the children did not have an exact birth certificate, as they were not all born in modern, urban, maternity settings. Children could only be categorized by age group. Thus the government officials came up with selection criteria to help officials decide who would or would not have a seat in the classroom. This
criterion included the size of the prospective candidate and the number of teeth in the child’s mouth.

I made it through the selection process thanks to the persistence of both my father and uncle. In that respect, I consider myself lucky, because the odds were against me, due to my age and gender. I was one of the youngest children in the large pool of pre-adolescents and adolescents, and on top of that, I was just another girl. In fact, my father’s relatives tried to convince him to give up the idea of sending a girl to school. A girl’s traditional place was in the kitchen next to her mother, learning the skills that would help her become a caregiver, a mother, and a wife. Fortunately, I had two things working in my favor. First, I had my father who was already working in the city and who envisioned my life past the gender barrier. He was therefore prepared to give me the chance he wanted to give his first-born child, regardless of its gender. I also had another strong supporter in the person of my maternal uncle. Years before me, he was chosen to attend the regional Methodist school in the country of Dahomey, now Benin, and went on to become a primary school teacher in the city.

It goes without saying that gender was a major deterrent for girls’ access to school when school was introduced to our societies at that time. In many families, when the choice was made between two children of school age, priority was given to the boy. The assumption was that the
girl was needed at home to take care of the other siblings and learn ‘women’s things’. The best place to get that practical training and experience was not in school, but at home in the kitchen and in the fields with her mother. That was also the best way to keep her away from male “predators” before she was given in marriage in an honorable manner.

Today, sex, religion, early marriages, and uneven geographical distribution of schools are no longer issues of concern for girls’ access to school and retention. In a country like Côte d’Ivoire, where school is not compulsory per se, elementary schools are evenly distributed throughout the country. This makes it easier for parents to choose whether or not to send their children to school. Having access to school is one thing, but going through the six years of elementary school is another. The reality for children of developing countries is that the journey is not over once they are in school. Their road to success is paved with challenges and roadblocks they have to overcome. As a result, their achievement speaks for itself. According to recent statistics from the Ministry of National Education (1990-1993), out of 1000 boys and 1000 girls who entered elementary school in Côte d’Ivoire, 23.3 percent of boys and 36.1 percent of girls left school before the end of the sixth year. Only 24.84 percent passed the academic “concours d’entrée en sixième”.

In my community I was among the very few who finished the primary cycle, and went on to secondary school, high school, and then
entered university. I am proud to say that I was the first woman of my village to have a University degree. Sadly enough, my experience as a girl with a rural background is unusual. But it should not have to be. My life story is similar to the life stories of many children with a rural background.

What would have happened to me if I had not passed that exam? My parents would have used every means they had to get me through school, even if it had meant giving up the last piece of land they owned and on which they could make a living. Like any other parent, they would have done so in a desperate attempt to educate me through expensive private schools. Such schools were proliferating at that time, profiting from the social demand for education, and giving hope to students who had been expelled from the government schools. Any parent who could afford to push their children through school would do so because they were convinced that it was an investment that would pay off one day.

For the poorest of the poor parents, investing in private school fees was not always an option. Even so, after six years of schooling, their children often considered themselves too educated to go back to the village, yet hopelessly unskilled and barely educated. It was highly unlikely that they would land a job in the city.
My background was not much different from those who fled the village in the direction of the city. Like them, I had the same beginnings, and looking back, I could well have been one of those who failed the academic secondary school entrance examination. In all likelihood, I would have found myself in the city, unemployed and with no future because I would have refused to return to the village from where I came.

I may not be a typical example, because I belonged to the small percentage of pupils who made it by being academically above average. I was also lucky to have the support of informed relatives. The rest of the children were not academic failures; they just weren't as fortunate as I was. I strongly believe that educating the children, who are the future of any nation, should not be a matter of luck but of necessity. Education should be backed by a strong commitment to take into account children’s needs and abilities.
E. Rationale for the study

My Dear son,

You have left us a month ago to go to your school. At the time when I am writing to you, we have no money left. We have given you all our savings to pay for your school fees. The cocoa plantation did not produce this year. The little that your father harvested could not be sold. The buyer thinks that his produce is of poor quality.

We are now living, or rather surviving, thanks to our small crop of tobacco. The gains are meager, but we do not have a choice. We do not have any other source of income.

Your father is tired and sick. Your older brother, Sie, who could have helped him, is the incarnation of laziness. As far as your sister is concerned, she has been expelled from school after she failed the secondary school entrance examination. And to add pain to injury, she is four months pregnant. The man who made her pregnant is refusing to recognize it and take responsibility.

My Son, the load of poverty is wearing us down. We often spend a whole day without a meal. I sometimes wonder if there is a God above.... As you can see my dear Son we are living in extreme misery. You are our only hope. You should never forget that.

Take your studies seriously. Show your superiors respect. The same goes for your professors and educators. You should give yourself, body and soul, to school. We do not want you to die in poverty like us.

We really count on you my son. Never, ever forget that.

See you soon.

With love,

Your Mother

Translated from: “le soleil de Bouna”(the sun of Bouna), College Moderne de Bouna, DREN de Bondoukou

The above letter captures the voice of a poor Ivorian peasant’s wife writing to her son away at school. Her voice echoes the voice of many women and men living in the rural areas. It expresses distress, hope, illusion, reality, suffering, poverty, hunger, blind belief, and the
prevailing attitude towards school. It embodies some of the reasons that have determined my choice of subject.

I look back and picture my childhood through the eyes of every struggling rural child of Côte d'Ivoire. Like every child coming from the village, I encountered the same difficulties, fears, and challenges. I had to leave the security and supportive environment of my grandparents’ home in the village to live with total strangers after I graduated from primary school.

In Côte d’Ivoire, like many other developing countries, secondary schools are located only in urban areas. For every rural child, the difficulty of the academic secondary school entrance examination is only the first challenge. Finding a host family or personal accommodations, having the financial means to support oneself in the city, are other challenges faced by these children and their parents. Living in an unknown environment has always been a major deterrent for rural children in pursuit of education beyond the primary cycle. Difficult living conditions, the distance to and from school, the availability of decent meals, the need for a decent place to sleep and study are among the daily challenges for these rural children. Students have been found studying under streetlights because the people with whom they live cannot afford the extra electricity or kerosene bills. Students may be expected to work long hours doing household chores in return for food and lodging so that
they are too exhausted to study, complete homework, or stay awake in class the next day if they are able to make it to school at all. Statistics from 1997 show that only 40 percent of Ivorian students live with relatives, 15 percent can afford but one meal a day.

Despite the status that education has given me, I still maintain my ties with my community. I have first-hand information of what life is like in my rural village. I know how the people struggle to survive. In my life today, I am often approached by people who think that, because of my ‘education’, I am bestowed with some power to find solutions to the problems they confide in me. The most important of these are the pleas to help their children secure a job or a place in school when they have failed their exams and their parents cannot afford to put them in private schools. My relatives tell me, “Your education is all your riches. It is not like a plantation that you will leave your relatives when you are no longer here, or gold, or “kente” cloth that can be passed on to generations to come. The only thing you can do is take your relatives with you and teach them, let them learn from you and profit from your education”.

It is impossible to be deaf to the numerous pleas for help or blind to the suffering of youngsters and their parents who hold on to the belief that there must be something that can be done about and for their children.

The reality is that the educational system currently in place has failed them. Most of these children are ill prepared for the next step.
Some of them spent a few years in primary school, but did not get the diploma at the end of the six-year primary cycle. Others repeated one class as many times as they could, only to be expelled in the end. Some weeded themselves out of the system. The dropout rate throughout the six-year cycle is significant. The 1994 statistics show that 20 percent of children entering primary school abandon it before the end of the sixth year. 45 percent of the children repeat the sixth year, which is the CMII (Cours Moyen Deuxième Année). 70 percent fail the secondary entrance examination, and 20 percent of the children enrolled simply abandon school at that level. In Côte d'Ivoire every school age child has access to at least primary education (World Bank, 1975).

Reaching Universal Primary Education (UPE), by the 1980's was indeed an ambitious plan for the newly independent African countries. The deadline has come and gone. The new projected plan is to reach Universal Primary education by the year 2020. In Côte d'Ivoire, the projection now is for 90 percent of Ivorian school aged children to have access to Universal Education by the year 2010 (INS, 1996). Reaching this objective is subject to serious financial constraints.

Access or availability of education does not eliminate the fact that there are still areas of the country where some disenchanted parents keep their children home or remove them from classes for long periods of
times during harvest. For these parents, a child sent to school is one less hand on the farm.

The issue at hand is not so much whether school is available or not. The question is rather, what do Ivorians want their children to learn during those six years of primary schooling? As educators and a country, are we only interested in teaching our children how to enter secondary school how to become ‘occidentalized’ and modernized, and to look for a desk job in the city? Are we only interested in teaching them minimal literacy and numeracy skills?

The type of traditional education that puts an emphasis on the community and learning by doing has been completely dismantled by the western style of modern education currently in place. Parents and community, who used to be the backbone of every child’s education, are now playing a minimal, passive, or even non-existent role in the education of their children. The excuse of being illiterate is used by the system and by parents themselves to relinquish the education of their children to modern teachers in whom they have put their blind trust.

Consequently, school is distancing children from the essence of their traditional education and is educating them away from the rural areas. The logical next step to the six first years of primary schooling has always been more education and secondary schooling. But perhaps this
is not enough. What about learning how to become self-sufficient just in case secondary school does not work out as expected?

Today, a University degree no longer guarantees employment. What then can be expected of a few years of “useless” primary schooling? Gone are the affluent times when governments, as part of their political agendas, guaranteed employment to every university graduate. Access to higher education in Côte d’Ivoire is now limited to the very few. The system is still failing to prepare the middleman and the man at the bottom of our social pyramid for the kinds of lives they can live without an advanced degree.

If the country’s priorities have clearly shifted, so should the minds of the people. We need to face reality. Part of that reality is that the country is being confronted with an aging rural population. While young people are being educated away from their villages, we are facing a shortage of strong hands to work on the farms. Poverty is at its worst. The rural population cannot meet their basic needs as human beings.

The late President of Côte d’Ivoire, Félix Houphouet-Boigny, used these famous words to sum up the feelings of the people whose basic needs are not being met.

“L’homme qui a faim n’est pas un homme libre, celui qui est écrasé par les préoccupations matérielles n’a ni le temps ni la force de s’élever au dessus des contingences humaines et de se comporter en être heureux”.

Felix Houphouet Boigny
A hungry man is not a free man. Any one who is crushed by material worries will have neither the time nor the energy to rise above human contingencies and behave as a happy being.

Felix Houphouet Boigny

This research will help me gain a university degree, but it is not my only objective or priority. I am every child involved in this study. I am a child of the rural area, I am the fruit of the same educational system, I am a woman, a mother, and on top of all these elements that defines me, I am an educator. My goal as an Ivorian educator and researcher is not simply to diagnose the problems of education and how it affects the country’s development, or how it contributes to rural underdevelopment.

My goal is to investigate the situation from a problem-solving perspective. I hope to come up with solutions and suggestions that could influence future decision-making in the domain of education and development and have a positive impact on the lives of the poor in rural areas.

F. Purpose of the study

This study investigates the potential for the development and the reinforcement of school-based cooperatives as an integral part of the curriculum in primary schools, and as a proposed alternative model of education for rural development in Côte d’Ivoire. This alternative model
is a medium to provide the students with skills and competencies that will facilitate their transition from school to real, productive life.

The research also examines the attitudes of students, parents, teachers, and school officials toward education as a vehicle for rural development in Côte d’Ivoire. It seeks to encourage the introduction and reinforcement of school-based cooperatives as a model for a successful transition of those who do not complete the primary cycle from school to real life. I am conscious that the most difficult challenge of this project will be to bring about a change in attitude, which in turn will bring about the expected change.

G. Importance of the study

This study is significant for policy-makers, teachers, community development officials, local and foreign donors, parents, and students. It focuses attention not only on the quality of education provided in schools, but also on the process of assessing employment needs and opportunities for both students and the community.

While donors are usually well intentioned in what they set themselves up to do, the development projects they initiate are costly, and they do not always reach all communities in need. The truth is that the beneficiaries of development projects are not always chosen in a rational manner.
Surprisingly, education appears to be the fairest way to reach the masses, since it imparts knowledge. Because knowledge is power, it can contribute to building self-confidence. I strongly believe that primary education is very important because it is the basic minimum that any child must receive.

This study is significant in exploring the real needs of the recipients of primary education, by linking it to real life. It proposes a new way of thinking about a primary education that can meet the needs of its recipients. It will also make recommendations related to the “ruralization” of the curriculum through the experiments of school-based cooperatives in primary schools in Côte d’Ivoire. It will propose agriculture, health, and nutrition education as prototypical examples of how the curriculum of the school based cooperatives will be developed and implemented. It will highlight the necessity for the involvement of parents, community, and businesses in ensuring successful outcomes for all concerned.

Given the fact that the solutions proposed do not by themselves yield the expected results, it also provides decision-makers with a way to begin considering the implementation of alternative ideas to the strict formal education that the nation’s children currently receive.
H. Organization of the dissertation

Chapter One: I start with a presentation of myself and proceed to point out the similarities between the children of my community, myself and to a larger extent, all children of rural background. Born and raised in rural Côte d'Ivoire, I have first-hand knowledge of what it means to grow up in a culture dominated by the fierce desire to do away with traditional education in order to embrace the modern education currently offered to us in schools. It is important to explain the similarities between children of the rural areas and myself, because I am one of them, and this explains the rational for my interest in the subject. In the same chapter I explain why among so many subject of interest I am attracted by rural development.

Chapter Two: Because of the variety of areas that I wish to explore in the second chapter, it is not my intention to do an extensive review of literature in each category. I will quickly survey development and modernization theories that pertain to third world countries and their national development. In this part of the literature review, it is important to see how the economies of the young independent countries have evolved from decade to decade. I also review the literature on gender issues in self-development and its contribution to a country's national development, and the literature on rural development dealing with countries in the same category as Côte d'Ivoire. A brief overview of the
literature on curriculum development and primary education in the developing world, and in particular in Côte d’Ivoire sheds light on the importance of this study and the necessity for teachers to start getting involved in the development of curriculum in their subject matters. I also do a brief survey of the literature on vocational education and cooperative education (meaning school-based cooperative). I end my chapter with a review of the literature on the transition from school-to-work programs to see what programs have worked, what have not, and how this can possibly be adapted to the case of Côte d’Ivoire.

Chapter Three: The third chapter of the dissertation explains how I have designed the whole study.

Chapter Four: This chapter of the dissertation presents data obtained through surveys, interviews, and focus group discussions. The analytical framework is built around seven areas of utmost importance: parent’s attitude; students’ attitude; teachers’ attitude; school officials’ attitude; school cooperatives; rural development; teachers’ training and rural development.

Chapter five will conclude the study, draw the conclusions, and will suggest some recommendations and implications for future research.
CHAPTER II
SCHOOLING FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Areas of the literature review

Three broad areas of research provide the context for this study: (1) Schooling in developing countries, (2) schooling for the transition to work, and (3) linkages between gender, schooling and work. Within each of these areas, further areas of literature were identified for examination.

The literature on schooling in developing countries includes an examination of the literature on development, national development and schooling for development. For this study, development is understood as modernization by countries of the third world. Special attention is given to the role of education in that process. The literature reviewed related to schooling for the transition to work includes an examination of the literature on vocational education, school- based cooperatives, and the transition from school to work.

The chapter also provides insight on what literature is available on rural development. This review focuses on primary education and its role in the development process of third world countries. Primary education is often the only form of education that children of school age are likely to receive in most developing countries. The adequacy of the educational
system at that level including expectations, student achievement, teacher training and parent involvement is examined. A definition of terms is provided for this examination of cooperative education since our main focus is school-based cooperatives. This review of the literature on transition from school to work includes an examination of educational practices in industrialized countries to help youth make a smooth transition from school to work, as well as on the problems of school dropouts.

The third area of literature reviewed for this study explored those linkages between gender and development, gender in the workplace, and gender role development in rural areas. The literature on the role of women in national and individual development is viewed from the perspective of the role that women play in the process of development. The way gender roles are traditionally valued and the impact of that value status on development in rural areas is examined along with a review of the literature on how gender attributes have been used against women in the development process.

B. National development

1. Introduction

The concept of development or modernization has been introduced to developing countries like Côte d'Ivoire by their former colonizers with
an “entrenched superiority complex”. That attitude makes it appear normal for the colonizers to dictate their rules, to be the movers, and shakers, the leaders, the drivers, the persuaders, and the builders of the rest of the world (Hatch, 1976). Because of their naivety and the deep inferiority complex they nourished toward the west, the newly independent countries of Africa fell into the development trap and aspired to emulate the rich countries’ experience. Their determination to succeed and their persistence to catch up with the western world, which had at least two centuries of existence and modern organization in their history, ended up with results beyond their expectations.

The imbalance lied in the fact that at the time of their independence the countries of the so-called third world did not have an equal partnership with the developed world. Labeled as “agrarian” and “traditional societies”, their role was limited to the provision of raw materials for the development of industries in the developed countries. This unequal relationship is what prompted some critics to say that Western countries’ relationship with the third world countries was interest ridden.

During colonization, countries of the West were first and foremost interested in a political and economic expansion beyond their frontiers. Countries of the third word not only offered cheap labor, but they represented a consumer market for the goods manufactured by the rich
countries. Third world countries nevertheless bought into the idea that what they needed to reach economic growth was modern technology.

Modern technology, they thought, would not only enhance their economic growth, but would bring social improvement that would provide the basic needs of their people. Having just obtained political freedom, reaching economic freedom was the next step for the leaders of the New World. In the process of desperately trying to become modern, and trying to provide their citizens with the materials trappings and modern attitudes of the West they have missed on what matters the most: the welfare of their peoples (Freire, 1972; Banuri, 1990, Ayittey, 1991 and Gardner, 1997). Countries of Asia and Africa had limited productivity due to the lack of modern science but this handicap did not deter them from embracing modernization ideals without reservation. This is why talking about development for third world countries means talking about modernization, industrialization, and sometimes ‘westernization’ (Banuri, 1990).

For many poor countries the models of development success have always been the economic powers of the western world. To “catch up”, they have shown in various ways a tremendous eagerness to follow in their footsteps and repeat their experiences if necessary. By entering the race of development on western terms, they bought into the popular western belief that they are inferior, backwards, traditional, not modern
and therefore in need of being modernized. That belief was perpetuated by development theorists’ writings on modernization and development.

2. Development: a definition of terms

There is no definition of development that can express the diversity of the issues associated with it. People’s needs vary from one country to the other, from the first to the third world, from one people to the other sometimes in the same country. For the purpose of this dissertation the word “development” is used interchangeably with the word “modernization”, especially since the focus is mainly on third world countries. Development seen as modernization fits the definition of the word even though it appears to be a complete disservice to third world intellectuals and their supporters.

3. Modernization and development

a. The meaning of development

Inkeles and Smith’s (1974) defining features of a modern nation include mass education, urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization, rapid communication and transportation. Countries of the third world have the firm conviction that education played a role in putting the model countries of the west on a pedestal. To take the
example of the United States of America, research has shown that 20 percent of the increase in their output between the years 1930 and 1963 can be explained by the education of its labor force (Schultz, 1961; Denison, 1962; 1967). They grew to believe in education as an investment in human capital (Becker, 1974; Schultz, 1961; World Bank, 1991). Education is also presented as a precondition to development-by-development theorists, and as an instrument that has the power to make a direct or indirect contribution to any country's economic growth (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1968; Easterlin & Bowles, 1980). This belief has been confirmed by cost benefit analysis frameworks used in comparative studies on different countries. Such studies found a strong correlation between lifetime earnings and level of education (Psacharopolous, 1981; Woodall, 1973; Heyneman, 1979; Thias and Carnoy, 1973; Blaug et all, 1969; Carnoy, 1967; Clark and Fong, 1970; Hinchcliffe, 1971; Rogers, 1972; Smynth & Bennett, 1967). A long list of researchers have written about the importance of education in the process of modernization/development and its contribution to any country's economic growth (Bowman & Anderson, 1963; Schultz, 1961; Dennison, 1962, 1967; Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985).

A decade after its independence from France, a country like Côte d'Ivoire spent 40 percent of its national budget on education, investment
that yielded positive results but at the same time was heavily criticized by social scientists for its lack of rationalization (Sylla, 1992).

The only problem with this approach is that it disregards the contribution of one category of workers: the non-educated, non-wage earners and rural workers. It is a category in which falls the majority of the population in the third world and on whose labor the economy and development of some countries depend.

There is nevertheless growing evidence that education by itself is not sufficient to accomplish the goal of contributing to a country’s development. Foster (1985) thinks that:

(1) The per capita income and income distribution,
(2) The political stability that leads to national identity, citizen participation in political processes,
(3) Social equity and equality in educational opportunity, which can be translated into "occupational and social mobility" for every citizen.

Some development economists like Dudley Seers (1989) asserts that: even if the per capita doubled, there is no development if one of the following three still persists: poverty, unemployment, inequality.

Increased poverty, loss of jobs due to repayment of debts, and lack of resources are clear signs of non-development for poor countries.

I strongly believe that for a country to consider itself on the right track of development, the above issues should be considered. Fortunately
Foster is not the only one who believes more in development than rapid economic growth.

In fact Woestman (1995) of the Society for International Development challenged the school of thought that views economic development as an end to human development rather than a means to human development as “narrow and distorted”. His position is echoed in the ongoing clash in the discourses of development theorists. I agree with Singer’s (1965) early and revolutionary definition of development, which does not only mean economic growth, but growth plus change which according to him, is “social and cultural as well as economic, qualitative as well as quantitative”.

The new independent countries’ belief in education as the means to development is seen in the heavy investment they made in educating their fellow citizens. Like development, education means different things to different people. For the policy makers, the heavy investment in education was part of the country’s strategic political and economic plan (Sylla, 1977). For the common Ivorian, education was seen in economic terms, as a means for acquiring material wealth (Sylla, 1977).

Ivorian government choice in that type of investment paid off at least for a while at different levels. Politically, newly independent countries have been able to survive the transition from colonial status to self-government and also attempt to participate in the international
arena because they have been able to produce “intellectuals” to replace expatriates at all levels (World Bank, 1980). At individual levels, especially for the poor, education “held some promise of social advancement and gave its recipients the unrealistic hope of rising up the social ladder” (Bacchus, 1988).

In West Africa, it was not uncommon for the sons and even daughters of poor farmers to gain elite status, both in the social and political sphere through education (Foster, 1965, Peil, 1977). Education also allowed the elite to consolidate their position of power and patronage since they were much more in the position to send their children to better schools and even to foreign schools. The result was the creation of a social structure in which upward mobility is more difficult for children of poor families who do not have access to the same education (Foster, 1995).

Nevertheless, a growing body of literature suggests that education as a tool for development, can contribute to social inequity. Education can also create a social divide, where one group does well and advances and another group does not do well (Gnagne, 1996).

b. Successive stages of development

Development, according to the development economists of the fifties and sixties, was mainly measured in terms of economic growth and
structural changes. According to those economists the only road to
development passed through a serious increase in savings and
investment. Countries had to focus on rapid industrialization at the
expense of agriculture, and rural development and consequently at the
expense of the largest part of the population who are not educated and
who live in the rural areas. This view of development in the 50's and the
60's did not take into account increasing poverty, the unemployment of
the people who were not educated, and the ever-widening gap between
the rich and the poor.

Development as modernization was an economic view dominated
by historian economist W. W. W. Rostow's linear stage growth model and
Harold Domar's growth model. They viewed development as a series of
successive stages through which each country must pass. Their school of
thought also supported the belief that only investment and savings,
along with foreign aid, could take the poor traditional society to the stage
and category where developed countries belong. According to Rostow, the
successive stages of economic growth are as follows:

(1) First stage or the traditional society is a society whose
structure is developed within limited production functions. It is a society
in which clans play an important role in social organization. It is a
society within which upward mobility is almost impossible as the value
system is accepting of fatality.
Second stage of growth is the precondition for take off. This is the stage where traditional societies transform themselves in such a way that they can exploit the fruit of modern science. These societies undergo a change in mentality that makes them understand and believe in the possibility of more modernization.

Third stage of growth is the take off stage. At this stage of development, Rostow suggests, the old blocks of resistance to steady growth are finally overcome. Savings and income increase, new industries develop and expand, new agricultural techniques are used, and a new class of entrepreneurs surges.

Rostow’s doctrine supports the fact that countries that were able to save 15 to 20 per cent of their GNPs could grow faster than the ones who saved less (Todaro, 1989).

Fourth stage of growth is the stage of maturity. This stage, according to Rostow, is when a growth in investment and national income occurs. Local economies place themselves at the international level with a steady creation of new industries or improvement of the existing industries to make themselves competitive.

Fifth and final stage or the age of high-mass consumption. This is the stage where a rise in incomes is witnessed. These societies have gone through economic changes and have gotten command over consumption, beyond basic food, shelter and clothing. Societies who
have successfully gone through these different stages of development should reach a level of “technological maturity”.

Harrold-Domar supports the theory that development is simply a matter of an increase in a country’s savings and new investment. According to him, a developing country must “save a certain proportion of its national income, and add new investments to its stocks” (Todaro, 1989). The linear stage of growth theory lacked some sense of reality in the sense that it seems unlikely for any society to go through those stages in a linear manner.

Development as modernization, with its accelerated growth strategies based on maximizing GNP, has failed either to redistribute income or to solve the problems of third world poverty and unemployment. The financial benefit has not trickled down to the masses (Moser, 1995). Evidence suggests that savings and investment alone, although necessary, are not sufficient conditions for rapid economic growth.

The critics of Domar’s growth model fear the repeat of the Marshall Plan, which although successful in Europe in its time can not be expected to yield the same result since the population targeted for modernization is different, and has different characteristics. They rightly maintain that it was a fallacy to compare the old countries of Europe with newly independent countries, for these countries are different in
nature and structure. The first had some economic structure in place that allowed them to better use the resources given to them to rebuild their economy. The latter are agrarian societies with no viable or rather no comparable economic structures. European solutions cannot be viable for third world countries’ problems (Banuri, 1990).

Development through saving, investment and increase of GNP was a traditional meaning of development has been echoed decades later by many economists. According to Todaro (1989), it is the ability for a country to generate and sustain an annual increase in the GNP at rates of five to seven percent or more. What they did not take into consideration, especially for those newly independent countries, is that an increase in and maintenance of a country’s annual GNP does not always translate into development. A country like Côte d’Ivoire, which was showing external signs of development, was labeled as developing.

Many researchers refute the idea that an increase in or maintenance of per capita GNP is a sign of development. When a comparison is made between Côte d’Ivoire and Cuba for example using elements that matter in the definition of development of a society, one realizes that Côte d’Ivoire is lagging behind Cuba even though both countries are the same size and have almost the same growth rate. The comparison also shows that both countries put their development effort into different things.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of comparison</th>
<th>Côte d’Ivoire</th>
<th>Cuba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>16,393,291</td>
<td>11,184,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population growth</td>
<td>2.51%</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth rate</td>
<td>40.38 births per 1,000</td>
<td>12.36 births per 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death rate</td>
<td>16.65 deaths per 1,000</td>
<td>7.33 deaths per 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality</td>
<td>93.65 deaths /1000</td>
<td>7.39 deaths /1000 live births</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fertility rate</td>
<td>5.7 children</td>
<td>1.6 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy female</td>
<td>46.33 years</td>
<td>78.94 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy male</td>
<td>43.58 years</td>
<td>74.02 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality rate</td>
<td>106 per 1000</td>
<td>19 per 1000 European standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate</td>
<td>48.5 %</td>
<td>95.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate male</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy rate female</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP real growth rate in 2000</td>
<td>-0.3% (due to recent political coup)</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt external in 2000</td>
<td>$ 13.9 billion</td>
<td>11.1 - 20 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reality is that the quality of life of the people matters more than the development strategies dictated by the outside. Looking at table 1, it is clear that the quality of life of Cubans is much better than that of Ivorians.

The understanding of development varied from country to country and even from individual to individual. The United Nations, the international monitor of poor countries' success or non-success bought into the idea that the increase and maintenance of a country’s GNP was a sign of development, therefore countries of the third world followed suit. The result was spectacular for some newly independent countries of the third world that started from ground zero. But two, three or four decades later, countries in the category of Côte d’Ivoire have yet to break the cycle of poverty. Their school systems keep producing unemployed graduates at high cost, young people are dropping out of school at every level, and the gap between the have and the have not is widening. For me, this is a clear sign that growth is not trickling down to the masses in need (Gnagne, 1996).

For a country like Côte d’Ivoire whose “success” has long been referred to as ‘the Ivorian miracle’, the miracle was true for only 20 percent of the population in urban areas. The poverty of urban and rural settings, the social stratification, the unemployment rate, the illiteracy rate at 51.5 percent, 60 percent for females and 43 percent for males
The late 60's and early 70's saw the emergence of the dual economy model, pioneered by Arthur Lewis (1954). This theory of development emphasized the patterns of structural changes. The difference between this theory and earlier ones was the fact that it opposed the traditional, overpopulated rural sector, with no productivity, to the modern sector which is urban, modern, has industries, and high productivity and assumes that the urban sector is likely to absorb the surplus of labor emanating from the rural areas. The rural areas in developing countries suffered for a long period of time from investment policy biases, which assumed that because rural areas were agricultural based, they were not worth the investment. This created a dual economy system in developing countries.

As a result, people living in the rural areas could not feel the benefits of development. Malnutrition, disease, poverty, ignorance, lack of economic incentive and opportunity are prevailing in the rural areas. This is in complete contradiction to the purpose of development as
understood with the declaration of the 60's as the decade for
development by the United Nations.

The dual economy theory has always ruled out agriculture as a
growth-promoting factor. But recent studies from the World Bank
(Shane, 1996), Martin & Mitra (1998), and Canning (1988) link the
agricultural sector to industrial sectors as growth promoting factors.
The dual economy theory is being challenged by recent studies of Arthur
This theory stipulated that the rural sector was not profitable. The only
profit that could emanate from the rural sector was labor for the urban
industrial and profitable sector. This theory has strongly influenced past
donors or loaners into supporting or not supporting investment in
agriculture. If the evidence is supported, we will be facing another
development mishap.

d. Development through increase in per capita income

Economists, like Harvard's Hollis Chenery (1975), saw development
in terms of per capita income, arguing that the development stage of a
country depends on that country's per capita income. The problem with
this theory is that it only favors larger countries that have the ability to
easily shift from agricultural production to industrial. For countries of
the developing world, these development theories and their
contradictions led to a sense of urgency and dissatisfaction, which in turn evolved into a more radical politically oriented movement with the emergence of dependence theory.

e. International dependence theory of development

The dependence theory is a radical stand in the theory of development. It has quickly gotten the support of third world radicals and political leaders because of the egalitarian objectives that it supports. Their adhesion to that movement stems from their disappointment over broken development promises. The failure of third world countries to catch up with the western countries, and the uneven international and domestic power relationship between the center and peripheries became issues for third world countries’ intellectuals and their supporters. Oddly enough, that surge in consciousness occurred in a period when third world countries were growing more and more dependent on the west and were also showing signs of their inability to repay the debts incurred from development loans.

The dependence model of development views third World countries as beset by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship to rich countries. They stipulated that development strategies were put into place by the west to exploit those who were
labeled underdeveloped. These radicals maintain that instead of helping third world countries to develop, countries of the west underdeveloped them, hence the continuous dependence of third World countries. They also denounce the fact that the rich countries intentionally exploit the poor countries. They have kept the poorer countries relatively poor through colonial exploitation and post-colonial unequal exchange, investment of capitals and expatriation of profits (Chambers, 1987, p. 37).

The west turns to countries of the third world only when they have an interest in mind. Their reaction has its foundation in “motives for international outreach” which according to Todaro (1989), are the propensity of rich countries to reach out to the rest of the world for primary products and raw materials, cheap labor and lucrative markets for their manufactured products. The consequences of this propensity are without doubt devastating the poor countries’ economies.

The literature on dependency theories supports the following points about the unbalanced economic and power relationship between the so-called first and third world countries:

1. The growth of the rich countries at the expense of the poor based on an unequal international power relationship.

2. The fact that 80 percent of the world’s income is only
enjoyed by the rich who grow richer and richer, while the largest part of the world population is left with the remaining 20 percent, and is growing poorer and poorer.

(3) The deterioration of trade.

(4) The harsh terms of foreign loans.

(5) The increasing burden of foreign debt.

(6) The exorbitant price, and selective nature of technological transfer.

(7) The barriers raised against world exports.

The dependence model grew a less radical wing that did not think that the rich countries were the only ones to be blamed for third world countries' underdevelopment. They attribute third world underdevelopment to "faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well meaning but often uninformed, biased and ethnocentric international expert advisers from assistance agencies and multinational donor organizations" (Chambers, 1987). Had third world countries not depended completely on the west, they would probably have been in a position to distinguish between which development strategy could work for them or not. Local politicians have to be blamed for mismanagement, wrong development choices and lack of incentives.
f. The dualistic development thesis.

This is a significant development theory for third world countries, especially African countries. This theory is applicable to the relationship between the center and the peripheries, as well as the urban and the rural areas, and the elite and the poor at the village level. It also explains the existence and persistence of increasing divergence between these groups. It encourages the coexistence of wealth alongside poverty, nourishes the ignoble attitude of superiority against inferiority, an ever-widening gap. The developed countries feel superior and continue to develop while the inferior countries continue their underdevelopment.

g. Marxist and social approaches to development as opposed to capitalism

West African countries are examples of countries who claimed to be socialist in ideologies but who bought into capitalist ideals by using it as a rapid development tool.

Capitalism according to Heibroner (1980) is “the driving need to extract capital from the productive activities of society”, and the misuse of surplus in detriment of others. The dependence of poor countries on the rich for economic and social survival is a natural consequence of capitalism, imperialism and monopoly according to Baran, Sweezy and Madgoff (1970). They support the Neo-Marxist theory of development,
which denounces the exploitative relationship between the rich center and the poor periphery, a relationship, which is sheer dominance. In that sense, the Neo-Marxists join hands with Dos Santos (1968), who from his experience in Latin America, believes that the poor have little chance of taking off in such an unbalanced relationship dominated by the rich. The choice of capitalism as a development tool, in my opinion, is an acknowledgment that a portion of the population will be overlooked because they do not have access to capital.

The supporters of capitalism as a development tool attribute the poor nations’ dependency status to a resignation and fatalism that continue to perpetuate their poverty and their habit of looking for outside help for their development. Some Marxists like Baran goes as far as refuting the theory of vicious circle being the reason for the lack of development. Baran and Sweezy (1970) believe that the reason for the lack of development of those countries has not always been caused by the center. They believe that the elite in poor countries is to blame. They contributed to the underdevelopment of their own countries by their “lack of entrepreneurship and administrative talent” and their propensity to look for outside help for the resolution of their economic problem.

This theory of development is echoed by the supporters of the neo-classic theory of development which stipulates that developing countries’ backwardness should be blamed on the heavy hand of the state,
corruption, inefficiency of their leaders’ lack of sound economic incentives.

4. Development theories and their meaning for African countries?
In light of the contradictions and conflicting theories that led to development mishaps for many countries of the third world, third world intellectuals urgently want to take the destiny of their countries into their own hands. This dissatisfaction is translated into political instability and coups. The truth is that their economies have reached a stagnation point. Some of these African countries have incurred an outstanding amount of debt that will have to be paid by generations to come. At birth, a child of a poor country today starts with a debt of $250,00 toward the rich countries (UNDP, 2001).

The problem is that at this point any solution from outside will create even bigger social problems. Economic adjustments imposed for repayment of debts do not take into account social consequences on poor countries. This is “double jeopardy”. Poor countries are faced with the dilemma of borrowing to repay debts and build their countries’ economy or not borrowing and perishing in poverty.

There is a pressing need to put things into perspective. This is where advocates of human rights and the fight against poverty come into the picture. From one decade to the other, the concern, response and
attitude toward development and its pre-conditions (among which education comes first have wavered and shifted in a dramatic way. The decade after WWII was the beginning of economic growth with little regard for social issues (Moser, 1995). The sixties corresponded to a development decade par excellence as designated by the United Nations. The goal was for development to shift away from the development of things to the development of the MAN. Unfortunately things did not always happen as predicted. As a result, signs of the failure of modernization theories were being felt in Third World countries. The seventies were known as a period of development but with less confidence. “Modernization theories with its accelerated growth strategies based on maximizing GNP have failed to either redistribute income or solve the problems of the Third World poverty and unemployment” (Moser, 1995).

Donors realized that development in poor countries was not uniform; therefore they encouraged the pursuit of social objectives (Faber & Seers, 1972; Faure, 1972). Help was flowing. Money was readily available to be borrowed, but was also mismanaged for some countries. Interests on loans grew and reached unmanageable proportions. The eighties were marked by a period of debt and disillusionment. A country like Côte d’Ivoire, seen as a model for development, owes the World Bank $592 millions, $74.9 of which is still unpaid. It also owes other
institutions 1,353 milliard of CFA, of which 61 million in installments is still unpaid and the interest is multiplying (Christian Dutheil de la Rochère, March 2-2001). The nineties will certainly be remembered as a decade of deregulation, democratization, disorder, dis-investment and decline (Uphoff, 1993).

Countries of the third world still need to continue their development efforts. Will they repeat the same mistakes in doing so? I think after all the successes and failures they have known and the difficulties they went through, development would not make sense if its objectives are not clearly redefined and backed up by policy choices that ensure a better distribution of the benefits of modernization and development.

The whole purpose of development should not be to develop things but to develop MAN. Human beings have basic needs: food, shelter, clothing, health and education. Any process of growth that does not lead to their fulfillment—or even worse, disrupts them—is a travesty of the idea of development. We are still at a stage where the most important concern of development is the level of satisfaction of basic needs for the poorest sections of the population in society, which can be as high as forty percent of the population. The primary purpose of economic growth should be to ensure the improvement of conditions of these groups. A growth process that benefits only the wealthiest minority, and maintains or even increases the disparity between and within countries is not development. IT IS EXPLOITATION.

The Cocoyoc Declaration of 1974.

Development for third world countries should be defined in clear terms. The simple things needed are food self sufficiency, food conservation and transformation methods, population control, access to
better health care, better irrigation methods, markets to sell products, mutual partnership with yesterday’s colonizers, the conservation of forests, communication among people through the development of roads infrastructures and communication with the rest of the world (Gnagne, Comps, 1996).

5. Concluding remarks

It is patronizing to declare that a country has no organization because its form of organization is different from the western norm. Westerners in their relationship with developing countries did not make an attempt to understand their history. This form of ignorance or the lack of interest and knowledge of the history of colonized countries by their colonizers have contributed to the economists’ categorization of these countries as underdeveloped, not developed and sometimes backward or even primitive.

C. Gender issues in individual and national development.

1. Introduction

While the woman in the developed world is fighting for gender equality, and equal treatment as her male counterpart, the woman in the third world has yet to be recognized as a human being. She has to be
paid some respect by policy makers, economists, and statisticians to be counted as an integral part of the development process of her country. The woman in the poor country wages the battle to be recognized on many fronts. One of her important struggles in life is the struggle to meet her basic needs and the ones of her family. This distinction is necessary when dealing with the issue of women and development, because it would be a disservice to those brave women of the developing world to be lumped into the same category. Women of the developed world deserve recognition for the unselfish role they played in getting the women of the least developed world the attention they deserve.

It took the United Nations declaration of the year 1970 as the international year for women, and the consecration of 1975-1985 as the decade for the advancement of women, to bring women to the attention of the world. This exposure was made possible thanks to the work of researchers and women anthropologists like Boserup (1970), who supported the idea that women were an untapped resource who could provide an economic contribution to development.

Unfortunately, because of long standing cultural, economic, and social biases, and also because their labor is mainly geared toward subsistence agriculture, women's work falls into the category of unpaid household work, not recognized as work even though it provides subsistence for their families, their communities and a billion people. A
1998 World Bank report on poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa confirmed that "African women perform about 90 percent of the work of processing food crops and providing household water and fuel wood, 80 percent of the work of food storage and transport from farm to the village, 90 percent of the work of hoeing and weeding, and 60 percent of the work of harvesting and marketing".

2. Women and development

The development efforts that started in the fifties were totally oblivious of women, their needs, their role, and their accomplishments. The reality is that no development can be complete without women. The consecration of a decade for their advancement is a tacit recognition that women were not present in the development picture. Although that exposure was supposed to mark the beginning of the "eradication of gender subordination and other forms of social and economic oppression" (Sen & Grown, 1987) especially in the developing world, feminist Peggy Anthrobus (1987), Boserup (1972), along with many other supporters of women's causes, think that women gained nothing in measurable acts beside publicity.

There are gender inequalities among women from different parts of the world. When women in third world countries were mentioned in development discourses it was only in a discriminatory manner, only for
the role they play in the reproductive area. Their accomplishments and hard work were eclipsed by the focus on the development of MEN.

3. Education, Women and development

‘Educate a man and you are educating an individual. Educate a woman and you are educating a nation’

A country with great disparity between girls and boys’ schooling is doomed to achieve a very low level of productivity. There is an undeniable link between women’s education and a country’s national development (World Bank, 1988; Hill, King, 1991). Educated women have fewer children. Their children tend to be in good health and are likely to be sent to school and succeed, thus breaking the cycle of poverty, poor health and malnutrition. These examples support the fact that the social return of women’s education is more important than that of a man with the same education and the same earnings (Harnett, Heneveld, 1993) and (UNICEF, 1992). As Panhwar (1996) puts it, educating women “enables a country to draw fully on all its human resources for development”.

Many developing countries understood that investing in women’s education is one of the best investments that any country can make, but in reality, there are still many countries, especially in the developing world, where women lag behind men in access to school, attainment and
opportunity. In rural areas, inequities and gender bias in the development process are still not questioned.

4. Gender bias and development

Women of the third world were missing from development discourse until research demonstrated that economic development would not be complete without their contribution. Because of the “patriarchy and male dominated economic systems throughout the world that perpetuate oppression against them, their situation has not changed according to feminist Peggy Antrobus (1987). Women’s plight after the economic crisis of the late nineteen seventies confirmed her concern. In fact women’s situation appeared to be worse in 1985 than before. Women from the developing world are triply disadvantaged:

(1) By belonging to rural areas

(2) By being the poorest of the poor and

(3) By simply being women.

Their “positionality” is not only their disadvantage. The treatment they receive from those who supposedly are helping them often stresses differences in treatment and discourse (Chambers, 1985. Gardner, 1998). This biased approach to development is exacerbated by the fact that women from poor countries are usually featured in programs for
health education, and family welfare but are forgotten in discourses that deal with economic development and institutional infrastructures.

Development in that sense exacerbates gender inequality. Women’s “positionality” is also what makes the difference between women in the First World and the Third World and their approach to Women and /in development.

Economic theorists did not help women integrate into the economic development process. By failing to understand them, they have contributed to their being marginalized. Women fall into the same category as non-wage workers in poor urban settings and rural areas whose contribution to any development effort is hardly mentioned or accounted for because it is unmeasured (Griffin and Sharma, 1995).

5. Women: multiple roles

The multiplicity of the roles of women has long played against them. Women are producers, mothers, wives, caretakers, caregivers, and keepers of tradition in their communities and heads of household. It has always been easy to categorize them only as wives, child bearers and to overlook the contribution they make to the development of their countries. In rural areas where all activities are agriculture based, and mostly performed by women, their efforts amount to nothing because they mainly are lumped into household consumption. For women to
claim a fair share of the outcomes of modernization they first have to fight to become the equal of men. Women’s second-class status started thousands years ago.

Even in the Bible, women were presented as subordinates to men, and the Lord’s purpose in creating a woman was to grant man companionship. It is said that God took a rib out of the man and created a woman. (Genesis 2-18; 2-21-22, Gardner, 1998). In ancient Nigerian tradition, a man was called “agbola” which means woman if he did not show any bravery (Achebe, 1984). In other cultures women who show bravery and overcome the division of labor by doing men’s work, are portrayed as MEN. Unfortunately, man has perpetuated women’s subordination to him in the image of God.

Chambers (1985) maintains that international and national help geared towards rural development followed the same male bias pattern. As he explains, local government staff, researchers and other rural visitors have always been male, and as such they establish contact with mostly men, female farmers are neglected.

6. Feminist approaches to women in the development process.

Global crises affect women as much as men and it is not conceivable to overlook the social, economic and cultural forces that continue to oppress women all over the world. Feminists think it is
important that new theories of development embrace feminism and start acknowledging gender differences in order to integrate women into the process of development. For them the simple fact of acknowledging that women are treated differently than men is a good step toward understanding the multiplicity of the roles they play. Women like men should have been targeted in all the different approaches to development in the past. On the contrary, they very people who were supposed to help them oppressed them.

What feminists in the First World find appalling is the gender division of labor in households, a division that accentuates the domination of men over women. As Mackintosh (1981) puts it: “it is the penetration of Western capitalism with its historical separation of production and reproduction that has resulted in such an artificial division and its ideological reinforcement”. The issue for African women, especially the ones in rural areas, is not so much a fight to become equal to the man. It is more about equal opportunity in education and access to development tools. Table 2 gives an overview of the numerous policies that were put into place to help third world women come out of poverty. The equity approach, which recognized women as active participants in the development process, was the original WID (Moser, 1995). The equity approach, however, stresses too strongly equality between men and women and in my humble opinion is like putting “la charrue avant les
boeufs” for many third world women, and their governments who did not truly understand that orientation. Their feeling is echoed in the following statement: taking ‘feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense’ (Bunch 1980:27).

The equity approach gave way to the anti-poverty approach whose purpose was to help women increase their productivity. At that time, observers realized that women’s poverty was not due so much to their subordination to men but to the global consequences of underdevelopment created by modernization, attempts to maximize countries’ GNP, and the failure of ‘trickle down’ benefit of earlier economic development plans (Buvinic, 1982, Moser, 1995). The 80s saw the efficiency approach, which according to Moser, is to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in development approaches to women.

Poor women are known to worry about immediate practical needs, which include food, water, shelter and the good health of their households. Having access to resources that could help them take care of those everyday needs, takes more planning from their governments and outside agencies. The following table sums up the different approaches to women in development.
Table 2: Different policy approaches to Third World Women development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origins</td>
<td>Earliest approach -residual model of social welfare under colonial administration modernization/accelerated growth economic development model</td>
<td>Original WID approach: -failure of modernization development policy -influence of Boserup and First World Feminists on Percy Amendment of UN Decade for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period most popular</td>
<td>1950-70; but still widely used</td>
<td>1975-85: attempts to adopt it during the Women's Decade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>To bring women in development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development</td>
<td>To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs for women met and roles recognized</td>
<td>To meet PGN in reproductive role, relating particularly to food and aid, malnutrition and family planning</td>
<td>To meet SGN in terms of triple role-directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on their productive role; non-challenging therefore widely popular especially with government and traditional NGO's</td>
<td>In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticized as western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To be continued on next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>Anti-poverty</th>
<th>Efficiency</th>
<th>Empowerment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second WID approach: -toned down equity because criticism -linked to redistribution with growth and basic needs</td>
<td>Third and now predominant WID approach: Deterioration of the world economy -policies of economic stabilization and adjustment rely on women’s economic contribution to development.</td>
<td>Most recent approach: -arose out failure of equity approach - Third World women feminist writing and grassroots organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period most popular</th>
<th>1970s onward: still limited popularity</th>
<th>Post- 1980s: now most popular approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>To ensure poor women increase their productivity: women’s poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment, not of subordination</th>
<th>To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: women’s economic participation seen as associated with equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs of women met and roles recognized</th>
<th>To meet PGN in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income-generating projects</th>
<th>To meet PGN in context of declining social services by relying on all roles of women and elasticity of women’s time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

To continue
On next page
| Comments | Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive role: reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level | Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day; most popular approach with both governments and multilateral agencies | Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women’s self reliance; largely unsupported by governments and agencies; avoidance of Western feminism criticism means slow, significant growth of -under financed voluntary organizations |

PGN= Practical gender need
SGN= Strategic gender need
D. Rural development

1. Introduction: why rural development?

Robert McNamara, in his foreword to the world development report of 1978 acknowledged that despite the development progress in some part of the world, there still are some 800 million individuals who are trapped in absolute poverty. Their condition of life as he says, is characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality, and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency. These 800 million individuals are found in the developing world and in rural areas. They are composed mostly of the most vulnerable members of society: women, children and the elderly.

Because of faulty development strategies, urban areas are being developed to the detriment of rural areas. The complexity of the issue at hand lies in the nature of the different definitions, and approaches to rural development. Rural development is a concept that contrary to development could not have been copied from the west observers say.

Poverty for rural people equals powerlessness and powerlessness is among the “clusters of disadvantages” that Chambers (1983) describes. In his definition of rural poverty, Chambers makes a distinction between poverty and disadvantages, which according to him, characterizes either
individuals or a community as a whole. He sees poverty as only one “cluster” of the disadvantages that plague rural people. Alongside poverty, he sees physical weakness, vulnerability, isolation and powerlessness. Poverty as he puts it goes unseen and when it is, it does not cover all the dimensions (Chambers, 1987).

The definition of rural development for the 80 percent of the population in rural areas is access to human basic needs: health care, clean drinking water and nutritious food if possible. Mothers watch powerlessly as their children die of easily curable diseases. Some children have never seen a doctor because their parents can not afford transportation to a city where all facilities are located and the cost of medical treatments.

A lot has been written about poverty, the nature of poverty, and the role that the outside world plays in contributing to the pauperization of the developing countries. Yet it would not be fair to think that the problems of rural development persist because of lack of international aid. Local governments have a naive understanding and approach to the subject of rural development as well as the outside. Both sides lack understanding of the dimension and probable causes of rural underdevelopment.
2. Rural development: a definition

There is often a negative relationship between education and economic development. Research has demonstrated that a little education can take you a long way. Isn’t this true for poor neighborhoods in rich countries too? The sign of success for anybody, especially someone of modest or poor background is to move up the social ladder. Moving up the social ladder sometimes requires moving away from one’s roots. This assumption is true for education and rural development.

Education in general educates rural children away from their rural background. Children of rural background are not always given a choice. The education they receive arms them with skills that are only marketable in urban settings. Once educated, youngsters have no other option than to move away to the city. This fact is echoed in Coombs (1968) report on the world crisis in education. According to him, educational systems are to blame for the demise of rural development and the relation of education to employment. He wrote: “Entire education systems from primary school through the university level were tightly geared to producing workers for the modern sectors of the economy, largely in the cities, whereas the great majority of workers for years to come would live out their lives in the traditional rural areas or the informal sector of urban economies”.

Unfortunately the imported educational systems were ill designed to prepare young people who would constitute this great majority of workers with the appropriate attitudes, knowledge, skills, and motivation to take the lead in modernizing their own rural communities and urban slum areas. The reality is that “Educational investments pay off only for the rural students willing to migrate to areas that offers higher paying jobs” (Fitzgerald, 1995).

Education provided in rural areas cannot be compared to education in urban areas. The education available to children in those areas has little relevance to their lives. When attempts have been made to gear education to the needs of the people in rural areas, it suffered from the fact that working in agriculture was and still is associated with inferior status. As a consequence, all improvements in education for developing countries have been associated with finding waged employment in urban settings.

The World Bank (1975) defined rural development as: “a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people; the rural poor. It involves extending the benefit of development to the poorest among those who seek livelihood in the rural areas”. Rural development is also defined as a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest
among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of development. The group includes small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless (The World Bank, 1975).

The strategy however is doomed to fail if there is no clear understanding and knowledge of the people involved. For Albert Hirshman (1970), the strategies for rural people include three options: exit, voice and loyalty.

Exit is a migration to a better place where the prospect of employment would be better, and for parents in the education of their children with the hope that they will move to better places where they could get good paying jobs. The traditionalists who critique the growth and equity theory of development support the exit theory. For them attempts at rural development, which result in keeping rural people in rural areas is "reactionary." "History tells us that the source of dynamism and hope for a higher standard of living for the poor is urbanization and industrialization" (Weaver, Jameson and Blue, 1979).

Voice is the second option. According to Hirsham (1970), this option is rare because it entails "organization, protest and collective negotiation or force". Rural people are known to lack the confidence to use these skills when it comes to dealing with the outside world.

The third option, which is seen as the most common strategy, is the loyalty option. Rural people tend to accommodate and work within the local society. Hirsham was not the only one who approached the
understanding of rural development through the options that rural people have.

Chambers, a pioneer in rural development issues, has also written about the exit option, but qualified it as risky because of the simple fact that "poor people abhor risks." According to him, they prefer familiar subsistence and security. What is real for some rural people in Africa and Côte d’Ivoire in particular, is that exit cannot be an option for the elderly. The young and healthy are encouraged to use that option. It used to be only male who were encouraged to leave, and the wives and children would wait until the man sent for the rest of his family. Nowadays girls and women are also encouraged to use the exit option in search of a better life.

Rural people are often neglected by their own local government and also prejudiced against by outsiders, who according to Chambers (1987), often view them as: "culpably improvident, lazy, fatalist, ignorant and stupid". This biased and prejudiced conception is translated by the way they attempt to help them, according to Chambers.

Outsiders’ center-periphery biases are reflected in the concentration of research, publication, training and extension on what is exotic rather than indigenous, mechanical rather than human, chemical rather than organic, and marketed rather than consumed, men rather than women, adults rather than children, the clean rather than the dirty.
the rich rather than the poor. Export crops such as rubber, tea, sisal, jute, palm oil, and cotton, coffee and cocoa carry prestige and are consequently promoted by researchers (Chambers, 1987). Anything that can help rural people take care of such basic needs as food is neglected. Agriculture is male dominated. Large farmers, well off small farmers, are generally the men of the house.

3. Causes of rural poverty

The main cause of rural poverty is quick modernization that did not take into account the needs of the rural population. Countries of the developing world had a naïve belief that the fruits of rapid development of the center would somehow trickle down on the peripheries. The reality is different. Urban areas have grown in detriment to rural areas. “Rural people are poor because of the lack of access to basic state provided commodities such as roads, transportation, water, electricity, health care and market places” (Baulch, 1996; More and Putzel, 1999).

Rural areas encounter difficulties of their own which are: scarcity of land/natural phenomenon (drought, rains, killer flies) population growth, lack of roads to transport goods to the market, sickness, and lack of financial means to acquire medical services. Rural people’s
traditional practices such as marriages, funerals and other celebrations have been regarded by many westerners as reasons for rural poverty.

4. Theory and different approaches to rural development

Rural development is seen as a fight against poverty. Poverty is explained in different ways. Negative social scientists explain poverty in social, economic and political terms while practitioners see poverty in terms of physical and economic terms. Political economists' theory of rural poverty is translated "in terms of economic forces, social relations, property rights and power". They see rural poverty as "a consequence of the processes that concentrate wealth and power", processes which are three-dimensional: internationally, internally and locally.

At the international level, rural poverty is blamed on colonization, the way the rich countries have exploited the poor countries during and after colonization through "unequal exchange and investment of capital and expatriation of profits".

At the internal level, blame is put on the choice of investment strategies by which industries and services are concentrated in the urban areas and also by the way the urban profits from the rural areas.

At the local level, rural poverty is blamed on the power and wealth of the very few: local elite, landowners, and merchants, the same who
usually profit from aid programs. Their theory supports the undeniable fact that the rich are bound to get richer while the poor will continue to stay poor.

Physical ecologists see rural poverty as the direct consequence of population burst, poor resource management, degradation of the environment and food shortage (Kanwar & Meyers, 1982). Their interpretation of rural underdevelopment is in terms of “physical, visible, technical and statistical commonsense”. Their theory supports the fact that rural poverty will not be curbed if the population of the third world maintains the growth rate they now have. The difference between this school of thought and the political economist is that little mind is paid to influencing parameters like “power, property, social relations and income distribution” (Chambers, 1985). Kurten, who is more on the political economist side, sees poverty as: “the socio-economic phenomenon where by the resources available to a society are used to satisfy the needs of the few while the many do not even have their basic needs met”.

The production-oriented approach to rural development is the delivery of modern and more effective packages of inputs and services related to agriculture. The flaw in this approach appears to be its failure to take into account the political economy of rural agricultural development, land distribution, power of local elite, and women’s access to land, credit, and training.
5. Education and rural development

Research has demonstrated that a little education has some positive consequences on farmers’ productivity. The quality of education received by children in developing countries has always been criticized for not being relevant to the masses in its content and form. Rural areas suffer from disparities in educational provision and consequently educational attainment. This disparity is due to the social inequities between urban and rural populations and between men and women.

The inequity is exacerbated by the fact that rural areas suffer from brain drainage to urban areas. The brain drainage that impedes rural development is not a new concept. When colonial governments along with Christian missions sought to develop technical and vocational education that would give trainees skills be useful in rural areas, they did not realize that they were setting a precedent. They started training beyond agriculture and provided trainees with skills, in the building of trades and other services. Once equipped with any kind of trade, life in rural areas became suddenly unattractive. Young people became migrants because their skills as “carpenters, masons and tailors” were more in demand in the towns than in impoverished rural areas. Thus what was thought to be the more practical training based approach to education turned out to be training for migration (Gould 1989: 1993).
This experience gives me ground to say that school cannot always be credited for contributing to rural development. It exposes children from rural background to the prestige of modern life, and modern trades. It carries some hope of social advancement. It makes the structures of social classes a permeable concept, giving the opportunity to children of non-educated, peasants parents the opportunity to find themselves next to the “middle of the top”, according to the late Ivorian anthropologist Niangoran Boa’s social stratification model (year unknown 19--).

E. Primary education in the developing world

1. Introduction

Education came along with colonization and missionaries. Like primary schools in other developing countries, the state has the sole authority to hire train, pay, promote, and assign teachers to different posts. The local communities show their commitment by building and maintaining classrooms.

Primary education represents the first years of schooling. It is by far the most important part of any student’s life, for it sets the foundation for the future of that child. Although it represents only a few years of schooling, it is still seen by many in the developing world, and by economists in terms of its productivity, an instrument for additional
productivity from workers and farmers. Studies have confirmed that a little education made a difference in the output of farmers and in industries (Metcalf, 1985; Lockheed, Jamison & Lau, 1980; Jamison & Lau, 1982 & 1984; Berry, 1980; Fuller, 1970, MIN, 1987).

Unfortunately, primary education has long been neglected to the advantage of secondary education because it was not cost effective and was not training young people for employment. Critics, however disagreed with this assumption after analyzing the cost effectiveness of secondary and higher education. In the developing world, after a few decades of heavy investments in secondary and higher education, critics agreed that the level of education that needed priority was the lower level (Psacharopoulos, 1985, Coclouch & Levin, 1993).

2. **Length of primary schooling in Côte d’Ivoire.**

The primary cycle is divided into three sub-cycles of two years each, the ‘cours préparatoires première année’, and ‘cours préparatoires deuxième année’; the ‘cours élémentaires première année’, and ‘cours préparatoires deuxième année’; the ‘cours moyens première année’ and the ‘cours moyens deuxième année’. At the end of the sixth year all students are required to take two academic examinations. The first one grants a diploma C.E.P.E. (Certificat d’Etudes Primaires et Elémentaires or Certificate for primary and elementary education).
The second exam is called ‘Concours d’ Entrée en Sixième’, a context that gives limited access to secondary education.

3. The goals of primary education

Education was described in some countries’ economic plan as “a means of acquiring material well being, social promotion and personal growth” (Sylla, 1992). After the independence era, the state in almost every developing country took over that responsibility by investing a lot of money in education driven by the positive economic rate of return they were sure to obtain. The state was and for most part is still in charge of training teachers, employing them and giving them to communities. The state also provided supplies like chalk and other office material. Parents participated by building schools and providing free housing especially for the schools in rural areas. For parents, educational expenses were not only limited to the building of schools, they were also in charge of buying books, uniforms, and other materials.

Although school at the primary level was and still is free for some countries, the expense that comes with schooling makes it an expensive enterprise for parents. The charges and the side expenses represent a financial burden for poor rural people. It is the element that can make a difference between sending and not sending a child to school.
According to the national education statistics, the goal of a country like Côte d'Ivoire is to reach 90 percent by the year 2000 and reach universal primary education by the year 2010. The hope is also for the 90 percent of the children who start primary education, have at least 60 percent finish the first cycle (MEN, 2000).

As Haller (1972) says, the primary school curriculum is unified throughout the country and is similar to that of many countries. The main subjects taught are reading, writing, arithmetic, history and religion for religious schools. The curriculum is very academic, very classical in nature and not applied. In countries like Côte d'Ivoire, it is a copy of what is taught in French schools, and not adapted to the children of the masses. The teaching methods are geared to “rote memorization” and the teacher is never involved in the curriculum development.

As in every developing country, there was a disparity of means between the schools in the rural areas and the ones in urban settings. The better teachers are offered teaching posts in and around big cities while the not so good are the ones who are sent to rural areas where the need for better teachers is acute (Coombs, 1985).

In 1997, teachers, administrators, and education professionals realized the urgency to review elementary education because of the reality that elementary school will prepare students for a world that is different from the present one (Reinharzt & Beach, 1977). Primary education provides a
chance to escape being afflicted for life by the inability to read, write and compute.

Teachers in developing countries like Côte d'Ivoire are unfortunately not involved in the conception of the curriculum. They play the role of instructor more than teacher.

Few people anticipated the learning difficulties that African children would encounter in an education system that in no way reflects their reality. Nor did the teachers understand the necessity of basing their curriculum on the needs of the people and the society they live in. School did not only serve an academic purpose. In the sixties and seventies, it was presented as the ultimate way out for anybody, the means par excellence to learn about social order, good manners, and communication and exchange.

According to Touré (1981), school in a country like Côte d’Ivoire is a concept that poses the problem of selection of culture, because of the hidden assumption that the culture that is being penetrated has no value. Touré (1981), agrees with Furet and Ouzef (1972) to denounce the patronizing function of school as it penetrates some cultures. It is translated in the statement often used to make people understand the mission of school. “Si tu sais lire et écrire, tu es sauvé” (If you know how to read and write you are saved) (Touré, 1981). In the process of learning to become modern and European, the African children undergo a lot of
transformations. Some are very subtle, others blatant. The most devastating was the inner transformation, which occurred in the subtle way by which the school system brought children to be ashamed of their traditions. No effort has been made to recognize the school that African society has, the school is made up of initiation societies, and which takes over individual families upbringing without ever contradicting them (Touré, 1981).

4. Social demand for primary education

Decision-making regarding investment in primary education is strongly influenced by different schools of thought. The most significant of them is manpower planning. This approach to educational planning eclipsed the complicated approaches to educational planning. At the time of independence of most African countries, approaches to educational planning and investment were influenced by the advice of “manpower planners” who, according to Coombs (1985), drew their experience from Western Industrial societies and applied it to developing countries with no similar conditions and structure.

The farther away from the cities, the scarcer the resources become. “Rural areas not only get the poorest teachers but also have a high proportion of poor children with the weakest family support. The children who need the best teachers are the last ones to get them. To make
matters worse, rural children in tribal and ethnic areas have to cope with an utterly unfamiliar foreign medium of instruction” (Coombs, 1985)

5. Reasons for the non-effectiveness of primary education.

The purpose of the curriculum for children of Côte d’Ivoire and many other French colonies like Senegal was to help the children learn to become modern in the image of the French (Munford, 1970). It carried no relevancy to the needs of young African children. Children were taught about a foreign culture that did not reflect their reality. The inadequacy is seen in the inability of most schooled children to follow instructions and in the of dropout rate of children whose interests have been ignored by the teaching materials and methods. Conclusions were quickly drawn and children were quick to be labeled “not fit for the French school” and driven to expulsion, when outside interactions with peers did not show signs of inadequacy to reason or comprehend things (Seck, 1993).

6. Cost effectiveness of primary schooling?

In the developing countries, secondary and higher education grew at the expenses of primary education during the three or four decades following independence. This growth was both in enrollment and expenditures, and was seen by many observers as a disservice to the youngsters of those countries. Primary schooling was known to be the
most profitable form of educational investment for the developing world. This was translated into a rapid expansion in the first and second decade after the independence (Harrison & Myers, 1960; UNESCO, 1972).

Unfortunately that rapid expansion was more quantitative than qualitative. According to international critics, the quality of education was overlooked. This orientation was understandable for young African leaders, meeting in Addis Ababa in 1960, when the most pressing issue was to reach Universal Primary Education by the year 1980. They were driven by a fierce determination to reach a certain level of economic growth, improving the per capita income of their people, reaching an equitable level of income distribution among their citizens and bringing political stability by encouraging their citizens to participate in the life of the country. It was certain that reaching such a goal would be impossible without education.

Giving all their young citizens the opportunity to be educated was not only their way of achieving their ambitious political goals but also a way for them to help their peoples grow beyond their economic, cultural and ethnic differences and become a nation (Foster, 1979).

The March 1999 Jomtien conference in Thailand examined issues related to education in some parts of the world. Universal primary education was among the six issues discussed during that conference. Universal primary education has not been attained as planned by African
presidents when they met in 1960 in Addis Ababa. In Côte d’Ivoire, the
year 2010 is the new deadline to bring at least 60 percent of school aged
children to Universal Primary education.

F. School based cooperatives in Côte d’Ivoire

1. Definition of terms

Throughout this paper, the term "cooperatives" will express the
idea of school-based cooperatives, or school based organizations.
In the French language, the expression "copérative scolaire" is
understood in its simplest meaning, which entails a cooperation among
students of the same school for different purposes. Confusion might
come from the English meaning, which implies a partnership between
many school districts, for pedagogical and curriculum purposes.

2. Introduction

Because of the specificity of the subject, and the lack of literature
informing it, I will depend on informal one on one interviews with staff
from the direction de la ‘coopérative scolaire’ in Abidjan Côte d’Ivoire.
The Direction of the school cooperatives was in charge of overseeing the
activities of school-based cooperatives in Côte d’Ivoire.
The idea of school cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire originated in the sixties and the seventies, two decades characterized by an extensive school expansion and development effort. Entrepreneurship that was very popular in every high school, especially in urban areas, died away only to persist in the primary sector in rural areas.

This paper will examine school-based cooperatives, as we understand it in French at the primary school level.

3. Origins of school-based cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire

There is nothing written or published about school cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire. The information and documentation that I relied on was gathered through informal interviews and discussions with staff of “Direction de l' extra scolaire et de l' animation des cooperatives”, which could be translated into “Direction of extra curricular and animation of cooperatives”.

According to their files, the idea of cooperatives was born among adult producers and consumers in France during the industrial revolution in the 19th century. The younger version of cooperatives is said to have started around 1881 in a school in Paris. It was in fact an association of children working together with the objective of putting money together for saving purposes. The idea then evolved into another movement, the creation of a nationwide office called "Office Central de la
Coopération à l’Ecole: OCCE’ (Central Office for the Cooperation in School), which still supervises all school based cooperatives in France. The mastermind behind the concept of cooperatives was Inspector Barthélemy Profit, who in 1948 defined the doctrine of cooperatives during the first congress on the subject that he called in Tours, France. In Côte d’Ivoire, school cooperatives came along with French colonization. The rationale behind the launching of the program was to reduce the cost of schooling Ivorian children. The colonizers thought it would be a good idea to use the numerous production opportunities that the country offered to grow food that would be used for two purposes. The first one was to sell in order to make a profit. The second was to feed the students with nutritionally balanced meals, and prevent them from being hungry, because they could not make the trip back and forth to their homes, which were too far away from schools.

The cooperative activities were an integral part of the curriculum, but were considered more as chores than acts of free cooperation. In addition, the teachers reinforced the idea of chores by the way they used their authority to make the students perform those tasks. Nevertheless, three pioneer school districts embraced the concept in a more positive manner, and elevated it beyond the concept of chores.

School cooperatives survived the end of colonialism and were pursued to evolve into the following:
(1) The creation of school canteens, in 1961, to boost the nutrition of students and ensure that no one goes completely hungry and that everyone has at least one well balanced meal a day, what the colonizers did not trust their illiterate parents to be able to provide.

(2) The creation of the ‘Office Central de la Coopération à l’école Primaire (the central office of cooperation in primary schools) in 1963.

(3) The creation of the first official school based cooperative in October 1964 in the public primary school Delair in Abidjan.

The Ministry of Primary Education, in an effort to coordinate school cooperatives' activities, passed guidelines for the creation and acceptance of any organized cooperative in the department. The objectives were stated as below:

(1) To develop in the child a sense of solidarity and mutual help.

(2) To tighten the link between the family circle and the school.

(3) To favor collective activities at a physical, cultural, moral, civic and social level.

(4) To work towards an harmonious insertion into real life of students non admitted into secondary education.

(5) To develop, entertain and improve all activities geared toward agricultural and arts productions, the school canteens, museums, libraries, supplies, sporting events and games supplies, and to purchase audio/visual material etc.
(6) To take care of the school building and its environment by keeping it clean and comfortable.

(7) To organize inter-cooperative competitions, feasts, exhibits, field trips and exchange programs.

(8) To encourage sports.

(9) To take part in activities organized by cooperative unions.

4. Functions of the school based cooperatives

After four decades of independence and schooling, no one could deny the inadequacy of the knowledge imparted to the children in the European centered primary schools. For policy makers, the cooperatives were probably seen as the first step in an apprenticeship, a possible solution to rising youth unemployment. Unfortunately, profit making became the only goal.

5. Activities of school based cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire

As a covert call to incite the young people who dropped out of school to return to the land, all activities encouraged by the cooperatives are agriculture oriented, animal breeding and commercial activities. The agricultural activities are divided into cash and staple cropping.

The production varies from corn, cassava, yams, peanuts, bananas, pineapples, cocoa, coffee, palm-trees, and timber to cotton.
They also breed chicken, raise rabbits, sheep, snails, duck, fish, and bees for honey.

6. **Target population**

The children targeted for school-based cooperatives are disadvantaged children from rural areas, who should supposedly be interested in the cooperative activities. According to the information received school-based cooperatives have had little success in the urban areas. The reason is that the modern and educated parents living in the cities think that manual activities are demeaning, and take precious time away from the “real activities” which are supposed to be intellectual and academic. Educated parents assume that any manual activity is discriminatory, and cannot elevate their children to higher positions.

7. **Objectives of school-based cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire**

The school based cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire function on short term and long term objectives that can be classified as in the following categories:
a. Educational aspects

   i. Pedagogical aspects. Cooperative activities provide a unique opportunity for the African primary school teacher to teach in a non-traditional, non-threatening, and friendly way. It allows him to be a helper rather than a controller, someone who can be accessible to the kids. The idea is to improve dynamics between teachers and children and parents and teachers as well. It gives the opportunity to parents to be useful in something for which they have the expertise; manual work. School cooperatives also bridge the gap between the teacher, the almighty one who has the knowledge on the one side, and the powerless learners who need to be fed information on the other side. Cooperative activities also offer an opportunity for both teachers and learners to bridge the gap between theory and practice, a good way to experiment with what they learn in the classroom, and engage children in agricultural activities with a purpose.

   ii. Cognitive aspects. At a cognitive level, children are encouraged to let their creativity and imagination flow. They develop research skills and many other hidden talents that are rarely encouraged with the traditional curriculum. By putting their minds to work in a non-threatening atmosphere, even academically challenged and low achieving students feel motivated.
iii. Cultural aspects. Cooperative activities represent a unique chance to reinforce the Ivorian child’s cultural identity. The school, its environment and its culture have driven Ivorian children away from who they are, contributing to the loss of their cultural identity. Researchers, along with Seya (1988), agree that the failure of the school programs to promote the local culture is yet another shortcoming of the Ivorian system of education. Most parents are uneducated and see school as the ultimate culture to be pursued. It is a struggle to keep school aged children rooted in their culture and tradition. Changes are constantly being made to adapt the children to the western culture, but anything is seldom done to reverse the process, and adapt what is being brought to them through books to their cultural identity.

iv. Moral aspects. Children in school-based cooperatives learn how to become industrious and how to make important decisions concerning the management of the money they make. They learn values such as loyalty, honesty, solidarity, integrity, understanding, patience, camaraderie, teamwork and partnership, keys to survival. They cultivate a sense of responsibility. The commitment they make to themselves and the group reinforces those values.
b. Social and political objectives

For those children at the crossroads between traditional and modern life the apprenticeship to the political organization of each tribe is done through ceremonies and rituals (Touré, 1988). Children learn about group processes and are exposed to the group dynamics of any organization or group of individuals sharing the same interest. They learn how to conduct projects from start to completion and they learn to respect decisions made unanimously. They also learn the importance of individual input in any group decisions that can affect them as individuals. Without a doubt, these children are being prepared to participate in the social and political life of their society in transition.

c. Economic and short term objectives

The short term objectives of school cooperatives in Côte d' Ivoire are purely economic. Students are engaged in income generating activities. In times of scarcity, their earnings give them the capacity to intervene in their respective schools in such things as the maintenance of the physical environment and provision of materials and audiovisual equipment. According to the record of the office of school cooperatives, the profit made during the academic year 1991-1992 totals 80.658.101 in CFA and 87.986.374 CFA the year before. Of the 5302 schools in operation during the 1989-1990 academic year, 4,631 had cooperatives.
d. Long term objectives

The long-term objectives of school-based cooperatives are:

1. To create the spirit of self and mutual help.

2. To foster respect for the common thing.

3. To cultivate a sense of patriotism.

4. To promote education and learning for peace locally and at the international level.

5. To respect one's right and the right of the other.

6. To learn how to interact with other organizations.

7. To educate for peace, mutual comprehension and respect of opinions other than one's own.

8. To provide the participants with the essential tools to start a new productive experience out of school.

8. An analysis of the results.

The short-term economic results demonstrate that school-based cooperatives' activities are profitable. Unfortunately, the long-term objective, which is to provide the primary school dropout with the essential tools to start a new, productive life once out of school, is not pursued. It seems as if the enthusiasm that characterizes cooperative students dies out as soon as they leave school and are left on their own,
with no structured organizations. A primary school dropout goes into the real world ill prepared, helpless, and lacking self-confidence.

What was the purpose of the long hours that students spent toiling on farm activities, attending meetings, acquiring decision making skills, learning how to conceive and realize small but profitable projects? What happens to that spirit of “entrepreneurship” so well instilled in children and entertained in their cooperative years? It boils down to the uselessness of what the primary education prepares the Ivorian child for. With school-based cooperatives, the opportunity to do useful thing is available.

a. Political implications

The political goal of education is to redistribute the benefits of economic development in a more equitable manner (Thompson, 1981). This discourse is still present in campaign slogans of new political parties fighting to gain power. The reality is that rural dwellers have little or no access to economic benefits, because of the lack of organizations to represent them and voice their concerns. Uneducated citizens passively take whatever is handed down to them. Knowledge is power, and children coming out of school, no matter their level, have acquired the power of knowledge and a sense of political responsibility. They can educate their illiterate parents into understanding how the country is
run and help them gain a little power by being full participants in any decision making process. But, what good is the voice of someone who is poverty-stricken and cannot meet his/her basic needs?

b. Economic implications

The short-term economic implications are spectacular. The long-term economic implications are not clear-cut. The children learn about money, learn how to make a living, and learn how to provide for their schools. Once out of school there is no structure for follow up. These once industrious children do not seem to know how to put this experience to work for them. Why can't the industrious spirit that animated them while they were experiencing work in the school cooperatives activities be beneficial to them once they leave school by choice or forced by circumstances?

The solutions reside beyond the scope of the village where the children rarely want to return if they fail to pursue their education beyond the primary cycle. If the village where they have their roots does not have any structure to welcome them, what does it say about the city where they all turn to? The already high rate of unemployment, prostitution, crime and delinquency of youngsters called 'les enfants de la rue' (the street children) is likely to increase. The primary school system that helped them entertain the hope of becoming citizens who
can participate in the development effort of their country fails them too. The school system is set up to produce unemployed graduates at every level, and the cost to produce those unemployed graduates is becoming higher and higher.

This is why the school to work transition is important. The idea of school to work transition in Côte d'Ivoire is not to copy what is being done in the model countries, since developing countries do not have the same financial power. Where big financial resources are used, developing countries have to be creative enough to use their human resources. School to work programs as conducted in some developed countries like Germany, Japan and the USA are not a new concept. These programs are adaptable to the needs of a developing country. Such programs involve industries, schools, parents and the whole community, and if well conducted, can be a very empowering process for all.

c. School/Industry partnership

In developed countries, school/business partnerships have always been used as a way to implement school to work transition and to make school programs more relevant to the workplace and ensure proper training and job provision for students by the local economy” (Burt, 1971., Burger and Lach 1994 ). With their grants, industries are the ones
who sustain and help communities reach the national objective that is to facilitate school to work transition for students.

d. School financial institutions’ partnership

Some cooperative participants have had the opportunity to work with a bank, a starting point towards a new definition of the relationship between the small farmers that they will be, and a financial institution. Their experience should serve as collateral for people who are traditionally denied even the smallest farmers’ loans because they had nothing to offer. Their experience represents a valuable asset, and should allow them to be eligible for credit with any commercial bank. They will be a new generation of people, unlike their parents, who “lacked the requisite guarantees that made them ineligible for credit” (Business America. Country Report Oct 12 1987. P.72).

Financial institutions can help a primary school leaver/dropout make a successful transition from school to real life.

Banks can lend them money to start any agro-industrial enterprise. By investing in them, banks will break the old cycle of only the elite having access to credit thus monopolizing all the sectors of the economy. Access to loans means an opportunity for common people to be full participants in the economy of the country, and enjoy the positive outcomes of development.
e. School health services partnership

Poor health, close and repeated pregnancies, malnourished children and women with precarious health, non vaccinated children, high infant death rate are the reasons why Côte d'Ivoire is classified as a poor country. The non-availability of primary care, poor nutritional practices, the ignorance of mothers, and the lack of hygiene contribute to high death tolls in children and elderly. The lack of health care agents can be remedied by using teachers. According to UNICEF (1988), there are still at least five times as many teachers as there are health workers in the developing world, and the formal education system is by far the broadest channel for the dissemination of knowledge. Teachers in rural communities should play the role of the "animateurs ruraux", the equivalent of community development officers.

Teachers can replace health professionals and teach children the basic things they need to know about health:

(1) The basics of good nutrition, (2) Breast feeding and, special feeding needs for children, (3) Family planning and birth spacing, population and birth control, (4) Safe motherhood, (5) Sanitation, hygiene, clean water, disease prevention, (6) Immunization, (7) What to do about common illnesses, diarrhea, cough and cold, (8) Preserve the environment (a new concept for modern African children) and
Equality that recognizes that girls and boys have the same abilities, potential, needs, and rights therefore deserve the same education, status and opportunities.

Health professionals can train teachers as trainers, and they in turn can train their pupils on location. Girls in school cooperatives, instead of being clustered in the traditional feminine role of selling goods at the market, can be the link between traditional and modern practices of medicine. They in turn can educate their parents in their respective villages or communities.

f. School/parents/community partnership

Studies have shown that rural disadvantaged parents have always placed great faith in the school system to help their children get away from the difficult situation they live in and get white collar jobs. They will question neither the curriculum, nor the way their children are being taught. The reason for their passive attitude stems from their lack of education and lack of strategies to deal with their children's school lives" (Baker and Stevenson, 1986., Rehm and Reagor, 1993). As a consequence they have fewer contacts with schools.

Originally the rural communities in Côte d'Ivoire were valuable artisans in the expansion of schools. By building schools and providing free housing for the teachers, and sometimes a piece of land to grow their
food, they did offer incentives to keep teachers in their communities. All the government had to do was to send teachers. Their participation however has been very limited, as the burden/power to make any change in the children's lives has been left to the teachers.

If parents are involved in school life, not only will they be part of the decision making that impact their children's lives, but they might have opportunities to present their lives in a positive manner so that their children respect their opinions and what they do for a living. Parents' involvement in their children's extra curricular activities will open information lines and bring an understanding of issues like land distribution.

"Côte d'Ivoire is facing constraints on the availability of land" (Sahn, 1990), and has no open land reform. The issue long put aside by decision makers, is likely to explode down the line, especially now with the population growing, and the scarcity of job in the city. The Ivorian is now taking on more and more menial occupations that were left to immigrants from neighboring countries. There will come a time when the Ivorian will turn to land on his/her own, creating the difficulties of land ownership as experienced in India and Latin America with all the social difficulties it entails.

The community involved with its schools will have a better understanding of the need to have land available to the returning young
people. Community understanding and participation likely reverse the top-down decision making model and avoid government failures like the 1970's experimental program that sent 650 young farmers to the valley of Yamoussoukrou. An effective partnership will have the objective to make parents understand that their socio-economically disadvantaged position should not prevent them from getting involved in decision making about their children’s education and future. By getting involved, they will add value to their existence as agricultural workers, educate their children and help them make the transition between the classroom and the rural life.

Parents can also restore the cultural heritage that was destroyed in the name of civilization.

9. School based cooperatives of today, NGO and self help initiative tomorrow

After decades of uncontrolled borrowing, the Ivorian debt is very high and the priorities for policy makers have changed. The state can no longer be the sole provider. Some radical third world intellectuals think that now is the time to accept the fact that the state no longer exist, and that the state is each and everyone.

Self-help, self-organizations at the individual, local and community level, and current practices in traditional societies, will have to
re-surface. Coffee and cocoa for which Côte d'Ivoire was among the first world producers can no longer make up for the financial problems the country is facing. In simple words, the country no longer has the means for its politics. This is the time when every citizen should wonder what each citizen is able to do for his country, instead of what the country can do for its citizen. This is also when the late president’s desperate appeal to the Ivorian, aimed at changing their mentality and conception of work, matters.

"On peut servir son pays a n’importe quel poste et dans n’importe quelle position, pourvu qu’on y mette un peu de volonté"

Felix Houphouet Boigny

“You can serve your country at any level, in any position provided you put a little will”.

Felix Houphouet Boigny

The underlying message is that the country needs as many heads in the offices as it needs farmers in the fields, otherwise we will never win the battle of development (Gnagne, 1996).

“State institutions in least developed countries cannot manage as broad a range of functions as thought previously”. It is very important for the state to give the power and opportunity to emerging self help organizations like GROs and NGOs (Grass root organizations/non government organizations) to take over where the state institutions left.
The "development effort from below" can really promote economic and social development. It can also contribute to the democratization of the economy, society and policy according to Norman Uphoff (1993). Citizens should be empowered to take control, and be active influences in the decision making that affects their lives today, and will affect their children's future. "NGOs bring different advantages to our quest for poverty alleviation and multifaceted development" (Uphoff, 1993).

Collective actions have functioned for centuries at local level in third world countries. Before being overwhelmed and transformed by modern life, the primitive societies lived and survived through collective actions and organizations. People farmed together, harvested together, put their savings together and organized collective funds that they ran by age class.

Critics would argue that those collective organizations present uneven performance, but according to Upholf (1993) it is partly because the state performance displaces them. People should be trusted enough and given back the opportunity to be in charge of their own destiny.

There is a general movement towards democratization in third world countries now. It is no longer possible to return to the sixties where the state was the mighty state, in control of everything from a centralized location. It is high time the power was given to the people through opportunities for their collective actions to work for their benefit.
Times have changed, but the Ivorian mentality did not. For three decades or so, the state has been the sole provider for the Ivorian thought.

10. Conclusion

Côte d'Ivoire has 5,302 primary schools, of which 4,631 participate in cooperative activities. School cooperatives can help solve the problem of rural exodus. Because the activities performed by students require different types of expertise, not all teachers have the required expertise in agriculture, economy, marketing, health, etc. Teacher pre-service and in-service training is crucial. There is also a need for partnerships among the ministries involved in the provision of education, which are: the ministry of education, health, agriculture, economy, and the promotion of women. Putting into practice what is taught in school is the essence of teaching and learning. Education is no longer the government’s spending priority. This shift in priorities is being translated by its inability to invest in a much needed quality and practical education. It is also being translated in its inability to create jobs.

School cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire remain an untapped resource that can be used to resolve the crucial issues of unemployment, rural exodus and the insertion of young school drop outs into real life.
We must not powerlessly accept the waste of young hands that could be working to feed the cities as full participants in the development effort of the country. Should not the decision-makers encourage students to be active where they are forced to return to: the rural areas? Such a commitment would be a major step toward the resolution of unemployment issues in both rural and urban areas, and will affect positively the development of the country.

G. Vocational education

1. A definition and introduction

The Columbia Encyclopedia (2001) defines vocational education as a: “training designed to advance individuals’ proficiency in relation to their present or future occupations.” In simple terms, vocational education can be defined as the relevance of education that students bring to the workplace.

The theory on Vocational Education sees its aim as a means to improving a worker’s general culture as well as his/her technical training. Since academic education has always been criticized for its inability to arm the student with any usable skills, and for being a major contributor to unemployment, vocational education is an attempt to distance practical education from strictly academic education.
2. The birth of vocational education in the USA

Vocational education was an old European concept born before the industrial revolution in the form of home based apprenticeship. The literature suggests that even in Europe the concept evolved from manual training. In the United States it was pioneered by a few institutions around 1858 and became popular in 1866 with such institutions as Pratt Institute in 1887, Hampton Institute in 1868 and the Tuskegee Institute in 1881. Another element that triggered the development of vocational education at that time was the fact that school were becoming free and readily accessible to a good number of people; therefore the interest in home based apprenticeships was beginning to die down.

Observers think that vocational education in the modern United States came out of a spirit of competitiveness. The United States felt they were losing ground in the world market in relation to other industrialized countries such as Germany and Russia. Germany was known for its efficiency in training its youth and work force with the intention of making their education useful and relevant to their jobs. Russia was known for its leadership in space. According to Burt (1995), America as a nation had embarked on an all-out program to expand its scientific manpower in order to overtake Russia in the “space-age” competition.
Vocational education in the United States evolved over the years.

The following table gives an overview of some acts that changed the future of vocational education in the United States.

Table 3: A chronological order of a few important vocational education acts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>First Morill Act</td>
<td>Provide government funding for vocational education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>The Hatch Act</td>
<td>Network of agricultural experiment stations. Put education and agriculture together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Second Morill Act</td>
<td>Meet the unmet needs by previous institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Birth of Douglas commission</td>
<td>Launch elective industrial courses in elementary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Birth of Vocational school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Davis Bill</td>
<td>Improving agriculture and home economics training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Creation of state school Marine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>The Smith Lever Act</td>
<td>Establish the guidelines for Vocational education aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The Smith-Hughes Act</td>
<td>Provision of state funding for Vocational education and teacher training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The USA had the advantage of launching its vocational education after the Europeans, therefore learning from their mistakes. According to Kurt (1966), vocational teachers must be efficient on two fronts: they must know the trade and also must know how to teach it. In its quest for
a practical education to meet the country’s economic needs as well as the needs of the society, the government had to make sure it did not repeat European mistakes where vocational schools were segregated and the students felt like second class students.

3. Vocational education: the drawbacks

Vocational education was born out of legitimate concerns. Unfortunately the facts examined do not always play in its favor. Critics of vocational education insist on its discriminatory side, its ability to create two educational systems alongside each other. An example is Steinberg and Rosenstock’s (1993) account of the state of Massachusetts institutionalization of two separate curricula: “one to educate middle and upper level managers for the new industrial firms, and the other to train laborers and clerical workers.” The consequence of such acts was low status for vocational education.

Students involved in vocational education suffered from stereotyping. They were never believed to be as smart as academic students. They were constantly grouped with students who were not intelligent enough to go to college and likely to drop out. The good news is that vocational education has been able to successfully combine both academics and technology.
4. Vocational education in the developing world.

In developing countries, education was introduced as the ultimate means to economic development. Because the education imparted was imported from western countries, it lacked relevance to the children receiving it. This translated into massive unemployment and the education system was blamed for it. Studies of the educational system in developing countries like Ghana have proven that investment in vocational education as a remedy to unemployment was a fallacy (Foster, 1966).

Economic crises in developed countries caused unemployment to hit the ranks of educated university graduates and trickle down to the ranks of secondary school and post-secondary school youth, the discourse on the worthiness of long studies were legion. School systems were hard hit by blame from all directions. Industries were quick to explain their lack of job offerings by the fact that graduates did not receive adequate training to be employed. They contended that if school systems taught students practical things, maybe they could find employment. That need for practical training spurred the development of vocational education to prepare students for a productive life. The reality of unemployment did not prevent students and parents from having negative attitudes toward vocational education. The consequences are hard felt in developing countries too.
According to Graham-Brown (1991), developing countries did not only inherit education systems from their colonizers, but in some cases they also inherited a taste for a hierarchy of learning and skills. A diploma was favored over manual skills, and vocational training was accorded an inferior status, especially by the British (Coombs, 1985). This is unfortunately, what many third world countries duplicated by introducing a more relevant curriculum with agriculture and rural science. Vocational education did not interest pupils because it was thought to be a track for slow students. Non-rural subjects are still preferred by most pupils (Gould, 1993). The irony, as Foster (1966) says, is that in most of these countries, academic subjects are in practice ‘vocational’ since the preferred jobs are in white-collar urban occupations.

Critics of vocational education argue that it is a form of institutionalized discrimination that gives the school system a green light to track lower income students into vocational classes and away from academic courses, which could lead to white collar jobs. This social class bias translates into a lack of upward social movement for the poor. Once you are born poor you are bound to stay that way since you are denied the opportunity to rise above your social class. This tracking system was later supported by the introduction of the Stamford-Binet intelligence test that justified some students being put in the category of those who
would “work with their hands”. Vocational education discriminates against the poor by predicting the future of each individual child and the course that his or her life should take.

Literature affirms that the creation of vocational education in some African countries resulted in the establishment of a dual educational system, which provided standard schools and colleges for a minority of the population and basic education for the rest. This practice opened up ways to “institutionalize existing inequalities between social groups in the community”, and rob children from lower income classes of any hope of climbing the social ladder as education would permit. Critics are right; vocational education viewed from this angle goes against the principle of education and human rights, as it officially denies some human being the right to education.

5. Vocational education: a necessity

Vocational education is inevitable. The tendency now is towards the integration of academic and industrial skills to make education relevant to work (Bailey, 1998). Countries are multiplying their efforts to meet the demands of the new education. In France the plan is to make lifelong learning an opportunity for all. In developing countries, vocational education was born from the desire to curb unemployment among young people, high school dropouts. However, the term
unemployment should be used with caution when talking about
developing countries, as Coombs (1985) advises. According to him, the
concept of unemployment does not fit the economies of most developing
countries. In those countries, a relatively small proportion of the labor
force is employed for regular salaries and wages in the modern sector
and the bulk of labor is self-employed in agriculture and other small
scales enterprises or doing odd jobs for others (Coombs, 1985, p.183).

Unfortunately, in some developing countries, investments in
different stages of education are not always done in a rational manner
but rather according to trends and advice from foreign experts. The
heavy investments in vocational education did not yield the expected
results for the countries involved. Critics qualified that trend as a
planning mishap for its inefficiency and non-usefulness in the
measurement of economic growth (Foster, Pscharacopoulos and Gould,
1993). According to them it was neither worthwhile, nor cost-effective
from the standpoint of economic growth.

They join Coombs (1985), who almost a decade earlier in
evaluating vocational education programs made the following
observation.
The youths for whom these programs were meant either were not drawn to them or rated them as second choice far behind their preference for the prestigious long cycle of regular educational courses. Moreover, students emerging from vocational schools often ended up in jobs that made little or no use of their specialized training. For another thing, employers themselves complained that the costly technical and vocational schools offered obsolete regimens of instruction not suited to the current needs of business.

Coombs (1985).

On the one hand, the supporters of vocational education think that the education dispensed by the schools is hopelessly academic and not adapted to the children of the masses or other children for whom the pursuit of academics is not an option. On the other hand, the critics of vocational education in the developing world advocate for the spread of primary education instead, because they think it has a better return (Foster & Pscharapopoulou, 1993). They also contend that vocational education exacerbates rural exodus. Rural youth prefer to move toward bigger environments where they can exchange their skills for decent pay in comparison to the rural areas where such prospect is remote.

Another encouraging feature of vocational education is the fact that it has successfully been used in some developing countries, where the literacy rate for women has been low, as a gender planning device for gender integration in the country's economic development (Nahleh, Lamis Abu, 1996).

Education that was once perceived “as holding the key to economic and social progress” (Coombs 1985), gained a tarnished image. In face of
rapid unemployment and rural exodus, it was clear that education was no longer serving its primary objective, which was to secure a job. Employers became more and more demanding about the quality of education offered and its correlation with “employable skills”.

Vocational education was then viewed as a more practical training based approach to education especially for the students who could not afford to continue on to secondary education. The objectives of vocational education (at least for developing countries) were originally to “provide trainees with skills that would be useful in rural areas. Among these skills were, carpenter, masons, tailors” (Graham-Brown, 1995).

Unfortunately people who are formed in vocational fields seek a job in non-vocational fields. In the USA, by 1990, people realized that “the job entrance rates of vocational school graduates were only marginally better than those graduating from the high school general track. Only 27% of all secondary students in the United States who were majoring in a technical area ever worked in a related field” (Steinberg & Rosenstock, 1995). Experience has revealed that in some countries “graduates of technical schools have shown no propensity of finding employment than graduate of standard secondary schools” (Gould, 1993. p 165). This situation fed the fuel of the critics of vocational education who maintained that it was a fallacy to invest so much money in those schools and obtain negative results. The reality is that for developing
countries, students are being taught agriculture in expensive foreign universities and are finding themselves not on the field where they can put to good use what they have learned but instead behind desks in offices doing administrative work.

It is a fact: vocational schools, as they mushroomed in the developing world, was not the panacea of a practical education after all.

6. Vocational education today: a new definition

Fortunately, vocational education in the developed world is regaining some well-deserved popularity. People have the tendency to lump vocational education with the school to work programs that will be discussed in the following chapter. STW takes the initiative a step further to accomplish what vocational education could not achieve.

STW should be understood as an effort “to combine, improve, and expand existing vocational programs and initiatives to meet the needs of young people in a more integrated and comprehensive manner”.

New students of vocational schools feel smart, confident and resent the low status accorded to vocational education, and the stereotyping they receive. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, students in the vocational wing of Cambridge comprehensive high school are confident in their ability to finish school, not drop out and go to college. For them it is wrong to predict a child’s future by labeling him “non-college bound”
(Steinberg & Rosernstock, 1995). For them there is a necessity for a redefinition of vocational education.

**H. Transition from school to work.**

1. **A definition and introduction**

   "School to work program is an education initiative that brings educators, students, business, and industry together to help young people progress smoothly from their classroom to their careers" (Ngeow, Karen Yeok-Hwa, 1998). According to her, there are three main components to a transition from school to work program:

   (1) School-based learning which occurs in the classroom and combines high academic standards with workplace skills.

   (2) Work-based learning, learning outside the classroom environment that takes place at jobs sites. Students gain work experience by developing skills and applying content knowledge in hands on, occupational settings, and activities.

   (3) The third component is counseling and job placement (secondary education and job placement) school-based and work-based learning.

   For a long time, educating children has been the sole responsibility of schools and teachers. There is hardly a school system that can claim success without a partnership between the school and the community in
2. Outcomes of school to work programs

Employment is the first outcome of any School to Work Program as conducted in the USA. According to Lowry (2000), School To Work programs are intended to help youth develop the skills and attitudes they need to find employment. In light of studies conducted in some localities in the USA, there are reasons to believe that “School to Work Programs” are gaining some popularity because of their positive results. With a retention rate up to 97 percent in high school, and 84 percent of the vocationally trained students being placed in jobs in spite of the depressed economies of the localities studied, it is fair to say that School to Work programs are yielding the results expected (STW and Workforce Development, Resource Bulletin, Jan 1997).

3. Why are school-to-work programs necessary?

Establishing a school to work transition program is a necessity nowadays. Any country that is concerned about its future should worry about its workforce. The work force of tomorrow is found in those groups of youth who are not finding satisfaction in schooling today. Lowry (2000) and Meredith (2000) take that concern a step further by stressing the
fundamental reasons why a country like the USA needs such a program. According to them, the population that is losing interest in school and contributing to exacerbate unemployment problems in the USA represents the US workforce of the future. Among them are women, minorities and immigrants. According to statistical predictions, these people will make up 80 percent of the US workforce by the year 2000; therefore it will be a mistake not to make sure that they are trained today.

Unfortunately STW (School-To-Work) programs are not sufficient by themselves to solve the problems of unemployed youth. For some youngsters, unemployment is not an isolated problem. Their social conditions influence the success or the failure of the program they are involved in. Thus it is necessary to have other programs that take care of their basic needs. In the USA some school to work programs are geared toward taking care of the basic needs of students through: "legal help, housing services, health care, financial aid, employment assistance, career guidance, basic skills education, occupational training, language assistance, transportation and child care". These programs are necessary when dropping out of school and facing unemployment are not the only difficulties that youth encounter. Homelessness, drug abuse, broken homes and early parenting remain sad realities for many.

The legitimate and important role of schooling, according to
Halperin (1994), is to prepare all students, including the college-bound, to earn a living. He thinks that the growing unemployment among youngsters can be explained by the fact that they are poorly informed about occupations, by the lack of a formal system to match workers with employers and the fact that school overemphasizes academic learning while employers seek workers with readily usable skills.

Some observers would argue that the inadequacy of education given to young people now is not the only reason why unemployment is high. Young people come out of school sometimes ill prepared for the real world as they have not received adequate information about work that will help them make informed decisions about what they want to do.

4. **How are School-To-Work programs conducted?**

Transition from school to work is done in partnerships among businesses, education, government, labor and communities. Some of these programs start as early as kindergarten, and are geared toward providing academic and occupational experiences to students from their earliest school years. That exposure gives them the opportunity to learn work based competencies so that when they enter the working world or post-secondary education they are aware, and prepared.
5. What is a comprehensive STW system?

Transitions from school to work programs in different states have similar components. They include:

(1) Individualized career/academic plan/through networking of partners/career strategies designed from elementary through post secondary education/progress will be monitored/teachers will be trained in integrating career and academic activities using technology within their respective grades. Teachers will be the primary designers of integrated curricula that cross partnership and district boundaries.

(2) Skills developed/ project starting at the awareness level in elementary grades: Decision making skills/analytical skills/commitment to life long planning and learning sub-goals.

(3) To integrate school to career concepts and curricula into existing elementary and middle school programs leading into the high school career path.

The problem of transition from school to work is not only a poor country’s issue. While the dropout rate in some developing countries is an issue with children at a lower level, in developed countries the national concern is at the high school level. As Becker (1974) wrote on the role of education “individuals use experience, such as their year of education to increase their workplace productivity. More or higher
quality schooling improves productivity and leads directly to improved earnings and a higher standard of material well-being”.

General education everywhere has been criticized by employers and industries for its inability to provide readily usable skills that will make learners attractive for the job market once they leave school. Supporters of general education do not see it that way. They boast about the ability of that type of education to produce learners who are able to “think about a great variety of topics, think across disciplines”. To support their conviction about the superiority of general education, they say that experience has shown that workers with general skills are at an advantage once laid off from their job because they have more general skills, which make them likely to move to new occupations with less trouble. Contrary to the ones with only specific skills, who once laid-off have a harder time finding jobs because they need to be retrained. The implications for developing countries are that the opportunities for retraining might not exist.

Many reasons mitigate in favor of the necessity of a school to work program. One of the most successful programs of that kind, the Ohio experience establishes the following as the reasons why such program is needed. According to them it is:

(1) To improve academic performance, prepare future workers and integrate them into daily learning (K-12). The goal of such a program is to
benefit all the stakeholders: parents, students, teachers, counselors, school administrators, post secondary institutions, employers, labor organizations and community groups.

(2) School-based learning: high academic standard/integration of career awareness/exploration and guidance throughout the school experience/keep learning in the classroom focused on the contextual application of academic skills.

(3) Work-based learning: high quality work experience structured to link academic learning to workplace requirements and school curricula.

(4) Professional development: there is a need for a continuous professional development and training for teachers, counselors, administrators and other partners.

In the United States the program is started at a different grade level from one state to the other. The Los Angeles County Youth Development Partnership starts at the early stage of kindergarten in order to “provide the academic and occupational experiences for all students from their earliest school years to learn work based competencies so that at whatever level they enter the working world they will be aware, prepared, and possess the competencies to be successful in the career of their choice.”
6. How do businesses get involved?

The cooperation between industries/businesses and education has been applauded for its ability to improve the quality of education, "enrich, expand, equalize and make public education relevant for all concerned". That involvement, according to Burt (1971), is done either by request or on a voluntary basis in terms of "services, money, literature, supplies, etc". He categorizes the rationale for different cooperative activities between schools and industries/businesses as follows:

(1) Improvement of school management and administration
(2) Upgrading of professional staff
(3) Improvement of instructional programs
(4) Improvement of public relations
(5) Helping students

This cooperation encountered at times resistance and a negative attitude on behalf of educators. Many educators felt they would lose ground if they let industries interfere in their "areas of professional competence and responsibility", according to Burt. The consequence of this resentment is the undermining of efforts of industries in schools and a slowdown of invitations for industries to come to schools. According to Burt (1971), the distrust of school officials came from:

(1) Their lack of knowledge about industries.
(2) Their suspicion about industry's involvement in education
(3) Their jealousy of outsiders having a say in their area of expertise

(4) Their concern about industry taking over

(5) Their confusion about what programs would benefit their students and who would provide those programs

(6) Their insistence to see industry serve only in an advisory capacity

(7) The lack of coordination

(8) Their unwillingness to develop regional programs

(9) The fact that they know very little about industries

As for the industries, although their cooperation with educators can be frustrating, they have a lot to gain in that relationship. They are fulfilling a civic responsibility and enhancing their prestige among their peers. If they are driven by a philanthropic and altruistic desire to help youth, they are also serving their self interest by helping educators meet their needs and helping the schools provide qualified manpower (Burt, 1971).

7. Who finances STW programs?

The partnership with local businesses is beneficial to School to Work Programs nationwide at every level. On top of providing access to career opportunities, businesses provide the financial support that schools do not always have and which is much needed for the survival of these programs.
The United States government funds these programs through the Youth Opportunity Grants initiative. Private foundations are another source of revenue beside local businesses.

8. Parents’ involvement.

Parents’ involvement is one of the most important aspects of the program. School to work transition offers parents an expanded role. They can occasionally sit in the same classes with their children, which gives them food for thought and topics of discussion in their homes.

In developed countries parents’ involvement has become an expectation. Only disadvantaged parents have the tendency not to get involved, because they have difficulties negotiating school system complexities. (Rehm & Reagor (1993). In poor countries, rural disadvantaged parents fear contact with school. Any convocation to school to discuss their children’s work gives them the feeling that they are the one being questioned (Education Primaire en Côte d’Ivoire, 2000).

9. Conclusion

One advantage of parents and the community’s connection to schools is that it facilitates their children is “relationship with the real world”. They can supplement school counselors. Their role can spread
from mentoring, to multiplying the opportunities for job shadowing, to facilitating meetings. While school systems have the responsibility of educating the manpower of tomorrow, industries have the responsibility to make themselves useful in the communities where they prosper.
CHAPTER III

GIVING VOICE TO THE VOICELESS: THE IVORIANS SPEAK

A. Research methodology

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the attitudes of parents, teachers, students and school officials toward the potential of school based cooperatives as a vehicle to effectively prepare students for the transition from school to work. As such, the study explores the potential of school-based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development.

A primary goal as a researcher was to give voice to ordinary Ivorians who never take part in the decision making that influences their lives. This study uses a triangulation of three research methodologies. Qualitative research methodologies are utilized in this study along with in-depth interviews and a national survey.

2. Qualitative method

Qualitative research as a method of inquiry is flexible. It allows the researcher the possibility and latitude to explore and delve into areas of interest as they emerge throughout the research process. Data obtained through a qualitative method of inquiry are described as rich, full,

One drawback to this method, however, is that the analysis of data obtained through this process can be overwhelming and labor intensive (Miles, 1983).

3. Quantitative method

Because it deals with numbers, the quantitative method has the advantage of being precise. Data obtained through a quantitative process will be statistically significant, reliable and replicable (Bodgan & Biklen, 1992). Utilization of quantitative methods in this study has enabled me to overcome limitations of scale and finances to reach people from the diverse ethnic representation of Côte d'Ivoire.

One of the disadvantages of the quantitative method, however, is the fact that it could not give in-depth information on the phenomena explored in this investigation.

4. The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods

This study combines quantitative and qualitative methods. There is a growing body of research that acknowledges how “complex social phenomena can usefully be understood by looking at them both quantitatively and qualitatively” (Cronbach et Al, 1980; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Reichardt & Cook, 1974; Rossman & Wilson, 1992).
Research supports the fact that these two methodologies complement each other, and enhance the credibility of results (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Cook & Richard 1979; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Pelto & Pelto, 1978; Row, 1957; Sierra, 1973; Smith and Louis, 1982).

Another advantage of combining both methods is that it allows triangulation as described by Rossman and Wilson (1985); Webb et al., (1966) and Denzin (1970). Both methods can be used fruitfully for the sake of analysis corroboration, elaboration and initiation (Jick, 1979).

Available research contends that both methods are complementary. Rossman and Wilson (1985) suggest that: “quantitative techniques are the most appropriate source for corroborating findings initially noted from qualitative methods. Likewise, qualitative methods are best used to provide richness or detail to quantitative findings”.

5. Action research

This research can be categorized as action research. It was aimed at empowering the informants to gain control over their lives by understanding their difficulties and taking actions to improve their situation (Lather, 1988; Roman & Apple, 1990). This is significant because the research of Baker & Stevenson, (1986); Rehm and Reagor, (1993); Sewall and Shah, (1968) demonstrates that non-educated parents tend to play a more passive role in their children’s education. They trust
the educational system and the teachers to decide what is best for their children. Due to a variety of factors, they seldom question their children’s curriculum or the way knowledge is being imparted to them. This lack of questioning is often interpreted as lack of interest but in fact stems from the lack the knowledge to negotiate school systems complexities (Rehm & Reagor, 1993).

This study sought to enable participants to explore their attitudes and understanding about education for rural development. It also sought to measure the effectiveness of current schooling in preparing students for active participation in the life of the nation. This could also lead to demands for an educational system fit for a transition from school to life.

B. Site and Participants selection

This chapter explains in details how the site and participants were selected.

1. Site of the project

This project was a multi-sited research conducted in Abidjan, Bonoua and M’bahiakro in Côte d’Ivoire. Abidjan is the capital of Côte d’Ivoire and attracts Ivorians from all regions of the country. The choice of Abidjan provides a sample of the diversity of Ivorians without the researcher having to travel to different areas of the country. Bonoua was chosen as the main research site for many reasons, including its location
and characteristics. Bonoua is located about an hour’s drive from Abidjan and is therefore convenient for travel.

A goal of this study was to give voice to informants from both urban and rural areas. Bonoua was ideal because it has semi-urban and semi-rural characteristics. Bonoua is an agricultural community with a transformation industry. The “indigenous” make up more than 75 percent of the population. There are numerous primary schools, public and private secondary schools in Bonoua. It has a big pineapple agro-industry for which the raw material is produced and transformed on the site. This employment opportunity attracts a good number of agricultural workers from all over the country and from neighboring countries.

The choice of M’bahiaakro as the third site was very fortuitous. M’bahiaakro is located around 400 kilometers north of Abidjan. The main informants had decided to move to another city since they felt they had spent too much time in Bonoua. They wanted to be closer to their hometown in the hope of continuing their “on the side” activities to supplement their incomes for retirement. The choice of M’bahiaakro fulfilled that dream for them. A stack of surveys traveled with them to M’bahiaakro.
2. Access to site and Participants

Bonoua, the main site, was the workplace of Melanie and Romain, a husband and wife team who worked as teachers. Knowing them was an advantage for me because they facilitated my access to the site and the informants. They were both active members in the community of teachers and Christians. Their compound is strategically located between the school where they worked, and the town market. This location made their house a constant meeting place where people would drop in for a chat, a drink or serious meetings. They were a young couple in their early thirties, with an extended family. In addition to their two children, each spouse was responsible for at least one brother or half brother in the good African tradition. This extended family relationship made it easy for younger people to visit the compound for various reasons.

The couple was also responsible for other relatives in the village, a situation that was weighing on them financially. In order to supplement their income, they were running very small businesses on the side. These little businesses brought even more people to their compound. From her kitchen, Melanie sold milk products like toffee candies, yogurt preparations, ginger and “bissap” drinks. Romain ran a small farm of sheep and chickens. They also grew bananas, yams and cassava. Both spouses facilitated access to their friends by introducing me as a trusted friend living and studying in America. They also explained the purpose of
my visit. It was an honor for me to be invited to sit in their social meetings as an observer and to visit their friends, who facilitated access to the site.

Once these types of invitations were extended, I knew I had gained their trust and could count on them to take part in the study. Both spouses were used to pre-test the interview questions.

3. Field notes

Clearly, the civil servants who participated in the study needed to trust me. They needed to be reassured that the researcher's agenda would not get them into trouble. It was clear that they were not used to talking so candidly about their jobs. They were used to teaching, not talking. There was some uneasiness and surprise on the faces of the teachers when they were being interviewed. This uneasiness was quickly transformed into enthusiasm, as they felt empowered by being given a voice to talk about their jobs. The after school encounters and talks they had were not about teaching but mainly about economic issues.

Conversations revolved around financial responsibilities, such as doing work on the side to make ends meet. Only once did I encounter a personal difficulty. I observed the practices of a financial association that did not make sense to me. It was difficult for me to stay a silent observer and I called the hostess aside and explained that the association was
suspect. This involvement was limited to a piece of advice about a personal matter and did not influence the research in any way.

C. Data gathering process

1. Number of interviews conducted

Four pilot interviews were conducted on site, including an interview with one of the main informants, a primary schoolteacher. The other pilot interview was conducted with a student. That process allowed me to check the level of understanding for both the survey questions and the student interview. The final interview gauged age appropriateness and the students overall understanding of the questions. As a result of the last pilot interview, I was able to extend the surveys to young people in, out of school and unemployed.

Three hundred surveys were then distributed to young men and women at least 15 years of age or older in all the sites. The limitation of age was made on purpose. I assumed that any student who repeated any grade between the first and the sixth of the primary cycle could easily be at least 15, at which time they are either out of the system or trying to enter secondary school. It happened that most of the participants are above 15, but still unemployed with only a primary school education.
Table 4: Participants' age distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants' age</th>
<th>N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four in depth interviews were conducted with four parents, four teachers, four students and four school officials. A focus group was conducted with four participants, one member of each group. Because of age differences and respect the only student in the group hardly participated in the process.

Before traveling to Côte d'Ivoire I also conducted a pilot interview with a professional post doctorate from Senegal.

2. **Time on the site and length of the inquiry**

   I spent a month in Côte d'Ivoire for the purpose of data collection. I spent the first half of the stay in Abidjan and the second part in Bonoua. It took longer than a month for all the surveys to be collected.

3. **How did I decide when to observe and what to observe?**

   The two weeks I spent in Bonoua were profitable since I was introduced to the informants and spent time in informal settings with them. This relationship did build up some comfort, which allowed each individual to sit through the two hours of focus groups, listening to the tape and adding or correcting information when needed.

   Participants who agreed to take part in the study signed a consent form. Anonymity was promised to participants and was respected throughout the process. At no time was a name used during the
interviews, or during analysis or final results. Participants were assigned numbers and letters.

The pool of informants included students, parents, teachers and school officials. The goal of having a gender balance pool was almost reached with the exception of the school officials. This reflects the national reality that some professions are still male dominated.

4. Logistics

The study was conducted in Côte d'Ivoire, a French speaking country; therefore all the interviews were conducted in French. The results were also transcribed in French. I decided to translate from French into English only at the final stage since meaning was being lost in the early translation process. All interviews were taped and lasted approximately an hour and thirty minutes each. Data obtained was validated a few days after. "Member check" as described in the model of Lincoln and Guba (1988) was used for the following purposes:

(1) Assess informants intentionally.

(2) Give informants the “immediate opportunity to correct errors”.

(3) Give informants the opportunity to volunteer new information when needed.

(4) To clarify questions and their understanding and owning of the responses.
This procedure gave the participants the opportunity to verify the preliminary information they shared during the in depth interview and focus group process. Each informant listened to the taped conversation a day after the taping. It was an opportunity for them to react to their own realities and correct errors or add anything they felt was not properly articulated in the heat of the interviewing or even request to back out of the study at anytime. Fortunately, no one backed out of the study but a few of them agreed to put their corrections in writing.

D. Interpretation and analysis:

A grounded theory of analysis following the Glaser and Strauss (1967) model was used for this study. The steps in the model include:

1. Immersion into the data: the immersion was accomplished through the transcription process, listening to the tapes and the reading and re-reading of the transcripts.

2. Examination of the study’s objectives: the study’s objectives were examined through the questions outlined and identifying themes.

The primary questions for this study are:

1. What are the attitudes and understanding of parents, students, teachers and school officials toward rural development?

2. What are the attitudes and understanding of parents, students, teachers and school officials toward the introduction of school based
cooperatives as a model for the transition of primary school dropouts from school to real life?

(3) What skills, knowledge and competencies do students need to be successful in rural development?

(4) To what extent does the education provided by the existing schooling help children develop the knowledge, skills and competencies to effectively participate in rural development?

(5) Given the current economic situation and market conditions in Côte d'Ivoire, what expectations do parents have for their children after graduating from elementary school? What expectations do children have of themselves after graduating from elementary school?

(6) What are the attitudes of students and parents toward school based cooperatives designed to prepare students for participation in rural development?

(7) What are the attitudes of teachers toward participating in school based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development?

(8) What are the attitudes of school officials toward the development or implementation of school based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development?

Two secondary questions are also examined:

(1.1) What changes in teacher training will need to occur to effectively
implement school-based cooperatives for rural development?

(1.2) What changes in curriculum will need to occur to effectively implement school based cooperatives for rural development?

The analysis was preceded by: a labeling of topics and developing themes, a coding of each transcript and a study of the patterns that emerged from the transcripts.

With open-ended questions asked to each participant or group of participants it can be easy to lose sight of the study’s goals. Some issues that came up were purposely not pursued and could easily be subject for other researches. Conceptual frameworks and guided hypotheses that supported the inquiry were useful to keep the focus.

E. Limitation of the study

This study is about education in Côte d’Ivoire, a developing country in West Africa. It focuses on rural development as a possible way to alleviate unemployment and poverty. While the study focused on development problems linked to educational choice and priorities in Côte d’Ivoire, the results can be applicable to developing countries in the same category. A limiting factor is that educational needs differ from one country to the other and the findings of this specific study might not be applicable to any country which faces poverty, but whose development issues are different. Another limitation of the study stems from the focus
on only one part of the educational system. The study does not include educational policy at all levels of the educational system.

My inability to travel all over the country to give voice to a peasant from each of the 64 ethnic groups was a limitation. This study nevertheless opens the door to a rich arena for other researchers in the sense that people, teachers, and students will be getting used to the idea of giving their opinion on matters important to them. Although I have first hand experience on the issues, I still felt some uneasiness, because I could be labeled as "educated" and also because I no longer live the same experience on a daily basis. In some situations I felt devastated by a guilty feeling as an outsider who might have appeared to be someone who knew the solutions.

F. Conclusion

Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods revealed itself to be challenging but made the corroboration and elaboration easier.
CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOLING, SCHOOL BASED COOPERATIVES
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Introduction

Students dropping out of school at an early stage of their education cycle represent a serious problem in developed countries as well as developing and poor countries in Africa. A lot of hope has been put in education to bring economic and social changes to the lives of people who receive it. Unemployment has reached staggering proportions among young people and is exacerbating poverty, especially in the rural areas. Sound and practical education that leads to employment seems to be one of the solutions to this problem, especially for the lower classes and the poor. Schooling for rural development is viewed as an alternative solution to helping the transition from school to real life for these young people.

Before a country like Côte d’Ivoire launches a successful school to work transition program like some developing countries in Europe and America, it is important that all parties concerned (parents, students, teachers and decision makers) understand the necessity of such a program, allowing themselves to undergo a change of attitude in order to join in a collaborative effort, and tackle the issues at hand.
This study was designed to explore the understanding and attitudes toward schooling and rural development of parents, teachers, students and decision-makers. Parents have always had an impact on their children's educational and career aspirations. Although they are not educated for the most part, parents in rural areas in poor countries have been socialized to think that schooling and more schooling is the only way to achieve social and economic success in life. Their children are therefore conditioned by their aspirations.

Although some studies have been done on poverty and related issues in Africa, very little research addresses the crucial issues: parents' attitude and beliefs about the career choice and the education of their children. Children are the silent recipients of the education, thus it is important to give them a voice to understand how they think. Parents, especially poor parents in rural areas, are usually voiceless. Giving these ordinary people a forum to voice their opinions can broaden the basis from which to understand their attitudes and their way of thinking.

Several studies have examined the attitudes of parents toward schooling, work and vocational guidance. Rehm and Reagor (1993) conducted research on rural disadvantaged parents and their views on work and vocational guidance in regards to their children. Evans-Hairston (2000) conducted similar research on how parents influenced African American students to prepare for vocational teaching careers.
The findings of these studies are similar to that of Otto (1989) who found that parents serve as major influences in the lives their children, especially when it comes to career plans, occupational aspirations, and occupational expectations (Hines, 1997, Lee, 1984; Leong, 1995; Parham & Austin, 1994). Some themes that emerged from their studies inform the present study. They are: parents having limited knowledge of work opportunities for their children, parents being negative about their own job experience (Ogbu, 1979) therefore encouraging their children to stay in school in order to reach a better social status. Rehm and Reagor (1993) focused on poor parents in developed countries whereas this research examines a developing country. Their expectations of and their fears for their children are the same.

In 1998, The World Bank conducted research on the definition of poverty and its consequences, and has given a voice to poor people to define poverty in their own terms. The result revealed some of the attitudes of poor parents when it comes to their children’s education.

B. Participants’ understanding and attitude toward rural development

1. Parents’ attitude

Research has shown that education holds a lot of promise for the poor. Poor parents are willing to make a lot of sacrifices “including rationing food to reduce household expenses so that their children can
go to school” (World Bank, 1997). They make these sacrifices with a purpose: the underlying assumption and hope that their children will do well in school and get good jobs. Unfortunately for many, education has failed to deliver on this promise. As a result, doubt is cast on the usefulness of education to produce jobs and wealth.

Unemployment rates among graduates at all levels expose the government’s inability to offer jobs for the population. This awareness, however, does not change parents’ attitude about school in any dramatic way. It does not prevent them from encouraging their children to go to school and stay in school no matter the circumstances.

Despite the fact that schooling is not compulsory in Côte d’Ivoire, the parents involved in this study put an emphasis on the importance of schooling for their children. They all send their children to school regardless of gender. They do make a difference in gender because they think of their children as equal and deserving the same chances. Their responses show that hope still remains that education will make a difference for their children despite the difficulties. The respondents send all their children to school for several specific reasons.

(1) They believe in equal opportunity for all sexes.

(2) They are afraid that if they don’t their children will know the same difficulties they have known.
They believe that schooling will bring a better life and teach their children to be self-sufficient.

While all parents in this study want both boys and girls to have the benefit of educational opportunity, and hope that education will bring a better life for them, they are still afraid to face the possible consequences of not sending their children to school. There was nevertheless a difference in understanding of the goals of education between the rural and urban parent. The attitude toward school as an investment was reinforced by rural parents. While the parents in the city want their children to be self-sufficient, the parents in the village want their children to help them out of the extreme difficulty they are living in. Urban parents tended to have a future perspective while rural parents are focused on tangible benefits right now. Rural parents view school as an investment with a focus on children developing the resources to be able to help the parents out of the extreme difficulty that they are living in now. Urban parents, on the other hand want their children to be self-sufficient. They are more focused on the benefits of education and the changes it can bring to the lives of their children.

Both rural and urban parents have an expectation that schooling will produce “a future without worries of any kind.” When asked if they think their children will make a better living compared to them, one father replied:
“Every parent wishes that his offspring does better than them and surpasses them in every aspect. My children must make more money than I am making.”

There is nevertheless a divergence in attitude when it comes to the expectation that school equals success and wealth. Parents in town tended to be more realistic when they said that their children might not have a better future compared to them. This attitude is prompted by their awareness of the country’s gloomy economic situation.

Rural parents on the other hand had the firm belief that their children will have a better life than they. Although the prospect of new jobs is poor and despite the fact that numerous young people even with diplomas are still unemployed, parents in the rural areas exhibited some “beat” optimism as far as their children’s chances of finding employment in the city.

Some parents with more education adopted an attitude of optimism. These parents indicated that the lessons they learned from their own mistakes put them in the position to better advise their children and help them consider different options. When the parents were asked if they would encourage their children to return to the land if they encountered difficulties finding employment in the city, there was a divergence in opinion. For some parents it was an emphatic “no”. Others were willing to leave that decision making to their children.
Some parents transposed themselves to the future and saw an opportunity whereby their children will be competing at an international level. They believed that their children would be able to compete if they have the ability to transform the raw materials they produce. Their children should not be mere peasants but they should hire people to work for them. Others in a timid way showed a positive attitude toward the possibility of their children going back to the village. The latter group, however, raised the important issue of land “availability and its distribution”. These parents said: “yes our children will go back if there is land available for them to work on.”

2. Students’ attitude

A series of questions were included in both the survey as well as in the interviews to determine student attitudes toward schooling and rural development. One set of questions sought to discover their attitudes toward the policy of “return to the land”.

Table 5: Students’ attitudes toward a policy of “Return to the land”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Participants N= 133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would return to the land</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not return to land</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>71.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
95 young people out of the 133 who responded to the survey thought it was not a good idea. Only 21 saw it as a way out of the difficulties they were encountering in the city.

When it came to employment, a common theme appeared in the students' attitude. All of them wanted to seek and find office employment in an urban setting. They did not appear to be ignorant of the realities of employment in the city. They had different understandings and explanations of why everyone who goes to the city in search of employment does not always succeed. Some of their responses suggest their clear understanding that success comes with qualification.

Although the lack of diplomas was frequently cited as the reason why some people cannot secure employment in the city, some have suggested other reasons why finding an employment in the city could be a difficult endeavor for some.

Table 6: Reasons why some young people cannot secure employment in the city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No qualifications/Non qualified workforce/No diploma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government is not creating any more jobs /high unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic crisis that does not allow businesses to employ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No connection in the city/Lack of professional skills and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Their responses reflect a sense of reality. Another theme appeared when talking about employment. Both parents and their children believe that on top of the diplomas that schooling provides, family connections are important in helping to secure a job. For them, the ones who succeed in the city have a lot of diplomas or have connections and a good network. This attitude is not only true for the Ivorian child. In a World Bank (1988) research paper on the definition of poverty, the same feeling was echoed by the growing skepticism of Eastern European students: “school is no good if you don’t have any connection” (World Bank, 1988).

This attitude has negative consequences on young people’s perception of hard work. They are losing faith that hard work can be rewarding. This attitude is also perpetuating the idea that you need to know someone who will arrange things for you instead of relying on your own ability. One consequence of such an attitude is that it augments and supports the corruption that is both prevalent and highly criticized in many developing countries.

The students in this study explained the failure of people who did not make it to the city, with following reasons:

(1) Their lack of usable skills or qualifications
(2) The lack of diplomas
(3) The lack of employment opportunity and
(4) The lack of vocational training
Students in this study demonstrate a clear awareness that seldom do young people return to the rural areas, even when they have failed to secure a job in the city. It appears that even the chronic unemployed always keep the hope that they would find a hypothetical job someday, somehow, in the city. Survey participants are also aware that that among those who do not make it in the city, some turn to petty crimes in order to survive. Victor Kouassi Bogui (2000) identifies this group in Côte d'Ivoire as ‘les enfants de la rue’ ‘the children of the streets’ and defines them as children between the ages of 7 and 20 who live in public spaces like market place, bus stations, on the pavement in the streets. He portrays them as children who live on petty/odd jobs, and mostly from begging and racketing. The same groups of children are found in other parts of the African continent.

When asked what they would do if they found themselves in the position of those who went to the city in search of employment and did not find any, students had different reactions. On the one hand the young people who were still in school said they would return to the land if they found themselves in a position where they could not find useful employment in the city.

One student commented: “if I were in their position I would return to my village to work on the land because the government is encouraging
people to return to the land in order to stop rural exodus”. The ones who had that attitude thought that their parents would support them.

A contradiction was revealed when the same young people were asked if they would mind living in the village. There was some hesitation. Most of them acknowledged that they would not desire to live in the rural areas. For the ones who would consider life in the rural areas, Table 7 shows a few reasons that would encourage them to opt for such a life.

Table 7: Reasons why some students would opt to live in rural areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less chances of the spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow in my parent’s footsteps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes farmers are richer than people who work in offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work for themselves and be their own bosses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flee unemployment in the city/clean air/no pollution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The country’s economy is based on agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life in rural area in general /The way people get along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chances of not encountering gangsters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chances of cutting down on expenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The chances of not ending up as a delinquent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand those who were not in school would not even consider that option. They are the ones who think that you need a connection in order to be able to secure a job in town.

Table 8: Reasons why young people would not consider life in the rural areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor living conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor nutrition. Lack of organization in the rural area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of running water. Lack of electricity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of buyers for coffee and cocoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of business opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aging population because of rural exodus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of good roads for communication and transportation of goods to the market areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of entertainment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of health services/ Lots of illness and epidemics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because they would be too far from urban areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of infrastructures in rural areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A civil servant cannot thrive in the rural area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be too tiring.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the participants in this study, schooling is not delivering what it promised to deliver: employment. The attitudes expressed by study participants support those found in other research. Disillusion and disappointment are recurrent themes when voice is given to poor people to talk about poverty. The usefulness of education is doubted, particularly when not associated with jobs and wealth” (World Bank, 1999). This disillusionment is not only in the rank of parents but has reached the younger generation too.

The current school system is not working anymore; it is a disappointment instead. For that reason, there is an overwhelming desire on the part of some informed young people to profit from any program that would give them the necessary skills to tackle the life of a rural dweller. In this case, they think they would be able to better understand how to grow things. They think they would be in a better position to profit from programs like ANADER, a national agency for rural development mentioned by one student.

The ones who would not consider life in the rural areas are dreaming of a more glamorous position. For them being a farmer or living in the rural areas has no attraction. They think the life of a farmer is hard and they are not used to such hardships. They associate farmer to peasant, and peasant according to them has a degrading and negative a connotation.
When asked why they would not want to work or live in the rural areas they repeated the same answers.

When asked if they would like to participate in a program that would give them the necessary skills to become good farmers 117 out of 133 students said no. Their rationale was that they were simply not interested in becoming farmers/peasants. They were either not interested or thought it was too difficult a career for them to embrace. The 16 out of 133 students who would consider that option had an open-minded approach, a positive attitude and the conviction that they could learn more about farming and consequently do it effectively. This small majority seemed to be more informed about the existence of structures designed to develop the rural areas.

One participant mentioned ANADER and SATMACI, government structures that were set up to develop rural areas but which have not been successful in their mission. It turned out that his father was working for one of these institutions therefore he had first hand knowledge of their existence and role. The fact that the rest of them did not mention those institutions, is a sign that there was a communication problem between those institutions and the communities they were supposed to serve. Another important issue was students’ understanding of the role of the peasant in the development of a country whose economy is based on agriculture.
3. Teachers’ attitude

Harvard University psychologist Gerald Lesser once said about teaching children that he believed in fitting how he teaches to what he knows about the child he was teaching. He said that he always tried to find the child’s strengths so that he could play to them. He tried to understand the kid’s weakness so that he can avoid them. Then he can try and teach to that individual kid’s profile. His approach is relevant to this research. The teachers interviewed appeared as people who usually do what they need to do and go with the flow. It is a reflection of a top down, centralized administration. Results of the inquiry confirms this type of administration, in which the government hires, trains, employs, nominates, promotes, demotes, and fires the teachers (a rare occurrence because for civil servants).

Even teachers with fifteen to twenty years of experience in the field do not have the chance to participate in any important decision-making that affects what and how they teach. The teachers felt they were passive transmitters of knowledge. They are the ones who are in the classroom with the students. Beside the parents there is no one who better knows the children they are teaching. They are the ones who know when to push or not. They are the ones who know what makes students excel or what causes them to fail. Their contribution to what students learn is priceless. The school administration solely decides the curriculum to be
taught. The teachers had an array of experiences that varied between eleven and twenty-five years and have taught at all levels of the primary school cycle. Questions were asked to find out if they were aware of the evolution of their students through the education cycle and also if they had knowledge of what happened to them after they graduate or drop out. The picture they painted is not far from official government findings and publications: They admitted that a ratio of 2 boys to 1 girl finished the cycle and admitted that not all of them went to secondary school. According to them the rest:

(1) Learn small trades: mechanics, sewing for girls, carpentry, (2) repeat the classes until they can no longer repeat it, (3) enter the informal center, (4) learn small trades by doing, (5) some are expelled and (6) others stay jobless, "déséouvrés".

When asked a question to find out why all their students who finish the primary cycle do not go on to secondary school, teachers discussed the rigidity of an academic system that requires all students to take a written examination in order to have a diploma, and also take another competitive academic examination "concours d’entrée en sixième" in order to access secondary school. They have a clear knowledge of the rate of success of that exam at the national level. They have some reservations about blaming all the difficulties and failure only on the rigid academic examination. They believe that other elements
should be taken into consideration, which influence the passage from primary school to secondary school. According to the teachers:

“Students have a very poor academic level”.

“Students and their parents lack financial means”.

“They are victims of a rigid educational system in general which demands too much of them, but offers very little in return”.

“Students lack interest and motivation”

“Students fail the national exams”.

“Students are too old”.

“Repetition is not allowed any more”.

“Students are victims of an educational system who fail them”.

“Difficulty in their lives outside school”

“Lack of public schools to accommodate them”

“Cultural issues. Parents’ intransigence in how they interact with their students and the fact that they do not include their children in any decision making concerning them”

“The lack of parent and school relationship”

“The rupture of the young people with school life and children their age”

“A feeling of unworthiness”

“An inferiority complex”

The predominant understanding among the teachers about the success or failure of their students is linked to the “parents’ economic
status”. The students’ life outside school came up having an impact on their success or failure in school.

This conclusion is verified by other research in the USA where some school-to-work administrators realized that their programs were doomed to failure if they were not accompanied by social programs to help the students solve their home life’s problems. For that reason, some programs provide a wide range of support services such as transportation, food, clothing, work clothes, shelter, childcare and substance abuse prevention and treatment (School-to-Work and Workforce Development, January 1997).

Another important issue raised by teachers is the poor academic level of their students. Students have a poor academic level because their teachers have a poor academic level too. Teachers are blaming themselves without realizing it and at the same time they are blaming the system for training them poorly.

Teachers were unanimous in their belief that students are not prepared to go out into the real world and survive. Teachers who first appeared to be going with the flow, have a lot to offer as the interview went on. While they sometimes seemed to be full of confidence about what they were doing, at other times they did not feel too confident.

Opinions were split when they were asked if their students were well prepared to return to the land given the education they were
receiving. Half of them believed they were prepared while others thought they were not.

Teachers who thought students were prepared had some reservations and put the blame on higher authority: “Yes, but unfortunately they are lacking the financial means to get started”.
“Yes, provided they are given the means and an adequate training”.

They do agree about what needs to be taught for students to be prepared:

“Initiation to agriculture”
“The management of a cooperative”
“Trades”
“Carpentry”
“The financial issues that surrounded agriculture including market strategies for agricultural goods, the necessity to modernize agriculture and machinery”

Overall, teachers showed some conviction that basic schooling is not the only means to prepare their students for real life. Teachers viewed the presence of school-based cooperatives as an important step towards practical agriculture. They also felt some confidence in their ability to use their experience to make a difference in their students’ learning experience. They want to be involved in cooperative activities because they are confident that their experience is valuable. They have
something to offer. They do not need to follow instructions from a book. They felt that way because according to them:

"The general objectives, the specific objectives, the ways and means, the strategies put in place, the follow up in the field, the control, the supervision do not take into account the reality of the field, nor answer the aspirations and demands of the ones for whom the decisions are made".

C. Participants' attitude toward the introduction of school-based cooperatives as a model for transition of primary school dropouts/leavers from school to real life.

A series of questions were asked to probe each group of participants' knowledge of school-based cooperatives, their existence, and their opportunity to participate in them. Results show that all participants had a good understanding of the concept of school-based cooperatives; some of them had even participated in some. Participants agreed that they should even be compulsory in each school.

1. Parents' attitude

Urban parents do not want their children to participate in school-based cooperative activities because it involves manual work. They think their children should be involved in activities that stimulate them
intellectually. Their reaction was not surprising, as some of them do not think much of cooperatives. School based cooperatives activities are not as popular in urban areas as they are in rural areas. It confirms the statement that “educated parents disapprove of their children participating in school based cooperative activities because they found it demeaning, they would rather be involved in intellectual activities”.

Parents’ attitudes are reflected in their children’s responses. 119 student participants believed their parents would not encourage them to become peasants. Only 14 out of 133 believed their parents would support them if they were to choose to become peasants. This attitude is not surprising as it is known that parents influence their children’s decision-making concerning career choice based on their own experiences (Rehm and Reagor, 1993., Evans-Hairston, 2000).

2. Teachers’ attitude

With the exception of one teacher who did not participate in school based cooperative activities in his school, the three others agreed that there are many advantages to having a school based cooperative in a school. They believed that the skills the students acquired by participating in school based cooperative activities would not be available in a regular curriculum. Among those skills are:

(1) Mastering the management of human and material
resources.

(2) Acquiring a sense of responsibility.

(3) Learning to articulate one’s thoughts.

(4) Learning about solidarity among their peers.

(5) Learning how to run a business.

(6) Developing political skills and

(7) Learning about democracy and fraternity.

(8) Critical thinking skills.

(9) Personal development skills.

3. School officials’ attitude

School officials joined the teachers in their agreement about the social and economic skills available to students through participation in school based cooperative activities. Although they agreed on the importance of such a practice they had reservation about the supervision of these activities.

When asked their thoughts about using school based cooperatives to provide the students with the skills and knowledge needed to instill in them attitudes that will promote rural development their response was straightforward: “Merciful”.

“Good initiative”.
They think these activities would be even more beneficial if the students were coached by specialists. The school officials' attitude on the one hand confirms a long time battle that vocational teachers face. Regular teachers are not always given the credit they deserve for their involvement in vocational activities. On the other hand, the school officials reiterated the concern of professionals in vocational education and school to work transition programs who feel that teachers without special training might not be prepared to teach strictly vocational subjects. School officials also had some issues about how effectively the time allocated to school based cooperative activities was used for these purposes.

The recurring theme among teachers, parents, students and school officials revolves around "moyens d' installation"/the financial means to start life in the rural areas. They agreed that if school dropouts had the means they would gladly start a life in rural areas.

D. Skills, knowledge and competencies needed for rural development?

Teachers and school officials were quick to say that everything that students learn in school is useful. When they were prompted to debate whether or not their students were prepared for a transition from school to the life ahead of them, the teachers did not show too much confidence
in their answers. They tended to agree that their students are not prepared.

When it came to choosing among the subjects most useful to their students, their responses were overwhelmingly similar. They chose practical things that can be linked to everyday life. They chose reading because they think that anyone who knows how to read and write could fill out a form and read simple information. They chose mathematics because they think that anyone who has elementary notion of arithmetic and metric systems can deal with numbers and understand how to weigh and measure. They chose initiation to agriculture because returning to the land could be an option for some of their students. They chose manual work because they think that their students need to get used to that type of work. They chose home education because they think it arms the students with necessary tools to live a normal life. A girl would be armed with the necessary skills to bring up a child, raise a family, fight infant mortality, and know about birth control. They chose cooperative activity because they are convinced that it will arm the students with the skills to live in community with others and foster the respect of public things. They chose APE (Activités Physiques et Educatives /physical and educational activities) because they think it is necessary for mental and physical well-being.
E. How does the present education provide the knowledge, the skills and competencies to participate in rural development?

Primary education has long been criticized for its rigidity, its non-adaptation to the children of the masses and its strong academic orientation. When school officials were asked which measures might improve the education received at that early stage, most of their first responses were of a general nature and infrastructure-oriented. When prompted to elucidate their understanding and eventually their attitudes, their responses could be put in two categories:

(1) general responses
(2) more specific responses dealing with practical matters for which they have the ability to effect changes

They felt what needed to be done was:

(1) "Multiply and improve vocational learning centers".
(2) "Extend the school canteens".
(3) "Build more schools and improve the existing ones in order to reduce class sizes".
(4) "The six reading periods at the preparatory level are useless. It would have been good to get rid of four and keep only two".
(5) "Re-adaptation and amelioration of the curriculum".
“Balance the hours in order to have a fair distribution between pure academic hours and more practical and artistic time”.

“Organize and encourage the intervention of NGO’s (Non Governmental Organizations) in schools especially in rural areas to reduce the causes of parents’ pauperization”.

F. Reasons for the inadequacy of present schooling in Côte d’Ivoire.

1. School officials’ opinion

According to school officials, the failure of students can be categorized as follows:

a. Failure due to students

They blame the failure of the system on the decline in the overall level of quality in students and their lack of motivation for school. They also blame it on students’ tendency to distraction and neglect of schoolwork, and their poor performance that causes repetition of classes.

a. Failure due to teachers

In this category they blamed the failure on (1) the amount and quality of pedagogical training for teachers, (2) the lack of interest in the profession, (3) the heavy family responsibilities, and (4) failure due to the social economic, and political system.
c. Failure due to the system

In this category they blamed students’ failure on the lack of infrastructure in areas with high population.

d. Failure due to parents

Lack of parental involvement and follow up was cited as one reason for students’ failure. The pauperization of parents came second as another reason why students fail. Although school is free, some parents cannot afford to buy books for their children.

In the rural areas parents keep their children home to help during harvest.

For school officials, success will depend on a continuous follow up of the students by both the parents and the teachers and parents’ involvement in their children’s education. Result of the inquiry shows the need for the creation of a partnership with local small businesses to give students a sense of reality about what they were learning. The success of School-to-Work Transition programs in some developing countries is dependent on the cooperation between the schools involved and local industries.

2. Teachers’ opinion

It was clear from the teachers’ perspective that there was a pressing need to re-adapt and ameliorate the curriculum. The teachers had
something else to say. They are not given the opportunity to take part in
the conception of the curriculum they teach. When asked if they would
like to participate in the conception of the curriculum, their response
was straightforward: “Yes, we would like to be part of the decision
making process, because the general objectives and the practical
objectives and the strategy used to implement them and the follow up do
not take into account the reality in the field. The decisions made are not
in sync with the aspirations and demands of the ones for whom those
decisions are made.”

The other participants showed their eagerness to be part of that
decision-making process by stating:

“How the experience of someone in the field is indispensable.”

“To bring my modest contribution to the confection of learning
material in regard to the teaching of agriculture and animal raising and
communicate the love for farm work.”

The teachers involved in this study think of themselves as people
with valuable experience to teach cooperative activities whereas the
school officials would have preferred specialists to be brought in to teach
those technical subjects. They also noted that all decisions concerning
the curriculum that guided their teaching were made in offices by people
who have lost touch with the reality of teaching. This is verifiable given
the number of times that the decision-makers visit the schools.
36 percent of schools in the country were never visited by pedagogical advisers, 14.50 percent were visited only once, 25 percent were visited twice, 12.50 percent were visited three times and only 12 percent were visited more than three times. Pedagogical inspectors frequently visited schools located in urban areas (M.E.N, 2000).

The findings also showed serious concern about a top down decision-making administration that does not ask for teachers’ input concerning the students they teach. They felt powerless, and adopted a passive attitude that could be judged as a lack of interest in what they do. Their hesitation at the beginning of the study is another proof.

G. Expectations of the average Ivorian student of himself/herself and parents’ expectations of them after a primary school education.

1. Parents’ expectations of their children

Despite the fact that school is not compulsory per se, the importance of school for both parents and their children need not be demonstrated any more. All the parents involved in the study send their children to school regardless of gender because they want to give all their children equal opportunity. The goals they have for their children reflect uniformity with parents in general. Every parent wants their children to have access to jobs, salaried work and wealth, anything that would put them in a better social and economic situation. In a study conducted by
the World Bank (1998) on the definition of poverty, the same feeling is echoed by parents from Ghana, Togo, Guinea Bissau to Vietnam, Mali, Burkina Faso and Macedonia countries: parents want their children to have a secure job.

Results indicate that all the parents have one thing in common. They want their children to earn more money than they do. One of them said, "Every good parent wishes that his offspring be better off than himself in every aspect."

There is, however, a difference between what they wish and what they think will happen. They wish that their children have better revenues, but they are not sure that it will happen just because they have been to school. This is where a comparison is necessary. Parents in rural areas or with no education have a firm belief that their children will have a better life in comparison to their own. Parents who are in town and holding an office job are not sure that their children will have a better life and better revenues than they have. Their answers reflect a sense of reality, an understanding of the current unfavorable economic situation that makes the prospect of job creations unfavorable. One of them made the following remark:

"The global economic situation in general and the current African economic situation is very difficult. It is not certain that our children will have better revenues than we do".
One parent’s response revealed a protective instinct but also reflected the promise of a better involvement on his behalf and how he is determined to influence his children’s career choices because according to him he wants to prevent his children from suffering like he did. He said: “Having been a victim of the system myself, I will raise my children according to the future, which I think will provide them better revenues and put them above the satisfaction of their basic needs”.

His response gives hope for the future of education in Cote d’Ivoire as more and more parents are educated and will consequently have a better understanding of the role they can play in the education of their children.

2. Students’ expectations of themselves

Students’ understanding of a useful education varied. Some of them took education to mean upbringing. Others extended it from the upbringing that is directly the responsibility of their parents at home to the knowledge imparted in a school environment by teachers. According to their understanding of a useful education, the participants could be categorized into three groups. The first group defined a useful education as the education they received at home with their parents, an education that taught them manners, obedience and the things of life. The second group saw education as a way to open up one’s mind to the
outside world, and the third group saw education in terms of its productivity and defined it in the following terms:

“A useful education is an education that can help improve one’s situation”.

“It is an education that will help one be financially independent”.

“It is an education that can help prepare an active member for development”.

“It is an education that will help me integrate into active life”.

“It is an education that will help me secure a position”.

Every student and dropout involved in this study agreed that they were not living comfortably. Most of them were not even living with their parents. Those not living with their parents were living with a relative or renting a place with the little money that their parents sent them. The consequences of not living with their parents were seen on their nutritional status and their productivity at school. Most of them were not getting decent meals if any at all. Their responses about their living conditions is confirmed by the national statistics and studies on school life in Côte d’Ivoire for the academic year 1994-1995 and 1995-1996 (MEN, Statistics 2000). The Ivorian students’ housing situation, according to those national statistics, was as follows: in 1994-1995 only 29 percent lived with a relative (meaning father/mother/uncle
aunt/brother/ sister/aunt), 39 percent lived with a non relative, 23% rented a place, 4 percent lived in a foyer and 5 percent boarded.
In 1995-1996 the equivalent rates were 31 percent, 42 percent, 22 percent, 4 percent and 3 percent. They were not financially responsible for their expenses.

Table 9: Study participants’ living conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Participants N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth Home/foyer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents/close relative</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>68.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the academic year 1996-1997, the nutritional status of Ivorian students was as follows: 15 percent had one meal a day, 51 percent had two meals a day and 34 percent were lucky to have three meals a day.
Results show that student participants were conscious of the precarious economic situation of their parents. A lot of them did not even discuss how much money their parents made. When they knew, not all of them felt comfortable disclosing it. The average rural parent, when self-employed, made between 60,000 CFA and 100,000.00 CFA per year which is the equivalent of less than a hundred US dollars. The state/government came up as the major employer for the parents who had a job. A few parents were either self-employed or employed by other individuals. Most of the mothers were housekeepers or self-employed.
(For women of the developing country, this work helps maintain the subsistence of her family but is not included in the national statistics).

Surprisingly however, they seemed to have a clear idea of how much money the people in the position they are dreaming of make.

Despite the alarming state of their parents’ revenues, students involved in this study still had some unrealistic expectations of themselves. When asked where they would like to work or what they would like to do, all of them wanted to hold a white-collar job, prestigious jobs. Their choices were:

Math teacher/teacher in general

Priest

Police officer

Secretary

Engineer

Accountant

CEO

Commercial officer

Headmaster

Tradesman

Town office clerk

Custom officer
Their attraction to redundant titles supports the remark made by Foster (1977) that some African countries have not only inherited education systems from their colonizers but in some cases also inherited their snob attitude. The participants had high aspirations and their achievements did not always measure up to those aspirations.

Sometimes the choice of their preferred job showed a simplistic view of work and a lack of understanding of what they could attain through schooling. Some of them wanted to be CEOs, and were not grasping the fact that some positions are attained through appointment. It appeared to them that you come out of school with a diploma that stipulates that you have been trained to become a CEO. Some of them think that an agricultural worker does not make enough money to live.

All of them are inhabited by a beat optimism. They admitted knowing a lot of people who have diplomas but still cannot find a job in the city, which means that they are not oblivious to the reality of employment in the country.

Despite that acknowledgment of the difficulty of employment, they still hoped they would get a job in the city.
H. Attitudes of students and parents toward school based cooperatives preparing students for rural development?

1. Parents’ attitude

Opinions seemed to be equally divided among participating parents around encouraging their children to participate in rural development. The divergence of opinion is formed around the parents’ status.

On the one hand, rural parents were hesitant to encourage their children to participate in rural development because of their own experience. They wanted something better for their children than what they had. Thinking of their own difficult experiences, they could not help but be negative towards the prospect of seeing their children take the same career path as they. They went from an emphatic “No” to a moderate “if they wish”.

On the other hand, urban parents had mitigating attitude and opinions. They would not be against their children participating in rural development, provided they employed people to work for them, and were not the ones who actually worked the land. Their attitudes suggest that they wanted something else for their children.

The attitude of wanting something more or different for their children is not surprising for the parents since they are the ones affected by difficult economic situations. They nevertheless saw their children’s
return to the land in another light. Experience seems to dictate their attitudes. Their responses were:

“Yes, but not to be the ones to cultivate the land”

“Provided there is land available to cultivate”

“This can be a path to success if they really believe in it”

“If they study agriculture or business, they can overcome their difficulties”.

The more sophisticated the parents were intellectually the more sophisticated their answer. They did not want their children to have to do the actual manual work, which they found demeaning. They also worried about the availability of land to work on. Their view of farming for their children is not like that of poor peasants but farming at a big scale with machinery. They projected their children with an agriculture degree coupled with a business degree, which suggests that their children will have to go for higher education. They also exhibited an informed attitude and concern for the future of their children should they choose to become farmers.

The recurrent theme in their response raises the touchy issues of land appropriation and land distribution in poor countries. One parent expressed his concern in the following terms:

“Because the economy and exchanges are becoming global, the international concurrency is very strong regarding the market of
agricultural goods. It will be very difficult for my children of a poor
country who have minimal means to compete with the giants of the
European Union for example where agriculture is subsidized”.
“I would encourage my children if they learned about it in school”.
“It is a good thing in the sense that my children would have learned
while in school that even though they have diplomas, they can go return
to the land and make an honorable living”.
“I think they need to be taught how to transform their agriculture
production, be it exportable goods or not”.

Parents raised the issue of transformation of goods, a development
mishap for developing countries like Côte d’Ivoire. On the one end of the
colonizer and colonizee relationship, the country was used to produce the
raw materials for their partners in Europe. On the other end it
represented a ready market for those countries to sell finished product.

Parents felt that their children should be taught how to transform
their agriculture production, be it exportable or not. The responses to
these questions suggest the necessity of introducing of industries into
agriculture to move from the stage of production to the stage of
transformation. They also suggest the need for the intervention of the
state in the production process to help small farmers be efficient and
competitive.
Table 11: Parents’ attitude toward their children’s choice to become farmers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>89.47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Parents’ opinion about their children’s choice to become farmers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Would encourage</th>
<th>N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight Yes</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With difficulty</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic No</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>72.18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Students’ attitudes

When students were asked if they wished to participate in a program that would teach them the skills and knowledge to become good farmers, the response was overwhelmingly negative. Only 16 out of 133 participants thought it was a good idea. They felt it would allow them to better understand the issues that people living in rural areas are faced
with. They understood the need of becoming knowledgeable on agricultural issues. For the other 116 participants, it was not an option (See table 12). They had a negative attitude because they did not think there was anything to gain by learning how to become farmers. They thought it would be a waste of their time. Others thought that the nature of the farmer's job is very difficult. The ones who had a positive attitude were confident that they would learn a lot from those programs. They believed that they would be prepared for a career in the rural areas. They were delighted by the idea of being able to use their own parents and the village community as resources.

When students were asked what they would choose to learn according to their real needs if they were given the opportunity to choose for themselves, their responses supported their attitude. They chose to learn English because it is an international language. They chose to learn science, biology, office and clerical jobs. They chose to study to become agricultural engineers (with the understanding that the agricultural engineer will have an office job).
Table 13: Students who would like to participate in a program that would give them the necessary skills to become good farmers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>87.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Students who would choose to become farmers if they had the knowledge and the skills.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Participants N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>87.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Students' opinion on the “return to the land”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Participants N=133</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A very good idea</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good idea</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not so good an idea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bad idea</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>71.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. Teachers' attitudes of teachers toward participating in school based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development?

Teachers at times exhibited an attitude full of confidence, and sometimes showed a wavering confidence in what they were doing. When asked if their students were prepared to participate in rural development, half of them were convinced that their students were prepared, while the other half showed some hesitation and felt they were not. The ones who thought students were prepared to work and earn a decent living in rural areas thought so because of their participation in school based cooperative activities. Those who did not think they were prepared did not exhibit a negative attitude but suggested that they had received some sort of training but not enough to make them modern farmers. The ones who thought they were prepared still had some reservations.

A common theme appears in their responses: the lack of financial means and incentives, which opens the door to restructuring agriculture and state intervention in rural development.

“They are prepared but unfortunately they lack the means to establish themselves as modern farmers”.

“Yes, on the condition that they are given the means and a better training”.
Teachers had one belief in common. They agreed that the students are being initiated into agriculture and the management of their organization through the school-based cooperative activities. They also had some suggestions for additional training that could help prepare students for rural development.

**J. School officials’ attitude toward the development and implementation of school based cooperatives as a vehicle for rural development?**

School officials, without being negative all the time, shared some instances where their support for the efforts of teachers was not consistent. They thought school based cooperatives were a good initiative but did not always think the teachers were equipped to teach those activities. They also did not show total trust in the teachers’ ability to use the time effectively.

“I think it is a good initiative provided they are taught by specialists.”

School officials sometimes had a constructive attitude but it was not enough to overcome the constant struggle between them and the professionals in the fields. There is a lack of trust in the ability of the teachers to perform beyond their regular expectations. On the crucial question of how one can possibly change the curriculum in order to facilitate the transition of students from primary school to real life. The
school officials did not know where to start. They all agreed that suggested changes needed to be effected gradually. Although they belonged to the group we called school officials, their responses suggested their limitation in decision-making concerning school life in general. It also uncovers the top-down decision making process and how it affects the students who are the recipients and the teachers who are the medium.

K. Concluding remarks

The overall attitude of young people involved in this study toward life in the rural areas is negative. It is a reflection of the attitude of the youth of the whole country. Parents, using their experiences of success or failure, are cautious about pushing their children toward embracing careers, which they find difficult and hopeless for them as adults. When there is slight tendency to opt for a future in rural areas, there is also mounting skepticism and uncertainty about the outcome that scares parents, teachers, school officials and students.

Given the fact that no young people would embrace a career in the rural areas under the same conditions as their parents, there appears to be the need for the intervention of the state and other institutions to give anyone interested a start. Modern agriculture with machinery could be attractive. The issue with machinery is that it is expensive and needs
maintenance. Experience in history demonstrates how modern machinery has been misused when they are offered to people who did not have the know-how to maintain them, or did not have enough money to fuel them in order to make them work.

Examples of other countries prove that the remark made by a school official about the effective use of time allocated to school-based cooperatives is pertinent. In remote locations in the rural areas, teachers do not feel the pressure of an inspector but do not always use their teaching time in an effective manner.

School based cooperatives, although insignificant; represent a first step to a training that is already paid for with teachers’ salary.
A. Introduction

Education leads to development. The expectations of the people involved in this study are that education will lead to employment, a better life and wealth, or so they are socialized to believe. Unfortunately, the evidence in this study does not always support this assertion. What has been demonstrated in this study is that even a minimal education gives its recipients a snobbish attitude and produces a reverse effect from what is expected. Parents, students, teachers and school officials are affected in different ways by the implications derived from this study.

B. Implications for parents.

The findings of this study support the research of Rehm and Reagor (1993) who found that rural disadvantaged parents encourage their children to stay in school and set high goals for them even though they do not have the resources, experience or information about education or career planning. The less educated the parents, the fewer contacts they have with schools and the fewer strategies they have to deal with their children’s school lives (Baker & Stevenson, 1986).
Parents would not encourage their children to embrace a career in a rural area.

It will no longer suffice for parents to have faith in the school system to prepare their children for their future. It will no longer be enough for them to encourage their children to stay in school. They will have to play a better role in that process. Knowing how much they can influence their children in decision-making concerning their employment (Otto, 1989).

It is important for them to influence them in a positive manner. To do so, they will have to trust themselves and their ability to help their children. They should expose their children to as many occupations as possible. They will have to commit their time. Being illiterate should no longer be an excuse for not being involved. Parents in the study have hope in the education system but they feel powerless. They would not encourage their children to become farmers, yet they do not have the skills to guide them in other directions. By influencing their decision-making in a subtle way and then leaving all decision making to their children, parents are making their task a challenging one.

The most difficult challenge, however, remains the change in parents' attitudes. If parents change their attitudes about their occupations, maybe they will be able to communicate a positive attitude
about their jobs to their children, who in turn will not see their parents' occupations as a disgrace and something to avoid at all cost.

C. Implications for teachers

The most important implications for teachers in this study are their training and their understanding of the role they play in the education process. Teachers are the corner stone in the success of education. Unfortunately, the primary school teachers involved in the study felt powerless and appeared to be victims of the administration they work for.

In order for them to be effective, teachers should step up for the challenges that lie ahead of them. Students spend more time in school with teachers than with their parents. Their training determines their success. Teachers, especially in rural areas, are not the best-trained teachers an education system can afford. Teacher training should be among the measures taken to improve the quality of the education they dispense. Given the low rate of school officials’ visits in their classes they cannot hope to receive the much needed in-service training and support that will make them effective teachers.

Getting teachers involved in important decision-making will be a catalyst for improving their performance and their training. They have a lot to offer and their contribution should be sought.
Accountability will force them to step up as far as their responsibilities are concerned, and ongoing training will help them keep up with what is current in their job. Advancement should not be automatic but instead based on performance.

D. Implications for school officials

Results of this study reveal:

1. The consequences of a top down administration

   In such an administration, the people at the bottom enjoy little or no power, and information is not properly disseminated, but held by very few at the top. This has been demonstrated with the teachers involved in this study.

2. Lack of communication

   The results emphasize the lack of communication between teachers and their supervisors. Administrators are sometimes caught up in the administrative part of their job and tend to limit their interactions with schools to casual inspections that do not solve any educational problems.

   There is a need to investigate what makes a school official, who usually comes from the teachers’ ranks, lose sight of the reality of the
field as soon as he/she moves from the classroom to an office. Trust needs to be established between the teachers hired to teach and the people who are in charge of supervising them.

E. Implications for students

They are the most vulnerable in this process. Their parents’ aspirations and their negative attitude toward rural development condition them. They are the ones who do not receive an adequate education and are not prepared to make a transition from school to real life. The consequences of the poor quality of education they receive are the high drop out rate. Their negative attitude toward rural development stems from a lack of information on the part of both their parents and the school system and the lack of incentives from a government that is doing very little to link education to employment.

F. Policy implications

Results of the investigation confirm that both parents and their children have a predominantly negative attitude toward anything rural. They showed a clear preference for white-collar occupational activities that would take them away from the rural communities. They however raised pertinent issues for policy makers.
1. The issue of land availability

Encouraging people to return to the rural areas when they are not sure to have a land to work on seems pointless to study participants.

2. The land reform policy and land distribution

The seriousness of this issue can be measured by a trip to local court where families fight to hold onto a piece of land they can call theirs and work on. One has to sit a day in local court to understand the magnitude of land issues for rural dwellers. Rural poor cannot compete with the elite who comes in with heavy machinery and thinks that and the land belongs to whoever cultivates it.

3. Lack of economic incentives

With no incentive to encourage migration back to the rural areas, no youngster will return to the land if he/she has a choice. The negative attitude of parents and students is understandable given the economic situation that prevails in rural areas in developing countries. No one in their right mind would choose to live in those areas. Without any incentives, any action that will bring improvement to the lives of the millions of men, women, children and elderly who live in those areas needs to be taken.
4. School reform/School to work transition

It is necessary for policy makers to redefine the purpose of education, and encourage communities and businesses to be involved. This is the only way any new programs can take place and be effective.

5. Information/Orientation/Guidance

Students at an early age need to be informed about possible employment according to their capacities. As soon as students have access to school at an early stage, their parents, teachers, and businesses should inform them about employment possibilities. The present system of orientation is not effective.

Lessons have been learned from past development failures and successes. Rural development can no longer be treated as a minor development issue for countries of the developing world. The consequences of such an attitude are overwhelming for the large number of peasants and the new semi-educated class of urban dwellers and non-educated rural dwellers. Because of the uneven development between the center and the peripheries, it is almost natural for people to be attracted to the centers. Rural exodus cannot be curbed or suppressed any time soon if the peripheries are not attractive.

It is necessary for all the stakeholders in education in poor areas to start a relationship with a contract. This should be in the form of
parents/teachers conference. During these conferences, the objectives
should be clear for both parents and students to know that at the end of
the term, children will know how to read and write.
All the stakeholders involved in this research are aware of the reality as
far as the connection between education and job and wealth.

School to work transition will work only if the government puts the
structures in place. In communities here industries exist, they need to
step up to finance the education of their workforce.

It will be helpful to educate the young people and instill in them
some pride in their culture. This is where the role of parents becomes
crucial. It will be necessary to provide the young people with the tools to
help them become active agents who will contribute to the improvement
of their own social conditions and to break the infernal cycle of poverty
that contributes to rural underdevelopment.

No form of development will change the structure of the African
economy in a dramatic way, at least for the time being. Observers predict
that “African countries will have a predominantly rural economy for a
long time”. Although unattractive now, villages will eventually be the
preferred place for young people who are faced with the high
unemployment rate in the city. There is no sign in today’s economy that
suggests that economic conditions will suddenly be improved in a way
that the country will be able to offer employment to anyone who has set foot in a school.

Proper measures need to be taken to ensure that the people who do not find employment in the city feel comfortable returning to the rural areas where their knowledge can be effectively put to good use.

All African countries are predominantly agricultural with over 70% of people engaged in agriculture. Despite some industrialization, they will have a predominantly rural economy for a long time, therefore the villages must be made into places where people lead a good life and find their material well being and satisfaction. Even if the modern sector grows, the vast majority of primary school dropouts must stay in agriculture or rising unemployment will be inevitable. The educational system must play its proper role by accepting and stressing values appropriate to the future and the reality of their countries, not those appropriate to the colonial past.

Education and National Development in Africa

With unfavorable economic condition in a country, there is no guarantee that education will lead to jobs. That is the reason why parents, teachers and school officials have the responsibility to cooperate and promote a positive attitude in their children regarding their own occupation.

Unless young people are presented with other options, unless development is brought to the rural areas, it will only be natural that rural people migrate to the urban areas. The idea of making the Ivorian peasant a modern man living in the rural area is obsolete. There is a need to redefine rural development and make an effective use of the education children receive. Now is the time to find a better way of doing
it. No amount of modern goods will rid the peasant of the inferiority complex that he/she had developed toward everything modern.

G. Possible implications for further studies

The implications from this research are likely to affect students, elementary teachers, schools officials, parents and decision-makers. It points to the need for further research in the domain of land reform policy, land ownership and rural development, teacher training, students’ aspirations and achievement, education reform and curriculum development.

In addition further research examining the effect of the use of European languages as the national language of African countries, especially in countries where the literacy rate of the population is very low. For example, in countries such as Cote d’Ivoire, the institution of French as the national language and the language of instruction in schools results in the exclusion of most people in the rural areas who speak nothing but their own ethnic/tribal language and who have had no opportunity to learn French. By introducing national languages in schools, illiterate parents would be encouraged to share their knowledge, keep their culture alive and participate in the school life of their children because there will no longer be a language barrier.
H. Concluding remarks.

1. Students

Students must learn how to measure their own intellectual abilities, their limitations and work toward changing their attitudes in order to take the learning responsibilities that will affect their lives, and make them useful citizens in the development of their countries.

2. Parents

Parents must be able to strengthen their values and change their attitude in order to bring about a transformation in their way of thinking, and the way they bring up their children. It is not an impossible thing to do because sociologists believe that changing child -rearing practices can change individuals' attitudes and behavior (McClelland, 1969., Adams, 1986). I am hoping that changes in attitude will come with early childhood education at home and the ways values are instilled in children.

3. Teachers

Teachers must hopefully understand (if they do not know it (already) the importance of the role they play in the education of our youth and learn not to be passive but active agents who are really
involved in what they are teaching. They will be able to do so by reviewing their goals as teachers and educators.

4. School officials

School officials must understand the necessity of readapting education to fit the needs of the people that education is supposed to be serving. Times have changed and so should the priorities of education for developing countries like ours.

I will reach my ultimate goal, if I can plant a seed that enables the participants; students, teachers, parents and school officials, to take action by exploring their attitudes and understanding about education in general, and education for rural development in Côte d'Ivoire. I will also be satisfied if this paper allows them to measure the consequences and effectiveness of current schooling in preparing students for participation in the life of the nation wherever they choose to be.

Listening to all the comments made by everyone involved in this study, looking at the low rate of unemployment in the cities, people are finally realizing that current schooling is not a panacea after all. Maybe the advice of this Zambian farmer to his son who could not find employment in the city could be food for thought for all.
I tell my son that if you cannot find employment in the city, you get your hoe and try to grow something to eat. You take your axe and build your house. You can take something else, if you have the strength, like to put a beehive on a branch of a tree and you will get some honey and it will help you. That is how we old people survive. But if you stay like that [hoping for a job] then how are you going to live?

Coombs, 1985 p.181
APERÇU A
SURVEY (FRENCH VERSION)

CHER/E PARTICIPANT/E

Nous vous remercions pour votre effort et le temps que vous avez bien voulu sacrifier à remplir ce questionnaire. Cet exercice est absolument anonyme. Un numéro vous sera attribué. Il sera néanmoins très important de répondre clairement aux questions 4 & 5 car ils nous faciliteront l’analyse et la catégorisation des résultats.

SONDAGE:

INFORMATION DEMOGRAPHIQUE:
1. Informateur no:-----------------------------------------------
2. Sexe: Masculin
   Féminin
3. Age:------------------------------------------------------------
4. Groupe Ethnique-----------------------------------------------
5. Lieu de résidence:
   ville         village
6. Avec qui habitez-vous?
   1) Chez vous ?       oui      non
   2) Chez votre père et mère ?   oui      non
   3) Autre (expliquez):-----------------------------

EDUCATION ET EMPLOI
Cochez la case appropriée:
1. Quel est le niveau d’éducation de vos parents?
   a. éducation élémentaire       oui      non
      diplôme CEPE                  oui      non
b. éducation secondaire
   diplôme BEPC
   oui
   non
   BACCALAUREAT
   oui
   non
c. éducation universitaire
   oui
   non
d. pas d'éducation formelle/scolaire
   oui
   non

2. Quel est votre niveau d'éducation?
   Cochez la case appropriée.
   a. éducation élémentaire
      CEPE
      oui
      non
   b. Avez vous été admis en sixième?
      oui
      non
c. Avez vous été en sixième?
   d. Qui a assuré les frais de vos études?
      votre père?
      oui
      non
      votre mère?
      oui
      non
      un parent?
      autre?

3. Avez vous terminé vos études secondaires?
   a. collège
      oui
      non
   b. lycée
      oui
      non

4. Si non, pourquoi?

5. Combien d'élèves de votre classe de CM2 ont été admis au secondaire?
   a. garçons:---------
   b. filles:----------

6. Combien d'entre eux y sont effectivement allés?
   a. garçons:---------
   b. filles:----------

7. Combien d'entre eux ont tout simplement échoués on n'ont pas obtenu de diplômes secondaires?
8. Quelle est votre définition d’ une éducation utile?

---------------------------------------------------------------------
---------------------------------------------------------------------
---------------------------------------------------------------------

REVENUS DES PARENTS

Répondez ou cochez la case appropriée si nécessaire.

1) Fréquence des revenus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fréquence</th>
<th>Père</th>
<th>Mère</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annuelle</td>
<td>oui</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensuel</td>
<td>oui</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebdomenadale</td>
<td>oui</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saisonnier</td>
<td>oui</td>
<td>non</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Revenus compris entre 10,000fcfa et 30,000fcfa oui non

3) Revenus compris entre 30,000fcfa et 60,000cfa oui non

4) Revenus compris entre 60,000cfa et 100,000cfa oui non

5) Autres fourchettes? (précisez le salaire):---------------------------

6) Qui est l’employeur de votre père?:-------------------------------

7) Qui est l’employeur de votre mère?:-------------------------------

8) Votre père est il a son propre compte? oui non

9) Qui est l’employeur de votre mère?-------------------------------

10) Votre mère est- elle a son propre compte?-------------------------
VOTRE METIER ET VOS REVENUS

1. Avez-vous un emploi? oui non

2. Si oui, que faites-vous exactement?

3. Quel est votre revenu?

4. Pouvez-vous dire que vous gagnez assez d’argent pour vivre convenablement? oui non

5. Si non, quel métier aimeriez-vous exercer?
a. dans un bureau? oui non 
b. employé / ouvrier agricole? oui non

6. Autre? (précisez):-

7. Où aimeriez-vous travailler?
a. En milieu urbain? oui non 
b. En milieu rural? oui non

8. Si vous travaillez, êtes-vous content de ce que vous faites?
a. Tres satisfait:----------------------------------
b. Satisfait:----------------------------------
c. Mecontent:----------------------------------
d. Tres mecontent:-----------------------------
9. Pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi?

10. Le travail que vous faites vous rapporte-t-il suffisamment d'argent pour vous permettre de vivre de façon autonome?  
    oui  non

11. Si cela n'est pas le cas, qui vous aide financièrement?
    père: oui  non
    mère: oui  non
    Proches parents oui  non
    amis: oui  non

12. Connaissez-vous des gens qui travaillent en ville?  
    oui  non

13. Quel est leur métier?

14. Combien gagnent-ils?

15. En sont-ils satisfaits?  
    oui  non

16. Connaissez-vous quelqu'un qui n'a pas réussi à trouver du travail en ville?

17. Pourquoi ont-ils échoué?
18. De tous ceux que vous connaissez et qui sont allés chercher du travail en ville, la majorité a-t-elle réussi ou échoué?

Expliquez:

19. Sont-ils revenus au village après avoir échoué en ville?

Expliquez votre réponse:

20. Qu’auriez-vous fait si vous étiez à leur place?

21. Qu’est-ce que vos parents vous auraient poussés à faire?

22. Que pensez-vous du retour à la terre :

   1) une très bonne idée        oui  non
   2) une bonne idée             oui  non
   3) une pas si mauvaise idée   oui  non
   4) une mauvaise idée          oui  non
   5) une tres mauvaise idée     oui  non

23. Citez cinq raisons qui vous amèneraient à travailler et vivre en milieu rural.

   1)---------------------------------------------
   2)---------------------------------------------
24. Vos parents seraient-ils d'accord si vous vouliez devenir paysan?  
   oui  non

25. Expliquez votre réponse
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

   1) ________________________________________________________
   2) ________________________________________________________
   3) ________________________________________________________
   4) ________________________________________________________
   5) ________________________________________________________

27. Souhaiteriez-vous participer à un programme qui vous donnerait le savoir faire et les connaissances nécessaires qui vous permettraient de devenir de bons paysans?  
   oui  non

28. Justifiez votre réponse:
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

29. Avez-vous déjà entendu parler des coopératives scolaires dans les écoles primaires?
30. Avez-vous déjà participé à ces activités?

non

31. Citez cinq activités qui peuvent être utiles à la vie en milieu rural.

1) 
2) 
3) 
4) 
5) 

32. Si l'on vous demandait de décider vous-même ce que vous vouliez apprendre à l'école selon vos besoins réels de la vie active, que choisiriez-vous d'apprendre et pourquoi?

33. Si vous bénéficiez du savoir-faire et des connaissances nécessaires pour devenir un paysan modèle, hésiteriez-vous à choisir de devenir paysan?

non

Justifiez votre réponse.

34. Vos parents vous encourageraient-ils à faire ce choix?
35. Estimez-vous que le gouvernement de votre pays participe suffisamment à votre éducation?

- oui
- non

Justifiez votre réponse

36. Quelle est votre contribution au développement de votre pays?

- 

37. Quelle est la contribution du paysan ivoirien au développement de son pays?

- 

206
38. Quel est l’âge de vos parents?

entre 30 et 50 ans
entre 50 et 70 ans
au delà de 70 ans

MES SINCERES REMERCIEMENTS
DEAR PARTICIPANT

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. This is an anonymous process, therefore you are attributed a number to protect your identity. However it will be important that you respond clearly to question 4 & 5 for it will be helpful in the categorization of the results.

SURVEY QUESTIONS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Answer the following questions

1. Informant no .................................................................

2. Sex: Male Female

3. Age: .....................................................................................

4. Ethnic group...........................................................................

5. Residence: City Village

6. Who do you live with?

   1) On your own yes No
   2) With your parents? Yes No
   3) Other (Explain).....................................................................
EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

What is your parents’ level of education?

Check the appropriate box

1. Primary  Yes  No  CEPE  Yes  No
2. Secondary Yes  No  BEPC  Yes  No
3. Secondary Yes  No  BAC  Yes  No
4. University yes  No
5. No formal education Yes  No  Other (explain)

What is your level of education? Check the appropriate box

1. Primary  Yes  No  CEPE  Yes  No
2. Have you been admitted to secondary school? Yes  No
3. Did you go to secondary school? Yes  No
4. Who paid for you to go to secondary school?
   Father
   Mother
   Relative
   Other
5. Did you finish secondary school? Yes  No
6. Why did you not finish it?
7. How many students in your CM2 class did graduate?
   Male  Female

8. How many of them did go to secondary school?
   Male  Female

9. How many did not graduate?
   Male  Female

10. What is your definition of useful education?

PARENTS INCOME STATUS

Answer the question or check the appropriate box when necessary.

1. Father  Mother
   Annual  Yes  No  Yes  No
   Monthly Yes  No  Yes  No
   Seasonal Yes  No  Yes  No

2. Between 10,000 and 30,000 cfa  yes  No

3. Between 30,000 and 60,000 café  yes  No

4. Between 60,000 and 100,000 café  yes  No

5. Other explain

6. Who is your father's employer?
7. Is your father self-employed? Yes No

8. Who is your mother’s employer?

9. Is your mother self-employed Yes No

YOUR INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Check the appropriate box, or answer the question when necessary

1. Are you employed? Yes No

2. If yes what do you exactly do?

3. If employed how much do you make?

4. Do you make enough money to live on? Yes No

5. If not employed what kind of job are you expecting to get?

   Office? Yes No

   Formwork? Yes No

6. Other? Specify

7. Where would you like to work?

   In the urban area yes No

   In the rural area yes No
8. If you have a job, how satisfied are you with it?
   Very satisfied          Satisfied          Not satisfied

9. Explain why

10. Does it pay enough to live on?
    Yes          No

11. Who helps you out financially if it does not?
    Father        Yes          No
    Mother        Yes          No
    Relative      Yes          No
    Friend        Yes          No

12. Do you know anyone who works in the city?

13. What kind of work do they do?

14. How much money do they make?

15. Are they satisfied with their income?
    Yes          No

16. Do you know anyone who has been successful in finding work in the city?
    Yes          No

17. Why were they successful?
18. Of all the people you know who went to the city to seek employment, how many of them have jobs and how many are still looking? 

Please explain 

19. Did anyone you know who was unemployed in the city come back to the village? Explain 

20. What would you do if you were in the same situation? 

21. What would your parents encourage you to do? 

22. What do you think of going back to the rural areas? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very good idea</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good idea</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not such a good idea</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad idea</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Name 5 reasons why you would choose to work and live in the rural areas 

(1) .................................................. 

(2) .................................................. 

(3) ..................................................
24. Would your parents encourage you to do so?

Yes  No

Explain why or why not

25. Give 5 reasons why you would not want to work and live in the rural areas?

26. Would you like to participate in programs that would give you the knowledge and skills to become a good peasant/farmer?

27. Explain your answer

28. Have you ever heard about school based cooperatives in primary schools?
29. Have you ever participated in school based cooperatives activities

Yes  No

30. Name 5 things that you have learned and will be useful to life in rural areas?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

31. If you were given the opportunity to learn skills that would be useful which one would you choose?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

32. If you had the skills and knowledge to become a farmer, would you choose to become a farmer?

Yes  No

Justify
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

32. Would your parents encourage you to make that choice?

Yes  No

Justify
33. Do you think the country’s government contributed to your education?  
   Yes    No    
   Explain

34. What is your contribution to the development of your country?

35. What is the contribution of rural people to the development of the country?

36. How old are your parents?
   Between 30 & 50
   Between 50 & 70
   Between 70 & over
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS

1. Do you send your children to school?

2. Do you differentiate between your daughters and your sons?

3. What are you hoping to achieve by sending your children to school?

4. What is your financial situation? Do you have a monthly or annual income?

5. Do you think your children will make more or less money than you?

6. Do you think they will have a better life than you just because they have been to school?

7. Do you anticipate that your children will have difficulty in finding employment/ Why or why not?

8. In case your children encounter difficulties finding employment would you encourage them to return to the land?

9. What do you think about your children being taught in school how to make an honorable living as a farmer/peasant?
APPENDIX D
GUIDE D'INTERVIEW PARENTS

1. Envoyez-vous vos enfants à l'école?

2. Faites-vous la différence entre vos filles et vos garçons? Pourquoi?

3. Quels bénéfices espérez-vous retirer en envoyant vos enfants à l'école?

4. Quelle est votre situation financière? Quelle est la fréquence de vos revenues? Annuelle/mensuelle?

5. Pensez-vous que vos enfants gagneront moins ou plus que vous?

6. Pensez-vous que vos enfants auront des meilleurs revenues par rapport à vous parce qu'ils auront été à l'école?

7. Anticipez-vous que vos enfants rencontreront des difficultés à trouver un emploi? Quelles en sont les raisons?

8. Si jamais vos enfants n'arrivaient pas à trouver un emploi, les encourageriez-vous à retourner à la terre?

9. Quelle est votre opinion sur l'idée d'apprendre à vos enfants à l'école comment gagner leur vie honorablement en tant que paysan moderne?
APPENDIX E

GUIDE D'INTERVIEW OFFICIELS

Directeur d'école, Inspecteur de l'Enseignement Primaire et Conseiller Pédagogique

1. Quel est le pourcentage d'enfants Ivoiriens qui entrent en sixième chaque année?

2. Comment peut-on expliquer le taux de succès ou d'échec de l'éducation primaire en Côte d'Ivoire?

3. Existent t-ils des structures en place pour les enfants qui malheureusement ne peuvent pas entrer en sixième?

4. L'éducation primaire a souvent été critiquée pour son inadaptation aux besoins des enfants de la masse. Quelles sont les différentes mesures qui peuvent être prises pour améliorer cette éducation et l'adapter aux besoins de ceux qui la reçoivent?

5. Que savez vous des coopératives scolaires à l'école primaire?

6. Quel est leur but/raison d'être?

7. Que pensez vous de l'utilisation du biais des coopératives scolaires pour armer les enfants du savoir-faire et de connaissances nécessaires afin de développer en eux les attitudes qui faciliteront la promotion du développement rural?

8. Comment conçoit-on le curriculum de l'enseignement primaire? Quels sont les éléments qui entrent en ligne de compte dans la conception du curriculum de l'enseignement primaire?
9. Comment peut-on changer ce programme afin de faciliter la transition des enfants de l’école primaire à la vie active?

10. Comment peut-on améliorer la formation des enseignants afin de faire face aux challenges/exigences et aux besoins des élèves qui ont besoin d’une éducation pratique?
APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SCHOOL OFFICIALS

1. What is the percentage of children entering secondary school in Côte d'Ivoire?

2. What reason can best explain the rate of success or failure in primary education in Côte d'Ivoire?

3. Are there any structures available to the children who cannot enter secondary school that helps them integrate their society?

4. Primary education has been criticized for not being adapted to the children of the masses. What are the different steps that can be taken to make education meaningful for these children?

5. What do you know about school-based cooperatives in primary school?

6. What purpose are they serving?

7. What do you think of the use of this existing structure as a vehicle to teach skills and knowledge that will help students develop attitudes that can lead to rural development?

8. How is the curriculum in primary school designed?

9. How can the curriculum be changed to successfully implement a transition from school to work program?

10. How can teacher training be improved to prepare teachers to face the challenges and the needs of their students who are in need of a practical education?
APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STUDENTS

1. What would you like to obtain through school? What are you expecting from school?

2. What are the skills and knowledge you have acquired?

3. What is the use of what you have learned in school?

4. Is the education you received useful?

5. Name 4 or 5 things that you have learned in school and you think will be useful to you?

6. Name 4 or 5 things you have learned in school and will not be useful to you?

7. What would you like to do when you complete your primary education?

8. Will it be easy for you to get a job after primary school?

9. Would you like to become a peasant/farmer?

10. Why would you not like to become a farmer?

11. What kind of work would you like to do?

12. What kind of job will you look for?

13. Will it be easy for you to find a job?

14. Explain why you do not think it will be easy for you?

15. What do you think of school-based cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire?
16. Have you ever participated in any school-based cooperative activity?

17. Have you ever participated in any cooperative activity?

18. What did you learn by doing so?

19. When you will complete your primary cycle where would you prefer to live? Rural area or urban area?

20. What is your opinion on using cooperative activity to teach young people skills that will help them make a living in the rural areas?
APPENDIX H

GUIDE D’INTERVIEW ÉLÈVES

1. Qu’aimeriez-vous obtenir à travers l’école? Quel but aimeriez-vous atteindre?

2. Quelles connaissances et savoir-faire avez-vous pu acquérir?

3. À quoi vous serviront ce que vous avez appris à l’école?

4. L’éducation que vous avez reçue à l’école est-elle utile?

5. Citez 4 à 5 choses que vous avez appris à l’école et qui d’après vous vous seront utiles?

6. Citez cinq choses que vous avez appris à l’école et qui d’après vous ne vous seront d’aucune utilité?

7. Quel métier aimeriez-vous exercer quand vous aurez terminé l’école primaire?

8. Vous sera-t-il facile de trouver un emploi après votre éducation primaire? Pourquoi?

9. Aimeriez-vous devenir paysan?

10. Pourquoi Pas?

11. Ou chercheriez-vous du travail?

12. Quel genre d’emploi aimeriez-vous avoir?

13. Que pensez-vous des coopératives scolaires en Côte d’Ivoire?

14. Que pensez-vous des coopératives scolaires dans votre école?
15. Avez vous déjà participé aux activités d’une coopérative scolaire?

16. Qu’avez vous appris en étant membre d’une coopérative scolaire?

17. Quand vous auriez terminé votre cycle primaire, aimeriez-vous rester en milieu rural afin d’utiliser vos connaissances ou préféreriez-vous aller en ville?

18. Que pensez-vous de l’utilisation des coopératives comme un biais permettant d’apprendre aux jeunes à pouvoir gagner leur vie en milieu rural?
APPENDIX I

GUIDE D’INTERVIEW ENSEIGNANTS

1. Depuis combien d’années enseignez-vous? Quel niveau enseignez-vous?

2. Combien élèves avez-vous dans votre classe?

3. Quel est le pourcentage élèves qui présentent le concours d’entrée en sixième?
   a. Quel est le pourcentage de garçons?
   b. Quel est le pourcentage de filles?

4. Quel est le pourcentage qui réussi au concours d’entrée en sixième?
   a. pourcentage de filles?
   b. pourcentage de garçons?

5. Est-ce que tous vos élèves vont effectivement en sixième?

6. Et le reste?

7. Pourquoi ne vont-ils pas tous au collège?

8. Quelles sont les difficultés auxquelles ils font face?

9. Pensez-vous qu’ils sont préparés pour effectuer cette transition?


12. Pensez-vous que les élèves que vous avez en classe en ce moment sont préparés à gagner leur vie en travaillant comme des paysans?

13. Quels éléments de l’éducation qu’ils reçoivent en ce moment les préparent à une vie de paysan?
D'après vous, que doit-on leur enseigner pour les préparer à la vie de paysan?

14. Qui décide du curriculum que vous suivez pour enseigner dans votre école?
Qui décide de ce que vous enseignez à l'école ?

15. Avez vous déjà participé à cette prise de décision?

16. Aimeriez vous y prendre part?

17. Quelles recommandations feriez vous afin d'apporter un changement au curriculum/programme d'enseignement?

18. Est-ce qu'il existe une coopérative scolaire dans votre école?

19. Y-a-t-il des avantages à avoir une coopérative scolaire au niveau du cycle primaire?

20. Quels sont-ils?

21. Si vous ne trouvez pas qu'il y a des avantages certains à avoir une coopérative scolaire, donnez-nous les raisons qui soutiennent votre argumentation.

22. Si vous avez une coopérative scolaire dans votre école quelles en sont les activités.

23. Comment peut-on lier ces activités à la vie active?
APPENDIX J

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

1. How long have you been teaching? Which level are you teaching?
2. How many students do you have in your class?
3. What is the percentage of students who take the secondary school entrance examination?
   a. What is the percentage of male?
   b. What is the percentage of female?
4. What is the rate of success?
   a. rate for male candidates
   b. rate for female candidate
5. Do all the students actually go to secondary schools?
6. What happens to the ones who do not enter secondary schools?
7. Why don’t they go to secondary school?
8. What difficulties do they encounter?
9. Do you think they are prepared to make any transition?
10. Name 5 things they have learned in school and that you think will be useful to them after their primary education. Explain why?
11. Name five things they have learned at school and you think will be of no use to them? Explain why?
12. Do you think that your students today, are prepared to make a living as a peasant/farmer?
13. Which elements of the education they have received will likely prepare them to make a living as peasant/farmers?
13. Which elements in the education they are receiving now prepare them to the life of a peasant/farmer? What do you think they should be taught for them to be prepared for a future as peasants/farmers?

13. Who decide the curriculum you are teaching in your school?

14. Have you ever participated in that decision-making?

15. Would you like to?

16. Which recommendations would you make in order to affect any change to the curriculum?

17. Is there a school-based cooperative in your school?

18. Are there any advantages to having a school based cooperative at the primary level?

19. What are they?

20. If you do not think there are any advantages to having a school based cooperatives in a primary school give the reasons to support that argumentation?

21. What are the activities of the school based cooperative in your school if there is any?

22. How can those activities be linked to active life?
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