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EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN FRANCOPHONE AFRICA:  
A REVIEW OF ISSUES AND CONSTRAINTS

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## 1. Scope and Format of the Report:

By way of introduction to the general concepts of educational reform and innovation the report will begin with a discussion of trends in educational reform, particularly those which have the greatest application to Francophone Africa. It will then discuss the barriers to educational reform in this region and suggest some policy provisions that, when included in the reform process, can be crucial to the success of an educational reform. Included as an appendix are the proposed reform programs of Togo, Senegal, Benin, and Upper Volta in outline form. These reform proposals will provide the reader with examples of the comprehensive nature of educational reform in Francophone Africa today, and provide a background for the discussion of constraints to reform, the focus of this paper.

## 2. Definition of Educational Reform, Patterns and Trends:

Reform is commonly presented as a detailed innovation which leads to radical structural change affecting educational ideology, objectives, strategies, and priorities. It is generally accepted that when reform implies major structural change, it constitutes a political option. Reform, as an integral part of the overall process of social transformation involves significant changes in general educational objectives as well as in methods used to achieve these goals.

In the case of Francophone Africa the preference for comprehensive educational reform, or at least its rhetoric, is evident in country proposals which revamp entire systems rather than approaching isolated and fragmentary innovative changes within the educational system. When systemic reform is attempted, social, economic and political conditions must be harnessed to provide support and a favorable dispe-

sition to reform proposals. Blumenthal and Benson speak to this point in their work on educational reform in the Soviet Union: "What is required (for successful reform) is considerable political power and social will. Many of the reforms initiated in developing countries look as good as those carried out in the USSR, but the phrase carried out is the operative one. Too often, less developed countries' reforms are exercises in imagination of what should be done if the government could only exert sufficient pressure on the country's behalf and if the government could withstand counter-pressure from teachers and students." (Blumenthal and Benson, 1978 p. 84) When social will and political powers are in conflict, educational reform remains unimplemented policy. Underlying this impediment is a basic misunderstanding of social and political constraints to successful reform. It is hoped that this paper will help in the understanding and elimination of some of these barriers.

Reforms can be characterized by the following attributes:

1. concern with the elimination or reduction of educational elitism and the educational systems poor adaptation to employment and cultural needs;

2. an increase in the scale of educational endeavors owing to the continued population growth and increased demand for education which is perceived as the 'ticket to success';

3. a shift in focus of education subjects from academic to 'practical areas' such as technology and agriculture;

4. democratization of access to the educational system with universal primary enrollment as a frequent social goal;

5. desire to emphasize African heritage and the cultural relevance of the curriculum in support of nationalism;

6. the establishment of a comprehensive educational link to employment policy;

7. an ideological and political component that potentially, constrains the reform process;

8. inclusion in overall social strategies for change without necessarily clearly defined priorities for planning and implementation, of the educational segment of general social reform; and

9. a remarkable continuity in maintenance of the previous educational system which is manifest in the continued reliance on:

- a. teaching equipment: texts and materials that are rarely innovative
- b. learning theory and teaching techniques that do not introduce substantial variation from standard policies, and
- c. continued exterior guidance in the selection and implementation of teaching techniques and educational materials

As was stated earlier, educational reform is a system-wide phenomenon, beyond the confines of the educational sector and infused with social and political dimensions. Richard Sack notes that, "The very idea of educational reform tends to be linked to broader notions of societal change or, at least, of better systems maintenance at a societal level." ( Sack, 1979, p. 38 ) Reform has to date, been the avenue of choice when leaders are faced with a disgruntled public, and the options present are maintenance of the status quo, reform or revolution. Increasingly education has been expected to substantially shoulder the task of revamping social demands and aligning social expectations behind the national unity of various ethnic and linguistic groups. At the same time parental and community expectations remain traditional and address the

personally perceived needs of local children as defined at a community or household level. It is this basic contradiction in national and individual priorities, and educational conception which undermines many reform efforts. The very nature of the conceptualization process of educational reform often augments the potential for national versus individual conflict, thus condemning reform to an implementation beleaguered with opposition. The focus of this paper is the analysis of these conflicts and others which are, in part, responsible for the dearth of successful educational reforms in Francophone Africa.

### 3. Educational Reforms: Reform Issues in Francophone Africa:

Reform in Francophone Africa south of the Sahara can be characterized by the following aspects:

#### 3.1 Basic Education

Basic education is committed to a program of democratization, decentralization, and cultural revitalization of the educational system in Africa, as well as the provision of basic skills in traditional academic subjects. It is underscored by the concept of lifelong learning in an effort to tap all human resources for development. The priority of basic education is the provision of minimum basic skills for everyone, with emphasis in the rural sectors which have traditionally been the most educationally underserved. Illiteracy amongst rural farmers has been identified as a major block to the introduction of innovation in the rural sector and thus education of this sector is seen as a development priority. Basic education is regarded as a tool of development.

Economic and social mobility are often perceived as the outcomes of basic education in the rural sector despite the overall

programs emphasis on agricultural and rural development subjects and the reduction of pure academic subjects. It is the contention of this policy that rural resources will be enhanced and that the rural sector will lead the way toward national development. Academic and theoretical subjects are consequently relegated to a lesser status in the face of 'functional' coursework. This is not to infer that skills training in numeracy and literacy is ignored, on the contrary they are perceived as fundamental to the development goals of the nation.

Overall objectives of basic education programs are to produce self-reliant, literate, and skilled citizens who will actively participate in, and contribute to the country's economic and social development. Methods of delivery include the use of local languages in radio and television teaching, traditional instruction, instructional innovations such as programmed teaching and correspondence or distance learning, and numerous variations or combinations of these methods. In general, programs include studies in agriculture, cottage industries, cooperatives, literacy and numeracy, health and home care.

### 3.2 Universal Primary Education

Universal primary education is an attempt to meet the growing demand within all sectors of the population for access to minimum educational opportunities for primary-school-aged children. This is a fundamental priority of the educational system in most developing countries. It has spawned the use of several innovative delivery systems in an effort to satisfy demand within the financial constraints of educational systems in developing countries. The ramifications of universal education are most strongly revealed in the need for more well trained teachers, and in the demand for alternative methods of instruction to meet burgeoning demand with shrinking fiscal resources. Educational systems have tradition-

ally attempted to meet these needs by increased teacher training and expansion of existing educational programs. Innovative instruction delivery and the use of new technologies for classroom construction are two areas that have been called upon in the need to identify ways of meeting universal education requirements.

### 3.3 Language Policy

Use of indigenous languages as the medium of instruction and/or as a subject of the curriculum reflects the growing concern within Francophone Africa that indigenous culture and language have been neglected for too long, and that there is an imperative need to revitalize national affiliation with indigenous culture so as to establish a true sense of independence. It is understood however, that with revitalization comes a heightened awareness of sub-national and ethnic identities which can lead to internal division and if not properly managed, a threat to national cohesion. Potential for educational isolation and subject limitation are also factors to be dealt with in language policy decisions. The desirability of an 'external language' as a window to the world and as a linguistic tool for higher education is obvious, but these requirements do not negate the desirability of expanded functions for indigenous languages particularly within education. While language policy decisions remain controversial, they are a primary component in many reform programs.

### 3.4 Curricular Reform

Curricular reform is a major objective of all reforms reviewed. The academic thrust of the former colonial systems is the target of reforms that seek to respond specifically to the agricultural and rural based economies of the Third World. Skills training and needs spe-

cific programs are the educational goals of curricular reform. Within Francophone Africa these objectives are reflected in various programs from school farm projects to rural learning centers representing a fundamentally reorganized school system more appropriate to rural needs. Revisions in curricula also include historic and civic education programs which focus on the social and political ideologies of the state.

### 3.5 Lifelong Learning and Adult Education

Lifelong and adult nonformal education programs are designed to reach large segments of the adult and dropout populations that have either not had the opportunity to go to school, or have left school before completing primary education, and as a consequence, are not literate. Also addressed by these programs is specific skills training particularly in the agricultural and health sectors. These programs are viewed as cost effective approaches of reaching large segments of the under-educated and uneducated adult population. They are also considered a mechanism for rural education of 'marginal' populations, which can potentially be reproduced by participants in the program through the training of village and community based leadership.

### 3.6 Teacher Training

Teacher education continues to be a core feature of educational reform in Francophone Africa. Teachers are the embodiment of the paradox which is reform of the post colonial educational systems in Africa. As products of the colonial educational structure, they reflect teaching methodologies and curricular requirements which are not supportive of nor even compatible with educational reforms proposed. Faced with multiple, often conflicting social, political, and educational

demands, poorly trained teachers are illequipped to successfully implement educational reform, which they often oppose. Teacher-associated expenses, salaries in particular, commonly account for eighty to ninety percent of recurrent costs in any given educational budget, which makes teachers a costly component of the educational system especially when they act to undermine reform. Given these high costs and the potential barrier to reform that teachers pose, the need for attentive teacher training is obvious. It is also important to remember that many teachers at the elementary level are virtually untrained requiring even more emphasis on teacher training components in reform strategies and programs. Teachers must be able and willing to skillfully use educational innovations and technologies such as radio and television, and methodological techniques introduced by educational reform. They are, at the same time, expected to manage substantially larger classes and to work with chronic supply and text shortages, not to mention frequently irregular payment schedules. With the introduction of instructional innovation has come a concerted effort to improve and reform teacher training programs, but the short supply of staff for training programs, facilities for training and increasing costs of delivery of training programs, has presented major obstacles to teacher training reform in most Francophone African countries.

### 3.7 Education Administration

Education administration has been under the control of various ministerial authorities throughout the transition from colony to independent state. With these transitions have come confusion of ministerial responsibilities, which often results in overlapping program authority and conflicting policy responsibility. The bureaucratic maze that multiple responsibility

for program development and implementation creates is a major contributor to the snail-like pace of educational reform. Consolidation of responsibilities for educational programs is another reform recommendation of many of the programs reviewed.

### 3.8 Cost and Efficiency Issues

Increasing educational costs coupled with growing demand for expanded access to schooling represent a serious problem for educational systems when national budgets cannot afford to expend greater amounts on education. Maintenance of educational costs given this situation have taken the form of increased class size and innovative teaching techniques. Recent research has indicated that moderate increases in class size do not adversely affect learning levels or achievement, however it does necessitate the adaptation of teaching techniques which can better accommodate a larger student teacher ratio. Less rigid and specially designed teaching methods are being developed as a result of educational reform in this area. Some of the techniques include the use of communication technology while others rely on concepts such as programmed teaching and peer teaching.

Other areas which reform efforts are addressing with regard to cost and efficiency are the issues of high internal inefficiency reflected in an excessive drop out and repeater rate, school mapping and the construction of appropriate buildings which have multiple purposes, and questions of curricular and administrative problems which have already been mentioned.

### 4. Constraints: Why Plans Never Become Working Programs

While many countries have put forth skillfully crafted programs for reform, implementation of these programs is not taking place. The political arguments commonly heard, that reform is not a government priority or that reform movements are not based upon widespread recognition of needed change,

do not offer a satisfactory explanation for the failure of these reform programs. In many cases reform was considered a priority and education was viewed as a legitimate and integral aspect of development policy. The primary question that faces reform minded governments and other agencies is why, given high levels of popular and financial support, reform programs have failed to materialize.

#### 4.1 Policy Conceptualization

The UNDP evaluation of educational innovation and reform analyzed program conceptualization practices and identified some important practices that have led to stalemates between ministerial officials and reform participants in past projects. UNDP identifies three procedures of policy and program conceptualization which often have very different results. The distinguishing variable in each of these procedures is the level of participation of all parties effected by reform. These participant levels are defined as:

1. nominal participation
2. consultative participation
3. open dialogue

At the first level of policy conceptualization and program formulation real participation takes place only at the ministerial level. While mention may be made of an integrated strategy of policy and program formulation, all major decisions are reached within the hierarchy of the ministries responsible for education. The distinct disadvantage of this process and the potential for reform failure stem from the exclusion of popular perceptions of educational needs, and the misunderstanding of the importance of popular support for reform. There are two evident reasons for this approach: economic and political. Within a centralized

state structure the likelihood of open negotiation with all reform participants is not very great. The political infrastructure cannot accommodate participatory decision making. The second aspect concerns the cost of participatory policy proceedings. Such an approach is costly in economic and administrative terms. However the results of a closed door policy procedure calls into question the notion of cost when one considers the overall waste involved in reform planning that cannot or will not be implemented because program conceptualization failed to determine needs and acceptable approaches to needs satisfaction. The cost of a failed program is always excessive.

Consultative participation involves various segments of the population who provide regional and community level input into the conceptualization process. This approach to policy formulation demands a political structure which will allow public discussion and is willing to compromise. There are organizational problems that have particular relevance to Francophone Africa. The lack of well defined ministerial responsibilities can be a barrier to the success of this process, as can the selection of participants. This latter element in the consultative process is a potentially divisive one, but a fundamentally important one. Selection of participants should be conducted in such a way as to include all major perspectives of the reform. Cost of this approach is greater than the previous one, but if reform conceptualization is comprehensive, the potential for program implementation is increased and the possibility of successful reform is enhanced. In this sense the economic expenditure may result in actual reform.

The third strategy of open participation and negotiation, much in

line with a recent Senegalese attempt, is a process in which input from all sources is solicited. From an efficiency perspective this is a cumbersome method. Beyond simple questions of logistics and information processing is the ability of the government to absorb participatory input in an effective manner. It will be of interest to follow the reform programs that will be developed from the Senegalese process and important to learn how the process worked or did not work.

The theoretical benefit from open participation is that such participation results in policy conceptualization and program formulation which have, as their foundation, popular support and an understanding on the part of all concerned of the expectations of the reform. It will become evident as this discussion continues that there is no simple solution to reform failure and that even if policy conceptualization is 'perfect' the reasons for failure are multiple and reform success is elusive.

#### 4.2 Administrative Barriers

Inherent in conceptualization and formulation problems are administrative barriers. Bureaucratic inertia, often pervasive, is a major stumbling block to reform, and one that is not quickly remedied. Corruption must also be recognized as a bureaucratic reality and a contributor to inefficient and ineffective administration. Both of these problems are not new nor are they exclusively the property of African bureaucracies, but they do hamper, and often substantially, the process of reform.

Even within a relatively efficient administration there are a variety of operating constraints which impede reform progress. Ministerial overlap has already been mentioned; it is a common problem and one which is frequently noted in reform strategies as a priority concern.

The lack of well trained staff to gather information, to plan and to administer reform projects is a basic administrative problem. The continued dependence upon under-qualified national staff and foreign personnel will be a major obstacle to reform success. The continued reliance upon foreign personnel, no matter how culturally attuned they may be, perpetuates dependency and is costly. On the other hand the reliance upon ill-qualified personnel can be even more detrimental to reform through the inefficient and inept handling of the reform process. Potential for failure is increased when personnel directing an already complex and tedious process of input gathering and policy formulation do not have adequate training or expertise to carry out the process successfully.

The effective use of expertise is also a potentially costly and wasteful endeavor that may not result in moving reform forward. When it is necessary to seek 'experts' it is essential to define the role of the expertise sought and to delineate needs through national perceptions not expert priorities. Countries must also be skillful in the application of expert findings and technological recommendations which are fundamentally sound in the developed world but may not be so readily adaptable in developing countries.

Educational technologies are examples of innovation which are appealing but not necessarily appropriate. Televised teaching has had mixed effects in the Ivory Coast because, while it may offer an innovative solution to teacher shortages, it has proven to be an unacceptable substitute for classroom interaction particularly between student and teacher in the eyes of parents and students alike. The problem stems from conservative parental expectations combined with the introduction of technologies in a technologically unsophisticated setting. Such techno-

logy risks disruption and ultimate rejection. By contrast, radio has had several successful applications to nonformal and innovative educational delivery. It is a far more widely accepted technology and one which does not appear to be disruptive in some educational settings.

Another problem that often occurs in conjunction with the use of technology in educational reform is the acquisition of overly complex and inappropriate innovations which increase reliance on external expertise and maintenance. This problem of overly ambitious projects is not isolated to technologies but occurs frequently in other reform areas. The establishment of achievable project priorities and objectives in the face of political and social demand, within the boundaries of fiscal limitations, is a difficult task but one which is fundamental to the success of the reform. Increasing the complexity of this issue are regional and ethnic pressures on governments to set priorities that will favor previously under-served or neglected groups and geographic areas.

Associated with external expertise and technologies are the potential constraints present in the form of aid from bilateral and multilateral donors. Contributions of assistance are not culture-free nor are they unattached to donor requirements. Donor influence and participation in reform must be recognized and planned for in reform strategies. The decision to request a specific type of assistance carries with it distinct influences on the shape and outcome of the reform process. At the same time the decision on the part of donor agencies and governments to contribute selectively to reform proposals also effects the ultimate product. Material for textbook production or classroom construction is a distinctly different contribution than that of teachers or curriculum experts. Ultimately the decision is an administrative and political one

which is the responsibility of the recipient country and must be accounted for from the the very beginning, from conceptualization through program implementation.

Recognizing the administrative barriers outlined so far, it should be apparent that reform programs must be conceived in sufficiently flexible forms to allow for maneuvering when blocks are encountered. A major reason for reform failure has been the inflexibility of reform planning and the inability of reform projects to adjust to unforeseen problems. Mechanisms for feedback at every level of the reform process are not incorporated into the planning and implementation of reforms. Reform policy is viewed as a static process, an all or nothing framework, generally at the macro-societal level. The process of fine-tuning or program adjustment is an often neglected dimension of reform planning. One reason for this neglect is the lack of responsiveness to feedback when it exists, and more often the dearth of any mechanism for gathering feedback from reform implementors and participants. This is also partially reflected at the conceptualization stage where policy formulation is rarely an open process and feedback is not generally sought.

A structural impediment to this interaction has been previously mentioned, namely the overlapping ministerial responsibilities for reform projects and an unclear delineation of program territory. Where there is confusion over program responsibility experiential feedback is likely to be lost in the shuffle. As a consequence of this problem several countries reform projects include administrative streamlining efforts and centralization of ministerial responsibilities in education. Administrative duplication is not only costly but ultimately it leads to a flawed policy process.

### 4.3 Social Integration of Reform

The integration of reform into the social and economic structure is a priority for long term reform success. At the level of social integration the reform program must provide participants the opportunity to enter or re-enter an existing social function, or create a new role which is socially recognized and accepted as legitimate. Does a non-mainstream rural-based curriculum prepare students to actively participate in the rural economy or does it leave their integration to chance? There are numerous examples of agriculturally based curricula which have left students frustrated between their inability to continue an academically oriented program and the lack of access to land needed to practice their newly acquired skills. The failure of other educational reforms and the development of dual educational systems has resulted in part from the misreading of labor force requirements and the unexpectedly strong parental support for conventional academic education. Neglecting to sufficiently integrate reform programs into social and economic environments will not work to the success of the reform.

A fundamental aspect to social integration is parental perception of the reform benefits. This is basic to the overall public support for proposed policy changes. Attempts to enlist parental support should begin at the conceptualization stage of the policy process. If that is not possible there must be some mechanism within the reform measures that can elicit and incorporate such feedback. Public support for reform can be engendered in many ways from purely nationalistic terms, to forms based on economic incentives or in attempts to revitalize authentic culture in the de-emphasis of Western influence on national identity.

In like manner there must also be demonstrable official government support for reform manifest in clear signals to the general public. If reform is not embraced by the government or if official support is weak any reform program initiated by official sources is unlikely to be embraced by the general public.

Cultural accommodation is another dimension to the integration issue. This becomes of particular importance when technological innovations are included in the reform package. The use of radio technology for example, benefits from sensitivity to language requirements, social habits, and indigenous work schedules. The relative simplicity of these accommodations are frequently overlooked in program implementation. It should also be noted that not all cultural and social restrictions are so easily integrated into reform plans. Religious and political obstacles can be, and often are major barriers to reform. This is of central importance to countries in which there is a religious or politicized ethnic demarcation which requires delicate and sensitive management. Reform efforts in Senegal to accommodate Koranic schools is the type of barrier which is not easily overcome. However negotiations and compromise should be attempted for the success of the general reform program.

#### 4.4 Educational Constraints

Educational constraints do not limit themselves to the four walls of the classroom but rather cover the range of educational issues that accompany the acquisition of knowledge and information. One of the principal obstructions to educational reform, specifically curricular reform, is the pervasive definition of education as academic training in a conventional classroom. Social and economic status continue to be tied to the

credentials produced in educational institutions. As long as the social and economic structure in the society continues to reward only these credentials, educational reforms offering non-credentialed alternatives, or alternatives in non-academic fields will be of limited success. What has occurred in the past has been the unwanted development of a dual educational structure that has statistically altered educational imbalances with regard to access but has not addressed questions of economic and social mobility which remain solely the rewards of academic institutions. The social hierarchy works to maintain this division and reform programs must be aware of the implications of their reform policies vis-a-vis the reproduction of the social hierarchy while raising the expectations of students and parents which cannot be met through a dual system.

Innovation in teaching and instructional delivery systems is hampered by the inability of school systems to supply adequately trained teaching staffs capable of successfully employing innovative techniques and instructional technologies. Despite government efforts to increase the number of trained and qualified teachers, educational systems in the Third World in general are plagued by teacher shortages. Further complicating this barrier to effective innovation and reform are the numbers of under-qualified or poorly trained teachers that do exist in schools and who often use inappropriate pedagogy and exhibit irregular commitment to their teaching responsibilities. In many cases these problems are the result of not only insufficient training opportunities but reflect low and irregular pay for teachers, and a continually falling social status within the society. The practice of funneling the academically weakest students into the teaching profession is of particular concern for the reform of teacher training.

It is impossible to implement new pedagogical strategies without addressing the level of teacher training that exists at this time.

There is also a sociological barrier to the introduction of instructional innovation and resistance on the part of teachers. Individuals who have succeeded academically and are products of an elite educational system are inclined to reproduce this elitest system. Teacher-student hierarchies are control mechanisms just as there were during the colonial period. These rigid structures support teacher perceptions of students as 'empty vessels' to be filled with knowledge through rote learning and unquestioned discipline. This banking theory of learning is but one of the many 'hangovers' of the colonial educational system. Because teachers are not necessarily change-oriented and because they are products of a conservative teacher training system, implementation of reform and innovative curricula must first confront teacher expectations and attitudes, seeking to change attitudes that will impede reform. This, in many cases, is a slow and frustrating process but one which remains the basis of successful reform implementation.

Parental opposition to reform programs can be just as damaging as teacher resistance. Often there is little support among parent groups for reforms which they perceive as second rate and inferior to 'pure' academic curricula. The essence of the problem lies in the concept of education and expected advantages gained from academic education. Many parents do not want to invest in technical and agricultural education systems because the conventional wisdom has been that social and economic accomplishment stems from academic achievement not skills training. Convincing parents of the advantages of other than a pure academic cur-

riculum requires attention to parental concerns about education and a careful demonstration of the potential rewards of the alternative system. Parental resistance is based upon a clear understanding of the reward structure in the society and consequently reform of the educational system must also also reflect change in that structure. If it does not, the likelihood of parental support for change is not high. In other words the constraint is far broader than simple parental resistance to change; it requires social and economic accommodation of educational reform so that rewards are attached to achievement in the reformed system just as they are in the conventional system. Once a reformed curriculum is integrated into the social and economic reward structure, opposition to reform will diminish and the acceptance of change will be more far-reaching.

The failure to link reform goals and program objectives with traditional and cultural constraints such as land tenure practices in the case of agriculturally based curricular reform, is a primary example of the type of nonintegration which can undermine reform implementation. What are the incentives to adopt a 'rural' curriculum; is there opportunity to use and benefit from the newly acquired skills and is there sufficient social and economic reward in the decision to remain in the rural sector and to participate in a reformed system? Despite the great disincentives present students still clamor to enroll in academic programs. What then are the incentives to lure students and parents from competition for places in the elite system, and to assure their support of the reform? This is an important consideration in any strategy to implement reform, but one which is not often seriously confronted.

#### 4.5 Political Considerations

Before seeking barriers to reform in less obvious political environs

it should be clear that a basic stumbling block to reform is political instability. While stability at any cost is not desirable, it must be recognized that any reform process must have a stable political base from which to be launched . Internal civil strife renders the possibility of successful reform highly unlikely. There must be a recognized and legitimate authority within the society which is able to negotiate and implement reform. Given the multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious nature of Francophone Africa, political constraints and questions of political legitimacy are of primary concern in any reform effort. Ethnic and cultural identity as manifest in language, religion, and group affiliation, present several sources of problems. Language is frequently a target of educational reform but rarely is it a straight forward issue. Linguistic diversity within reform areas often limits the ability and the willingness of reformers to effectively address the language policy issues which are integral to overall reform policies. There are numerous and articulate arguments for the maintenance of French as a language of instruction just as there are for the use of indigenous linguistic resources. What is primary to the debate however is that individual countries recognize language issues as political and economic questions as well as linguistic, and that they resolve these issues within that expanded arena. In any reform of an educational system in a multilingual country active language policies must be formulated and they must be a cohesive and integral element of the general reform program. Laissez-faire policies only prolong linguistic problems which will contribute to reform failure.

Religion is a political force particularly in countries where Koranic schools compete with government and Christian schools. As a political

force it should be recognized as a potential obstacle to reform, but also as a potential ally to reform programs. When governments seek to accommodate religious factors in reform programs the results can be to the advantage of both reform and religion. Koranic schools for example, can be a valuable supplement or even alternative to state run schools just as Christian schools have been for some period. Religious accommodation however, is not a simple matter, rather it is a delicate issue which must be handled with adept negotiation and compromise. It like language, cannot be left to its own devices without considerable risk of repercussion at some later time.

Central to reform success is a willingness by the ruling elite to broaden access to their power base, and to share economic and social benefits with a wider segment of the society. This is not a platitude but a necessary pre-condition of reform. There can be no effective change if the power source is unwilling to re-allocate social and economic benefits; a basic redistribution of access to power within the social structure. If no such commitment exists reform can be little more than the introduction of fragmented innovations which will ultimately have little if any effect. As indicated at the outset of this report, reform is structural change. To disregard the issue of social, economic and political access is to isolate educational reform in the classroom. True educational reform cannot take place without social reform. Constraints previously discussed are based in the social structure and if educational reform is to be successful this structure must also change. Education is not isolated from society, it is a product of social demand and an integral element of social development. To effect change in the social means of shaping attitudes, values, aspirations and skills without concomitant change in

the social hierarchy is fruitless and potentially disruptive. Perhaps this underlies the failure of reform over the past ten years in many Francophone countries. What has masqueraded as reform has actually been innovative tinkering with the educational system limited to the classroom and teacher training.

The continued dependence upon developed countries for reform resources and educational expertise can have a double edged effect. There are many benefits to be derived from the interaction of developed and developing countries particularly in education. What is important in this relationship is the emphasis on cooperation and interaction and the discouragement of imposition and exploitation. Developing countries must not become experiments in educational reform or 'dumping grounds' for technological innovations. This is a shared responsibility but one that ultimately rests with recipient nations who must determine the standards and objectives of their educational reforms and the means of achieving these goals.

#### 4.6 Economic Constraints

Reform is costly in both monetary and social terms. Governments are increasingly seeking methods of reform which improve major inefficiencies in their school systems because costs of increased educational demand can no longer be met by expanding budgets. Any educational reform program, or for that matter innovation has dramatic cost implications. Whether the reform includes upgrading of teacher training or expansion of primary education the cost factors act as significant constraints to the method of reform and the potential for reform implementation. Governments must struggle to reform systems within rigid fiscal boundaries. Given these constraints, reform minded nations seek indigenous solutions

to reform needs with genuine grassroots participation and increased local support for schooling through donations of building skills and other infrastructural dimensions of reform. Despite community efforts financial constraints must be determined at the conceptualization stage of policy formulation and methods of deterring costs as well as managing costs should be an integral aspect of reform planning. If countries do not accurately calculate costs and potential sources of revenue the best laid plans for reform will be subjugated to financial barriers which could ultimately cause the failure of the reform program. In conjunction with cost estimation is the need for program management which will ensure that expenditures are properly determined and that costs are exclusively those of legitimate expenses associated with the reform.

5. Potential for Reform in Francophone Africa: Will the reform plans of the seventies become the successes of the eighties?

It should be apparent from the discussion that reform in Francophone Africa is not a simple matter of formulating a neatly packaged project to overhaul an educational system. If educational reform is to be successfully implemented there must be:

1. commitment to social-structural change on the part of the government and the elites within the society which will allow for broader access to social and economic benefits for the population as a whole;

2. inclusive participation of the population to be effected by the reform in every dimension of the policy process; if not at the conceptualization stage, then at some point in the process where input can successfully be integrated with the final project;

3. a financial and political commitment by all parties concerned with

reform; this necessitates a well conceived project and one that has been effectively embraced by the state and public; and

4. the participation of donor agencies and nations which reflects terms of mutual benefit, but with priority for the needs and objectives of the recipient country's reform program.

These broadly defined components for successful reform are the baseline of any reform project but do not reveal the formula for individual country's programs. Rather they serve as the fundamental components without which any reform would be unable to address the educational and social requirements of the population, and would remain ineffective or unimplemented. If educational reform is to effect the allocation of power, political and economic, then it must enjoy the benefits of social influence and support which would allow it to bring about change. Historically education has been the step-child of social planning, and while its importance as an ingredient in development strategies has been recognized, it has rarely been acknowledged as a key mechanism for the restructuring of social inequities. In many reform projects the intent is not to transform but to assuage, and therefore reform efforts become isolated innovations or unsuccessful educational programs. When and where genuine reform efforts are exerted, the process is arduous and long term, and requires the commitment of many segments of the government and the society as well as donor participation.

Donors must assess their capabilities, both political and economic, so as to develop a specific strategy for donor participation in reform which may require substantial involvement for an extended length of time. Without a clearly articulated position donors cannot expect to be effective.

Once a strategy has been developed and priorities set, it then is incumbent upon both the donor and the recipient country to establish acceptable forms and levels of participation in the reform. The role for donor agencies such as AID should be multiple. Most developing countries lack the expertise and data infrastructure to gather and process baseline data necessary for conceptualization and formulation of reform approaches. Developed nations have these capabilities, and despite the reservations mentioned regarding dependence upon external expertise, involvement in the establishment of such data and in the building of indigenous capabilities in this area is a donor intervention which can facilitate reform. The risk of such assistance is demonstrated by several examples in Latin America where personnel were trained and centers were established to collect and process social data, only to be eliminated by an unforeseen political upheaval. Another donor practice which addresses this and other needs is participant training, which has some advantages but is also encumbered with several basic problems. A third approach to the lack of highly trained planners and social scientist is institution building, a costly and controversial attempt at donor assistance.

Perhaps the initial task for agencies such as AID is to elaborate an internal policy, identifying its own resources and expertise, and developing a strategy which defines the functions of education as perceived by the agency, based on a well informed approach to individual country needs. This necessitates indepth knowledge of the state of education in recipient countries along with social/economic indicators. The education sector within the Africa Bureau, in conjunction with field personnel should

develop this knowledge and basic data, and update it regularly so as to be abreast of specific in-country situations and able to recommend reform proposals from a position of solid awareness of needs, objectives and obstacles. To date sector studies for African education are nonexistent within the agency, and shared information between bilateral and multi-lateral agencies is insufficient. Both of these circumstances should be changed to improve AIDs role in educational reform policy. Continued cooperation between the agency's research division and the Africa bureau should be a priority with the bureau actively encouraging research in educational fields it has identified as important to educational objectives in participant countries.

Once requests have been received from recipient countries for assistance in some aspect of the reform process AID should be able to respond with appropriate technologies, expertise and program suggestions based on in-office capabilities and the network of experts available to the agency. Of particular importance in this role is AIDs ability to flag potential obstacles which should be apparent to the agency once it has gathered baseline data and tapped the wealth of experience the agency has had in educational reform. To this end there should also be a marked increase in the internal cooperation between education offices for various geographic regions in the agency. The sharing of successes and failures is a valuable resource which does not seem to be a regular source for program information at this time. The current educational reform in Liberia is a prime example of a program which is based upon successes in similar reforms for Korea and the Philippines.

In the formulation of an AID education strategy and policy position

the agency should strive to facilitate educational reforms that meet the needs of largely excluded segments of the population, despite the great expense and difficulty of this task, and to support reforms that are genuinely addressing country objectives. For example there is growing research which indicates a correlation between educational level and increased productivity, especially in agriculture. While this is encouraging and helpful support for increased expenditure in education, it should not be a justification for agricultural training programs at the expense of other reform alternatives. The longstanding contention of educators that education is basic to development should not be cornered into a cost-benefit ratio and restricted to benefits directly attributable to level of education or type of education. The benefits of education are far more pervasive and not a totally measurable element or effect in society. Reform and support for reform should be based on the broader social dimensions already described.

Many of the constraints defined in this report are internal issues of recipient countries, that donor agencies will have little impact upon. However with a well defined educational policy, donor agencies are better equipped to argue their position when support is sought from potential recipient countries. It then becomes a decision of the recipient country to accept or reject the donor's position. If the donor agency is genuinely committed to education as a mechanism of development and equitable distribution of social and economic benefits, it will support programs which seek to reduce constraints to educational equity and facilitate educational opportunity for population segments formerly excluded.

An internal memorandum from policy and program coordination sought to substantiate AID's continued support of educational investment

and in doing so made an important observation about the inherently inefficient view of educational policy which is prevalent in many donor agencies including AID. It is the tendency to regard education policies in dichotomies, formal versus nonformal, education versus human resource training, infrastructure versus educational technologies, and education policies versus agriculture and other development policies. This approach obscures a reality of development, namely that education is an integral component of development, and that education and skills training are the basis of adaptability and change, and thus the bedrock of development. It is from this perspective of education that policy must be derived and developed so that education can play an integral role in development strategies in the Third World.

I. Appendix: Reform Programs of Senegal, Benin, Upper Volta, and Togo

### Original Reform in Senegal, Enseignement Moyen Pratique (EMP)

This is the major innovation to come out of the Education Orientation Act of 1971. Two essential goals of the middle-level practical education are:

1. to ensure the level of knowledge acquired and to put it to practical use; and

2. to enable young people to enter the productive forces of the country

Goals, according to former President Senghor, were to reinforce the training of students who have finished primary school but who would not otherwise continue on to middle-level training or education; it is pre-professional skills training. The objectives are four:

1. consolidation and reinforcement of learning that has taken place at the primary level;

2. pre-professional training for rural youth aged 12-18;

3. placement of these youth into rural production forces so as to abate rural flight; and

4. to contribute to long-term economic and social development.

### Theoretical pedagogical construct:

#### I. First phase: (9 months)

- A. analysis of community needs and assessment of methods to be used to satisfy the needs identified. EMP mediators will contact local populations for this initial work.

- B. joint assessment of the above

- C. identification of training needs

- D. identification of appropriate solutions

- E. once an acceptable program has been identified a FOYER is opened in the community

F. upon the opening of a Foyer or community training center, training is divided into three sections:

1. transition
2. training cycle
3. decentralization

The first period, transition, lasts three months and is an attempt at consciousness training, revamping of students' thinking and approach to knowledge acquisition; the student is taught to actively question his or her environment and to suggest improvements.

The training cycle is four years long; this time is spent alternating between general academic classes and skills training in manual arts.

Decentralization cycle is in one in which the teacher accompanies students to villages where through the training received the student should observe and attempt to ameliorate the village environment.

The initial plan as envisioned by Senghor was the establishment of 1200 FOYERS (400 in the urban sector) by 1982. To date there are not more than 50 foyers and they are all in the rural sector.

In February 1981 the Minister of Education organized open meetings to review the educational objectives of the proposed reforms in Senegal and to seek resolutions to the implementation problems that had plagued these reform proposals. The overall purpose of the series of conferences was to redefine the objectives of Senegalese education for the 1980s. The resulting policy agenda included identification of policy problem spots and definition of needed policy reforms.

A. Reform Priorities were defined as:

1. total universal enrollment as soon as possible; object date is the end of the decade
2. open education: lifelong education to include adult education and **re-entry** education for former dropouts
3. integrated education that seeks to reflect the needs of the community in cultural and ethnic authenticity and that will be a lever of change in the community.
4. religious instruction in state schools
5. revitalization of cultural and historical heritage via instruction in the schools

B. Budgetary Considerations

1. the need for an education budget
2. double session costs to meet universal enrollment expectations
3. productive work as an economically feasible resource
4. community management of schools and the costs of a decentralized system.

### C. Basic Education: Problems with the Concept as Implemented in Policy

Basic education was to be anchored in the social reality of the community with direct relationship to the rural and urban environment. It is a process of decentralization of the schools at the administrative level and a takeover of educational goals, methods, and procedures by regional and local people interested in the education of their children.

#### 1. Pre-school Education

It was viewed as the least democratic of the educational system, particularly given the inequalities between public and private sectors (68 private schools out of a total of 92 schools) The small number of schools indicates the elitest nature of pre-school education. There is also a disequilibrium in rural/urban distribution of schools.

#### 2. Primary Education

##### a. Problem of language of instruction:

1) when the mother tongue is used in public schools and the private schools use French. A dual school system is created with French speaking students having the advantage.

2) in multilingual settings the rural schools are in an even more confusing situation

##### b. Problem of religious studies:

The introduction of religious studies in the primary schools presents a problem of selection between Christian, Islamic and indigenous religions.

##### c. Problem of failed reform of 1971

Expected enrollment of 40% of the primary school age cohort was not met; classroom construction also fell short of goals

#### 3. Primary Education Reforms Outlined in 1981 Meetings

a) increased private sector responsibility for education given a 6.4% per annum growth rate of private schools in Senegal.

- b. re-establishment of existing educational structures
- c. to sensitize local populations to the need for and benefits of 100 percent enrollment
- d. study the possibility of double session use of schools, faculty, and other facilities. This would mean that only general courses would be taught in class while other integrated courses, such as the initiation of cultural and artistic methods would be taught outside of schools.
- e. rebuilding of schools in disrepair
- f. the use of innovative construction techniques and materials using locally produced materials and buildings adapted to the socio-economic environment and the extrapolation of tradition construction methods.
- g. above all there will be a community development plan for elementary education in which local collectives will actively participate in the administration of the schools.
- h. four years of teacher training for primary school teachers with various stages to assure a practical base: an observation period, student teaching in school annexes, teaching in rural schools and a final period where the student-teacher would have full classroom control.
- i. continuing teacher training to update teacher skills
- j. educational coops which use informal/non-formal methods to further civic and intellectual curiosity.

#### 4. Secondary and Middle Education

The major guidelines of the educational reform:

- 1) a democratic, African and continuing education
- 2) mass education with the acquisition of appropriate science and technology
- 3) education that is aimed at the production of individuals capable of transforming Senegalese dependence into development
- 4) the creation of middle schools as post-elementary schools composed of three track options:
  - a) general middle school, an academic option for higher education
  - b) technical middle school, a skills option for technical training
  - c) practical middle school, this concept was described in detail at the outset, it is designed to meet the needs of the rural population and the need for improved agricultural productivity
- 5) secondary education was divided into two options:
  - a) general education, theoretical **training** for higher education
  - b) technical/profession education
- 6) technical education was revamped including the elimination of some subject **areas** and the creation of an Office of Professional Education

#### 5. Structural Changes in Educational Administration

- 1) restructuring of administration modes for the national education system
  - a) the appointment of a single minister of education and training to integrate all sectors involved in education
  - b) decentralize the school system so as to encourage local input and participation in education
- 2) coordination of educational structures
  - a) institutionalization of general state conferences so as to integrate educational needs into state four year plans

- b) creation of a National Technical Commission to specialize in technical training assessment and needs prediction
- 3) restructuring of classtime, school year, and classroom use
  - a) double sessions
  - b) seasonal school year
  - c) innovative use of classrooms, open air classes

## Reform in Benin

The reform of the school presupposes and necessitates the simultaneous reform of all the social and economic sectors, and the consequent collaboration between the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Rural Development and The Ministry of Public Health.

### A. Reform Characteristics

1. Neither age nor the level at which compulsory schooling stops will be fixed dogmatically
2. the traditional type of examinations will be replaced with a new exam based on a continual assessment of knowledge gained; a key means of evaluation will be the use of index cards that record daily achievement; there will be a progressive orientation to knowledge acquisition, and specialization will be at all levels of the educational process
3. global structure of the New School:

An educational system consisting of two levels and a structure for out-of-school and post-school activities will be created.

- a) the first level is subdivided into :
  - 1) nursery school
  - 2) basic education
  - 3) middle level education
  - 4) polytechnical complex
- b) the second level will provide higher education of an academic nature
- c) The People's Center for Education, for Further Training and for Initiation to Production will combine all educational activities for those already in the workforce. The center is particularly concerned with literacy, correspondence courses, further training in technical skills, production initiation and educational recreation.

#### 4. New programs and school structures

- a) reorientation toward student-teacher hierarchy with an emphasis on information exchange
- b) no longer a banking process of education but its replacement with the notion of shared information would be the guiding concept
- c) rescheduling of the school calendar oriented around seasonal requirements of Benin, with regard for the link between teaching and practical life

#### B. The Structure of Basic Education in Benin

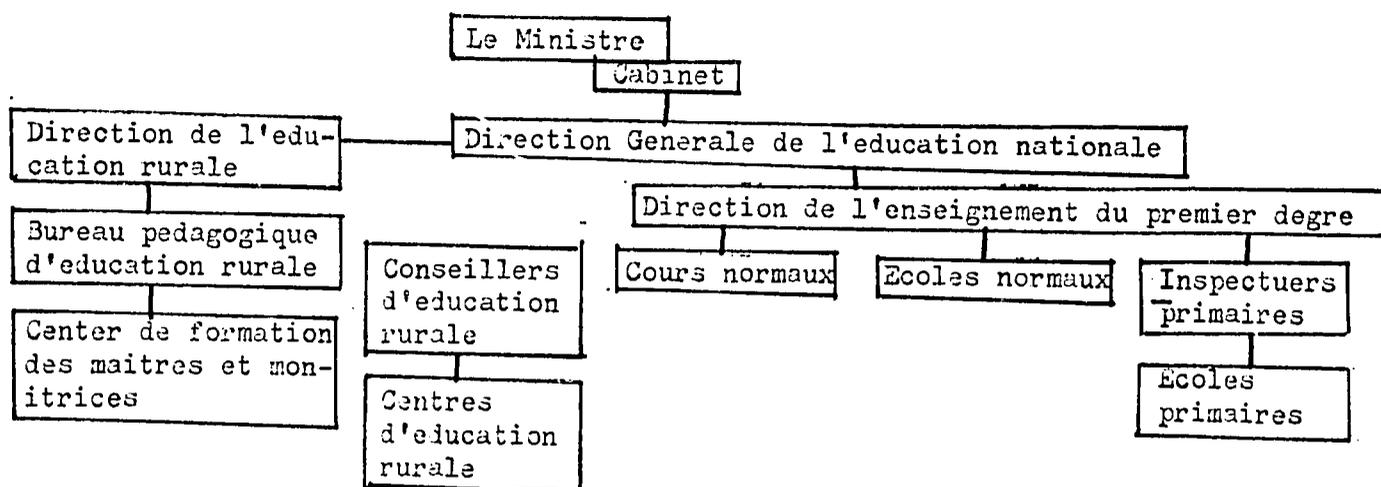
1. this level of education covers a period of five years, starting with children ages 5 and 6.
  - a) instrumental disciplines: mathematics, language, environmental studies, history, geography and natural sciences
  - b) practical activities : focus on crops, cattle farming, craftsmanship, gardening, cooking manual and technological rural and urban work
  - c) also included are: political, civil, military, artistic and physical education
2. 40 percent of the instructional time will be designated for theoretical teaching and 30 percent for practical teaching
3. School organization:
  - a) each school should be organized as a school cooperative with its own production unit
  - b) the school coop is set up to centralize all political, cultural, and productive activities
  - c) the school production unit will have an agricultural focus in 80 percent to ninety percent of the cases.
  - d) no diplomas will be awarded at the end of basic education programs, because of continuous evaluation, the ongoing process will be recorded and will reflect the students entire record

e) at the end of this stage the child will either enroll in vocational training or in the middle-level education.

## Basic Education in Upper Volta: Le Centre d'Education Rurale (CERs)

The initial concept of CERs was to create a system which was not a substitution for, or a rival to primary school, but rather an educational tool to attract youth aged twelve to fourteen who had either dropped out of primary school or who had never attended school. The goal of the program was to augment, as rapidly as possible, the productivity of the rural agricultural sector. The progressive establishment of these centers throughout the country, with a goal of 1,350 centers in four years was the country target. CER instructors are not required to have a regular teacher training certificate. Teacher contracts are for six years without provisions for pay increases. Salaries are approximately one half of a primary school teacher's salary. The instructors are given ten months of training divided by a training period in a regional development organization. There are three rural training centers forecast, two for men and one for women.

The general administration of CERs in Upper Volta's School Administration is illustrated in the diagram below:



The characteristics of CERs are:

1. villaged-based or location in communities in which primary schools donot exist within a ten kilometre radius
2. a three year program without the opportunity to repeat grades
3. a single classroom program which combines all three years in a one room school house concept

4. no diploma or certification of completion
5. the program is designed as a complete educational cycle not as a preparatory course
6. instructors for the CER are not called teachers but but facilitators to learning so as to:
  - a) distinguish the CERs from formal primary schools and
  - b) to diminish teacher training and recurrent costs because training is much less extensive and no certificate is awarded

A typical C.E.R. curriculum includes the following distribution of courses:

1. Morning hours are reserved for agricultural and practical training whether that be in the form of a work detail, or through agricultural techniques training in the classroom. Study included:

Boys training

- a. disinfection of seeds
- b. planting techniques
- c. research in ideal crop density vis a vis the use of natural and chemical fertilizers
- d. harvest techniques aimed at increased crop production

Girls training

- a. health care for children
- b. nutrition and cooking
- c. sewing
- d. house cleaning
- e. gardening

2. The school year follows the agricultural calendar commencing in May and continuing through March.

3. Educational teaching techniques also reflect the innovative approaches to learning:

- a. language training in French will be at the elementary level however it will also include four hundred vocabulary words specific to agriculture, civic instruction and hygiene
- b. teaching techniques and course contents will be adapted to the cultural milieu and the regional economic constraints

4. Agricultural co-operatives to market C.E.R. products will produce assets to be directed into the C.E.R. agricultural sectors through the purchase of fungicides, fertilizers and seed. These profits will also go towards the purchase of school supplies and equipment.

As of 1973 this program had failed to expand to the projected figures and the number of centers that had been established were not functioning as intended. In December of the same year new goals were defined and a

renewed effort, under the Minister of Planning and Rural Development was undertaken. As laid out in the 'new plan' the goal of the program is to educate a young person who will rediscover rural life, who will be prepared to take active part in traditional society and its setting, but for whom farming is no longer simply a way of life but a valued skill. This person will be someone who believes in farming and who will have at his disposal all necessary knowledge to be a successful farmer.

The new approach began with literacy training using the Freirean method but continuing to use French as the language of instruction. The expectation was that these skills, reading and writing, could be acquired in the mother tongue at a later date. The idea of a single teacher remained the same, however the teaching methods were to be far more integrated with the needs of the agricultural and rural sector. Mathematics would, for example, reflect the needs of a farmer in calculation of amount of seed needed for specific acreage.

The other major change was to make these centers a functioning part of the Ministry of Planning and Rural Development. In order to make the centers more integrated with their villages, twenty-five 'animateurs', in collaboration with the rural development secretariate, were put in place. Their major function was to convince local youth of the value of the program and to garner support for the project as well as to make the project a more acceptable aspect of the community.

## Reform in Togo

### A. Object of the Togolese Reforms:

1. Democratization of the New School
  - a. free schooling for ages 2-15
  - b. compulsory education for this age group
  - c. continuing education for adults and dropouts
  - d. rehabilitation of local languages
  - e. vocational tracking
2. Profitable School
  - a. professionally qualified teachers in sufficient numbers
  - b. locally manufactured teaching materials
  - c. new teacher-student relationship
  - d. after school educational institutions
  - e. parallel adult education structures
  - f. systematic health control for teachers and students
  - g. discouragement of repetition
  - h. integrated school system with development agents, teachers and parents
  - i. system of continuous evaluation of reform progress
  - j. special schools for handicapped students
3. School Adapted to Indigenous Culture
  - a. create an African linguistic institute, purely Togolese
  - b. develop Togolese language, train teachers in Togolese instruction, create materials in Togolese languages and enforce the teaching of two Togolese languages in the schools

## B. Structure of the New School

### 1. Four divisions

a. kindergarten 2 to 5 years old

b. primary school from 5 to 11; this level has three gradations of two

**years each:** all children who complete elementary school are automatically **promoted to middle school**

c. middle school consists of two levels:

1) cycle of observation; this represents the unification of all of the former sections:

a) Colleges d'enseignement general

b) Colleges d'enseignement technique

c) College d'enseignement agricole

d) colleges d'enseignement artistique et artisanal

2) Cycle d'orientation; a two year program of specialization leading to secondary schooling or work in a skill area

d. Secondary school specializations:

1) general education

2) technical education

3) agricultural education

4) art education

5) special schools

a) teacher's college

b) sports

c) midwifery

d) national center for social training

e. University

## C. Permanent Training Centers

These are to be set up in a manner so as to admit students of all levels and workers who wish to improve skills.

1. centers are semi-self-sustaining
2. a system of National Civil Service of one years duration will be available to man the centers. This personnel will participate in the production sector toward self-sustaining income.

#### D. School Administration

Central administration of all schools and trade schools will be under the Ministry of Education.

1. common management for examinations and competitive end of term exams
2. academic year scheduling: three terms of equal duration with long vacations for schools and universities of two month duration

#### E. Language policy

Two languages are essential: Ewe and Kabye; the country will be divided into two zones: zone 1 will cover territory from Lome to Blitta in which Ewe will be the first language and Kabye the second; Zone 2 will consist of the territory between Blitta and Dapaon in which Kabye will be the first language and Ewe the second.

1. In zone 1 Ewe will be taught at the primary schools and Kabye at middle schools
2. the reverse will be the case in zone 2.
3. language policy will be a two stage process:
  - a. stage one: French will remain the language of instruction beginning in the primary schools, and the national language, according to zone, will be introduced as a subject
  - b. stage two: instruction will be given in the appropriate national language and French will be offered as a foreign language; English will continue to be the foreign language for middle schools
  - c. optional foreign languages at the secondary level will include: German, Spanish, and other African languages
  - d. Ewe and Kabye will be included in all schools as a subject on

school, university and professional exams

e. writing, literacy and scientific work will be in national languages

f. internal stimulation of local language literature

g. national recognition of other cultural markers such as the arts particularly the spoken arts

F. Recruitment and Training of Teachers

1. all teachers will receive professional training

2. entry into Teachers' Colleges will be through competitive exams

3. educational levels of the teacher must be clearly superior to the level of the class to be taught

4. there will be mandatory ongoing teacher training

5. proposed creation of a new primary school teacher training college for each economic district

6. middle school and secondary school teachers' training would be conducted under the auspices of the Teachers Training School and National Institute of Educational Science. Students holding secondary level diplomas will be selected through competition to enroll in the following training:

a. two years for teachers of middle school

b. four years for teachers of secondary school

c. six to seven years for teachers at the university level

d. all of the above training periods include a mandatory three month practice-teaching course

7. The National Education Institute will be equipped to manufacture teaching materials with the help of the Technical Colleges and the appropriate state services

G. Each level of education is under the direct supervision of the

Ministry of Education, coordinated at the cabinet level by the Secretary General of Education. There is also a council for education comprised of

all officials responsible for educational services and teachers, representatives of unions, and parents of students.