

Private sector-public sector
collaboration in promoting
nonformal education:
Case study and analysis of
Burkina Faso, Ghana and Senegal

April 1997

Rosemary Closson,
Chris Capacci and Paul Mavima
Center for Policy Studies in Education
Florida State University

Ousmane Faty Ndongo, ANAFA, Sénégal

Daniel Thieba, GREFCO, Burkina Faso

Siabi Kofi-Mensah, Adult Workers' College, Ghana

**This document was prepared for the ABEL project,
Center for Human Capacity Development,
Bureau for Global Programs, Field Research and Support
Contract: HNE-Q-00-94-00076-003**

This ABEL-funded study was conducted in the field in close cooperation with the ADEA Working Group on Nonformal Education in each of the concerned countries as a collaborative strategy and means of institutional development. This version of the study was presented to the World Adult Education Conference in Hamburg, on behalf of the ADEA International Working Group on Nonformal Education.

Patterns of Public/ Private Sector Collaboration in the Promotion of Nonformal Education and Training: Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso

Introduction

In the 1960s scholars and practitioners started to recognize the importance of nonformal education as an important factor of national development. Whereas, previously, all attention had been placed on formal education as the best means for basic human resource development, scholars such as Coombs (1968) saw that in some circumstances, nonformal education provided the quickest and most substantial vehicle for this purpose. This was particularly so in the developing countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, where the formal educational systems were ill equipped to provide the necessary human resources for the onerous task of national development. High illiteracy rates and lack of skills in the adult population combined with an overburdened formal educational system to make nonformal education the most realistic mechanism for delivering education to the majority of the people. In some Sub-Saharan African countries for example, illiteracy rates were as high as 80%, and enrollment in formal schools was as low as 21%. To bring literacy and requisite skills to the general populace, governments resorted to the use of nonformal education. Thus nonformal education (primarily in the form of literacy programs but a variety of others as well) became an important part of the bundle of services that states provided to their citizens in a bid to achieve national development.

During the 1960s the dominant development paradigm was state centered. At least two forces were driving that approach: post colonial independence and an emphasis on nation building supported by the concomitant desire to coalesce various ethnicities around a central goal (Wunsch & Olowu, 1990). Now in the 1990s, the winds of a democratization movement along with decreasing resources on the states' part resulting from economic structural adjustment programs' deregulation and liberalization of economies have resulted in state stagnation. Underlying these economic shifts are, in many cases, state mismanagement and accusations of corruption. In the current development paradigm, decentralization and the private-for-profit sector, civic associations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOS) are viewed as better placed to act as the nuclei for national development efforts (Esman, 1991).

Nonformal education still remains an important part of the development equation. The problems it originally sought to alleviate have not receded. If anything, they have intensified. Budgetary constraints have further eroded the effectiveness of formal education and put it beyond the reach of an ever increasing number of people, especially the rural poor. Decentralization of the development responsibility to civic groups and local institutions heightens demand for skills that can best be provided through nonformal education. Therefore, this study was designed to answer the following questions:

- What are the current and emerging patterns of collaboration among the different public and private stakeholders involved in nonformal education in West African countries? Who are the main actors in the promotion and provision of nonformal education and what roles is each playing?

- What is the form of nonformal education in which each category of actors is involved?
- Are the traditional roles of government shared in substantially different ways?
- What lessons can be drawn for nonformal education from these relationships and implementation arrangements?

Definition of Terms

Many of the terms used in this study are commonly used in the world of international education and development yet have ambiguous meanings. This section explains our use of terms and how the relevant definitions influenced the selection of those programs and collaborative activities for our research.

Nonformal education (NFE): The central issue for this study is how nonformal education is being provided currently in selected Sub-Saharan African countries, namely, Ghana, Senegal, and Burkina Faso. Our definition of nonformal education derives from that proffered by Coombs (1974) which is that nonformal education comprises "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" (p.23). This definition is wide enough to include an array of activities from basic literacy skills to occupational skill training for income generating projects, or training for entrepreneurial development. One way of describing nonformal education and capturing its wide variety is to apply a typology. Appendix 1 presents a typology adapted from Apps (cited in Merriam, 1997) and Schroeder (1970). It indicates that the fora for provision of nonformal education varies greatly: from nonprofit, to for-profit and from the public sector to the church

Non governmental Organizations (NGOs): In our enumeration of the possible actors in the provision of nonformal education, we referred to non governmental organizations. This is a rubric for institutions which inhabit the space between government or state institutions and the private-for-profit organizations. Thus, their specific characteristics are that:

- They are not government agencies and departments.
- They are voluntary in nature.
- They do not operate for profit.
- They are mainly concerned with undertaking development projects for local groups and communities or to raise resources to assist such development.

Like Wegner (1993), we have allowed for the inclusion of organizations ranging

from grassroots initiatives with just a few members via self help promotion, farmers associations, cooperatives, civil rights movements, more or less elitist civic clubs, academic think tanks all the way across the spectrum to donor organizations from industrialized countries which may have budgets running in hundreds of millions of dollars (p.285).

The State: The term state is loosely used to refer to government institutions, i.e., departments and ministries that may be involved in nonformal education provision in various ways, from actual provision thorough monitoring and supervising of other providers. Thus, the term is used interchangeably with government departments, government, ministries, and state institutions.

Private for Profit Organizations: Private enterprises with a basic profit motive, but which may also be involved with nonformal education both within themselves or outside their structures through assistance to other groups.

Collaboration: This refers to the relationship between the various categories of actors as they participate in the promotion of nonformal education. It is used as a synonym for interaction.

Lenses and Perspectives

Images of the learning society pervade the world; nowhere is this more problematic than in African countries doubly marginalized by low educational access and low investment in the formal education sector. African societies, caught between their historical impediments, encroaching technology, and increasing demands for democratic structures epitomize the learning society in which need far outstrips the ability to provide. Nonformal education bridges this gap in its provision of not only literacy and numeracy skills but a whole array of functional skills such as improved farming techniques, latrine construction, preventive health care, and management of human, financial, and material resources. These skills are at the center of current efforts by governments and other actors, that is NGOs, civic institutions, and international donors, to improve living conditions for the peoples of Africa.

There is a relationship between formal schooling systems and nonformal education that is evident in the historical background sketched out in our study. In order to understand the current status of nonformal education some appreciation for the background of formal schooling in Africa is needed. It is to a brief discussion of formal schooling that we turn to now.

When most African countries achieved independence in the 1960s, the whole continent with a population of 282 million (U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1993) had an undergraduate population of 21,000. On the continent as a whole, only 8 countries had school attendance rates above 50% (UNESCO-UNICEF, 1990, p.17) This was a situation which called loudly for redress, and indeed steps were taken by African countries to bring education to more people on the continent. And, in fact, in the two decades from 1960 to 1980, the continent realized some actual improvements with regard to educational access and in terms of literacy rates. Between 1960 and 1970, for example, average primary school enrollments grew 6%, secondary school enrollments grew 11% and university enrollments grew 12%. By 1980, literacy rates had grown from 42% for men and 18% for women to 62% and 40% respectively. From a continental perspective (of course there are country variations) the commitment to improving education was unquestionable. In fact, Africa led the developing world in the proportion of resources assigned to education. For example, while the portion of the average share of GNP that African governments committed to

education was 3.8% in 1970 and 4.8% in 1980, those for the rest of the developing world as a whole were 3.3% and 4.1% respectively (UNESCO, UNICEF, 1990). Other qualitative improvements also took place in this period, including the attempt to reorient the curricula to the productive sectors, and to make them reflect aspects of the African culture and to increase the use of African languages. In the nonformal educational arena, the modus operandi was literacy programs most of which were implemented by government departments.

However, the 1970s was the decade when the base fell off most African economies, putting them in the midst of a crisis which most are still struggling to get over. In the latter part of the decade, non-oil exporting countries on the continent faced serious balance of payment problems which sent their whole economies tumbling. Overall, economic development had been erratic with no sustained development in either the industrial or service sectors. The crisis was also fed by an international recession that sent prices for primary commodities (mainstay of most African economies) downward. The effect of this crisis on education was to slow down the changes that had been initiated at independence, in some cases even reversing the gains. The 1980s were not good either. Adedeji (1991) for example, refers to it as "Africa's lost decade" because of the failure of attempts to extricate the continent from the economic quagmire it faced (Adedeji, p.1). Thus there has been a drop not only in African governments' own resources that can be devoted to education, but also those resources emanating from the international donor community. The structural adjustment programs mandated for African countries also recommended a cut in government expenditure which, among others, also meant a cut in education expenditure. A few examples may illustrate how bleak the situation was. In reference to Ghana, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), (1995), states that:

Ghana's education system in the 1980s was in near collapse and viewed as dysfunctional in relation to the goals and aspirations of the country. Academic standards, support for teachers, instructional materials, school buildings, classrooms, had declined for lack of financing and management. By 1985, the system could be described as clinically dead (p.63).

The general factors affecting the continent were relevant to Ghana. The economic crisis in the late 1970s had led to steady decrease in government revenues . The percentage of the budget going to education had declined from 6.4% per capita in 1976 to 1.0% in 1983. There was also massive brain drain with a lot of the qualified teachers leaving the country for greener pastures. Enrollment fell and there was high attrition, i.e., as high as 60% in primary school The ADEA contends that as many as 75% of primary school graduates did not make it to secondary school.

Nonformal Education in General and in African Countries

Nonformal education is best at meeting real needs arising from concrete objectives of physical survival (Coletta, 1996, p.26); in this regard, it has much in common with indigenous education, and cultural transmission. Its focus on basic survival needs is evidenced by its stress on the transmission of skills relevant to the immediate needs of recipients more than theoretical knowledge. This distinction, which Colletta (1996) lays out clearly, sets off nonformal education from formal schooling. Also, by its very

nature, nonformal education is dynamic, always responding to changes in the existential circumstances of recipients. It is thus no wonder that, as Africa faces the challenge of economic, social and political development, and as grassroots groups and communities assume more responsibilities for the development process, nonformal education is on the resurgence, contributing most of the skills and generating most of the knowledge necessary for implementing the development efforts. The resurgence of nonformal education appears tied to the movement away from modernization as the driving paradigm of Third World development, towards increased emphasis on sustainable development which seeks to "tap the strengths of indigenous cultures as rich repositories of knowledge" (Kleymeyer, 1992, p.23).

However, arguments about the value of nonformal education to development do not go unchallenged. Earlier approaches, for example Coombs (1968) have been criticized by Lamichane and Kapoor (1992) as being too embedded in a developmentalist perspective. The overwhelming focus on economic growth as the motor-force is oblivious to the multifacetedness of development. It focuses too much on the efficient utilization of resources, without consideration for social and cultural aspects of development. Programs derived from such approaches have tended to be state centered and reinforcing of existing economic inequalities. Thus when nonformal education programs are in the hands of the state critical scholars question: Is nonformal education then merely a means of defusing potentially hostile under-classes? The alternative perspective is to make nonformal education emancipatory (Lamichane & Kapoor, 1992) by assisting learners to recognize power and knowledge as social constructs. Thus nonformal education can be used as a means to redistribute skills and knowledge necessary to change the status quo.

Is there a Resurgence of Nonformal Education?

During the 1980s and into the 1990s, nonformal education as a means of addressing development needs seemed to have fallen out of favor--very little literature is available from that period. In Africa, during the 1980s heavier emphasis was laid on formal schooling. On a global level, education generally was viewed as less integral to economic development and social change (LaBelle and Ward,1996). Several reasons are posited for the waning interest in NFE if not in actual practice at least in funded programs. Government-sponsored nonformal education was typically housed in ministries of education which overlaid it with bureaucracy and formal schooling approaches which in turn were blamed for its lack of success. Local programs were underfinanced and had difficulty reaching the poor--the bulk of its targeted audience. Moreover, a major obstacle has been and continues to be the lack of cost-accounting data regarding NFE programs which then precludes cost-effectiveness analysis (Niehoff 1978; Coletta, 1996).

A totally different perspective is that perhaps nonformal education in the 1970s was too effective in that it tended to provoke contestation and power claims from marginal groups who now actually believed that local democracy was possible contrary to the wishes of governments at the time. Formal schooling, true to its purpose of carrying

forward the current political messages of the day were much more in keeping with the (politically correct) tenor of the times¹.

To some extent definition of nonformal education might account for its seeming decline. If we define nonformal education by sponsorship then indigenous activities designed to socialize members into the cultural traditions indicate that nonformal education has always been and will always be with us. If we consider government or private sector sponsorship of nonformal education as the litmus test determining nonformal education's life-span, then, especially as concerns government, nonformal education activity will fluctuate most probably based on the funding vagaries attached to government programs. When we consider nonformal education's livelihood from the perspective of the private sector, especially as sponsored by NGOs, we can say that nonformal education activity has mushroomed as the NGO phenomenon has exploded².

Nonformal Education Service Delivery: Who are the actors, what are their roles and relative importance at the current time?

NGOs, other civil societal institutions, and the private sector are all at the center of the new development paradigm which emphasizes market processes through massive privatization, and a focus on the private non-profit sector (NGOs) as the motor force for community development. NGOs in particular are seen as better able to serve poor communities because of their voluntaristic and self-sufficiency orientation (Frantz, 1987; Korten, 1987). Their role in development has shifted remarkably. Initially concerned with large scale relief efforts in connection with natural disasters they moved, in the 1970s, to a community based model aimed at sustaining benefits beyond the period of NGO support. By the 1980s their focus was wide and aimed at addressing poverty at the regional or national level. Less emphasis was placed on direct NGO assistance to communities but more attempts were made to facilitate development by alleviating policy constraints and enhancing better coordination of the various institutions that define the development system (Korten, 1987). Related to this is a new advocacy role prescribed for NGOs in support of human rights, democracy and general civil societal development (Frantz, 1987). In the 1990s, as the centralized state has come to be seen as the main factor of the economic woes of the developing world, NGOs and other alternative institutions such as the private sector are now seen as appropriate means for development. Major international donors have embraced this shift, the World Bank, for example, has adopted official policy to increase the share of funds that it channels through NGOs and it always encourages recipient governments to include NGOs in the implementation of Bank funded projects. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has followed suit increasing disbursements to NGOs from \$37.7 million in 1976 to \$249 million in 1984.

Thus the perceived failure of the central state, and international pressure and demands for democratization, have left space for NGOs and the private sector to participate in the provision of services that the state previously monopolized. However, while there

¹ The PADLOS Education project, executed in West Africa, is a seminal exploration of this topic.

² See Lester Salamon's work and others done by the Institute for Policy Studies at Johns Hopkins regarding the phenomenal growth of the NGO sector.

is no doubt about the potential development contributions of NGOs and the private sector, treating them as a panacea to the problems of the developing world is unnecessary dogmatism.

With respect to nonformal education, we expect the various actors to play roles as depicted in the following matrix (Table 1). Stakeholders involved in nonformal education activities are listed in the far left-hand column. The likelihood of their involvement in various roles required to produce a nonformal education program or project is ranked either high (H), medium (M), low (L) or 0. Briefly, we define the roles in the following ways. Entrepreneurship refers to mobilization of beneficiaries, material/technical support refers to, for example, provision of a facility or technical expertise, service provision refers to services other than teaching, for example, provision of water services. The regulatory role refers to the enforcement of regulations or sanctions. Financial role is the provision of funding while promotion is providing publicity and otherwise facilitating the implementation of a nonformal education program. Teaching is self-explanatory as is learning. Cell 9 refers to the extent to which an entity either is involved in policy creation or advocacy; monitoring/ evaluation refers to the assessment of program effectiveness.

The new thinking in development management literature which emphasizes interdependence among various actors sees the state as playing major roles in regulation, policy definition and monitoring and evaluation. As other actors increase their participation in the actual provision of services previously monopolized by the state, the state itself recedes to more general roles of setting the framework for the participation of the other actors. NGOs and other civil societal groups are expected to play major roles in mobilization, material and financial support, service provision and promotion, and evaluation and monitoring of their specific projects. Their policy role is expected to be limited to advocacy. Donors are expected to chip in material and technical support, and to be interested in monitoring the progress of the projects they fund. Private sector entities are expected to be active in programs that have a bearing on their interests such as a better skilled and more satisfied labor force. So we expect them to initiate their own human resource development programs and support and advocate for state and other programs that support the above goals. We expect their contribution to be mainly in the area of service provision through human resources development programs, and finance for public or nongovernmental programs related to their interests. We expect church programs to play roles akin to those played by NGOs. Finally, we expect multinational organizations such as United Nations agencies to play roles in mobilization and promotion, material and technical support, financing, and monitoring roles.

Resulting inquiry framework for case studies

What follows are the results from the case studies of Ghana, Senegal, and Burkina Faso. In each case, we present a brief overview of the history of development, education, nonformal education and the role of the NGO sector. Then, using data

Table 1
Expected Organizational Roles Across Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso

Stak _a	Role	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Entrep. (eg mobilz)	Material/ Technical	Service provision	Regulatory	Finan.	Promotion	Teach.	Learning	Policy	Monitoring/Evaluation
Government		L	L	L	H	L	M	L	L	H	M
Beneficiary (Ben)		L	L	L	0	L	0	0	H	0	M
NGO		H	H	H	L	H	H	H	L	M	H
Donors		0	H	L	0	H	L	L	0	M	H
Private-for-Prof.		L	L	L	0	H	L	H	0	L	M
Church		H	M	H	0	L	H	H	0	L	M

Note:

a. Stakeholders

from a sample of cases, we provide a picture of the current state of nonformal education including the main actors, their roles, and the main type of nonformal education they are providing. We also describe, based both on the reflections of stakeholders and our own reflections, the ways in which these parties interact and attempt to provide an interpretation of that interaction on the basis of our collaboration/ conflict dimension.

Ghana: Case Study

Ghana was the first African country to be independent in 1957. The country's history so far has been spotted with a number of military coups and most of its 40 years since independence have been spent under a very centralized state, executed through military rule. This is in contrast to the country's pre-colonial history which was, if not necessarily democratic, then highly decentralized. At present, as in many other African countries, the government finds itself compelled to institute democratic reforms in both the political and economic spheres. The economic woes that affected many African countries starting in the 1970s left the government with no option but to accept the structural adjustment program (SAP). SAP meant more cuts for public expenditure. However, it also necessitated increased participation and self-reliance, because, due to diminishing revenues and SAP mandates to reduce expenditures, the government found itself unable to respond to the public demand for basic services (Siabi-Mensah, Mensah & Fass, 1997). For example, the government has devolved rural water services to civil society. The Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation (GWSC), included in this study, oversees this new arrangement.

Ghanaian Nonformal Education

Ghana has a long history of Western type education, going back to the mid 1500s when King John III promoted education of African children in the region in order to spread Catholicism. At the turn of the century, the bulk of the 10,000 student enrollment, were found in mission schools (inclusive of Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian).

Ghana's greatest effort in nonformal education was under the aegis of Nkrumah's Convention People's Party which launched, in 1951, the Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education. This program was carried out by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development and the Bureau of Ghanaian Languages. But in 1966, a coup d'état coupled with declining resources caused a programmatic cut back from 22,500 literates per year in 1963 to 2,500 per year in the late 1970s. Needs for functional literacy and demands for local self-reliance were supported by the creation in 1986 of the Nonformal Education Division (within the Ministry of Education) which was an outgrowth of formal schooling reform begun in the depths of Ghana's educational crisis in the 1980s. Nonformal education received additional emphasis in 1987 with the government's establishment of the Program of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD). PAMSCAD focused on local initiatives to enable communities to improve infrastructure or make it possible for individuals and groups to embark on small-scale income-generating activities.

Evaluations of NFED's (Nonformal Education Division) programs indicate that it has been effective in transmitting basic literacy (Siabi-Mensah, Mensah, & Fass, 1997. p. 19). However, evidence regarding learner ability to effectively link the desired functional themes e.g. nutrition, immunization, AIDS and empowerment to literacy instruction in the absence of baseline studies can only be inconclusive.

The involvement of entities other than government in nonformal education in Ghana was evident in the role played by the church back in the 1500s and presently, USAID has identified 55 NGOs that provide basic education to adults and children in Ghana. This does not include any grassroots organizations however; nor does it include organizations not specifically identified as providers of basic education which is where much NFE activity takes place. The NFED counts among its educational partners the Rotary Club, World Vision International, and the U.S. Peace Corps.

Results: Current Nonformal Education in Ghana

This section presents data that answers our research questions with regard to Ghana. Our field researchers in Ghana identified 5 activities where nonformal education was featured prominently: the Sankofa II Project, Entrepreneurial Development Project, Primary Health Care, Family Life Education and Community Ownership and Management of Water (see Table 2 below). The cells in Table 2 indicate which entities acted in a particular role for a specific NFE program. Table 3 (below) presents the various organizational actors involved in these activities and the roles they played based upon our theoretical matrix of organizational roles in the provision of nonformal education.

The Xs in Table 3 hereafter indicate how many organizations of a given type, or individuals, played a specific role in the 5 projects that were investigated during our study. This table shows that five types of entities plus beneficiaries were involved in nonformal education activities: government departments, the NGOs, the Presbyterian

Table 2
Ghana Organizational Roles by NFE Activity

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NFE Activity	<i>Entrep. (eg. Mobilization)</i>	<i>Material/Technical</i>	<i>Service provision</i>	<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Financial</i>	<i>Prom.</i>	<i>Teach.</i>	<i>Learn</i>	<i>Policy</i>	<i>Monitoring/Evaluation</i>
Sankofa II Project	PFP, NGO	PFP, NGO	varies ¹	Don	PFP, Ben	PFP, NGO	Ben, PFP	Ben, PFP		NGO, PFP, Ben
Entrep. Dev't	Gov, PFP	PFP	PFP		Gov, Don	PFP	PFP	Ben	Gov	Don
Primary Hlth Care (4 districts)	PC ² , Gov	Gov, PC	PC	Gov	Gov	Gov, PC	Gov, PC	Ben	Gov, PC	PC, Gov
Family Life Educ.	Gov	Gov, NGO	Gov, NGO	Gov	Gov	Gov	NGO	Ben	NGO, GOV	NGO, Gov
Comm. Ownership & Mgmt. of Water	Gov, Ben	Gov, Ben, Don	Ben	Gov	Gov, Ben	Gov	PFP	Gov, Ben, PFP		Gov

Notes:

1. The project may provide a variety of services depending on the needs and decisions of the community.
2. Presbyterian Church

Table 3
Ghana Organizational Roles by Type of Entity

Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Entrep (mobil)	Material/ Technical	Service provision	Reg	Financial	Prom	Teach.	Learn	Policy	Monitoring/ Evaluation
Gov't	xxxx	xxx	x	xxx	xxxx	xxx	x	x	xxx	xxx
NGO	x	xx	x			x	x		x	xx
Presby Church _a	x	x	x			x	x		x	x
Benef _b	x	x	x		xx			xxxxx		x
PFP	xx	x	xxx		x	xx	xxx			x
Don		x	x	x	xxx		x			x

NOTES:

- a. Presbyterian Church has 4 hospitals designated as district facilities: Dorma, Agogo, Donkordorm, Bawku.
- b. Includes target groups such as: district assembly, villagers, unit and zone commissioners; small to medium sized businesses; Dorma District residents; general public; Eastern Region residents

Church³, private-for-profit organizations (PFPs) and donor agencies. Government departments featured prominently in the roles of entrepreneurship and mobilization, financial support, promotion, policy development, and monitoring and evaluation. They also played important roles in providing regulation, and material/ technical support. However, they were less involved in teaching, and barely involved in learning and actual service provision. The Ministry of Health (MOH) provides a good example of the type of roles government departments played. In the five activities identified (Table 2), the ministry was involved in two, Primary Health Care and

³ The Presbyterian Church was the only entity that our Ghanaian research partner believed fell outside our definition of an NGO but was not a private for profit. We refer not to the church missions but to the church itself.

Family Life Education. In both cases, the ministry assisted in mobilization, promotion, policy development and monitoring and evaluation. However, the ministry was not involved in the actual service delivery of family life education. In districts such as Dorma, where the Presbyterian Church provided health care services, the ministry just pays the salaries of hospital staff, and leaves service provision to the church. In addition, the ministry shares learning materials for in-service training and sometimes does the training through its training office, thus fulfilling a teaching role.

The cases of primary health care and family life education offer examples of collaboration in policy making and implementation between the state and church organizations. In four districts in which the Presbyterian Church operates, District Directors of Health Services are jointly appointed by the church. At the national level, the church Health Coordinator is consulted on major health education activities and programs. This collaboration is also evident in the Family Life Education Program where the NGO, Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana, sits on the National Population Council and influences the country's population policy and strategies for mass education.

NGO participation in the selected activities was not as extensive as we had expected. Only two NGOs were involved in our sampled activities. SNV (a Danish NGO), one of the two NGOs involved, played only entrepreneurial and monitoring roles. Note too that it was the only NGO among all three countries that took a process approach (refer to Appendix 1-- our typology) by delegating a great deal of responsibility and authority to beneficiaries and partner organizations in order to boost their capacity. The second NGO, Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana, was involved in promotion of nonformal educational activities as well as in providing material and technical support, policy advocacy, and actual service provision and monitoring and evaluation.

There was much more involvement by private-for-profit organizations than we had expected. In total, four PFPs were involved: ACHD, Barclays Bank, EMPRETEC, and TREND. Barclays Bank and TREND were only marginally involved: Barclays provided space from which EMPRETEC operated and TREND was contracted in the water sector activity to provide instruction to participants. EMPRETEC and ACHD⁴ functioned in a wider array of roles.

EMPRETEC, in similar fashion to SNV, tries to incubate private-for-profit organizations through support and training for Ghanaian entrepreneurs. It is itself a brainchild of the Ghana government which established it as an instrument for the support of entrepreneurial development free from direct bureaucratic control by the state. When we discuss interactions, we shall see the type of problems this created.

ACHD, in our sample, was involved with the Sankofa II Project (an integrated rural development project) in the Volta region and was contracted by SNV to undertake this project as part of SNV's long-term objective to build capacity for indigenous private

⁴ ACHD is an indigenous private for profit organization which was founded in 1987. It now provides consulting services in micro-enterprise management and training of community leaders in community water and sanitation management. It also manages community based projects.

and community based organizations. ACHD undertook the day to day management of the project while SNV retained the power to monitor and evaluate it.

Three donors were involved in the five activities that we identified, namely, DGIS (Netherlands based), UNDP and UNICEF. Their primary role was to fund the programs however UNICEF/ Ghana provided a person to assist in provision of technical expertise in the Sankofa II project.

Organizational Relationships

By way of example, our discussion highlights two of the more intriguing examples of organizational relationships from the Ghana case study.

Sankofa II is a part of Ghana's Community Ownership and Management project. The driving principle for this project is the centrality of beneficiary participation. The project's goal is to provide water and sanitation to the residents of the Volta region while at the same time increasing self-sufficiency among the participants. Constructing latrines and protected wells constitute the bulk of project work. Although initiated by government, the responsibility for provision of the services falls on the residents. Government's role was initiation of the idea and mobilization of the beneficiaries. SNV (Danish NGO) helped in this role which provided funds for the project and undertook monitoring and evaluation of the project. SNV subcontracted with the private company, ACHD, for the day to day management and for training beneficiaries. Ultimately, the project goal is not only to have beneficiaries solely responsible for delivering the service but to have them raise their own resources for that purpose. The technical training they received from ACHD served to create a pool of skills to be used in sustaining service delivery. Thus, this project provided a classic case of the potential collaborative relations between the state, NGOs and the private sector in delivering services to local communities.

The role of beneficiaries is critical because each beneficiary community contributes five hundred cedis (Ghanaian currency) per person as a registration fee which is deposited into the community Water and Sanitation Committee Bank Account as a contribution toward the residents' share of the construction cost. The contribution also acts as a pool from which to draw down future maintenance costs. Furthermore, residents are responsible for 5% of the total cost of the construction work. The rest of the funds are provided by SNV. Residents are taught how to maintain the hand-pumps and to construct the latrines by ACHD personnel. Residents are required to form a water and sanitation committee known as a WATSAN committee which should take over the management of the project after the construction stage. The committee also liaises with two government departments, namely, the Community Water and Sanitation Division and the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation (part of the Ministry of Works and Housing) for purposes of ensuring proper standards. At least two nonformal education activities have spun off from this project: 1) the project provided training of trainer sessions to enhance the capacity of local experts in order to assist communities in their bid for development and 2) government employees were taught Ewe in order to communicate with area residents.

EMPRETEC⁵ is our second example of the collaborative efforts in the provision of nonformal education in Ghana between the state, international donors, and local private organizations. EMPRETEC itself is a product of the privatization effort being implemented under Ghana's economic adjustment program. However, there were elements of conflict between EMPRETEC and the government's National Board of Small Scale Industry (NBSSI). Competition arose between the two because they were in the same line of business: entrepreneurial development. Most of EMPRETEC's clients now disregard NBSSI which they perceive to be too bureaucratic in its approach. To deal with this problem, the two agreed on a division of labor where EMPRETEC concentrates training activities on large scale and medium sized businesses and refers micro businesses to NBSSI.

Context: State/NGO coordinating body relationships

Interestingly, GAPVOD⁶ (one of the 5 coordinating or intermediate level NGOs that exist in Ghana) initiated the idea (in 1980) for a mechanism to improve collaboration between the state and the private non-profit sector; however, a critical component-- NGO sector input regarding the ideal format for such legislation-- was lost during political and bureaucratic upheavals between 1989-1992. Consequently, when the legislation was proposed, excluding the contributions of the NGO sector, suspicions and ultimately hostilities were aroused. Needless to say, the legislation was defeated since NGOs perceived the "bill"⁷ as an opportunity to control rather than an opportunity to foster collaboration. Emotions flared so much so that international NGOs threatened to withdraw their services. The legislation had proposed an NGO advisory council which would have worked to facilitate collaboration between government and the NGO sector. However, NGOs saw this as an effort by government to institute excessive controls on their operations because the proposed council would have been dominated by government officials. The council would have had absolute right to deny, cancel or suspend any NGO. Thus, while, current results show collaboration, we ought to interpret them carefully given accounts of the macro relations between government and NGOs, such as the one described above.

Currently, it appears that despite the existence of several NGO coordinating bodies in Ghana none succeeds at this function (USAID/Ghana, 1996).

⁵ EMPRETEC is the result of a cooperative program designed and executed by the Transnational Corporations and Management Division of the United Nations (UNTCMD) and is locally sponsored by Barclay's Bank of Ghana and the NBSSI. Supported by funds from UNDP and the Government of Ghana, EMPRETEC is part of an international network which promotes business transactions between enterprises. EMPRETEC/Ghana was established during the period 1990-1995. User-fee based, it quickly became a self supporting organization; its nonformal educational activities included intensive training in entrepreneurial skills (e.g. power relations, planning, and achievement focus) offered to business people. Follow-up advisement to ex-trainees on marketing, financing, production, and other management functions were a unique feature of the program (Boeh-Ocansey, 1995).

⁶ Ghanaian Association for Private Voluntary Organisations for Development

⁷ Bill on Proposed Non-governmental Organisations Act 1993.

Ghana: Closing Remarks

On the whole, we found our predicted division of labor between the various actors to be borne out in practice. Government played the macro policy formulation and regulatory and monitoring roles. In certain instances, it also undertook a promotional and entrepreneurial role. Donor agencies mainly provided financial and material support and in a few instances technical expertise. Planned Parenthood's involvement in a government committee responsible for macro policy formulation in the area of population control was a unique case which demonstrates the power of expertise in a particular technical field, in this case population control. This role played by Planned Parenthood runs contrary to the general situation regarding the macro policy role of NGOs. For example, USAID (1994) noted that it is difficult for many NGOs to influence government at the policy-making level in Ghana; furthermore, they related that some smaller NGOs have encountered a lack of co-operation from line ministries.

We found that although nonformal education activities have burgeoned in the rural water sector, fueled by the state's 1991 National Strategy and Policy for Community Water and Sanitation Programs, training activities were not spelled out in policy. As the training advisor for the Volta Region Project noted "the Project had to develop training programmes not specified in the project document but judged to be necessary from the experience of project implementation" (WATSANNEWS, 1995. p.14).

Finally, private-for-profit entities are increasingly playing a role in the provision of nonformal education. Donors such as UNICEF, UNDP, and others (DANIDA, and WaterAid) not involved in our sampled activities, as well as NGOs such as SNV and Planned Parenthood, seem to have consciously adopted a strategy to provide nonformal education as part of their development efforts. International donors (e.g. DANIDA) have begun to use foreign aid as "seed money" to develop indigenous private training enterprises. Such activity would appear to be in keeping with economic policies (espoused by the World Bank) advising stimulation of entrepreneurship in Africa. Training of potential hardware vendors as part of the Ghana water sector project follows in this same vein.

Senegal and Burkina Faso: Case Study

Senegal gained independence from French colonialism in 1958. After participation in the Mali federation, and an experiment with parliamentary democracy were abandoned, Leopold Senghor became president with absolute power. However, civil societal groups, mainly trade unions, retained an influence on the country's politics. Diouf, Senghor's successor, extended political liberties and today, despite a strategy during the 1990s to weaken the opposition through frequent detention of leaders on frivolous charges, the public has continued to protest political heavy handedness. Burkina Faso has witnessed even more political instability. Although they became independent in 1960, the Yameoga government quickly imposed an authoritarian defacto one party state system. But like Senegal the trade unions remained independent and through demonstrations brought about Yameoga's downfall. Although there were attempts (coups between 1970-1974) to return to civilian rule the country remained under military rule and suffered violent periods of instability especially during 1984, 1985, and 1989. During this period, the "revolutionary"

regime of Thomas Sankara, 1982-1987, initiated radical social programs that included massive literacy drives aimed at reducing the country's high illiteracy rate. In the 1990s, Campaore managed stability through maintenance of absolute power while making conciliatory gestures to the opposition by including them in the government.

Economically, Senegal has followed the typical African route described earlier: early successes which disappeared in the seventies necessitating the adoption of SAP which focused mainly on privatization. Burkina Faso, on the other hand, has not followed the typically African route. Although the country started with a poorly performing economy, it developed to be one of the fastest growing economies in Africa thanks to a general orientation towards hard work and managerial competence. Good economic performance delayed implementation of SAP and when it was adopted it was after effective consultation with the population.

Nonformal Education in Francophone Africa

At the time of independence most education systems in francophone Sub-Saharan Africa were very underdeveloped. In contrast to anglophone countries, Ghana for example, francophone countries did not strictly speaking, *inherit* the French system--they adopted it. Orivel and Shaw (1994) identified 4 phases of formal schooling development in post independence francophone Africa: 1) expansion and consolidation based mainly on the model of the previous colonial power, 2) the "progressist" movement of the 1970s, 3) a period characterized by the emergence of a national identity, and 4) the current period of severe fiscal crisis and increasing uncertainty. The first decade after independence has been called the golden age for francophone education systems; the second, a decade of aborted reform; and the third, a decade of diminishing resources per pupil and constant struggle with shrinking budgets (p.165). This is not very different from the situation that obtained in post-independent Ghana (please refer to Ghana: Case Study).

During these phases of development in the formal schooling sector the nonformal education sector was changing too. During phase two for example, the public sector was the major provider of nonformal education in Senegal and the state put in place many structures specialized in nonformal education covering diverse target groups (salaried workers, peasants, fishermen). The third phase, ushered in by the return home of African post-graduates educated during the 1970s, was characterized by an emphasis on consolidation of "nation-building" that materialized in the emergence of national identity. At the same time, the structural adjustment crisis which occurred in the late 1970s and the response evoked slowed the efforts of the state activity in nonformal education. However, the national identity movement stressing indigenous language remains in numerous NFE programs in Senegal and Burkina Faso. During the 1980s the National Institute of Education and worker training came to the fore. Additionally, deepening of the formal education crisis and the inadequacy of its graduates provoked the use of free training structures. In the 1990s, there was a resurgence of interest in nonformal education spurred by the process of decentralization and the inescapable exigencies of establishing effective local government.

“Faire faire”-- the current basic education policy in Senegal--seems to be having the greatest effect on nonformal education now and, although unwritten, it is widely known. The idea emerged from a colloquium held in Kolda in September 1993. It is a strategy to reduce illiteracy by 120,000 each year until the year 2000. Unable to accomplish this task alone (due to lack of material and human resources) the Ministry has resorted to “faire faire.” Under the faire faire approach the Ministry searches for financing to redistribute to operators in the field who establish literacy classes.

Results: Current Nonformal Education in Senegal and Burkina Faso

Six programmatic activities were identified by field researchers, in Senegal and Burkina Faso in which nonformal education was featured prominently (See Table 4 below.). Within each cell in Table 4 is indicated the particular network of entities active in each role. Table 5 (below) presents the various organizational actors and their roles based upon our theoretical model. Four organizational types were involved in these activities in addition to beneficiaries. These include, government bureaus, or ministries, local and international NGOs, private-for-profit organizations, and donors. Beneficiaries in these samples are predominantly rural populations. Government departments cluster in the provision of material and technical resources. As expected, they were also involved in macro policy development and in regulation and monitoring. Government was less represented in entrepreneurship, promotion, and program evaluation. Only two government entities were found to be funding or providing actual instruction. None of the government activities indicated involvement in the learning process.

Table 4
Senegal & Burkina Faso Organizational Roles by NFE Activity

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NFE Activity	<i>Entrep. (mobil)</i>	<i>Material/Technical</i>	<i>Service provision</i>	<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Financial</i>	<i>Prom</i>	<i>Teach.</i>	<i>Learn</i>	<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Monitoring/Evaluation</i>
Functional Literacy Project (Senegal)	Gov	Ben, NGO	NGO		Don	Gov	NGO	Ben	Gov	Gov
Comm. Replanting Project (Senegal)	Gov	Gov	Gov.		Don		PFP	Ben		PFP
Training of Tailors (Senegal)	Gov		Gov	Gov	Ben (20%) Don (80%)		PFP	NGO, Ben	Gov	Don
Training of Young Farmers (BF)	Gov _a	Gov _b	NGO		Gov _a	Gov _a	NGO	Ben		Gov _a
Literacy Program (BF)	NGO _a	Gov, NGO _a	Don	NGO	NGO _b	NGO _a	NGO _a	Ben		NGO _a
Training Artisans (BF)		Gov _{ab} , Don	Gov _b	Gov	Gov _b	Don, Gov _b	PFP	Ben		Gov _b

NOTES:

Gov_a=Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MARA)

Gov_b=National Institute for Literacy

NGO_a=L'Association de Tintua (ATT) an indigenous NGO

NGO_b=NOVIB, Bread for the World, Club 2/3, Brothers of Man

Table 5
Senegal and Burkina Faso Organizational Roles by Type of Entity

	Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Country		Entrep (mobil)	Material/ Technical	Service provision	Reg	Financial	Prom	Teach.	Learn.	Policy	Monitoring/ Evaluation
<i>Senegal</i>	Gov	x	x	xx	x		x			xx	x
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	Gov	x	xx	xx	xx		x	x		x	x
<i>Senegal</i>	NGO		x	x				x			
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	NGO	x	x _a xx	xx	x _a x	x _a	x	x _a xx			x
<i>Senegal</i>	PFP							x			
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	PFP							x			
Senegal	Don					xx X _(80%)					x
<i>Burkina Faso</i>	Don					X _c					
Various target groups ^b .	Benef		x			X (20%)			xxxxx x		

NOTES:

- a. Four international NGOs supporting a single project
- b. Rural populations; tailors; stockbreeders (BF & Sen.).
- c. Four countries (French, Swiss, Germans, Austrians) supported a single project.

The table indicates that NGOs were more heavily involved in material/ technical support and the provision of instruction. Four large international NGOs were involved in one activity: The Literacy Program in Gulmu, Senegal. The nongovernmental organization ATT (French acronym for The Association for Developing Ourselves) initiated the program and conducts the bulk of the work. Beneficiaries were found to be mainly involved in the learning process except in one instance--the tailor training program in Senegal-- where beneficiaries were an important source of financial support sharing the funding costs (20/80). Private for profit organizations (PFPs) appeared to be minimally involved in the activities identified in Senegal and Burkina Faso. When involved they served to provide the instruction as well as monitoring and evaluation. International donors provided most of the funding; French, Swiss, German and Austrian donors were involved in a program for the training of artisans in Burkina Faso.

Organizational Relationships

To exemplify the various types of relationships in nonformal education programs, we have chosen to discuss those sponsored by PNVA, MARA, and ATT respectively.

The Functional Literacy Project in Senegal, was coordinated by PNVA (the National Program for Popularizing Agriculture)⁸, which was identified by our field researcher as a government entity. PNVA's unique feature is, that although designed for agriculture extension purposes, there is no body of salaried extension agents charged with the training function. PNVA has developed a type of collaboration with both private and public sectors for the provision of training programs. In other words, PNVA becomes the training broker in a given zone and finances the training of targeted groups. Part of PNVA's appeal is that it stresses literacy in traditional

⁸ PNVA was created in 1990 via co-financing from the Senegalese government and the World Bank.

languages. Participants must pass writing, reading, and math before beginning the technical themes of popularization. Projects can be initiated by the PNVA or by a village association. If a village association requests a project they must: provide a type of needs assessment, identify possible providers of the training and a cost projection. Whether the training is provided by the public or private sector, nonformal education programs are paid for by PNVA and in public sector cases, for example the Ministry of Agriculture, the PNVA pays supplementary fees and pays reimbursements or per diems to the extension agents.

The training of young farmers in Burkina Faso is financially supported by the Ministry of Agriculture (MARA). The young farmers are drawn from the drop-out population and those who have a low literacy level; their prior education for the most part consists of training received at the Agricultural Training Center. The training conducted by L'INADES/ Formation⁹ stressed three points: 1) learning the operating principles of community organizations; 2) teaching the tools necessary to manage small rural projects; 3) learning techniques of restoring soils. The government financed the project, the L'Institut National d'Alphabétisation (INA) reproduced the written materials, l'INADES/Formation developed the materials together with the INA. Although INA is a government agency it was in reality paid to provide the services for this activity. L'INADES/Formation's contract with the government is for five years. The ministry's agents perform administrative tasks including contacting the local authorities, mobilizing the people, writing the official documents etc. Evaluation of the activity is done by the ministry. In order to provide instruction, L'INADES adopts an intervention style that relies on existing local structures eg. village associations, public or private organizations. Their programs are performed based on a contract, in the case of our representative project, with the government, but in other cases with bilateral or multilateral donors. Now let us turn to a project initiated by a grass roots NGO.

The most collaboratively developed project in the Burkina Faso data was the Literacy Program in Gulmu initiated by ATT¹⁰. ATT supervises the signing of contracts, the opening of centers, the assignment of personnel, the training method, determines the training documents, and evaluates the programs. Often, ATT confers with the INA regarding texts for training; the INA is remunerated for its services. ATT is financed by several international NGOs who are identified in Table 5. The training centers are constructed by the participants themselves. The function of the ATT centers is dependent on the freely given material and financial contributions of the beneficiary community so much so that it is not possible to provide a program without this level

⁹ L'INADES (The African Institute for Economic and Social Development/Training) is an interAfrican NGO headquartered in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire and was founded by a group of Jesuit priests. Originally one organization, L'INADES, founded in 1962, split from the parent group creating INADES/Formation. Their principal objective is to work toward the promotion of the economic and social welfare of communities by encouraging them to participate in the transformation of their society. In this respect it is process-oriented in its approach to nonformal education.

¹⁰ The acronym for the Association for Developing Ourselves or l'Association TINTUA. The word Tin-Tua comes from the Gulmacema which means "we develop ourselves." Background on ATT reveals that in August of 1989 some literate farmers of three provinces from eastern Burkina Faso formed ATT in order to create an institutionalized group for literacy activities. Also, they wanted to train villagers in economic sector activities in order to generate income for members of the association.

of involvement. Presently, ATT has approximately 300 villages in the eastern region involved.

Instructors are drawn from the region and are trained for the task by current ATT instructors. Those personnel above the instructor level i.e. leaders (drawn from the newly literate population), supervisors, zonal supervisors are recruited based upon a competitive examination. The state provides material resources.

The overall literacy program is about 300 hours but the arrangement of the schedule is determined by the participants. In the first year the curriculum is constituted by reading, writing, numeracy, themes of cleanliness, and health. It is difficult for participants to become literate with only 300 hours of preparation. So, one year after the first 300 hour session another 300 hours is offered to assure mastery and to add training in specific techniques such as financial management for income generation enterprises and administrative skills for village organizations. In most cases, nonformal education programs have little linkage with the formal educational sector but this does not seem to be the case with ATT. At centers located in Banma Nuara, learners can take French and other practical courses such as those identified above for a maximum of five months each year. At the end of two years, all the students attain the elementary level in the formal system and the best are declared middle level which is equivalent to approximately five years of formal schooling. Whereas in both Senegal and Burkina Faso, government for the most part initiated the majority of the nonformal activities represented ATT in contrast was begun at the grassroots level.

Context: State/NGO coordinating body relationships

In Senegal, after a brief period of laissez-faire a number of regulations were put in place to assure the supervision and more effective control of NGOs by the state. NGOs participated minimally in the creation of these regulations. Presently, the general attitude among Senegalese NGOs is to preserve their autonomy. Recognizing that future policies of development from the state's side might be more controlling, NGOs have tended to establish "independent territories" of populations who are hypersensitive to the vaguest semblance of co-optation by the state. CONGAD--the membership organization in Senegal--sought to reach a compromise with the state regarding the impending policy; however, the situation remains unclear. The policy intent was to discourage overnight or "briefcase" NGO schemes created simply to capitalize on the increased state delegation of basic education to the private nonprofit sector. According to this new protocol, international NGOs would need to have one year in the field in Senegal and national NGOs would need to have two years in Senegal.

In Burkina Faso, two agencies have been created to manage the interaction between the NGO community and the state: SPONG and BSONG¹¹ (refer to footnotes for background).

¹¹ Le Secretariat Permanent des ONG (SPONG) was created in 1975 and Le Bureau de Suivi des ONG (BSONG) was created in 1984. BSONG originally housed in the office of the president now determines the technical path of the Ministry of Economy, Finance and Planning.

SPONG is the civil partner and BSONG is the public management component. Generally, SPONGs' objectives are to facilitate collaboration among NGOs at home and abroad while BSONG seeks to facilitate collaboration between NGOs and the state and to integrate NGO activities with national development policy. Despite these efforts stakeholders in Burkina Faso claim that lack of resources at the state level and the resultant torporous attitude it evokes among state workers cause there to be frequent overlap of purposes and activities between the NGO sector and the public sector.

Senegal and Burkina Faso: Closing Remarks

Prior to 1995, according to several Senegalese interviewed for this study, collaboration between the Ministry of Education and civil society was a "pious wish." Despite the existence of a coordinating body designed to bring together representatives of the state and civil society, there was no coherent plan for literacy and the structure was not functional (ANAFSA, January 1997). Our research indicates a tension between the state and the NGO sector based on the recent attempt at implementation of new legislation designed to either control NGOs or to better coordinate their activities (depending on one's perspective). A history of failed collaborative efforts along with lack of trust on both sides (private and public sector) converges at a time when the state would seem to need the NGO sector's help the most given the state's *faire faire* policy with regard to basic education. It brings into bold relief the crux of the state's problem: How to maintain authority while the need for devolution of responsibility to civil society increases. In Senegal based on our limited sample there is the belief that literacy efforts lack coherency as a result. However, the Senegalese PNVA project is an innovative approach to state/civil society interaction where nonformal education is brokered to either the state or to NGOs or to private consultants.

Despite the development of two coordinating bodies for NGO state interaction in Burkina Faso coordination success continues to be elusive. Duplication of effort remains. We also found that financing in both francophone countries in four out of six cases was funded either by donors or a group of international NGOs (although there was one instance of beneficiary shared financing). L'INADES/Formation and ATT both identified funding shortfalls as major problems of service delivery.

Findings

1. *Forms of nonformal education:* Functional NFE tied to development activities such as agriculture or water provision predominated our samples in all countries (refer to Appendix A);. Process-oriented nonformal education was minimal; the only case being SNV in Ghana.

2. *Who are the main actors? Are the traditional roles of government shared in substantially different ways?* **Private for profit entities** are new players in the provision of nonformal education. In Ghana, PFPs are represented in every role except regulatory, learning, and policy development; however, this is not the case in either of the francophone countries. The interests of PFPs in contrast to our expectation (vested interest in labor force improvements) stems from an increased

level of indigenous expertise and from an entrepreneurship motive. In this regard, we find then that PFPs are minimally involved in financing NFE programs and from this perspective will probably not be actively seeking a role at the policy advocacy level. **Beneficiaries** are increasingly visible outside the role of learner in Ghana Senegal and Burkina Faso. In the latter two countries they assisted in financing some activities and in Ghana's water sector they provided material/technical resources due to their specialized training. However, beneficiaries are notably absent in the role of evaluation. Their only representation in this role is as a result of the process-oriented SNV project. **NGOs** were more integrally involved in NFE activities in francophone countries than in Ghana. **The state's role** in Ghana was most visible in mobilization, material/technical resources, regulation, financial support, promotion, policy development, and program monitoring. The state in the francophone countries, when compared to Ghana, was more visible in service provision. The most significant findings are that beneficiaries are carrying increasingly larger shares of the financial burden and that provision of nonformal education is provided by private-for-profits in Ghana in striking contrast to the francophone countries. Table 6, below, summarizes the patterns of involvement we found indicating the level of involvement of each stakeholder as either high (H), medium (M), or low (L).

Table 6
Organizational Roles Across Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Stakeholder	Role	Entrep. (eg. mobilz)	Material/Technical	Service provision	Regulatory	Financial	Promotion	Teaching	Learning	Policy	Monitoring/Evaluation
Government		H	H	M	H	H	H	L	L	H	M
Beneficiary (Ben)		L	L	L	0	L	0	0	H	0	L
NGO		H	H	M	M	L	L	H	L	L	L
Donors		0	L	L	0	H	0	L	0	M	L
Private-for-Prof.		L	L	M	0	L	L	M	0	0	L
Church		L	M	H	0	0	L	L	0	L	L

Note:

a. Stakeholders

3. What is the pattern of collaboration in the promotion of nonformal education?

There is a great deal of interaction among a variety of entities in the promotion of nonformal education. In addition to the macro patterns depicted in Table 6 we also observed that ministries of education were less involved in Ghana and somewhat more involved in the francophone countries; moreover, a wide variety of other government departments ranging from agriculture to labor were involved. Beneficiaries were more involved when indigenous NGOs were involved or when process-oriented, non-indigenous NGOs were involved. Generally, tensions seemed to rise among the collaborating parties when policies were not clearly outlined (e.g. the case of EMPRETEC in Ghana) or when policies were not implemented (e.g. in the case of Burkina Faso's two coordinating bodies).

4. NGO relationships with the state: Especially in those cases where the state has indicated either by specific policy, as in Ghana's water sector, or general policy, as in Senegal's "faire faire," that it intends to roll back its involvement the absence of guidelines has created a rush of entrants into the private sector to capitalize on the opportunity for financial gain. The state's reaction has been to implement more stringent guidelines for entrance into the nonprofit private sector which has provoked an NGO backlash.

Duplication of effort exists between the NGO community and the state despite efforts like those in Burkina Faso to more effectively coordinate public and private sector programs.

What lessons can be drawn from these findings?

1. The multiplicity of actors involved in the promotion of nonformal education requires interaction among a diverse set of interest groups or stakeholders. Governments will have to improve their ability to coordinate activities and functions. The types of skills needed from civil servants have changed and the way in which the government sees its role must change also. Government is becoming more a facilitator than a provider.

2. Government needs to create a framework within which the cooperative activities required in this era of networked services can operate. The present efforts in Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso in this regard have not succeeded. Frameworks that offer general guidelines for entrance into these service networks can begin to address some of the overlap and oversight that now exists. At the same time, to be avoided are guidelines that are constraints so that participation is discouraged due to bureaucratic hurdles too cumbersome to navigate.

The new frameworks need to address the private-for-profit phenomenon emerging in Ghana and nascent in the two francophone countries. The encouragement of private-for-profits appears to meet the privatization and entrepreneurship needs of many African economies and should be encouraged with economic and policy incentives.

3. Monitoring and evaluation is falling through the cracks. In some cases, the state may not know how to evaluate or monitor these new arrangements of service provision but without it quality will quickly deteriorate. This is especially true as the number of unregulated private-for-profits rise.

4. Funding which results in the spin-off of indigenous private-for-profit entities should be continued and perhaps increased but certainly grants a harder look at their effectiveness and sustainability.

5. Beneficiaries must be more involved in the evaluation of NFE programs in order to increase the local capacity of future consumers of nonformal education programs.

6. Nonformal education though critical to increased delegation of responsibility to local communities is not costed in several of the larger programs in our study. Because NFE is embedded in other projects it frequently is not costed in overall project budgets. Furthermore, in these new service networks where monitoring seems

to be neglected no one appears to be creating a means to track the cost benefit of the NFE programs.

Conclusion

The picture emerging from this study supports development management literature which predicted increased networks of service provision in developing countries. A parallel development in nonformal education is the growth of private for profit entities which capitalize on local entrepreneurship and expertise both of which should contribute to sustainable programs. However, there is a need for further study regarding the extent to which this is borne out. Also, case studies that delve more deeply into jointly offered nonformal education programs can provide insight regarding the nature of the relationships between the various stakeholders and the effect these interactions (collaborative, cooperative, or conflictual) have on service delivery.

Field Reports

ANAFSA. (1997, January). *Nouvelles formes de collaboration entre le secteur public et la société civile pour promouvoir l'éducation non formelle*. Dakar, Senegal: Author.

ANAFSA. (1997, February). *Nouvelles formes de collaboration entre le secteur public et la société civile pour promouvoir l'éducation non formelle. Complément d'information*. Dakar, Senegal: Author.

GREFCO (1997, January). *Nouvelles méthodes de collaboration entre secteur public et société civile dans la promotion de l'éducation non formelle*. Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso: Author.

References

ADEA (1995). *Formulating Education Policy: Lessons and experiences from sub-Saharan Africa*. Paris, ADEA.

Anang, Frederick (1996 or 1994 ?). Evaluating the role and impact of foreign NGOs in Ghana. In Eve Sandberg (Ed.), *The changing politics of non-governmental organizations and the African states* (pp.101-120). Westport, CT: Praeger. Bhasin, K. (1991). Participatory development demands participatory training. *Convergence*, 24(4), 5-15.

Blunt, A. (1988). Education, learning and development: Evolving concepts. *Convergence*, 21(1), 37-53.

Bock, J.C., and Papagiannis, G.J. (1983). *Non-formal education and national development: A critical assessment of policy, research, and practice*. New York: Praeger Special Studies.

Boeh-Ocansey, (1995), *Education and Training for the Informal Sector*, Overseas Development Association.

Bopp, M. (1994). The illusive essential: evaluating participation in non-formal education and community development processes. *Convergence*, 27(1), 23-45.

Carroll, T. F. (1992) *Intermediary NGOs: The supporting link in grassroots development*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Colletta, N.J. (1996). Formal, nonformal, and informal education. In A.C. Tuijnman (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Adult Education and Training* (pp. 22-27) (2nd edition). Tarrytown, N.Y.: Elsevier Science Inc.

Coombs, P.H. (1968). *The world educational crisis: A systems analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dicklitch, S. (1995, November). *Indigenous non-governmental organizations and civil society in Uganda: Viable vehicles of democratization?* Paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of African studies Association, Orlando, FL.

Esman, M.J., (1991) *Management dimensions of development: Perspectives and strategies*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Foundations for the future: Human resource development, (1993). Report of the Commonwealth Working Group on Human Resource Development Strategies. London, England: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Fox, H. (1989). *Peace Corps Training Manual*.

Frantz, T.L. (1987). The role of NGOs in strengthening civil society, *World Development*, 15 Supplement: 121-127.

Garilao, E.D. (1987) Indigenous NGOs as strategic institutions: Managing the relations with government and resource agencies. *World Development*, 15 Supplement: 113-120.

Gary, I. (1996). Confrontation, co-operation or co-optation: NGOs and the Ghanaian state during structural adjustment. *Review of African Political Economy*, 68, 149-168.

Grindle, M.S. and Thomas, J.W. (1991). *Public Choices and policy change: The political economy of reform in developing countries*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kleymeyer, C. (1992). Cultural energy and grassroots development. *Grassroots Development*. 23-30.

Korten, D. C. (1987). Third generation NGO strategies: A key to people centered development. *World Development*, 15, 24-27.

Laakso, L. (1995, November). *Relationship between the state and civil society in the Zimbabwean elections 1995*. Paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of African Studies Association, Orlando, FL.

LaBelle, T.J. and Ward, C.R. (1996) Development through nonformal education. In *International Encyclopedia of Adult Education and Training*, A.C. Tuijnman (Ed.) pp. 228-233.

Lamichane, S., & Kapoor, D. (1992). Nonformal education and rural evolution: Multiple perspectives. *Convergence*, 25(3), 45-52.

Leonard, D.K. (1982). Analyzing the organizational requirements for serving the rural poor. In David K. Leonard and Dale R. Marshall (Eds.) *Institutions for rural development for the poor*. Berkeley, CA: University of California press.

Lindblom, 1990 *Building on Basics: A Report on the Global Education Crisis, Results Educational Fund Report.*

Manuh, T. (1993). Loosening legal and political constraints on NGOs in Africa. In R. Sandbrook & M. Halfani (Eds.), with Foreword by E. Bradbent and reflections by Julius Nyerere, *Empowering people: Building community, civil associations and legality in Africa.* (pp.129-131). Toronto: Center for Urban and Community Studies

Mavima, P., Satran, J., Snyder, M. & Wilson III, J. (1996, June 29-July 5). *The new triumvirate: NGOs, donors and states in international development.* Paper presented at the 1996 Annual Conference of the American society for Public Administration (ASPA), Atlanta, GA.

Merriam, S. B. (1997). *Profession and Practice of Adult Education: An introduction.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Niehoff, R.O. (1977). *Report on conference & workshop on non-formal education and the rural poor.* Michigan State University.

Orivel, F. & Shaw, C., (1994). In Evans, D. *Education and policy formation in Africa* (Technical Report No. 12). Washington, DC: USAID.

Ritchey-Vance, M. (1991). *The art of association: NGOs and civil society in Colombia.* Rosslyn, VA: Inter-American Foundation.

Salamon, L. (1994). The rise of the nonprofit sector. *Foreign Affairs*, 73(4). 109-122.

Schroeder, W. (1970). Adult education defined and described, In R.M. Smith, G. Aker, and J.Kidd (eds.), *Handbook of Adult Education.* New York: MacMillan.

Siabi-Mensah, K., Mensah, E., Fass, S. (1997). *Adult Education: Local capacity building, development and decentralization.* Accra, Ghana: Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana.

Snyder, M., Berry, F., & Mavima, P. (1996). Gender policy in development assistance: Improving implementation results. *World Development*, 24(9). 1481-96.

Sub-Saharan Africa: From crisis to sustainable growth. (1989). Washington, D.C. :World Bank.

Titmus, C.J. (1996). Comparative studies: Adult education. *In International Adult Education Handbook.* 682-687.

UNESCO. (1991). Teaching and basic education for development. Conference of ministers and those responsible for economic planning in African member states. Senegal: UNESCO.

UNESCO-UNICEF (1990) *Educate or Perish: Africa's Impass and Prospects*, Dakar and Abidjan, UNESCO-UNICEF.

Uphoff, N. (1994). Reassessing development administration: Puzzles of productivity. In N. Uphoff (Ed.), *Puzzles of productivity in public organizations*. San Francisco, CA: Institute for Contemporary Studies.

USAID, (1996, April) *Survey of Non-governmental Organizations Providing Basic Education*, USAID/Ghana.

WATSANNEWS: A quarterly publication of the Volta CWSD (RWSS) Project, (1)4. Ghana: Danida/GWSC.

Wegner, R. (1996). the role of NGOs in development cooperation: Some notes on empirical research findings. *Intereconomics*, November-December.

White, L.G. (1996). Interactive policy analysis: Process methods for policy reform. In D.W. Brinkerhoff (Ed.) *Policy analysis concepts and methods: an institutional and implementation focus*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

World Bank, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review*, Washington, D.C., World Bank.

Wunsch, James S. and Dele Oluwu (eds.) (1990). *The failure of the centralized state: Institutions and self-governance in Africa*. Boulder, Westview Press.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Typology of NFE Providers

PROVIDERS	NONFORMAL EDUCATION	
PUBLIC	Functional	Process
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 	1. Burkina Faso, L'Institut National d'Alphabetisation	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is primary interest; NFE is secondary 	1. Ghana, MOE 2. Ghana, Education Service 3. Burkina Faso, MESSRS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 	1. Ghana, Community Water & Sanitation Division, MOWH 2. Ghana, NBSSI 3. Ghana, MOH 4. Senegal, PNVA 5. Senegal, MOEnv 6.Senegal, MOL. 7. Burkina Faso, MARA 8. Burkina Faso, MOL	
PRIVATE NOT-FOR-PROFIT (NGOs)		
<i>INTERNATIONAL (HEADQUARTERED OUTSIDE AFRICA)</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 		1. Ghana, SNV
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is primary interest; NFE is secondary 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 	1. Planned Parenthood/Ghana 2.Senegal, ARP 3. Burkina Faso, NOVIB 4. Burkina Faso, Bread for the World 5. Burkina Faso, Club 2/3 6. Burkina Faso, Brothers of Man 7. Ghana, Presbyterian Church (exception)	
<i>INDIGENOUS</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interafrican 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 	1. Burkina Faso, L'INADES/Formation	
<i>NATIONAL</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is primary interest; NFE is secondary 		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>REGIONAL</i> 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is primary interest; NFE is secondary 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>LOCAL</i> 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 	1. Burkina Faso, TINTUA	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is central; NFE is secondary 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 		
PRIVATE-FOR-PROFIT (PFPs)		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal education is primary interest. 	1. Ghana, African Center for Human Development (ACHD) 2. Ghana, EMPRETEC 3. Ghana, TREND 4. Senegal, CAPAFRIC	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is primary interest; NFE is secondary 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special interest is primary;NFE is allied activity to further special interests' goals. 	1. Ghana, Barclay's Bank	

Appendix B

Methodology

Certain assumptions and limitations informed our approach to the research conducted in this study. We assumed that nonformal education has a direct positive role in the development efforts of less developed countries and that the provision of nonformal education currently involves a multiplicity of actors rather than being monopolized by the state. We assume that NGOs and private-for-profit organizations are in the midst of the delivery of nonformal education. Another underlying assumption of the study is that relations among the various participants in the provision of nonformal education effects the delivery of such services. We expect more effective delivery in situations where relations are collaborative and mutually supportive, and to be less effective if relations are otherwise.

Constraints included time--little less than one month was available to conduct the field studies and as a result the field studies are tilted toward those activities headquartered in urban centers. There is a certain lopsidedness in terms of depth e.g. Ghana includes much more detail than Senegal or Burkina Faso. Important sectors are missing, for example, democratization activities per se. In Ghana, our study took place in the midst of Ghanaian elections which precluded any contact with organizations involved with that sector.

Three major activities comprised the methodology of this study: literature review, field research, and analysis of field data and compilation of the final report. These activities were undertaken as follows:

a) Literature review: This activity was mainly undertaken in the United States by researchers working in the Florida State University's Center for Policy Studies in Education. It involved identifying and reviewing literature on: nonformal education including definitions of the concept, its history in general and on the African continent in particular, and identifying factors that led to its importance both in history and in contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa; and, the increasing importance in the role of non-state institutions, like NGOs and the private sector in international development management in general and in the provision of nonformal education in particular, their role in the sub-Saharan African context, and the emerging patterns of relationships between them and states. It was through this process that main concepts used in the study, like interaction and collaboration, were defined and the questions to guide the field research were sharpened.

b) Field Research: This was done in three African countries chosen to participate in the study, namely Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso. For each of these countries, a research partner¹² was identified who undertook field research based on the questions described above, i.e., to, find out who the main actors in the provision of nonformal education were, identify the main forms in which it was being provided, identify the nature of the relations between the various

¹² Appendix C lists institutional and individual research partners.

Appendix C

1. ANAFA, Contact: Ousmane Faty Ndongo, B.P. 10358, Dakar Liberté, Senegal
2. GREFCO, Contact: Daniel Thieba, B.P. 6428, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso
3. Kofi Siabi-Mensah, Accra Worker's College, Accra, Ghana.

Appendix D

Organizational Roles

Stak.	Role	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Entrep. (eg. mobiliz)	material/ technical	service provision	regulatory	financial	promotion	teaching	learning	policy/adv. [specify]	monitoring/ evaluation
	government [cent/reg/dist / local]										
	beneficiary										
	NGO										
	donors										
	private-for- profit										
	religious bodies										
	multinational [U.N.]										