Reaching Out, Reaching All

Sustaining Effective Policy and Practice for Education in Africa and Promising Educational Responses to HIV/AIDS

Sculptor: Robert J. Francic

Papers from the ADEA Biennial Meeting

(Arusha, Tanzania, October 7-11, 2001)

Association for the Development of Education in Africa

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A French edition of this publication exists entitled *"Aller plus loin, aller vers tous – pérenniser les politiques et pratiques efficaces pour l'éducation en Afrique et les initiatives porteuses dans la lutte contre le VIH/SIDA."*

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
ADF	African Development Forum
AERC	The African Economic Research Consortium
ANCEFA	African network to Campaign for EFA
APNET	African Publishers' Network
BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CBO	Community Based Organization
CEF	Community Education Fund
CEF	Community Educational Fund
CESAC	Centres for listening, treatment, help and advice
COBET	Complementary Basic Education and Training
COMED	Communication for Education and Development
DAE	Donors for African Education
DBSPE	District Based Support to Primary Education
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DR	Dropout Rate
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EFA	Education For All
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
EMMA	Educational Mass Media Agency
ERNWACA	Education Research Network for West and Central Africa
ESC	Education Sector Conference
ESCE	Exam Scores at the end of primary school
ESDP	Education Sector Development Program
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FAWE	Forum of African Women Educationists
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrollment Rate
GIR	Gross Intake Rate
GPPN	Global Public Policy Network
HAC	HIV/AIDS Conference
HIPC	Highly-Indebted Poor Countries
HOS	Heads of State Conference
HRD	Human Resources Development
IA	Adult Illiteracy
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDEN	District Inspectorate for Primary Education
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
MFMC	My Future is My Choice
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture

NAWSE	Network of African Women Scientists and Engineers
NEC	National Executive Committee
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
NESIS	National Education Statistical Information Systems
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIR	Net Intake Rate
NPAs	National Publishers' Associations
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PANA	Pan African News Agency
PCR	Population per classroom
PLWA	People living with AIDS
PSLE	Primary School Learning Examination
PTA	Parents/Teachers Association
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
REC	Regional Education Conference
RR	Repetition Rate
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SDP	Sector Development Program
SHAPE	Schools HIV/AIDS and Population Education
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STDS	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SWLF	Swedish Working Life Fund
TAR	Proportion of Grade A Teachers in district
TRC	Teachers' Resources Center
UNAIDS	United Nations AIDS Program
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WG	Working Group
WGTP	Working Group on Teaching Profession
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction

Scaling Up and Sustaining Promising Experiences in Africa: Lessons From Here and Elsewhere

by Mamadou NDOYE, ADEA Executive Secretary

From one Biennial Meeting to the next, the themes addressed may seem to bear no great resemblance to one another. From education programs and projects (1993)[1] to the formulation of education policy (1995)[2], partnerships (1997)[3] and successful experiences (1999)[4], and on to taking reform to scale (2001)[5], the successive themes offer a great variety of centers of interest. All of these meetings have both stimulated and served as occasions for collegial discussions, productive interaction and sharing of experiences, encouraging the main stakeholders in education policy in Africa – ministers and education specialists along with their internal and external partners – to build common understandings that are conducive to new partnerships, to promote fresh political views favorable to reform, and to increase our theoretical and practical knowledge concerning crucial issues for educational development in Africa. The Biennial Meetings are thus important occasions, and for two distinct reasons. First, the choice of themes reflects the current priorities and/or anticipates future priorities of the agenda for educational cooperation in Africa, since this choice is made jointly by the main protagonists, particularly African education ministers, in view of the challenges they face. Second, the Biennale rounds out a learning process: it is preceded and prepared by a large-scale analytical exercise involving both African countries and education experts, and represents the crucial stage in which participants pool their experiences and the lessons learned. As a result, it provides the occasion for

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1 Improving the Implementation of Education Projects in Africa through Ownership – Proceedings of the DAE Task Force Meetings (Angers, France, 22-24 October 1993). DAE (Donors to African Education), 1994.
2 Formulating Educational Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa – Proceedings of the DAE Biennial Meetings (Tours, 18-22 October 1995). DAE (Donors to African Education),1996.
3 Partnerships for Capacity Building and Quality Improvements in Education – Proceedings of the ADEA Biennial Meeting (Dakar, Senegal, 14-18 October 1997). ADEA Secretariat, 1998.
4 What Works and What's New in Education: Africa Speaks! – Proceedings of the ADEA Biennial Meeting (Johannesburg, South Africa, 5-9 December 1999). ADEA Secretariat, 2000.
5 Reaching Out, Reaching All: Sustaining Effective Policy and Practice for Education in Africa, Fighting HIV/AIDS – Proceedings of the ADEA Biennial Meeting (Arusha, Tanzania, October 7-11, 2001). ADEA Secretariat, 2003.

comparisons, developments and syntheses that offer many insights on the ins and outs of the policies and practices found to be effective.

Can the Biennale, by thus highlighting the pre-eminence of substance and process in ADEA activities, also lead us to reflect a step further, to question their coherence, relevance and effectiveness?

How does the theme of the 2001 Biennale, "taking reforms to scale", represent the continuity, extension or development of an intellectual process that is supposed to be concerned with relevance and gradual accumulation of knowledge of what works in educational development in Africa?

What do this approach to learning and this dialogue contribute in terms of making the lessons learned useful to learners, and in terms of how they are used by learners, given that these lessons are tied to specific contexts outside of which their validity is limited, to say the least?

In this respect, how can the lessons learned from African contexts be put into the perspective of international experience, particularly that of other developing regions – in this case, South Asia and Latin America? In what way are these lessons from outside Africa relevant to African contexts?

From one set of issues to the next: the choice of theme for the 2001 Biennale

The coherence and continuity of the intellectual approach developed by ADEA through its successive Biennales may be either questioned, felt, revealed or constructed, depending on the point of view adopted. For those who see a mere series of unconnected themes, it is legitimate to question the significance and impact of such a fragmented or piecemeal approach. However, this viewpoint ignores the unifying effect of ADEA's mission, which is to promote processes of social transformation of education in Africa, and of the pervasive influence of this mission in the choice of our centers of interest and activities. In this respect, we may assert that the issues show convergence in terms of their orientation and the fact that they all contribute to the same essential goals.

Viewed in chronological sequence, the theme of the 2001 Biennale certainly addressed a major challenge facing educational development in Africa. The prospective, stock-taking review of education conducted in 1998[6] revealed that, contrary to the prevailing "Afro-pessimist" view, Africa possessed many successful and/or promising experiences in the education sector, aimed at broadening access, increasing equity, and improving educational quality, relevance and administration. Assessment of these experiences also indicated,

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6   Study carried out in 1998 in preparation for the ADEA Biennial Meeting.

however, that it was very rare for this success to spread beyond the limited confines of a pilot project and have a substantial impact on the education system as a whole. Moreover, the sustainability of these success stories was doubtful in a number of cases, owing to the lack of a stable institutional and financial framework. This two-pronged conclusion – which asserts on the one hand that the education sector has enormous potential for innovation, reform and success, and on the other that conditions and capacities are inadequate for scaling up experiments that prove successful in the pilot phase – led to the choice of a theme charged with development issues: "scaling up and sustaining effective policy and practice" in order to "reach out and reach all"[7]. At this point, it becomes apparent that the process of reform analysis undertaken through the Biennales is following a logic based on successive challenges, and that this logic applies to educational design and planning as well as the conduct of change in the education sector. The fact is that the development and successful trial of an innovation immediately raises new questions concerning the next stages: extension, going to scale, and making the reform sustainable.

Methodologically, the praxis approach inaugurated by the 1999 exercise was to be consolidated in 2001 through the identification, analysis and documentation of successful experiences of scaling up, in Africa, South Asia (Bangladesh and India)[8] and Latin America (Guatemala and El Salvador)[9]. This process of learning from what is happening in actual practice, in order to see which factors and conditions are conducive to success, leads to changes of approach aimed at improving practice and making actions more effective. The process thus involves a summary assessment, critical thinking, knowledge production and a plan for change all at the same time, driven by the dialectical relationships action-research-action, practice-theory-practice, and/or reform-learning-reform. This spiral approach, which leads stakeholders in African education to gradually develop knowledge and practice in the light of the real conditions, resources, capacities and needs of their respective contexts, offers promise of profound, controlled and lasting change. The Biennales seek to contribute to this cumulative process by helping to establish a culture of evaluation and/or analysis within education ministries, by promoting self-examination among stakeholders and dialogue among peers and countries as tools for social and constructivist learning, capacity building and promotion of desired reforms. This "praxis" approach, which is also a process of knowledge production for purposes of action and reform, was used to address the theme of the 2001 Biennale, with the results indicated below.

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7   Reaching Out, Reaching All: Sustaining Effective Policy and Practice for Education in Africa, Fighting HIV/AIDS – Proceedings of the ADEA Biennial Meeting (Arusha, Tanzania, October 7-11, 2001)

8   Sharing and Learning: Bangladesh – India, 2001. Produced and Directed by Ecolivet, Katrina J. STEPS FOR MANKIND Productions for the World Bank with support from the Norwegian Education Trust Fund.

9   Sharing and Learning: El Salvador – Guatemala, 2000. Produced and Directed by Ecolivet, Katrina J. STEPS FOR MANKIND Productions for the World Bank with support from the Norwegian Education Trust Fund.

Scaling up reform in Africa: Success factors and problems

When speaking about Africa – and other regions of the world – it should be pointed out that national and even local contexts differ from one another and that they are constantly changing over time. For this reason, the 2001 exercise, whose conclusions appear in this work, strongly, and rightly, emphasized the importance of taking these individual contexts into consideration in:

- analyzing education systems, particularly from a comparative stand-point;
- assessing the success or failure of reforms;
- evaluating the lessons learned from the reforms or the scaling up of experimental programs.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that many context-specific factors may explain why the scaling up of a reform succeeds or fails in a given context and do just the opposite in another. This makes extrapolation a questionable technique and indicates that the lessons learned from one experience cannot be transferred mechanically to other contexts. It also explains why a certain approach to the lessons learned may give rise to no more than banal, general statements of no operational value.

That said, the issue of scaling up displays several characteristics that are common to most of Africa. First, most of the projects in question are pilot projects, demonstration projects or experimental projects initiated neither by African governments nor by local communities. For this reason, they are rarely sustainable, as their existence often depends on external financing: when that financing stops, the project stops. Even fewer make it past this initial stage and go to scale. Analysis of the cases of documented success has identified the following main conditions and factors associated with success[10]:

- firm commitment to reform on the part of a charismatic leader of some prominence;
- strong local demand that is adequately met by the reform;
- adequate, sustainable funding, stemming from a favorable decision in the resource allocation process and a substantial "mini-policy" in favor of reform;
- a learning approach to project development, thanks to monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and networks for dialogue and sharing of information.

At the other end of the scale, failures in scaling up may be due to:

- the fact that one of the main conditions listed above is not met;
- lack of capacity, particularly at the technical and institutional levels;
- unsuitable monitoring, organization and management;

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10   "Scaling up by focusing down: creating space to expand education reform", in present document Reaching Out, Reaching All – Sustaining Effective Policy and Practice for Education in Africa and Promising Educational Responses to HIV/AIDS. Joël Samoff, E. Molapi Sebatane and Martial Dembélé.

- the strength of corporatist, social, political and cultural resistance or opposition;
- an inappropriate strategy for scaling up.

Reflection on these conditions and factors is of capital importance for the success or failure of the extension and scaling-up of pilot projects. The reason is that the process of transition from the pilot stage to a larger scale is complex and difficult. The search for reproducibility faces many obstacles and often takes dead-end paths by focusing on reproducing the content or the sequence of steps of a successful innovation, as designed and implemented in its initial phase. Whereas what the exercise teaches us is that, in scaling up, the aim is less to reproduce the innovation as such than to tackle the challenge of re-creating the conditions and factors that made it work, often in a very different context.

Are these general lessons confirmed by experiences from Central America and Asia? And moreover, are they instructive for African stakeholders? How and in what way can these scaled-up reforms serve as models for those involved in educational development in Africa?

Latin America: Scaling up reforms introduced at the school and classroom levels

The reforms in question were undertaken in two Central American countries, Guatemala and El Salvador. The two countries' reform programs display some common features: both were undertaken in post-conflict situations, cover rural areas and are designed to improve access, equity and quality to the benefit of disadvantaged population groups. In the case of Guatemala, the New Unitary School (NEU) introduced a system-wide reform with a strong pedagogical component that synthesizes learner-centered innovations in an original way. In El Salvador, the Community-Managed Schools Program (EDUCO) is implementing a sweeping decentralization of the education system that gives communities full responsibility for managing their schools.

Analysis of the reform in Guatemala

Background
In 1996, Guatemala was emerging from a forty-year civil war. Disparities between rural and urban areas and between different population segments were strongly marked. Social services, including education, were inadequate and unequally distributed. Indigenous peoples in rural areas were particularly disadvantaged. Apart from Spanish, which serves as a lingua franca, some twenty languages are spoken by various communities, reflecting the fact that the country is a patchwork of different ethnic groups.

The reform

The educational reform called for in the 1996 peace agreement was implemented against this background. Six priorities were set: 1) universal literacy; 2) adaptation of the curriculum to the values, needs and realities of local cultures and languages, while at the same time making a place for the development of private provision and new technologies; 3) bilingual education; 4) decentralization; 5) a system for monitoring and evaluating learning; 6) enhancing the professionalism of the teaching force.

To initiate the reform, two programs with similar goals – the National Educational Development Program (PRONADE) and the New Unitary School (NEU) – were designed and implemented. The aim was to broaden access to schooling, improve learning outcomes and promote community participation, with the primary focus being on rural areas and on girls. The program examined here is the NEU.

The NEU: bringing educational reform to the school and classroom level

The NEU employs a new educational model encompassing not only school and classroom management, but also the organization of instruction and the teaching and learning process.

The NEU, first and foremost, takes the form of a primary school that combines several grades in multigrade classes, depending on the demographic situation and educational requirements in the rural environment concerned. The use of multigrade classes is not regarded as a constraint, but rather as a learning resource, as is indicated by the strategic pillars of the reform.

Self-learning by pupils

This is the first pillar of the reform. Pupils must build their knowledge base by themselves, through research, problem-solving, experimentation, practical exercises and application of the knowledge acquired in school to various situations. To this end, they have self-learning guides: textbooks designed by teachers especially for this purpose, on the basis of the country's official curriculum. These guides offer exercises covering the entire primary curriculum, divided into six successive levels, each of which is subdivided into 30 learning units. Each unit consists of several sequences which pupils must master one after the other through three types of exercises: those to be done on their own, those to be done with peers (group work and tutoring) and those to be done with the family.

A variety of learning materials suitable for self-learning by pupils

The first thing that strikes the visitor on entering an NEU classroom is the wealth and diversity of the learning materials, both for groups and for

individuals: posters, drawings, objects and animals. In addition to the self-learning guides, every classroom has "learning corners", each focusing on a given field: mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences and so forth. Any pupil can withdraw to a learning corner to work on his or her own, observing, handling and experimenting with structured learning materials that in most cases are made locally. When pupils undertake to learn a specific topic under curricula allowing for pupils at different levels, they can find materials specifically designed for this purpose as well. Each class has its own library in addition to that of the school. And yet this rich learning environment does not come at high cost. Most of the learning aids are made in situ using local materials salvaged by teachers, pupils and parents.

Pupils learn at their own pace

Each pupil moves forward at his or her own pace. On completing a learning sequence with a positive evaluation from the teacher, the pupil goes on to the next. On completing all the sequences in a unit, pupils take a unit examination to assess what they have learned in order to move on to the next unit. This approach also applies to advancing from one grade to the next. The notions of the school year and of repeating a year thus take on a completely different meaning: owing to the flexible transitions allowed by this system, pupils can learn what is required for graduation to a higher grade in three months or in eighteen months, depending on their learning speed or availability. The latter is an issue because pupils may also interrupt their schooling to help parents with the coffee harvest or for other reasons, and can come back at any time, in order to resume the learning process where they had left off. The school year and the system governing transition between grades are thus remarkably flexible, allowing the pace of learning to be adapted to the local context and the needs of each pupil.

Schools and classrooms are managed by pupils

Each NEU school is managed by a school government, generally consisting of a president, vice-president and three secretaries, all of whom are pupils elected by their peers following an electoral campaign. The school government is assisted by specialized committees, whose members are also pupils. It is responsible for managing questions of hygiene, health, discipline and school meals, as well as organizing activities related to the non-classroom aspects of schools, such as running the library, daily cleaning and upkeep, reception of visitors, etc.

At the level of the individual class, the concern for having pupils take responsibility is also reflected in their management of the library, handling of cleaning chores, and tutoring, which encourages group work in multigrade classes.

All of this cultivates a spirit of participation, a sense of initiative and responsibility, socialization of pupils and learning about democracy and citizenship.

Teachers' professional development

First of all, the reform is not extended to a given school unless the teachers working there so request. After this selection based on commitment, teachers take part in awareness-raising workshops led by their peers who are already practitioners of the methods introduced by the reform. The workshop participants jointly engage in critical examination of results and approaches, as well as the results of traditional teaching methods, and subsequently in consideration of how to find new ways of improving learning outcomes.

This initiation into the reform paves the way for an extensive process of teacher support:

(i) five training workshops are organized each year;

(ii) quality circle meetings are held monthly to analyze performance, share experiences and work together to develop technologies, in particular for the production of learning materials;

(iii) principals and inspectors are close to teachers, providing back-up and support, with frequent class visits.

All of these activities give priority to reinforcing teachers' self-examination practices, learning through experience about the innovations of the reform, and inter-training of peers.

Analysis of the reform in El Salvador

Background

El Salvador, like Guatemala, went through a civil war that lasted a dozen years before it finally ended in 1992. Poverty and social exclusion persisted in much of the country, particularly rural areas and working-class urban areas. More than half of children aged 4 to 6 did not attend pre-school and 15% of school-age children lacked access to primary education. Half of all adolescents were not in school. These access and equity problems were compounded by difficulties in terms of quality, as learning outcomes, particularly in mathematics, were poor and uneven. At best 60% of pupils passed the national exams at the end of primary school.

The 1991 reform

The reform began in 1991, one year after the Jomtien conference and a year before the end of the civil war. It was implemented through numerous programs, including the Community-Managed Schools Program (EDUCO), fast-track education for overage pupils and distance education for adults and teenagers.

Reform strategies targeted the following priorities: strengthening pre-school programs, promoting and increasing community participation, improving

quality, developing teacher training, using audiovisual methods, developing and rehabilitating infrastructure, revising curricula, and modernizing school administration. The EDUCO program is analyzed here.

EDUCO: a reform based on decentralizing school administration
The EDUCO program is grounded in the hypothesis that "to achieve effective and high-quality education, the parents of the children enrolled in schools need to be motivated and involved in running the schools".

The reform has sought to accomplish this by decentralizing school administration and devolving power from the Ministry of Education to local communities. The powers transferred to the communities concern: 1) the selection, hiring and management of teachers; 2) administration of the funds to be used to pay teacher salaries and other school operating expenses; 3) adoption of the school budget; 4) management of the school meals program; 5) decisions on building new classrooms; and 6) informing and mobilizing families to support schooling. The reform has been implemented through several programs grouped under the 1995-2005 Ten-Year Plan.

The institutional framework
Local communities were empowered through community education associations (ACEs), by which are established and organized by communities. They are managed by a steering committee elected at an annual meeting open to all parents. The ACEs have been given official status by an executive decree that sets out "special ACE regulations" defining the conditions for their establishment and operation. To obtain support from the Ministry of Education, the ACE must comply with these conditions and must also sign a contract with the state that specifies the respective responsibilities of the two parties. In general, the Ministry of Education has responsibility for finances, monitoring the use of funds and school supervision. It is up to the ACEs to administer the funds allocated to schools and to handle spending and accounting.

Hiring and managing teachers
The powers transferred to communities are intended first of all to meet the challenge of retaining teachers in disadvantaged areas where they are usually not keen to work. As all candidates must have a teaching diploma, the selection criteria emphasized by the ACEs include acceptance of local conditions, a willingness to work in the area over a longer period of time and a commitment to children. Candidates are interviewed before the hiring decision is made.

ACEs also have responsibility for monitoring teachers and ensuring that they are actually at their posts. ACEs work with the school principal and

supervisor to evaluate teachers' work and decide whether their contracts should be renewed.

Management of funds and equipment
Each ACE has a bank account where it deposits checks sent by the Ministry of Education. The ACE uses these funds to pay teacher salaries and to cover the expenses of the meals program and school operating and maintenance expenses. It works with the teachers to set the school budget and, if necessary, raises additional funds to meet needs not covered by government funding.

ACEs are in charge of organizing school meals with the help of women volunteers from the community, improving the school grounds and occasionally providing labor to build new classrooms. They conduct activities to build awareness about the need for children to be enrolled in school, for regular school attendance and for the education of girls. They work with the "parents' schools" to mobilize community participation in promoting the values of peace, tolerance, environmental protection and other issues.

Lessons learned from the Latin American experience

In both El Salvador and Guatemala, the two main reforms have, despite their complexity, been scaled up successfully, in view of the contrast between their initial experimental stage and subsequent quantitative and geographical expansion.

Results of the NEU
In the first phase, the NEU was tried out in some 20 schools in two provinces. From 1996 to 2000, it spread to the country's other provinces and eventually covered 3,800 schools. The successful extension of the program has been accompanied by other positive outcomes revealed by the program evaluation:
- increase in school attendance in rural areas;
- improvement in indicators of pupils' and teachers' participation;
- better performance in language learning;
- a shift in teaching concepts and practices toward active methods;
- development of pupils' self-esteem and confidence;
- improved primary school completion rates, 7 to 15 percentage points higher than in traditional rural schools.

Results of EDUCO
In its initial phase in 1991, the EDUCO program was tried out in six schools. Over the next ten years, it was gradually extended to 1,709 schools. This successful example of going to scale also brought:

- active, informed involvement of parents and communities in school management;
- broader access and increased equity for the poorest children;
- increased participation by women in school affairs;
- more efficient schools in terms of lower drop-out and repetition rates;
- improved administrative and managerial capacity in the education system.

In the evaluations of these reforms, some of the conditions and factors identified as the causes of this success – such as commitment on the part of political leaders, local demand and adequate funding – are the same as those highlighted in African contexts, although they may work in different ways. The evaluations also strongly emphasize the importance of communication policy, the realism and gradual nature of the reform effort, the support provided to local stakeholders, arrangements for monitoring and support, and the flexibility of the decentralized model.

Commitment of the political leadership
The commitment of the country's top political leaders was not limited to solemn pronouncements and well-meaning petitions, but took the practical form of policy decisions, budgetary choices and follow-up actions aimed at ensuring the success of the reform. The government adopted and initiated the reforms under the terms of the peace agreement that followed a long period of civil war. The political will to broaden access to education and to guarantee equity and quality for the most disadvantaged areas and population segments was a decisive factor in this decision. Through legislation and executive orders, the government established an institutional framework favorable to the reform, and this helped to remove the administrative and legal obstacles blocking the devolution of public powers and resources to village communities. The government also undertook to modernize the administration of the education system and to mobilize the bureaucracy to provide substantial support to the reform. The budgeting process provided for higher unit costs in schools participating in the reform, and procedures for direct transfer of funds from the Ministry to schools were adopted to bolster spending efficiency. The government also implemented elaborate communication strategies in support of the launch and subsequent conduct of the reform and set up effective arrangements to support local stakeholders (communities, teachers, supervisors).

Local demand and support to local stakeholders
The strategy for extending the reform is demand-driven. In practice, this means that a school will participate in the reform only if the community and teachers jointly agree to this and so request. This voluntary entry into the reform effort is marked by the signature of an agreement defining the

roles and responsibilities of the various interested parties, and particularly between the Ministry of Education and the community education association (ACE) representing the community. Obviously, acceptance of the reform does not come without effort. The government's communication policy and the power of attraction of the pilot experience help to engender a positive perception of the reform among the population. The support provided to local stakeholders in terms of capacity building, tools and equipment were also particularly strong incentives. Measures to prepare communities for the reform include visits in the field, training and financial support packages that strengthen ACEs' capacities in a variety of areas: management of funds and equipment, running the meals program, democratic functioning of the ACEs, strategies for social mobilization, schools for parents. As for teachers, a variety of preparatory sessions lead them gradually to undertake, along with their peers in reformed schools, a thorough-going critical examination of traditional schools, and then to a process of resolving the problems encountered and learning about the innovative approaches introduced by the reform: self-learning, production of learning materials, school governments, etc. In addition, a system of close supervision provides them with advice and intensive support regarding teaching techniques.

Substantial funding and complementary partnerships

As mentioned above, the funding appropriation for reformed schools is based on a higher unit cost than that for other schools, and also takes into account the mechanisms and measures needed to implement the changes involved in the reform. Such positive discrimination in resource allocation was also a measure aimed at enhancing equity: in addition to teachers' salaries, the cost of textbooks, materials, construction, equipment, upkeep and operation, the state finances the meals program, the support given to ACEs, bringing supervision closer to schools, in-service teacher training, mechanisms for monitoring, assessment and research. Community participation is therefore primarily focused on administering the funds allocated by the state and on managing schools. Communities contribute volunteer labor, particularly for implementing meals programs, in which women belonging to the community cook and distribute meals to pupils on a volunteer basis. In some cases, communities provide the labor for the construction and upkeep of school buildings. In short, the bulk of their funding, and the stability of such funding, are provided by the central government.

The reform was not financed solely from domestic sources, however, as the government received substantial financial assistance from external sources for its implementation. In contrast to most cases in Africa, however, this reform was initiated and planned at the country level and integrated into national policy, and it is in this context that the domestic budget is supplemented by external funds.

Communication policy

When those responsible for the reform, particularly ministers, were asked which was the decisive factor in its success, the most frequent answer pointed to communication policy. The main purpose of the communication policy employed was to ensure that the goals and strategies of the reform were shared by all beneficiaries, stakeholders and partners. In this respect, the government became deeply involved in promoting the reform through systematic information and awareness-raising campaigns making use of mass media and various events devoted to communication on social affairs. In this social marketing effort, the government made use of not only its own voice, but those of the leaders of civil society organizations, religious congregations and traditional authorities – in short, all the opinion leaders enjoying credibility among the population – in order to ensure that the message was heard and earn broader support for the reform. The government was also able to create the forums needed for participatory communication (meetings, committees, surveys, workshops), fostering discussion, dialogue, consultation, cooperation and negotiation in order to build a consensus among the various sectors involved, win the support of communities, reach compromises with teachers' unions, get the private coffee-growing sector involved, and establish a variety of partnerships with civil society organizations. The strong involvement of communities and teachers in developing, preparing for and implementing the reform, as well as the networks established for vertical and horizontal exchange of ideas and information, stimulated the development of processes, attitudes and behavior favorable to change. Last but not least, the fact that the organizations and staff specifically devoted to the reform were integrated into the existing structure of the Ministry of Education stimulated internal communication and involved the entire educational administration in the process instead of relegating it to marginal status.

The realistic and gradual nature of the reform

The objectives set for reform must take account of the capacities and customs of those involved, as well as the real – and not simply desirable or assumed – conditions in which the reform is supposed to be implemented. Otherwise, the reform effort will inevitably run into problems of feasibility. To ensure that the changes expected of the reform were sufficiently explicit, specific and reasonable, Guatemala's Ministry of Education gave teachers in active service the responsibility for developing textbooks designed for self-learning. This was the chief innovation of the pedagogical component of the reform. This level of involvement on the part of the key stakeholders in the reform was supposed to ensure that the changes sought would be closely linked to the capacities of teachers and their pupils and to actual classroom conditions. Experience elsewhere has shown that when such tasks are entrusted to experts far from the situation on the ground, teachers often find the proposed options unrealistic. Teachers have continued to play a central

role in the design of structured learning materials, peer training and peer supervision. This facilitated implementation of the reform by enhancing its credibility in the eyes of teachers.

Where communities are concerned, the decentralization process was based on a study that analyzed their experience of participation. This ensured that the reform would be based on the procedures and approaches most familiar to them. In other words, the reform took what they were already doing and what they knew how to do as the starting point for an evolving strategy of community participation.

The strategy of gradualism required that communication concerning the reform be couched in a language familiar to stakeholders, that it not over-load them with work and that changes be devised and implemented over the longer term rather than overnight. The NEU program grew from 20 schools in 1996 to 3,800 schools in 2000, and continues to expand from year to year into new provinces. EDUCO, which involved six schools in the initial phase, was gradually extended to 1,709 in 2001, with a similar pattern of geographic expansion. The various innovations included in the reform were introduced gradually, in accordance with schedule that defined the stages in the implementation of innovation and set the interim goals for each stage. At each stage, an assessment, capitalization of the lessons learned, and introduction of the needed adjustments allowed the reform to move forward and proceed by successive alterations.

This strategy based on moving gradually forward makes the options proposed more realistic and constitutes a factor in the success of the reform.

The monitoring and support system
Substantial technical and financial resources were employed to establish a system of monitoring, assessment and support. Frequent visits on the ground by community oversight bodies, regular surveys on the progress of the reform, close supervision of teaching practices, periodic reports from ACEs and schools, meetings between the various groups of stakeholders, quality circles composed of teachers from several schools and the information system established by the Ministry of Education are all linked together so as to collect and process relevant data. The results have been studied to identify the basic problems facing the reform and the strategies likely to resolve them. At both the national and local levels, the monitoring system is perceived not as a form of control but as a tool for providing support and advice to key actors in the reform.

The flexibility of the decentralized model
The model used for the reform leaves considerable room for initiative and adaptation to the needs and realities of the local context. The decision whether

to use the (native) local language as part of a strategy of bilingualism (native language-Spanish) is left up to the grassroots stakeholders, i.e. teachers and communities. More generally, the curriculum allows adaptation of learning materials, course content and some educational goals to the local context. Teaching and learning approaches and processes call on local know-how and on the participation of families and communities. The schedule of the school year can be adapted to the needs and constraints of families, according to whether children are free to attend school during a given period. Combinations of levels in multigrade classes are left up to the discretion of teachers and school principals. All of this, in addition to the support given to community skills and resources, enhances the independence, initiative, creativity and responsibility of community-level stakeholders in the school system, who no longer have any doubt that both the reform and the school system itself belong to them.

Problems, challenges and risks
The reforms undertaken in the two countries have of course run into obstacles and opposition.

Teachers' unions called on their members to oppose what they regarded as attempts to privatize the education system by means of community participation. Considerable effort had to be expended on dialogue and conciliation to overcome such opposition from interest groups.

There was also opposition from the bureaucracy, on the grounds that it was not possible to transfer public funding to grassroots communities having no legal status. The government was obliged to issue specific ordinances to overcome these obstacles.

Some financial procedures have been kept at levels too complex for ordinary citizens to manage, while the Ministry has not always had enough staff to oversee ACEs. As a result, there have been some delays in funds transfers to schools.

The isolation, poverty and illiteracy of the rural groups targeted also caused significant problems in the implementation of the reforms.

Taking targeted and local planning strategies to scale: Inclusion of the poor and girls in South Asia

The experiences of scaling up observed in Bangladesh and India generally took place in contexts of extreme poverty, with all its attendant ills: illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, discrimination. The countries also featured highly

unusual demographic features, in terms not only of population size and density, but also of social and cultural diversity and harmony.

In Bangladesh, the aim of the education and literacy program of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) is to integrate the excluded, particularly the poorest groups, and, more specifically, girls in rural areas. With this in mind, the BRAC, an NGO, is implementing a targeted strategy to supplement the government's efforts to achieve education for all.

In India, the District Primary Education Project is a government initiative to expand access to education and improve quality, efficiency and equity. The strategy is based on vigorous mobilization of local potential in planning, administration, teacher development and the diversification of provision, as well as in strategies to empower girls and women.

Analysis of the BRAC experience

Background
Bangladesh has the highest population density in the world. Famine is an ever-present threat. Annual income per capita is estimated at $250, and half of the population – 80% of which lives in rural areas – is below the poverty line. In 1971, many observers doubted that Bangladesh would be able to survive the aftermath of a bloody civil war, but the country has achieved substantial economic and social development since then. These advances have been uneven, however. Although primary education in Bangladesh is free and compulsory, over 13 million children either have never attended school or dropped out early on. Only one child in four completes primary schooling.

The reform
Since 1971, Bangladesh has established a legal framework aimed at promoting education for all.

The Integrated Non-Formal Education Program (INFEP) was set up by the government after the Jomtien conference. Its aim is to provide basic literacy training and continuing education. INFEP is designed to serve four age groups, from 8 to 45 years of age, and targets about 34 million learners.

Basic education thus consists of two complementary systems: the formal system and the non-formal system. In the latter, local authorities are encouraged to become involved in education through the establishment of school management committees and parent-teacher associations. Currently, NGOs look after 8% of children, to whom they deliver alternative models of basic education designed for the neediest, and most especially for children aged 8 to 15. The education program of the BRAC is part of this huge undertaking.

BRAC schools

BRAC was formed in 1972 as a reconstruction and rural development program to assist the poorest groups. Education and literacy training were not addressed until 1985, when women participating in development committees managed to convince the BRAC that no lasting progress could be made in rural development without serious investment in education.

Principles governing BRAC schools

The basic principles of the program include the following: targeting a specific group (the very poor, especially in rural areas); giving priority to girls who have never been to school or have dropped out; achieving very low unit costs (about US$18 per pupil per year); and facilitating community participation. The BRAC program curriculum is a version of the national program curriculum, adapted and simplified to make it suitable for the target population. Most of the teachers are married women who are selected from among the local communities and have completed at least nine years of formal education. This practice helps to anchor teaching staff in the locality and develops role models for the education of girls.

BRAC maintains a close partnership with the government and manages some community schools under a contract with it. Under this kind of cooperation, BRAC is assigned the role of developing an educational network in areas that are hard for the state to reach.

Adapting schools to local conditions

Parents decide where to locate BRAC schools so that they will be as close as possible to where pupils live. Parents often help to build the school, and they hire and supervise the teacher. It is parents who set school hours and schedules so that children can continue to help them at home or in the fields. Pupils go to school twelve months a year, but only three hours a day. They learn to read, write and count, and they are taught life skills using examples drawn from the rural context. Traditional songs and dances are used to reinforce what is learned and as class management tools.

Since teachers belong to the same community as the pupils, they can connect what pupils are learning to village customs, social behavior and day-to-day experience. Classes are small, allowing the teacher to form individual relationships with the children. Of the 1.2 million learners enrolled in BRAC schools, 70% are girls.

Decentralized management of schools

School management is decentralized to take account of local conditions and to enable the local community to participate. School management committees are created in each learning center in order to let parents and

the community participate in the management and good governance of the school. As indicated below, parents and communities have considerable responsibility for managing schools.

A dense system of supervision
Parents have monthly meetings with the teacher. A most impressive system of supervision was established to provide support to teachers: it includes a weekly formative evaluation, aimed at providing assistance to local teaching and administrative staff, and a refresher training course each month.

The role of educational advisors is to provide sustained support to "facilitators" and to handle any problems that may arise locally. A culture of feedback and constant communication among supervisory and teaching staff is encouraged.

Low unit costs
Primary education in BRAC schools has a lower unit cost than the public system. The investments made in construction and school facilities are fairly modest, as are teachers' salaries. Outside assessments show, however, that over half of the children in the BRAC program succeed in acquiring basic skills, while less than one-third of pupils in formal schools do so. BRAC schools are thus more cost-effective in terms of what is actually learned. BRAC owes its effectiveness to, among other things, the fact that its educational program can use some of the human resources and infrastructure that are already in place to run other components of its work program.

Educational quality
BRAC provides education of good quality in a context of rather limited resources and a difficult environment. The program's "facilitators", as well as the pupils and teachers in the state school system, recognize that BRAC pupils perform rather well compared to their peers in public schools. They seem to find it easy to join secondary-level classes in the formal school system and show results as good as those of their peers from other primary education programs.

Analysis of the reform in India

Background
India's school system is diversified, complex and changing rapidly. Since 1947, India has succeeded in building one of the largest school systems in the world, with 179 million children aged 6 to 10 attending primary school. Despite the very considerable progress made in education, over 33 million

school-age children are still out of school. Forty per cent of the pupils enrolled in the first year do not finish the four or five years of primary schooling, and those who do obtain the primary school certificate do not acquire much academic knowledge.

The most disadvantaged children are from poor families: girls, children who work and children belonging to the castes of "untouchables". Such disparities are now even greater, as the situation of the school system deteriorated in terms of access, quality and efficiency in the 1990s.

Sharing of responsibilities

India succeeded in building a national consensus that it should work toward achieving Universal Primary Education. It now has 888,000 primary schools, with over 150 million children from 6 to 14 years old enrolled and 2.9 million teachers employed in them.

Under India's Constitution, education is one of the "shared" fields in which the federal government and the states have joint responsibility. The federal government is responsible for giving the education system a more national and integrated character, maintaining quality and standards, and monitoring and managing the international aspects of education. Implementation of educational programs, however, is the exclusive prerogative of the states. A multi-level structure has been established reflecting the various levels of the decentralized system (federal, states, districts, blocks, villages and schools). The devolution of powers to local bodies has helped to broaden access and increase equity.

The District Primary Education Project (DPEP)

The District Primary Education Project, approved in November 1994, encourages and supports the development of participatory processes in planning and management, awareness-raising about gender disparities, and teacher development through contributions to teacher training and decentralized management. The program covers 149 districts in 14 states, including the districts where the female literacy rate is below the national average.

The priority is still to expand the system by delivering education through both the formal and non-formal systems. To this end, planning at local level and any strategies conducive to the extension of the system and improvements in quality, the internal and external efficiency of primary education, and equity are encouraged.

Other activities conducted under the project aim to improve teaching strategies, increase community participation in education and build institutional and management capacity as regards support for educational provision.

Diversification and adaptation of programs

In India, the education system tries to address the problems arising from the diversity of situations and learning requirements of minorities, while applying the program intended for the majority on a very wide scale. To illustrate this policy, we may point to the interest shown in early childhood education and to schooling for children from minority groups. Early childhood care and education (ECCE), which already existed in some communities, have been incorporated into the DPEP, thus underscoring the importance given to preparing children for formal schooling. The ECCE program is also increasing access for older children who, under normal circumstances, would not be able to attend school because they would have to look after their younger brothers and sisters.

Another example is the interest shown in Islamic centers as a means of educating older children who have not previously been to school. To accomplish this, a curriculum has been selected that combines moral education, based on religion, and basic lay education, in order to allow some children to join the formal school system. In Islamic centers, the committee of the local madrasa either replaces or collaborates with the village education committee (VEC).

Teacher training

The teacher training system follows the same multi-level structure as the overall education system, providing training at the level of the state, the district, the urban block and individual schools. It connects teachers' initial and in-service training with local support structures, while promoting dialogue and learning among the various levels. The establishment of block resource centers (BRCs) has given teachers considerable support and contributes to their effectiveness. In addition to supervisory activities and train-ing sessions, networks for peer dialogue and tutoring systems, notably for auxiliary teachers (known as "para-teachers"), are used to support teacher development. This variety of approaches is used to cover the great variety of situations and meet the demand for teacher training at local level, while stimulating the development of self-examination and continual efforts to improve teaching skills.

Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation have been enhanced to provide information on the progress of the program and to support learning on the part of stakeholders. These processes help to maintain the level and quality of education through: (i) ongoing research, whose findings are used to improve the system; (ii) involvement of civil society in education; (iii) reduction of the illiteracy and dropout rates; (iv) empowerment of girls and women through appropriate incentive measures. They also favor accountability and trans-

parency, particularly through the participation of parents and communities in school management.

Using existing resources, both manifest and latent, of the system and society to leverage change
Existing resources at the level of the district, the block, "educational pools" and schools are used to bolster the reform process. By the same token, the reforms depend on existing social resources, which are a means of empowering communities so that they participate more actively in educational decision-making. From the outset, parent-teacher associations, teachers' unions, NGOs and communities have been informed about and involved in micro-planning and social mobilization for EFA and for the enrollment and retention of girls. Village education committees bear considerable responsibility for decision-making and management, as well as for recruiting teachers and ensuring their regular attendance.

Lessons learned from South Asian experience

The experiences of India and Bangladesh confirm that scaling up is possible when education policy pursues the objective of reaching a substantial number of children in underprivileged milieux.

BRAC has been successfully taken to scale
BRAC expanded quickly, from 22 schools in 1985 to 30,000 in 2000, becoming the largest non-formal education program run by an NGO and an important stakeholder in the Bangladesh national education system.

The BRAC program initially offered the first three years of school, and was subsequently expanded to cover the first five years of elementary education. Today, BRAC is considering the possibility of running a few junior secondary schools, at least in places where official schools are not able to meet all the needs of the population.

Main outcomes of DPEP
DPEP has achieved its goal, namely, to make a substantial contribution to the current efforts of the central government. It has been implemented in 149 districts and 14 states, with the following results:
- In the areas supported by the project, enrollments in the first and second levels of primary education showed a sharp increase: 67% in the first level and 64% in the second.
- Thanks to DPEP, the number of girls enrolled in school has risen by 67%.
- The 1996 assessment of academic achievement showed that average

fifth-year performance in language studies rose from 34% above average grades to 37%, with the best grades being obtained in mathematics.
• Classroom activities showed increased teacher productivity: many teachers make and use their own teaching materials, having received a small annual grant of 500 rupees.
• Strategic partnerships established at grassroots level have brought important results: community involvement in program implementation has increased sharply due to the institutionalization of village education committees (VECs). VECs were established under the decentralization policy adopted by the central government to transfer responsibility to local decision-making bodies. DPEP has encouraged members of these committees to build on their skills in order to take a more active role in the school.
• The fact that the government bodies involved, teachers, NGOs, elected representatives, the chairpersons of the VECs and the general public have all committed to the EFA goals and the fact that education policy targets the poorest are highly favorable for the Indian economy and its growth prospects.

To be sure, political will is once again a fundamental factor. Apart from the leadership issue, analysis of the factors and conditions conducive to successful scaling up in Bangladesh and India reveals a great variety of positive factors, notably the simplicity and accessibility of the models used, the policy of low costs and efficient use of funding, decentralization and local participation, management and supervision, targeted strategies and positive discrimination.

Political will
Political will is reflected in (i) the building of a political consensus on education, particularly between the federal and state governments; (ii) better funding at all levels; and (iii) the cooperation and support of civil society.

In the case of India, this political will crystallized in a consensus that the right to education for all constitutes a legal obligation of the government. The central government undertook a large-scale reform of the education system, increased education funding accordingly, and gave the states a greater role in the management and implementation of reform, while at the same time providing considerable capacity-building support. It also encouraged the state governments by giving them the discretionary latitude needed to make changes and participate in the educational reform effort, while providing financial assistance through major programs such as DPEP. A variety of strategies were also devised to involve civil society organizations and communities, which make a real contribution to the collective effort to reach out to all. Lastly, the government has supported networks for exchange of

experience and ideas, encouraging synergies and the retention and accumulation of lessons learned from experience.

The importance of a committed leadership is not limited to the political sphere. Where civil society is concerned, the example of BRAC in Bangladesh demonstrates that programs implemented by NGOs can scale up from the pilot stage to the national level when they have a clear-sighted, strongly motivated leadership backed up by competent staff that is committed to equity and devoted to innovation and the search for educational alternatives.

The simplicity and accessibility of the models used

To facilitate acceptance by grassroots stakeholders (teachers and communities in particular) with relatively limited capacity, the programs use simplified modules designed on the basis of research into educational requirements in contexts of extreme poverty. The curriculum, teaching and learning strategies, textbooks, school buildings and facilities are all governed by simple rules that are easily assimilated and applied by stakeholders, which makes scaling up and quality control easier. In fact, the idea is to start with a structure having few basic components that, once they are well established, can be diversified and, as capacity and experience are accumulated, become more complex.

This deliberate simplicity is combined with a policy of accessibility with respect to the target population. Schools are located within communities, and the communities themselves choose the locations. The schools are therefore easily accessible for children, particularly girls. Teachers are hired locally to limit instability and absenteeism while ensuring that they are socially and culturally close to communities. BRAC, for example, prefers to hire married women in order to encourage enrollments of girls. The meager furnishings of classrooms correspond to the conditions children are familiar with at home. The school schedule, teaching aids and educational content are all adapted to the requirements and needs of the surrounding environment. The local cultural heritage, particularly, tales, songs and dances, is used to reinforce learning and to help teachers direct and manage their classes. Combinations such as multigrade and double-shift classes can also be adapted to specific local circumstances.

In sum, program development is geared to meet the demand expressed by the population, and the design and implementation of program models take account of what local populations know, know how to do and wish to do, in accordance with their respective capabilities, limitations and cultures.

The policy of low costs and efficient use of funding

Generally speaking, unit costs are relatively low in the Bangladesh and Indian experiences analyzed here. For infrastructure, easy-to-build, low-cost prototypes of classrooms are used. There is virtually no school furniture: children

sit and work on mats placed on the floor. The use of teachers hired from the local community (BRAC) and of "para-teachers" in India, combined with short initial training sessions, also help to keep the cost of teaching staff low. Thus, there is an entire policy aimed at maximizing low-cost approaches in order to ensure viable financing for the drive toward education for all. This does not preclude a concern for quality. For example, existing assessments show that although BRAC pupils have a higher unit cost, they perform better than pupils in public schools. The reason is that investments are selected with a view to cost-effectiveness in terms of their impact on learning outcomes. For example, 50% of BRAC's education budget goes to textbooks, and as a result, each pupil has a textbook in all the fundamental subjects. In both Bangladesh and India, noteworthy efforts have been devoted to in-service teacher training. Substantial funding is also allocated to supervision, making possible a system in which supervisors are close to teachers, make frequent visits and provide sustained counseling on teaching methods. Investment based on finding the most cost-effective measures for a given impact on learning has thus been essential to the success of these experiences.

Decentralization and local participation
The transfer of powers and resources to local institutions is supposed to increase local participation. To encourage this process, both India and Bangladesh have adopted strategies to support the institutional and technical capacities of local stakeholders, at the level of districts, blocks, grassroots communities and individual schools.

One of the most important characteristics of decentralization is that it makes the school "community property". Management committees in Bangladesh and village education committees in India are the frameworks used to rally communities to participate in school management and to translate such participation into concrete actions. These bodies have administrative powers and decision-making responsibilities. Communities are encouraged, within these frameworks, to receive funding and to take responsibility for building classrooms. They take part in micro-planning, the enrollment of children (particularly girls) and the improvement of attendance rates.

Decentralization also means the diversification of educational models in response to the diversity of the demand expressed by communities, according to their individual circumstances and needs. This is a pre-condition for reaching all, since a centralized, uniform model cannot do so in certain conditions, particularly for the poorest, most isolated and most vulnerable groups. Recognition of this fact requires the government to establish partnerships with various local authorities, public organizations and civil society organizations.

In both India and Bangladesh, non-governmental programs have made a

huge contribution to the inclusion of the poorest groups, supplementing the efforts of government. Local authorities play a crucial role in supporting teacher development and in building community capacity.

Decentralization is thus productive in that it marshals resources for taking reforms to scale and making them sustainable, but success will also depend on a number of other factors: appropriate assignment of roles, networks for dialogue and cooperation, management systems and capacity building programs at all levels, performance evaluation criteria and procedures that enhance transparency and accountability.

Managerial and supervisory staff

The practice of establishing local experiments for subsequent scaling up is supported by managerial, evaluation and support structures. The managerial staff consists of competent managers recruited at high level to provide administrative, material and pedagogical support to schools. Resource centers are set up for teachers at district and block level to plan, implement and assess teacher training. Learning centers, libraries and reading centers support both learning and the socialization of learners. The supervisory system is based on a staff numerous enough to allow very close supervision of teachers. Supervision is geared more toward pedagogical support and counseling than toward inspection.

To further improve programs, ongoing research is conducted into the problems faced and the results obtained. This process follows well-defined procedures for communication and feedback between the actors and institutions involved, backed up by the implementation of an information system. Stability among the managerial and supervisory staff, which makes for continuity and accumulation of experience, is regarded as a key to successful scaling up.

Targeted strategies and positive discrimination

In both India and Bangladesh, the programs are primarily – exclusively in the case of the BRAC – aimed at the poorest groups, with special emphasis on girls. To reach this target, they define specific approaches for each context and introduce positive discrimination measures. In addition to building on familiar models for recruitment of teachers, curriculum development, teaching materials and textbooks, these approaches all take account of the constraints, standard social practices and needs of girls, the poor and the marginalized. They view education in a broader context of poverty reduction and empowerment of women. Measures to encourage and support the development of these groups are being taken both in the education system

(early childhood development programs) and in other sectors (health, micro-credit, legal support, etc.). The management committees and VECs take part in the awareness-raising and mobilization campaigns to promote education for girls. They also work on micro-planning and on creating the conditions required for girls and women to be well received in school systems.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the central question from the standpoint of the ADEA is the following: what useful and usable lessons for the African contexts can be drawn from these experiences of scaling up, conducted in a variety of situations in Central America and South Asia? This is the question that two African delegations from ten countries (a delegation to Central America, consisting of Benin, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali and Niger; and one to South Asia, consisting of Cameroon, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Tanzania) sought to answer after returning from their respective study visits to these regions. These delegations were led by education ministers and included educators, representatives of teachers' unions and representatives of parent-teacher associations. Among the many answers they produced collectively, we may briefly summarize those relating to the scaling up and sustainability of reforms, which were given the greatest weight.

The first lesson has to do with time, which is an important parameter because scaling up is a protracted process. All stages of the reform – design, experimentation, extension and full-scale implementation – require time to mature. Thus, initiating a reform campaign is not enough; one must also maintain it long enough for it to succeed. As this requirement often runs afoul of changes of government and the swing of the political pendulum, it is crucial to build a political consensus regarding the reforms in order to have some chance of continuity in the reform effort despite political contingencies and the turnover inherent in the democratic process. The gradual approach to scaling up is also a long-term matter: one must think big, but start small. From the quantitative standpoint, extension of the reform in terms of the numbers served and geographical area covered requires time to experiment, evaluate, inform the public and marshal resources. Qualitatively, developing an innovation and applying it in more complex forms require time for initiation, implementation, reconstruction and gradual formulation, or even invention and creativity with respect to the specific features of each context.

The second lesson is that, in a context of under-development, government involvement has both great importance and certain limits. Successful scaling up of a reform to the national level depends on the government's interest and support, as well as a sustainable political framework for implementation. Without these, the reform remains marginal with respect to national

policy and eventually fizzles out. Commitment on the part of the national authorities takes the form of adequate funding; legislative, administrative and institutional support; a communication policy; and long-term planning and monitoring.

It has been observed, however, that even if the government fully meets all these responsibilities, its activity will have objective limits in that it neglects the population categories and geographical areas that are not easily reached by centralized provision. This situation calls for the emergence of other stakeholders that are better equipped for strategies targeted specifically on these categories and areas. In addition to awareness-raising and social mobilization campaigns, the full participation of such stakeholders in the dialogue over policy and reforms, from conception to implementation, is a necessary condition for success. Decentralization and partnership policies should clearly set out the assigned roles of each and encourage take-up of the reforms by these stakeholders (local authorities, NGOs, religious congregations and grassroots communities). If they are properly to exercise the powers devolved to them, these local stakeholders need not only a measure of decision-making and operational discretion, independence and creativity, but also government support in the form of resources and capacity building. Working toward scaling up by seeking synergies with other actors does not mean that the state is shirking its responsibilities. Rather, this is a participatory strategy that involves various sectors of society in education policy and that seeks to identify and use the comparative advantages of all parties involved.

The third lesson concerns the sustainability of financing. Apart from the obligatory marshalling of resources, scaling up raises the issue of cost-effectiveness. The aim is not systematically to seek the cheapest option without regard to other considerations, but to gauge costs against school system performance in terms of access, equity, quality and, most important, the success of the learning process. Priorities for educational investment are therefore established on the basis of an assessment of their impact, with the aim of making the most efficient possible use of scarce resources. To this end, we must look for significant differences in performance between systems that, other things being equal, dispose of virtually the same financial resources. Efficient use of resources is a decisive factor in scaling up, as it allows a country to accomplish more with less and to fund the bulk of the scaling-up process from domestic sources. This is also the factor that determines whether a reform will be sustainable.

The fourth lesson concerns the flexibility of the experimental models used. Flexibility offers more scope for scaling up because it allows provision to be diversified and adapted to the needs of contexts that differ in both space and time. It also encourages acceptance of the model by local stakeholders

and the emergence of the participation which decentralization and partnerships were intended to foster. The reason is that flexibility allows for the uniqueness of each school and its ownership by the local community, as well as the latter's desire and ability to support the relevance and quality of the educational project undertaken in the school in response to the needs and limitations of the local context and the demand expressed by households. Diametrically opposed to the rigidity of the centralized, one-size-fits-all model, flexibility admits all kinds of adaptation, up to and including alternative strategies as long as these strategies pursue the goals laid down for education and training, regardless of the means used to achieve them, as long as they are relevant and effective. Whence the importance of re-creating the conditions required for success in the local context, rather than simply reproducing the innovation in its initial form. In short, this lesson highlights the importance of a policy that is geared toward local demand and attentive to the diversity of the needs and situations of different social categories, in order to give them truly equal opportunity for access to education and success, as well as learning opportunities that are relevant to the problems they face in their daily lives. From the standpoint of extension and scaling up, the reforms' attractiveness to local populations and their subsequent ability to spread depend largely on such adaptability to the diversity of demand.

This summary of the lessons from outside Africa that are regarded as relevant in their respective contexts by key stakeholders in African education allows us to reformulate the issue of transferability. First, the assertion that each context is unique does not preclude the recognition of similarities between contexts. In this respect, the observations of African participants did not fail to note that their counterparts faced some similar constraints, such as gender disparities in access to education, poor coverage in underprivileged rural areas, the barriers created by the poverty and illiteracy of the population segments concerned, inadequate local capacities, and the limitations on the central government's resources and capabilities. Such similarities suggest that even if a reform cannot be transposed in its entirety, studying it can offer insights and tools that will enrich our thinking and our actions. In the present case, the African participants took a great interest in the affirmative action approaches used to pursue equity, the models that seek to retain teachers in rural areas through local hiring and management, community-run food programs and mobilization of the latent resources of society to supplement those allocated by the government. It certainly seemed to the participants that these approaches and strategies were appropriate responses to the problems they themselves face in the conduct of education policy.

In contrast, they pointed to differences in context primarily in cases where they considered that an observed innovation was not transferable to Africa. The lack of tables and benches in classrooms in India and Bangladesh, self-

learning by pupils in Guatemala, the level of responsibility of community education associations in El Salvador and other innovations led to real culture shock. But even here, surprise works in favor of learning, in the sense that a "controversial" fact causes what one might call an epistemological shift. It exposes us to conceptions and behaviors stemming from a different history and culture, which, when compared with our own conceptions and behavior, gives us a broader view of things, providing some perspective on traditional modes of thought and action that are firmly entrenched in us as the only proper ways to think and act. In short, we also learn by comparing our experience with others that we had not known before. The process is therefore real training in how to bring an open mind to bear on issues of reform and how it should be conducted.

Any reform will bear the imprint of a specific context, and its achievements must be viewed in the perspective of a history, culture and standard of social behavior that cannot be transposed to a different context. This means, as was pointed out above, that the lessons learned from a given success or failure cannot be transferred mechanically. It is still possible and helpful to learn from the experience of others, however, in that studying this experience provides some distance from and perspective on our own experience, giving us a richer, broader point of view. In the light of lessons drawn from successes and failure, the necessary (re)construction will no longer have to start from scratch, but will be inspired by ideas and actions that have broadened our views, opened our minds and provided methodologies and tools that enhance our capacity to make reform an operational reality.

Part One

**Sustaining Effective Policy
and Practice for Education in Africa**

Developments and Issues Regarding Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania[1]

by Justinian C.J. GALABAWA

Introduction

Tanzania has consistently focused its development strategies on combating ignorance, disease and poverty. Investment in human capital and provision of education as human rights have been recognized as central to quality of life (see URT, 1989). At national policy making there is a general consensus in the objective to offer education and literacy for all in Tanzania. Among national leadership this goal has been repeated continuously since the United Nations (UN) formulation of the relevant Basic Human Rights document half a century ago. The bells on Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Education For All (EFA) rang louder after the 1990 Jomtien Declaration which in a sense emphasized that "revitalized partnership at all levels" should be built in order to achieve Education For All (WCEFA, 1990). How to achieve this ambition and sustain it on the other hand, seems more difficult to determine and carry out. The call for casting wider the partnership net in UPE/EFA provision (at local and global level) and in the development of education, constitute a great challenge for education policy makers, planners and administrators (Shaeffer, 1994).

In spite of the very impressive expansionary education policies and reforms in the 1970s, the goal to attain UPE which was once targeted for achievement in 1980, is way out of reach. Similarly, the Jomtien objective to achieve Basic Education For All in 2000 is, on the part of Tanzania, unrealistic. The participation and access levels (as shown by enrollment and intake rates) have declined to the point that attainment of UPE is once again an issue in itself (see Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), Education Sta-

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1   The data, that was available, posed several problems of completeness and reliability. Data for the same item had different values in different official reports. The major source of errors was the fact that since 1988 no population census figures were available. The population planning unit gives its estimates based on estimated parameters of the population. At the same time the MOEC planning unit makes its own enrollment projections based on different parameters. In several cases the sources cannot be reconciled because the discrepancy has a different base. Surely one of the main conclusions that the author would want to draw from the report is that the data base leaves too much to be desired even in core areas like enrollments and school-age population. Strengthening the data base needs to be taken as a policy making priority.

tus Report, 2001). Other developments and trends indicate a decline in the quantitative goals set rather than being closer to them (Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997; Mbilinyi, 2000). At the same time serious doubt is being raised about school quality and relevance of education provided (Galabawa, Senkoro and Lwaitama, (eds), 2000). The forces against achievement of UPE are many and complex but it is now accepted that a holistic approach to provision and financing may be the quickest route. Erratic planning and project style implementation will continue to make it impossible to keep up early positive enrollment numbers irrespective of the UPE attainment crisis (Narman, 2001).

The UPE program in Tanzania, which was actually built on the philosophy of "Ujamaa" (African Socialism)[2] and the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)[3] reforms, had a good chance of succeeding. The ESR philosophy had addressed some relevant novel ideas of relevance of education, egalitarianism, practicality and elimination of elitism. However, the fact that the UPE program was accompanied by high and rapid growth in enrollment rates for a few years which later levelled off and then fell, need exploration so as to provide a contribution to the overall issue of Education for All and, an agenda of the Government(s) and development communities/agencies.

Summary of the argument[4]

The importance of providing Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania and other less developed countries of the peripheral has never been disputed. The question is how? It is not the mere initial enthusiasm to expansion of primary education and achieving quantity in the short run, which matters. Rather, the Government must consider the long-run implications of UPE efforts as related to cost-effectiveness of investments as well as the commitment to achieve, the institutional arrangement/capacity/competence and developmental mind-set. And given the limited resources and low/weak institutional capacity available, difficult decisions have to be made regarding trade-offs between investments that promote school quality relative to choices that expand school network and enrollments. Thus the achievement of UPE begs for appropriate and strategic investment to allow for a feasible joint pursuit of access and quality in a holistic manner.

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2   «Ujamaa» (African Socialism) ideology dominated most of the 1967 – 1985 era of the late Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere. The highlight of this era was the nationalization of production and provision of goods and services by the state and the dominance of the ruling party in community mobilization and participation.

3   Education for Self Reliance (ESR) reform and philosophy authored by Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere gave a thorough critique of the education system inherited from the colonial state by showing that it was elitist (for the few), theoretical and bookish (not integrated with production) and alienating (divorcing the recipients of it from his/her African society in general).

4   The major argument here is that pursuit of effective UPE needs visionary and committed leadership, ready to protect the achievements over time through macro commitment to general efficiency and broad human development and through poverty alleviation. Even so one needs the right institutional arrangements and capacity to deliver UPE.

In the pursuit of an effective holistic approach to UPE several factors may contribute to the sustainability of UPE achievements. The demands made on the educational system and its institutions are increasingly numerous and complex. On the one hand, the resources made available to these institutions and their managers are proportionately fewer. Such resources have usually been secured under conditions of cost effectiveness. Government, on the other hand, has to reduce public expenditure while still pursuing equity goals. Educational management and administration has to play a key role in resolving some of the problems which emerge in this climate of unlimited demands with limited resources with which to implement the desired UPE program. Meanwhile parents and students are clamouring for quality education for all. The negative labor market signals and unfavorable employment prospects in Government and other parts of the "formal" sector seem to erode the perceived value of schooling. This situation is made worse by the reduced external efficiency of education and general lack of relevance to people's lives and work. Yet, the problems of implementation and sustained provision of UPE, such as the lack of a quality teaching force, the unavailability of textbooks and other learning materials, low nutritional status of children and overcrowded classrooms militate against positive achievement as a characteristic of the ineffective implementation syndrome.

The contingent supportive internal and external environment is a pre-condition to achieving UPE and therefore necessitates contingency strategies. Internally, given the regional and districts' diversity, the partnership net has to be cast wide by promoting local capacity/competence policy reforms on empowerment, autonomy, pluralism, decentralization, equalization and stimulation. Externally, debt-relief and its management through structural adjustments and the general globalization processes must be managed properly so that they can work for the poor in the provision of goods and services, UPE inclusive.

The UPE phenomenon: trends and indicators

The UPE drive in Tanzania has been explored by describing, analyzing and discussing three measures:
- *The measures of access to the first year of primary education, the apparent intake rate*. This is based on the total number of new entrants in the first grade regardless of age. This number is in turn expressed as a percentage of the population at the official primary school entrance age and the net intake rate based on the number of new entrants in the first grade who are of the official primary school entrance age expressed as percentage of the population of the corresponding age;
- *The measures of participation, the gross enrollment ratio* representing the number of children enrolled in primary education, regardless of age, expressed

as a percentage of the eligible official primary school-age population; while the net enrollment ratio corresponds to the number of children of the official primary school age enrolled in primary education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population.

• T*he measures of internal efficiency of the education system*—such as dropouts, promotions and repetitions—which reflect the dynamics of different operational, and decision making events over the school cycle.

Access to primary education: Older primary school entrants[5]

The absolute numbers of new entrants to grade one of the primary school cycles have grown steadily since the 1970s (*See Table* 1 *and Figure* 1). The number of new entrants increased from around 400,000 in 1975 to 617,008 in 1990 and to 851,743 in 2000, a rise of 212.9 percent in relative terms. An erratic trend is observed in the level of the apparent (gross) intake rates (probably due to unreliability of data). The apparent intake rate was high at around 80% in the 1970s, dropping to 70% in 1975 and rising up to 77% in 2000. This level reflects shortcomings in primary education provision. The apparent intake rates vary widely across the country's 113 districts. In terms of gender, the rates are generally consistently higher for boys than girls except in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Mara, Iringa and Arusha (see MOEC Education Status Report, 2001; TADREG, 1998). These regions have higher levels of gender parity. Tanzania is marked by wide variations in both apparent and net intake rates-between urban and rural districts with the former districts performing higher[6]. Low net intake rates in rural areas reflect the fact that many children do not enter school at the official age of seven years (Kuleana, 1999, PRSP, 2000).

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5 Some scholars have measured school quality (or access) by whether there is a school within a one-hour walk! The danger of using this measure is the inherent assumption that "distance" is a major and probably significant determinant of access, when in-fact even if a school is within walking distance, if the child has no ability to pay for the direct costs he/she will not be able to access schooling.

6 The recently executed MOEC Education Status Report (2001) suggests major differences in education achievement across geographical, rural-urban and gender differences. While most Tanzanians are comfortable at explaining instances of gender and urban-rural differences few would like to discuss geographical/district/regional ones for fear of being labeled "tribalistic"

Table 1. Primary school participation, access and internal efficiency rates (1970 – 2001)

	Participation (Enrollment Rates) GER (NER)[1]		Access (Intake Rates) GIR (NIR)[2]		Internal Efficiency (Dropout/Rep. Rates) DR (R.R)[3]	
1970	39.1	(27.0)	83	(37.0)	0.9	(0.7)
1975	54.1	(47.1)	84	(34.0)	(1.1)	(1.1)
1980	98.0	(68.0)	78.2	(34.0)	(2.0)	(1.5)
1985	85.5	(67.8)	70.3	(32.0)	2.7	(2.3)
1990	73.5	(54.3)	77.0	(21.0)	4.8	(3.9)
1995	77.6	(55.5)	72.0	(18.0)	4.8	(4.0)
2000	77.7	(56.7)	77.0	(15.0)	6.6	(4.8)
2001	(89.0)	(61.0)[4]	85.0	(27.0)	6.6	(3.3)

Note: 1. Trends in participation in primary education are indicated by gross and net enrollment rates, 2. Trends in access to primary education are indicated by apparent (gross) and net intake rates, 3. Trends in internal efficiency are indicated by dropout rates and repetition rates, 4. These are Basic Education Strategy Projections

Figure 1. Evolution of participation in primary education (enrollment rates)
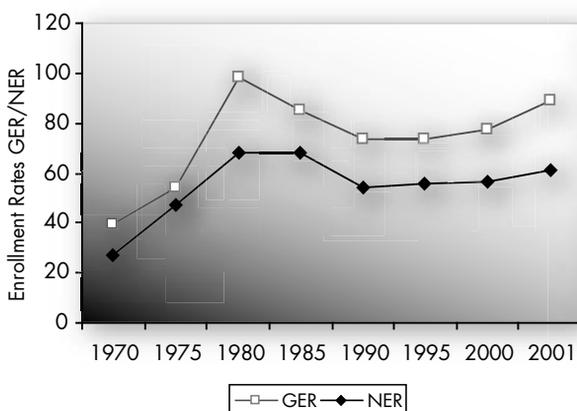
The foregoing analysis suggests that a large number of primary school entrants in Tanzania are actually older than the official entrance age. The Education Status Report (2001), Kuleana (1999), The World Bank (1996) and EFA (2000) have cited some of the factors underlying late entry into primary schooling. These include economic hardship, opportunity costs (paid and unpaid) of child labor, distance from school and access to transportation. In the case of Tanzania and in the district of Kisarawe, Kibaha, Kilosa and Sumbawanga in particular, increases in the number of "older" entrants need also to be interpreted positively. They have resulted from literacy campaigns, school mapping initiatives, mobilization related to the achievement of EFA goals, or demand stimulating attempts like Complementary Basic Education and Training (COBET) and Community Education Fund (CEF) arrangements

prepare parallel systems to accommodate children who have already passed the official entrance age.

Participation in primary education: Regression of GERs and NERs

The regression in the gross and net primary school enrollment ratios (*See Table* 2); the exceptionally low intake at secondary and vocational levels; and, the general low internal efficiency of the educational sector have combined to create a UPE crisis in Tanzania's education system[7] (Education Status Report, 2001).

Development efforts directed at expansionary policies during the years following independence in 1961 resulted in increased access, participation and low internal inefficiency of the primary education system.

There were 3,161,079 primary school pupils in Tanzania in 1985. In the subsequent decade primary enrollment rose dramatically by 30% to 4,112,167 in 1999. This was in keeping with the efforts of the "third phase" government's objective to achieve UPE and poverty reduction. These absolute increases were not translated into gross/net enrollment rates' which actually experienced a decline threatening the sustainability of quantitative gains.

The Gross Enrollment Rates which were 35.1% in late 1960's and early 1970s' grew appreciably to 98.0% in 1980 when the Net Enrollment Rate was 68%. This is mainly because the general will to achieve UPE was at its highest in the 1970's, partly due to the then ruling party's (Tanganyika African Nation Union) ideology and the committed mass mobilization effort led by Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere. This period also experienced an increasing allocation of Government recurrent expenditure to education which averaged 17% of the total education expenditure relative to the country GNP which was also high at around 4.9% (high as compared to the Africa South of Saharan average of 3.3%).

The period 1980 to 1990 experienced declines in both GERs and NERs while the period 1995 to 2001 is experiencing both higher GERs and NERs in line with the basic education investment strategy (see EDSDP – Primary Education Initiation Plan, 2001).

The expansion of the sector in the 1970s led to a crisis of distortions in terms of priorities. There were problems of sustainability, payment of fees and general decline of the system's efficiency and effectiveness. The burden of

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7   Our view which is also shared by Cooksey and Riedmiller (1997) is that as the transition and absorption rates into secondary and vocational education respectively declined, this situation acted as a disincentive to parents who had wanted their children to proceed to these levels of schooling after primary.

the government solely providing for primary education remained appreciably high as the resources continued to be scarce because of low revenues and low tax take relative to GDP.

Table 2. Grade-specific enrollment rates* in primary schools in Tanzania 1992-1999 (%)[8]

Grade	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
1	82.7	80.5	77.9	79.7	78.5	77.1	71.3	70.7
2	74.4	76.8	74.4	72.7	76.7	74.6	72.6	68.3
3	70.1	71.5	72.1	70.7	68.7	71.3	71.3	69.3
4	75.5	75.8	76.6	71.1	74.2	70.0	67.1	75.9
5	62.5	63.0	61.1	67.8	57.8	64.5	56.2	59.3
6	61.0	59.8	61.4	57.0	62.2	53.9	61.0	52.2
7	58.0	59.9	55.8	56.9	54.2	59.0	49.1	48.0

Source: BEST, various; Population Planning Unit for Population Projections
* The magnitude of GERs is affected by the assumed population growth rate of the age group. Since there has been no national census since 1998.

Internal efficiency and UPE: A resource wasteful undertaking?[9]

The input/output ratio shows that it takes an average of 9.4 years (instead of the planned 7 years) for a student to complete primary education. The extra years are due to starting late, drop-outs, repetition and high failure rate which is pronounced at Standard Four where a competency/mastery examination is administered (ESDP, 1999, p.84). The average social resource envelope wastage at primary school level is huge—estimated at US$ 106 per child per cohort of seven years.

The drive towards UPE has been hampered by high wastage rates. It should be noted that with average and under age children and those repeating grades, a country's gross enrollment rates could be more than 100%. The rates for Tanzania have been significantly below the 100% mark. This situation is quite alarming since it shows that in quantitative terms the differences in education opportunity are widening over time and across schooling levels.

It is vital that during the UPE drive efforts be directed at increasing retention levels in the education system. Indeed, for the whole period 1985 – 1999

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8   The Tanzania Government with the support of the World Bank and Donors has recently produced a "Primary Education Strategy and Investment Initiation Plan" whose major policy drive is "enrollment expansion and quality improvement". Financing gaps are expected to be covered by HIPC relief initiative reallocations.

9   The numbers on internal efficiency trends for the period 1990 – 2000 need to be interpreted with care due to unavailability of census information. However, if our population projections are correct then the system which loses almost 30% of a "seven year cohort" could be tentatively described as wasteful.

the Tanzania primary education system was at risk because available data (which incidentally is not generally reported for international comparison purposes and is seldom used internally) suggest that learners are not performing effectively and completing each cycle in the education system. The primary school life expectancy which was 6.60 and 6.23 in 1980 and 1985, respectively, dropped to 5.48 in 1990 and slightly improved to 5.66 in 1998. This means that the total number of years of schooling which a Tanzania child of age 7 can expect to receive in the future, (assuming, that her/his probability of being enrolled at any particular future age is equal to the current enrollment ratio for that age) is 5.66 in 1998. The low school life expectancy is also reflected in the low public spending on education as a percentage of GDP which translates into an index of spending efficiency of 2.26 in 1998/99; an inefficient index level of spending when compared with a 1.3 figure of S.S.A (*See Table* 3).

The Tanzania experience shows that the move towards UPE should be accompanied by action directed at introducing internal efficiency gain measures. There are several competing explanations which can be combined to form intervention policies. It has been shown that at the first grade most parents prefer that their children repeat first year because at the first enrollment most of them feel that their children are not yet acquainted with the school environment. Early years of schooling tend not to be child friendly. The low repetition rates at higher grades can be explained by the policy in the country that does not allow repetition and grade make up. The existence of a grade four "weeding-out" examination explains the high repetition rate at that level.

Table 3. Index of the education system's coverage efficiency in Tanzania (1985 – 2000)

	1985	1990	1995	2000
School life expectancy (year)	6.23	5.48	5.66	5.80
Public spending on Educ. as % of GDP	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.7
Index of Spending Efficiency				
Tanzania	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.1
S.S.A	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2

Source: *Computed from* World Education Report, (1995) *and Education Status Report* (2001)

Dropout rates in Tanzania primary school system tend to be associated with age, gender and socio-economic status. With the exception of the coastal districts and gender insensitive areas like Tarime, Ngorogoro and Bariadi, dropout rates are higher among boys than among girls. They tend to be high at grades one, four and six because of possible disinterest in schooling and the dry curriculum offered. The general lack of careful school monitoring of

learning, achievement and quality is another determinant of dropout. It is therefore important that social mobilization campaigns, collective national efforts and other interventions pursue policies which could curb children from dropping out of school or being excluded from school.

Gender perspective

The primary school level female gross enrollment ratio has declined from 83.2 in 1985 to 77.6 in 1999. The corresponding ratio for males is 83.8 and 75.3 respectively. Thus the GERs for both boys and girls have slightly declined between 1985 and 1999. However the decline is sharper for boys than for girls. Net Enrollment Rates for girls are slightly higher than for boys. This might suggest that the opportunity to stay on and repeat is more limited for girls although more girls of the school-going age than boys are in school. It might also suggest that once girls are enrolled in school it is easier to retain them than boys, more so at the relevant grade.

UPE and collective national thought[10]

The achievement of UPE very much depends on a national collective effort. Three phases in Tanzania political governance can be associated with the performance of UPE numbers and quality (*See Table* 4). The first phase spanning the period 1967 to early 1980s could be described as the "self-reliance expansionary collective national thought phase". This is the period of second national vision (the first one being the vision to achieve independence). The Arusha Declaration on Socialism and Self-Reliance was the major philosophy. Universal Primary Education (UPE) was part of the socio-economic transformation envisaged in the principles and programs of the Arusha Declaration.

Attainment of education for all in Tanzania as anywhere else, carried with it both political and moral imperatives. In the early 1970s, the first phase government, under a directive issued by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ruling and sole political party, TANU, the government embarked on an enormous national campaign for universal access to primary education, to all children of school going age. It was resolved that the nation should have attained Universal Primary Education by 1977, which was a reduction by 12 years from 1989, the date cautiously suggested and predicted by UNESCO and other experts and educational planners.

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10 The typology on the "three phases" should be taken as analysis convenience rather than a deliberate attempt to associate performance with individual leaders at the time. What is true is that the different phases were: expansionary, growth, and poverty alleviation/income generation driven respectively with different consequences on enrollment rates.

Throwing caution to the wind, the Party, under the leadership of the former president, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, directed the government to put in place mechanisms for ensuring that the directive, commonly known as the Musoma Resolution, was implemented. The argument behind this move was essentially that, in as much as education was a right of each and every citizen, but more, that a government committed to the development of an egalitarian socialist society cannot desegregate and discriminate against her people in the provision of education, especially at the basic level. For this matter the process of Universal Primary Education in Tanzania, was contemplated and implemented with the full cost borne by the government.

Both internal and external observers witnessed something akin to a miracle as enrollments in primary schools across the nation soared and the nation was gravitated in the frenzy to implement the call for education for all in a poor country committed to an equitable and fair provision of education to all the citizens. Report after report, particularly from the government itself, paid glowing tribute to the extraordinary success of the campaign.

Imbedded in this "success" story, were internal structural weakness as well as external factors which were to work towards not only eroding and reversing the achievements of the Universal Primary Education campaign in Tanzania, but also compromising the quality of primary education leading to growing disenchantment and despair amongst the populace in general, and the elite in particular.

To start with, it is worth noting that, given the socialist inclination thriving in Tanzania at that time, traditional partners in educational provision were either reluctant to come forward to support the efforts Tanzania was putting in the campaign or, most arguably, the government itself was reluctant to call for assistance from such sources. Thus, in the annals of implementation of that phase of UPE, the involvement of the international donor agencies and other partners in development is only but minimally apparent. It may also be recalled that, not long before , in 1967, with the Arusha Declaration, most denominational schools run by Christian missions had been nationalized and de-denominalised by the government. Thus, with a sense of "wait and see" relationship hanging in the air between the traditional partners in educational provision and the Tanzanian government, the latter was basically on her own in the fight for universalization of education in the country.

As will be shown later, this was to prove too much of an undertaking to be borne by the government alone, since not only was educational provision free, but also in the same egalitarian spirit, other services, especially health, were provided universally free by the government. Thus, the government's readiness, ability and capacity to handle such an enormous task within a short time and limited resources were put into question. And as student

enrollment across the country soared, it was increasingly apparent that the government was biting more than it could chew (Ishumi, 1984; Malekela, 1984: Mgunda, 1999).

Table 4. Typology of social-economic phases, policy reforms and characteristic features

Typo-logy	Year	Reforms/Policy Features	Characteristic Feature/Results
Phase I	1970's, early 1980's	ESR, strong state intervention, no fees, high community mobilization (Ujamaa), low civil society groups participation; top-down self help schemes, "**expansionary collective national thought**", education as instrument of social change.	Increasing participation and access; high internal efficiency, quality for the few; increasing education spending; lack of consistency and massive growth of the population; slow growth of the economy and thinly spread.
Phase II	Late 1980's early 1990's	Liberalization, private school ownership, reduced supervisory role of government, control, SAPs, cost-sharing, "**growth of the economy collective national thought**" fees and user charges/contributions, reduced role of government, education as instrument of efficiency.	Falling/declining participation and access, low internal efficiency rates; declining education spending, low quality of provision and product.
Phase III	Late 1990's and early 2000	Vision and Mission 2025, civil and institutional financial reforms, education sector development program, Poverty Reduction Strategy, rethinking "**income and non-income poverty collective national thought**", local government reform, Debt-Relief Initiative (HIPC), Social Sector Strategy (SSS), education as an instrument of economic and qualitative change.	Increasing participation and access; high internal inefficiency; low quality provision; increasing education spending; commitment to social/economic parametric assumptions, UPE fees abolished no-contributions on admission.

The government was the only provider of social services with limited support from donors. Efforts to tackle UPE were channelled through centrally directed, medium-term and long-term development plans resulting in significant access to primary education. Through central instruments the government facilitated Universal Primary Education (UPE) basic requirements including the massive training of teachers. The government was very strategically placed to affect UPE since it had all the necessary and legitimate organs. The state was very close to educational institutions as manifested by leadership and availability of finances though the relationship was dominated by elements of control rather than promoting quality and excellence (Mushi, 1997).

The second phase spanning the period of the late 1980s to early 1990s' can be described as the period of "growth of the economy collective national thought". This phase was characterized by new liberal ideas such as free choice, market-oriented schooling and cost efficiency leading to the loosening of government control of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) agenda. Though expansion of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and other social services were a national priority the economy was not able to sustain their provision. The irony is that the first phase government emphasized a lot on self-reliance and expansion but in reality it tended to achieve the opposite.

The education sector lacked quality teachers as well as teaching/learning materials and infrastructure to address the expansion of Universal Primary Education (UPE) while being self-reliant on the other hand. The solution lay in revamping the economy and reducing the government role through wider stakeholder partnership in provision and financing of the social sectors. A vacuum was created while fragmented donor driven projects dominated primary education support. The introduced individual (household) cost sharing (rather than community cost-sharing) hit most the poorest of the poor.

During the second phase government the situation was significantly gloomy, the reforms in government, starting with the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) of the mid-eighties dealt another blow to UPE in Tanzania. The decreased government support for the provision of social services including education as well as cost-sharing policies were not taken well, given that most incomes were below the poverty line. SAPs led to a situation where farmers received less or no subsidies; a large number of workers lost their means of livelihood through retrenchment and rationalization of the workforce, particularly in the civil service and other areas of public domain; cost-sharing permeated other areas, particularly health services. All these created a situation where the loser was education especially amongst low income earners.

The third phase government spanning the period 1995 and after, can be described as the era of "income and non-income poverty collective national thought". The era is trying to address both income and non-income poverty so as to generate capacity for provision and consumption of better social services. As part of the underlying underpinnings of the third phase government and the articulated vision 2025; the following impediments to achieving socio-economic progress were given:

- a donor dependency syndrome and a dependent and defeatist developmental mindset;
- a weak and low capacity for education (or economic) management;
- failures in good governance and in the organization of production (UPE provision); and

- ineffective implementation syndrome (URT, Tanzania Development Vision, 2025).

Figure 2. Rise and fall of GER and spending on education
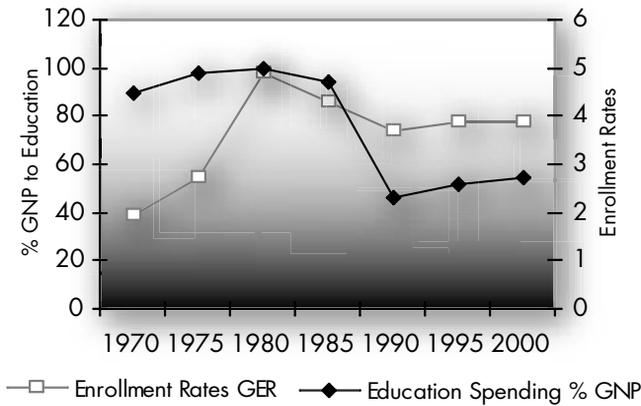
Macro-economic context and challenges[11]

Tanzania had experienced a long and deep economic crisis (late 1970s' to mid – 1980s). In this case the main challenge to UPE achievements could be described in one word: sustainability. How could the positive post reform achievements be sustained in the long run? This was the main challenge with respect to both GDP real growth and inflation and with regard to self-reliance. The economy has continued to exhibit a marked deficiency in that exports can finance only a small portion of imports. Indeed, imports exceed exports by far, ranging from over three times for the Mainland (1998) to over thirty times for Zanzibar (1999). The balance between revenue and expenditure has influenced the development of UPE and general education as reflected in higher expenditure to GDP ratios, and revenue/GDP ratios. The strategic pronged approach has been a simultaneous drive towards increasing revenue earnings and reducing expenditure in absolute terms or in adopting efficiency enhancing measures.

The structure and pattern of public revenue and expenditure over time could be characterized as (a) domestic government revenue remaining stable at around 12 – 13% of GDP for the period 1990 – 1999; (b) external revenue support increasing steadily but with notable fluctuations and unpredictability on the budget support component; (c) more of the external resources going into capital investments rather than budget support (d) servicing of government external debt consuming around 22.6% of recurrent expenditure for the period 1995 –1999.

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11   It is interesting to note that the overall macro-economic achievements over time have been positive but these positive developments have not been associated with relative positive trends in primary school enrollments and quality outputs for a long time.

The economic trends did certainly reduce government capacity to finance provision of social services, including education. The percentage share of expenditure on education to GNP was 4.5% in 1970s and reached a maximum of 5.0% in 1980; dropped to 2.3% by 1990 and slightly rose to 2.7% in 2000 (*See Figure* 2). As percentage of government recurrent expenditure the education sector share was high in 1975 at 19%, falling to a minimum low of 12.7% in 1985 and rising to 21.2% in 1995. The planned figure for 2001 is 22%[12].

Table 5. Comparative data: Macro-economic context for Tanzania (1998)

	Tanzania	Sub-Saharan Region	Least Developed Countries
Population growth rate (% p.g)	2.8	2.9	2.5
Government Revenues as % of GDP	11.5	(17.8)	(21.5)
Public spending on education			
As % of total govt. spending	22.9	14.0	13.0
As % of GDP	2.7	5.12	3.3

Source: UNESCO (1996) *World Education Report*, 1993; UNICEF (1998) *The Progress of Nations*, 1998; MOEC (2001) *Education Status Report*; URT (2000) *Public Expenditure Review*.

In fact, in terms of proportion of public expenditure allocated to the education sector, Tanzania compares unfavourably with other comparatively poor countries which have allocated higher proportions to education. Burundi (30%), Rwanda (26%) and to a lesser extent Zimbabwe (20%), Kenya (16%) and Uganda (15%) (UNICEF, 1999,1998, pp 22) are a case in point. In this regard, the large fluctuations in the allocations to education would tend to suggest that the allocation of significant resources to education (indirectly to UPE) would seem to be more a result of policy phases, political commitments and effective implementation of human resource development strategies than a consequence of national earnings capacity.

Local revenue mobilization efforts have an influence on the level of financing and provision to UPE. The figure of 11.5% government revenue as a percentage of GDP remains low by regional comparisons[13] (*See Tables*). Despite improved efficiency in tax-administration and improved collection improvements by Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) the revenue effort is not

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12 Data on how much really goes into education needs further reconciliation; otherwise, readers are at first glance always confused. However, it should be noted that the estimated percentage share of public spending on education in total public spending is NOT the same thing as the sector share of education spending as a percentage of total government spending (i.e. total education budget share in total government spending) which includes estimated non-government budget.

13 Tanzania government spending is around 11.8% of the GDP compared with 23.6% in the least developed countries and 36.5% in sub-Saharan Africa. The problem seems to be the low proportion of public revenue captured through the tax net in Tanzania, not that Tanzania is allocating a low proportion of disposable tax income to education.

expected to go beyond 13% by fiscal year 2002 (Public Expenditure Review, 1999). It has to be noted that public spending on education as a percent of total government spending has been as high as 22.9% in 1997, a figure well above that of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) average of 14% and higher still than that of the least developed countries (13%). Within government resources education has been prioritized, but not to the same levels across the three government phases. Total public spending on education has been lower than that of other sub-Saharan African countries or even lower than that of the least developed countries. This situation suggests that during UPE drive there is need for casting wider the partnership net in mobilising resources for education.

The excessively weak macro-economic context in which UPE was implemented is exemplified by the trend of international debt payment. The decline in enrollment rates corresponded to falling real levels of spending on education and to increasing debt service charges. The ratio of debt service to government expenditure which was 7.6% in fiscal years 1969/70 rose to 11% in fiscal years 1984/85; to 23% in fiscal years 1995/96 and to 27.9% in the years 1995/2000.

The high levels of debt servicing continued in the 1990s with little prospects that the budget would be able to keep pace with demographic trends and internal wrong prioritisation of allocations to education. Indeed, the debt service to education spending ratio increased from 94.9 in 1995 to157.2 in 1997, and to 174.8 in 1999 (S*ee Table 6 and Figure* 3).

Table 6. External debt service trends (Tsh. Bill.)

Year	Government Recurrent Spending	Service of External Debt	Debt Service/ Rec. Spending	Education Spending	% Debt Service/Educ. Spending
1990	-	-	-	59.4	-
1995	386.6	88.2	22.8%	88.3	100.0
1996	470.0	120.0	35.6%	119.6	100.3
1997	587.1	164.3	27.9%	104.5	157.2
1998	711.9	227.0	31.9%	118.9	190.9
1999	791.9	194.1	24.5%	111.1	174.8

Source: URT, *National Accounts of Tanzania*: 1987 – 1998, URT, (2000) *Economic Survey*, 1999

We should hasten to add that a prudent debt management framework is being worked out to complement the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) relief by converting the high social opportunity costs of debt servicing into high gains in human welfare of debt relief. The expectation is that education for debt swap will increase education sector financing and UPE financing in particular. Already, the government of Tanzania is committing 30% of HIPC funds to education (PRSP, 2000).

Figure 3. Evolution of Enrollments and Debts-Service
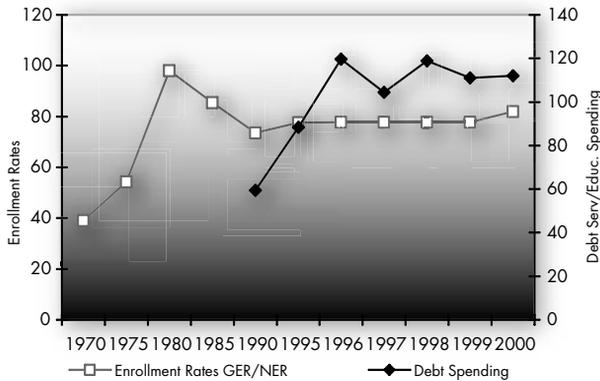
One is not even sure that the HIPC initiative would be sufficient to address the UPE-debt overhang in Tanzania. A starting point would be to prepare a strategy for converting debt savings into UPE investment (or other priorities) so as to ensure that debt relief is not used for other purposes like other past "windfall" gains. As regards UPE there would be need to address concerns related to inefficiencies and absorption capacity.

The changing country population and the macro-demographic trends and dynamics have continued to exert pressure on the provision of UPE. The increasing numbers of school going children did not make it possible to release enough resources to improve the magnitude and quality of UPE. Population growth remained high though it declined from 3.1% during the period 1975 – 1995 to around 2.7% from 1995 – 2000 (in the absence of a country wide census since 1988 these projected figures need to be taken with caution). It is estimated that the number of primary school-going children aged (7 – 13 yrs) has grown from around 5.3 million in 1990 to around 6.8 million in 2000 (MOEC, 1999). The fertility rate, estimated at 5.4%, remains relatively high. This adversely impacts on UPE. Yet, the costs of providing for UPE fall on those of working age just when around 53% of the population is below the age of 18 which contributes to the dependency ratio (though falling from 80% to around 70%) has remained high.

The period 1985 – 2000 has experienced the HIV/AIDS scourge. Its impact was to increase the dependency on the government resources for both education direct costs and the HIV/AIDS related economic loss of skilled teaching staff. The Education Status Report warns of the effect of HIV/AIDS on the education sector brought about by a declining demand for education. Recent survey studies (see Katabaro, 1999) suggest that limited household resources are being diverted to taking care of the HIV/AIDS related diseases

in the household rather than education. Meanwhile the deaths of adults in the households are decreasing household labor income, part of which would have been used to finance UPE-schooling.

By 1993 the most HIV/AIDS affected area in Tanzania was Kagera Region on the western side of Lake Victoria. In three studied districts of the region, namely Bukoba rural, Karagwe and Muleba, net enrollment rates for primary education were respectively 43.9%, 42.1% and 44%, quite below the national average figure of around 54%. In the same districts the teacher attrition rate had increased from around 0.8% in 1980s' to 1.6% in the 1990s. The supply side impact of HIV/AIDS on education has recently been associated with unfavorable Teacher Pupil Ratios in Iringa region (Luhanga, 2001) to the detriment of UPE quality provision.

Constraints of structural adjustments[14]

The widely talked about and criticized action, which constrained the UPE, is the structural adjustment program implemented under the Bretton Woods Institutions' inspired economic reforms of the mid-1980s. The reforms in the education sector were part and parcel of the economy-wide reforms, which began in earnest with the adoption of the Economic Recovery Program(s). The reforms addressed four key macro issues of access, quality, finance efficiency and the greater role to be played by the private sector.

It has to be appreciated that the success stories in enrollment expansion of the 1970s were achieved through centrally directed, medium and long-term development plans. The majority of the 11,409 primary schools currently in operation were constructed during the 1970s. Most of the teacher training colleges were also established during the period. Priority was given to primary education while secondary and post-secondary education expansion was narrowly determined by future manpower needs as per obtained skill mix ratios pertaining to the economy wide projections.

The first comprehensive structural adjustment program, "Economic Recovery Program I (ERP I)" (supported by multilateral donor agencies) was followed by ERP (II) in 1989 – 93. which aimed at dismantling the system of state control and promoting the private sector. The economy experienced a major transition from a state controlled system to freemarkets (World Bank 2001).

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14 Note that the Education and Training Policy (1995) actually had somewhat conflicting messages. On the one hand it proclaimed cost-sharing; on the other, access. It could be argued that some of these changes were not actually consistent with improving access!

Table 7. Primary school UPE indicators during SAP period

	1991/1992	1992/1993	1993/1994	1994/1995
No. of Schools (%)	10,437(0.4)	10,945(4.9)	10,879(-0.6)	10,878(0.0)
No. of Streams (%)	91,614(-2.9)	99,299(8.4)	103,925(4.7)	105,811(1.8)
No. of Teachers*	104,892	101,306	101,816	103,900
Gross Enrol. (%)	3,507,384(3.9)	3,599,580(2.6)	3,732,943(3.7)	3,793,201(1.6)
GER	74.9	74.4	74.2	74.0
NER	53.8	54.2	53.7	52.6
Teacher/Pupil Ratio**	1:33.5	1:35.6	1:36.6	1:36.5

Source: BEST 1990 – 1994, June 1995 (*Based on Public System*)
* This figure is the total of public and private schools. Since 1992 the No. of private schools has remained at 131/132 schools, but this number has increased since 1995/96.
** Based on total teachers and pupils in all schools

Figure 4. GERs/NERs during SAP period
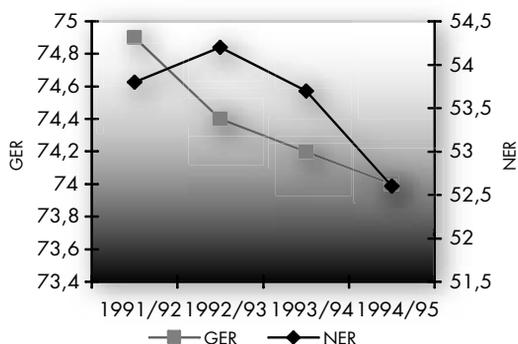
The SAP's policies in education emphasized and encouraged:
- cost efficiency gains;
- cost sharing between the government, parents, students and other stake-holders; and
- the development of non-state schools. Liberal ideas of freedom to own schools, market-oriented education programs and loosening of government control, dominated the scene. The catch-all political phrase of 'education for all' could no longer be sustained.

The outcome of SAPs has been summarized by Mbilinyi (1990) as follows: "(1) growing inequalities in access to education at all levels, (2) growing disparities in the quality of education, and (3) a change in the direction and vision of education" (p.2).

Figure 5. Division between government and parents' primary recurrent costs[15]
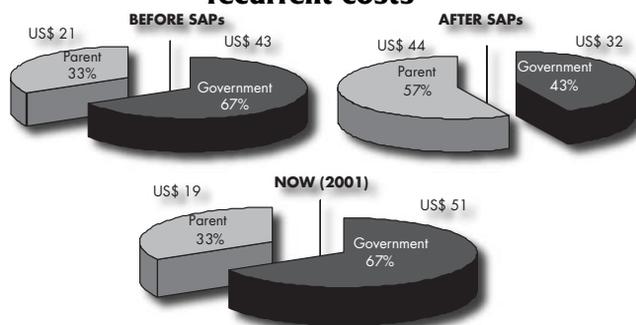
Source: *Education Sector Country Status Report* (2001) *and survey by author.*

The magnitude of the problems facing primary education were revealed during the SAP period. Resources available for education declined and the allocation to the primary education sub-sector for 1994/95 dropped in real terms of expenditure per primary school pupil from the 1992/93 figures (Svantesson, 1994). Total contributions by the parents for primary education overtook contributions by the government (See *Figure* 5); an illustration of state withdrawal. The dual economy was firmly established with an ever-widening gap between the state on the one hand, and parents and communities on the other in the financing of primary education. The poor were being squeezed more and more, thus leading to threatened access in equity provision and consumption. (Wort, 2000). Thus while efforts were directed at improving the macro-disequilibrium, human development and most likely poverty reduction goals were sacrificed.

The number of primary schools decreased from 10,960 in 1992/93 to 10,891 in 1994/95. It was partly against this background that increases in the number of class streams was considered a priority by the third phase government; a move which further crowded classrooms.

Gross enrollment in public primary schools fluctuated during the SAP period having increased from 3,600,000 in 1992/93 to around 3,800,000 in 1994/95 (Wort, 1996). *Table* 7 and *Figure* 4 show that the gross enrollment ratio decreased slightly from 74.9% in 1992/93 to 74% in 1994/95. The decline was also registered in the NER for all school children attending primary schools from 1992 (54.2) to 1994 (NER = 52.6).

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15 Actually, school level survey data reported in the Unit Cost Analysis section of the Education Status Report suggest that parents prior to abolishing contributions and fees at primary school level contributed as much as the government to primary and secondary education as well as teachers colleges. Thus the "popular" statement that the major financer of the sector is the central government is not strictly correct; at least not by 1999.

The disenabling environment of SAP was further reflected in the number of children of school age who were not in school by 1993. The figure had increased from 700,780 in 1980 to 2,027,419 by 1993. The failure of the concepts of choice and market forces was vivid during and after the SAP period. The promised land of possibilities of choice between schools, improved school and student performance and diversity of school options did not materialise. Efficient and well performing schools were not rewarded. However, inefficient and poorly performing schools survived. The market invisible hand had not made schools responsible to the wishes of parents and students!

The history of SAP in Tanzania is incomplete if the World Bank and its affiliated agencies IMF and IDA are not given due mention. Incidentally, few people have appreciated liability of these creditors for the failure of policies which they imposed and the disastrous performance of UPE. In the rush to advise, the World Bank view was that there was probably considerable scope for increasing school fees and contributions (1991, p.49). Its enrollment and cost projections for the year 2000 seem to have been based on the assumption that nearly 80 percent of 7 year olds were attending school in 1989. However, the MOEC figures actually showed it to be a mere 12 percent. In the following two years it declined to 11 and 10 percent (World Bank, 1991, p. 90). As it later turned out, both the cost and parametric assumptions were wrong. The cause of non-enrollment and dropout was that the direct costs were too high.

Closely associated with SAPs, there were parents who were finding competing demands for the shrinking income making it difficult for them to give priority to education. This is leading to the emergence of an elite who are finding the education offered through public schools too poor for their children. Thus, either their children are enrolled in the so called private " international schools", English middle schools; or in some cases the children are enrolled in primary schools outside the country.

It has been argued (Muganda, 1999), that this particular practice has a negative effect on the whole process of education for all, especially UPE. In Tanzania, since it means that not only the total expenditure on public education is divided between the affluent private schools and the poorly resourced public schools, but also the will to assist the public schools is diminished by the practice. This is particularly so considering that those who take their children outside the public system, also happen to command considerable influence on the policy-making process in the country. The pressure on the government to support the schools and raise the standard of education needs to be undertaken by all parents who have the capacity, ability and stake in schools, rather than leaving the overseeing of the public education system to be dealt with in a detached manner.

The UPE drive: quality or quantity?[16]

In a thought provoking paper presented during the NASEDEC (1999) Conference in Vaasa, Finland, Marope (1999), while acknowledging the crisis facing education in sub-Saharan Africa, took trouble to show that the center of the crisis is the ambitious aspiration to "pursue the double pronged agenda of expanding access to education while improving its quality". Is quality provision just an ambitious pursuit or a necessary course of action if UPE numbers have to be improved and sustained?

The role of school quality in enhancing primary school outcomes has been widely studied and debated (DAE, 1995, Hynemann and Loxley, 1981, Mosha, 1994). Yet, focusing on primary school quality alone may not be a priority when a significant portion of the school age population (43%) are not in school. To a keen observer therefore it may not be sufficient to argue that only primary school quality matters! The issue needing resolution becomes how to consider and make choices related to cost-effectiveness that matter most in improving school quality relative to investments that expand enrollment numbers (Handa and Simler, 2000).

Evidence suggests that during the UPE drive in Tanzania the quality of primary education declined and this trend had negative influence on enrollments (Cooksey and Riedmiller, op. cit; TADREG, 1993). The search for quality during UPE demands that the reality must resemble the rhetoric as perceived by clients, parents and pupils in particular. The realization that their children are not learning much discourages many parents from sending their children to school (TADREG, 1993). One mother according to TADREG commented: "… all of my children have completed standard 7 but none knows how to read and write!" Lamentations on perceived falling standards are common as exemplified by the statement that:

> During those good old days, schools and nearly each and everything [the speaker lists a large number of items]…all these things were provided free of charge. Today our schools hardly have these things despite the fact that we are paying some money as school fees…We cannot expect our children to learn very much in the absence of all these things mentioned above.   (TADREG, 1993, p.35).

The "disenabling environments" have made quality Universal Primary Education a daunting challenge. For Tanzania the issue has been the attainment of optimal trade offs between available resources and learning outcomes. To be able to gauge the efficiency in the transformation of tangible resources into learning outcomes we use data collected from 113 districts of Tanzania.

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16   There is still a big group of people mainly policy makers who believe that quantity and quality cannot be achieved together. Our argument is that if parents and students perceive low quality in provision, demand for schooling will be curtailed. We are not talking of resource constraint; but of the optimal path to trade off the two.

The impact of education inputs on enrollment (NER) and on primary school leaving examination results (PSLE) is established. At primary school level in Tanzania, the PSLE performance and NER (enrollment) are evaluated as outcomes using correlation and multiple regression analysis based on the following assumption:

- overcrowded classes are associated with poor performance in examinations;
- quantity and quality of teaching contribute to good performance in PSLE;
- the level and quality of staffing encourage enrollment;
- overcrowded classrooms discourage enrollment because they are not child friendly;

The data and analysis in this section of this paper are adopted from TADREG (1999) and enriched with information from the Education Status Report (2001). The TADREG report summarizes quantitative data on district level poverty and education indicators for Mainland Tanzania. The PSLE indicator data were obtained from the National Examination Council (NECTA). The other data were obtained from the MOEC central data base developed by its planning and policy department.

Table 8 shows the correlation between the selected education inputs and outputs in the 113 districts of Mainland Tanzania. The selected inputs were: class size as shown by average school age Population per Class Room (PCR); proportion of Grade A Teachers in district (TAR) (in contrast to proportion of Grade B teachers who are usually considered less qualified/untrained than their Grade A counterparts) and the average Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) in the district. The outputs of each district were defined as the Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) as well as the average Primary School Leaving Examination Score (PSLE) for each district.

The correlation results between primary education inputs and outputs in the 113 districts shown in *Table* 8 would tend to suggest that:

- the districts where the level of inputs is low or poor (high PCR, low TAR and poor PTR) do also record poor performance in participation (NER) and poor achievement in relevant national examination. (PSLE);
- there is an inverse relationship between the average teacher pupil ratio (PTR) of the district and the average PSLE performance of the district;
- there is a positive relationship between the proportion of Grade A teachers in the district (as compared to total of Grade A plus Grade C) and the average performance of the district in PSLE;
- there is a positive relationship between the proportion of Grade A teachers in the districts and participation as indicated by NER;
- there is a negative relationship between school age population per class room (PCR) and both average district PSLE performance and districts' average NER.

Table 8. Correlation between primary education inputs and outputs in the 113 districts of Tanzania

	PCR	TAR	PTR
NER	-41%	39%	-24%
PSLE	-21%	41%	-19%

Source: Computed from TADREG (1997) *and Education Status Report* (2001).
Notes:
(1) *as the number of pupils per classroom increases (overcrowding) the number of school age children enrolled in the districts decreases and vice-versa;*
(2) *as the number of pupils per classroom increases (overcrowding) the district average performance in the primary school examination* (PSLE) *decreases (falls) (and vice-versa);*
(3) *as the average district teacher pupils ratio, increases (large number of pupils per teacher) the average of school age children enrolled in the districts decreases; (classroom overcrowding discourages enrollment of school age children);*
(4) *high average district teacher pupil ratios are associated with poor performance in primary school leaving examination* (PSLE)

These findings bring us back to the perspectives on the quantity and quality relationship in UPE provision. That NERs are positively associated with both the PTR indicator of quality and the quality of the teachers (as shown by proportion of Grade A teachers) tends to reinforce the perspective that participation and quality should not be approached as operationally alternative strategic policy options in achieving UPE.

Apart from the burden of provision on the part of the government, a few other salient and connected issues that are deemed to have collectively contributed to the decline of UPE quality in Tanzania are also worth of explication. To start with, it has to be noted that the pace at which the process was put into place, of necessity ignored or glossed over serious preparatory requirements. The need for availability of structures, materials and environment conducive to teaching and learning of an expanded student population put a strain on the capacity of the relevant operation. This has been documented and addressed by most observers of UPE process in Tanzania. The capacity to mobilize local resources in this regard seem to have been long exhausted and only in some instances, especially where external assistance played a hand, do we note some improvement either in infrastructure or even in the availability of some of the basic teaching and learning materials. Of late there is also a growing sense of disparity depending on the socio-location of particular primary schools. Some of the schools located in the more affluent communities, particularly in urban areas receive more community support in comparison with schools serving less affluent communities. Researchers in this regard have pointed out the unavailability of teaching materials, classrooms toilets, textbooks, chalk and other basic requirements for a school to operate at minimum standards. It is common knowledge that unless there is a close correlation between student intake and the facilities that make learning possible, the result will be dissatisfied students and

disgruntled teachers – with little teaching and learning taking place. This was never taken into consideration during the implementation of Universal Primary Education in Tanzania and the requisite facilities has been declared too inadequate for appropriate teaching and learning.

Equally, and perhaps more seriously there was the problem of teachers and teacher recruitment. The Tanzania government having been mandated to foresee the implementation of the campaign, instituted an innovation, whereby teachers were trained from a distance – dubbed the Village-Based Teacher Training Program (Ishumi 1984, Malekela 1994). This program managed to produced about 40,000 teachers within a period of three years (1974 – 1977). These teachers were usually primary school leavers who had not proceeded with further education. These were recruited to volunteer to teach in primary schools while they underwent distance education in basic curriculum areas. The method produced many teachers in a short time, at a fraction of the cost, compared to residential courses. However, it has also been a central aspect to the criticism of the declining quality of primary education in Tanzania.

The quality of teachers and their general satisfaction with the job are the most important single ingredients in education which anyone planning for quality education should take into serious and careful consideration. The case of UPE in Tanzania reveals that the teachers recruited to cover the serious shortfall of teachers in the mid-seventies are still in the system as recent surveys indicated. For example, a SADC (2000:143) report on the assessment of needs for educational policy development and planning management, states that:

> By 1997, *it was widely believed that the dramatic decline in educational quality was due to the overwhelming presence in schools of unqualified teachers recruited in the* 1974 *mobilization for* UPE.

Muganda (1999) has also made similar observations about the quality of education and the negative effect reflected from the employment of under-qualified teachers in primary schools, implying that the quality of teachers has a direct influence on the motivation of children to enroll and to remain at school. Muganda (1999) further argues that when the future of the children does not seem to be determined by their performance at school, children would soon "choose" alternative attractions outside the school.

Teachers have been labeled the single most important tool for educational effectiveness (Hernes 2001) and the case of UPE in Tanzania should not be an exception. In as much as the teachers command of their field is vital, so is their perception of how they are treated, managed and supported professionally. In Tanzania the record for teachers support in primary schools has been wanting for a long time and in recent years the situation has experienced

even further decline (Alphonce 1993, 2000). It may be argued, therefore, that when teachers are poorly remunerated, ill-trained, and inadequately supported for career advancement and professional growth, they may not offer their services at the most optimal levels, thus leaving students and parents dissatisfied with school experience.

UPE relevance to peoples' lives and work

For the purpose of analysis one would like to separate issues of UPE quality and relevance to peoples' lives and work. They are actually interwoven. Relevance may be considered broadly to include issues of employment, productivity and external efficiency of UPE investment. If the UPE numbers achieved in the late 1970s and early 1980s had to be sustained, primary education provided by then had to be relevant to peoples' lives and work. In the period after independence in the early 1960s; education was seen as a rare resource which entitled those who acquired it to income and easy exit from general poverty.

Table 9. Annual returns to investment in education in Tanzania by shortcut method (1998/99) in Tshs.

Level	E(high)	E(low)	Private Costs	Social Costs	Social Return	Private Return
Primary	1,127,172	420,00[*]	(48,000)	(91,696)	0.14	0.10
					(14%)	(10%)
Secondary	1,349,400	1,118,316	(152,007)	(307,954)	0.09	0.16
					(9%)	(16%)
Higher/ Univ.	2,536,188	1,349,400	313,525	3,675,863	0.08	0.23
					(8%)	(23%)

* Estimated as equal to minimum wage or the going market price of unskilled labor
Source: Computed from Data available in Education Status Report (2001)

The years of ESR implementation (1967-) and thereafter showed very little progress towards the objective of making primary education terminal and in a sense of preparing pupils for self-employment.

The tendency for parents and pupils has been to aim at post primary and secondary school education or some white collar jobs. "Success" in educational achievement was culturally defined as being accepted into academic secondary schools, thereby defining the 95% of pupils who were not selected into post primary as "failures" by default? (UNDP, 1999). It is our considered opinion that UPE as enshrined in ESR was pushed down the throat of popular opinion. The contradictions between official policy and household intentions are not helped by recent findings. In Tanzania like in other developing countries, private returns to investment in secondary and university education are higher than private returns to investing in primary schooling (See Table 9).

The Basic Education Strategy plans to raise the transition to secondary to 20%. However, the majority of pupils run the risk of seeing themselves as failures. This is precisely because there are too few viable alternatives that can build human capacity and lead to income generation (UNDP, 1999). The only was to alter this is through a search for a premium mobile that would create employment opportunities by restructuring investment patterns.

The link between education and work includes questions about the habits and characteristics of productive workers. However the educational ambitions of young people ought to reflect the conditions of the labor market rather than the unrealistic career aspirations of these young people. Of recent, the informal sector has assumed a significant role in contributing to GDP and hence employment. This is an aspect of existing labor market conditions which ought to be reflected in educational curriculum innovations.

Universal Primary Education (UPE) and strategy for district allocation of investment

Although Tanzania (Mainland) is made up of 20 regions and 113 districts with different resource endowments and differing economy-wide performance indicators, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive was implemented without a well thought out strategy for allocation of investment. The process of transferring the investment management function of primary education to local control was not effectively initiated and followed through. A real division of functions and roles in primary education between the center and localities appears in the Tanzania case to be a pre-condition for Universal Primary Education (UPE) success.

Districts and local councils or authorities show major differences with respect to both taxable wealth, needs and the prices they encounter for educational resources. Poverty and high prices in several districts are sometimes positively correlated, creating an unfortunate situation. Rural districts notably, Mtwara, Rural Lindi, Rural Kisarawe, Bagamoyo, Kigoma, Igunga, Serengeti, Ngara, Nzega and Maswa were unable to raise money for schools support over the government subsidies because households in the area are too poor. At the same time qualified teachers (mainly grade A teachers) have shown unwillingness to work in far-flung areas at the salary rate they would accept in the urban areas. The system did not design "hardship" salary increments for teachers' who are willing to teach in low-income rural areas.

Many of the low quality Universal Primary Education (UPE) issues are directly linked to lack of funds for school inputs essential for adequate education delivery, e.g. scarcity of school inputs such as teaching and learning materials; school operation and other supplies; and teacher pedagogical support and

professional training. As the subsidy from central government continued to cover 90% of personal emolument, the residual costs of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the other charge components (school recurrent costs of delivery) could not adequately be covered by the remaining 10% proportion.

The Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive was implemented without ensuring efficient fund flow and their effective utilisation at school level for each district. Institutional constraints became a major impediment to Universal Primary Education (UPE). These constraints include: low school-community capacity for implementing Universal Primary Education (UPE) delivery, weak district and central level capacity for coordination among the various stakeholders and management of the system, faulty policy and planning mechanisms, lack formative financial management, monitoring and evaluation. In essence, Universal Primary Education (UPE) implementation and success requires the establishment of minimum parameters of fund mobilization and flow so as to facilitate fast fund flow and effect utilisation at school level.

A progressive Universal Primary Education (UPE) achieving investment strategy would take consideration of two approaches (i) first, to adjust the flow of funds to the recipient district under two broad criteria of: the needs of the district to spend money on Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the ability of the district to meet these needs from its own fiscal resources (ii) second to ensure that allocations are made in accordance with regional needs, as per development index.

We attempted to define seven Universal Primary Education (UPE) performance indicators for the twenty regions and constructed a development index to guide investment as follows:
- Regional share in national GDP (the lower the share, the more the need).
- Primary School, Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) (the lower the rate, the more the need).
- Illiteracy rate, IA (the lower the ratio, the lower the need).
- Students/Classroom Ratio, SCR (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Pupil per Untrained Teacher, UTT (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Pupil Teacher Ratio, PTR (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Primary School Leaving Examination, PSLE (the lower the performance, the more the need).

These indicators are assigned weights ranging from 10% to 20%. The regional GDP indicator and GER are assigned the weight of 20%. The regions are subsequently ranked on the basis of their weighted performance in each of the indicators from "most" (rank 1) to "least" (rank 20) in need. The composite

score of the regions were then converted into percentages to determine the share of investment of each region. *Table* 10 shows the computed investments share of each region based on the development index drawn.

Table 10. Development index weighted ranking by region

	Region	GDP		GER		IA		SCR		UTT		PTR		PSLE		Composite Score	Final Rank	Share Invest-ment
	Weight	20%		20%		10%		15%		15%		10%		10%		100%		100.00
1	Arusha	19	1.81	9	0.86	2	0.10	9	0.64	4	0.29	7	0.33	16.5	0.79	4.81	10	4.76
2	DSM	20	1.90	19	1.81	20	0.95	3	0.21	2	0.14	3	0.14	20	0.95	6.12	3	1.43
3	Dodoma	5	0.48	10	0.95	9	0.43	5	0.36	6.5	0.46	5.5	0.26	7	0.33	3.27	17	8.10
4	Iringa	15	1.43	18	1.71	13	0.62	20	1.43	10	0.71	9	0.43	18	0.86	7.19	2	0.95
5	Kagera	12	1.14	6	0.57	8	0.38	19	1.36	12	0.86	18	0.86	5	0.24	5.40	11	5.24
6	Kigoma	3	0.29	3	0.29	4	0.19	7	0.50	13	0.93	10.5	0.50	6	0.29	2.98	18	8.57
7	K'njaro	11	1.05	20	1.90	18	0.86	18	1.29	14	1.00	20	0.95	12	0.57	7.62	1	0.48
8	Lindi	2	0.19	1	0.10	16	0.76	12	0.86	20	1.43	18	0.86	10	0.48	4.67	13	6.19
9	Mara	10	0.95	17	1.62	14	0.67	11	0.79	9	0.64	8	0.38	19	0.90	5.95	5	2.38
10	Mbeya	17	1.62	14	1.33	6	0.29	13	0.93	17	1.21	13	0.62	14	0.67	6.67	4	1.90
11	Morogoro	13	1.24	11	1.05	12	0.57	14	1.00	15.5	1.11	15.5	0.74	11	0.52	6.23	6	2.86
12	Mtwara	7	0.67	8	0.76	7	0.33	6	0.43	19	1.36	18	0.86	2	0.10	4.50	15	7.14
13	Mwanza	18	1.71	13	1.24	10	0.48	4	0.29	3	0.21	3	0.14	16.5	0.79	4.86	9	4.29
14	Pwani	1	0.10	15	1.43	11	0.52	8	0.57	6.5	0.46	13	0.62	13	0.62	4.32	12	5.71
15	Rukwa	6	0.57	5	0.48	5	0.24	16	1.14	8	0.57	10.5	0.50	15	0.71	4.21	14	6.67
16	Ruvuma	8	0.76	16	1.52	19	0.90	17	1.21	15.5	1.11	13	0.62	4	0.19	6.32	7	3.33
17	S'nyanga	16	1.52	7	0.67	1	0.05	1	0.07	1	0.07	1	0.05	1	0.05	2.48	20	9.52
18	Singida	4	0.38	12	1.14	3	0.14	10	0.71	11	0.79	3	0.14	9	0.43	3.74	16	7.62
19	Tabora	9	0.86	2	0.19	15	0.71	2	0.14	5	0.36	5.5	0.26	3	0.14	2.67	19	9.05
20	Tanga	14	1.33	4	0.38	17	0.81	15	1.07	18	1.29	15.5	0.74	8	0.38	6.00	8	3.81
	Total	210		210		210		210		210		210		210			210	

GDP= *Share of Region's GDP* (*the smaller the share the more in* Need), GER = *Primary School Gross Enrollment Ratio* (*the lower the rate, the more in need*), IA = *Adult Illiteracy rate* (*the lower the ratio the lower the need*), SCR = *Students per Classroom* (*the higher the ratio, the more in need*), UTT = *Pupil per Untrained Teacher* (*the higher the ratio the more in need*), PTR = *Pupil Teacher Ratio* (*the higher the ratio, the more in need*), PSLE = *Primary School Leaving Examination* (*the lower the performance the more in need*), *Composite Score* = WEIGHTED *Rank for each of the six indicators, Final Rank = The Rank of the Regions based on their composite score arranged from 'least'* (RANK 1) *to "most"* (RANK 20) *in need.*

Based on the development index Shinyanga is the most in need of intervention among the 20 regions, and should therefore receive the biggest share of investment. Tabora is the next in need. Iringa is the last but one while Kilimanjaro is the least in need. Within the region, allocations will be determined by peculiar needs identified internally and for each district. However, during the Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive grants where allocated every financial year to districts based on the current enrollment figures rather than on a combination of needs and fiscal capacity. Although grants where allocated on the basis of the number of children enrolled in primary education by districts, figures varied from an average in urban areas of Tsh. 14,199 to Tsh. 12,279 in rural areas for the year 1995.

Table 11 shows the implications of having in place a composite index driven investment criteria for regional/districts' allocations as follows:
• composite score index for each region is correlated positively with gross enrollment ratio (r = 0.621, p = 0.01) and primary school leaving examination performance (r = 0.808, p = 0.05;

- composite score index for each region is correlated positively with Pupil Per Teacher Ratio (PTR) (r = 0.499, p = 0.05);
- composite score index for each region is correlated positively with adult Illiteracy Rate (IA) (r = 0.584, p = 0.05).
- the number of pupils per Untrained Teacher (UTT) is correlated positively with the number of Pupils Per Classroom (PCR) (r = 0.569, p = 0.01)

Reliable data for use in a district level analysis of determinants of enrollment is hard to come by. However, available evidence from TADREG (1999) on "education sector development program and poverty alleviation strategy" tends to caution that the future performance of UPE will more likely depend on efforts directed at micro-district levels. District level differences in inputs during the UPE drive seemed to be more pronounced than differences in outputs. For example, by 1997, school age population per classroom recorded the widest range: 43:1 in Mbeya to 430:1 in Igunga. Analysis by quintile shows that the top 20 districts had on average almost 4 times more classrooms in relation to the school age population than the bottom 20 districts (see TADREG, 1997). Average scores in the PSLE also varied substantially, from 12% for Dodoma Rural to 45% for Kigoma Urban. The average PSLE score in the first quintile was almost twice the score in the fifth quintile. Overall the average grade was very low in rural-districts.

Table 11. Non-parametric Pearson correlation of selected regional primary school indicators (dependent variable: GER)

	GDP	IA	UTT	PSLE	CS	GER	PCR	PTR
Share of Region GDP (GDP)	1.000	0.053	-0.341	0.380	0.438	0.327	-0.041	-0.285
Adult illiteracy Rate (IA)	0.053	1.000	0.222	0.195	.584**	0.345	0.247	0.300
Pupils Per Untrained Teacher (UTT)	-0.341	0.222	1.00	-0.265	0.373	0.180	0.569**	0.821**
Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE)	0.380	0.195	-0.265	1.00	0.508*	0.562*	0.186	-0.182
Composite Score (CS)	0.438	0.584**	0.373	0.508*	1.000	0.621**	0.680**	.0.499
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER)	0.327	0.345	-0.180	0.562**	0.621**	1.000	0.203	-0.106
Pupils Per Class Room (PCR)	-0.041	0.247	.569**	0.186	0.680**	0.203	1.000	.0.648**
Pupils Per teacher (PTR)	-0.285	0.300	.821**	-0.182	0.499*	-0.106	.648	1.000

** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level * Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

The irony of top-down approach for UPE

Is it not a historical irony that UPE should be engineered from the central bureaucracy? Systems dependent on central management and implementa-

tion of UPE have remained unconvincing in a climate of declining resources and insensitive institutional arrangements. Top-down approaches and stereotyping in setting and implementing UPE and the Education Sector Development Program have been common in Tanzania to the detriment of the sector. UPE is a huge undertaking and has the potential of distressing any good intentions. Organising for UPE achievement can be a key problem in the Ministry of Education and Culture; the overseer of Education and Training Policy (1995) and standards. The nature of the UPE implementation activities exhibit/display several issues to be dealt with immediately in order to revive UPE. Such issues include: lack and need for modernisation; lack for setting priorities; need to avoid confusion and inability to make right choices, the large size of the sector and the ministry itself, data management and its effective utilisation, and the inertia to try innovative ideas.

A modern democratic education system is one that enables learners, parents and teachers to be informed, to participate, and to influence the decisions that affect them. The organizational functioning of the MOEC is not best suited for primary education effective implementation unless it is organised in some way as to directly involve its stakeholders, mainly parents, teachers and districts through strong parents/teachers associations. The stakeholder voice in UPE policy making has remained muted. The tradeoffs between the public and private sectors in provision and financing have sharpened overtime. The scenario that has emerged between the two sectors is that of control and competition rather than the two complementing each other in UPE provision.

After the reintroduction of local governments in 1984, the MOEC has counted on the Ministry responsible for local governments to implement the UPE policy. However, this thinking may be wrong because it was mainly political and financial concerns that led to the reintroduction of local governments (Liviga, 1992). Educational issues played a minor role, although primary education is the most important and largest activity of local governments (Thirkildsen, 1993). During the UPE drive the local governments showed problems related to: low capacity and competence to deliver; misallocation of funds from government subsidies and especially those earmarked for education; structural supervisory incompetence (of MOEC); weak fiscal revenue base and general lack of organizational and operational efficiency (as shown by low TPRs, poor management of teachers and low performance in PSLE).

On the other hand in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the donor community played a major role in the reforms of the education sector especially in primary education. This led to the evolving of several policy packages in the MOEC. The result was "an aid financed and fragmented sector, overwhelmed by workshops and assorted strategy exercises, that existed in a partial vacuum from mainstream activity" (Wort, 2000). The result has been

a reduced supervisory role of central government and its general impact on institutional weakening manifested in various limitations on the central implementation of UPE.

Table 12. Gross enrollment changes in school mapping pilot districts (%) (Post implementation figures in brackets)

District	G.E.R	N.E.R	P.T.R
Kisarawe	75(78)	66(67)	48
Musoma (Rural)	69(75)	30(42)	15
Serengeti	75(76)	62(64)	33
Bagamoyo	70(73)	53(56)	25
Morogoro (Urban)	84(86)	70(71)	15
Magu	60(61)	51(50)	80

Source: Galabawa, Agu and Miyazawa (2000)

A key strategy in UPE implementation is through developing empowerment to and commitment of communities for the development of primary education. One of the key UPE mission is that the districts therefore are able to operationalise strategies and take ownership. Besides, the national commitment of the "third phase" government; this ownership and empowerment of communities has been the secret behind the now rising enrollment rates. School/districts based programs have a high chance of success in raising enrollments and school admissions. Three case studies illustrate this position:

Case one: The district based Community Education Fund (CEF)
This case study represents the Tanzania Human Resources Development Pilot Project (World Bank 1997) administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture under the Human Resources Development Program. As part of a development credit from IDA to the United Republic of Tanzania a sum of SDR 15.0 million, the equivalent of US$ 20.9 million, and on standard IDA terms, with maturity 40 years, was loaned to help finance the Human Resources Development (HRD) component of Community Education Fund (CEF). At Primary school level, the objective of the project is to increase funding in a manner that will contribute to improved outcomes and increased accountability of schools to parents. This component is being implemented through the Community Education Fund (CEF) which aims at raising enrollments and quality/learning outcomes of primary education through increased parental participation and financing, school-based quality enhancement initiatives, and improved support for schools at the district level. The capacity building component of the project aims at building capacity through CEF programs at the district and community levels and through selective training and project implementation at the Central Level. It is expected that MOEC will be able to formulate and implement solutions to problems in primary education. A matching grant is provided to communities.

The Project Outcomes: The major expected project outcomes under the CEF component were; increased enrollment, improved performance as measured on PSLE, improved school environment for learning, increased parental and community involvement, improved school management and improved school financial base.

Project Selected Findings: Selected categories of impact findings on this CEF project tend to suggest that:
- enrollments in CEF districts showed higher average growth rates trends than those shown by non-CEF but comparable districts for the same period of 1994 – 1998;
- CEF district enrollment trends tend to be positive for schools which are two years old in the project while those which have been in the project beyond or above three years tend to experience negative enrollment trends;
- the average school enrollment for the 370 CEF schools has increased from 316 pupils (two years ago) to 328 pupils (to date);
- CEF schools tend to show improvement and score gains in PSLE when compared with other non-CEF schools at the regional level;
- CEF schools tend to show significant performance gains in the first and second years of project implementation while tending to fall off slightly in the third year within district comparisons.

Case two: Positive Impact of school mapping (at district level) (See *Table* 12)

With the support of UNICEF and JICA the district school mapping process was designed to do the following: (i) strengthen local capacities to collect, organise, analyzes and use educational data to make informed decision for educational development; (ii) improve districts' administrative, planning and monitoring capacities with respect to education; (iii) mobilise communities to participate in the development/improvement of education indicators; (iv) put in place accurate/reliable, detailed and accessible education information for use in decision making and action. The school mapping exercise in Tanzania adapted and used the instruments and techniques developed by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP); and outlined and followed a number of processes. The vision is that the use of these instruments and techniques/ processes, along with the data generated through them by the people themselves, will impact positively on the status of education in the areas concerned.

The findings:
One, the number of school age children increased in three of the districts (Musoma, Serengeti and Magu) and decreased in the other three districts

(Kisarawe, Bagamoyo and Morogoro Urban). There could be two possible competing explanations for the above developments; (i) that there was an improvement in data collection for the districts which experienced increase in the number of school age children; (ii) that there was an improvement in the Standard One Admission Rate as a result of school mapping for the districts which experienced a decrease in the number of school age children outside school. Both explanations point to a positive impact of school mapping.

Two, there was an increase in GER in all relevant districts and this development with respect to gross enrollment ratio (GER) is interesting. While gross enrollment increased at various levels in all the six districts, the pattern for the gross enrollment ratio is mixed. It increased in three districts – Musoma Rural (69% to 75%), Bagamoyo (70% to 73%), Morogoro urban (84.6% to 86%) and decreased in the three districts – Kisarawe (88% to 85%), Serengeti (86% to 85%), and Magu (61% to 60%). The explanations for the trends in GER is related to the way GER is defined. It is defined as the ratio between the total number of school children enrolled in the current year to the total number of school age children in the population of the district multiplied by one hundred. In this case then, any policy intervention which affects the size of total enrollment or total number of student population will have positive or negative effects on the GER. The school mapping exercise affected the GERs in the following ways: (i) by identifying more of the school age children and putting them in school, thereby increasing the size of the denominator and subsequently increasing GER; (ii) by mobilising and sensitising parents to enrol their children in Standard One at the right age of seven years; this facilitated a decrease in the number of over-age children in school and thus decreased GER since the denominator decreased in this case. Both situations are indicators of positive impact.

Three, the Net Enrollment Ratios (NER) increased at varying degrees in the four districts – Kisarawe, Musoma, Serengeti and Morogoro urban – that had the information available. While in Musoma rural, it increased from 30% to 42% (12%); in Serengeti, it increased by 2% and by 1% each in Kisarawe and Morogoro urban districts. This trend suggests that the overall number of school age children in school has increased relative to the over aged children. However, NERs are lower than GERs for the districts. This is an indication that although the situation did improve a good proportion of school age children was still not in school.

Case three: The District Based Support to Primary Education (DBSPE).
The District Based Support to Primary Education (DBSPE) is a national program developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) to improve the quality and access to primary education. The major outputs

outlined in the DBSPE plan have been carefully linked to the major components of the Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) within the framework of the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP). DBSPE has grown out of previous projects/programs supported by joint donors. Currently, the government with the support of three major donor funding agencies; DBSPE, the Royal Danish Embassy (Danida), and Royal Netherlands have committed themselves to support 62 districts by the year 2001. These include the 14 districts of the MoEC/Danida PEP test phase. Likewise, the Embassy of Finland supports a total of the 11 districts. Further, the program relates in many ways to the SDP process together with the Local Government Reform (LGR) initiatives, by building capacity at the district and school level for decentralised planning and implementation. DBSPE has already established operating procedures for launching the program in the new districts and implementation procedures are outlined in the District Operational manual and the District Finance Manual.

The program impact: The program has improved the performance of district education staff, teachers and pupils in the targeted districts. Improvements have been registered in the broad support to districts to manage access and quality of primary schooling. In each district, DBSPE has created a system of Teachers' Resources Centres (TRCs) and school clustering to carry out In-service Teacher Training close to the schools. School Plans have been prepared covering school rehabilitation, teacher development and improved school management.

The three cases bring us back to the crucial question " how did CEF, school mapping and DBSPE contribute to the changes shown?" The programs/projects which are district based contributed in strengthening the capacities of the schools and communities by improving the school-community linkages. The communities have been mobilised and empowered to support primary education. They increased their participation in school activities by making more contributions to the improvement of the school environment and also followed up school attendance. That is to say, the communities participated both on the supply and demand sides of the schooling process. This made the change. The improved physical environment of schools not only attracted children to school but also provided more access. The follow up on attendance and dropping out ensured that more children stayed in school. The cumulative effect of both, in addition to parental interests in schooling facilitated the implementation of decisions on enrollment of Standard One pupils. The "exit in voice and royalty" has been turned around! A different ownership of schools, which has the ability to update schools, has been achieved.

Current policy concerns on the education sector

The trends and issues observed in the foregoing analysis reflect, at least partially, the changing policies, practices and commitment of the primary education authorities. We need to convey a more dynamic picture of primary education in Tanzania as a sub system that is in part the product of active policy intervention.

Recent efforts to redefine the role of the state in Tanzania education have included the implementation of the Public Service Reform Program (PSRP) that began in 1993. Redefinitions have necessitated central government withdrawal from direct production/provision of goods and services; restructuring of the public service and reduction of employment levels by approximately 25%. The decentralization process is being spearheaded by rationalisation of tiers of government through a restructuring of the regional administration and the launching of the Local Government Reform Program (LGRP). This will help to narrow down the scale of implementation based at the local government level.

All public interventions which are focussed on primary education are now realigned to correspond with the LGRP. On-going programs and projects are being designed to benefit local communities by not only provision of services but also developing their capacity for active participation through small scale implementation.

A series of policy reviews and planning initiatives, articulating the long-term vision of the education sector culminated in the formulation of the Education and Training Policy (ETP) in 1995. Unlike previous education policies, the ETP covers the entire education sector. The main thrust of the policy framework is "broadening the base of source of revenue and seeking to improve financial efficiency and effectiveness in executing the medium term mission of the sector. That is to achieve quality provision, equitable access, expansion of facilities and efficiency gains".

The long-term policy objectives of UPE are now articulated within a pool of complementary macro policy initiatives. In particular, this is done through the Poverty Reduction Strategy (2000) which focuses efforts on (i) reducing income poverty (ii) improving human capabilities, survival and social well being and (iii) containing extreme vulnerability among the poor. On the other hand Vision 2025 aims at creating a well-educated nation and a high quality of life.

The primary education sub-system has for a long time operated without a donor assistance strategy. Donor assistance to the primary education sub-sector has been fragmented. The project based approach has resulted into serious vertical and horizontal distortions. Inequities have emerged in primary schooling access and quality between districts, schools, gender and disadvantaged groups (see Primary Education Implication Plan, 2001). The donor driven project style approach of primary school development often demanded unique and parallel management and reporting systems for each project over and above the normal official government structures. This led to inordinate expenditure of human, financial resources, time and general duplication of effort. To correct this situation the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS) is designed to ensure local ownership and leadership, promotion of partnership in designing and executing development programs, encouraging good governance and transparency, capacity building and aid-donor support effectiveness. The key word here is development assistance for local empowerment.

A sound primary education initiation investment plan has been prepared with the support of donors and the World Bank. This followed from prepared analytical work that established the basic education strategic framework, with which policy interventions and investments formed the main elements of the initiation plan. Currently policy interventions and investments in primary education are related to the issues identified in the education status report. These are: enrollment expansion and access promotion; quality improvement; strengthened institutional capacity and arrangement; ensuring adequate resources and efficient financial management; improvement of designs and interventions.

Conclusions and implications

As the facts and figures suggest and further explicate the argument it can be concluded that the conditions for Universal Primary Education in Tanzania are not yet ripe. Even now if certain structural weaknesses are not resolved out, the UPE target may still fall seriously short. The role of the state in the provision of education as well as the involvement of communities have to be clearly stated and worked out. The teachers have not only to be well trained, but also they have to be professionally supported and motivated to follow through the whole exercise. The students and parents have to be recognized as clients who are motivated by outcomes too. As the quality of education declines in Tanzania, so is the raison d'etre for enrolling and staying in schools for most students. This is because for these students other compelling and lifesaving alternatives may quickly be found instead of spending time in school which does not guarantee beneficial outcome. Parents may also reasonably find it better to spend their limited income on

health, food and other more immediate needs for their families, rather than spending it on ineffectual education.

As we move into yet another UPE phase these issues should be foremost on our agenda. As the government casts its nets wide amongst development partners and the community for support in this venture, the sustainability of the staggering efforts should not be far removed from our thoughts and planning processes. It would be folly for us not to learn from history, particularly, when such history is still so recent.

The review of Tanzania experience with UPE implementation suggests that a complex of factors may have influenced and affected differently the UPE direction and magnitude. As pointed out earlier, a holistic approach to implementation may be the quickest route to high achievements. To what extent can this Tanzania experience contribute to future policy initiatives? This experience points to policy directions in the following areas:

- National Commitment: The national social-economic policy context and its wider government commitment appear to be a pre-condition for UPE success. Countries need to re-examine their visionary leadership on this matter; which by actions fosters self-confidence in the determination of UPE and general education destiny by taking opportunity to bring about effective systems that: promote macro-economic growth equilibrium, increase revenue generation through a reasonable tax-take relative to GDP, appropriately manage education supply and demand; control negative demographic and HIV/AIDS impacts; and promote local and community based initiatives.
- Casting Wider the Partnership net in provision: The national leadership needs to recognize the need for an adequately provided and funded pluralistic UPE system that benefits from greater involvement of households, students, private sector, non-governmental organizations and complementary development partners' investment.
- Community Contributions/Cost-sharing: While it is clear that the philosophy of a completely free UPE provision could no longer be sustained, community cost-sharing should replace individual household contributions; and these should be additional and not a substitute for government spending on UPE. The additional community contributions should be translated into improved quality.
- The Limits of Structural Adjustment Programs: In the process of implementing structural adjustment programs, the limits of the process and their negative impact on incomes and poverty eradication must be evaluated against their orthodox objectives. The orthodox objectives of structural adjustment programs are not sufficient conditions for poverty reduction initiatives.

- Indebtedness and Debt Service: The Tanzania UPE drive was affected by high indebtedness forcing allocation of scarce resources to loan repayment rather that to education and other social sectors. Thus properly prioritized and well managed debt service/relief initiatives are needed so as to free up funding for UPE (education) initiatives.
- Transfomative UPE: UPE should be results oriented and in particular be appropriate, relevant and transformative with regard to people's lives and work. The gap between the assumed social benefits and the people's perceived private benefits needs to be narrowed. The signals in this direction are: promotion of labor market employment opportunities; allowing for un-limited post-primary schooling, and ensuring rural and life skills relevance. UPE has to be seen as being externally efficient in both micro and macro contexts.
- Qualitative UPE: In an environment of low enrollment rates and poor infrastructure, improving quality of existing schools might be just as effective at improving enrollment and retention rates as simply opening up more schools. The goal should not be merely to have children formally enrolled in schools but to ensure that they actually learn what they are supposed to learn (quantity and quality must be addressed simultaneously).
- Criteria for Sharing UPE Costs.: Grants from central government should seek to adjust the flow of funds to the recipient district under two broad criteria: the needs of the district to spend money on UPE services and the ability of the district to meet these needs from its own fiscal resources. A general lack of appropriate strategy for district allocation of investment (non-equalization) continues to starve schools of resources. This has to be done within a strengthened institutional arrangement relating to implementation so as to optimise use of human, material and financial resources.
- The implementation and sustainability of UPE is to a large extent affected by the quality of inputs (i.e. teachers, textbooks, teaching materials, basic infrastructure, leadership). However, these inputs can be effective in strengthened institutional arrangements that promote decentralization, pluralism, democratic provision, transparency, effective resource flow and accountability. The success of the Community Education Fund (CEF) and School Mapping initiatives at district level suggests that there is a significant relationship between village level social capital of which trust is a major determinant, parental participation in school related activities and school outcome improvement. This calls for a strict demarcation between the sphere of the "Education Officials" and that of the "funding availability through a variety of stakeholders". That is officials must establish a distance between themselves and interest groups seeking to extract concessions as questions of patronage and corruption will deter UPE productivity and sustainability.

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Scaling Up by Focusing Down: Creating Space to Expand Education Reform

by Joel SAMOFF, E. Molapi SEBATANE and Martial DEMBELE

Introduction: "Going to scale"

Start small but think big. That is an attractive approach to innovation and reform for education in Africa, where available resources often cannot meet expanding demand, schools are under-equipped, well prepared teachers and effective instructional materials are in short supply, and quality remains uneven across the country and among different segments of the population. Begin with an initial effort in a particular school or district. Prepare the ground well, with careful planning, extensive communication among those involved, and adequate funding. Monitor and assess the results. Modify the practice to respond to local settings and in light of preliminary outcomes. Then, as it becomes clearer what has worked and what has not, expand the pilot to other settings. "Go to scale." Eventually the entire education system becomes the site for the reform.

Go to scale. That approach has strong support within the development community as it has become increasingly critical of a long history of development strategies characterized as top-down and government-centered. That orientation seemed only rarely to meet its stated objectives. Even when it did, the outcomes were projects and programs that had shallow local roots, that could be sustained only with external expertise, funding, and pressure, and that did little to reinforce or extend local knowledge and capacities. Several additional factors favor a more locally-focused orientation. Local sources for investment and continued funding became increasingly important during the economic and financial crises of the 1980s. That coincided with critiques of the capacities and integrity of national governments. Combined, the search for local funding and the critiques of government supported calls for decentralization of authority and responsibility. As well, especially since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the world socialist bloc, the dominant global ideology strongly supports privatization and reduced government role. By the 1990s a somewhat revised development model was emerging, again recognizing the importance of a strong government role, but now situating government as a coordinating agency, responsible

for creating a supportive environment for community, organizational, and individual initiatives. This evolution of thinking about development more generally has reinforced the notion that effective reform must begin small with a pilot that is well supported locally and that when shown to be effective can be scaled up.

In some countries, local circumstances have also fostered a scaling up approach to education reform. Apartheid in South Africa, for example, had no room for adult education programs that addressed the root causes of community problems, or that sought to promote community empowerment, or that linked literacy to citizen participation. In that setting, numerous local organizations, some with external funding, created many small adult education programs with limited regional or national coordination. With the achievement of majority rule came the demand to enlarge the scale of the most effective of those programs. Similarly, in other countries where war, or flood, drought, or other catastrophe, or national politics precludes effective national programming, small initiatives that are created, funded, and led locally may nonetheless flourish. Once the national crisis has passed, they too become candidates for going to scale.

"Going to scale" has thus been the advice and the injunction in African education for several decades, both within and outside the continent. For national educators, enlarging an effective small scale innovation is an attractive strategy for broader reform. Beginning with a pilot focuses attention and energy, provides a controlled testing ground for trials and assessment, limits the risk should an initiative prove unviable, and establishes the pattern that can subsequently be replicated throughout the country. In an early and influential paper, Myers (1984) explained why going to scale had become of interest to international agencies. Those agencies, Myers argued, had committed themselves and thus their public image, to nationwide programs that reached the poorest of the citizenry and were frustrated that the small scale demonstration or pilot projects they funded seemed to have limited impact on education policy and programming, "often despite their successful outcomes" (p. 2). The challenge, therefore, was to scale up. That thinking persists. Nearly two decades later, a United Nations panel on girls education included among the critical next steps "understanding the importance of scaling up." [1]

That challenge has proved difficult to achieve. As we shall see, there are few documented cases of pilot education reforms in Africa that have been effectively scaled up to become nation-wide programs. Indeed, some very promising initiatives proved difficult or impossible to sustain, even at their

1. The ECOSOC High Level Segment on Africa: Girls Education Panel, convened on 1 June 2001, included senior officials from UNICEF, UNFPA, and WFP and the former Executive Director of the Federation of African Women Educationists. <http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/know_sharing/flagship_initiatives/ecosoc.shtml> [2001.08.22]

small scale, after the departure of their initial leaders or the end of their initial funding.

Evidence is problematic here. Anecdotes abound. But determining success requires both reliable evidence and time. Until an initiative has survived the departure of its initiators and perhaps a change of government, it cannot reasonably be judged successful. Accessible systematic empirical research on scaling up promising education initiatives in Africa is unfortunately quite limited. Uvin and Miller point to the paucity of empirical research on scaling up more generally. Most of the literature, they argue, is normative and anecdotal.[2] One result is that contemporary discussions of scaling up are eerily repetitive, with little apparent attention to why more than two decades of insistence on the importance of scaling up has not led to more and more effective scaling up.

> *Much of the current debate on going-to-scale turns out to be a repetition of earlier, readily available information, without reference to lessons learnt in the first round of replication efforts more than a decade ago* (van Oudenhoven Nico and Wazir Rekha, année?)

As well, some initiatives may be viable precisely because they are small. Responsive to local needs and demands, well adapted to a local setting, and guided, managed and perhaps funded by the local community, reforms of that sort flourish where they are nourished and wither where they are not. Attempting to enlarge their scale would be like scattering seeds on sun-baked hard unyielding soil that has not been loosened by rain and plow or planting a crop that requires strong sun in the perpetual shade of a hillside forest.

It is timely, therefore, to review efforts to enlarge the scale of education initiatives and reforms in Africa. Our primary concern in this review is not to suggest a right path or correct course of action but rather to contribute to resolving the many contested issues of education reform and scaling up by reporting findings, highlighting major themes, and framing issues for discussion and negotiation. We begin with an overview of the general literature on "going to scale" and a clarification of the key constructs and ideas. Next, we consider recent African experiences and what they suggest for this approach—start small, think big—to reform in African education. We turn then to the links and tensions among different development objectives, including going to scale, participatory development, and local ownership and to other dimensions of development that provide the context for efforts to enlarge scale. We conclude with attention to the challenges of nurturing innovation and with the understanding that like "appropriate technology," "appropriate scale" in education may be large, small, or somewhere in between.

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2. That is the premise of their instructive overview, which they characterize as "a first scientific look at scaling up." See Peter Uvin and David Miller, 1994.

Perspectives on "Going to scale"

Our first task is to clarify the terminology. Definitions and typologies abound. The profusion of terms and categories reflects both different meanings and, more important, different perspectives on scaling up. Let us review some important distinctions.

"Going to scale" is of course not the only approach to innovation and reform in education. Some reforms begin not as small pilots but as nation-wide initiatives. The education ministry, for example, may adopt a new curriculum at all teacher education institutions throughout the country, or modify the examination system in ways that affect all learners in particular courses of study, or alter the constitution and responsibilities of school boards or committees at all schools. Initiatives of that sort, which may be an effective strategy for expanding and improving education, generally have a guiding philosophy and management structure that differs sharply from reforms begun as limited pilots in selected locations. Since we are concerned with the challenges of enlarging scale, simultaneous nation-wide initiatives are not our primary focus here, except to the extent that they are informed by prior, smaller scale experiences.

"Scale" has multiple senses and uses in this literature. Harrington and White point out that scale may refer to the level at which a reform is undertaken (village, district, region), to the analytic perspective from which reforms are assessed (a nation-wide reform may be assessed from the perspective of the village), to the investment strategy (small vs. large investments), to the breadth of the impact of a reform (a reform begun in a village may have an impact throughout a district, while a nation-wide reform may in practice have an impact in only a few villages or may affect particular segments of the population), or to the extent of community involvement (a village-level initiative may have limited or broad community participation) (Harrington, Larry, and Jeff White, 2001). Even for a single organization or institution, "going to scale" can have several meanings, including expanding the number of people affected (what some authors term organizational scaling) and expanding the number of activities (functional scaling). Some authors understand "going to scale" to involve changing the focus of a reform, from project replication (undertaking the same activity at multiple sites) to building grassroots movements and community organizations to influencing the policy process. Accordingly, the ostensibly very simple question, What is the scale of that reform?, can in practice be several different questions. A reform focused at the village level, for example, can have large scale investment. That same reform could have large or small scale participation by the local community and could have larger or smaller impact on the society, whatever its primary locus.

In his early paper, Myers developed a typology of scaling up that is widely used and that he has subsequently refined (Myers Robert, 2000). One strategy for increasing scale Myers termed scale by expansion: starting small, increasing gradually, and building on success. Often termed replication, this has become the most common model for enlarging scale. Drawing on Korten (1980), Myers associates this strategy with a learning process approach. From that orientation, scale by expansion begins with learning to be effective (efficiency and coverage are initially low and problems and mistakes high), proceeds to learning to be efficient (reducing the input requirements per unit of output), and then progresses to learning to expand (recognizing the importance of local fit and pacing the expansion to match organizational capabilities).

A second strategy for increasing scale is scale by explosion. In this approach, the reform bypasses the pilot stage and instead develops a model to serve the entire country simultaneously.[3] Modifications and adaptations to accommodate diverse local settings generally follow rather than precede the initial implementation. The underlying premises of this approach are that it is possible to mobilize substantial energy, resources, and individual involvement through a high profile national reform and that stimulating demand will fuel and fund subsequent expansion. With the visible and forceful support of the national leadership, the reform is communicated widely. Local leaders quickly understand that their own status and influence are dependent on supporting and implementing the reform. As the momentum builds, the elements of the reform are institutionalized, thereby increasing the likelihood that they will be sustained once national attention turns to other issues. Generally successful literacy programs in Cuba and Nicaragua were organized in this way. Several African countries have pursued this strategy, for example mounting national literacy drives and campaigns to reach or accelerate universal primary enrollment. Myers is more critical of this approach in his recent analysis, highlighting its lack of firm local roots. At the same time, efforts to address HIV/AIDS seem to reflect a renewed use of this strategy.

A third strategy is scale by association. This approach seeks to combine several distinct though not necessarily coordinated efforts, each responding to a particular local setting. In practice, the association may be more a function of chance than planning. The introduction of teacher support centers in one district may be linked through practice with a modified curriculum in particular teacher education institutions and with new teacher recruitment patterns in another district to constitute a more general reform of teacher

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3 . In practice, this approach is similar to a national reform rather than a scaled effort. As we indicated above, our primary focus here is on efforts that begin small and then expand.

preparation that can be implemented more widely. Similarly, experiences in one setting may influence conceptions and practices in other settings, thereby enlarging the scale of the reform. In contrast with replication, this approach can be more readily responsive to the needs and demands of diverse local settings.

Rather than asking how scaling up is accomplished, Uvin and Miller characterize what is scaled up (Uvin and Miller, 1994). In their typology, scaling up may focus on structure: organizations expand in size or constituencies (quantitative scaling up); on programs: organizations expand the number and type of their activities (functional scaling up); on strategy: organizations move beyond service delivery towards empowerment and change in the structural causes of underdevelopment, including its contextual factors and its socio-political-economic environment (political scaling up); or on the resource base: organizations increase their financial and institutional base (organizational scaling up). These are of course not exclusive categories. Quantitative scaling up, for example, may rest on effective functional and organizational scaling up.

They note that quantitative scaling up, the dimension that corresponds most closely with the common use of "going to scale," can have several paths. Effective local initiatives may spread to new sites. The national government or other organizations may seek to replicate a promising initiative in other settings. This path, they argue, is particularly attractive to governments and non-governmental organizations. It offers the possibility of testing a pilot and permits a combination of community-based activity and rapid expansion, since the managing agency need not wait for the development of strong community organizations in all prospective sites. Governments or other organizations may stimulate expansion by using incentives and rewards to nurture promising initiatives on an increasingly large scale. Another path is aggregation: separate organizations combine their resources to expand their activities. Along this path there seem to be few cases of organizational fusion. More common are cooperation, collaboration, joint representation, and joint programs. Still another path is integration: small programs are incorporated into existing structures and systems. Most common on this path is the government's assumption of responsibility for schools or successful community initiatives. This path is especially attractive to both governments and external funding and technical assistance agencies because it promises both rapid expansion and sustainability.

Let us now ground these typologies by exploring efforts to enlarge the scale of innovations and reforms in education in Africa.

Innovation and reform in African education: Enlarging scale

As we have noted, there have been many imaginative, exciting, and some-times dramatic innovations in education in Africa. But apparently relatively few of these reforms have been successfully expanded into national pro-grams. Indeed, many have not survived beyond their enthusiastic initiation or beyond their initial, often externally provided, funding or beyond the departure of the initial leader.

We sought, therefore, to survey the literature on education reform in Africa, concentrating on empirical research on scaling up education reform. That turned out to be a far more difficult task than we had anticipated and itself a problem for scaling up education reform in Africa. Broad and energetic searches of several sorts, including databases developed by UNESCO, the International Institute for Educational Planning, the World Bank, and the Educational Resources Information Center identified few empirical studies explicitly focused on enlarging scale in education in Africa.[4] There have of course been numerous studies and evaluations of education reform in Africa. The World Bank maintains a Global Education Reform web site, though enlarging scale is neither a Key Issue nor a Type of Reform.[5] There have also been reviews of education sector studies and similar documents for Africa and for particular countries.[6] Some, perhaps many, of those studies and evaluations, which are often difficult to secure, address enlarging scale, more or less systematically. In practice, however, researchers find it difficult to determine which of the many studies address "going to scale" empirically and critically. That search is even more challenging for the many studies of education reform commissioned and undertaken by African researchers

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4. An important exception that focuses explicitly on the issues addressed here is Jack Schwille and Martial Dembélé, «Teacher School Improvement and Professional Development Projects in Guinea: Lessons Learned From Developing a Nation-Wide Program and Issues in Going to Scale» (San Antonio: Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, San Antonio, March 2000).

5. URL: http://www1.worldbank.org/education/globaleducationreform/ [2001.08.22].

6. Joel Samoff, with N'Dri Thérèse Assié-Lumumba, Analyzes, Agendas, and Priorities for Education in Africa: A Review of Externally Initiated, Commissioned and Supported Studies of Education in Africa, 1990-1994 (Paris: UNESCO, for the ADEA Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 1996); Cowden E. M. Chikombah, Boniface R. S. Chivore, Obert E. Maravanyika, Levi M. Nyagura, and Isiah M. Sibanda, Review of Education Sector Analysis in Zimbabwe 1990-1996 (Paris: UNESCO for the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 1999); Tilahun Workineh, Tirussew Teferra, Ayalew Shibeshi, and Malcolm Mercer, Studies of Education in Ethiopia: An Inventory and Overview of Education Sector Studies in Ethiopia 1994-1997 (Paris: UNESCO, 1999); E. M. Sebatane, D. P. Ambrose, M. K. Molise, A. Mothibeli, S. T. Motlomelo, H. J. Nenty, E. M. Nthunya, and V. M. Ntoi, Review of Education Sector Analysis in Lesotho 1978-1999 (Paris: UNESCO for the ADEA Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 2000); D. K. Agyeman, J. J. K. Baku, and R. Gbadamosi, assisted by E. Addabor, K. Adoo-Adeku, M. Cudjoe, A. A. Essuman, E. E. K. Gala, and C. Pomary, Review of Education Sector Analysis in Ghana 1987-1998. (Paris: UNESCO for the ADEA Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 2000); K. Ernest Ilboudo, M. Compaoré, B. Ouédraogo, P. Somda, O. Kaboré, A. Ouédraogo, F. Kinda, and B. Kaboré, Analyze Sectorielle Du Système Educatif: Revue Nationale des Études en Education entre 1994 et 1999 (Paris: UNESCO for the ADEA Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, 2001).

that circulate locally and often remain unpublished.[7] Where it is so difficult to find relevant research and to compare experiences in different settings, there can be little productive link between research and policy.

As Maclure points out, even where research, or more often evaluations, focus on activities that are intended to be scaled up, the study or assessment concentrates largely on the pilot phase, with little or no attention to the process of enlarging scale.

> *Regardless of variation on the relative success or failure of reform efforts, evaluations tend to focus mainly on the pilot phases of reform programs.*(Maclure, 1997)

Many of the innovative education programs and projects in Africa have been lauded as success stories. Relevant cases have been collected, for example within UNESCO's Cooperative Action Strategies in Basic Education in Africa (CASE AFRICA) project. In 1999 the Association for the Development of Education in Africa solicited national reports and studies in its Prospective Stock-Taking Review of Education in Africa, with special reference to breakthroughs in relation to access, quality and capacity building (ADEA, 2001). One would expect that all or most of these reform efforts have been taken to scale. That does not seem to have been the case. While some indicate plans to do so, others do not.

The challenge of evaluating outcomes in education

Evaluating human activities is always a daunting challenge. People and institutions simply refuse to hold still. Nor should we expect them to. We value adaptation and accommodation, flexibility and responsiveness, self-reflection and self-critique, and the ability to use experience to modify conception, structure, content, and practice.

That flux is often in tension with the standard evaluation model, which presumes a reasonably orderly progression from initial assumptions to goals and objectives to indicators to measures to observations to findings to recommendations, relying generally on the manipulation and analysis of quantitative data. Distinguishing independent from dependent variables, that approach seeks to identify the factors (inputs) of greatest consequence for observed behaviors (outputs). To the extent possible it does so in a natural

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7. The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) provides an important entry point into the research on education in Africa. Building on its prior work and as preparation for its 1999 Biennial Meeting, ADEA solicited reports of effective reforms in education in Africa. See Association for the Development of Education in Africa, What Works and What's New in Education: Africa Speaks! Report From a Prospective, Stocktaking Review of Education in Africa (Paris: Association for the Development of Education in Africa, 2001), and Association for the Development of Education in Africa, Partnerships for Capacity Building and Quality Improvements in Education. (Paris: ADEA, 1999) For an overview of education in Africa more generally that highlights problems and challenges, see Joel Samoff, "No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: Contending with Crisis in African Education," Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres, editors. Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 393-431.

(as contrasted with a laboratory) setting, by isolating the elements of primary interest, separating them from confounding influences—other factors, environmental characteristics, and the evaluators' own role. Although a clean dissection is not always possible, that is the goal.

For education that is particularly problematic. Education is at its core contextual. Learning is the result of connections, interactions, responses, shared experiences, and empathy, not clinical detachment. Consider, for example, curriculum development. There can be no good curriculum independent of the context in which it is used, just as neither a pencil nor a computer is intrinsically good. The best curriculum emerges from an interactive process that involves people with different sorts of expertise and experience (from specialized curriculum developers to teachers to students), that considers, shapes, tests, and then modifies a wide range of content and ways to use it, and that continues to evolve as it is implemented. It is this understanding of education as process, much more than the revision of prior knowledge and the appearance of new textbooks, that requires that the curriculum be continually rewritten and that each subsequent revision not be too tightly bound to its predecessor. The wisdom that is embedded in curriculum is not created by the orderly accumulation of bits of knowledge, like collecting sea shells along the beach, but rather generated by the confrontation of perspectives, experiences, and preferences. Not scientific consensus but unresolved disagreements—about what are the core ideas, about how learners can effectively engage those ideas, about the appropriate roles for instructors, students, and materials, even about the learning process—are the stuff of curriculum development.

Let us pursue the curriculum example. Logically, it is possible to conceive of studying curriculum development by isolating it from confounding influences, exploring principal inputs and outputs, and testing hypothesized relationships. One might, for example, through observation construct a list of the two, or five, or ten factors that seem to contribute most to effective curriculum development and that can be influenced by policy decisions. That list might include curriculum developers' level of education, the length of their prior experience, the extent and forms of teachers' (and perhaps students') participation, the locus of decision making authority, the availability of resources, and more. Having established that list, one might then create or locate curriculum development settings that were similar in most respects but different in one or more of the factors assumed to be important. And so on. Studies of that sort are undertaken regularly. Yet, collectively they prove dissatisfying and do not offer a clear guide to appropriate policy. That is so for several reasons.

First, the ground rules change frequently and unexpectedly. That is, a decision by higher authority about who is responsible for which sort of curriculum

development changes the curriculum development terrain, making findings in one setting not readily comparable to those in another. Each situation becomes unique. Second, there are too many factors to track simultaneously. Simplifying assumptions about what matters may exclude from consideration what turn out to be determining influences. In many countries, for example, the interests and preferences of foreign assistance agencies—what they are and are not willing to fund—may have important direct and indirect influence on curriculum development. Third, what initially seem to be small differences may have large consequences. Initial differences that escape observation can have profound impacts. Note that better measurement techniques cannot solve this problem, since there will always be differences that the measuring instruments cannot detect.

As well, education reform commonly has long time horizons, while assessment generally has a much shorter term time frame. A reform that is deemed successful shortly after its initiation may prove not to be sustainable. The early assessment, or other short-period assessments, may come to very different conclusions from a longer-term evaluation.

Those involved in education reform, as well as the broader education community and national policy makers, often have widely different understandings of appropriate evaluation measures and indicators of success. ADEA's prospective stock-taking, for example, emphasized quality, access and capacity building. Different indicators might well have been chosen. Presumably, the choice of indicators is based on what we perceive to be the state of education in Africa and what measures are necessary to move it forward. Countries also differ in their priorities. For instance, those countries that achieved Universal Primary Education some time ago will not find access as important as in countries like, say, South Africa, where apartheid effectively denied access to education for black majority.

Since education outcomes always have multiple origins and causes, it is difficult to determine whether scaling helped, hurt, or made no difference. While the effort to increase scale can itself have direct and indirect consequences, to isolate and declare categorically that scaling up has been responsible for an observed outcome is potentially very misleading, since other factors could have played a part as well. As we have suggested, causality is difficult to establish in education reform, especially over a long period where observed outcomes are likely to have multiple causes.

These caveats are important to our effort to explore attempts to enlarge the scale of education reforms. They caution us that the determination of "what works" and what is "successful" is in part, perhaps a very large part, contextual and contingent. Consequently, we must be careful not to generalize beyond the reach of the empirical analyzes of scaling up and to recognize that the

generalizations that seem well grounded must be interpreted in the context of specific initiatives and settings.

Observations from the cases reviewed

What do we learn from a review of the few studies that link innovation and reform with enlarging scale? The proliferation of innovations in education policy and practice in Africa may make it difficult to monitor programs and projects, and their implementation strategies (Sebatane,1999). Injecting too many innovations into the education systems leads to a phenomenon commonly termed as "innovation overload." (Hopkins, 1994, p. 12). When a reform initiative does not seem to produce desired results immediately, the tendency is to introduce a new change, often without adequate implementation and monitoring of the previous initiative. There are also pressures to come up with quick rather than long-term solutions to education problems, a situation sometimes encouraged by demands of the funding agencies. As Shaeffer (1992) puts it,

> "Such pressure can make it difficult to adapt to local circumstances and therefore tempt a ministry to finish a project, declare it a success, and move to yet another rather than reinforcing the operations, maintenance, and sustainability of the first." (Shaeffer, 1992, p. 16)

In this scenario, the indicators of success of the education system are sometimes determined by the number of projects completed and the funds invested. This leads to short-lived programs. The impact of some educational activities is delayed while for others it is relatively immediate (Nieuwenhuis, 1997). Reform is a process that takes time and needs to be internalized by those it is intended to affect. It is therefore necessary to take stock regularly, through systematic monitoring and evaluation, of the performance of innovative strategies. More important for this consideration of "going to scale," that stock taking should facilitate understanding better what works and what does not work. Those understandings could in turn be used in scaling up the activities, should that seem appropriate and desirable. It should be stressed here that monitoring and evaluation should be built into the implementation plan, and should involve local expertise as much as possible in order to ensure popular participation (Samoff, 1993). It may further be argued that sometimes reform measures in education in Africa are put in place primarily because it is fashionable or politically expedient to do so. Politicians and policy makers may use the innovations to win the hearts (or at least votes) of the electorate. There are often complaints that politicians impose these initiatives on the education systems, particularly schools that are already under-resourced or overburdened with other activities. All too frequently, teachers and others learn of major changes on the radio news or by word of mouth from colleagues at the school house door. Obanya notes that poli-

cies and intentions are often regarded as successes because of the failure to monitor the implementation of the systems (Obanya, 1989). He argues that this is one of the causes of the failure of educational reforms.

Some educators suggest that before locally based initiatives are expanded, they should be reconceptualized. This was the case, for example with the experience gained from one adult basic education program of the University of Natal in South Africa. The program dealt with the training of literacy teachers and development of teaching materials for English as a second language (Lyster, 1991).

The issue of prohibitive costs constitutes one of the main barriers in attempts to expand innovative initiatives in education in Africa. Cobbe addressed this issue in relation to a South African based interactive audio instructional program, "English in Action." (Cobbe, 1995). The author looked at various factors involved in running such a program, including costs for taking it to scale. Of relevance here is the fact that prediction of costs will have to incorporate both economic and political conditions.

As we have noted, it often proves difficult or impossible for African countries to sustain programs originally funded externally. Commonly there are no in-built mechanisms to ensure sustainability, including capacity building. One example cited by Jenkins is the in-service teacher training program at the William Pitcher College in Swaziland in the 1970s (Jenkins, 1989). Once the specified number of teachers had completed the program, it was terminated. Although this initiative had generated substantial interest and enthusiasm for other potential trainees, the country was unable to continue the program following the phasing out of external funding.

Another example was Burkina Faso's introduction in the late 1990s of results-based management in schools on a national scale, perhaps an example of Myers' notion of expansion by explosion. In contrast to the existing inspection system, this new approach called for using data on school achievement to improve quality, supporting teachers in ways that acknowledge their importance and motivate them to pursue their efforts to improve quality. To this end, two instruments were developed, one for Chefs de circonscription (district officers) for supervising and supporting whole schools and the other for pedagogical advisors for supporting individual teachers. School heads and teachers were seen as key actors in this approach, expected to lead the design and implementation of school and classroom improvement action plans. In this case, the approach to implementing education change appears to have been rather administrativee and bureaucratic to the extent that making the instruments available to schools and teachers eclipsed attention to soliciting the input of those involved and providing them adequate training. In the event, despite some encouraging outcomes, after three years of

implementation results-based school management seems not yet to have taken strong root.

Some of the reasons for limited or ineffective efforts to enlarge scale, particularly in the context of distance education, include the lack of imaginative adaptation of the strategies and resources of the original program, the costs involved, and the lack of commitment on the part of politicians. Other distance education initiatives fail to expand or to be sustained because they constitute isolated events without an institutional base as well as follow up efforts at the local level (Dodds, 1994, p.321-327).

Analysis and implications

What do we learn from these experiences and from efforts elsewhere to enlarge the scale of innovations and reforms in education and other spheres of development? As we ask that question, we must be cautious and critical in addressing what are commonly termed "lessons learned" and "best practices." As we have noted above, assessing outcomes in education is an extraordinarily difficult challenge. Relating outcomes to a specific innovation or reform is even more difficult.

That education is inherently contextual has several implications. First, evaluating education reforms demands approaches sensitive to education's fundamentally contextual nature and to education as process as well as outcome. Educators quickly become uneasy with notions like "best practices," since what makes a particular practice effective in one setting is a function of both the practice and the setting. As well, from this perspective, educators find frustrating the inclination to dissect education from its context in order to study and evaluate it. In the mode of a formal experimental method, that dissection regards interaction as a source of confusion rather than understanding interaction as the appropriate focus for analytic attention.

Secondly, for similar reasons, we must be very cautious in searching for "lessons learned." Lessons shorn from their context are not lessons at all. Of course it is possible to learn from experiences in disparate settings. Indeed, that is the driving dynamic of this paper. But what we learn must always be understood in its context. There are many examples of context-free "lessons" that become stultifying straight jackets rather than useful guides to action. For some time, for example, many funding and technical assistance agencies active in Africa have asserted that within specified limits, education quality is affected more by the availability of textbooks than by class size and that in-service teacher education is far more cost-effective than pre-service teacher education. Simultaneously, a large volume of education research in the United States indicates that the investments with the greatest impact on education quality are those that improve teacher education and that

reduce class size. Perhaps all of those apparently inconsistent conclusions are correct. Perhaps not. But their juxtaposition highlights the situational specificity of "lessons learned" and the risks of attempting to decontextualize findings and apply them in very different settings. Even crossing the border to a neighboring country may be too far.

Third, simplifying findings ("lessons learned") in order to generalize may lead to stating the obvious rather than developing useful guides to action. For example, systematic comparative assessment may find in the reforms studied that principals or head teachers have played a key role. Drawing the lesson that "leadership matters" loses the insights gained from understanding the settings in which the original studies were done, ignores the conditions in which the finding may be deemed valid, and does not progress much beyond common sense as a guide for practice elsewhere.

Fourth, much of what matters in education—that is, that affects access, learning outcomes, and management—is continually negotiated and re-negotiated. Decentralization of responsibility for education provides an important example. For a time, decentralization was promoted as a near universal remedy to many of the problems of education in poor countries. In part on their own initiative and in part with external pressure and en-couragement, some education systems have significantly decentralized. Systematic study suggests that decentralization (ignoring for the moment those settings where decentralization has remained rhetoric, not practice) accomplishes different things in different places, often in very different forms. Put positively, the appropriate balance between central direction and local autonomy is specific to particular places and times and is likely to change as circumstances change. Consequently, effective decentralization reflects on-going negotiations, sometimes among changing actors, about where authority and responsibility for specific activities should lie. An effective decentralization scheme in one setting may, or may not, be applicable in another setting.

The specification of "what works" and "what is effective" are similarly contex-tual and negotiated. For example, a reform that is associated with improved examination results but that does not reduce, and may indeed entrench, gender or racial inequalities, may be deemed very effective by some (educa-tion quality has to do with achievement outcomes; inequalities are important and must be addressed, but in themselves are not a measure of quality) and very ineffective by others (inequality is a measure of quality; schools with high-scoring boys and low-scoring girls are not providing high quality education). Note too that since what differs here are situationally specific values and expectations, those differences cannot be resolved by advances in research methodology.

Fifth, comparing strategies for enlarging scale must avoid asserting strong conclusions on the basis of relatively short time horizon data. Education initiatives and reforms may require years for their outcomes to be reliably measured and assessed. Consider, for example, support to improving teacher education. If that support is effective, newly prepared teachers will be more competent than their predecessors. If so, then students in their classes are likely to learn more or more effectively or more quickly than learners in the classes of teachers prepared in the previous (unimproved) teacher education system. If so, then the students of the more competent teachers can be expected to score higher on appropriate achievement measures. From the time of the initial investment in improved teacher education, however, to the time when higher achievement scores become visible is likely to be several years, perhaps a decade.

Sixth, the links between a particular innovation or reform and education outcomes, especially those not visible until years after the initiation of the reform, may be difficult or impossible to establish. To pursue the example above, since many factors influence achievement scores, only very rarely can improved examination results be systematically and reliably attributed to improved teacher education (or another reform) begun several years previously.

Accordingly, as we consider what can be learned from studies, implementation reports, and evaluations of efforts to enlarge the scale of innovations and reforms in education in Africa, we must be very attentive to the situational and conditional character of our observations and conclusions and of their implications for future action.

Successful scaling up

In their critical overview of support to education reform, Healey and DeStefano argue that most school reform initiatives are in one way or another demonstrations or pilots or models (Healey and DeStefano, 1997). They point out that pockets of good educational practice can be found almost anywhere, suggesting that what is deemed good education is not primarily a function of esoteric knowledge (Healey and DeStefano, p. 2, 1997). Rather, innovative teachers, initiative-taking and perhaps politically influential parents, risk-taking and non-conformist headmasters, and progressive communities can all be sources for effective innovations in education. Imaginative reforms can thus be found throughout the world, often amidst poverty and other very trying circumstances. At the same time, good educational practices cannot be found everywhere. Indeed, reform initiatives are pilots precisely because the mix of ingredients that lead to school improvement varies in time and

place and because notwithstanding years of research and analysis, the most effective learning results from creative interactions among teachers and learners, that is, more from interactive process than from prior planning.

. . . if school reformers really did know how to create good schools, the scale-up problem probably would not exist...there are no magic bullets (Healey and DeStefano, p. 7, 1997).

The pilot character of education reform is particularly clear in Africa, where it has become heavily dependent on external assistance. Since that assistance is predominantly focused on technical improvements (including teacher education, curriculum development, materials design and production, examination reform, assessment, education planning), and since external agencies certainly cannot not provide e nough capital to solve all the problems of education in perpetuity, nearly all projects are pilot or demonstration or experimental by their nature. Unfortunately, Healey and DeStefano report, evaluations indicate that at best half, or perhaps as few as one out of ten, reform initiatives have been sustained.

With that sobering statistic, let us consider what seems to work. As we have noted, success in enlarging small scale innovations and reforms may be due to elements specific to a particular setting and time and may not be readily generalized to other times and places. The common wisdom in many studies is that three factors are critical to enlarging the scale of an education reform: a charismatic leader dedicated to the reform and committed to its expansion, strong interest and demand in the communities at the sites targeted for expansion, and sufficient funding, which may in practice be limited funding that is dependent on local sources. Many observers have concluded that in the absence of one of those factors, scaling up is far less likely to succeed.

It is useful here to extend that list by summarizing the factors that seem to be associated with successful scaling up. For that, we combine the findings of a wide range of studies, both primary and secondary,[8] and our own observations on the cases reviewed. Note that since unsuccessful reforms are poor candidates for scaling up, there is necessarily some overlap between factors associated with effective reform and factors associated with successful scaling up. Note as well that since the lists below are drawn from multiple sources, they include elements that may be, and sometimes are, incompatible with each other. That, too, reflects the diversity of experience and assessments.

The extended lists below are thus composites from multiple sources, intended to facilitate discussion, assessment, and future research. Constituted

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8. Sources are included in the list of references, below.

of findings from different sources, those lists are unweighted and unruly. Several categorizations are possible. Unfortunately, the listed factors do not correspond neatly with any of the typologies we have reviewed. The original sources differ on their relative importance and in the absence of a more solid empirical foundation, assigning weights would serve only to detach them further from their contexts. An alternative approach would be to identify the listed factors as either inputs or process. We find that approach attractive, since it might help to shift the weight of analytic attention from inputs to process. At the same time, that categorization risks further confusing the issues, and the relative roles of different factors, since any particular factor, say leadership or funding, can be an input or part of the process. Rather, we find it fruitful to address all of these factors as part of the process of enlarging the scale of education reforms. Accordingly for the purpose of this review, we group the factors culled from the literature by their proximity to the education reform—first those that are directly associated with the reform itself and then those that have to do with the general context.

Factors associated with the education reform that is to be scaled up

1   Committed, dedicated, and seemingly untiring leadership, often a charismatic individual, whose persistence and stubbornness are generally assets though at times liabilities.
2   Clear and sustained local demand for the reform.
3   Local ownership of the specific elements of the reform; that is most likely when those elements are locally developed.
4   Clear and perhaps narrow focus on a single goal or service, with extension and diversification at a subsequent stage.
5   Sufficient, though perhaps very modest, funding, often from local sources. Competitive funding or challenge grants may increase the likelihood that only the most promising initiatives are supported.
6   Strong direct involvement, especially of the local community but also of others with important roles in the reform (including facilitators, animators, trainers, and other support staff whose participation may determine the feasible rate of expansion), coupled with effective participatory training for those involved and forums and other mechanisms for sharing experiences.
7   Understanding pilots as learning experiences, with room for revision and modification of the initiative and with continuing attention to the longer term and broader implications of the process of its implementation.
8   Flexible, iterative planning.
9   Competent technical analysis, including sound assessment of the feasibility of implementation.
10 Clear standards of practice and accomplishment, with appropriate and reliable monitoring and reporting results.
11 Clear accountability for the results.

General supporting factors and conditions

1   The ability of the leadership to re-focus attention to expansion and its requisites.
2   Significant and sustained local involvement in decision making as well as implementation, especially parents; informed and democratic deliberation.
3   Clear, explicit, visible, and reiterated political commitment, important at both local and national levels. That is often difficult to achieve, since reforms may challenge or may be perceived as threatening to important vested interests.
4   Important intangible commitments, including belief in the value and importance of the reform; belief that teachers and other professional staff can assume greater responsibilities, notwithstanding the limitations of their education and preparation; confidence that others can do what they have not done previously or have seemed incapable of doing; commitment to proceeding, even when resources are insufficient, other tasks demand attention, and personal circumstances are distracting; willingness to select and reward staff based on reasoned judgments about competence and accomplishments; willingness to risk what has already been accomplished in order to extend the reform to other areas; recognition that no one will be completely satisfied with the results without permitting that recognition to halt or stall further progress.
5   Scaling up is most likely to be successful when it was envisaged from the outset.
6   Effective integration of pilots and community initiatives into national education programs. (Note, however, that some commentators point to effective reforms that began outside the formal education system and argue that they flourished because of that external location and its explicitly or implicitly critical posture.)
7   A strong network that links community and other organizations and that provides a supportive framework both for the initial reform and enlarging its scale. That network must be organized around a collaborative culture, notwithstanding the different goals and styles of the organizations involved.
8   Simple information systems that are likely to provide more rapid, more focused, and more useful feedback than more complex information systems that are vulnerable to breakdown and disruption and that require more extensive resources and staff to maintain.
9   Ways and moments for those involved in the reform to reflect and to celebrate accomplishments as they scale up.
10 A stable supporting infrastructure, which in practice means not only formal institutional support but also individuals and groups who work to assure that the reform occurs and is maintained.

Why scaling up fails

As we have noted, Healey and DeStefano estimate that at most half, or perhaps only one out of ten, education reform initiatives have been sustained. Scaling up apparently has a similar record. Why is that?

Seeking to explain unsuccessful efforts to enlarge scale, nearly all commentators point to the absence of one or more of the three major factors we identified earlier: leadership, local interest and demand, and funding. The common stories are that while particular activities could be replicated in new sites, the dynamic leadership that made those activities effective in the pilots was not available and could not be replicated in the new sites, that the perceived local need that mobilized and energized participation in the pilots did not emerge in the new sites, and that funding, often available for the pilots from external sources, was not sufficient to sustain the expansion. That is, the energy, intensity, and resources focused on the initial setting are not accompanied by corresponding attention to efforts to expand the successes to new sites.

> None of the research reports covered in the ERNWACA papers provides any indication of fundamental reforms that have been disseminated and institutionalized effectively in national education systems. Instead, educational reform appears as a parade of piecemeal innovations that often create a flurry of activity for short periods of time in a limited number of schools within fairly restricted geographical areas. Unfortunately, as the ERNWACA documents attest, without strong institutional and resources bases, efforts to reform and innovate are usually abandoned or relegated to perpetual pilot status (Maclure, p. 102, 1997).

That may well be a function of the combination of the reliance on external funding to support education reform and the preference of external agencies for pilot programs. That in turn is a reflection of the relatively short time horizons of their funding cycles and their policy that their role is to provide seed money but not to support the continuing expenditures of the education system.

It is important to note that in dealing with unsuccessful reform and scaling, research and evaluations tend to focus on antecedents and inputs, with much less attention to the process of implementation and almost none to the longer term effects, whether positive or negative, of the efforts to innovate and enlarge scale. As Maclure notes in his synthesis and review of education research in west and central Africa,

> In terms of content, ERNWACA research has focused heavily on the antecedents and conceptual weaknesses of reform policies and on the contingencies that result in less-than-expected outcomes. Yet there is little analysis of the process of implementation. Likewise, there appears to be little understanding of the impact that educational innovations and reforms have on the key actors charged with

implementing them, and on the school populations and local communities that are the targeted beneficiaries of educational change. The residual effects of efforts to generate positive change, and perceptions of relative success or failure at different levels of educational bureaucracies and in local communities, still remain largely undisclosed (Maclure, p. 105, 1997).

Some observers go farther, arguing that scaling up, especially in the form of efforts to replicate or reproduce effective reforms in multiple settings, is an inherently flawed approach. Malvicini and Jackson develop that critique forcefully.[9] First, they address the specific experiences of the Swedish Working Life Fund:

> *The Swedish Working Life Fund (SWLF) invested more than one billion US Dollars in over 25,000 local projects. Between 1990 and 1995 these projects touched over half the country's workforce supporting significant changes toward popular empowerment and increased productivity. Surprisingly, no blueprint approach was applied here—just the opposite. The theory underlying the effort refuted the effectiveness of replicating pilot projects, successful models, or what Gustavsen et al. (1996) call star-cases. . . . . The role of the fund's staff was to support the projects (organizations) internal "infrastructure of change," opening up space, an environment where people create their own change. . . . . It was only after the project began that the key idea of learning networks emerged.* [original emphasis]

They then address scaling up more generally: (Malvicini and Jackson, 2000).

> *Pilots rarely go to scale. While designers hope that government or local people will replicate successful model programs, scaling up remains rhetoric particularly in large donor-funded initiatives, where there is little budget or interest after the donor withdraws. Why? Communities with thriving pilots usually have a great measure of social capital invested and created by program processes. There are high degrees of local creativity, enthusiasm, pride, and trust present in the process of designing and implementing innovative programs. After the "awards are given" or the "book is published" or the "conference held" to celebrate the accomplishments of the pilot, it is perhaps less likely to be replicated.* [original emphasis]

We need not adopt such a despairing view. Still, we need to explore why efforts to enlarge scale fail. Like successful efforts, failed attempts to enlarge small scale innovations and reforms may be largely due to elements specific to a particular setting and time. Here too, however, it is useful to summarize factors that seem to be associated with unsuccessful scaling up.

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9. Peter Malvicini and John Jackson, «Emerging at Scale: Breaking the Star-Case Monopoly,» CGIAR-NGO Committee and Global Forum for Agricultural Research. Going to Scale: Can We Bring More Benefits to More People More Quickly?, who cite Björn Gustavsen, Bernd Hofmaier, Marianne Ekman Philips, and Anders Wikman, Concept-Driven Development and the Organization of the Process of Change (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1996).

For that, as above we combine the findings of a wide range of studies[10] and our own observations on the cases reviewed. Note that since unsuccessful reforms are poor candidates for scaling up, there is necessarily some overlap between factors associated with ineffective reform and factors associated with unsuccessful efforts to enlarge scale.

1   The demand for the services to be provided by the reform is weak. Correspondingly, there is little or no public engagement with the reform.
2   Resources are insufficient, even with significant local voluntary contributions and very efficient management of limited resources.
3   Political commitment is insufficient at local and/or higher levels.
4   Programs may be hijacked, or commandeered, or redirected by local or national governments or other institutions.
5   Organizational, management, and implementation problems undermine the initial reform and/or impede or block extending it further. Laws, statutes, regulations, and contracts can function to constrain or impede reform.
6   Communication, cooperation, and collaboration among organizations and communities are insufficient or inadequate.
7   Relevant knowledge—about education, about education reform, and about the details of specific reforms—is inadequate.
8   Citizens' expectations of how education should function, commonly based on their own experiences, become obstacles to reforms that envision dramatic changes; educators' own expectations may play a similar role.
9   Policy and decision making focuses on immediate crises at the expense of attention to longer term consequences, is oriented around distributive politics at the expense of education and learning, and is more concerned with regulating behavior than encouraging change.
10 Attention to results is inadequate; often there is little or no accountability for outcomes.
11 Standards embedded in the reform do not correspond to widely used assessment systems (for example, examinations).

Observations on efforts to enlarge scale

Let us summarize. With the caveats about locally specific factors and the risks of generalizing noted above, we combine the findings of a wide range of studies and our own observations on the cases reviewed. Here too there is necessarily some overlap between factors associated with the initial innovation or reform and factors associated with efforts to enlarge scale.

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10. Sources are included in the list of references at end of chapter.

1 There is no general blueprint. Success depends on responsiveness to the local setting and strong local organization.
2 Successful transition from project to program is associated with a learning process. That requires organizations that embrace error, plan with the local community, and link knowledge building with action.
3 Some education reforms are much more amenable to national initiation and management than others. Reforms that are seen as largely technical and that do not threaten local interests (for example, modifying the curriculum and pedagogy for teaching basic science) can be more readily led by education officials than reforms perceived as potentially destabilizing and threatening to the local community (for example, increased access for girls or religious or ethnic minorities), which may be initiated by national officials but are ultimately more dependent on local leadership and community involvement.
4 Scaling up is most effective where the roles of planner, administrator, evaluator, and researcher are combined in a single individual or closely-knit team.
5 Scaling up is most effective when the organizational capacity developed in pilot projects is preserved and used as expansion occurs.
6 Resolving the tension between teacher autonomy and close-to-school assistance is not achieved once and for all.
7 Decentralized management has a dual edge. On the one hand, local management and control may be essential for a reform to take root and expand. On the other hand, local management and control risk strengthening the influence of local opponents to the reform, encouraging programs in particular areas to lose sight of the larger goals of the reform, and permitting orientations in different settings to diverge so widely that they overwhelm central management and support capacities.
8 Scaling up, especially in the form of replication, may be, and perhaps often is, in tension with participatory development and local ownership of development initiatives and programs. (We return to this point below.)

When is scaling up inappropriate or likely to be unviable

We began with the notion that scaling up—start small, think big—is an effective strategy for experimenting with new ideas and extending the reach of education reforms. In some circumstances, that is surely so, though perhaps far less often than has been anticipated. In other circumstances, however, scaling up is inappropriate or likely to be unviable.

Scaling up may so increase costs or reduce revenue that the reform becomes unsustainable. It is often assumed that enlarging effective pilot programs will be associated with economies of scale. Yet, the evidence on that is unclear.

> *While many planners 'intuitively feel' that economies of scale exist with respect to their particular projects, there is no conclusive evidence on this topic* (Gaspari, p. 12, 1980).

Initial economies of scale may be superseded by rising unit costs as expansion includes those who are more difficult to reach. As well, the communities involved in the pilot efforts may be unwilling to fund activities elsewhere, while at the new sites there may be insufficient local support or involvement to generate needed funding. Consequently, exploring the longer term cost implications of scaling up, and thus the sustainability of the reform, must occur early and must be based on sound cost projections.

Scaling up risks distracting key leadership and spreading managerial and other capacities so widely that they can no longer cope. A strong and persisting thread of the education reform literature is the importance of leadership. School heads who are effective in mobilizing their communities and energizing their staffs will not necessarily do equally well with district, regional, or national responsibilities. Indeed, some of the attributes and behaviors that made them effective—ability to take the initiative in initially unsupportive circumstances, willingness to challenge authority, persistence in the face of criticism and adversity—will be unwelcome in the national education system and may be severely curtailed or sanctioned. Similarly, managerial and administrative systems appropriate to a province or a country are not simply large versions of village level oversight. Those who are competent in supervising and paying, say, ten teachers may be overwhelmed if they are expected to supervise and pay ten thousand teachers. At the same time, national managerial and administrative systems may not be sufficiently sensitive to the content and the form of the reform to sustain the initiative developed at the pilot sites.

Scaling up risks undermining the initial reform. Whether by distracting its leadership, or overwhelming its managerial and administrative capacities, or severing its ties to its local communities, or reducing its revenue base, or exposing it to new political controls, efforts to enlarge the scale of the initial reform may instead kill it. While some of those risks can be mitigated or managed, decision makers will need to assess carefully whether the promises of going to scale outweigh the risks to the initial reform.

Scaling up may outpace the expansion of the needed support infrastructure. Enlarging the scale of pilot programs requires enlarging their support infrastructure, including the knowledge and skills not available in local communities. Where that infrastructure is not available, or cannot cope with the demand, scaling up may collapse in a disorderly heap, discouraging all involved and perhaps depleting the fertility of the education soil for further reforms.

Scaling up may generate new and ultimately fatal political opposition. Precisely because education is so central to contemporary society, efforts to change it

often challenge vested interests. The national political system may be able to accommodate those challenges when they remain localized and limited in number. Scaling up risks, indeed may require, generalizing those challenges. Feeling threatened, political elites and organizations may shift from cautious tolerance of the reform to implacable opposition. If so, then rather than extending the reach of the reform, scaling up may terminate it.

The conditions conducive to reform may be specific to its initial setting and absent elsewhere. Consider an analogy in another domain, power generation. Historically, power generation has been a story of "going to scale": developing new ways to produce power (from small scale wood or dung burning to larger scale coal-burning steam and power generation [whose scale keeps increasing] to large hydroelectric dams, to nuclear power) and then increasing their capacity. With that history, imagine the development of a very effective strategy for producing power that has emerged in one corner of the country. Evaluation finds that strategy to be cost-effective (modest investment, low unit cost), sustainable (recurring costs can be met; limited or no negative environmental impact), and a boost to the local economy (generates jobs, encourages people to learn new skills and upgrade them, increases the demand for ancillary products and services). There would seem to be a clear argument for "going to scale," that is, replicating that power generating strategy to other parts of the country. But suppose that the innovative power generating strategy turned out to be windmills, which require a particular sort of local setting (regular strong winds) in order to be viable, let alone cost effective, sustainable, and economy boosting? "Going to scale" might then be a very poor idea. The original innovation worked precisely because it was locally appropriate, carefully tuned to the circumstances of its setting. That very promising innovation will fail elsewhere because it will not have those local conditions. The general point here is that the enabling conditions of effective reforms are often not universal or universally reproducible. Indeed, an effort to spread windmills over the entire country might kill that approach entirely—failures elsewhere will drain resources and expertise, lead decision makers to reject the strategy, and lead investors (both local and foreign) to refuse to risk further investments in that technology. The diseconomies of scale could be enormous. Instead of windmills, our example could have used solar power, or power produced from the methane generated by decomposition in large refuse dumps, or other examples of innovations in power generation that require particular local conditions. Specialists in power generation refer to the importance of micropower generation—not solely or even primarily more and larger power plants to serve a large power grid, but also and especially small scale, local power generation that requires modest investment, that is well suited to local needs, that can respond quickly to changing local circumstances, and that can be managed locally. The most useful scale may be the smallest scale. So too in education.

Resolving tensions among conflicting goals

This review of the factors associated with successful and unsuccessful efforts to enlarge the scale of education reforms in Africa leads us to a series of related issues and more generally to the links and tensions between "going to scale" on the one hand and development objectives and strategies on the other. Extended analysis of those interconnections is beyond the scope of this paper. We note them briefly here, therefore, both to highlight them and to help to frame discussing them.

"Going to scale" and participatory local development

The same experiences and analysis that nurtured the notion "going to scale" have also emphasized the importance of local participation in and ownership of development activities. Put sharply, programs without significant local participation cannot be maintained or sustained, however imaginative their conception and however well funded their initiation. The development landscape is littered with withered vines and rusting hulks—good ideas and promising beginnings that did not survive the departure of their initial leaders and the conclusion of their initial funding. Similarly, externally driven initiatives often undermine progress toward development objectives over the longer term, since their effect is incapacitating rather than capacity building, since they will at best be poorly integrated into national development strategies, and since they are unlikely to secure the political support necessary to see them through challenge and adversity. At least rhetorically, participatory local development has become the development community's order of the day.

How are these two orientations—reform by scaling up pilots or small initiatives and participatory local development—related?

> How can a development initiative move beyond the local level and make a larger impact while continuing to foster participation? Can a participatory, bottom-up program, or the organization managing it, scale up while avoiding the problem of cumbersome and overstaffed organizations, detached from their grassroots bases, becoming mere sub-contractors of the foreign aid system or of the state, unaccountable to the communities who they claim to represent? (Uvin and Miller, p. 3, 2001).

The near universal affirmation of the importance of local participation masks the multiple meanings assigned to that term. Insisting that there are many different sorts of "participation" and that it is essential to distinguish among them, Uvin and Miller propose a hierarchy of participation:

a participation by the target population as beneficiaries

b   organizations seeking constituent participation in the costs and work of their programs (in Uvin's and Miller's view, this is the most common form of participation sought and supported by development institutions and by many national governments)

c   popular participation in education and training activities that permits the transfer of organizational, managerial, and technical capacity to the community

d   community groups participate in the management of development programs

e   direct participation in policy-making

f   ownership by the community and its organizations of the resources of the program or activity

In their view, participatory rural development requires at least the three top levels of this hierarchy (at a minimum, community groups must participate in management):

> *The defining criterion for bottom-up development is not that there is no external funding or expertise, but rather that the people concerned are engaged in the decision-making concerning these resources* (Uvin and Miller, p. 4, 2001).

That highlights an important tension between replication, the most common form of scaling up, on the one hand and participatory rural development and local ownership of development activities on the other. In its usual meaning "going to scale" is a strategy for replicating at larger scale and/or in more places a reform or innovation deemed particularly effective. That replication process is expected to involve planning and careful management and to produce economies of scale. Most often, there is a central coordinating institution, which may be the government or a non-governmental organization. Participatory local development and local ownership, however, assume a locally generated dynamic, which may differ from place to place and which is likely to be, at least in some places, a very slow process. Going to scale, which emphasizes planning, coordination, and management, and participatory local development, which emphasizes flexibility, responsiveness, and adaptability, may thus be two very different modes of fostering innovation and promoting development. While each has advantages and disadvantages, each may also undermine and impede the other.

Indeed, some of the programs widely regarded as effective education reforms and successful scaling up began outside the national formal education system (among the most commonly cited are the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, Lok Jumbish [India] and Escuela Nueva [Colombia]). Their founding mission was to address gaps in that system or to challenge its premises and practices. At their inception education officials were inclined to regard those programs as problems, not solutions. They were participatory.

They met local needs. They had local support and over time local funding. They survived, in large part because they remained so local and resisted central control and direction. Poor candidates for replication, their organic connections with local communities, including strong local participation in management, enabled them to spread.

It is important to note here that just as much of the writing about going to scale is uncritical of its own core idea, so indeed a good deal of the writing about participatory local development is similarly only infrequently self-critical. Local communities are often portrayed in romantic terms as always and fully aware of their needs and very clear on how best to meet them, less affected, distracted, and confused by poverty, politics, and personality than people elsewhere. In a recent paper Abraham and Platteau challenge the current passion of the development community for participatory develop-ment and community-driven-development (Abraham and Platteau, 2001). That orientation is popular, they argue, because game theory predicts and (naive) anthropologists claim that communities are the most effective agency for allocating resources, enforcing rules, and targeting the poor and because funding agencies assign high priority to disbursing large amounts of money quickly in ways that distinguish their current activities from the now discred-ited past of large development projects. Yet, Abraham and Platteau argue, success is rarely attained on these terms. Local communities are dominated by rent-seeking, self-aggrandizing, unaccountable local elites who can invoke a host of sharing norms and other redistributive mechanisms to ensure that their status is not challenged. Their conservative political base is protected by the shortage of change agents to work with communities over the long term, thereby thwarting efforts to bring about lasting transformations in local organizing structures and procedures, and by the general inclination of funding agencies to judge their own success by the size and rapidity of funds disbursed, not lasting organizational change.

Clearly, there are important roles for outsiders in education reform and enlarging its scale. The infusion of new ideas and analytic tools may both fuel and sustain reform. Since closeness with practice can not only enhance understanding but can also constrain perspective and limit alternatives, in-formed and committed outsiders can help to analyze, critique, and thereby improve practice.

While local communities must be the anchors for scaling up and the points of reference for development more generally, it is essential to understand that they too can become obstacles to reform and scaling up. Indeed, this explo-ration of the potential tensions between scaling up and participatory local development also shows that in addition to undermining each other, both enlarging scale and participation can themselves be obstacles to change.

Roles of the national government

What are the appropriate roles of the national government in efforts to scale up education reforms? It is tempting to respond to that question in a linear and technical manner. Education reform requires planning, organization, management, and monitoring. Education reform requires knowledge and expertise. Education reform requires funding and a supporting infrastructure. Education reforms must be integrated into the national education system. Scaling up requires all of those as well as communication, coordination, and evaluation. The government can and should assume most or all of those responsibilities. After all, expanding access to education and improving its quality have clear benefits for the government. Spread throughout the country, education can be the most visible public service and therefore the clearest manifestation of what the government is doing for the populace. But a response of that sort ignores the disorderly nature of reform initiatives and their political character and adopts an understanding of reform as outcome rather than process.

The challenge for the national government is to provide direction and support without impeding progress in a process that must have strong local roots and participation. As we have noted, that challenge may prove difficult for governments to meet.

Consider, for example, a national initiative on an issue for which there may not have yet emerged strong local demand. In many countries, efforts to improve girls' access to high quality, non-discriminatory education encounter hesitant support or explicit opposition locally. Over time, however, success in that initiative requires not only expanding access but also developing the local roots that will support and sustain the campaign. This suggests that enlarging scale involves far more than replicating in new sites specific measures designed to expand access. Scaling up also requires reproducing, or more likely nurturing the spread of, the enabling conditions for those measures and the roots that support them..

The literature and experiences we have reviewed suggest that the appropriate roles for the national government in enlarging the scale of education reforms are:
1 specifying broad objectives and providing resources;
2 bringing program planning and implementation together—establishing appropriate institutions, appointing key personnel, and then providing discretion to leaders;
3 participating in monitoring progress and performance;
4 providing stability (at the national level continuity and commitment may be more important than charisma); and
5 curbing the power of local elites, especially through institutionalizing

democratic decision making, ensuring accountability, and strengthening local institutions.

We must not be naive. Education reform, and therefore scaling up, is as much as or more a political process than a technical process. However brilliant the idea, its implementation requires creating and maintaining a supportive political environment. Its advocates will need to build coalitions, nurture allies, and find ways to deal with opponents. Vested interests, perhaps important elements of the education ministry and national government, may feel threatened by education reforms. Indeed, those in power have periodically shown themselves to be more apprehensive about a literate and articulate citizenry than about the incapacities induced by illiteracy and persisting poverty. Governments are unlikely to take actions that jeopardize their security of tenure. There are, it would seem, two important implications here. First, the general commitment to democratic deliberation, participation, and accountability, including the enabling conditions that permit all citizens to influence policy and decisions, are important for education reform at smaller and larger scales. Second, a government genuinely committed to education reform must create space for it. That includes tolerating creative deviance and periodically sharp criticism. Societies that cannot tolerate citizens who stand up and say (often in a loud voice and unpleasant tone) "The old way is wrong. Here is a better way." cannot learn or develop.

Roles of the external funding and technical assistance agencies

What are the appropriate roles of the external funding and technical assistance agencies in efforts to enlarge the scale of education reforms? As we have noted, education in Africa has become heavily dependent on external finance, education reform even more so. In some African countries external funds provide most or nearly all of the development budget; in some there is direct or indirect support for recurrent expenditures.[11] While everyone agrees on the importance of self-reliance and sustainability, both in tension with continued dependence on external funding, it would be naive to assume that in the near future African countries will forego foreign support to education.

In view of the disabilities of dependence and the persisting demand for foreign funding, it is tempting to assert that the appropriate role for the ex-

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11. The literature on aid to education in Africa grows steadily. For an overview of the consequences of persisting reliance on that external support, see Samoff, No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: Contending with Crisis in African Education" and Joel Samoff, "Institutionalizing International Influence," Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres. Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), pp. 51-89.

ternal agencies is to provide the funds and step aside. But that, too, would be naive and short sighted. It would be naive because the external agencies and the organizations and governments to which they are responsible have their own interests and agendas. International cooperation and development partnership require that all partners recognize and respect the interests of the others. It would be short sighted because even when locally rooted, and perhaps especially so, education reform benefits from external inputs of several sorts.

The challenge for the external funding and technical assistance agencies, therefore, is to provide financial and other support without dominating the policy agenda or becoming the arbiter for acceptable practice and thereby stymying local initiative and impeding national ownership and management.[12] That challenge may prove difficult for external agencies to meet, a function primarily of their structural roles and organizational values and styles, not of the imagination, or good will, or dedication of their staffs.

The literature and experiences we have reviewed suggest that:
1   since their funding carries political influence and leverage, the major challenge for agencies is to determine when it is appropriate and productive to exercise leadership and when doing so is likely to dominate or block local initiatives;
2   agencies should view pilot projects as venture capital investments in which all are expected to succeed but in practice only 10-20% (or even fewer) are likely to do so and to be funded for the next level of support;
3   pilots are likely to be staff-intensive and should not require large sums;
4   agencies must permit flexibility in order to avoid preempting learning;
5   in addition to supporting education programs and sectors, agencies should also orient some funding around imaginative individuals with leadership abilities
6   agencies must be far more patient before disbursing funds (for example, willing to wait years while communities, perhaps assisted by external change agents, debate and deliberate, revise rules and procedures, decide on objectives, and adopt reform strategies);
7   agencies should explicitly and energetically support democratic and participatory decision making and insist on transparency and accountability to the local community;
8   agencies should be more concerned with developing individual and institutional capacities and with education reform as a process than

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12. We do not address here external organizations whose explicit goal is to influence directions and priorities in the development of education in Africa. Their funding has explicit expectations and often formal conditions. Africa's education communities (and national decision makers) must decide whether or not the value of their advice, technical assistance, and funds exceeds the cost of their influence and authority.

with specific outcomes, though of course outcomes may be a very useful measure of that process;

9   different funding organizations might play different roles at each stage; and

10 agencies must find creative ways to deal with large numbers of small scale acti vities (both block grants to intermediary organizations that disburse funds more widely and small grant programs have proved effective).

While we believe there is a continuing role for external agencies in the process of scaling up education reform, we do not accept uncritically some agencies' claims that their development expertise and advice is more important than their funding and that their primary role should be that of a development advisory service (see also our discussion below on expanding the knowledge base). Indeed, we think there is a strong case to be made for separating the funding role from the advisory role and for locating the advisory role outside the funding institutions. Developing that case, however, is beyond the scope of the discussion here.

Locus of authority and responsibility

Everyone (or nearly everyone) is in favor of alleviating the consequences of poverty and reducing and eliminating poverty entirely. Everyone—national governments, funding and technical assistance agencies, NGO, local community organizations—claims to be the most effective advocate for the poor, not infrequently as against the others. It is not uncommon for external agencies to insist that they protect the interests of the poor and disadvantaged more effectively than their own governments. So do some NGOs. Those governments of course disagree. While it is often asserted that "the poor know best"—a claim that at its core is quite reasonable but in specific circumstances may be technically incorrect and may romanticize poverty—often the non-poor who make that assertion are unwilling to accept its implications. In some circumstances, each of those claims is accurate. But in other circumstances, each of the advocates may do more to perpetuate than alleviate poverty. The point is that there is no "right answer" about where direction and control should lie. In some circumstances, central government (or even foreign agencies) can protect the disadvantaged against interests, pressures, and authorities in their own local setting, while in other circumstances central government and foreign agencies are the problem, not the solution.[13]

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13. Note the example of the era of the civil rights struggle in the U.S. For some communities—say, the rural south—the principal enforcers of segregation were local governments and police, and national government intervention was more likely to be on the side of integration. Local activists thus sought outside intervention. For other communities—say, school districts in poor New York neighborhoods—the central leadership [in this case, city and state] was the obstacle to integration and the solution was locally controlled school boards. Local activists thus opposed outside intervention. Hence, whether more or less local control was preferable was a function of the situation and circumstance, not an absolute "good" or "correct."

With everyone claiming to be the most effective advocate for the disadvantaged and at the same time insisting on local initiation and local ownership, where should the locus of authority and responsibility lie? That is an especially daunting question for efforts to enlarge the scale of education reforms, since scaling up clearly requires inputs and active participation at multiple levels. Several themes have emerged from our analysis.

The appropriate balance between central direction and local autonomy is likely to vary over time and circumstances, perhaps even within the same setting. Many years of discussion about decentralization make this point. For a time, decentralization was promoted as a near universal remedy to many of the problems of education in poor countries. In part on their own initiative and in part with external pressure and encouragement, some education systems have significantly decentralized. Systematic study suggests that decentralization (ignoring for the moment those settings where decentralization has remained rhetoric, not practice) accomplishes different things in different places, often in very different forms. Put positively, the appropriate balance between central direction and local autonomy is specific to particular places and times and is likely to change as circumstances change.

Notwithstanding laws and regulations, the location of authority and responsibility are often negotiated. That is especially important where the reform objective is social transformation and where the mode of reform incorporates a learning process. Like decentralization, effective scaling up reflects on-going negotiations, sometimes among changing actors, about where authority and responsibility for specific activities should lie. An approach to scaling up that is successful in one setting may, or may not, be applicable in another setting. More generally, effective scaling up is likely to require multiple poles of activity with inclusive deliberations and periodic modifications that determine how responsibility and authority will be organized, rather unvarying adherence to a prior formal plan.

Like education reform, scaling up is necessarily a political process. At its most effective, it is also a learning process. While the documents that describe education reform initiatives and plans to enlarge their scale generally focus on inputs, systems, responsibilities, categories of participants, and expected outcomes, the practice is far more fluid. Reform advocates must construct supporting coalitions, both locally and nationally. Assembling alliances inside and outside the education system requires negotiation and compromise. Responsiveness and adaptability are requisites for learning. When reform and scaling up are understood and implemented primarily as a technical or mechanical process—gather relevant expertise, specify the necessary activities and sequences, and then take each step in its turn, with little room for deliberation, learning, and revision—they are unlikely to proceed much beyond their infancy. As we make this point, we do not romanticize local participation.

As we have noted, local communities can be serious obstacles to change, and there are certainly circumstances where strong central leadership is required to initiate and scale up a reform. But that too is a matter of politics and learning. Even in circumstances where strong external intervention seems warranted, it is most likely to be effective and its accomplishments are most likely to be sustained when it understands reform and scaling up as a process that rests on dialogue, negotiation, and learning.

While detailed prior plans and clearly specified lines of authority are attractive to national governments and external agencies, they may in practice impede education reform and efforts to enlarge its scale. Governments and external agencies are reasonably concerned with allocations and their uses and with the locus of responsibility. Planning can be organized as an opportunity for local engagement and participation. Required transparency and accountability can strengthen local participation. Clear guidelines and externally set standards and assessment measures may assure conformity to national objectives and consistency of evaluation. At the same time, planning and management of the sort commonly required by governments and externally agencies can easily become so constraining that they undermine the reform or prevent enlarging its scale. They also can so overwhelm local capacities that only outsiders are deemed capable of understanding and leading the reform. When that occurs, the reform becomes unsustainable and certainly not scalable. The challenges here are to organize each stage in the reform and scaling as a process that engages those who must bear responsibility for it over time and to enable them to be the reformers rather than the subjects or recipients of the reform.

Non-governmental organizations can clearly play important roles in education reform and enlarging its scale. They cannot, however, replace government, external funding and technical assistance agencies, or local communities. In recent years there has been increasing attention to the roles and responsibilities of non-governmental organizations of all sorts, often termed "civil society."[14] Democratic participation depends on a healthy and active organizational infrastructure. Some external agencies have sought to nurture that infrastructure and at the same time have attempted to reduce the burden of managing assistance to a large number of small recipients by relying on selected non-governmental organizations to receive, redistribute, and manage funds. In some settings that has proved effective and efficient. But the expanded NGO role does not and cannot replace the important roles of either government or the external agencies and certainly cannot substitute for direct participation by local communities.

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14. To simplify and focus the discussion, we use the term «non-governmental organization» literally, that is to include all groups and organizations that are not formally part of the government—small and large, local and foreign, nationally based and community based, multi-issue and single-issue, formal and informal.

Cumulatively, these themes emphasize the importance of understanding both education reform and scaling up as processes rather than events or outcomes. Indeed, the most important outcome of education reform is a learning process, both within and outside schools.

What now?

As we have reviewed reports on enlarging the scale of education reforms in Africa and elsewhere, three important themes have emerged that frame an agenda for future action. The weakness of the knowledge base is problematic. Scaling up promising reforms requires a holistic approach and vibrant social networks. The major challenge is to nurture innovation.

Improving the knowledge base

Research on education reform in Africa is both rich and poor. It is rich in that it is voluminous, often imaginative and insightful, and continuing. It is poor in that once completed, research on education in Africa tends to disappear from view. Consequently, even though many people in many places, both African and non-African, are involved in studying education in Africa, it is difficult for anyone anywhere to develop a clear broad picture of that research. It is even more difficult to focus on a particular cross-cutting issue like scaling up. As Maclure notes

> *This underscores a common thread that links almost all of the research highlighted in the* ERNWACA *documents—namely, that the dissemination of African educational research, in whatever form it has been presented, has been exceedingly limited and is thus generally unknown or quickly discounted as lacking credibility* (Maclure, p. 117, .1997).

The conditions associated with effective education reforms and with successful efforts to enlarge their scale are especially poorly documented.

Note that we are concerned here with systematic and thorough empirical research. While reports and commentaries prepared by those most involved in education reforms do indeed provide important insights and understandings, they cannot play the same role as more detached comparative and critical analyzes. Equally important, since our review suggests that initial efforts often seem quite successful, careful assessment requires attention to reforms and efforts to enlarge scale after the initial bubble of enthusiasm has passed, and perhaps after the launching leadership has been succeeded and national education officials have changed.

Note too that the very effort to enlarge scale may itself obscure or devalue systematic study. Our review suggests that it is not uncommon for those

involved in scaling up to be so enmeshed in their efforts and so excited by the apparent progress that they do not document carefully what is happening and cannot subsequently explain fully how they achieved their objectives. As well, national officials may move so quickly to enlarge apparently successful pilots that they ignore evaluations and other studies in progress.

If much of the empirical research quickly becomes invisible and inaccessible, there can be little productive link between research and policy. At the large scale, this suggests the importance of strengthening education research capacity in Africa, including the institutional framework for storing, retrieving, and sharing studies, findings, and recommendations. Among the strategies for addressing this problem are creating and maintaining relevant databases of studies of education in Africa, including not only published work but also significant unpublished papers and student theses, commissioning periodic state-of-the-work critical reviews, convening regional and continental seminars, workshops, and conferences to permit sharing experiences and critical analysis of empirical research, increasing collaboration among national education research institutions, and facilitating exchanges and study visits for education researchers. While knowledge and communication are global, the location of the development of knowledge and its communication do matter. While exchange is and will remain important, Africans are and must continue to be creators of knowledge and determiners of its global value. Currently, the institutional infrastructure for education research does not provide adequate support for that process. In this context, ADEA may have an important role to play as it fosters partnerships among Africa's education officials, funding and technical assistance agencies, and other organizations.

We are less optimistic about the initiatives of external agencies to establish, maintain, and disseminate development knowledge databases and electronic exchanges of development expertise. To date, the process of those initiatives has been fundamentally disempowering. While a fuller discussion is beyond the scope of this paper,[15] it is useful to list several of the most important problems with this approach: (i) What is deemed valid and legitimate knowledge is likely to become increasingly centralized in the North; (ii) The information that is collected in the South will be shaped and framed by its interpreters; (iii) That powerful role in determining what is and what is not knowledge will be obscured by the mystique of science and scientific method. The recogni-

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15. For a recent overview of what seems problematic in this orientation, see Joel Samoff and Nelly P. Stromquist, "Managing Knowledge and Storing Wisdom? New Forms of Foreign Aid?," . Development and Change 32,4 (September 2001): 617-642..; Alex Wilks. A Tower of Babel on the Internet? The World Bank's Development Gateway. (London: Bretton Woods Project, 2000) offers a sharp critique of the recently inaugurated Development Gateway. A current research project at the Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, offers a more positive assessment of progress to date. The concept paper, Kenneth King and Simon McGrath. Learning to Make Policy: Development Cooperation Agencies and Knowledge Management. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, Centre for African Studies, 2000), and other papers can be found on the project web site, <http://www.ed.ac.uk/centas/fgpapers.html> [2001.08.26].

tion that generating knowledge is inherently a contested political process will be rejected in favor of the claim that knowledge generation and collection are primarily technical matters, governed by the rules of science, not politics; (iv) With the rules of science as the ultimate measure and with those rules largely set and maintained by a small elite in the affluent countries, valid knowledge production will become an increasingly expensive endeavor, an effort beyond the reach of most people, including scholars, in poor countries; (v) The centralization of the determination of what is knowledge entrenches the roles of the elite education and research institutions in the world, nearly all located in the most affluent countries. A few scholars and institutions in poor countries will be integrated into official development knowledge generation and management, but with few exceptions, they will remain junior partners in this effort, observers, commentators, and as requested, interpreters, but very rarely themselves creators or managers; (vi) It is far from clear that public policy will benefit from development knowledge databases or gateways in the manner envisioned, since the claims for those databases and gateways rest on an unrealistic and sharply depoliticized depiction of how public policy is made; (vii) These databases and gateways assume that the knowledge that matters most is technical, which for the foreseeable future will continue to be created in the North; (viii) This approach to information also reinforces global power relations. Control over relevant information, or even the claim that the initiating agencies are the major repository for and distributor of knowledge about development, entrenches and enhances their influence. For a poor community in the South, entrusting its knowledge to a remote computer in the North and its largely invisible managers is surely not a strategy for promoting either democratic participation and accountability or self-reliance.

Communication, coordination, and networks

Clearly, education reform and scaling up are processes that require a holistic approach, effective and timely communication, and a coordinating strategy that does not strangle local initiatives. As we have suggested, that must be a shared responsibility. Local communities, central and local government, non-governmental organizations, external funding and technical assistance agencies, and others have important roles to play. Since local circumstances vary and since reform is best understood as a process, those roles will differ from place to place and time to time and will likely change over time within a particular setting.

Effective communications and networks have multiple facets and levels. Linking one village to its neighbors permits sharing experiences and coordinating efforts to solve problems. Though they may both be called networking, the strategy for achieving that may differ sharply from the strategy

that is effective in linking, say, teacher educators in rural Africa with their counterparts in rural Europe. As both sorts of linkage are development, it is essential to confront the ways in which access to communications and networks—increasingly involving computers and the internet—can itself promote differentiation, inequality, and ultimately conflict between communities and organizations within Africa.

Those inclined to see education reforms as emanating solely or primarily from the education ministry or other national education officials are also inclined to emphasize communications from the ministry to local officials, teachers, students, and parents. Teachers should not be surprised by reforms or unprepared to implement them. Communities should be informed about reforms and their expected consequences. Communication of that sort is certainly important and its challenges and obstacles should not be underestimated. Yet education innovations and reforms, both smaller and larger scale, can and do have local roots. They may germinate and sprout far from the education ministry. Not infrequently, initiatives of that sort include challenges to current education policy or practice. From this perspective, teachers and community organizations can and should initiate reforms and not simply learn of them from education ministry circulars. Regardless of the starting point, to the extent that teachers, learners, and communities are involved in implementing, supporting, and shaping education change, they initiate and do not simply receive communications. Effective communications and networking, therefore, must incorporate exchange and not simply dissemination and must flow in multiple directions simultaneously.

Though widely advocated, improved communications and networking may be difficult to accomplish. Large institutions and their decision makers prefer certainties to ambiguities. Clear and consistent plans are often deemed more important than responsiveness to local needs and flexibility. Effective networks of interconnections that link organizations, people, and activities are difficult to establish and maintain, especially in settings where war, drought, flood, and illness (HIV/AIDS is a particularly striking example) are corrosive of shared values and cooperative practices.[16] Effective scaling up therefore requires systematic and sustained attention to developing and nurturing those networks and the appropriate supporting infrastructure.

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16. The emerging literature on social capital focuses on the links that bind communities and that enable them to initiate change, resist adversity, and manage stress. For a recent overview, see Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin, editors. Social Capital: A Multi-Faceted Perspective (Washington: World Bank, 2000); other recent contributions include Michael Edwards, Enthusiasts, Tacticians and Sceptics: The World Bank, Civil Society and Social Capital. URL: http//www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/library/edwards.pdf [2001.08.12]; Ben Fine, "The Development State is Dead—Long Live Social Capital?," Development and Change 30,1(1999):1-19.; Göran Hydén, "Civil Society, Social Capital, and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse," Studies in Comparative International Development 32,1(1997):3-30; Robert D. Putnam. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999)' and Lindon J. Robison, A. Allan Schmid, and Marcelo E. Siles, Is Social Capital Really Capital? (East Lansing, MI: Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, 1999).

What is to be scaled up

Scaling up in education is intended to expand access and improve quality for more people over a wider geographical area, and to do so in ways that are efficient, equitable, and sustainable. Since education is central to development (let us use Julius Nyerere's shorthand: the elimination of poverty, ignorance, and disease), the strategies adopted to promote reform by enlarging the scale of effective pilots must address the broader development objectives of empowerment, equity, social transformation, and sustainable change.

Both the general literature and the studies of African experiences emphasize that scaling up success stories rests on both systemic and specifically local elements. The initial reform addresses a well-understood local need and responds to significant local demand. The reform itself is largely locally derived and is led, nurtured, and often protected by leaders who are charismatic, forceful, inventive, and able to build political coalitions to support and shelter the reform. The reform is adequately financed, which means either a long-term commitment by government or other agency or, more often, significant continuing local funding. Most important, there is significant local ownership of the reform.

National initiatives are also important tools of education reform. The national coherence of the education system is surely a reasonable objective. Local communities and their leaders, however, as well as teachers, students, and parents, can and do oppose change. Thus, for national initiatives to survive, they must develop local advocates and supporting constituencies. Only in the most authoritarian settings can external agents sustain reforms that find no local support.

The importance of the local roots of this process suggest that mechanically replicating the specific elements of the reform in other settings will only rarely lead to a viable and sustainable outcome.

> BASICS *thinking about scaling up its community programs should go beyond the identification of specific programs that can be replicated; rather, the focus should be on institutionalizing a system for supporting community programs at a scale appropriate for given target groups and settings. The goal then is to implement a coordinated package of complementary strategies to achieve maximum impact on a broad scale* (U.S.A.I.D., Chapter 3, p. 12, 2001).

> *Attempting to replicate the reform itself (i.e., take it to scale) inevitably violates some of the very conditions that render certain innovations successful in the first place. The fact is that people's educational aspirations, needs, and contexts differ from place to place. Accordingly, what works in one location won't necessarily work in another. And even in those instances where an 'outside' innovation addresses some of the specific needs and aspirations of a particular location, its fate is still precarious, for unless there is widespread ownership of the innovation (a factor*

largely engendered through the development of local solutions), chances are that it will not become a permanent feature of that location's educational landscape (Healey and DeStefano, p. 11, 1997).

Accordingly, rather than replicating the specific elements of the reform, what must be scaled up are the conditions that permitted the initial reform to be successful and the local roots that can sustain it. That challenge involves finding ways to generate widespread and locally rooted demand for the reform and to support an informed and inclusive locally-based deliberation over the content and form of the reform. That challenge also requires finding ways to make political space for the reform and to protect it from vested interests who perceive it as a threat and a bureaucracy whose efforts to routinize change often smother it. At the same time, those directly involved in the reform must understand reform as a continuing process rather than a specific outcome and must structure it to embed learning at its core.

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Using Job Descriptions for Monitoring Primary Education in Senegal

by Pape Momar SOW

Such is the power of method and organization that they allow ordinary mortals to accomplish extraordinary things.

Introduction

The desire to build a modern educational system that would be more equitable, more effective, and, above all, more capable of serving the development and aspirations of all citizens has fostered many initiatives throughout Africa. This faith in the development of human resources has taken a particular turn under the influence of several forceful ideas: i) education is the best way to promote individual development and constitutes a country's greatest wealth; ii) education remains one of the most profitable investments a country can make; iii) schooling is one of the most effective ways to achieve social justice and guarantee each person's chances of success: education is the basis of social mobility; iv) a good education allows each citizen to stay better informed, to make informed decisions about important local issues, and thus to become a better citizen. For these reasons, education is considered one of the pillars of any true democracy.

Strongly convinced of this, Senegal has for several years now been committed to improving the level of general education and has devoted great effort to building an educational system of quality. Numerous reforms have been carried out in order to respond to a constantly changing environment.

Nevertheless, some obstacles have been encountered: political will that was more theoretical than real, institutional instability, insufficient resources, and resistance to change. Without doubt, the most difficult problems to eliminate were those of improving quality. Problems of quality were exacerbated by massive enrollment and the economic crisis of the 1970s, which brought a decline in working conditions and weakness of educational leadership.

As a result, the decline in results over several years (high rates of class re-peaters, high rates of failure on end-of-term exams), and an accompanying series of problems have been correctly labeled by specialists as a "system-wide crisis in education."

Faced with this regression, the government, with support from technical and funding agencies, responded by providing more infrastructure, equipment, and supplies,. However, these costly investments gave only temporary relief, because perceptions of the nature of the problem were often too restricted.

Beginning in 1996, however, the year that decentralization policies were instituted, an interesting initiative was launched to steer primary education in a new direction, by means of "job descriptions." The main idea was to use forceful methods and strong organization to achieve extraordinary results.

Leaders of the change followed seven principles:
• Solidarity between the different links in the educational chain and a firm partnership among all actors along that chain, particularly teachers, school principals, and inspectors;
• Involvement of actors in all phases of planning, implementing, and evaluating programs;
• Accountability by all actors;
• Transparent and efficient management of available resources;
• Active support for all actors as part of a dynamic program of development and reform;
• Training and qualification of actors;
• Action-oriented research.

We can conclude from this experience, first, that competition and individual goal-setting, especially if reported by the media, motivate actors to succeed, and, second, that follow-up mechanisms and effective monitoring make better planning and assessment possible.

Another important point that we shall come back to: external funding was not necessary for implementing the program. In fact, the challenge was to make better use of existing resources by influencing the behavior of the different actors.

Finally, the program was based on "benchmarking" principles, which meant building behavioral models drawn from examples of good practice in the sector.

We describe here the principles, mechanisms, processes, instruments, and results that characterize this initiative. There are three reasons for doing so. First, it allows us to document an application of an innovative program in education. Second, it moves towards the notion of lifelong education—so

prized by development agencies—which is founded on the idea of sharing of responsibility and a more methodical management of knowledge about innovative practices. Finally, it enriches the store of successful examples of partnerships that can improve the process of and capacity for social change.

The national context

The education system in Senegal went through a bad phase between 1990 and 1995. This was the only period in the history of the country since Independence when indicators showed that basic education was slipping. The rate of primary enrollment, which had increased throughout the first three decades after Independence (1960-1990), moved from 58% to 54%. At the same time, literacy, which was estimated in 1988—the year of the last census—to have reached 73%, stagnated, despite vigorous efforts to promote clear and effective policies in primary education. The continuing and persistent disparity in illiteracy rates between men (61%) and women (83%) was deemed unacceptable at a time marked by the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All.

Access to professional training programs was similarly blocked during this period. The country's educational facilities had not readjusted their capacities and could only accommodate 5% of those who had been to school.

Preschool education, which was not a government priority, also stagnated at minimal levels: the access rate, which was 2.3% in 1990, remained at nearly the same level (2.4%) in 1994-95.

In the majority of Senegalese schools, teaching and learning conditions were not stimulating. The over-enrollment in urban areas (more than 100 students per class), the absence of teaching materials (one reading book for four pupils and one mathematics book for ten pupils), weak management and organization, the absence of water and sanitation, the long distance traveled by children from rural areas (estimated to be an average of 3 km between home and school), malnutrition and health problems, the poverty and illiteracy of parents—all these things played a role in compromising the efforts to make schools more effective. The result was a 13% repetition rate for the first five years of primary school and a worrying 5% dropout rate. The average pass rate for end of primary schooling between 1990 and 1995 was estimated at 29%, one of the lowest for the entire sub-region, for which the average rate was 57%.

Monitoring and support of teachers was completely inadequate. Few teachers or principals were inspected each year, a situation aggravated by the high ratio of 235 teachers to one inspector.

Lacking an effective program or even an invitation to become involved, there was little participation by the community in school operations. Since parents were only approached when it was time to pay up, they sat by, powerless to do anything but observe the drifting and general ineffectiveness of their schools. Nevertheless, Parent-Teacher Associations grew apace; between 1990 and 1995 more than 340 new associations were formed, suggesting a widespread will to participate.

Insensitive to these signals, state-employed teachers held on to the authority to make decisions. The school-community units that had been formed in hopes of improving the situation were unable to affect more than a handful of schools.

We cannot conclude this brief overview of education at the time the new framework was put into place without mentioning the volunteer teachers. The Ministry of Education, particularly the Minister of Basic Education, was quick to realize that a lack of teachers was the main cause for the drop in enrollment. While respecting the macro-economic commitments of the country, the Ministry decided nonetheless to use volunteer teachers to help fill the gaps left by traditional recruiting methods. Volunteers were subject to the same restrictive measures governing staff and salaries, which had been imposed as part of economic structural adjustment in the country. The massive recruitment of volunteers was not followed up with a parallel recruitment or training of inspectors, and conditions deteriorated even further.

Finally, teacher unions, worried that the new recruiting strategies would undermine their position, were very disruptive between 1995 and 1997.

This, then, was the general context in which the initiative came to pass in Senegal.

How the initiative began

A number of factors facilitated implementation of the initiative:
- The arrival of a new Minister for Basic Education and new Director of Preschool and Primary education offered the opportunity to take stock of these sectors. An inventory and study of exam results from the final year of primary school revealed that:
  - For the country as a whole, the average pass rate over the previous five years was about 29%;
  - Enormous disparities in results were revealed: ranging from 44% to 18% by region, 52% to 14% by district; and 100% to 2% by school;
  - Factors supposed to contribute to good performance (class size, availability of textbooks, teacher experience, percentage of girls) did not correlate with actual results.

- Decentralization: Law 96-06, of March 22, 1996, granted financial autonomy to incorporated rural communities. They were permitted to manage matters in which they had competence through elected administrators. This transfer of power and resources created a new governance framework, increasing responsibility of basic education actors from the bottom up.
- An analysis of performance and an annual report based on inspections of teachers, school principals, leadership, and training of teachers also led to certain conclusions about monitoring teachers:
    - Despite new and costly procedures put in place in 1994 to develop human resources and an increased budget for inspections and transportation, the number of teachers and school principals inspected was decreasing from year to year. During 1995-96 only 780 teachers out of 15,000 countrywide were able to benefit from close supervision by inspectors; and only five out of 4,325 school principals benefited from inspection and counseling.
    - Enormous disparities were encountered between inspectors in the same zone, ranging from 0 to 80 inspections, and between different regions, ranging from 8 to 184 inspections.
- Education authorities were determined to have standards and norms available for measuring primary school performance and that of the major actors;
- They saw the need to communicate results through the media, in order to motivate actors and institutions;
- They noted the absence of any incentives and role models for actors and institutions.

Faced with this evidence, the authorities were compelled to establish the monitoring initiative. If the purpose of education is to form a competent, responsible individual, who is capable of self-fulfillment and contribution to community welfare, then what kind of organizations and what tasks should be allocated to various actors in order to achieve these goals?

Led by the principle that good methods and good organization can produce extraordinary results, the team in charge of preschool and primary education set out to identify, both in public and private schools, methods of work and organization that achieved winning results in classrooms, schools, and districts.

The initiative focused on three sets of actors: teachers, school principals, and inspectors.
- *Teachers*: A group of professional teachers, selected for their competence, met for several days to define the tasks and actions required to achieve good results in the classroom. Their advice was to formulate teachers' responsibilities simply and clearly by using action verbs. The verb "to do," for example, is used to test learning (which is done three times a

day) and to record results. Other verbs, such as "organize," "post," "verify," "watch out for," "meet," and "install"—all define the behaviors expected of these strategic actors.

- *School principals*: The same process was used to determine what behaviors and standards enable principals to achieve acceptable performance.
- *Inspectors*: A smaller group of professionals collected examples of positive behaviors of inspectors. Using a calendar of 150 school days a year, they drew up lists of inspection and supervision duties, pedagogical training, planning, administration, assessment, and social responsibilities, all defined by action verbs. The group prioritized these duties and concluded that the role of inspection and supervision, considered of prime importance, should take one-fifth of an inspector's time (30 days, backed up by 30 inspection reports).

Thus defined by professional practitioners and evaluators, the tasks were compiled in the form of job descriptions. Through the network of inspectors and schools, each teacher, principal, and inspector received his or her job description, as well as those of the other actors. Their immediate superiors were asked to supervise and report on how well these tasks were carried out.

Description of the initiative

Purpose

The idea of reform using job descriptions is based on the following objectives:

- Improve results by bringing the national pass rate up to a minimum of 50%;
- Improve schools and inspectorates through better planning and identification of expected results;
- Mobilize education professionals, the community, the media and other partners to achieve results and to recognize the fundamental factors that determine success;
- Enhance professionalism by applying a more formal cycle of standard-setting, planning work, implementing work, and evaluating performance, always with the aim of improving quality of service;
- Give more substance to the concept of responsibility by clearly identifying those actions and results for which actors are accountable to their superiors and to the community;
- Improve monitoring by producing tools that are better measures of the educational results expected.

The seven principles

Seven principles guided the initiative and methods used to bring about the desired changes:

- *Partnership*: Change would be carried out by building solidarity between the different links in the education system, coupled with close cooperation with actors outside the system. This meant creating a sense of interdependency among the suppliers of technical, financial, social, and political resources.
- *Participation of the community*: To solve problems related to the community, the community itself must be involved. This entails community participation in all phases of planning, implementation, and assessment of school operations.
- *Accountability*: The program pays particular attention to decision-making, both identifying alternatives and developing options. School actors should be at the heart of reform and should be accountable for results.
- *Transparent and effective management*: Alongside accountability should come a sense of duty to achieve results, to report to the community, and to manage resources in a transparent and effective manner. The ultimate impact of education's success should be measured both in terms of satisfaction of learners and of the community.
- *Leadership*: The ability to keep education actors alert, supervise their development, support their apprenticeship, encourage and empower their capacity to change the school environment is needed to give the program a dynamic sense of development.
- *Training and imparting skills*: To give teachers, principals, and inspectors more responsibility requires strengthening their skills. They must be encouraged to explore, analyze, negotiate, plan, manage, communicate, and evaluate. They must have all these critical skills to act responsibly.
- *Action-oriented research*: Social change is a complex exercise. For it to occur, one must both devise careful plans of action and know how to learn from them. While models of work must be scrupulously well prepared, managers of reform must keep an open mind in order to respond and adjust to change, document the paths traveled, highlight successes, and point out difficulties and risks.

The component parts

The new initiative was organized around four component parts:

- Job descriptions
- Stock-taking seminars
- Basic Education Week
- Publication of school performances in the press.

Job descriptions

The job descriptions are tools for guiding the intervention of inspectors, school principals, and teachers. They show the direction that those responsible for primary education should follow, both individually and collectively, in order to build credible and successful schools.

Legislative and regulatory texts reveal a range of responsibilities that have fallen upon the various actors. Some of these directives have been motivated by unique situations in managing particular institutions.

By mining this whole range of documents, along with initiatives taken by individual inspectors, principals, and teachers, it was possible to compile the disparate material concerning school management. Most tasks and duties were derived from traditional administrative evaluation tools, especially administrative records, inspection records of teachers and principals, along with elements concerning classroom space.

The school is relying on a more efficient deployment of available human capital to improve quality, which has been a major challenge. Through consultations with actors in the education community, it has set standards for quality and criteria for obtaining the results agreed upon.

These, then, were the considerations guiding the process of drawing up job descriptions. The job descriptions are provided in detail in A*nnex* 1 (Job descriptions for inspectors, school principals and teachers).

How a job description should be applied was left to the actor to decide, in consultation with his or her superior. Most schools have adopted a process like the one described here, involving:

- *Annual seminars to exchange views with the school principal*: In many regions seminars are organized at the beginning of the year to help school principals learn about the new instruments and how to apply them.
- *Reminders of duties and monitoring of job descriptions at the beginning of each school year*: Inspectors for primary education are expected to publish a bulletin reminding everyone what job descriptions apply and how they would be monitored.
- *Integration of job descriptions into posted regulations*: Schools are reminded to post job descriptions and other official documents in the classrooms and in the principal's office.
- *Spin-off seminars at schools at the beginning of the school year*: The seminar for school principals is repeated in each school to ensure the same level of understanding by teachers. This is the proper moment to explain the terms of the contract and how tasks are divided and shared. Reading aloud the duties of the school principal and the teachers often makes it easier to accept monitoring and supervision by one's superiors.

- *Mobilization of partners* (PTAs, *associations*, NGOs *active in the district*): The school seminars have proven to be a good opportunity to plan how to mobilize school partners and make the actors accountable in "marketing" the school to the community.
- *Establishment of the internal monitoring*: When tasks are defined, it is useful to determine which ones get implemented and measured immediately and which ones require some preparation (such as calculating the ratio of students to textbooks, or mobilizing parents and community support). Determining these matters has given rise to lively in-depth discussions in several schools.

Stock-taking seminars

The education authorities decided to organize annual stock-taking exercises along the following lines in order to ensure that the job descriptions were applied and monitored:

- *Stock-taking at the school level*: As the supervisor of the initiative, it is the principal's responsibility to organize the initial stock-taking meeting. This exercise, which brings all teachers together no later than the end of June, must be documented by a detailed report covering individual and school performance. It is the time to discuss any major problems encountered during the year and to outline the challenges and prospects of the upcoming year. Brochures are distributed to all schools in order to guide these meetings and make them effective (see Annex 3: Monitoring tools). The procedures that emerged from lessons learned from the first stock-taking exercise serve to formalize the objectives and process of these meetings. Some schools even bring in PTAs, NGOs, the mayor's office, or other partners, who play an important role in monitoring actions on the school's behalf.
- *Stock-taking at the district level*: Based on school reports, district inspectors draft a preliminary report on their school inspections during the year. This synthesis, which highlights performance trends, is discussed by inspectors and school principals at their stock-taking meeting. Once the observations and recommendations of participants have been collected, the draft report is finalized and sent to the regional inspectorate.
- *Stock-taking seminar of the regional inspectorate*: The regional inspectorate, a group of district inspectorates, also takes its turn in meeting to consider the performance reports and other information in its area. It examines broader issues, such as school coverage, internal efficiency, and questions concerning staff, infrastructure, examinations, and decentralization. This report is sent to the ministry in charge, in early August at the latest.
- *National stock-taking seminar*: This is the only time when all the actors (inspectors, trainers, development partners, technical support staff) involved in primary education get together to examine the state of affairs. Each inspectorate presents a brief summary of its annual report, which is

distributed to participants in advance. A short discussion on accomplishments and problems follows. The quantified performance report at the national seminar, detailing the work of different actors, elicited a lively debate. But finally, after much discussion, based on an excerpt from an article by C. Garin in *Le Monde*[1] of January 14, 1993, there was consensus about upholding the practice.

The annual stock-taking seminars at the end of August and September have become an opportunity to delve more deeply into the cross-cutting themes that arise from the previous year's reports. The head office for primary education has assigned a special team with responsibility for preparing these important meetings well in advance.

Scheduled to last five days, the stock-taking seminars have taken place in the École Normale Supérieure, where they bring together about 150 people and cost nearly $US 5,000. Each day a different example of a successful experience is presented to the participants. The experience might concern a pedagogical practice or tool, organization, partnerships, resource mobilization, for strengthening motivation or resolving problems. Monitoring tools are drawn for each level of responsibility on the basis of discussion among the different actors. Lessons learned from the exercise provide a framework for maintaining the initiative's momentum.

Basic Education Week
In addition to the monitoring initiative, the government declared a Basic Education Week to honor teachers, principals, and inspectors, as well as the mayors, elected officials, and PTAs that had done the most to improve school results. The seriousness of the initiative was underlined when the President of the Republic, at the request of his Minister for Basic Education, mentioned Basic Education Week in his speech of April 3, 1997 on the eve of National Independence Day celebrations.

The goals, organization, activities and other aspects of Basic Education Week are described more fully in *Annex* 2 (Basic Education Week).

Publishing primary school results in the newspapers
Based on the principle of accountability and duty to report regularly, the job descriptions prescribe how to formalize and communicate results by school, district, and region.

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1. Here is the text: «Once cold, jealously guarding it secrets and its shadowy areas, stingy with results and suspicious of numbers, silenced by the horror of honor rolls, bristling at the idea that one might compare, within a district or a city, the examination results of different schools, public education has undergone a small revolution these last years. Under pressure from clients, who are no longer fooled by the myth of equality among all students in the melting-pot of education, and pressured also by elected leaders who have signed on for better or for worse, but who sulk about having to pay without seeing, public education has gradually learned to put its cards on the table.»

The steps taken to publish in the national press the names of top schools, along with the performance rankings of regions and districts, was a very successful move.

- *Choice of daily newspaper*: For a number of years many of the country's news-papers have disseminated news widely, so it was not easy to decide which should be asked to publish annual results. An exclusivity arrangement was one of the conditions posed by the press for publishing the information free of charge. Four papers were pre-selected, and after their circulation and national coverage were examined, the daily *Le Soleil* was chosen.
- *Publication*: Following a working session of education authorities and journalists from *Le Soleil*, the publication took the following form: i) a table of the best schools in Senegal; ii) a table of the best regions; iii) a table of performance by district; iv) a table of performance by region. Readers' appetites were whetted by an announcement on the eve of publication, and this exceptional issue sold like hotcakes. As a result of its great commercial success, the Ministry's report will continue to be published by the oldest daily in the country.
- *Public reaction*: Public reaction toward the publication of examination results was generally favorable. The schools, districts, and regions that distinguished themselves received letters of congratulation and certifi-cates of merit from the Ministry of Education, which did not wait for Basic Education Week. During the Minister's annual tour of the country, the whole issue of results—whether good or bad—was the subject of much discussion and encouraged partners and administrative officials alike to renew their efforts to improve school performance and rise to the top.

Resources

Putting the monitoring initiative and job descriptions in place did not require external financing. No additional resources were needed. From the beginning the challenge was to improve the functioning of primary education using locally available resources to change attitudes and behavior. The resource issue was addressed by first identifying resource needs, then identifying strategies for attracting voluntary contributions, and finally identifying ways to mobilize local funding.

Resource needs: Resources were needed most at the beginning of the initiative to draft the conceptual framework, discuss and agree upon it with major ac-tors, disseminate and promote the working tools, and plan to monitor and evaluate. These processes had to be followed for the four core components of the exercise: job descriptions, stock-taking seminars, Basic Education Week, and publication of schools' performance. The analysis distinguished centralized from decentralized needs, took account of existing resources, and assumed their efficient use would be maximized. However, it is useful

to remember that the main locomotive for change was the daily behavior of the various actors, both individually and collectively.

Funding strategies: Fund-raising was often done on a voluntary basis. Initial strategies were outlined by quality circles, which included teachers and principals. A working group was set up to broaden the base of consultation to more practitioners. Funds from the Ministry were used for everything connected with printing: these constraints determined the format of the job description.

For Basic Education Week, which cost more to organize, all groups were asked to work with local partners to help raise funds. The success of the first event, which was launched by the head of state, has now assured that an annual budget of US$15,000 will be set aside for regional and district ceremonies.

Savings were made by holding the national stock-taking seminar at the École Normale Supérieure. Only transportation and food had to be paid for. The interim stock-taking exercises did not require any particular financing. For the past few years such events have been grouped with others so that costs could be shared among different partners.

As already described, the various national media were extremely interested in the prospect of announcing school results. They are still jockeying to win the right to do so.

Mobilizing complementary local resources: A brochure entitled "The school and its partners: exchanging services" was produced to help groups organize funding. Encouraging schools and their communities "to give and to receive," the brochure gave examples of successful fund-raising activities. Thus, alongside other inspirations of the project, there were many suggestions for services that schools might offer to generous partners (children's drawings and decoration, articles bearing the label "sponsor," thank you letters and articles in the newspaper, recognition ceremonies). Basic Education Week is the prime time for such activities.

Achievements

School results

School results can be judged by various measures: exam scores at the end of primary school, the repetition (pass/fail) rate; enrollment rates for girls and supervision of teachers.

Exam scores at the end of primary school (ESCE): *Table* 13 below shows the change in results since the job descriptions were introduced:

Table 13. Exam scores at the end of primary school
(1995/96-1999/2000)

Pass rate of	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/2000
ESCE (%)	30.12	42.26	44.02	47.76	48.85

Source: Direction de l'éducation préscolaire et de l'enseignement élémentaire, Ministry of Education.

The job descriptions set a goal of 50% pass rate to be gradually achieved by each school. Even if not all schools succeeded, primary education made remarkable progress during the four-year period (national average scores rose 18.73 points). The same indicator is reflected at regional and district levels. In 1999-2000 four regions (as opposed to none in 1996) had attained or surpassed their goals of 50%. These were Diorbel, Louga, Saint Louis, and Thies. Fifteen district circumscriptions (in contrast to two in 1996) also reached or surpassed the goal: Dakar city, Dakar outskirts, Guediawaye, Bambeye, Diorbel, Louga, Kebemer, Saint Louis 1, Dagana Podor, Matam, Tambacounda, Thies City, Tivaouane and Mbour. At the school level, some 44% achieved the 50% rate, compared with only 12% in 1996. Scores in the ten best schools in each region ranged between 85% and 100%.

Repetition rate: *Table* 14 shows the change in repetition rates for the same period:

Table 14. Repetition rate (1995/96/1999/2000)

	1995/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/2000
% Repeat rate (all classes)	15.6	15.2	15	14.8	15.3
% Repeaters rate (except final year)	12.6	12.5	12.2	12.2	12.6

Source: Direction de l'éducation préscolaire et de l'enseignement élémentaire, Ministry of Education.

The job descriptions required the number of students repeating each year to drop to 10% between the first and fourth levels (CM1). This was to be accomplished using only pedagogical tools. One can see that the small degree of progress shown at the beginning was not maintained over time. A survey of teachers and principals suggests that existing strategies for remedial work with children having learning difficulties were not sufficient. In particular they cited the extra time required by teachers and principals alike to make significant changes.

Enrollment rates for girls: The job descriptions, without specifying a quantifiable goal, required teachers, principals, and inspectors to promote enrollment of girls. Basic Education Week provides an excellent opportunity for special appeals and campaigns. *Table* 15 below presents the impressive results: 37.1 points gained between 1995/96 and 1999/2000. Other factors that contributed to this outstanding result are mentioned in a subsequent section.

Table 15. Enrollment rates for girls (1995/96-1999/2000)

Increased enrollment rates for girls (%)	1995/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/2000
	40.3	55.8	52.1	63.4	77.4

Source: Direction de l'éducation préscolaire et de l'enseignement élémentaire, Ministry of Education.

Supervision and inspection of teachers: the job description required that 25 teachers and five directors be inspected each year by each inspector. This goal allowed for advance planning based on numbers of teachers and inspectors. For a long time supervisors had complained of transportation difficulties, so each inspection unit was provided with cars. The following *Table* 16 shows the inspection results:

Table 16. Inspection results (1995/96-1999/2000)

	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/2000
Principals	5	30	68	50	19
Teachers	780	1740	3601	1902	1416

Source: Direction de l'éducation préscolaire et de l'enseignement élémentaire, Ministry of Education.

During the first few years of the intiative, supervision of teachers was especially attentive. In only two years the number of teachers inspected quadrupled and the number of principals inspected was multiplied by 13. Performance during 1997-98 was very satisfactory with regard to teachers (the norm required the 111 inspectors to supervise 2875 teachers). Nonetheless, supervision of principals was the weak link in the chain and has remained unchanged over time (with an average of 575 principals to be inspected each year).

School organization

With the new monitoring instruments and achievement-oriented approaches, school organization has been changing. Improvements have been made in teaching personnel, school projects, partnerships, and opening up the school to a broader environment.

School projects: Everyone in education agreed that schools needed to change. In most cases, change came about by designing well-structured projects on the basis of a global analysis of problems confronting school development and drawing up realistic action plans. The job descriptions required that each school work together with the community to establish its development goals. In most of the schools visited (28 out of 33) a project document had been drawn up in cooperation with the teaching staff. Occasionally, the document was prepared in collaboration with the community. However, a

lack of resources and the ambitious nature of many goals often slowed their implementation.

Pedagogical teams: The idea of "pedagogical teams," which had limited currency in Senegal's schools, suddenly got a boost when the job descriptions introduced the notion of achievement-oriented results. It became clear that any one teacher or principal could not achieve results alone but required a coordinated effort by all. A sense of school spirit began to develop and, in many cases, a desire to share and work together to make improvements also emerged. Teacher groups (*cellules d'animation pédagogique*) and other professional exchange groups have become more active and involved with quality circles in certain districts and schools.

Partnerships: In keeping with the recommendations in the job descriptions, various partnership initiatives were undertaken to increase resources and apply them more efficiently to school development. A new sense of cooperation, consultation, and information sharing began to appear, which is still spreading throughout schools and districts. Thus, alongside non-governmental organizations, parent-teacher associations, sports and cultural organizations, schools are receiving support from local associations through their city halls and rural communities. Contracts that make each member of the partnership accountable to the others are allowing joint projects to be put in place. In March 1997, a federal association was inaugurated as a result of a concerted national effort. Some 20 partners at the operations level continue to meet each month for stimulating exchanges about how best to support their schools.

Opening the school to the community: After Basic Education Week was established, the process of opening schools to the community accelerated rapidly. Open house activities, welcoming community members into management committees, and involving school alumni—these kinds of marketing initiatives created more dynamic exchanges between communities and schools. Thanks to the implementation of observable and measurable activities, described in user-friendly terms, and the involvement of local people in planning and implementation, communities discovered that school doors were finally open to them.

The call for active involvement of community partners helped raise their awareness of the contextual factors that influence student performance. It also allowed communities to participate more effectively in furnishing and maintaining their schools and improving working conditions. Groups supporting the advancement of women made an exceptional contribution to increasing enrollment of girls.

Professionalism of the actors

Monitoring by using job descriptions helped strengthen the professionalism of teachers, principals, and inspectors. By encouraging debate on basic principles and ways of achieving the goals inherent in each job category, the initiative also created an innovative spirit in managing classes, schools, and school districts. These forward-looking attitudes, combined with the measures in place at all levels, reinforced the emerging sense of professionalism among teachers and other school personnel, which, if it is maintained, could radically change the face of primary school education in the near future.

In the hope of sustaining these changes teacher training colleges and the École Normale Supérieure, which trains inspectors, have integrated a module on job descriptions into their syllabi. Newly-appointed school principals benefit from short-term training opportunities, while those already in posts benefit from the on-site teacher groups. Both reinforce the vision and professionalism of actors in education. The stock-taking seminars offer inspectors a special opportunity for exchanging ideas and learning from each other.

By emphasizing reflection on practice, offering tools for action, developing a common language, and transforming experience into knowledge, the monitoring measures have led to the creation of regular cooperation and a new basis for professionalism.

Assuming responsibility

Contrary to common practice in the past, when nobody assumed responsibility for their actions, monitoring by job descriptions creates a sense of individual accountability at the same time it rewards collective responsibility. In fact, the whole notion of responsibility has bounded ahead in primary education because of each organization's obligation to achieve results and report back, regardless of its place in the chain of command.

Just because each actor can refer to a model of behavior and is aware of the need to take stock and achieve results does not mean that new behaviors have become standardized. On the contrary, the actors have greater freedom to define the actions they feel are most appropriate and effective for achieving desired outcomes.

Producing tools and instruments

The introduction of monitoring through job descriptions has encouraged development of many tools that are easy to pass along to larger groups. Annex 3 describes these tools and others discovered during school visits

and inspections. The latter were developed to answer specific needs, usually after close examination of job requirements. For example, NGOs like the Paul Gerin Lajoie Foundation, Aid and Action, and Proares have drawn up action plans and monitoring guidelines. These documents have inspired teacher training institutions to draw up their own classroom and school observation tools to help improve teacher training.

Constraints

Implementation of the monitoring measures meant overcoming a number of obstacles and constraints.

Conservatism of the teaching corps resistance, and unions: The education system is often viewed as a conservative and intractable bureaucracy. This makes innovation difficult, and the introduction of the monitoring measures was no exception. Despite a participatory approach to planning, organizing, and implementing, teachers' unions engaged in heated debate about the underlying values of the initiative (some leftist unions claimed it was inspired by liberalism and questioned its relevance to civil service). They questioned the outcomes sought (some claimed it was an underhanded way of removing non-achieving staff), the means of implementation (union objections were not responded to), and consequences for teachers (exploitation of workers and strengthening of hierarchical control). The unions were especially anxious about the fate of actors whose performance might be judged inadequate, although paradoxically they had always presented themselves as the defenders of quality education. In the beginning, several unions that had not read the background documents carefully orchestrated a denunciation campaign. Without seeking a confrontation, the Ministry took the time to explain the values and spirit of the reforms, while putting the accent on "standards of behavior" that would improve school management. This approach helped to quiet things down enough to be able to promote the reform on the basis of reciprocal engagement and a personal and voluntary commitment to change. Education authorities in the regions and districts took charge of building awareness and explaining the details of the reform at the grass roots level.

Weakness of local level staff's negotiating skills: Prudent use of local level staff (inspectors and principals) to ensure that the reform messages were communicated at ground level gave mixed results. Education is a field in which professionals have a great deal of autonomy and are not subject to strict control in their daily activities. Efforts to disseminate information about reform measures had mixed results. Some individuals used ideological arguments to justify their resistance to change (often the militant unionists); others were simply not motivated to change, but most important, reform

efforts were hampered by the weak negotiating skills of and lack of preparation by inspectors and principals.

In some places this weakness thwarted the active participation of communities and partners in the collective effort to improve school outcomes and develop successful projects.

Lack of training for managing by outcomes: The implementation of reforms relied more on making information available than on short-term training. Putting their faith in the belief that innovation would occur in a flexible and non-linear manner through will alone, reform organizers underestimated the complexity of the changes they were requesting. Without giving adequate attention to promoting the values, principles, methods, and processes that lay beneath expected outcomes, it was not always possible to ensure the desired changes.

Lack of communication and awareness. Even though a great effort was made, using flyers and circulars from the Director of Preschool and Primary Education, to explain the duties of each actor, these offices paid insufficient attention to communication and awareness-building. Today most people acknowledge that change is not brought about simply by a decree from the top; yet the limitations of what high-level officials can do is not a justificaiton for those in charge or their agents to sit back and wait for things to happen once the path forward has been identified. The presence of mid-level staff could have been better used to inform and sensitize people during the first year of the reform. Also, training programs could have been planned with more attention to helping reticent or neutral actors understand the issues, to join up, and to act.

Difficulties in promoting measures to motivate teachers: Teachers, like school principals, play a central role in transforming and improving education. But one must also consider their working conditions, other pressures, and attitude when asking them to change. Asking them to abandon—or even modify— their daily routines and to give up tried and true practices meant asking them to contribute even more effort and attention than before. The incentives for these changes were inadequate and, indeed, elitist. Even if organizing a Basic Education Week can shake things up, it is not in itself capable of creating a critical mass of sustained will for change. Oddly enough, it was the publication of results in the press that whipped many actors into shape by hurting their pride. As a result they were moved to act so as to avoid being fingered by the national community as being among the poor performers.

Inadequate logistical support: Good organization is necessary to provide rigorous and methical monitoring in all schools across the country. Most of all, one needs logistical tools for collecting information, correcting deviations from the plan, and responding quickly to calls for help. As it was, the resources available for organizing capacity-building seminars to implement the job

descriptions, build awareness, and develop a culture of self-assessment in guiding quality learning were often pitiful in comparison to the announced intentions. How, for example, is it possible to meet the supervisory needs of teachers when there is only one inspector for 235 teachers? It takes a rich imagination to figure this out.

Institutional instability and weak measures for maintaining reform: The successive departures in 1998 of the Minister of Basic Education and the Director of Preschool and Primary Education, both of whom had been advocates for change, created a pause in the initiative. For one thing, the new authorities did not adopt the reform measures. For another, there had not been enough time to produce advocates who persevere and keep up the pressure. Results stagnated and even declined in some instances. Certainly the stock-taking seminars are still going on, and a Basic Education Week is organized each year with ever more pomp (it has a larger budget and more partners to support it). Nonetheless, the spirit of innovation is gradually running out of steam, having been reduced to the most banal of festive occasions. The stock-taking seminars, which were supposed to help maintain the reform, instead have become debates on topics that do not allow reflection on the implementation and improvement of the monitoring measures that might have helped the education system of Senegal to continue to improve.

Lessons learned and keys to success

Senegal's experience with this initiative has much to teach us. The lessons developed here could be useful when transferring our experience to other environments.

Political will: The implementation of education reform requires an inspired monitoring strategy, effective measures to manage and operate the program, fluid maintenance mechanisms (for regulating and reactivating the system), plus measures for interacting and communicating with the communities, other systems, and relatively dynamic interest groups. All these elements must be organized around a core of strong political will. Those at the highest level play a symbolic role that marries the different stakeholders to the idea of change and creates the values and energy that keep the fire alive. Both the message from the President of the Republic and the personal follow-up by the Minister of Basic Education were determining factors in implementing the reform.

Institutional stability: Major changes take place over time and under stable conditions. This assertion is true everywhere and often explains the frequent inertia and returning to zero that has occurred in many African systems of education, where political and bureaucratic stability is not always the norm. However, unless there is a miraculous end to numerous staff rotations, au-

thorities must decide how best to carry, on even after the departure of key people. Most planning assumes that political and strategic resources will be stable, and gives little attention to alternate ways of minimizing the dependence of reform measures on one person or a group of people.

The importance of developing a network: One response to the need for stability over time would be to broaden the base of the pyramid through decentralization and to provide extensive training of local-level actors. It is difficult to generalize or sustain innovation without having a well-organized network. The network can be envisioned as a tree with multiple branches. Horizontally the branches represent specializations, such as management and operations, engineering, training, monitoring and assessment; vertically, the trunk would be filled out with organizational forms that allow horizontal branching to extend from the bottom to top in an effective and coherent way.

Minimum resources and economics: Reform requires at least a minimum level of resources. Change has a cost, which must be assessed throughout the entire process, from conception, production, and distribution of tools, to training, awareness-raising, monitoring, and evaluation. If existing resources have been wisely allocated and used, then accommodating new needs should be no problem. If the will to change exists, initiative and creativity are the greatest forces for producing results; a lack of means should never become an alibi for not undertaking reform.

Motivational measures: The critical importance of motivating actors requires that all those engaged in the reform understand the opportunities for personal and professional development that it engenders. Although rarely highlighted, such incentives as professional mobility, career development, and eventual promotion should be used to motivate the actors.

Negotiations to broaden the base of actors: Reform must be negotiated at every stage. Points of resistance must be identified and compromises made that will ease the acceptance of reform by all actors. This preliminary effort plays an important role in getting reform going and establishing the responsibilities of the various actors. The stock-taking and exchange events often allow people to change their minds about something that was not acceptable at first.

Media coverage: The use of the media to communicate results is an effective way to engage actors and brings about individual and collective commitment. Clearly, the desire to maintain a good image is common to most people.

Monitoring and assessment to point the way toward success: For the reform to move ahead, the process must be structured and energized. This scripted activity must take place within a framework of well-defined indicators of progress, their means of verification, a timetable and specification of responsibilities, reports on progress, and means of using these reports to influence future

actions. The exercise must happen at all levels. It should, for greater effect, have some oversight by an external body. This triangular process helps to ensure that objectives are grounded in the perceptions of a range of actors on results and the factors determining them.

The culture of evaluation and self-evaluation must be implanted everywhere if an education system is to respond effectively to a constantly changing environment that increasingly demands high-quality school outcomes and transparency in the process that leads to them.

Other factors of success: A number of other lessons can be drawn from the experience of the initiative:
- Building up a capacity for strategic planning that has adequate autonomy and solid management experience;
- Everyday actions that motivate and promote accountability, involvement, interaction, and action-based research;
- Formalized and identifiable measures for monitoring, sustaining, disseminating and assessing the state of the reform;
- A local environment endowed with opportunities to overcome constraints using internal resources and innovative initiatives for motivating all the actors.

Conclusions

Structural and organizational reforms will be neither effective nor efficient unless they are immersed in an atmosphere of individual and collective determination to succeed, which alone is capable of creating the synergy needed to promote the best education for all, that is, education that ensures progress, freedom, justice, and solidarity. The measures for monitoring schools through job descriptions should be seen in this light. They rely as a last resort on the shock value of "the image effect" (*l'effet image*), that is, they seek to advertize, both internally and externally, innovations, achievements, positive developments and role models, which, when they change, lead the actors to change their behavior.

A positive image of schools can and should be cultivated, for this plays a decisive role in the institution's future. If neglected, schools deteriorate and destabilize society. If cultivated, they help support development. For this reason everyone associated with the education community should try to restore the image of schools, which today is so tarnished. But to be effective all stakeholders must feel involved.

A sense of participation can only result from dialogue that is truly constructive and responsive. It must be informed by a clear and determined vision of a school system that demands quality and transparency and that channels

its human resources (teachers and school principals) towards a school of achievement for all.

Contrary to those who would promote the use of complex tools for regulating situations that are complex, the initiative of monitoring basic education through job descriptions chose to enter into complexity with tools that are simple but that have become more refined as time goes by.

Having gathered all these elements together, we felt the experience of Senegal is exemplary and that it should be examined and shared with other specialists in education.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Job descriptions for inspectors, teachers and school principals ⸻

Described here in fairly detailed form are the job descriptions that were drawn up in collegial fashion for inspectors, school principals, and teachers. These documents were meant to be summaries, easily read, with their content organized around action verbs indicating the tasks to be performed by each of the three sets of actors. Also, because the professional duties of the actors overlap, the job descriptions are linked to each other both logically and functionally. One person's tasks feed naturally into the others' tasks, and with them the need to cultivate a spirit of cooperation, communication, and partnership.

Job description for inspectors in public education

Managing and developing education within a new context of regionalization and decentralization requires that the traditional mission of the national inspection unit (IDEN) be strengthened with regard to supervision, training, organization, planning, coordination, motivation, and assessment. This is all directed towards attaining two main objectives:
- Increased access to school (thus contributing to the achievement of universal education)
- Improved quality and effectiveness of education.

Inspection and supervision
As part of their inspection visits and supervisory role, each public education inspector is expected to:
- Conduct 30 inspections per year, of which 25 are visits to teachers and five are visits to principals
- Make use of the class visit reports drawn up by school principals
- Produce at the beginning of each school year a schedule of visits to teachers
- Produce an inspection and monitoring work plan for the year
- Produce a yearly training schedule for school principals and teachers.

Training, leading, and research
In order to strengthen teaching effectiveness, improve school results, reduce dropout and repetition rates, and increase participation in training activities, public education inspectors must conduct:
- Two training seminars a year
- Two pedagogical meetings (discussion around a topic) a year

- Two study days (to develop or present research results) or one conference a year
- Three visits per quarter to cultural and pedagogical study groups
- A training activity for any teacher who scores less than 9/20
- One research activity every two years related to educational issues, with the purpose of producing something new or making adjustments to an existing program
- Three classes to prepare candidates taking professional exams.

Organization
Inspectors are expected to carry out the following duties:
- Define priorities of the district inspectorate (IDEN) and assign tasks among members in accordance with the calendar due-dates
- Organize measures for monitoring all parties (school principles, IDEN, teachers) by planning school and class visits, meetings, assessment and administrative follow-up
- Organize tests and competitive examinations.

Planning
The following tasks will be carried out:
- Draw up a five-year district development plan
- Make an annual plan of all activities in the coverage area (time and location)
- Count the number of pupils in school and estimate the numbers who should be enrolled (by town, rural area and neighborhood)
- Help increase school enrollment rates and draw up a five-year prospective table (showing number of classrooms to be constructed or renovated, numbers of teachers and inspectors necessary, furniture and equipment needed).

Rational deployment of resources
Inspectors should watch out that human and other resources at their disposal are used in a rational way:
- Teaching personnel
- Credits for the IDEN (inspectorates), primary and elementary school.

Monitoring
Inspectors are also responsible for seeing that:
- Registration and administrative document are kept up to date
- Preventive and required maintenance of buildings and furniture is done.

Social mobilization and sources of funding
The following activities should be implemented in order to build a partnership and involve the local community:

- Draw up an annual communication plan
- Identify and organize available sources of funding among various social and development partners
- Encourage community participation in the educational effort
- Seek out supplementary financing to meet school needs
- Develop strategies to encourage school enrollment
- Strengthen advocacy for enrolling and keeping girls in school.

Coordination and motivation

In creating synergy and convergence of actions, the inspection staff should:
- Coordinate all school benefits
- Organize meetings with school principals, local administers, and social and development partners
- Promote pedagogical and structural innovation
- Draw up strategies for promoting all activities of benefit to the school
- promote and supervise school-related activities.

Evaluation

Inspectors are responsible for evaluating the smooth functioning and implementation of all internal activities:
- School operations (rate of implementation of training and supervision, social mobilization)
- Performance by inspectors, principals, teachers, and partners
- Effectiveness of implementation of school projects
- Outcomes of district development plans for education
- Student performance, as measured by improved pass rate of primary school certificate exams and repeat rate reduced (down to 10%).

Job description for school principals

The principal is the most important link in revitalizing schools: therefore the principal should:

Watch that…
- School facilities are functional and welcoming
- Quality goals have been defined
- Administrative documents (attendance record, inventories, class visits, medical visits, teacher counseling records) are kept up to date
- Material and human resources are used efficiently and effectively
- Statistics for the previous five years on gender, promotion, repetition, drop-out, exams, and enrollment are available and usable
- Archives are safe and secure
- Teachers, students, and the community remain fully committed

- Teacher solidarity is reinforced
- Order and discipline are maintained
- Class schedules are maintained
- Punctuality is observed by students and teachers alike
- Information circulates
- School reports are submitted to superiors
- Working conditions are improved
- School premises are furnished and secure
- School-related activities are well organized.

Establish…
- An active pedagogical team
- A Teachers Group for teaching and cultural events
- A management committee that gets the community involved
- Measures for preventive maintenance of facilities, furniture and equipment.

Organize…
- Every two weeks a teaching and cultural event
- Twice a term a meeting with the community to discuss school problems and student performance
- Frequent exchanges among teachers at the same and different levels
- Ways of promoting the school and opening it up to the outside
- Training, supervision, and follow-up activities to support education and learning
- Monthly meetings of the pedagogical team to review student performance and strategies for improving it.

Implement…
- Progressively with the pedagogical team those conditions that will help achieve a 50% pass rate on primary certificate exams
- Measures to reduce the failure rate to 10% at most
- Ten hours of supervision per week for teachers; visiting at least two teachers per week
- A space reserved for discussion about teaching and learning methods.

Post…
- Class schedules
- The staff list
- Lists of students and school equipment
- The Principal's schedule
- The Principal's job description.

Participate in…
- Training sessions for school principals
- Making the whole school cooperative function smoothly.

Contribute to…
- Social mobilization and organization of Basic Education Week
- Strengthening advocacy of enrolling and maintaining girls in school
- Developing, implementing, and evaluating the school plan
- Helping local people obtain family identify papers by registering new births in time.

Monitor and sign…
- Class preparation notebooks at least one day in advance
- Class rotation schedules at least once a week
- Monthly records
- Lesson plans for each class each week
- Writing composition notebooks.

Propose…
A system of staff merits and demerits.

Job description for teachers

It is the teacher's role to provide instruction and knowledge. The teacher's mission is to train tomorrow's citizens and, in particular, to supervise learning activities and initiate the student in cultural and civic values. Even though he or she cannot control all resources, the teacher is expected to help students have:
- Their own reading book
- An arithmetic book shared with one other pupil
- Four notebooks at least (homework, lessons, composition, writing)
- A slate
- Suitable individual material.

In addition, in order to achieve what the school has every right to expect, the teacher has a duty

To participate in
- Teaching and cultural sessions
- Teacher training sessions
- School related activities
- Developing and operating school cooperatives.

To see that students
- are involved in school-related activities
- respect school rules
- participate in the beautification and functioning of the school.

To do the following
- Ask students to do at least three written exercises a day in French, mathematics, and an elective subject
- Require a revision of work in each discipline at least once every two weeks
- Have pupils write an essay at least every two months
- Have weaker students do supplementary exercises
- Assign homework
- Correct and return homework on a regular basis
- Prepare written class outlines and submit them at least a day in advance.

To keep up to date
- A class assignment notebook
- A class record
- A counseling notebook
- A visitor's notebook
- A teaching notebook
- A roll-call record
- An evaluation notebook
- A research notebook (for recording pedagogical experiments and new teaching tools).

To post
- Class schedules
- Activities schedules
- A list of students and statistics (broken down by age, gender, years of schooling)
- The monthly attendance record
- An organization and maintenance roster and list of tasks assigned to students
- A list of songs and recitations
- Class records detailing numbers of students, furniture, teaching materials
- School rules and regulations
- The teacher's job description.

To contribute to
- Reducing the failure rate to a minimum of 10%
- Improving the school ambiance
- Order and discipline at school
- Making school healthier and more hygienic
- Improving performance by students and teachers
- Reducing absenteeism and tardiness
- Respecting student work time
- Promoting relations with the local community
- Increasing access to school for girls.

Annex 2. Basic Education Week _____

The philosophy, goals and organization of Basic Education Week are described here.

Objectives of the week

- Create a sense of identity in each school
- Consolidate relations between the school and the community
- Acknowledge those who have distinguished themselves by their work and achievements
- Promote grass-roots annual school development programs
- Open schools to the broader community by organizing cultural, sports, and academic events
- Mobilize resources to improve the school environment and student performance through construction projects, painting, renovating desks and classrooms, installing libraries
- Strengthen demand for education in order to increase enrollment.

How it is organized

- The focus is on decentralization and accountability
- Each school organizes its own events
- District and regional structures are expected to lend support and follow local activities
- Each year one region is selected as a national showcase: it receives a lot of media support
- The various partners (NGOs, unions, PTAs, cultural and athletic associations, women's groups) are closely involved in all phases of organizing Basic Education Week.

Activities

- Each school sets up a committee to decide on activities. The activities listed below appeared in a number of different school reports:
- A discussion forum on a school-related topic
- Exhibition of student work and school achievements
- Open house
- Competitions and sporting events
- Sharing the school development plan.

Participation

The list of participants in Basic Education Week includes:
- The pedagogical team
- Students
- Sports clubs and cultural associations
- Unions
- PTAs
- Women's groups
- NGOs
- Municipal and local groups
- Alumni associations.

Participation takes many forms: physical, intellectual, material, and financial. Resources are managed in collegial fashion and in most cases are turned over to a management committee.

Resources

Identification of needs depends on the organization and activities of each school. Raising funds is usually one of the first tasks of the management committee, which is set up three months before the event. It is the committee's responsibility to explore potential sources of support from outside. Low-cost events and activities are generally favored.

A representative planning calendar

Setting up of the activities planning committee	15 February
Preparations	15 February – 15 May
Basic Education Week	21 – 27 May
Evaluation	01 – 10 June
Report on activities	10 – 20 June

Partnerships

Partnership is a pillar of Basic Education Week. All partners can contribute to innovation and become involved in activities, especially awareness raising, technical, logistical, material, or financial support.

Communication and advocacy
Each region, each district, and each school should draw up a communication plan. It should identify the goals, strategies, information channels and persons in charge of delivering the information. Regional radio networks and local media are expected to pitch in.

Follow-up and supervision
The district inspectorates are the lynchpin of Basic Education Week in terms of motivating people, guiding activities, monitoring, and supervising. They are expected to help schools implement their programs.

A table of statistics is installed in each establishment so that the impact of the Week can be measured from year to year.

At the regional level, it is the academic inspectors who are responsible for coordinating and monitoring the school week activities..

Annex 3. Monitoring Tools

Here is a list of the various monitoring tools created:
* A flyer on the teacher's job description
* A flyer on the principal's job description
* A flyer on the inspector's job description
* A flyer on how to open schools
* A flyer on how to close schools
* A checklist for the teacher's job description
* A checklist for the principal's job description
* A checklist for the inspector's job description
* A flyer on how to organize Basic Education Week
* A flyer on the school and its partners: elements for discussion
* A flyer on social mobilization for good citizenship in aid of education
* A guide for drawing up a school plan
* A new inspection slip for teachers and school principals.

Other monitoring tools were discovered during inspections and school visits:
* A model letter for awarding merits and demerits
* A grid showing operational status of job descriptions
* A slip for class visits

- A slip for visits by the principal
- A grid showing overall performance by teachers and principals.

Annex 4. Organizations and people met _____

Academy inspectors
Diourbel
District inspectors
Kébémer
Thiès district
Greater Dakar
Guédiawaye
School principals
École de Lalane
Liberté VI A
Cheikh I. Faye
Parcelles assainies 9
Teachers
6 female teachers (Thiès, Kaolack, Louga)
6 male teachers (Dakar, Saint Louis, Kolda)
Parent-Teacher Associations
Liberté VI A
Lalane
Cheikh I. Faye
NGOs
Paul Gérin Lajoie
Aide et Action
Proares

Communication for Education and Development: Enhancing Stakeholder Participation and Commitment

by Alfred E. OPUBOR

Introduction: Why communication?

Education has become everyone's business. Parents, teachers and their unions, students, communities, civil society groups, NGOs, education ministries and government program managers… all have their roles, interests and responsibilities. Increasingly all need to have their say, in an environment in which they may not always have their way. Negotiating the gulf between what each group wants and what it can get from interacting with other groups, is rich soil for communication.

Communication is an inevitable ingredient of the relations among and between education stakeholders .Whether those relations are good or not, constructive or not, will be reflected in how they communicate, just as how they communicate could help in shaping the tone and outcomes of relationships.

Attention to the strategic elements that are involved in communication can help to ensure social relations that are productive, through creating the kinds of environment which favor harmonious development of the education sector.

All partners in education can therefore take deliberate steps to plan and implement communication activities based on an understanding of what promotes, and what impedes, successful collaboration.

This background paper, and the session on Communication for Education to which it contributes are designed to:
- Demonstrate that communication is an essential tool for education policy makers in their quest to go to scale;
- Provide examples of how different forms of communication have been used successfully in enabling dialogue among stakeholders;
- Emphasize the need for a policy and strategic approach to the use of communication to support education in Africa.

Some purposes of communication for education

Communication is about people creating, learning and exchanging meaning.

In the education sector, one of the goals of communication is to assist each stakeholder group to make sense of its roles and responsibilities while seeking to understand and to accept those of others.

Successful partnerships emerge when most of the parties see themselves and the others as moving in the same direction, working for similar interests, sharing the same meanings about educational issues, reforms, programs etc. Mutual trust is a basic requirement and outcome for these relationships. Communication can help build trust.

Awareness of mutual interest, commonalities and building of trust are not 'givens'; they do not just happen, naturally or spontaneously. They can be the result of planned communication.

Communication can serve many functions in partnerships for education, among them:

- *Information*: providing factual statements and explanations about the common enterprise and how the various stakeholders relate to it. Examples include: (i) how a teacher redeployment program will work, who will be affected, when and where it will be applied; (ii) school enrollments by sex and region; (iii) the performance of schools on national examinations; (iv) pupil unit cost by region; (v) student-teacher ratios by region. Such information levels the playing field when it comes to information used in their dialogue.
- *Dialogue and confidence-building*: ensuring that all the various points of view are expressed, providing clarifications and addressing any hesitations about the issues concerned. For example, what do mothers feel about girls' going to school all day? Will teachers lose seniority if moved to other locations? Will government's plan of returning management of primary schools to religious organizations not mean blocking certain groups from attendance? A communication strategy will provide for group meetings, person-to-person discussions, workshops, newsletters, etc. to tackle the various aspects of these kinds of situation, and ensure that major misunderstandings are removed, so that partners can be comfortable with their present and future roles.
- *Consensus*: Once stakeholders are informed and have a chance to express their views, and their worries are addressed adequately, it may be possible to get agreement on lines of action, on schedules, on division of responsibility etc. For example, if targets have been set for girls' education

in a community, who will ensure that girls actually show up in school? If special resources are required for this, how will they be made available? What is the role of parents and families, of religious groups, of education managers in meeting targets? Will they agree to undertake their roles? If sanctions for non-performance are to be invoked, are they understood and accepted by all? A communication strategy will seek ways of effectively managing these issues. It will keep track through monitoring feedback, of the evolution of understandings and the achievement of commonly-decided objectives.

- *Advocacy*: Influential individuals and institutions may be unwilling to change habits of thinking and reacting, and may be inclined to block new ideas, if they consider them threatening or undesirable. Communication can be a means of engaging centers of power and influence to encourage them to 'move' with the times; and to lend their influence to progressive directions. For example, will village traditional rulers and family elders allow girls to continue in school rather than be married off at puberty? How can they be reassured, and thus help to reassure other influentials, that continued schooling will not breed 'irresponsible' wives and mothers? These are advocacy issues, and some of them can be controversial. There are special communication approaches for advocacy; for enhancing the support of influential individuals and groups for proposed changes, which may be in legislation, policies, regulations, programs, cultural values and behavior.

- *Social mobilization*: How can the large numbers of people at the 'grassroots' and periphery be brought into supporting education reforms and programs? For example, how can the EFA 'movement' become acceptable and gain majority support in communities across nations, rather than remain only commitments that Ministers of Education made at international conferences, of no relevance to their people? Communication campaigns and structured programs can be created for involving people at different levels of society in decisions about proposed education programs[1].

Channels and modes of communication

From the uses of communication sketched above, it can be seen that various individuals or groups can initiate communication, and can also be the recipients in a communication situation. Ministries of education often feel that it is their responsibility and role to initiate ideas and programs about education programs for which they would need the collaboration of the other stakeholders. Similarly parents or teachers or religious groups may react to

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1   See Sylvie Cohen, Partnering: A New Approach to Sexual and Reproductive Health, UNFPA, New York, 2001, which says that "Advocacy is also about addressing controversy", p. 83. Chapter Five of this text, pp 81-103, is a useful resumé of gender-aware advocacy strategies, practices and experiences, with examples drawn from the reproductive health literature.

curriculum content (e.g. sexuality education modules) and seek to have the Ministry make changes in line with their home and community values.[2]

Participatory communication, which has proved to be effective in building confidence and ownership, involves frequent interchange among people and groups in communication situations. In other words, it is a mode of communicating in which all the parties concerned should feel able to initiate discussion and to respond freely when addressed, rather than be just passive receivers of other peoples' monologues and commands.

According to Alfonso Dagron: "The main elements that characterize participatory communication are related to its capacity to involve the human subjects of social change in the process of communicating." (Dagron, pp 34-35, 2001). Dagron goes on to enumerate nine" issues that distinguish participatory communication from other development communication strategies." Among these are: horizontal vs. vertical, process vs. campaign, long-term vs. short-term, collective vs. individual, with vs. for, specific vs. massive, people's needs vs. donors' musts, ownership vs. access, consciousness vs. persuasion. These bi-polar opposite terms each describe various ways of communicating, the first in each pair being more favourable to participatory communication (Dagron, pp 34-35, 2001).

Some communication efforts use mass media: press releases, news –bulletins, programs, announcements on radio and television, etc. Some involve group and interpersonal communication through meetings, parent-pupil-teacher conferences, workshops, seminars, rallies, demonstrations, etc. Other communication modalities use institutional channels such as the political/administrative, the school/educational system, development networks, NGOs. Also used increasingly are traditional or socio-cultural channels of communication, involving local opinion leaders, informal groups, indigenous and popular media, such as theatre and festivals, and places and events where people gather regularly, markets, worksites, marriages, naming ceremonies, wake-keepings etc. Other channels are those used in the commercial system for marketing goods and services, for example, bookstores, neighbourhood stores, kiosks.

The most recent opportunities for mass communication are provided by what have been called the 'new information and communication technologies', increasingly in use through e-mail, websites, electronic fora, distance learning and other computer-based applications.

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2 As happened in Kenya with the attempted introduction by the Ministry of Education of a Family Life Education curriculum, containing elements of sexual education, much opposed by a coalition of religious groups and parents, who expressed themselves vocally in newspapers, radio and television and public meetings. The Ministry was obliged to postpone the introduction of the proposed curriculum.

Mass media tend to reach large, undifferentiated audiences, and are useful for information that is of general relevance. In African countries, radio is the mass medium of choice. It is the most widespread, is accessible to most social classes, including the poor and illiterate, as it uses national and local languages and dialects. In many urban areas local and community radios (especially on FM) are creating a new dynamic, focused channel, more targeted to the realities of specific localities. In some communities, these stations have become channels of broad-based dialogue, cutting across social groups and classes, united in their determination to expose and find solutions for local problems and to hold public officials and institutions accountable (Opubor, 1990, pp 42- 51; Opubor 2000, pp 11-24; Dagron, op cit; Akin Fatoyinbo, 1998).

More and more these can be programd through the internet and the world wide web.

Television has been used more in urban areas for reaching policy-makers and the urban and peri-urban elite. It also reaches people in lower socio-economic groups. Video clubs and other viewing opportunities are growing in influence in many urban areas; and their use has been experimented in rural areas for social change programs.[3]

Depending on what is to be communicated, mass media content may be factual (as in news and documentaries) or oriented towards didactic entertainment, to enable people learn and change, while having a good time. Examples such as 'Soul City' show how this can be done in radio and television.[4]

Many African countries have experimented with mass media 'enter-educate' or 'edutainment' approaches for social change programs involving environment issues, voter's registration, HIV/AIDS prevention, family planning, instigating urban-rural migration, censuses etc. (Kone and Sy,1995; Narimon, 1993). Some of these have also used drama and popular culture and traditional arts performances to get their 'message' across.[5]

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3. Video 'clubs', where people, especially youth, pay a small entrance fee to view films in someone's living room, or a room attached to a drinking place, as well as commercial video rentals, are becoming more popular in urban as well as rural areas in Africa.

4. 'Soul City', the South African soap opera and multi-media educational tool is to be the subject of detailed discussions in another session at the ADEA Biennale.

5. K. A. Bame, "The Ghana Concert Party", in A.Opubor (ed) Communication in Rural Africa, Rural Africana, No. 27, Fall 1975; Dagron op cit. pp 163-168 profiles the work of the mobile Network of Educational Theatre, funded by UNICEF, which produces theatrical performances on health and children's rights issues travelling throughout rural communities in Nigeria; see also Opubor 2000, pp 18-19, for a description of the Zimbabwe Association of Community theatre, ZACT; and also chapters 2, 3, 4 of the same for theatre in East and Southern, West, and Francophone Africa.

Why a communication strategy?

Many discussions of communication tend to focus on channels and messages, perhaps because these are the most visible, most controllable, and generally perceived by most people in authority as the source of their 'problems'. But channels and messages constitute only two elements of communication. As shown so far, communication involves various sources and receivers, using various channels to convey various messages to achieve various effects or results.[6] It is really the interaction among all of these elements which should interest the serious communicator, since that is what matters in the final outcome.

A communication strategy attempts to deliberately and consciously use what is known about the various key elements of the communication process, as a system, in order to achieve communication objectives. It is this comprehensive, systemic, purpose-driven framework that is often missing in how ministries and other national institutions communicate with their internal audiences and with those outside their structures.[7]

For example, many ministries of education pay a lot of attention to the mass media. They appoint public relations or press officers whose duties consist mostly of press relations, refuting media misrepresentation, and making sure that the ministry is favourably mentioned on radio, television and in newspapers and magazines.

However, a lot of the communication that is required to support education sector issues and programs may involve constituencies which cannot be easily reached by mass media . There may be need to address small groups for which interpersonal communication is more appropriate than radio or press announcements. Many civil society groups such as NGOs and Parent/Teacher Associations, PTAs, carry out a lot of their communication through interpersonal activities, and have developed expertise in these areas. According to 'lessons learnt' from the COMED training program, "We need to expand understanding of communication and its role in social development, especially in promoting collaboration among partners in education. This includes looking beyond mass media to interpersonal, group and traditional African channels of communication." (Opubor, 2000).

Social mobilization campaigns often require that more than one channel of communication be used at the same time; so focusing on the mass media has its place; but it can often be misplaced. In fact research has shown that the

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6. Communication effects can be short-term or longer term, including : learning, attitude change, behavior change, on the part of individuals, groups or institutions.
7. The example of Mali, presented later, which provides a comprehensive strategy for a national education ministry would appear to be one of the exceptions; though with the COMED training program, it is hoped that these strategies will become more common.

most successful communication efforts require multi-media, multi-channel approaches. Specifically, the combination of mass media and interpersonal channels is effective for linking information-giving with the possibility of producing behaviour change. As Cohen, 2000, advises from lessons learned: "Use multiple communication channels to create synergistic effect. Effective… programs use several channels to deliver their messages. Research shows that individuals that are exposed to a message from multiple sources – mass media and community-based media and interpersonal communication – are more likely to take action than those exposed to a message from a single source." (Cohen, p.108, 2000). [This means that, like several other stakeholder groups, ministries of education should see themselves as managers of multidimensional/multi-media encounters, and therefore include interpersonal communication more explicitly in the job descriptions, and professional development of their Communication Officers].

Communication for supporting education policies in Africa needs to be based on a more strategic approach. It should pay greater attention to the needs, resources and expertise of the various stakeholders, and explore the use of the multiplicity of channels and modes of communication which may prove effective for them, as they seek to promote their relations with other education stakeholders.

To ensure the effectiveness of communication strategies for education, ministries and other education stakeholders may require the collaboration of public and private communication agencies whose expertise is the design and implementation, including the proper costing, of communication strategies.[8]

Elements of a communication strategy for education

A communication strategy may derive from a communication policy, which is a statement presenting general objectives, guidelines and standards which should guide the use of communication for achieving the development goals of a state or the strategic goals of an institution.

The communication strategy is a framework that combines the communication interventions which are considered as necessary for achieving the specific changes in knowledge, attitude and behavior on the part of relevant individuals and groups. A communication strategy operates within a time frame, taking into account available material and human resources.

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8. The COMED training workshops in Yaounde and Harare in 2000, took Communication Officers from ministries of education on field visits to advertising/marketing/communication consulting firms, where the work of these firms was presented. There was general appreciation among participants that such private sector firms could make valuable contributions to educational promotion as they had been doing to other government programs in health or election publicity.

The communication strategy development and implementation process may be visualized in F*igure* 6: (Kone, 2001; Cohen, 1992).

Figure 6. Steps in the strategy development and implementation process

Situation analysis/audit
- Problem to be solved
- Context of the intervention
- Stakeholders
- Target population
- Communication context

Planning of the communication strategy
- Communication issues
- Goals and objectives of communication
- Target groups
- Key messages
- Channels, media and support materials

Planning of operational phase of the strategy
- Institutional framework for implementation
- Annexes: production and training
- Planning of activities
- Budgeting
- Monitoring and evaluation plan

Implementation of the strategy
- Establishment of the institutional framework
- Creation and operation of alliances
- Resource mobilization
- Production of communication materials
- Field activities

Monitoring and Evaluation of the Strategy
- Monitoring
- Evaluation
- Review

Some African examples of communication for education[9]

There is a growing body of information on recent attempts to employ communication strategies, techniques and processes as conscious elements of interventions in support of educational policies and their implementation. A few examples are described in this section (*See Annex* 1).

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9. Some of these cases will be more fully presented at the ADEA Biennial Session on Communication for Education.

Table 17. National communication strategies to support education

Interpersonal Communication	Mass Media	Multi-media	Comments
Benin Parliamentary Dialogue on Education	**Ethiopia** Mass Media Agency • radio broadcasts • also recorded cassettes for groups **Kenya** Newspapers • weekly pullout education sections, e.g. Blackboard (Daily Nation newspaper) **South Africa** • press • radio • television • e-mail • internet **Tanzania** Ma-Ma ; • Environment Awareness • television series • video magazine for rural video clubs and schools **Uganda** Newspapers • weekly pullout education section e.g. Education Vision (New Vision newspaper) **Pan African News Agency, PANA** News agency dispatches • e-mail • internet Inter Press Service, IPS **News agency dispatches** • e-mail • internet	**Guinea** Deployment of Teachers • interpersonal contacts/ meetings/ discussions • radio(national, regional, rural) • newspaper • newsletters/bulletins **Mali** Ministry of Basic Education Communication Strategy • interpersonal contacts • informational/ informal meetings • field visits • workshops • training sessions • radio • television • group video • brochures **Nigeria** UBE Social mobilization • working sessions • traditional/social structures • public rallies • public lectures • workshops • institutional visits • press conferences • radio • television • press	The **Guinea** and **Mali** and **Nigeria** cases are examples of comprehensive, articulated strategies; but perhaps **only Mali seems to have** enunciated a sectoral communication **policy** for education. South Africa probably also has such a policy, derived from the general national public-sector policy on communication; but it is not clear if the Ministry/ Department of Education communication strategy involves regular use of non-mass- media communication. Even though the **Tanzania** and **Ethiopia** cases are classified as 'mass media', the use of videos in rural 'clubs' and schools could also be accompanied by a social process, as is habitual in ' media discussion forums'; which would make them 'multi-media'; which is to indicate that these classifications are just for illustration of general approaches. Most action on the ground tends to be multi-media seemingly by default, rather than strategic design.

Benin: National parliamentary dialogue on education

Before introducing new legislation on educational reform, the Commission on Education, Culture and Employment, of the Parliament of Benin, decided on a wide-ranging consultative process to obtain the views of the people, in May 2000. Traveling all over the country, they met with communities and

citizens groups and various stakeholders, even in the remotest regions, in the nation's twelve provinces. According to a field report, "The purpose of the consultation was to raise awareness of the proposed law on the future direction of education, to gather suggestions and reactions, and to elicit the concerns of various actors in education….Representatives of the main actors in the education sector (students, parents, members of the teachers' unions, university lecturers, NGOs, and others) were invited. The hearings were well attended, with an average of about one hundred people at each".

The hearings were basically face-to-face group meetings. The media were kept away to avoid politicizing the consultation, and to emphasize the Commission's heterogeneous membership. What did the process achieve? The report sees the results as going beyond the education sector: "For nearly ten years the country has sought to ground its political life in a spirit of consensus and dialogue… The hearings are a perfect example of what the people and their elected officials have attained. The important issues of education have facilitated the practice of a democratic dialogue among elected officials and participants. Finally, participants' propositions and suggestions have given new impetus to the understanding of education issues in Benin." As a communication exercise, the consultations were regarded as ' a revolution' in Benin, because it was the first time that Members of Parliament were canvassing public opinion outside election campaigns! The success of this experience has encouraged discussion of possible introduction of the idea to other countries in the region. (Dovoedo, pp 11-12, 2000).

Guinea: Deployment of teachers (Sow, ADEA Newsletter, pp 15-16, 2000).
In 1992–93, Guinea redeployed teaching staff and administrators across the country. This move increased enrollments in urban and rural schools, at no additional cost. In support of the exercise, the Ministry of Education included communication as part of its general strategy. The communication objectives were: firstly, to reach all groups to be directly affected by the proposed redeployment, i.e. teachers and administrators; education administrators at the central level, regional inspectors, and directors at prefectural and community levels; community representatives and associations of parents and teachers; and secondly a multi-media public awareness campaign based on already existing initiatives. The communication activities included various types of broadcast programs on national, regional and rural radios, enabling key officials responsible for the exercise to provide information and explanations; publications in the government newspaper, as well as dispatches by the national news agency, which carried stories from the regions.

An important strategic feature was that: "Interpersonal communication was the prime means of official disclosure, directly reaching important groups of

people during official gatherings and allowing opportunities for immediate reaction. Interpersonal communication permitted listening and dialogue among skeptical groups, particularly unions and political parties. It directly engaged opinion leaders in NGOs and Parent-Teacher Associations, who proved to be powerful supporters of the deployment plan."

Some of the problems encountered included the lack of credibility of certain spokespersons in communities where did not enjoy support; the limited reach of the national broadcast signal (50 % of national territory), and the consequent need for extensive personal appearances, which proved more costly. Since evaluation of the communication component had not been foreseen, it was not possible to quantify the impact of the measures undertaken.

But it seems to be generally agreed, among those who organized the process, that partnerships with the media and their mobilization, greatly enhanced the achievement of the goals of the exercise. It would have been especially valuable to have had information on the impact of the massive use of interpersonal communication.

Ethiopia: Education Mass Media Agency, EMMA
To complement in-school education programs, the government of Ethiopia established the Educational Mass Media Agency (EMMA) in 1968. The objectives of EMMA have been:
- to train teachers in radio utilization;
- to introduce innovative teaching methods;
- to extend the coverage of vocational training programs, the literacy campaign, correspondence education and rural development programs to as many as possible;
- to provide qualitative education by multiplying the skills of the limited number of professionals;
- to enrich the progressive cultural and artistic life of the broad masses;
- to teach the official language (Amharic) as well as to utilize and develop the languages of different nationalities; and
- to introduce science and technology to broad masses.

EMMA has gone through several changes. Basically designed to support the literacy program of an earlier period which reached 20 million people, EMMA became a vehicle for adult education, with several national radio transmitters and a channel/network devoted exclusively to education programs and a dozen production studios creating education broadcasts in Amharic and regional languages, on development topics.

The programs of EMMA have filled the educational gap for the out-of-school population. The Education Mass Media Agency operates eleven regional radio transmitting stations whose signals cover more than 90% of the country,

providing parallel broadcasting services to the national network controlled by the Ministry of Information; the one concentrating on educational programs in support of pedagogical efforts, the other concerned mainly with news, information and entertainment broadcasts in support of government programs and the political process. Channel 2 on radio is for Adult Education, including work with extension and development agents, covering topics in health and agriculture etc; it involves also use of audio-cassettes in Community Education Centres constructed by communities.

Radio is the most accessible medium of public communication in Ethiopia, with a national penetration of about 63%. There are between five and seven million radio sets in the country, and a listenership of about 30 to 40 million people. Television services follow the same pattern, with a national government-oriented channel, and an educational service for instructional programming. The distribution of radio and television sets shows an overwhelming urban bias, as well as marked differences in regional ownership. While 78% of urban residents owned radio sets, only 22% of people in rural areas did; and television ownership was an entirely urban phenomenon, with over 100,000 sets concentrated mainly in the Addis Ababa area. (PRSD, 1993).

Nigeria: Social mobilization for basic education and literacy[10]
Forty-eight per cent of Nigeria's population (of about 120 million) is illiterate. Therefore the nation's Universal Basic Education (UBE) program, is faced with important challenges. Already there are problems of the high rate of school drop-outs, and the large number of street children; and what to do with the education of nomadic and migrant groups. Girls marry very early in some areas of the country, and they are generally not in school. On the achievement side, about 22.7 million children are expected to be in primary schools throughout Nigeria in 2001, and they are expected to be taught by 585, 000 suitably qualified teachers. Advocacy working visits have also been a feature of the grassroots mobilization for UBE. Working visits have been undertaken to numerous states of the country. Each visit involved meetings with communities and working sessions with a variety of stakeholders, press conferences, public lectures, visits to institutions, and the commissioning of new schools.

Policy changes, the mobilization of resources, support from parents, communities, religious, cultural and civic leaders, local and state governments. ….all of these and more require constant communication, using different media. The most effective approaches have involved communicating in places where people gather: mosques, churches, markets, etc, involving traditional

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10. Information from presentation at COMED Trainers Workshop, Abuja, Nigeria, May, 2001, by Dr. Musa Moda, Federal Director of Social Mobilization for the Universal Basic Education program, UBE.

and religious authorities, chiefs and imams, appealing to cultural values and symbols, in a vast program of social mobilization. It is intended that these approaches which have proved successful in parts of the country for supporting literacy and other education programs in the past, will now be replicated and be scaled up to facilitate achievement of the targets of the UBE program.

Mali: Communication strategy for the Ministry of Education[11]

After the civil unrest, and subsequent change of government in Mali, in 1991, the new leadership was determined to democratize not only national institutions but also the whole development process (and especially the development of education), to link them more closely with the wishes of the people. It was felt that the vertical approach to communication had had its day. The fundamental question had become how to encourage participation, debate and exchange of ideas, and what system needed to be put in place to coordinate efforts at all levels.

The national education authorities felt that a national communication policy for the school was a possible solution and regarded its formulation as crucial. Such a strategy would facilitate understanding among the authorities and the people and enable school administrations and their partners – technical, social and financial – to mutually inform one another about their activities and concerns. For a country such as Mali, which was pursuing a democratic path, a communication policy was indispensable for obtaining the participation of the people and of social partners for the identification and implementation of priority education programs.

During a national workshop in October, 1993, discussions focused on the importance of communication, and a decision was made to create a communication unit within the Ministry of Basic Education. In the establishment of the New Foundation School, a working group on "Information and communication" was formed to provide support to the new communication unit. The mission of this working group was to prepare the information and communication strategies for dealing with the partners of the school and of different national entities. Four technical committees support the work of the working group: 1) a Committee on Electronic and Print media, with responsibility for preparing and implementing information, sensitization and training programs in line with the interests of the Ministry of Basic Education; 2) a Committee on Printing, Drawing and Illustration with responsibility for creating graphics and illustrations for messages on basic education, 3) a Committee on Documentation and Archives for collecting,

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11. Information provided by Dr. Djeneba Guindo-Traore, Ministry of Education, Mali at COMED Trainers Workshop, Abuja, Nigeria, May 2001. See also Annex 2 of this document for graphic summary of the strategy, translated into English by the author.

preserving and managing the documents of the Ministry; 4) a Committee on Public Relations, in charge of organizing the Ministry's internal and external communication activities.

The COMED program

The Communication for Education and Development program in Africa, COMED, was launched in 1998, with the aim of promoting the use of communication to support national education policies and projects in Africa, by helping to develop communication capacities within Ministries of Education and improving media understanding of education issues.

Under the program, a series of sub-regional and national-level training workshops has been held in which over 100 journalists and communication officers of Ministries of Education from 30 African countries participated. These training workshops were held in Cotonou, for West Africa, (13–18 September 1999); in Harare for East and Southern Africa, (16–26 February, 2000); and in Yaounde, for Central Africa and the Indian Ocean, (28 June– 7 July, 2000).

The main objectives of the workshops were to enhance the participants' professional skills and to encourage the development of working relationships between journalists and ministerial communication officers. Another objective was to encourage the creation of regional networks of education communicators. A needs assessment in September 1998, had indicated that education managers and communication officers in ministries of education were distrustful of journalists and of media reports on education, which they considered generally sensationalist. On their part, journalists considered education ministry officials difficult to access and fond of hoarding information of public interest. They felt ministry communication officers put barriers in their way, and that especially, they shielded ministers and top officials from the press. In view of this atmosphere of mutual suspicion, frustration and hostility, the COMED program decided to train journalists and communication officers together, in order to increase their mutual understanding and build trust.

Other activities undertaken under the COMED program included: (i) a pilot national training workshop in Dakar, Senegal in April 2000 for Senegalese education journalists and communicators; (ii) the sponsorship of journalists to attend events related to education, including the ADEA Biennial Meeting and the EFA sub-Saharan Africa Conference in December 1999, the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000, and the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in August 2000 ; (iii) a sub-regional training course in the use of

educational statistics for journalists from some francophone West African countries, in Dakar, in June, 2001; (iv) technical assistance to the Parliament of Benin during the national consultations prior to introduction of legislation on educational reform; (v) assistance to the Fédération Africaine des Associations des Parents d'Élèves, FAPE, in creating a communication strategy and program for its network.

An evaluation was held in Cotonou, (7–9 December 2000), with key partners, to establish lessons learnt and chart future directions for the COMED program. Among its key findings (See *Annex* 3):

> "*Journalists are becoming more conscious of ethical considerations and professional standards in their reporting of education. While this might remove some of the criticism of sensational reporting about education, it may not necessarily eliminate the irritation of education managers, sensitive to close investigative scrutiny or sharp editorial comments.*
>
> *Countries where education reporters and correspondents are organized in a professional group or network tend also to have more structured and less conflictual relationships with communication officers and education news sources, leading to seemingly more continuous, diversified and better-informed coverage of education issues (e.g. Senegal, Kenya and Nigeria).*
>
> *The* COMED *regional workshops, by providing opportunities for journalists and communication officers from the same country to function as a team in preparing certain exercises and reports, and to acquire information about other country situations, seem to have helped to build better mutual appreciation, more collegial and less threatening relationships among them, which hopefully will translate into increased collaboration in communication for education back in their home environment.*"

COMED activities have been funded by ADEA, and by the World Bank through the Norwegian Trust Fund for Education in Africa.

In 2001, the program is also consolidating cooperation among African journalists and communication officers in the education sector through the initiation of an electronic network, and an Internet-based discussion forum. The next phase of the capacity development program involves national workshops for diffusing the COMED training curriculum and for strengthening partnerships and networks at the national level. About six of these are to be held in 2001, with workshops for about 20 countries planned for 2002, resources permitting.

Tanzania: Ma-Ma, a video magazine and television series for environment education[12]

"Mazingira yangu; mazingira yetu [ma-ma]' is "my environment; our environment"

With the advent of television in Tanzania and the proliferation of video outlets around the country, together with the timely revision of the educational system, an environmental television series which addresses essential environmental concerns and challenges to a Swahili speaking audience, can be a very powerful tool for change through awareness building.

Two 30 minute programs will be produced and aired each month on national television and re-edited for distribution to village video outlets and as audio visual material for educational use in schools. The initial run of the series is 12 months.

The goal of this television series is to educate, inform and entertain the Tanzanian public in issues of real environmental significance, and to stimulate action on all levels. It is to drive for action through awareness. The strategy is to take the patient on-going interactive approach. First a problem is highlighted, revealing it to the viewer on a cognitive level, imbuing it with emotional punch by the correct use of the audio and video elements, returning at a later date to show the results once the problem is tackled successfully, and in due course making a significant change in the attitude of the viewer. The television series lays the cornerstone for the development of a general comprehensive environmental informational and educational campaign. The production of an environmentally concerned series has never been attempted in Tanzania, by a Tanzanian company, in Kiswahili for the Tanzanian audience.

Over the past two years, three privately owned television stations have been inaugurated in Tanzania. They are broadcasting to most of the urban centers in the country and the viewing public is escalating rapidly. Most small villages have video viewing parlors or a video screen at the local church or town-halls of which there are hundreds all over the country. Hundreds of thousands of Tanzanians have access to video viewing whether at home, in a social hall, at the church, in school, on buses or at a video club. A network of over 250 outlets will be developed for monthly distribution of the environment education series.

Both during research process and through the two way Network, viewers will be encouraged to participate in the program identifying issues of local importance and by giving feedback on items already broadcast. This is an

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12. Information provided by M.Beatrix Mugishagwe of Abantu Television, Dar-es-Salaam, series producer.

attempt to establish an active relationship between series' hosts and the public. This way the subjects researched and included in the line up will reflect the burning issues of our audience; and changes can be made to the style of presentation if the content is not entirely clear and entertaining. This will also be useful in the continual monitoring and evaluation of the series.

South Africa: Communication policy support for education[13]

In the context of its programs of political and administrative transformations to support post-apartheid change, the government found it necessary to re-examine its public information machinery, especially in the face of the constitutional requirement that all citizens had a right to information. Consequently, a government communication and information system that would also reach the grassroots was designed, on the recommendations of a Task Force set up by the Office of the Deputy President. Key questions related to strategies for communicating development, especially in the rural areas, improving the competence of government communications, promoting media diversity, and government-media relations. Pursuant to a Cabinet decision, Ministries were required to restructure their Ministerial/Departmental communications, including the appointment of a Head of Communications of senior rank, preferably at Chief Director level. Departments participate in the system-wide communication strategy through the Communication Secretariat in the President's Office which coordinates the strategy and chairs the meeting of all Heads of Communications Units. The Head of Communication works closely with, and advises both the Minister and the Director-General, and is in charge of all communication, with specific responsibility for strategy development, supervision of media liaison, coordination of speech-writing, planning and supervision of public opinion and related research, including media monitoring; supervision of publications, advertising and liaison with provinces; and is a member of the departmental management meeting. An element of the government communication strategy is emphasis on the importance and use of information technology.

African news-media for education[14]

The African media are gradually recognizing that education is a major source of interesting news that can sell newspapers. An increasing number of newspapers are paying special attention to education stories, and giving

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13. Information from participants at COMED Regional Consultation on Communication for Education, Cotonou, Benin Republic, September 1998.
14. Some of this information was contributed in Country Reports by participants attending the COMED training workshop for Southern and Eastern Africa, in Harare, Zimbabwe, in February 2000.

them prominence in headlines. Grouped together periodically, education news and features are now packaged into special sections, supplements or pullouts. This is accompanied with specialized advertising by providers of educational services and materials: booksellers, publishers, manufacturers and retailers of science equipment etc. Indeed media managers are beginning to understand that stories about education can be good business!

In Uganda, New Vision, a daily newspaper, provides perhaps a good case study. New Vision has a policy on education that allows the establishment of an education desk. The education desk produces a weekly four- page pull out published every Monday. Appropriately it has the catchy title, Education Vision, which highlights topical issues on education. There are columns by education specialists ; there are opinions and letters and profiles on education matters. Besides that, New Vision also carries supplements on education issues e.g. when children or students are going back to school, it's common to see a "back to school" supplement. Around graduation time, there is a special supplement on graduation, with articles on what opportunities graduates can expect in various fields. New Vision also carries educational news as a normal item in its daily . For example, when the results of the major primary school examinations were released, the paper carried a lead story.

In Kenya, all the five dailies in the country have educational pull-outs. There are weekly supplements devoted specifically to education. The Nation newspaper has a pullout called "Black Board" which appears every Monday. It is usually five pages, sometimes six pages, and carries news stories as well as commentaries on education. Experts from all over the country are invited to express their views, and there are often letters from lecturers, from parents and donors. The pull-out also carries book reviews. The education desk has a staff of two, the education editor and a reporter. They are in charge of the pullout and are responsible for every educational story, and of writing editorial commentaries on every major education story, if required.

This situation is virtually being repeated in several other countries. In Senegal, the major newspapers, Le Soleil, and Sud-Quotidien, and in Nigeria, the Comet, the Guardian, the Vanguard, as well as the News Agency of Nigeria, NAN, have developed special columns, pages, sections and dispatches on education matters, with specialized desks of editors, reporters and correspondents.

Coverage of education by the African electronic media includes regularly scheduled broadcasts on education topics on radio and TV. In addition there have been special programs and phone-in shows where heads of education departments, program managers, and even Ministers participate and respond to questions from the public. The Nigerian Television Authority, NTA, has a special Development Communication Unit, with studios and production equipment, as well as reporters and crew, covering education news on a regular basis.

Increasingly also, news and features on African education are appearing on the Internet. This is not only because the major national newspapers mentioned earlier, now produce on-line versions, but also because of the activities of specialized Africa-oriented news agencies with their own web-sites. Prominent among these are the Pan African News Agency, PANA, headquartered in Dakar; the Inter Press Service, an international third-world development-oriented alternative news agency, whose African head offices are in Harare, and the All-African News Network, based in the United States. All of these organization publish hundreds of stories every week on African issues, and their education rubric is a veritable goldmine of news and opinion about the situation of education on the continent. The variability in the quality of the dispatches, and the scarcity of news from several African countries, present challenges for organizations such as COMED, charged with responsibility for ensuring the improvement of media coverage of African education.

The respective web sites are: www.pana.com, www.ips.com, and www.allafricanews.com

The profiles presented are summarized, in terms of their basic strategic thrusts, in the *following table*:

Scaling up communication for education: towards national EFA campaigns

As the next stage of its capacity development activities, COMED is organizing national training workshops using its recently- finalized curriculum. One of the modules of the curriculum is devoted to the design and development of a national communication strategy to support education. The strategy can be directed either towards the education sector as a whole, or towards a specific education issue or theme or event, for example, girls' education or the national Education For All campaign. The modules are designed to be used by different groups of education stakeholders, working together to define the issues of relevance, and undertaking jointly, the strategy development process for the production of a draft strategy. In general such strategies are comprehensive, involving the eventual participation of different groups in strategy implementation, and the use of different media and institutional structures. The suggestions provided in the modules are as follows:

a)   Creating a national communication strategy for EFA
Participants in consultations to define national communication strategies fro education should include:
Partners in Education, for example
- Ministries: Education, Planning, Agriculture, Industries, Youth, and Justice;
- Beneficiaries of Education: pupils, students in secondary, vocational and

apprenticeship institutions; parents, teachers, educational administrators, proprietors;

- Media and communication professionals:journalists, broadcasters, writers, film editors and producers;
- Civil Society: NGOs, associations, trade unions, opinion leaders, religious and denominational entities, national donors;
- Local and community groups;
- Educational technical service providers: research, teacher training and related institutions;
- Communication Technical services providers: communication, advertising, marketing companies which handle the design, execution and evaluation of communication strategies;
- Media support systems: providers of commercial (or otherwise) of space for diffusion, announcements, press releases and different message types;
- Others: organizations which have competence in communication research, training, materials production;
- Consultants ('freelancers') providing any of the above services.

b)   The role and function of the media
National Media Strategy for the Coverage of Education

The mass media and other communication channels can make significant contribution to the development of education by disseminating information intended to promote awareness and understanding of education issues by the people. This will facilitate dialogue between the authorities and the public and the building of consensus on these issues which, in turn, will lead to popular support for national education objectives and programs.

This can be achieved through continuous, systematic and purposeful coverage of the education sector by the media. Ensuring such coverage requires the development and implementation of a national media strategy on the coverage of education.

The general objective of the strategy will be:
To improve the quantity and quality of information disseminated on education issues by the mass media.

Specific objectives:
1. To promote continuous and systematic coverage of education issues by the media;
2. To promote in-depth treatment of education issues by the media;
3. To strengthen collaboration between the media and the education sector;
4. To create a network on communication for education.

Activities

1. a. Media executives take a policy decision to make the education sector one of the areas of coverage;
   b. Training to promote specialization in education journalism;
   c. Creation of education desks in the editorial departments of media organizations;
   d. Institution of regular columns and pages on education in the print media and programs on education in the electronic media;
   e. Provision of resources to ensure effective and uninterrupted coverage of education;
   f. Establishment of mechanisms to ensure easier and continuous access to information on education by journalists;

2. a. In-depth reporting of developments in the education sector;
   b. Writing of feature and other in-depth stories on education issues;
   c. Interviews with experts on education issues;
   d. Production of documentaries and other special programs on education by the electronic media;
   e. Production of discussion programs on education issues.
   f. Creation of a databank on education information.

3. a. Establishment of a national committee on communication for education, with membership including the ministries of education, information/communication, national planning; media organizations; religious organizations; international partners; and local NGOs;
   b. Creation of close relations and channels for permanent contact between the communication officers in the ministries of education and education journalists;
   c. Regular press briefings by the ministries of education on major issues;
   d. Press conferences on important developments in the education sector.

4. a. Organisation of a workshop to draw up a plan for the setting up of the network, set objectives for it, determine its membership, modus operandi and resources needed, and make arrangements for its launch.
   b. Launch of the network.

Expected results

1. Continuous and systematic coverage of education issues by the media;
2. In-depth treatment of education issues by the media
3. Collaboration between the media and the education sector strengthened;
4. Network on communication for education established.[16]

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16. See also Annex 1.

From strategy to policy and back

While the design of a communication strategy for education could be undertaken as a 'pragmatic' exercise to support programs, it is often the case that communication is seen as a 'once-in-a-while' activity. Usually when there is a crisis, when the press reports an unfavorable story about education on the front page, when a community rises up in anger against education managers or policies, Ministers and permanent secretaries push their press officer to try to fight the fire. If they succeed in managing the situation and containing the damage, they breathe a sigh of relief and forget about communication until the next emergency.[17]

Some governments and private sector institutions have moved beyond this fire-fighting crisis-oriented communication mode. They have found that institutional communication is a management function that should be adequately analyzed and provided for in the structure and resource allocations of their organization. Therefore they have made communication a policy issue and set policy guidelines to regulate the structure and functions of communication in their government departments or enterprises. The government of South Africa has adopted this approach. As indicated earlier, there is in place in that country, a national communication policy, which applies to all government ministries and departments in a uniform manner. From this policy, individual institutions can derive their strategies and operational guidelines for implementing relevant communication programs and activities.

Two of the lessons learnt from the COMED Program so far, may be instructive here:
- Issues of access to information, freedom of expression, the general national policy on information and communication, and specific education sector guidelines on information and communication, influence communication for education. Ministries of Information/Communication are important partners in this regard, since they often determine and manage communication policy.
- Communication has costs: time, expertise, appropriate structures and technologies, including planning and organization. Therefore, communication requires resources: material, human, financial, technical. Many Ministries of Education do not seem to be making investments commensurate with the costs of communication for education, including providing sustainable special units to ensure effective communication with stakeholders and partners (Opubor, 2000).

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17. The lack of a credible institutional framework for communication, poor and unspecified funding, indicating lukewarm support by high officials in many education ministries, was cited as cause for frustration and lack of sustained and successful communication effort by Communication Officers attending COMED training workshops.

In its work with information officers of ministries of education, the COMED Program is attempting to institutionalize a systemic and strategic approach to communication, and to encourage the creation of communication policies to support education and development in government departments and ministries (COMED Curriculum, Module 5, 2001). More and more, communication professionals feel that such a strategic approach to communication should be seen as a support system for the national development effort globally.[30]

It may be that in many countries, a national communication strategy for education will facilitate the creation of a national communication policy in support of development activities. It may also be that a national communication policy, where it exists, will provide the impetus for an education sector communication strategy. Whatever the inspiration or direction, the recognition of communication as a policy and strategic issue is crucial for the development of education in Africa in the decades ahead.

Annexes

Annex 1. Media strategy for education _____

Table 18. Media strategy for education

Objectives	Activities	Duration	Resources	Expected results	Action by
To promote continuous and systematic coverage of education issues by the media	a. Policy decision to make education sector a priority area of coverage;	Immediately		Continuous and systematic coverage of education issues by the media	Media executives
	b. Training in education journalism;	Continuous	Trainers, training material;		
	c. Creation of education desks;	6 months	Editor, reporters, computers, etc		
	d. Regular pages, columns, programs on education;	6 months	Editors, reporters, program producers, computers, etc.		
	e. Provision of resources for coverage;	Continuous			
	f. Establishment of mechanisms for easier access to information	3 months			
To promote in-depth treatment of education issues	a. In-depth reporting of developments in education sector;			In-depth treatment of education issues	Reporters, program producers.
	b. Writing of features and in-depth stories;				
	c. Interviews with experts;				
	d. Production of documentaries;				Ministry. of education and media management
	e. Production of discussion programs;				
	f. Creation of a databank on education information.				
Strengthen collaboration between the media and education sector.	a. Establish national committee on communication for education;			Collaboration between the media and education sector strengthened	Ministry of education and media management
	b. Regular press briefings;				
	c. Press conferences				
To establish a network on communication for education	a. Organise workshop to plan the establishment of the network on communication for education.			Network on communication for education established	Ministry of Education.
	b. Launch the network.				

Annex 2. Mali. Communication Support for the New Basic School _____

Table 19. Mali communication support for the new basic school

Level: Ministry of Basic Education	Operational objectives	Media
1.1 All publics	Sensitization on the nature and objectives of the New School	Television and Radio (drama sketches, discussion programs, talks, demonstrations) in national languages
1.2 National Institutions (National Assembly, Government, Economic, Social and Cultural Council)	Sensitization on the nature and objectives of the New School, and seeking approval and support	Presentations by the Minister and senior officials
1.3 Institutional partners(trade unions, Parents	Sensitization on the nature and objectives of the New School, with special reference to their particular interests	Trade union publications, press kits and other feature articles
1.4 Technical and financial partners	Information, building credibility, advocacy for cooperation	Technical documents, informal meetings, field visits
1.5 Staff of the Ministry of Basic Education and associated Directorates and offices	Information, acceptance and participation; nature and objectives of the New School, and request to serve as information relays	Information meetings, workshops for senior officials
2.1 Influentials, local political personalities, opinion leaders	Information, seeking support, acceptance of project, and serving as information relay	Contacts, public relations
2.2 Teachers	Information, training on the New School	Lectures, training materials and documents
2.3 Communities and local associations	Sensitization, information	Lectures based on concrete examples and cases; local press and radio
2.4 Parents and future parents of school children	Sensitization, information	Local radio (drama sketches, interviews, radio plays, regional recording sessions
3.1 Teachers	Information, approval, training	Lectures, seminars, group work, training, internships)
3.2 Parents and future parents of school children	Information, working methods, approval	Meetings, including video, illustrated brochures, local posters
3.3 Local partners or NGOs	Information, approval, cooperation	Direct contact, information meetings
3.4 Communities	Information, approval, contracts	Information meetings, videos, brochures, contacts
3.5 Influentials, religious and cultural leaders	Sensitization, information, building credibility, seeking support	Information meetings, direct contacts

Source: Table provided by Dr Djeneba Guindo-Traore, Ministry of Education, Mali

Annex 3.
Lessons Learned, COMED, 1998–2000

'Communication' is a useful handle both conceptually and practically for approaching what the media and ministries do about education-and-development. We need to expand understanding of communication and its role in social development, especially in promoting collaboration among partners in education. This includes looking beyond mass media to interpersonal, group and traditional African channels of communication.

Communication can help build mutual trust and respect, by promoting dialogue, negotiation and building consensus for education policies and programs; but the context or environment of communication is key in determining these outcomes. Issues of access to information, freedom of expression, the general national policy on information and communication, and specific education sector guidelines on information and communication, influence communication for education. Ministries of Information/Communication are important partners in this regard, since they often determine and manage policy.

Communication has costs: time, expertise, appropriate structures and technologies, including planning and organization. Therefore, communication requires resources material, human, financial, technical. Many Ministries of Education do not seem to be making investment commensurate with the costs of communication for education, including sustainable special units to ensure effective communication with stakeholders and partners.

Communication Officers in Ministries of Education have a variety of job descriptions and responsibilities, some of which may conflict with their communication assignment. Largely untrained in communication, and fairly low in the organizational hierarchy, they often feel inadequate to their tasks as institutional image-makers and spokespersons. Specialized training and encouragement to join professional organizations (e.g. Public Relations Association), may enhance their job performance and career development.

Journalists are becoming more conscious of ethical considerations and professional standards in their reporting of education. While this might remove some of the criticism of sensational reporting about education, it may not necessarily eliminate the irritation of education managers, sensitive to close investigative scrutiny or sharp editorial comments. The collaboration of Journalists' Unions and other professional associations of communicators would be useful in addressing ethical and professional issues, especially at the national level.

Mass media, though effective channels for public communication for development, are not always well organized to deal with communication for

education. There is not much room for specialization in education reporting or programming. There are however some excellent examples of media focus on education, from Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda, South Africa, Zimbabwe: weekly education columns, pages and pullouts, created by assignment editorial staff.

Countries where education reporters and correspondents are organized in a professional group or network tend also to have more structured and less conflictual relationships with communication officers and education news sources, leading to seemingly more continuous, diversified and better-informed coverage of education issues, (e.g. Senegal, Kenya and Nigeria).

The COMED regional workshops, by providing opportunities for journalists and communication officers from the same country to function as a team in preparing certain exercises and reports, and to acquire information about other country situations, seem to have helped to build better mutual appreciation, more collegial and less threatening relationships among them, which hopefully will translate into increased collaboration in communication for education back in their home environment. Participation in the preparation of the workshop publication, Educom News, also seems to have had the same effect on the participants as a whole.

Models from the business sector, (advertising, public relations and communication agencies), can contribute to communication for education by emphasizing strategic and results-oriented institutional communication by Ministries of Education. They can also demonstrate to media managers the vast potential of education as a source of revenue through creating special products which appeal to the education sector and its widespread constituencies, including parents, students, publishers, equipment producers and booksellers. Professional communications organizations need to be included in communication for education efforts.

Many sources of education information are largely untapped because unknown. What is known is generally regarded as inaccessible or uninteresting. Research institutions, their activities and data-bases in education need to become better promoted among journalists and other communicators. Training in the use of educational statistics and other data-related experiences for reporters and correspondents would be necessary, as is the creation of user-friendly Education Management Information Systems (EMIS).

Exposure, through the COMED regional workshops, to information and communication technologies, especially access to the Internet, and its use as a research tool, provides much-appreciated opportunities for professional enhancement for both communication officers and journalists This should be reinforced and sustained. It will also strengthen the proposed regional network of communication officers and journalists in support of education.

In preparing national workshops, the participation of broadcasters, from national and community radio, should be specifically planned, in view of their acknowledged influence on the public's information level and attitudes, especially in rural and semi-urban communities.

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Education Policy Networks in Africa

by Richard SACK, Boubacar NIANE, and Lily MAFELA

In this paper we examine the meaning, relevance and development of network arrangements for education policy development in Africa. Interest in networks has been on the increase in recent years. Recent experience in several areas of development cooperation has demonstrated the effectiveness of networks in moving agendas forward. Our concern for taking this systematic look at networks their utility, their comparative advantages, how they are structured, and how they behave is somewhat introspective. After all, ADEA is a network, some of its working groups are networks, themselves, and it works with other networks. Also, much of this interest in networks is derived from the perception that they provide a significant value added that the more traditional organizational structures. All the more reason to take a close, analytical look at how they function, in general, and how they are working for the development of education in Africa, in particular.

The vision, emergence, persistence and utility of networks

Networks are all the rage these days. They are viewed, inter alia, as the basic social structure of the information age (Castells 1996), as the future of the United Nations system (Reinicke & Deng 2000)[1], as a most effective way of optimizing resources and strengthening capacities (Bernard 1996), and as a viable structure for developing education policy research in developing countries (McGinn 1996).[2] Indeed, networks are increasingly seen as particularly effective forms of social organization in this age characterized by globalization, massive information flows and easier access to information, the rise of "civil society", reformed structures of governance, flattened hierarchies, decentralization, and the democratization of technologies for communication and information.

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1   Also, see the web site of the Global Public Policy Research Group at http://www.gppnresearch.org/.
2   Gladwell (1999) even goes so far as to attempt a demonstration of how "networkers rule the world". Writing about the North American context, he concludes: "Poverty is not deprivation. It is isolation." Börzel (1998:253) points out that "microbiologists describe cells as information networks, ecologists conceptualize the living environment as network systems, computer scientists develop neuronal networks with self-organizing and self-learning capacities."

This said, networks are nothing new. They have always been with us in a variety of forms, such as: primary family networks that live and work and protect themselves, together, over generations; business/industrial networks of producers, suppliers, distributors and financiers that ensure and promote, together, their prosperity; scientists working in the same or overlapping fields who meet and communicate on a regular basis in order promote their individual and collective endeavors. One observer refers to networking as "a fancy word for the construction and use of relatively stable patterns of communication" (McGinn 1996b:23). Another observer points out that "networking is ubiquitous, networks are not" (Prewitt 1998).

Network structures and the "globalized" world

Much of the recent interest in networks has been expressed by social scientists concerned with understanding the rise and development of globalization, the flows and communication of information, and the role of information communication technologies (ICT) in all of this. A landmark analysis of this «new order» is the three-volume study of Manuel Castells (1996) on the economy, society and culture of the information age. The first volume of this study is devoted to networks, which the author claims

"are the fundamental stuff of which new organizations are and will be made. And they are able to form and expand all over the main streets and back alleys of the global economy because of their reliance on the information power provided by the new technological paradigm."(Castells, 1996, p.168).

Although networks have «existed in other times and spaces», Castells argues that «the new information technology paradigm provides the material basis for its pervasive expansion throughout the entire social structure.» The resulting historical trend is that "dominant functions and processes in the information age are increasingly organized around networks." (Castells, 1996, p. 469).

Castells is mainly concerned with the evolution of business and industrial organizations, enterprises and firms. However, his analysis is relevant to networks beyond the spheres of economics and industry. He defines a network as "a set of interconnected nodes."[3] His analysis is founded on an "information technology paradigm", characterized by five features. First, information is the raw material on which the technologies act. Secondly, "because information is an integral part of all human activity, all processes of our individual and collective existence are directly shaped (although certainly not determined) by the new technological medium." Thirdly, "the morphol-

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3.   Castells (1996), p. 470. Examples of nodes he provides include "stock exchange markets and their ancillary advanced services centers", "national councils of ministers", "European Commissioners in the political network that governs the European Union".

ogy of the network seems to be well adapted to the increasing complexity of interaction to unpredictable patterns of development arising from the creative power of such interaction." This implies that a "networking logic is needed to structure the unstructured while preserving flexibility, since the unstructured is the driving force of innovation in human activity." Flexibility is a related feature of this paradigm. "Not only processes are reversible, but organizations and institutions can be modified, and even fundamentally altered, by rearranging their components." Convergence is the fifth feature of this paradigm.(Castells, 1996, pp. 61-62).

What emerges from all of this is a new organizational form Castells calls the "network enterprise". It is the result of "the interaction between organizational crisis and change and new information technologies" in the "informational/ global economy". He defines this network enterprise as

> "*that specific form of enterprise whose system of means is constituted by the inter-section of segments of autonomous systems of goals. Thus, the components of the network are both autonomous and dependent vis-à-vis the network, and may be a part of other networks, and therefore of other systems of means aimed at other goals. The performance of a given network will then depend on two fundamental attributes of the network: its connectedness, that is its structural ability to facilitate noise-free communication between its components; its consistency, that is the extent to which there is sharing of interests between the network's goals and the goals of its components.*" (Castells, 1996, p. 171).

Networks, individuals, trust and the formation of social capital

Theoretical explorations of networks focus largely on small groups (such as friendships, family, etc.) and policy networks. James Coleman (1988) explored how small group networks develop trust among its participants by promoting obligations and expectations, information-flow capabilities and social norms with mutually understood sanctions. This trust builds social capital, an asset for all participants, collectively.[4] Friendship networks are seen as having an impact on the "diffusion of influence and information, mobility opportunity and community organization" (Granovetter 1973:1360). The development of such networks are seen as contributing to greater levels of trust among participants and, thereby, contributing to the development of their social capital. Through heightened trust among members of a group, or of a polity, social capital contributes to development by lowering transaction costs (Fukuyama 1995:27-28), be it as one looks for a job, searches and exchanges information, or develops reliable business relationships. Indeed,

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4. For a broad overview of the subject, see Dasgupta & Serageldin (2000). Putman's (1993) work on the role of social capital in the development of Italy remains the classic reference.

the old intuition that "what you know depends on who you know and how you are positioned" appears to be valid, especially for advocacy activities (Carpenter, Esterling, et al. 1998: 417-418).[5]

Social capital is a theoretical construct that is most appealing these days. With some empirical evidence this theory focuses on the central role of communities of people colleagues and collaborators and producers and clients and partners and neighbors or all sorts working together over sustained periods of time. Community members learn to know one another and, thereby, develop trust between them. Such trust motivates people to work together in a spirit of collegiality and frank and direct exchanges, minimally encumbered by formalities and other protective mechanisms. By reducing transaction costs, such trust can have powerful economic benefits.

Research associations and other professional societies are a well-known example of networks that succeed in developing and maintaining a sense of community, shared scientific values and norms, and a degree of trust among their members. Participation or membership is voluntary, generally based on shared affinities focused on the need to communicate scientific approaches and findings. To a large extent, this communication is a foundation of the accelerated scientific progress we have seen in recent decades.

Networks for international development cooperation

The emergence of networks in international development cooperation appears to coincide with a growing existential crisis in the institutions of development cooperation.[6] In the early 1990s, agnosticism began to invade the certainties and formulae of preceding decades of development cooperation. We began to realize that we did not know as much about development what it looks like, how it comes about as we thought we knew 10-20-30 years ago. We're not even sure about our indicators: Is development recognized by GDP per capita or by the coefficients of the United Nations' Human Development Index? Is Education For All about gross enrollment rates or primary school completion rates?

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5. Community also seems to be powerful business asset in the computer world. Talking about «Linux», the free, open-source operating system, which is becoming a serious threat to Microsoft's "Windows" monopoly, Steve Balmer, the Chief Executive Officer of Microsoft says, "Linux is not about free software, it is about community" (http://zdnet.com.com/2100-1104-959839.html). There are similarities here to Putnam's (1993) explanation for the development of Northern Italy compared to the southern part of that country.

6. Well before then, networks for research had been promoted by groups such as the Research Review and Advisory Group (the precursor or the present NORRAG) and the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) established in 1971. Also, see McGinn (1996a).

Also in the early 1990s, a major, in-depth World Bank report (Wapenhans, et al. 1992) ascertained an alarming rate of non-performing projects.[7] A major finding of this analysis was that beneficiary countries of World Bank loans/projects had little sense of "ownership" of the development project whose conception and elaboration was often determined by World Bank staff more concerned with the logic of their institution (and its "approval culture", according to that report) than by that of the country (the "borrower"). This resulted in heightened concern for projects and policies that are "country-driven" and owned.

At about the same time, there was a realization that the problems related to lack of country ownership of externally financed projects was compounded by lack of coordination (if not rivalry) between development cooperation institutions (bilateral and multilateral agencies). All too often, each agency appeared to be pursuing its own agenda in a given country. In other words, in addition to the ownership deficit, there was a deficit of coordination between the developing countries' external financing and technical partners. This led to considerable efforts aimed at improved "donor coordination", often focused on developing common analyzes and understandings of the policy issues and alternatives.[8]

In the middle-late 1990s, "civil society" entered into the development discourse, along with the private sector. This was associated with a sharp increase of democratic forms of governance throughout the developing world, more open means of communication, the emergence of NGOs in the North that focused on issues of international development, peace and justice, and the increasing importance of world and national markets. The World Bank and the United Nations made informal efforts to include civil society and the private sector in their work. However, according to Reinicke, Deng, et al. (2000), "the formal governance structures of intergovernmental institutions have not changed at all" (p. 23). In this context, they conclude that there is a "participatory gap that undermines the legitimacy of existing governance mechanisms: the state and the multilateral system" (p. 9).

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7. Wapenhans was a vice-president of the World Bank. In an interview conducted on August 8, 1993 for the World Bank's Oral History Program, he states, "There is a declining trend in project performance, highly concentrated in IDA countries and the Bank is contributing to it because of the presence of an approval culture. To remain the leading and preeminent institution that it is, it needs to reverse, and it can reverse to its earlier emphasis on performance. It should not resort to more bureaucracy, to a further invitation to promote compliance. It should not invite its staff, including its managers, to protect their rear. Such an emphasis would further foster risk aversion, not only of staff but also of managers. If not contained, it could retard development." (See: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTARCHIVES/0,,pagePK:34991~theSitePK:29506~contentMDK:20042044,00.html.)

8. For example, see IWGE (1995); Sack (1995); & Magnen (1994). According to King (1996), improving communication among donors was the one of the main reasons for establishing the Research Review and Advisory Group   one of the first networks for donor coordination.

The development discourse became characterized by agnosticism on how to attain development, concern for a lack of "beneficiary" or "client" owner- ship and a lack of "donor" coordination (not to mention the end of the Cold War that motivated many donor countries' "investments" in development cooperation). We would not be the first to qualify this cocktail as a crisis in development cooperation.[9] And, interestingly, this is a time (beginning in the late 1980s) when networks for development cooperation, often initiated to improve donor coordination, begin to develop.[10]

In 1988 a milestone document by the World Bank on education sub-Saha- ran Africa articulated the need for improved "donor coordination" in the education sector (World Bank 1988). One outcome of this document, and the processes that surrounded it, was the founding of "Donors for African Education" (DAE), established as a donors' club designed to promote im- proved coordination between the agencies active in that group. Coordinating sector policies the agencies' own, those they advocated and advised to their "client" countries was the focus of DAE. Founded in 1988, DAE became fully operational, with a quasi-autonomous status, in 1992; it then evolved from a donors' club to full partnership between agencies and African Ministers of Education and changed its name to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA). As it developed, it became increasingly clear to all concerned that it was operating as a network, incorporating several components its Steering Committee (composed of education ministers and agency representatives), autonomous working groups (focused on profes- sional, technical issues) and a secretariat (the "network server").

It turns out that similar exercises networks focused on policy coordination were emerging in other sectors, such as water (the Global Water Partnership, established in 1992; and the World Commission on Dams, started in 1998), wearing apparel (the Apparel Industry Partnership, established in 1996), health (the Roll Back Malaria Initiative, established in 1998), development in Sahelian West Africa (the Club du Sahel, established in 1978), environment (the Global Environment Facility, founded in 1991), urban management (the Urban Management Program, initiated in 1986).[11]

The network response to the crisis in development cooperation may appear paradoxical. On the one hand, the crisis is, partly, the result of fragmenta- tion of knowledge and its application (i.e., theory and practice), of policies and actions that are uncoordinated between the development cooperation

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9. Sagasti & Alcalde (1999) provide a succinct overview of this situation.
10. Castells (1996) points out that "through the interaction between organizational crisis and change and new information technologies a new organization form has emerged as characteristic of the informational/global economy: the network enterprise." (p. 171, his emphasis)
11. Reinicke, Deng, et al. (2000) provide a useful overview of these networks. They estimate that there are around 50-60 of such networks in existence.

agencies, and between them and their counterparts (mostly ministries) with and for whom they were working. On the other hand, the network response is one of organizational fragmentation. Sector and issue specific networks are sprouting up all over the institutional landscape, with life spans that may be open-ended or limited and membership that includes various combinations of the usual institutional actors (development agencies, ministries, governments, etc.), plus some new ones (NGOs). The terms of membership may be rather loose, and relatively unfettered, with easy entrance and low exit costs. Characteristic of this is the conclusion of one review of policy networks that "there is no one single policy network approach in public policy" (Thatcher 1998: 390).

Why this paradox? What is it that these loosely formed networks are doing that the older institutions, more formal organizations aren't? What needs and demand are they responding to that have not been satisfied? This is where we need to switch gears and think about the processes of development cooperation. And this is where it becomes appropriate to delve into the role of trust and social capital.

Reinicke, Deng, et al. (2000) provide an answer to these questions that merits consideration.

> "By initiating a transnational policy discourse, Global Public Policy networks respond to the participatory gap in international decision-making. Successful GPP networks facilitate social interaction among people and organizations that in many cases had almost exclusively been working against each other. To use Robert Putnam's terminology, networks of "civic engagement" allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved by fostering norms of generalized reciprocity and the emergence of trust, building what one might call global social capital. The notion of global social capital points to the possibility that GPP networks may, at least in the medium or long term, help in creating such trust across national boundaries. In so doing they would facilitate the formation of social capital, not only within societies and single sectors, but also across societies, which is critical for constituting a global public space" (p. 62).

Our working hypothesis is that these networks are cost-effective mechanisms for reducing the barriers between the various institutional actors, North (between development agencies, and between them and civil society players) and South (between the agencies and governments, between governments and nongovernmental actors, including researchers, and between governments of different countries). The transaction costs of developing shared understandings even if is to agree to disagree are lowered by this trust between individuals, some of whom are technical, others political, and others "bureaucrats". They work together in a relatively focused setting, with shared ownership and common stakeholdership. They get to know what to expect of the others. They come to have some idea of the logics (institutional,

political, even epistemological) that motivate and drive their partners (i.e., the proverbial "other").[12] The cognitive and non-cognitive learning gained by individuals, and the knowledge that comes from it, can then be factored back into their respective institution's behavior and specific in-house logic(s). If this is the case, then networks may well be better equipped to promote cooperation, ownership, coordination, and partnership than stand-alone institutions working hard, and with great human, financial and technical resources, to promote their institutional agendas. How else to understand the emergence and growth of Global Public Policy Networks and the role some claim they will play in the in the processes of global governance?

Identifying characteristics and operational trends of global policy networks

Given the apparent fragmentation of network structures and the lack of a single approach, one might wonder if there is sufficient room for a structured discussion of definitions, identifying characteristics, operational modalities and the like. Paradoxically (again),[13] this is where the literature on the subject of is at its richest,[14] with definitions and identifying characteristics aplenty.[15] Out of respect for this paradox, therefore, we focus on the characteristics of global public policy networks for development and present a brief overview of how they are seen by several observers. This approach seems more appropriate than attempting a well-structured presentation of what networks are and how they operate.

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) has long been involved in the promotion of networks for research and international development. Between 1985-1995 it allocated approximately 30% of its budget to networks, especially those focused on scientific research and technological adaptation. In 1996 its evaluation unit undertook a comprehensive review of the (mostly research) networks with which it had been involved (Bernard 1996). Here, in outline form, is an overview of their findings.

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12. The 1997 ADEA Biennale, whose theme was «Partnerships for Capacity Building and Quality Improvements in Education», explored the importance of this in the development of fruitful partnerships for development. See Association for the Development of Education in Africa (1999) & the ADEA Newsletter of October-December 1997 (9:4).

13. "Paradoxes are a welcome antidote to theories which explain everything all too neatly." (Granovetter 1973:1378).

14. This literature, however, is mostly concerned with national policy networks in developed countries, mainly in Europe and the United States. See, for example, the October 1998 the special issue of the Journal of Theoretical Politics (10:4) devoted to the modeling of policy networks., and the Summer 1998 issue of Public Administration (76) that focuses on networks in public administration.

15. Börzel (1998: 254) provides a "lowest common denominator definition" of policy networks "as a set of relatively stable relationships which are of non-hierarchical and interdependent nature linking a variety of actors, who share common interests with regard to a policy and who exchange resources to pursue these shared interests acknowledging that co-operation is the best way to achieve common goals." She also points out that there is "a 'Babylonian' variety of different understandings and applications of the policy network concept."

- Defining characteristics. Networks are social arrangements, are forums for social exchange and open opportunities (i.e., opportunistic in the positive sense); they strengthen and sustain capacities and enable creativity and risk-taking.[16]
- Structures and functions. Member cooperation is essential; leadership is important for coordination; the network produces personal and professional satisfaction of the members; there may be different levels of membership; networks are effective when they allow, accommodate and facilitate; most networks have a well-defined central coordinating mechanism to maintain communication flow; a capacity for learning is most crucial.
- Conditions of success. Flexible internal management that creates solidarity around a shared purpose and ownership; diversity of membership is needed for effective learning; clear goals and limited focus are needed to create shared agreement; ability to adapt over time to changing circumstances, facilitated by "charismatic leadership, counter-balanced by a proactive and engaged membership, a minimal hierarchy and a limited and flexible bureaucracy, [along with] a need for tolerance, for ambiguity and variability in planning and execution, to suit different members and changing contexts; letting members negotiate their own conditions across their institutional and individual divides." (p. 27; author's emphasis).
- Risks and balances. Networks are difficult to monitor; their costs in money, time and energy are high, and take several years to produce fruit; they risk being too broadly focused; these risks can be mitigated by effective balances between levels, between product and process, between the micro and the macro levels, and between the needs of the different members.
- Comparative advantage lies in the mutability of networks, their "minimal structures, voluntary membership and flexible agenda" (p. 40).

An extensive review of capacity building networks in Africa leads (English 1995) to identify a number of lessons applicable for such networks. They include the following: it is easiest to do it through an existing regional institution, providing that it is sound; administrative structures can be a special problem; it is time-consuming, all the more if its to be participatory and with many participants; low-cost or loose networks are unlikely to have much capacity-building impact; it is better to start small; thematic focus is preferable; it is necessary to strike a balance between demand-driven, participatory planning and leadership; external support is important; development agency resources should be pooled; it is necessary to distinguish between personal capacity-building and institution building; and it all takes time.

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16. The history of ADEA's "Prospective, stocktaking" exercise that provided the theme and the content for ADEA's 1999 Biennale is an excellent example of this. See Association for the Development of Education in Africa 2001, & the ADEA Newsletter of October-December 1999 (11:4). Methodologically, organizationally and, even, financially the approach to developing the content for that meeting involved some risk. It is difficult to imagine such risks undertaken by the more traditionally established (and more traditionally accountable) organizations.

McGinn (1996b) sees networks between researchers and policy makers as being nonhierarchical organizations. The problem, according to him, is how to generate sufficient internal consensus to be able to influence the environment. As he points out, "only if networking approaches what might be called intimate conversation can we begin to develop a shared understanding of the problems that need to be addressed, and the ways to address them" (p.28).

Focusing specifically on ADEA, along with references to other networks, Sack (1998) sees «structured informality» as an effective modus operandi. Several factors promote this: the ease and imperative of quick, lateral communications, especially among professionals and, increasingly, among policy makers; globalization and the democratization of communications; the perceived unresponsiveness of many of the more established institutions; flexibility in terms of entry, exit, and operations. This structured informality lowers transaction costs thanks to a sense of common commitment to shared objectives, ease of entry and departure, a low level of administrative procedures, and effectiveness defined in terms of both process and product. One implication of this is that the personalities of the individual actors play a determining role.

The most comprehensive review of networks for international development is that of Reinicke, Deng, et al. (2000). This study focuses on Global Public Policy Networks (GPPN), which are closer to our concerns than research networks. They see the GPPN as

"a means of responding to the uncertain and rapidly changing conditions of our relentlessly liberalizing and technologizing global environment. They address problems that defy disaggregation and parcelization among technocrats within a territorial hierarchy. Yet, like the global challenges they seek to address, the solutions they offer both reflect and embody the underlying forces of technological change and integration." (p. 3).

According to Reinicke, Deng, et al. (2000), these GPPNs have six functions: (i) establishing a global policy agenda; (ii) facilitating processes for negotiating and setting global standards; (iii) they help develop and disseminate knowledge; (iv) they help create and deepen markets; (v) they provide innovative mechanisms for implementing global agreements, and (vi) for creating inclusive processes that build trust and social capital in the global public space (p. 27). They find that GPPNs are "best understood in terms of a four-stage policy cycle" of agenda-setting, negotiation, implementation and policy reformulation and institutional learning (p. 28). They then find that

"successful advocacy networks make strategic use of the media and influential individuals, articulate clear goals (often through a normative lens), and frame issues so as to have maximum impact. They create a transnational public discourse around policy issues that require a global approach." (p. 35)

"Crucial management issues" for GPPNs are seen as:

> *"getting the network off the ground through leadership and the creation of a common vision; balancing adequate consultation and goal delivery; securing sustainable funding; maintaining the 'structure' in structural informality; finding allies outside one's sector; and tackling the dual challenge of inclusion* (North-South *and local-global).*" (p. 65)

What education policy networks in Africa are doing

This section focuses on seven African networks working in education. Four of these networks are linked with ADEA, itself a network. These networks were studied closely by the authors of this paper who undertook extensive enquiry into their operations (Mafela 2001; Niane 2002). This was done by visits to the networks' secretariats and extensive interviews. Selection of the networks was based on perceived reputation, and a concern for geographical balance.

Contextual factors

The environment in which education policy networks in Africa are operating is necessary. Although essential, this is not at the center of our analysis, which focuses on the theory and practice of networks. The context should be seen in institutional, social, cultural, political, economic and educational terms and characterized by the following points.

- The relative lack of economic growth, political instability, endemic poverty, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic are difficult challenges that the education system must face.
- The relatively low level of access for girls and rural children in most countries must be overcome.
- Good governance and democratic institutions are gaining ground, along with increasing decentralization in the supply of educational services.
- NGOs and other aspects of civil society are gaining legitimacy, along with alternative development approaches.
- The new technologies of information and communication are increasingly present.
- Priorities tend to shift, especially under the influence of new priorities of the external development partners. This is the "fad" syndrome and is related to the syndrome of the pilot project; characterized by initiatives that evaporate once the external support has moved elsewhere (Maclure 1997:10). Although much appreciated, this support can also hamper the autonomy of national structures and actors.
- Research conducted nationally is insufficient to cover all the knowledge needs of African education systems. In particular, there is insufficient

research in the areas of financing and management. Furthermore, many of the studies that are done are poorly disseminated (Maclure 1997).

ADEA, a network of networks

ADEA, itself, is part of the context in which several of the networks discussed below are operating. As the evaluation of the ADEA Working Groups (Damiba & Prouty 2000) points out, ADEA's transparency, the strong degree of commitment of its members/partners, openness and trust contribute to the workings and overall coherence between its constituent parts, some of which are networks themselves.[17]

Figure 7 attempts a graphic presentation of ADEA's structure. A quick look at this figure may give the impression of chaos. Actually, there is method to the appearance of madness in Figure 7. What provides the order is the commitment of all participants, their tolerance for ambiguity, their ability and their willingness to participate in a direct, professional, and collegial manner. The Steering Committee is the core of the network, its very essence. It is composed of education ministers and agency representatives; the agencies that voluntarily make a basic, statutory contribution to the Association in order to participate in the Steering Committee. At the time of the Arusha Biennial (October 2001), there were ten ministers representing sub-regions on a rotating basis, and twenty agencies. The Steering Committee sets ADEA policies and programs; its deliberations focus largely on matters of substance. It meets twice a year and, surprisingly, politics do not seem to be present. Decisions are reached by consensus; in ten years, there has never been recourse to a vote in order to come to a decision.

The Working Groups, networks themselves, (ten at the time of the Arusha meeting) focus on matters of professional and policy concern, such as female participation, statistics, education financing, books and learning materials, non-formal education, etc. They are sponsored by a variety of institutions, development agencies and, increasingly, African institutions. They work with their respective communities of professionals and practitioners in ministries, agencies and elsewhere. Increasingly, the WGs are collaborating among themselves. The ADEA Steering Committee, working through the secretariat, provides initial approval of the WGs, and then approves their annual programs and budgets.

The Biennial meetings gather about 250 senior policy makers and researchers from Africa and the North. Most African education ministers attend. Each Biennial focuses on a theme that is selected by the Steering Committee. The

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17. See http://www.adeanet.org/ for more information.

meetings are all about substance; they are highly interactive and manage to avoid the formalities that characterize many such meeting.

The Secretariat is the network server and facilitator with a small permanent staff of five. It is housed within the International Institute for Educational Planning, its host institution, which provides its juridical and physical roof. It prepares Steering Committee meetings, the Biennial meetings; it produces the ADEA Newsletter, manages ADEA's finances (but formal accounting is done by the IIEP); it organizes special tasks, such as that concerned with communication and education; and it produces databases on ADEA activities, external assistance to Africa, and statistics, and members of the ADEA community (over 4500).

Although very real, with activities, a budget, meetings, outputs, publications, etc., there is "something virtual" about ADEA. In the most formal, legalistic of terms, it does not exist! The host institution assures formal accounting, accountability and responsibility. Nonetheless or, perhaps, because of this ADEA is quite dynamic. The "structured informality" that prevails seems to work, perhaps to the surprise of many of its participants. One more paradox to ponder!

Figure 7 . ADEA's structure
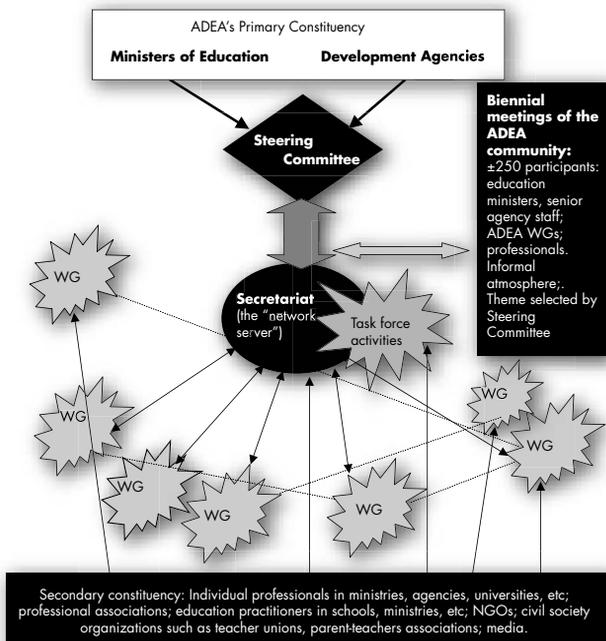
Education statistics: "National Education Statistical Information Systems" (NESIS)

The National Education Statistical Information Systems is a program initiated by the ADEA Working Group (WG) on Education Statistics. This program was conceived in 1991 as a project to develop training materials for education statisticians in Africa. Since then, it has become a multi-donor, Africa-wide capacity building program that has succeeded in developing a professional community of education statisticians across the continent. The role of this program is to bring together institutions, agencies and experts in joint ventures and networks as agents of change in order to develop the capacities of the professional staff of statistics sections of education ministries.[18]

Although this program is one activity, in order to ensure maximum effectiveness and coverage, it has two nodes one in Harare and one in Dakar. Each node works with countries within the broad frame of its respective sub-region; each node is housed at a UNESCO office and staffed by 1-2 professionals and 1-2 support staff. The research conducted for this paper focused on the Dakar node that works actively with nine countries. This node has a staff of three people who work in a non-hierarchical manner.

The NESIS network has three functions: (i) training; (ii) providing up-to-date information to national experts on technical and methodological matters of concern to education statistics; and (iii) mobilization of national teams around well defined activities, including provision of technical assistance between experts of participating countries.

NESIS has a five-pronged approach for the mobilization of its members that is based on the commitment of its staff and extensive use of email and its web site:
- Developing country involvement through a diagnostic survey of countries' systems education statistics in order to identify capacity gaps.
- Capacity development through an approach that uses capacities in one country to help develop those in another. This way, existing capacities in a given country are rewarded and recognized.
- An integrated approach using technical training modules for data collection and analysis.
- Interactive management for the validation of the modules and other technical tools.
- Dissemination and cooperation with other ADEA working groups and with journalists.

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18. For detailed information, see http://www.adeanet.org/workgroups/en_wges.html; http://nesis.easynet.fr/; and the ADEA Newsletter of July-September, 2000 (12:3).

Figure 8 shows the linkages NESIS has developed in order to ensure its technical and financial cooperation with a variety of partners.

This high degree of interaction between the stakeholders, especially the strategy of capacity development based on the transfer to technical knowledge and competence from within, augers well for the sustainability of this network. This is accomplished through the use of adaptable approaches, building on the diversity of experiences of the participants. Organizing meetings to fit the time constraints of the members, however, remains a problem.

Figure 8. NESIS's network of partners
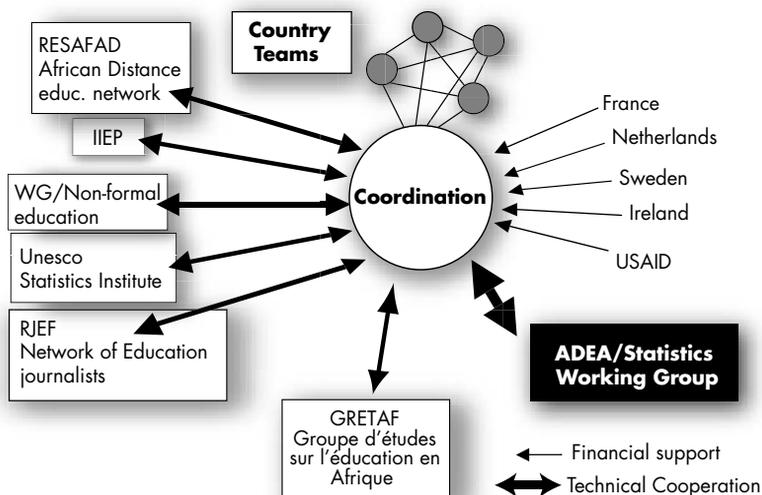
Educational research: the Education Research Network for West and Central Africa (ERNWACA)

This network was founded in 1989 and is presently composed of researchers and policy makers from twelve West African countries. It aims at promoting African capacities for education policy research. For this, it has a five point strategy of (i) strengthening national and regional capacities for research and policy assessment, (ii) improving the quality of research, (iii) facilitating exchanges and collaboration between researchers and policy makers, (iv) dissemination of research to promote dialogue on education issues, and (v) improve the image of research in Africa.[19]

ERNWACA is organized around its national chapters, with a small coordinating unit (composed of a coordinator, an accountant and a driver), a

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19. See ERNWACA (2002) for an overview of research on issues of access, quality and community participation.

scientific committee of seven members, and a steering committee of nine members, including two education ministers. Each chapter is housed in a host institution (e.g., university education faculty, pedagogical institute) and is relatively autonomous. Membership is composed of education researchers and policy makers from institutes, universities, government service, and international development cooperation agencies. The latter provide almost all of the financing. Based on available data, there are at least 200 members in the eight Francophone countries; information for the four Anglophone countries was not available. The current coordinator is using organizational methods of borrowed from the private sector, where she had worked previously. Although most of the chapter coordinators assumed their positions in the past 294 years, they have been members for an average of nine years. F*igure* 9 provides a view of the structure and linkages of ERNWACA.

Figure 9. ERNWACA's network of partners
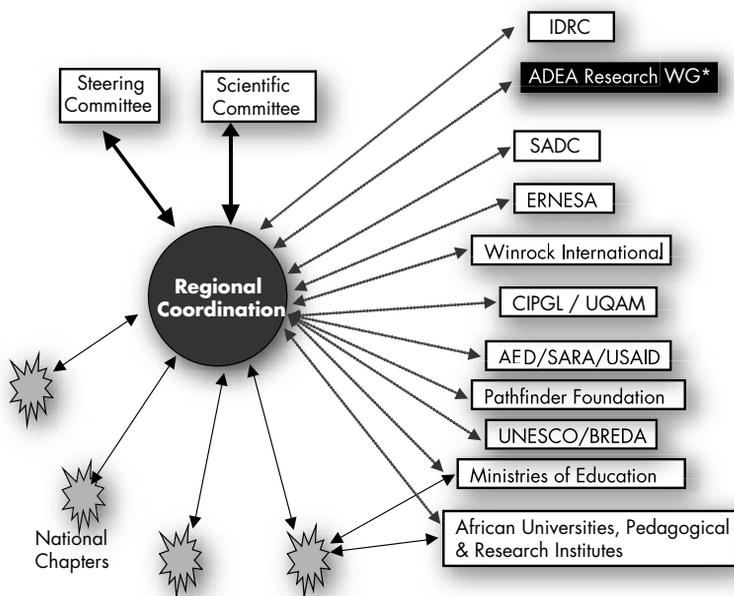
* The ADEA research working group was dissolved in 2000 for lack of activity and sufficient interest and commitment.
Abbreviations: AED : Academy for Educational Development; SARA : Support pour Analysis and Research in Africa; BREDA : Bureau régional de l'Education en Afrique (Unesco); CIPGL : Centre Interuniversitaire Paul Gerin-Lajoie de Développement International en Education; SADC : Southern Africa Development Council; UQAM : Université de Québec à Montréal

At present, there is a contradiction between the proactive stance of the regional coordination, which is seeking to bring new life to the network, on the

one hand, and the relative lethargy of the national chapters, which are not responding to opportunities for research or initiating dialogue with policy makers. Nor do they appear to benefit from their relationship with their host institutions. This may be related to the lack of physical meetings and the infrequency of virtual ones. This may partly explain the lack of clear objectives widely shared by the members. Another factor for the lack of dynamism might be that the education research in Africa that has the greatest currency is that produced in the North, often for and/or by agencies of development cooperation (Maclure 1997). Most of the exchanges between the regional coordinator and those for the national chapters focus on administrative and financial matters. In other words, there is a lack of interaction around matters of substance and ERNWACA's capacity for initiative, agenda setting, policy advice and research is weak.

Economic research and training: the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC)

The principal objective of AERC is to strengthen local capacity for conducting inquiry into problems pertinent to the management of economies in sub-Saharan Africa. AERC creates capacity for economic policy analysis and economic management through programs to support graduate training and research. AERC views itself not as a network but as a consortium. AERC does, however, perform a networking function by bringing together cooperating universities, institutes, and researchers. Unlike other networks covered in this study, it has no national chapters to further its agenda.[20]

AERC's mission has three parts: (i) to enhance capacity of locally based researchers in economics; (ii) to promote retention of such capacity; and (iii) to encourage application of economic research output to the policy context.

Membership in AERC is multi-tiered. On the first level, membership comprises individual researchers with at least a Masters or doctorate degree in economics. The second level of the network comprises universities that participate in its Collaborative Masters Program. The Consortium links individual and teams of researchers and academics at these universities who are involved in training and research coordination activities. Participating universities are placed into either Category A or Category B, depending on their level of participation. The membership encompasses a number of bilateral and multilateral agencies, some of which are its financiers as well.

The AERC secretariat in Nairobi operates under the leadership of a Board of Directors and an Executive Director. The board sets policy, provides support,

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20. See www.aercafrica.org for more information.

and approves the program of work and budget. AERC's governing bodies include an Advisory Committee and an Academic Board. The Advisory Committee members are scientists drawn from professional academics, African scholars, policy makers, and international resource persons. They set the agenda for training and research activities and review the annual program of work before approval by the board. The Academic Board reviews applications for training programs and makes decisions related to admissions procedures and academic regulations

AERC's original mandate was confined largely to assisting scholars with costs of doctoral research-support for data collection and writing of theses. A training component was added to incorporate Masters and doctoral-level training. The expanded mandate encompasses both training and research programs.

The Training Program features the Anglophone Collaborative Masters Program (except Nigeria) that brings together a network of 20 universities in 15 countries. This collaboration rationalizes the use of limited teaching capacity, attains a critical mass of students, offers a relatively larger menu of electives and jointly enforces high standards for graduate training in economics. Similar initiatives in the francophone countries and in Nigeria originate from AERC studies and are based on the same concept. The universities jointly enforce standards with annual evaluation and assessment by external examiners, develop a common curriculum and teaching materials, and share a joint facility for teaching electives. The Academic Board, with members drawn from the participating universities, is responsible for the substance of the program. Seven of these universities have adequate capacity to offer core courses that meet jointly determined and enforced standards. The rest of the participating universities send their students to these universities.

The Research Program networks individual researchers in the region, supported by resource persons doing research on selected themes designated by AERC's Advisory Committee. This alleviates professional isolation, encourages exchange of experiences and creates peer pressure that enhances the quality of research. Grants are made through the Research program for research on four themes: poverty, income distribution, and labor market issues; trade, regional integration, and sector policies; macro-economic policy, stabilization and growth; finance, resource mobilization and investment.

AERC uses a range of measures to ensure that its research and training is relevant to policy interests in Africa. Researchers prepare executive summaries that are easily digested. The executive summaries are based on outputs from the research program and are targeted at policymakers in an effort to encourage them to use and incorporate research output into policy and to enhance AERC's policy relevance. The organization also mounts user-iden-

tified courses for government departments and central banks. It involves senior policymakers in AERC workshops; these individuals contribute to healthy debates on issues critical to the formulation and implementation of sound economic policies. Their involvement has been underscored by a recent evaluation as being critical for closer alignment of theory and practice (Horton 1999 #211) 32).

AERC has evidence that its products are used by policy makers. Some of the professionals, who are members of the network by virtue of their role as researchers, have already joined the ranks of the policy makers and policy analysts. Appearance of publications of AERC research output in high quality journals is another indicator of the quality of the program. AERC is also used as a sounding board for major policy considerations by agencies, such as the World Bank.

The cost-effectiveness of AERC is a strong feature that helps justify its existence and strengthen its accountability to donors and consumers of its products, in both the public and private sectors. Regular use of performance indicators is intended to improve efficiency and effectiveness of the AERC programs. Several evaluations have noted the cost-effectiveness of the Consortium's operations in relation to its functions, particularly the training program. It has been shown, for example, that the cost of training an economist in North America and Europe is equivalent to training three students through AERC.

Twelve of the 15 members of the Board of Directors are funders of AERC. The Consortium accounts to its financiers through production of annual reports, and five-year strategic plans. The accountability keeps the Consortium on its toes, as continued funding is dependent upon good research output. This practice also safeguards the interest of the financiers.

The facilities and equipment at the disposal of AERC are important resources, as they facilitate the operation of its various programs, particularly its outreach program. Ideas contributed by policy makers involved in the Senior Policy Seminars are also considered an important resource, as they are integrated into the policy-oriented research agenda.

The Consortium's information dissemination strategy is aimed at enhancing the use of economic research for sound economic management on the continent. Thus, dissemination forms a crucial aspect of its overall function and helps to diffuse policy-related research output to members at the supra-national level. AERC disseminates the various types of information it generates in a number of ways.
- Policy Forum enhances dissemination of policy-related research output.
- The AERC Newsletter contains useful information on its activities.

- Publications on specially commissioned papers are also put on the organization's website, which has recently been upgraded with the purchase of a new server.
- Executive summaries disseminate information widely in a useable format.
- Policy seminars for policy makers help bring researchers together with policy makers.
- A database of economic researchers and potential users is being built; it will enhance AERC networking and information dissemination efforts.

Book publishing:
Africa Publishers' Network (APNET)

APNET was set up in 1992 with the mandate to strengthen African publishing through building the capacity of indigenous African publishers to produce quality books. APNET's training program has formed the main thrust of the network's mission. The other thrust is the creation of National Publishing Associations (NPAs) to facilitate networking on issues of common concern. Through close partnership with ADEA's Working Group on Books and Learning Materials (WGBLM), APNET focuses on issues that affect publishers and their commercial publishing interests.[21]

The APNET secretariat is the hub of the network, and the NPAs in each country are its principal members. The secretariat has a staff of six and acts as a clearinghouse for information generated from commissioned studies and from deliberations with the WGBLM, which is then relayed to the NPAs. The network brings members together for an annual General Council. At these meetings, NPAs receive guidance and advice on their responsibilities to APNET, and they are asked to account for their activities. APNET is also increasingly requiring NPAs to take more responsibility for driving the agenda at the local level and appropriate accountability to the hub as a basis for continued assistance.

The main activities of APNET are carried out through the African Publishing Institute, participation in book fairs, and dissemination of information through regular and occasional publications. The African Publishing Institute was set up following a study that recommended that APNET establish an itinerant "institute," which could help respond to problems identified in the publishing industry in Africa. These problems included a lack of shared knowledge of the book trade and publishing activities continent-wide. Another problem was the domination of the industry by multinational corporations, thereby excluding or marginalizing indigenous African organizations. As the

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21. See http://www.africanpublishers.org/ for more information

executive secretary of APNET put it, "African publishers tended to work in their own little corners."

The institute moves around according to need, offering training to publishers in marketing, book publications, commissioning, manuscript assessment, and printing. It helps individual publishers share titles, and it forges closer links between NPAs. The institute organizes regional workshops, which have generally succeeded in breaking down barriers that have kept publishers apart. It also offers national-level workshops to address issues identified by national chapters. The hub organizes, funds, and supplies personnel to run the workshops.

NPAs generate knowledge about publishing within their countries, which they relay to the hub for integration into the network's annual plans. In this way, the network communicates information from the members to the hub and to each other, as well information that originates at the hub.

Attendance and displays at book fairs are an important adjunct activity to APNET. The secretariat coordinates attendance at national fairs organized by the NPAs and at international book fairs in Africa and elsewhere. Participation by APNET members in fairs beyond Africa helps publishers showcase books and market publications. It also familiarizes them with problems and solutions that the industry faces in on other continents as well as in Africa.

APNET disseminates information about its activities to members and others through several channels.
- The APNET Newsletter (The African Publications Review) is published in French and English; it covers issues of concern to publishers and features serious and reflective articles and information on book fairs.
- Occasional publications emanate from the various programs with which APNET is involved and which are designed to empower African publishers, including Trade Promotions, the Research and Documentation Center.
- Publicity and promotions are usually done through radio, television, and print media, targeting popular journals to feature advertisements. Although the long-range plan is to disseminate information about AP-NET worldwide, publicity is presently confined largely to the African context.
- CD-ROM versions of publications are to be produced to enhance dissemination efforts and make them available on-line.

APNET's achievements include: the training program; publications; assistance to Book Development Councils in lobbing governments to liberalize the book sector and remove taxes that work against the development of a viable took trade across Africa, African regional organizations to introduce policies that recognize the needs of the publishing industry, and the World Bank to relax its cumbersome tender procedures in order to facilitate greater

participation of Africans in bank-funded textbook procurement programs. The network also provides textbook materials and facilitates development of a reading culture, which results in informed and empowered citizens, who are better able to participate in development.

APNET has developed various means of intra-network communication, but these are still insufficient. It convenes an annual General Council with members. The network also takes the opportunity at international book fairs to convene a meeting with country representatives of the NPAs to discuss strategies and activities. It also works with a number of other networks involved in the book sector, such as the Pan African Booksellers' Association, the Caribbean Publishers' Network (which it has helped to nurture) and the ADEA Working Group for Books and Learning Materials. Conferences and seminars are also used for discussions of problems afflicting the publishing industry.

Communication between the secretariat and the APNET Board of Directors and between the network and its members is often problematic, as board members are not always readily available to respond to issues. Many of them do not have frequent access to e-mail or even regular mail, due to electricity shortages and unreliable postal services. Communications with NPAs can also be difficult. APNET is moving to strengthen the capacity of NPAs by providing basic equipment, including computers.

The activities of the NPAs are regarded as critical to the attainment of the network goals. In this regard, APNET is encouraging NPAs to get registered and attain a legal status, which will strengthen their advocacy capability. Their enhanced status should also enable them to lobby for formulation and implementation of book policies and education policies that have a bearing on their overall objectives. About two-thirds of the NPAs are registered, and efforts are underway to encourage the remainder to regularize their status.

Girls' education: Forum of African Women Educationalists (FAWE)

Created in 1992 within the context of the ADEA working group for female participation, FAWE's overall goal is to increase access, retention, and participation of girls in school and to improve performance of girls at all levels of the education system.[22] Though the mandate of FAWE has not changed over the years, it has incorporated new approaches in line with the goals and progress attained thus far. For example, FAWE's original objective was to put the agenda of girls' education on the table in policy discussions and formulations at ministries of education. The original strategy involved get-

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22. See http://www.fawe.org/ for more information.

ting African women ministers of education to do this, and FAWE used every available opportunity to push its agenda. This goal has largely been accomplished and there is general agreement that FAWE played a significant role in ensuring that girls' education issues are on the agenda of all, in African and in the development agencies. Much remains to be done, however, in terms of resource provision and attitude change in some communities that still view the education of girls differently from that of boys.

Operationally, FAWE is consists of its regional secretariat, located in Nairobi with a staff of 23, and 33 national chapters. The regional secretariat is a Kenyan international NGO, and the national chapters are national NGOs, recognized as such within each country. FAWE is governed by its General Assembly and Executive Committee. The Executive Director heads the secretariat, which handles professional and administrative functions. The Executive Committee coordinates activities at both the national and the supranational level, and relies on its members to drive its agenda at national levels.

Given its objectives at the time of its founding, advocacy was FAWE's major vector for developing support for girls' education. This strategy determined the nature of FAWE's membership, which consists of three levels:
- Core or full membership is accorded to women who are ministers of education or deputies, permanent secretaries or directors, vice-chancellors, and presidents of universities or deputies. The other members in this category are prominent women educationalists, including retired executive directors of FAWE and founding members.
- Associate Membership extends to serving ministers of education who are men, women ministers of ministries other than education, and former women ministers and executive heads of education ministries and universities.
- Affiliate Membership comprises FAWE national chapters and individuals and institutions committed to FAWE's mandate, who are invited at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Given the high profile of its leaders, and the priority given to advocacy activities, the leadership style of often directive and charismatic. This is best seen in the national chapters where the chairwoman is often a minister or other high-ranking official.

One noteworthy aspect of FAWE's development is that it has assumed full governance and managerial leadership and control over its own destiny. FAWE was founded in the context of the ADEA Working Group on Female Participation, of which it was one component. Within the ADEA context, this Working Group was founded and led by an external development partner. In 1999, leadership of the WG was transferred to FAWE, resulting in a rare instance of

external assistance being replaced by the object of its assistance. This said, FAWE remains financially dependent on its external development partners.

F*igure* 10 provides an overview of the nature of FAWE's structures and the relationships between them.

Figure 10. FAWE's structure and interrelationships
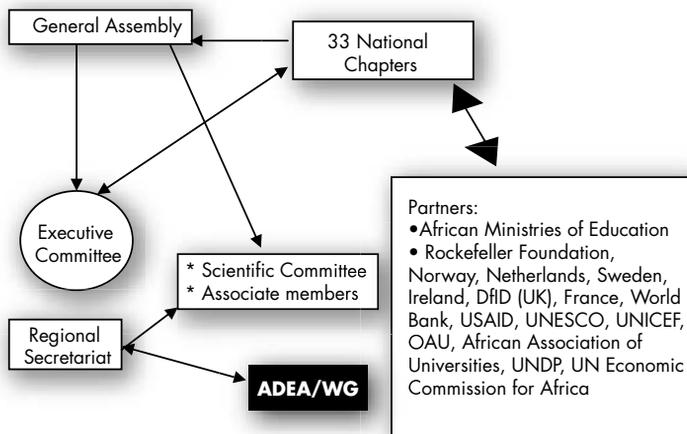
FAWE is a particularly dynamic and successful structure. FAWE's original mission of ensuring that the issues of girls' education are high on the agendas of African policy makers and their external development partners has been achieved. Now, the challenge is how to move from agenda-setting to developing realistic strategies and implementing them so that the actual results (girls in schools) are as visible as the declared priorities and policies. This is FAWE's new challenge   one that is more likely to be tackled in individual countries than on a broader, international scale, as were the challenges of advocacy. In this context the question of "network vs. organization" is raised (Sack 2002). FAWE has always been both. The issue, rather, is one of trade-off and the extent to which the current challenges should favor more of one or the other.

Girls' education: The Network of African Women Scientists and Engineers (NAWSE)

Inspired by FAWE, this network was founded in 2000 in order to advocate for scientific and technological education for girls and women, and to enable participating members organizations to play a more effective role in promoting socio-economic development. Fifteen national associations are part of this network, which does not accept individual members. The basic structural unit

is the "national components (NC)" which group several associations. This is a federal network with a high degree of flexibility in its operations. Management is light, with a coordinating committee of three members and a secretariat in Bamako. The management style is focused on promoting sustained coordination between the autonomous national components. Most communication takes place by e-mail. F*igure* 11 shows this structure.

Figure 11. NAWSE's Structure
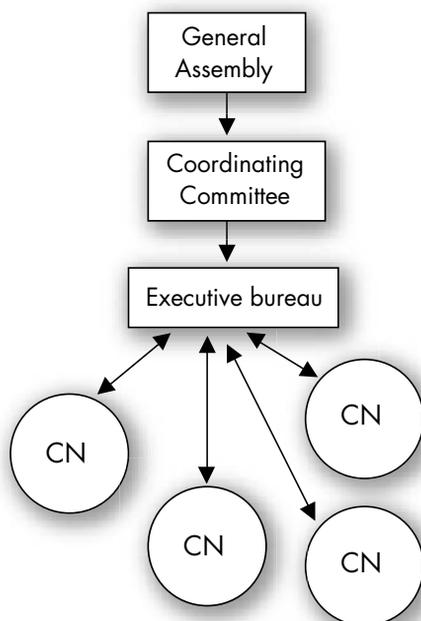
Education for All and civil society: African Network to Campaign for EFA (ANCEFA)

This is a network of activists lobbying to promote the Education for All (EFA) goals. It was launched by a forum of NGOs working on the preparation of the Dakar EFA-2000 meeting. They felt that Africa was not well prepared to participate effectively in this meeting. After the Dakar meeting (April 2000), five national civil society coalitions (South Africa, Tanzania, Senegal, Ghana, and Nigeria) decided to meet to construct a network for EFA. Subsequently, the African Federation of Parents of Pupils joined in. ANCEFA's objectives are: advocacy for EFA; to monitor the EFA process; and to organize civil society for the promotion of the EFA goals.[23]

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23. See http://www.ancefa.org/ for more information.

ANCEFA now has 23 national coalitions composed of stakeholders from civil society. It has a federal type of structure (see F*igure* 12), with an executive committee that appoints the coordinator and the national groups, which make decisions at a general assembly. National coalitions within a sub-region appoint a moderator who federates suggestions and reports them to the executive committee.

The regional coordination is in Dakar. The executive committee is composed of the four sub-regional moderators. Leadership style is collegial. Financing is from external development cooperation agencies.

ANCEFA's activities have largely focused on lobbying international agencies for financing. This dependence on external financing is a major risk for this network. It has also met with NGOs from Latin America and Asia.

Figure 12. Structure of ANCEFA
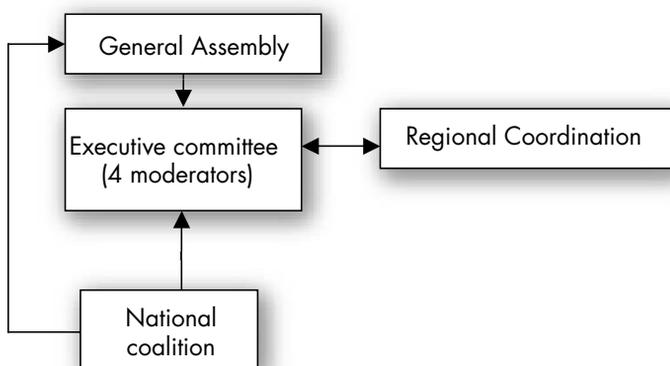
Conclusions: What the networks are telling us

Several messages emerge from this review of policy networks in Africa. For one, we see that ADEA is in good company both in theory and in practice. Secondly, we see that out of a diversity of organizational forms and styles comes a strong potential for action. Moreover, the sum of these networks these fragmented organizational forms adds up to action on a scale that any one organization, or any one network, would have a hard time achieving.

Two sets of common threads transpire from this review: the factors that enable the networks to function and thrive, and the challenges they face. The enabling factors include: a clear understanding of the issues: well-defined objectives; an identified constituency; firm commitment and shared dedication to these objectives; adaptability and quick responsiveness to a changing environment; tolerance for ambiguity, especially when it comes to the roles people play within the network context; collegial, interactive and

relatively informal relations among members; organizational flexibility; a lack of organizational hierarchy; and facilitation of communication among members, often using electronic means. It is not clear, however, what, if any, is the "right mix" of these factors.

A closer look at these factors suggests that they form three strands: cognitive, attitudinal and organizational. As with any thread, these strands are interwoven; indeed, conceptually there is some overlap. Well-defined objectives come from an (cognitive) analysis of the issues. Commitment and dedication are attitudinal   they refer to the values and the resolve of the people concerned. Adaptability and responsiveness require information about the changing environment and knowledge on how this affects the objectives; this is cognitive. The ability to translate this into action, which may mean stepping out of a business-as-usual mold, is more attitudinal in nature. Recognition of ambiguity requires knowledge of dissonant realities and the personal ability to live with this and, even, build upon it. Collegiality and informality, especially in contexts usually more formal and hierarchical, are attitudinal characteristics. Finally, there are the organizational strands flexibility, lack of hierarchy, defined constituency, facilitation of communication that must be determined but, also, need to operate in a mode of responsiveness.

Our common experience with the organizational world leads us to place the emphasis on the cognitive and organizational strands. Propitious attitudes, we think, will follow; appropriate structures and incentives will facilitate people to adapt to the information and organizational patterns in which they find themselves. This may well be the case. Attitudes trust, in particular take top billing in the literature on social capital. Adaptability was considered en essential component of "attitudinal modernity", a concept that was in vogue around 1967-1975 (Inkeles & Smith 1974; Kahl 1968). The literature on social capital suggests that trust develops slowly from social interaction and structures that promote community. Education, work experience and urban living were identified as being most closely associated with attitudinal modernity.

The challenges are mainly organizational in nature and include: the continual search for sustainable financing; the gathering and synthesis of relevant information, often through the construction of databases; effective communication with and between members who may not be well connected to the Internet; and accountability. Dubbeldam (1996) suggests that the size of a network determines the type of communication it uses: smaller networks can rely on personal contacts and larger networks, requiring greater outreach capability use newsletters and mailings. However, this approach views communication as essentially a one-way activity. Increasingly, we see that communication in effective networks approaches conversation in that it is multi-directional, uncontrolled by the hub and, at best, spontaneous. For this, e-mail and the Internet are powerful tools.

Sustainable financing seems to be a constant struggle. It is a major concern for all the networks discussed here. It is also linked to issues of account-ability and the mechanisms put in place to monitor and report activities. However, it may well be that networks are the most cost-effective means of delivering certain types of services, especially those that are process oriented. It behooves network practitioners to identify those areas in which they are particularly cost-effective i.e., their comparative advantages.

Its one thing to identify enabling factors and challenges, threads and strands. Its quite another to come up with prescriptions on what must happen, what must be there. Indeed, our review of the literature on networks along with a close look as several education policy networks in Africa leads to so suspect that the only prescription is that a well-functioning network needs to be well suited to its goals and its environment. For example, in Figures 1-6, we have seen a variety of structures that work well. Each one is adapted to the specific needs and design of its respective network. In some cases, the structure evolved over time to better reflect the realities and the needs of the situation at-hand.

One of the more interesting distinctions in the network literature suggests that there are two schools or types of policy networks the "interest interme-diation school" and the "governance school" (Börzel 1998). The former tends to focus on the facilitation of negotiations, and the latter on problem solv-ing. ADEA's initial focus on "donor coordination", suggests primary concern for interest intermediation. The strategy for this was to develop common, knowledge-based understandings of the issues at-hand, such as how to: educate all of the girls; develop strategies for cost-effective textbooks in the classrooms and tools for education statistics in the ministries; promote educational policy research; develop effective procedures and relations be-tween ministries of education and finance; etc.

Over the years, however, ADEA and its working groups have moved closer to a problem-solving mode. The move in this direction has come, largely, from ADEA's African ministerial constituency. It was they, for example, who deter-mined that the theme of ADEA's 2001 Arusha Biennale would be the logical extension of that of the 1999 Johannesburg Biennale. That Biennale focused on what works, but mostly at the pilot level. For Arusha, the ministers wanted to focus on what works on the scale of entire education systems (Ndoye 2002; Sack 2001). Most of the education policy networks discussed in this paper are, increasingly, focusing on solutions and testing them, sometimes beyond the pilot stages. NESIS is an example of this. Other networks, such as FAWE, implement pilot activities combined with emulation strategies in order to promote solutions and provide concrete examples of what works to the policy makers.

In order to reach out, the education policy networks discussed in this paper have been reaching around. They have extended their reach to other networks and other actors. They have spawned new networks, related in purpose, such as those concerned with various aspects of girls' education. Indeed, this is where the metaphor of the web takes on its full meaning. These signs of proliferation could indicate real opportunities for development of education policy initiatives in Africa where ownership is both anchored in the continent and broadly distributed and shared. There could be perverse effects, such as we see with the development of fads. And, as we witness and encourage the development of such networks, it is useful to continue working on our theoretical and practical understanding of these new forms of development cooperation for education in Africa.

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Learning How to Mainstream: Experiential Knowledge and Grounded Theory

by Cream WRIGHT

This paper is based on the main presentation made at the session on "Main-streaming Non-Formal Education: Towards a Grounded Theory", during the Arusha Biennial meeting. It has been extensively revised to incorporate as far as possible the issues, perspectives and contentions of the other presentations made during the session.[1] However the author takes full responsibility for the views expressed in the paper in its present form.

Introduction

For well over two decades now, education in Africa has been subjected to a plethora of innovations and experiments intended to promote positive change in policy and performance of the sector. This has given rise to a critical paradox in that education systems in Africa reflect a wide range of exciting innovations, yet continue to be plagued by seemingly intractable problems that thwart development efforts in the sector. The main response to this paradox has been to advocate for the scaling up and mainstream-ing of those innovations that have proven to be successful. However, it is clear that despite efforts in this direction, we have not been very good at transforming a successful pilot innovation into a system-wide phenomenon that impacts on quality basic education for all. The concepts of scaling up and mainstreaming are tantalizingly attractive, but in practice we still have much to learn about how to make them work in the real world.

There is little doubt about the richness of what has been attempted in terms of education in Africa, as catalogued in the recent ADEA publication on what works for Africa (ADEA 2001). This shows that educational innovations in Africa span areas of policy-making, planning, strategy design, new pedago-gies, program development, management and organization, inspection and supervision, etc. In the main, they are intended to contribute to increased provision, equitable access, improved quality, effective delivery and efficient

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1. The other presentations were made by Rosa-Maria Torres (Amplifying and Diversifying Learning), Ekundayo Thompson (Successful Experiences in Non-Formal Education and Alternatives to Basic Education in Africa), and Mulugeta (The rise and decline of Non-Formal Education in Ethiopia).

management of the education system. Most of these innovations originate from external sources or from externally funded projects, but some are also home grown in response to problems and challenges encountered locally. More significantly, while some of these innovations are within the so-called formal system, most of the more promising ones are to be found outside the formal system. These features may hold the key to understanding why we have not been very successful in scaling up or mainstreaming promising innovations. They raise the issues of how far innovations are grounded in local reality (home grown / locally owned) and how far they are estranged from of the mainstream.

What is most striking about educational innovations in Africa is the sense in which they tend to generate a vicious cycle of rising expectations and unfulfilled promises. Typically, there is much hope and enthusiasm at the start of an innovation. This is followed by investment of much time, effort and resources to put the innovation into practice. Some innovations do take hold and can be regarded as successful, but even these tend to be limited in scope and scale. In far too many cases however, innovations seem to fade away for various reasons and eventually suffer "death through decay". The issue often, is only partly due to problems and inherent weaknesses in the innovations. In many cases failure has more to do with the resilience of the formal system, which seems capable of thwarting and marginalizing innovations that threaten to change it in significant ways. Many African countries therefore have a wide range of education innovations at various stages of design, implementation and decay. Usually, there is also a prevailing sense of tension and poor engagement between innovations and what is accepted as mainstream education.

Against this background, the contention of this paper is twofold. Firstly, African countries need a more systematic approach to harnessing and mainstreaming the potential of their most promising educational innovations. Without this, education in Africa will continue to be haunted by a sense of crisis and challenged by the constant threat of decline, despite commendable progress by many countries and strong support from their development partners. Secondly, the paper contends that the most effective way of mainstreaming innovations is to create a holistic system that embraces all forms of education within and outside the mainstream. Such a holistic system would, by definition, be more flexible, more diversified and open to change. African countries can therefore make better use of innovations for expanding equitable access to education and for improving educational quality on a sustainable basis. The trend in development education is clearly towards coordinated program design and sector-wide support, rather than on continuing with individual projects and separate funding support for such

projects. The main argument of this paper is that there should be a similar move away from the fragmented approach of trying to scale up individual innovations, and move towards a more comprehensive approach for mainstreaming educational innovations in general by creating and sustaining a holistic, flexible and self-renewing education system.

The focus of this paper therefore is on using what we know from educational innovations (especially those outside the mainstream), to help develop a systematic approach for harnessing and mainstreaming innovations as part of a holistic system of education. In this regard the paper seeks to show how we can draw from case studies that provide us with experiential knowledge, in order to develop a grounded theory on how to mainstream innovations. In essence this paper is about learning how to mainstream!

Basic concepts and working definitions

To deal adequately with mainstreaming, we need to first address some on-going conceptual difficulties concerning the use of terms like formal education, non-formal education, informal education and alternative education. These difficulties stem from the fact that there is a confusing array of boundary crossings and a mixture of similarities and differences between these various forms of education, such that the terms no longer define exclusive categories. In many ways most formal education systems have been able to learn lessons over the years from successful strategies and practices in non-formal education. By the same token, many non-formal or alternative forms of education have sought to emulate key features of the formal system, and some were even modeled on it in the first place. In the face of such reality, the ADEA Working Group on Non-Formal Education has been concerned with ways of bridging the divide between so-called formal and non-formal education. Various interested parties associated with the working group have persuasively argued that:
- This distinction is redundant and the very concepts of formal education and non-formal education are themselves obsolete.
- We need to revisit the whole range of concepts such as formal, non-formal, informal and alternative, to be clear about these widely used labels that influence and affect so much of what we do and how we perceive education provision in its various forms.

Beyond issues of typology, there is concern over what seems to be a strong convergence in the development community in favour of the more formal and mainstream versions of education. In this regard, Torres (2000) provides us with a provocative and controversial summary of how countries and development partners have interpreted and responded to various elements of education for all (See *Table* 20).

Table 20. Education For All (Jomtien)

Proposal	Response
1. Education for *all*	1. Education for *children* (*the poorest among the poor*)
2. B*asic* education	2. S*chooling* (and *primary* education)
3. Universalizing *basic* education	3. Universalizing *access* to *primary* education
4. B*asic* learning needs	4. M*inimum* learning needs
5. Focusing on *learning*	5. Enhancing and assessing *school performance*
6. Expanding the *vision* of *basic* education	6. Increasing the *duration* (number of years) of *compulsory schooling*
7. Basic education as the *foundation for lifelong learning*	7. Basic education as an *end in itself*
8. Enhancing the *environment for learning*	8. Enhancing the *school environment*
9. All countries	9. *Developing countries*
10. Responsibility of *countries* (government and civil society) and the *international community*	10. Responsibility of *countries*

Source: Torres 2000

In view of the above arguments on education typologies, this paper will not enter into a detailed debate about these concepts, because that can easily lead to being trapped in the dead end of semantics. Instead the focus is on a single categorization that embraces and subsumes the old typologies. This is the basis on which the notion of mainstream education is used in this paper, to define a category of education that is based on certain key characteristics as well as on some status features (recognition, perception, acceptance, etc.) and norms that are symbolic of the category. It is therefore critical to develop the concept of mainstream education and link it to the objectives of mainstreaming innovations and creating a holistic system of education. In addition it is necessary to outline and clarify the concepts of experiential knowledge and grounded theory, which are regarded in this paper as key tools for mainstreaming. By outlining and clarifying these three concepts, the paper will provide a conceptual framework within which we can develop practical strategies for learning how to mainstream.

Defining mainstream education

The so-called formal school system is a relatively recent social invention, but it can readily be portrayed as the core of what is being termed mainstream education in this paper. Mainstream education is therefore defined firstly by certain basic characteristics that are normally associated with the formal school system (See *Table* 21). These include the following:

Table 21. Some basic characteristics that help to define mainstream education

Basic Characteristics	Outline Of Characteristics
Location specific	Specific place or location (school) prescribed at which the learning/teaching process is designated to take place.
Time Bound	Learners and teachers assemble at the location at designated times and stay on for prescribed time periods (day, term, year) for schooling to take place.
Time Structured	School day structured into periods during which different subjects / curriculum areas are covered. School year also structured into terms, with prescribed number of weeks.
Learner Structured	Learners usually grouped by age (cohorts) and channeled into levels or «classes» corresponding to age and prescribed learning for that age group.
Program Structured	Prescribed learning structured into subjects or disciplines that are taught separately and together form a program for a given grade level or education cycle.
Prescribed Learning	Curriculum reflects national goals and priorities, possibly open to regional/local variations, and involves set standards enforced through national tests and examinations.
Sequenced Learning	Curriculum sequenced so objectives need to be achieved at one level before progression to the next level.
Specialist Staffing	Staffing by qualified/trained professionals (teachers) with knowledge of subject matter and pedagogical skills, etc.
Specialist Resources	Standard furniture, equipment, etc., unique to schools and part of key characteristics (desks, seats, chalk, blackboard, etc) of a normal school.

The basic characteristics illustrated above constitute one of the strands through which we can define mainstream education. These characteristics help to make schools recognisable throughout the world, and have come to represent the visible symbols and short-cut icons of schools as social institutions at the core of mainstream education. But these characteristics do not completely define mainstream education. Many schools are now more flexible and do not necessarily conform to all the characteristics highlighted

above. Similarly some community schools and other learning centers that are regarded as non-formal display quite a number of the characteristics associated with formal schools. Hence, whilst these characteristics provide a reasonable rule of thumb to help distinguish formal institutions at the core of mainstream education from non-formal and other alternative forms of education, they do not constitute necessary and sufficient grounds for making such distinctions. There are at least two additional strands through which we can make this distinction in a more comprehensive manner.

Official recognition as a defining strand of mainstream education
In addition to the basic characteristics outlined above, mainstream education can be defined by a number of features that cluster around the strand of official recognition (*See Table* 22). Most governments have mechanisms and procedures in place for granting recognition to educational institutions that are owned and/or operated by NGOs, community based organizations or private sector providers. Such official recognition usually means that certain standards have been met and conditions fulfilled that effectively make the learning institution part of the mainstream. In principle, government recognition gives a new status to an institution, regardless of whether it is viewed as formal or non-formal. In practice however institutions that gain such recognition are usually closely akin to the formal institutions that are already part of the mainstream. So why is official recognition seen as a defining feature of mainstream education? When an institution gets official recognition there are other things that follow:

Table 22. Factors associated with official recognition

Access to Public Funding	Official Budget line with allocation of resources on a regular and reliable basis
Access to key National Tests and Examinations	Programs recognized as preparation for these tests/exams and candidates eligible to take the examinations
Acceptance by Employers	Programs recognized for employment purposes
Inclusion in National Statistics	Learners, staff, scores, etc are included in the statistics on the national education system.
Valued by Stakeholders	Popularly perceived as real education, not second rate.

These factors are linked in various ways as part of mainstream education. For instance many innovations that do not feature in official statistics on education do not receive regular funding in the education budget. It seems that governments will not fund what they cannot or do not count. Even more

importantly, governments do not invest on policy, standards, inspection, monitoring and supervision for these innovations in the same way as they do for mainstream education.

Thompson's (2001) account of the evolving status of non-formal education in Kenya richly illustrates the struggle for official recognition and support:

> "In the early '90s the Kenyan Ministry of Education set up a non-formal education desk which has subsequently been upgraded to a non-formal education unit. It is expected that a department with responsibility for non-formal education will soon evolve. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in collaboration with bilateral partners has formulated draft policy guidelines on NFE which are currently being discussed with a view to finalizing them. Under the aegis of the Government of Kenya – UNICEF Program of Cooperation in Non-Formal Education, non-formal schools and centers have received various types of support towards quality provision of education."

All these factors influence the extent to which the public will value an innovative education program. If public perception of the value of a program derives largely from these factors, it can be argued that an education program with readily identifiable characteristics akin to those of the formal school system, and with official recognition by the government, will generally be perceived as being of value. Target groups are more likely to regard it as "real education" and "the right thing to pursue". We are constantly reminded for instance, that whilst some alternative education programs in Asia appear attractive we should be aware that they are not popular options for the target groups concerned. "The poor almost never willingly choose non-formal alternatives. It is simply that they do not have a choice and must either access such alternatives or go without education." Innovative programs sometimes fail because of the wrong perception. Target groups can easily see such programs as an attempt to offer them an inferior form of education that is different from the formal system and that lacks the recognition and acceptance that give social-economic value to any education program. There are even some programs within formal school systems that are effectively marginalised because of the perception of learners and their parents that these programs lack the recognition and acceptance that would provide social-economic value. This was a major problem with efforts, supported by the World Bank, to mainstream diversified curricula through the introduction of technical and vocational subjects in secondary schools.[2]

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2   Extensive studies of curriculum diversification suggest that failures were partly due to resistance on the part of learners and their parents to embrace technical/vocational subjects that were perceived as being low status and not fully part of the prestige examination system leading to tertiary education.

Experiential knowledge

The concept of experiential knowledge is crucial for understanding how we can learn from practice in order to inform theory that can help us develop pragmatic solutions to the problems facing our education systems. What is termed experiential knowledge in this paper is essentially practitioner knowledge. It comes as much from doing as from thinking about doing. For instance, effective teachers do not simply do various things in their classrooms to promote learning, they also reflect on their practice and learn from it (Schon 1990). This notion of the "reflective practitioner" is at the heart of building and using experience in the form of experiential knowledge.

The "reflective practitioner" is the source of experiential knowledge. This term can apply equally to classroom teachers, managers and administrators, curriculum designers, policy analysts, and researchers. When they are effective, all of these practitioners display the same sequence of eclectic action and reflection that propels them towards mastery of their field. They typically draw on some body of theoretical knowledge and understanding to plan, design and prepare for their work. They then do their work (practice) and they also reflect on what they do in order to learn how to do things better over time. This is the essence of experience! The experienced teacher not only draws on his/her knowledge of subject matter, learning theory and syllabus interpretation, but also uses an intrinsic and instinctive form of knowledge and understanding developed over years of practice and reflection. This has to do with what works in different classroom settings, how best to help different groups of learners to understand a subject, making best use of resources in the classroom and dealing with difficult topics in different ways. The same is true for other education practitioners such as policy advisers, curriculum planners, researchers, managers, etc. This cumulative build up of experiential knowledge is what leads to the type of mastery that we recognize and value in outstanding master practitioners.

In dealing with innovations, experiential knowledge can be used as a tool for developing a theory of how to do things better. By repeatedly gaining experience of what works and how things work with a variety of educational innovations in different settings, we begin to develop the know-how to deal with factors that support or obstruct progress with innovations. It is this approach that is advocated in this paper, and it implies that we need a cadre of professional innovators or innovating agencies that can help to build a bank of experiential knowledge on how to make innovations work on a large scale. In contrast we appear to be stuck with an evaluation model of knowledge, through which we attempt to mainstream educational innovations without first learning how to mainstream! This prevailing model typically involves evaluating a number of projects (or even just one project) and extrapolating from this to scale up the innovation in question. So, on the basis of study-

ing a few projects on multi-grade teaching or accelerated learning we try to mainstream these innovations by large-scale teacher training programs and the mass provision of pedagogical materials.

Grounded theory

Theories are usually the result of observation, experimentation and hypothesis testing. In most cases, particularly for the social world, theories do not provide us with certainties. They give us a framework and conceptual tools for understanding and acting on our world, in a manner that would lead to outcomes that are predictable within certain limits. In the case of grounded theory, the main features are that it is rooted in practical reality, it is context sensitive, it is heuristic in nature, and it is linked to action.

This means that grounded theory relies critically on experiential knowledge, which derives from reflection on practice. By systematically reviewing and organising reflections on the practice of innovation, we begin to develop a "feel" for the factors that support or inhibit successful innovation. However, this applies to specific contexts rather than to innovations in general. Hence, grounded theory starts with understanding how an innovation was made to work (or failed to work) in a specific context. This gives us a basis for doing further innovations in that context or in very similar contexts. Grounded theory progresses further when practitioners use "reflection in practice" as a reiterative tool to better understand how a series of innovations succeed or fail in a variety of contexts. In this sense, grounded theory is always work in progress in that it constantly needs to be extended and refined to reflect the variety of changing contexts in which we attempt to innovate. Practitioner reflection on an innovation in a particular context gives us the initial makings of a grounded theory. This then needs to be extended and refined on the basis of further reflection in practice, for an increasingly widening range of innovations and innovation contexts.

As practitioners become more reflective in their practice for different innovations and different contexts, grounded theory becomes more robust and useful as a practical tool for doing innovation. The theory is thus both heuristic and action-oriented. When developing grounded theory we are not so much concerned with establishing causality and statistical significance in the relationship between various factors. Rather, the focus is on gaining sufficient understanding of how different factors relate to each other and the ways in which they influence success or failure of an innovation. It is through the heuristic process of confirming and modifying our initial understanding, as we work on different contexts that we begin to build a feasible grounded theory that can guide future efforts at innovation. This approach to mainstreaming innovations has a number of very critical implications for development assistance that will be explored in a future paper.

Living on the margins

Education programs and institutions that are outside the mainstream share a common fate of living on the margins. If we are serious about mainstreaming, then we need to understand how and why such programs tend to be marginalised. From various case studies on non-formal education programs we can begin to map out some of the factors that keep NFE on the margins:

- *Small scale* – Many innovations were designed to cope with specific problems on a small scale and in fact become successful and manageable precisely because of this characteristic. However this has the disadvantage of making such innovations appear unworkable in the mainstream, with its large-scale features.
- *Localised* – Innovations are designed in specific contexts and are therefore suited to the local situation. This raises the problem of transference to different contexts and localities, and tends to keep such innovations in the margins.
- *Under resourced* – In terms of staffing, materials and other resources, innovations outside the mainstream tend to be poorly resourced, especially after the initial phase of enthusiasm and support. This can sometimes make them appear to be inferior versions of mainstream programs. There is therefore a reluctance to transfer or scale up such innovations.
- *Unconventional* – Innovations can be scary. They often have unconventional features that make target groups pause and ask questions such as "is this really education?" "How far is this recognized and what guarantees do we have that it will deliver quality learning?"
- *Risk prone* – As with anything new and different there are always risks associated with education innovations. Who wants to take risks with their future?
- *Highly fragmented* – The plethora of innovations outside the mainstream is often difficult to consolidate and make sense of. This gives the impression that mainstream education is an island of stability in a sea of experimentation.
- *Isolated and protected* – Sometimes stakeholders who start and promote successful innovations are so protective of their work that they resist attempts to adapt it in any way or to move it out of their sphere of influence. Innovations become possessions to be forever associated with certain individuals or groups and therefore do not appear to be attractive to those who wish to generalise the innovation to other settings.
- *Patronized* (*curios*) – In some situations there is a strange patronizing attitude that does not wish to see some innovations modified or adapted to make them part of the mainstream. It becomes almost sacrilegious to interfere with these well-known and often cited innovations once they achieve legendary status in the literature.

The case for mainstreaming

Mainstreaming involves a number of processes such as moving from the margins and going to scale. More importantly it is facilitated by such things as gaining official recognition and public acceptance, as well as having access to regular public funding and being an integral part of the examination system and the education statistics system (EMIS). The key challenge of course is to achieve all of this without sacrificing the essence of what makes these alternatives so attractive as education innovations! This raises the question in some quarters about the need for mainstreaming. Purists suggest that we leave well-enough alone. There will be interesting innovations that succeed or fail and we can learn from them, but we do not need to try to make these innovations part of mainstream education. In reply, it can be argued that mainstream education in most African countries has proved perennially incapable of learning key lessons from innovations precisely because it is so inflexible and monolithic. The case for mainstreaming is therefore firstly, to infuse mainstream education with new types of programs, structures and forms of organization, etc. that would transform it into a more holistic system that is capable of responding to change and learning from experience. In other words mainstreaming is about creating a self-innovating education system that is capable of learning from innovations and is sufficiently flexible to make use of the best that these innovations have to offer in order to improve its own diversity.

Secondly, mainstreaming is critical for equity reasons. Why do so many African countries continue to spend such a high proportion of public resources on the so-called formal school system and mainstream education, whilst ignoring the alternatives through which a sizeable proportion of their population manage to access learning opportunities? There is a deep sense of social injustice in this pattern of expenditure, but there is also a reluctance to change things because of uncertainties over the implications and consequences of change. The key questions to be asked in changing this situation have to do with what to fund and why. Governments keen to pursue EFA should not be stuck on supporting institutions, but should try to understand where, when and how their citizens access and acquire quality learning opportunities. Educational statistics as well as allocation of public funds and quality assurance mechanisms should all then be based on the answers to these types of questions. In this way it should be possible to support access to quality education wherever and however it takes place. It should also be possible to move towards a type of mainstream education that is diversified, versatile, flexible and responsive in meeting the basic needs of all learners.

Learning how to mainstream

This paper has argued that the business of mainstreaming involves drawing on experiential knowledge through a systematic, reiterative process of reflection in practice whilst working on a succession of innovations in different settings. These settings involve not only education but also many other contextual features such as political climate, economic conditions, social/cultural patterns, etc. All these features as well as the mainly educational factors would come into play as practitioners work to better understand how to mainstream, say, community schools that operate multiple shifts, localised curriculum and flexible attendance policy, community involvement in school management, etc.

An initial case of reflection in practice whilst working on, for example, community schools, could help us begin to identify the factors that make this successful as a viable, effective and efficient provision of learning opportunities for the particular context. We could also begin to identify those factors that appear to impede the success of this type of innovative education. As we move to reflection in practice for community schools in other settings, we would need to ask questions about all these initial factors, as well as trying to identify new ones:

- How do these factors manifest themselves and work out in other settings?
- What are the lessons from other countries or regions with community schools?
- Are there new factors prominent in these lessons from outside?
- What factors appear to hold strong in different settings?
- Which factors/features appear transferable to other contexts?
- How can we make this innovation work well in different settings?
- What do we need to do to gain official recognition for this type of education?
- What are the useful indicators that can be used to include this in the statistics?
- On what basis can we advocate for regular funding for this type of education?
- How can we improve this type of education so that it becomes socially acceptable?

Towards a grounded theory

As we reflect in practice and accumulate valuable experiential knowledge of how to mainstream educational innovations, we can move towards developing a grounded theory. This would be an increasingly complex mosaic of factors that promote innovation as well as those that inhibit innovation. They would typically be set out in a diagram that shows how they relate to and influence each other to impact on innovations in different settings

and contexts. Most importantly a grounded theory would be the invisible guiding hand, the mental GPS that innovation practitioners use to navigate successfully through an ever-changing landscape of educational innovations and contextual settings. Using grounded theory, education systems can move from simply trying out innovations that never seem to go beyond their initial success in a specific context, to mainstreaming innovations on a regular and systematic basis. In this way innovations can become a much more organic part of education systems. By the same token, education systems will become increasingly diversified, dynamic, responsive, flexible and capable of introducing innovations that will have fairly predictable outcomes in different settings.

A grounded theory would become one of the essential tools for practitioners engaged in doing innovations and promoting change that is aimed at creating a more holistic and flexible type of mainstream education. From the start of any innovation, the chances for success could be strengthened by using "reflection in practice" to understand the factors that enhance experiential knowledge and help build grounded theory.

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Part Two

Promising Educational Responses to HIV/AIDS

Identifying Promising Approaches in HIV/AIDS and Education

by Gabriel RUGALEMA and Richard AKOULOUZE

Introduction

Twenty years into the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the question is no longer how will it affect the education sector. The issue now is the extent to which the sector is being affected by the epidemic and what responses could be, or are being put in place to address the negative consequences. It is now acknowledged that the impact of HIV/AIDS in the education is systemic. It not only affects learners and teachers but it is also a problem for education managers. In short, the epidemic is affecting both the demand and supply of education in terms of quality, quantity, and process (Kelly 2000).

Against this background, in April 2000 the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) initiated an exercise aimed at identifying effective responses to the effects of HIV/AIDS on the education structures of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The objective was to identify promising approaches and interventions in the education sector to issues caused by the epidemic. The intent was to focus on (i) the impact of HIV/AIDS on the functioning of the education sector (mainly, in terms of its effects on teachers and students), and (ii) ways by which the education sector can respond to the challenges of HIV/AIDS (mainly, through the teaching of relevant values and life skills). Interventions and policy responses to the ravages of HIV/AIDS that show promise in tackling the problems caused by this epidemic were identified and analyzed. This is part of ADEA's long-term strategy of developing a "culture" amongst the ADEA partners, ministers, agencies, professionals and researchers of finding responses from within the African context to the issues, problems and constraints we know all too well.

Ministries of Education in sub-Saharan African were invited to participate in the exercise. They were requested to take stock of activities underway within their education systems that address HIV/AIDS related problems. This included on-going policies, programs, innovations, and/or experiences that show promise in tackling the problems caused by HIV/AIDS in the education sector be they happening throughout the education system, in one or several schools, and/or in one or several communities. Participating countries

were expected to analyze what it is about such activities that show promise, and why. The initiative sought to stimulate countries to take a close look at, and take stock of HIV/AIDS interventions in the education sector, how they operate, what makes them work, and their results. The ADEA initiative was aware that in some, if not most cases, it could be premature to talk of actual results, let alone success. In such cases, ministries of education were encouraged to focus on their expectation for positive results. The countries that participated in this exercise are listed in *Table* 23.

This initiative is built on the broader initiative and methodology of ADEA's "Prospective, Stock-Taking Review of Education in Africa" which was initiated in 1998 and presented at ADEA's 1999 Biennial Meeting.[1] That exercise identified successful experiences to the challenges of quality, access, and capacity development in African education systems. The spirit and philosophy of the prospective stocktaking approach is to stimulate mutual learning (countries learning from each other), a philosophy based on the belief that it is possible to find solutions to Africa educational problems that are contextual and home grown.[2]

Purpose and scope

Seventeen countries responded to the invitation to participate in this exercise. This paper is a synthesis of findings to-date of the case studies from those countries, not all of which are fully completed. Indeed, this paper is a report of an on-going exercise composed of case studies at different phases of their work. In other words, the objective of this exercise is to focus on promising approaches to tackling the epidemic within the context of the education sector. For this reason, we do not present the usual background information on rates of prevalence, nor on the general HIV/AIDS situation in the countries.

Effective or promising approaches?

To identify an "effective approach" we need to define effectiveness. Literature on effectiveness of interventions aimed at preventing HIV and mitigating its impact is scanty especially in the field of education. This is partly due to the "newness" of the interventions. It has taken education ministries a long time to accept the inevitable that HIV/AIDS is a formidable problem and establish appropriate interventions. Secondly, monitoring and evaluation of interventions is weak in most education ministries. HIV/AIDS interventions

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1. See Association for the Development of Education in Africa (2001). It should be noted that 26 countries completed case studies for that exercise, compared with only nine for the HIV/AIDS exercise reported here. Resources (financial, technical, follow-up) available to countries for each of these two exercises were about the same.
2. See Ndoye (2000).

Table 23. Summary of the country case studies by programmatic area and topic

Country	Programmatic Focus	Topic
Angola	Educational	Evaluation of HIV/AIDS curriculum for schools and teacher training colleges.
Burkina Faso*	Educational/ Community	Assessment of the experimental program to involve the Gaoua community in HIV/AIDS and STD control.
Burundi	Educational	To appraise HIV/AIDS educational programs with the view of identifying a promising intervention.
Congo (Brazza)	Educational	Appraisal of HIV/AIDS educational programs to identify the most promising.
Ghana	System Management	Documenting the process and politics of formulating a sector strategic plan for HIV/AIDS in the ministry of education.
Lesotho	Educational	Assessment of the workshop module and curriculum-based HIV/AIDS interventions among pupils in Lesotho Schools.
Liberia*	Educational	An inventory of HIV/AIDS interventions in Liberian schools: Towards identifying a promising approach
Mali*	Educational	An analysis of the impact of «club anti-SIDA» in schools in Mali.
Namibia*	Educational	An impact assessment survey of the school-based HIV/AIDS programs in Namibia with particular reference to 'My Future is My Choice' program.
Niger*	Educational	Inventory of on-going school-based HIV/AIDS with the view of identifying the most promising.
Senegal*	Educational	Evaluation of HIV/AIDS related activities in the areas of (i) training, (ii) information dissemination/creation of awareness, and (iii) production of didactic materials.
South Africa	Educational	An assessment of the impact of the «Life Skills Program on school going children in South Africa.
Swaziland*	Educational	An assessment of the School HIV/AIDS Intervention Program in Swaziland.
Tanzania*	Educational	An evaluation of the school youth program on HIV/AIDS in Magu District, Tanzania.
Togo	Educational	An Assessment on the impact of HIV/AIDS program implemented by PSI in Togolese schools.
Uganda	Educational	Inventory of completed interventions with the aim to analyze their impact on Ugandan school children.
Zanzibar*	Educational	An evaluation of the effectiveness of school and college clubs for imparting knowledge among school children and trainee-teachers in Zanzibar.

* Denotes countries that submitted a complete, final report

have suffered from this. Nevertheless, to identify an effective approach would entail looking at it both in terms of input and output, as well as the process through which inputs are made available and transformed into output. Clearly, this would be difficult to achieve given some of the issues

raised in respect to HIV/AIDS interventions in the education ministries. We have, thus, opted for a more pragmatic approach, which we call an analysis of "promising" approaches.

By analyzing promising approaches we are seeking to harness the benefits of scientific investigation and, at the same time, develop capacity of ministry staff who, in most cases, were/are the researchers and authors of country case studies. Instead of going around countries looking for evidence of effectiveness of interventions, we have opted for an approach that would put education ministries in a reflective mode, an approach designed to enable the ministries to reflect on what they are doing, identify strengths and weaknesses of their interventions, scale-up what shows promise, and formulate policy and programs to strengthen weak areas.

Approaching the issue from this vantage point underscores the fact that problems wrought by HIV/AIDS in the education sector are still escalating. Effective counter measures and interventions, therefore, are still in their infancy. More important, however, is that the term "promising" confers a sense of expectation that may stimulate education ministries to look deeper into processes and methodologies, as well as structures and resources to support HIV/AIDS interventions. For these reasons, we did not embark on this exercise with a set of qualifiers or indicators to characterize "a promising approach." Rather, the research teams and respondents were expected to explore and innovate and bring to surface issues that are pertinent to the interventions being analyzed and indicators that make sense to the target groups.

Methodology

The work reported here is exploratory. Each education ministry interested in joining the exercise submitted a proposal for a case study. Except for Zanzibar, all the countries that submitted research proposals have HIV prevalence rates higher than five percent. In that sense, they are all facing a severe epidemic. Given that each country submits its own proposal to ADEA, there is wide variety in the research and design of the different case studies. In all countries, evidence was collected using questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and/or focus group discussions.

Given the lack of information on how education systems are responding to the HIV/AIDS crisis, this approach appears justified. For this reason, it is important to keep in mind that the "promising approaches" reported here are those selected and reported by the education ministries that responded to ADEA's invitation to participate in this exercise. In other words, the results are self-selected, according to criteria established by each country.

Indicators of effectiveness or promise were not defined before the selection of promising interventions was made. Some case studies administered questionnaires to samples of students and teachers, which enabled the construction of indicators used in those studies. In the Mali study, for example, the indicators of "promise" were participation rate in club activities, attitudes and opinions about participating in club activities and the membership figures. The studies for Niger, Senegal, Swaziland, Zanzibar, Togo and Burkina Faso assessed students' knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in relation to biological aspects of HIV/AIDS, methods of prevention and other problems related to the pandemic. The Tanzania study assessed declines in pregnancies, love letters, and cases of sexual abuse, as well as use of health services for advice on sex. None of the case studies is able to measure individual behavior change as a result of interventions or participation in a "promising" activity.

One of ADEA's requirements was that the findings and recommendations of the case studies be disseminated widely within and outside the participating countries. To this end, a one-day dissemination workshop was organised in each of the following countries: Tanzania, Zanzibar, Swaziland, and Namibia. A regional workshop for West African countries was organised in April 2001 and a similar workshop was organised for Eastern and Southern African countries in July 2001. A preliminary synthesis of case studies was presented at the ADEA 2001 Biennale held in Arusha, Tanzania, in October 2001.

Overview of the case studies

Figure 13 presents an overview of the approaches reported by all of the countries that have indicated willingness to participate in this exercise. To date, however, not all have completed their case studies. The following overview presents those that have been completed.

Burkina Faso: The effectiveness of the multi-sector approach

The study consists of a qualitative evaluation of three components: the partnerships, interventions and coordination in the Gaoua region. This project is a good example of a partnership in the fight against HIV/AIDS, despite the rising rate of infection in the region, which is due to the massive influx of Côte d'Ivoire citizens into the area.

Figure 13. Approaches to HIV/AIDS in education in Africa
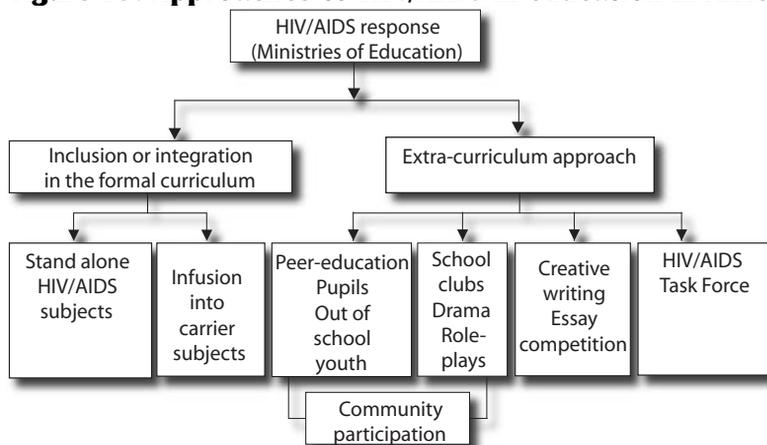
- The project is being implemented in the education system in the Gaoua region. The teachers are grouped in anti-AIDS committees in which they receive instruction in biology and the problems of the pandemic. The pupils, in turn, take part in school teams in which they are educated about HIV/AIDS and STIs. These clubs receive support from the project; their activities consist of educational discussions, theatre and forums. The project also takes charge of orphans.
- Activities take place at the community and local level. The agents of each government service come together to form an anti-AIDS committee and take part in implementing the provincial action plan in their sector. The NGOS, in turn, help fund the sector-based activities. The community-based organizations (CBOs) are voluntary groups that conduct aware-ness-raising activities. At the level of the local population, each village has created its own anti-AIDS committee and takes part in implementing the multi-sector project.
- The approach in Gaoua reflects a rich partnership. This partnership is organized by level of responsibility. Thus the national level groups the central government services, the regional level brings together the NGOs, the community level consists of the CBOs and the local level of the local communities.

A provincial committee headed by the High Commissioner for the province coordinates all the activities. The committee is made up of representatives of the public services, the NGOs, the CBOs and the villages. It considers proposals for activities and handles all the financial contributions raised to fund them.

Burundi: The teacher training programs

The study consisted of evaluating the school programs, the teaching materials and the anti-AIDS school clubs ("clubs stop SIDA"). The study showed that the level of understanding of the pupils and teachers about HIV/AIDS was satisfactory, and that they – including the clubs – had adopted positive attitudes towards prevention programs. On the other hand, it seems that the teaching material developed by the Rural Education Board (BER) was not very suitable.

Mali: The strengths and weaknesses of the anti-AIDS clubs

The study made use of a sample to assess the level of participation in club activities, the attitudes and opinions about club activities, the level of involvement in the clubs and their strong points and weak points.
- With regard to participation in club activities, the results show that the students appreciate the conferences, the discussions-debates and the distribution of condoms and other activities: of the students in the sample, 37.9% (relative majority) say they have taken part in conferences, 27.6% in discussions-debates and 23.7% in the distribution of condoms.
- As for changes in attitudes and opinions about the prevention of HIV/AIDS, 49.2% (relative majority) of the students say that the school clubs had a positive impact on them. The result of this change was stopping unprotected sexual relations or a decision to stay with a single partner. With regard to the level of involvement in the clubs, 32.5% of the youth say that the majority of the youth are members.

This study pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of the anti-AIDS clubs.
> *"The strong point of the clubs was the existence of an awareness-raising body organized by the students who worked in it voluntarily; another strong point was the use of students as organizers (which facilitated communications) and the advance training of support staff and student-organizers in communications techniques."*

The weaknesses undoubtedly included the fact that the organization lacked resources. In addition, the school directors indicated that club activities tended to be sporadic, indicating a lack of continuity in the activities. The lack of a longer-term schedule of programs is a weakness of the clubs.

Namibia: A peer-led HIV/AIDS intervention

The Namibian Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture has incorporated HIV/AIDS into the curriculum and extra-curricular programs to complement

and strengthen the former. The country case study was designed to analyze the curricular and extra-curricular interventions with the view of identifying a promising program. About 1,500 pupils were interviewed and the survey covered six out of the seven educational regions. Interviewees were asked to rank interventions according to the perceived "effectiveness" of the program in imparting knowledge on HIV/AIDS and facilitating the process of behaviour change. All respondents pointed out that "My Future is My Choice (MFMC) a peer education program is the best. Reasons given for the choice" of the MFMC program include the following: (i) The program is participatory nature. Although it is delivered to the pupils by a group of out-of-school youth, pupils are able to relate to it and can provide inputs into it; (ii) The program is relevant because it captures both in-school and out-of-school discourses on sexuality and HIV/AIDS; (iii) Pupils claimed that MFMC has provided room for dialogue on sexual matters and some claimed that it has helped them reduce their sexual risk. There is an overwhelming demand for the program to be expanded to cover pre-teen children.

The analysis shows that besides the informal nature of the program, which is undoubtedly one of the factors that makes it very attractive to children, the very process of designing and implementing MFMC has been instrumental in making it a promising approach. MFMC is a multi-sectoral program driven through collaboration between government, religious groups, UN agencies, and NGOs. This has not only given MFMC a wide legitimacy, it has catalysed the availability of resources from a variety of stakeholders.

Senegal: The impact of the curriculum approach

This consisted of three dimensions: (i) education/training, (ii) information and awareness-raising, and (iii) teaching materials.
- With regard to evaluating both the education/training component and the information/awareness-raising component, the methodology used in the Senegal study was to question a sample of pupils and teachers to assess their attitudes and understanding about HIV/AIDS.
- The results of the education/training show that the primary school pupils have a satisfactory understanding of the biology, seriousness and methods of transmission of HIV/AIDS. The performance of students in the fourth year of secondary school (150 pupils) was mediocre in the biology of the pandemic, prevention and patient care. But they had a greater understanding of methods of transmission of the virus. Students in the final year (50 students) and students in higher education (99) mastered the biology of HIV/AIDS, its seriousness, methods of transmission and prevention and patient care.

- With regard to information/awareness-raising, the results showed that this approach is more effective than education/training. Students exposed to the former expressed their fear of the illness and said that their behavior had changed and that they are already committed to getting involved in fighting the pandemic. As for the teachers, 59.1% of them said that they had not conducted any awareness-raising activities as part of the anti-AIDS program because most of them had not received sufficient training to enable them to speak with confidence about AIDS to the students.
- The results on teaching material indicated that 62.5% of the respondents (not specified) felt that the teaching material used during education/training and the informational sessions was reliable and that 53.1% found it relevant.
- The study noted that these results could not be attributed exclusively to the interventions, because *"it is difficult from an evaluation viewpoint to identify which results reflect the direct activity conducted in the school (proximal variables) and which result from direct activities taking place at the national and international level as part of the anti-HIV/AIDS fight (distal variables)."*

Swaziland: Approaching HIV through a task force

The School HIV/AIDS Intervention Program (SHIP) is a collaborative activity between the Ministries of Education, Health and Social Welfare on the one hand and three NGOs. The SHIP team is made up of people living with AIDS (PLWA), nurses, teachers, and career guidance/counselling officers. SHIP team members are tasked with dissemination of information on HIV/AIDS by holding training sessions for teachers and pupils (age 10 and older) at each of the 750 schools in the country. Training sessions cover three main topics: Basic facts on HIV and AIDS, Positive Living and Life Skills.

The case study sought to analyze the contribution of SHIP to knowledge of HIV/AIDS and change of behaviour among target groups. Although the program had only covered 240 schools at the time of this study, findings show that the program has managed to broaden the knowledge base on HIV/AIDS both teachers and pupils. Respondents claimed to have learned some new things but most important they liked the program because presenters allowed free discussion and welcomed a wide range of questions that would normally be in the teacher/class context. The critical weakness of this approach is consistency. Respondents pointed out that a once a year contact between trainer and trainee is not optimal, particularly given that trainers spend but a few hours at every school. Much as the intervention in Swaziland is breaking new ground, the country team is aware that what is needed to achieve long-term behavioural change is not a one-time intervention but a more substantive one and school-based for that matter.

Tanzania: school, community and peer interaction in controlling HIV/AIDS

The case study selected by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education is the analysis of the School Youth Program that is executed by the ministry in collaboration with Tanzania/Netherlands Support Project to Control AIDS (TANESA). The School Youth Program is currently implemented in two districts, namely Magu and Mwanza in northwestern Tanzania. This multi-pronged program is made up of three inter-linked and mutually reinforcing components – peer education, school guardian, and school HIV/AIDS action committee.

Peer education is a child-to-child method of HIV/AIDS information dissemination and is carried out by pupils chosen by their peers in consultation with teachers. It is targeted at standards 5 to 7 (children between 12-15 years of age). The school guardian component is hinged on selection of one or two teachers at a school whose responsibility is to guide and counsel children. Its *raison d'être* is to guard against sexual exploitation of [girl] pupils by teachers and community members. The school guardian is appointed by consultation between pupils and the school committee (made up of teachers, parents, and community members). The School AIDS Action Committee is comprised of members drawn from school (teachers) and community. It is a forum through which the community participates in school HIV/AIDS events but also a vehicle through which concerns and views of pupils and teachers are incorporated into village agenda (including by-laws).

The case study indicates that over the five year period since inception the School Youth Program has registered the following achievements:
• There has been a marked decrease in incidences of pregnancy among schoolgirls;
• There has been marked reduction in love letters and sexual encounters among pupils;
• Collaboration between school authorities, community, and village governments has improved markedly;
• There has been a reduction in sexual abuse of schoolgirls by teachers;
• Pupils have become confident in seeking sexual health services as well as seeking counselling services from teachers (particularly guardians).

Although it has been difficult to quantify the achievement (largely due to lack of baselines), interviewees (pupils, teachers, village leaders, and educational authorities) claimed that the program has brought qualitative change in behaviour not only among pupils but also among teachers and members of community. The program has also enabled the fears and concerns of school children to be addressed in legal instruments such as village by-laws. The strong point and lesson from the Tanzanian case study is that it is possible

to implement a complex intervention provided the individual components fit tightly into a coherent whole. Also, strong participation by the local community is key to the operation of school-based HIV/AIDS interventions.

Zanzibar's school health clubs

In seeking to complement curriculum-based HIV/AIDS education, the Zanzibar ministry of education initiated school health clubs in 1999. This is a pilot project currently implemented in six schools on the island. The main objective of this intervention is to equip pupils with knowledge and life skills required for survival in a world with AIDS. It is targeted at in-school youth aged 11-16. In order to compare the effectiveness of the school clubs the case study compared pilot and non-pilot schools.

Findings indicate that school clubs are useful vehicles of HIV/AIDS information among members. The Zanzibar school clubs have small membership and thus information tends to circulate within this small population. Although there was no statistical significance in HIV/AIDS knowledge between pilot and non-pilot schools, further analysis indicate that clubs are useful in connecting schools and community as parents and community leaders are involved either as club committee members or as audience to dramatic pieces produced by clubs.

Table 24 summarizes the results.

Table 24. Summary of results

Country	Results
Tanzania	• Reduction of early pregnancies, • Fewer love letters, cooperation between sexual partners, • Reduction of sexual abuse, • Consultation of health services for advice on sex.
Burundi	• Acquisition of knowledge, responsible behavior and information about the pandemic
Namibia	• Massive participation of young people in program activities
Swaziland, Zanzibar, Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal, Mali, Togo	• Acquisition of knowledge and information about the pandemic, freedom of expression to acquire further information • Massive participation of young people, teachers and parents in the activities

Policy implications

Curricular and extra-curricular approaches

In general, the case studies reveal that the education sector responses to HIV/AIDS are primarily through the curriculum and related activities. None of the completed case studies focused on issues related to management of the education system. Curricula approaches include (i) introduction of HIV/AIDS topics into carrier subjects such as biology, social studies, hygiene, reproductive and sexual health, family life education, life skills, and counseling and guidance, and (ii) stand-alone subjects on the biology and transmission of HIV and consequences of AIDS. Using the curriculum allows the schools to address HIV/AIDS issues directly to young children. It means that knowledge and attitudes likely to modify traditional behavior will be disseminated throughout the age group. This increases the likelihood that these children, in turn, will become informed and credible communicators within their peer groups.

Senegal and Burundi have focused on this approach. All the other case studies mention the formal curriculum and indicate that it is playing a role, although perhaps only a supporting role to other approaches.

Extra-curricular activities are another common approach. They include child participant approaches, such as role-plays, peer education, school club activities, drama, and creative writing. Like the curricular approach, extra-curricular activities are designed to build knowledge on various aspects of HIV/AIDS and elicit responsive behavioural and attitudinal responses from learners. Notably, many of these approaches are based on peer group strategies, whereby the social and cognitive learning about HIV/AIDS occurs mostly within peer groups.

Namibia, Mali, Burkina Faso and Togo identify school clubs as promising strategies. Their analyzes show that all the school clubs provide important support for other approaches, such as curricular activities. Although the Senegal study did not focus on such clubs, it recognizes their importance in complementing and even orienting the work of the schools. Senegal has used peer educators and "bridging students" (élèves relais). The proposal submitted by Côte d'Ivoire provides extensive information on their school clubs ("clubs anitsida").

Perhaps the most innovative part of the extra-curricular approach is the involvement of community groups and NGOs in the design and/or execution of some of the interventions, notably peer education (Tanzania mainland, Namibia) and school clubs (Zanzibar). Indeed, the case studies suggest

that NGOs are playing an important role in the delivery of HIV/AIDS-related programs and activities.

These two approaches (curricular and extra-curricular) have not been adopted on an either/or basis but, rather, in combination. Thus, schools may offer both HIV/AIDS knowledge through the formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities. In other words, the approaches complement each other, rather than compete in terms of method and audience.

The anti-AIDS clubs illustrate the power of peer education and the benefit of learning outside the formal educational system. The approach of the clubs to combating HIV/AIDS is based essentially on peer education. The strength of this method of education stems from the fact that ideas or information can be more easily accepted if they come from an individual with whom one shares the same concerns.

- In societies where children organize play together, the children who are slightly older play a significant role in educating the younger ones. They imitate the teachers in teaching lessons, recitations, and singing to the younger children, and very soon the younger ones are repeating the lessons, recitations and singing themselves. In this situation of teaching and learning, knowledge is assimilated quickly thanks to the climate of confidence and tolerance that exists between the child-teachers and the learners, and due to the suitability of the language used. The child-teachers take the time to repeat and to explain in different ways.

- Observation shows that children change their behavior quickly when it is other children who give them advice and information about the behavior that needs changing. This is due to the fact that the children who have been given the information about the phenomenon that is the subject of the change in behavior feel shame before their peers if they do not adopt the desired behavior after having received the information; they are ashamed to conduct themselves negatively in front of their peers. Peer pressure thus seems to be stronger than that of parents or teachers, which is understandable given that the children spend more time with their peers than with their parents or teachers.

- Peers are thus credible intermediaries who are capable of providing viable solutions to the problems of HIV/AIDS prevention. In terms of effectiveness, however, there are still issues of competence with regard to advice, solidarity, decision-making, resistance to group pressure, and mutual respect and confidence. Hence the need for special training to deal with these issues.

Thus, while the case studies have singled out one or two approaches as most promising, they each are aware of other approaches as well. In this sense they have adopted a multisectoral approach as exemplified by the Burkina

Faso study. What is different among them are the goals, the conception, the analysis and the emphasis of each.

All studies mention school programs, the role of training and information/ awareness rising, school clubs, NGOs and teaching materials. Concerning training, this is destined for teachers and students so they can lead the club activities. Information and awareness building also happen within the clubs, which serve as channels for transmitting knowledge and understanding of the pandemic. All studies, even the Cote d'Ivoire proposal, discuss the important role of NGOs in preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS. NGOs use the school clubs to pass their message along. They help run them and help fund their activities. All studies also mention education and teaching materials as important vectors used by the clubs.

The partner or multi-sector approach

This approach is included in almost all the studies, although only the Burkina Faso study considered it to be the most promising. The partnership approach consists of coming to the assistance of the State, the anti-AIDS school clubs and the schools.

- All the studies show that the international development agencies and the NGOs entered into partnerships very early with the states of sub-Saharan Africa in the fight against HIV/AIDS. They show how certain international and national NGOs entered into partnerships with other NGOs and with the schools (school clubs). They also show a kind of partnership between the parents and the school milieu and between religious congregations and young people.
- The studies show that a variety of activities exist within these partnerships. Some agencies and NGOs are concerned with the production of teaching materials, teacher training, showing films and videos and organizing discussions and conferences in the schools. Others are concerned with conducting studies, or the psychosocial treatment of people living with HIV in CESAC, or funding projects related to the pandemic. Still others develop and implement direct informational and awareness-raising prevention programs to fight the spread of the pandemic.

The case studies of Mali, Burundi, Tanzania and Swaziland as well as the proposed case studies of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Côte d'Ivoire clearly illustrate the areas of intervention of the international development agencies and NGOs. The point for these agencies and NGOs is to come to the aid of State efforts. In Mali, for example, the UNFPA provides assistance in the production of teaching materials, teacher training, the showing of films/videos and the organization of conferences and discussions in schools. It also helps

to organize the "Scenarios of the Sahel" film festival to train young people in HIV/AIDS prevention and with regard to the treatment of people living with the virus. The European Union is active in conducting studies and producing brochures on the pandemic, and in the psychosocial training and treatment of people with HIV in the CESAC centers (Centers for listening, treatment, help and advice). UNICEF helps fund guides for teacher training and student education. NGOs, including the Pivot Group, Plan International and CESAC, have developed and implemented AIDS and STI prevention programs at the level of communities, neighborhoods and villages and at the school level. These are good examples of partnerships between the agencies and NGOs on the one hand and the State on the other.

Lessons

Based on case studies reviewed here, insights from proposed case studies, and discussions held during the sub-regional workshops and ADEA Biennale show that ministries of education in Africa have responded to HIV/AIDS overwhelmingly through instituting programs for learners. Time and again questions have been raised on whether schools offer the best platform for HIV prevention and whether focusing on learners alone is sufficient to achieve that aim – HIV prevention. The answer to the concerns raised above is surely not as clear-cut as one would expect. As country case studies have indicated, schools have a role in educating children and imparting social values and norms necessary for "an AIDS free" society.

Extensive discussions and consultations with ministries of education and other stakeholders in the education field augurs well with the insights gathered from country case studies that despite the current efforts, there are critical gaps in the overall approach of ministries of education to HIV/AIDS. Interventions are being implemented piece-meals without recourse to systemic analysis. F*igure* 13 depicts the subtle linkages between HIV/AIDS and the education sector and provides some light on what areas of programming are critical if the epidemic is to be confronted systemically.

The analysis of the studies shows that the anti-AIDS clubs are not autonomous entities but links in a chain of partnerships. They draw on the experiences and accomplishments of other anti-AIDS programs and obtain information about the pandemic from the educational system, NGOs and other activities. The studies thus reveal two basic ideas about the anti-AIDS school clubs: first, the clubs constitute an ideal framework for HIV/AIDS education, and second, to become effective the clubs need financial support and to acquire the experience and knowledge of education programs and other activities.

There is need to move away from the current single actor programming (focus on pupils) to multi factor programming (designing and executing programs for all main actors in the system. We have identified such actors as teachers and educational managers. Teachers have to be provided with skills to delivery a quality HIV/AIDS curriculum as well as to assist pupils in the design of interesting extra-curriculum activities on HIV/AIDS. At the moment HIV/AIDS training programs for teachers in most African countries are few, far between, and shallow. This is clearly an area in need of improvement.

Besides there is need to recognise that HIV/AIDS is a workplace problem for teachers and hence to implement program that would enable teachers to cope with problems associated with illness and death (Lawrence 2002). Similarly HIV/AIDS programs are required for educational managers as they play critical diverse roles ranging from curriculum design to distribution of educational materials. Anecdotal evidence from various countries show that teachers as well as educational managers are affected by HIV/AIDS just as everybody else, if not more. It is therefore imperative for the ministries of education to focus on these actors urgently.

Monitoring of the epidemic both in terms of prevalence of HIV and the impact of AIDS on the sector is another weak area. As the ADEA initiative progressed it became apparent that most ministries of education we are working with are unaware of the extent of HIV in the system. They are also unaware of the impact (number of teachers sick or who have died, number of orphaned pupils, extent of loss of skills and experience, etc.). It is also clear that the ADEA initiative provided the opportunity for the ministries to evaluate some of the interventions. Under normal circumstances this would probably not have happened. Lack of monitoring system for the impact of the epidemic and interventions might help explain why we are unable to confirm the hypothesis that "there are promising approaches out there". It is difficult to think of any interventions succeeding if designed out of context.

The lack of sufficient statistics about HIV/AIDS and the related problems is a weak point for all the countries. The case studies cannot obtain statistics because the ministries of education do not seem to use their health services to develop databases about the problem. There is no proper collection of statistics on changes in HIV/AIDS infection rates, early pregnancies, and other issues related to the pandemic. In light of this observation, it would seem that a significant challenge facing the education ministries is to strengthen the analytical capacities of their human resources and to develop modern information systems to monitor and evaluate interventions in order to facilitate the process of implementing and coordinating anti-AIDS activities.

Conclusions

Given the inherent weaknesses in the educational infrastructure of most African countries, it is comforting to see that many ministries of education are implementing HIV/AIDS prevention programs. Some programs are more elaborate than others, but the most important thing is that authorities have seen the need and people within the education sector are demanding more. Currently most programs or interventions are school-based. They range from standard curriculum lessons to peer-led extra-curriculum intervention. To some extent local communities are being drawn in the programs either as overseers and/or as designers of interventions. There is no doubt that community participation would, in the course of time, provide a better environment upon which school programs can succeed. It is risky for schools to design programs that either alienate or exclude local communities, as the two interact on a daily basis.

The ADEA initiative is ongoing and the present analysis should be seen in that context. It is expected that further evidence will emerge as the number of completed case studies get bigger. Preliminary evidence presented here shows progress that is being made by ministries of education and it is expected that with time the interventions will succeed in reducing HIV risk.

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Soul City Going to Scale Across Borders: The Choose Life Project[1]

By Harriet PERLMAN

Introduction

"*Since the death of our parents we are alone in the world – me and my five brothers and sisters. We are struggling but people give us the little they can afford. I'd like to get a job myself or start a small business and sell second-hand clothes. But who will take care of the children.*" Phumzile is only 22 years old. She lives in the Lubombo region in Swaziland. Both her parents died of AIDS.

Eddy's parents are dead too. He lives in Kavango, Namibia. "*My mum died in 1996 and now we live with my grandmother. I miss my mum especially when days go by without food to eat. I wish I had money to buy shoes for myself then I will not be so shy. I left school because no one could pay for me,*" he said.

Kinah Kgwarai is 23 years old and used to live in her grandmother's house in Francistown, Botswana. But she was forced to leave. "*When my uncle and aunt heard that I was HIV positive they made me move out. My brother Lekgobo supported me, so they chased him out too. Lekgobo and I went to live in a small rented house where we look after each other.*"

"*If ever there was a phenomenon that knows no borders, that bears no discrimination and that spares no victim, it is the HIV/AIDS virus.*" President Festus Mogae – Botswana

These stories of hardship, neglect and rejection are but a few of many.
- In Swaziland 25.9% of young people under 20 years are infected with HIV.
- By October 1999 the government of Botswana registered 28,801 children as orphans.
- 23% of all adults aged 15 and older are HIV positive in Namibia.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic continues to gain momentum in much of sub-saharan Africa, with devastating personal, social and economic impact.

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1 This article was a precurseur to the document published in 2004 by the Working Group on Books and Learning Materials entitled "Crossing Borders: Adapting educational materials for other countries: The Soul City Choose Life Project".

Across the continent the majority of new infections are in young people be-tween 15-25 years old. A recent study in Namibia showed that one in seven youth are sexually active by the age of 14. Young people are most at risk of unwanted pregnancies, STDs and HIV infection.

Effective communication is at the cornerstone of most health interventions; whether in providing knowledge, shaping attitudes and behaviour or con-necting people to services.

Most development initiatives seek to empower people through knowledge which will enable them to make positive and informed decisions about their lives.

The key question is then how to reach the people who need this knowl-edge most.

Soul City, a multi-media health project in South Africa has been effective in imparting much needed information on health and development, and in changing attitudes and behaviour as well.

"It changed my life as well because my friends used to tell me that if you sleep with your boyfriend with a condom he is going to leave you. But through Soul City I have discovered that I don't have to listen to friends. I should do what I think is best for me, and that is to use a condom." Soul City Series 4 Evaluation – young, urban female

Soul City works primarily within South Africa but the TV program has been shown in a number of African countries as well. In the last two years Soul City has worked on a sponsored education booklet called Choose Life, aimed at 12 –16 year olds in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia.

1, 331, 000 copies of the booklet will be printed and distributed in the four countries in seven different languages. The project is still in process. Three of the four countries have marketed and distributed the booklet, with the Namibian booklet being launched in January 2002.

This paper looks at how the Choose Life booklet was developed, marketed and distributed in these four countries. It examines the lessons we have learnt about how to take materials, developed in one context, to scale in the region.

What Is Soul City?

Mass media is a powerful communication tool, with enormous possibilities to effect social change. Soul City: The Institute for Health and Development Communication, is a multi-media health project. A South African based

NGO, it uses mass media to promote health and development, in order to impact positively on the quality of people's lives.

It was initiated in 1992 and in the last eight years has become a household name in South Africa for both entertainment and education. It has generated local and international acclaim for its impact on health and development and for the high quality of its education materials.

Soul City is not a once-off program, but an ongoing media intervention that has become popular and credible over time. It uses a concept known as edutainment – educating while entertaining.

The Soul City media vehicle consists of:
- **A prime-time TV drama series** which has been one of the top two most watched TV programs in the country.
- **A daily radio drama series in 9 languages** which is broadcast in partnership with the country's biggest radio stations.
- **Easy-to-read print booklets (3 per series)** based on the TV series. A million copies per booklet are carried through partner newspapers around the country.
- **An innovative marketing campaign** which brings together the different media elements, creates awareness and promotes brand popularity. It uses radio and competitions, and there is a planned public relations campaign which puts the issues on the public agenda.

Soul City uses this media vehicle to reach the largest possible audiences with health and development messages. It also uses the popularity of the brand and the exposure that the mass media gives, for other education interventions which include:
- Lifeskills materials for schools
- Adult Education materials
- Supporting other health and development initiatives
- Advocacy around major policy issues that impact on the themes dealt with.

The key aspects of the Soul City method are illustrated in the diagram .on the following page (F*igure* 14. S*oul City Edutainment Methodology*).

To date there have been five series of Soul City, which have covered topics such as youth sexuality and reproductive health, TB and violence against women. HIV/AIDS is a topic covered by all series.

Soul City recognises that mass media can raise awareness, generate discussion and increase knowledge. It can also play a part in shifting attitudes and behaviour. However, to be effective it needs to be used in the right way.

Figure 14. Soul City Edutainment Methodology
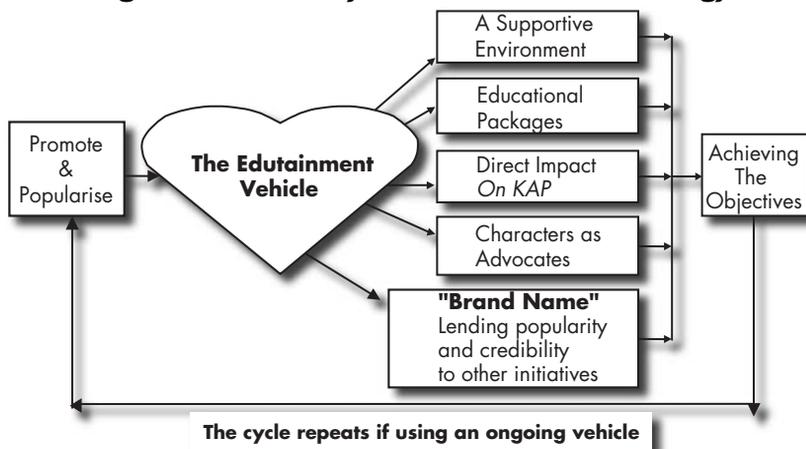
Key principles of our approach

Developing effective educational media is not just about what you do but how you do it. Two elements, research and the creation of partnerships are at the heart of our approach.

- **Research.** Through vigorous research we consult both audiences and experts. All materials are thoroughly tested with the target audience to ensure that the materials work effectively. Through formative research the lived experiences and voices of the target audience are captured, giving the materials resonance and credibility.
- **Partnerships**. Materials are developed in partnership with relevant organizations and people. Communication by itself is not the only answer, it needs to be integrated into wider local initiatives and strategies to achieve maximum impact.

Additional principles that govern our work include:

- **Drama can teach!** Human beings have always learnt through stories which can provide positive models for behaviour. Drama creates identification and gives a human face to issues such as HIV/AIDS.
- **Use media when it has access to its maximum audience.** This means prime time for radio and TV.
- **A mix of media (multi-media) works well.** Different media reach different audiences and have different strengths. For instance radio tends to be more rural and TV more urban.
- **Create a sustained intervention or 'ongoing vehicle'** which gives popularity and credibility over time. This reduces lag time and draws audiences immediately.

- **Promote and market** the intervention to ensure the maximum audience.
- **Brand all material** with one brand to tie the different media together.

Evaluations of Soul City

Soul City has been extensively evaluated and findings conclusively prove that not only is Soul City reaching over 79% of the South African population, but it is also reaching hard to reach rural and illiterate groups.

Soul City has also been evaluated as having real impact in the areas in which it has concentrated, especially in the field of HIV/AIDS, where it has been effective in both knowledge gain and attitude change

Some key findings of a recent evaluation of series 4 found that:
- The Soul City television series reached 79% of its urban target population and 68% of its rural target population.
- Both quantitative and qualitative evidence show that Soul City played a major role in increasing accurate knowledge about HIV/AIDS and in shifting people's attitudes and behaviour.
- Soul City TV and print material have also increased communication on key topics.

"When I got home the first time with this book my mother read it. She [said], 'really do you know about sex?' I started communicating with her about sex because it was easier for her to talk with me because she had an idea that I now know what sex is. So now it's easier for me to ask her, 'Mom if I do this and this will it cause me harm?'" Pilot study – Soul City Grade 9 Lifeskills materials

Moving into the region

Since 1996 Soul City has been used in a more limited way in a number of other African countries. This has mainly been in the form of the TV program, which has been sold to nine national broadcasters in different parts of Africa. In Zambia, Namibia and Mozambique various other Soul City materials have been adapted for local use as well.

At present there is a dearth of effective African communication materials and the skills to produce them. In the last two years Soul City has worked on a sponsored publication for all youth aged 12 -16 in Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The two-year process has taught Soul City a good deal about going to scale in the region. Most importantly, it has learned about working with local partners.

The Choose Life project – An overview

As noted above, in most of sub-Saharan Africa, acquired HIV infections are highest among 15-24 year olds. The Choose Life project essentially addresses the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa by positively informing adolescent sexual behaviour in order to reduce teenage pregnancy, HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. International and local research indicates that effective lifeskills/sex education helps delay the commencement age of sexual activity and results in an increase in safer sexual practices. Furthermore, educating young people to adopt safer sexual behaviour does reduce HIV/AIDS risk.

The project aimed to produce, market and distribute an HIV/AIDS publication for all youth aged 12-16 years in Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia with adapted versions for each country.

Project challenges

The 3 challenges facing the project were to:
1. Create appropriate materials for each country.
2. Distribute the materials effectively
3. Ensure that they are used.

The original plan was to adapt (with minimal changes) a Soul City adult education booklet entitled, AIDS in our Community for young people. However, through the process of research and working with partners in each country, it became clear that a very different publication was required for a youth audience. An effective HIV/AIDS booklet for youth cannot simply provide accurate information on how HIV/AIDS is transmitted. It needs to deal with a range of issues that affect and impact the sexual decisions and choices that young people make. Teenage sexual activity is profoundly influenced by feelings of self-esteem, an ability to be assertive and an understanding of what sex really means in a relationship. Young people need appropriate knowledge and information, as well as opportunities to practice life and decision-making skills.

The format of the booklet

Young people need a fresh approach. If we want teenagers to read we need to give them something that they want to read; that speaks to them in a voice and language they know, with a look and feel that is young and vibrant.

"When they [young people] see a face similar to theirs they can relate to the information talked about." Youth, focus group Namibia

The Choose Life booklet was developed in a way that would appeal to youth.
- Simply written stories deal with a range of relevant lifeskills; e.g. being a teenager, violence in relationships, standing up for yourself and living with HIV/AIDS.
- Full-colour photographs give a vibrant youth feel
- True stories and youth voices create identification
- Through quizzes and interactive questions skills are practiced, discussion and debate promoted and community action encouraged.
- Celebrities act as role models to carry key health messages.

"We have to ensure our youth are appropriately armed in their expedition as they choose life and live it to the fullest. This book …nourishes youth with lifeskills that are critical for survival and success in today's challenging environment." Minister of Health - Botswana launch

An outline of the process

As previously stated in this paper, developing effective educational media is not just about *what you do* but *how you do it* as well. Research and the development of partnerships—at the core of Soul City's approach—informed the way we worked in the region.

Project process
The process has involved the following phases:
Phase 1: Research
Phase 2: Develop core publication
Phase 3: Pre-test in each country
Phase 4: Develop country specific versions
Phase 5: Design marketing & distribution strategies
Phase 6: Print and distribution
Phase 7: Project Evaluation

Phase 1: Research
The aim of this phase was to consult with key people in each country on the viability of the project; ascertain the distribution possibilities and select a local partner.

We felt that a partner could establish local ownership in the country and best coordinate the activities. As the project developed their role became much more complex than we initially anticipated.

Phase 2: Develop core publication
The aim of this phase was to develop a core publication for youth 12-16 years on HIV/AIDS which would be pretested in each country and could form the basis of country specific versions.

A new publication called Choose Life – Living with HIV/AIDS in our community was researched and developed in South Africa and ready to be tested in the 4 countries. During Phase 2 we conducted a second round of consultation meetings in the four countries with key people in the health and education sector to get feedback on the core publication and explain the testing process.

Phase 3: Pre-test in each country
The aim of pre-testing was to ensure that the booklet was relevant and appropriate for local use and to inform the development of a country specific version.

This process involved administering questionnaires and conducting focus group discussions with the target audience. It also included a stakeholder workshop in each country to present the research findings. On the basis of the research findings and a mandate from stakeholders, final recommendations for the development of a country specific version were made.

Phase 4: Develop country specific versions
The aim was to develop country specific versions of the booklet and do translations if these were shown to be necessary.

Originally we had envisaged that Soul City would do the rewriting (based on the findings in Phase 2). But in the process of working with country partners, it became clear that a strong local input into materials development and writing was needed for an effective product. During this phase black and white copies of the new booklet were shown to stakeholders for final approval.

Phase 5: Design marketing & distribution strategies
The aim was to distribute the booklet to all 12-16 year olds in each country and to promote and popularise its usage.

The original broad strategy envisaged was to:
- Distribute through the school system in consultation with the departments of education in each country
- Identify other potential distribution points
- Run a promotional campaign using radio, to encourage youth to access the material. This would include a competition element and a promotional campaign using radio, to encourage teachers to use the publica-

tion. The concept of a national radio promotional campaign has been developed by Soul City in order to create awareness of our materials. This broad strategy was adapted and modified to suit the needs and priorities of the different countries.

Phase 6: Print and distribution
By January 2002 a total 1, 331, 000 copies of the booklet will have been printed and distributed in the four countries in seven different languages;
- In Botswana: one edition in English with some Setswana translations
- In Swaziland: two editions; English & Siswati
- In Lesotho: two editions; English & Sesotho
- In Namibia: 3 editions Afrikaans (with key word translations in Otjiherero); English (key word translations in Lozi and Rukwangali) and Oshivambo.

Phase 7: Project evaluation
The aim is to critically evaluate the implementation of the Choose Life project, its reach and its reception by the primary target audience.

What was originally planned as a 10 month project has lasted approximately 2 ½ years. While the timing has varied from country to country, the breakdown in *Table* 25 gives a general overview of the project time scale.

The project took longer for a number of reasons. These include:
- The level of local capacity in each country
- The need for a new approach to reach a youth audience. The core Choose Life booklet was totally reworked and was not a simple adaptation of an existing Soul City publication as originally envisaged
- Misjudgements on our part of how long working across borders can take
- The inevitable telecommunications breakdowns (e.g. telephone lines down in Lesotho)
- The informal and formal training that took place along the way
- Distances and difficulties of travelling within countries, during the testing phase
- Consultation, particularly with senior government officials, takes time.

From the beginning the process was an inclusive one. It was labor and resource intensive. But this approach is essential to ensure local ownership.

"Take time to put all role-players in place to ensure full support, proper co-ordination and success of this project." Participant at Stakeholders' meeting – Lesotho

Table 25. Project timelines

Process	Swaziland	Lesotho	Namibia	Botswana
Phase 1 Project research	April 1999	April 1999	April 1999	April 1999
Phase 2 Core publication [2]	4/99 – 4/2000	4/99- 4/2000	4/99 – 4/2000	4/99 – 4/2000
Phase 3 Pre-testing [3]	5-6/2000 (2 months)	5-8/2000 (4 months)	5-10/2000 (6 months)	4-7/2000 (4 months)
Phase 4 & 5 Development of country versions + Marketing & Distribution plans[4]	July 2000 - June 2001 (1 year)	September 2000 - August 2001 (1 year)	November 2000 - Nov. 2001 (1 year)	July 2000 - December 2000 (6 months)
Phase 6 Print & Distribute[5]	Launched 6 July 2001	Launched 6 September	To launch January 2002	Launched January 2001
Total:	Approx 2 yrs	Approx 2 ½ yrs	Approx 2 yrs 9 months	Approx 1 yr & 9 months
Phase 7 Evaluation(10 months)	September 2001- June 2002	September 2001 - June 2002	September - June 2002	September - June 2002

A number of key issues emerged during this process which deserve close consideration. They may be important to any future regional initiative. In the next section of the paper we will examine some of these issues.

Consultation

In Phases 1 & 2, Soul City travelled to each country on a fact finding mission and met with key people working in the education and health sector to assess the viability of the project and establish a local partner. A year later (Phase 2) we consulted again to get feedback and support for the core publication and the testing process.

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2   This includes the time from the initial country visits. It involved reconceptualising the content and format of the booklet for youth, research, sending draft outlines to the four countries for feedback, rewriting, editing, design and printing. It also includes sending copies of the core booklet to stakeholders in countries for feedback. There was also a second country visit to discuss the core booklet, utilising the school system for distribution and the testing process.

3   This includes up to the stakeholder meeting at the end of the research process. This took time to organise.

4   The development of the country specific booklet and design of the marketing and distribution strategy ran concurrently. This time also involved extensive training in for example writing, developing marketing campaigns, and proofreading copy.

5   We have calculated up to the official launch of the publication. The actual distribution took between 6-8 weeks. The marketing campaign ran over 2 weeks. It started a week or two before the launch and continued after it.

During this process we consulted with approximately 74 different deci-sion-makers and representatives of organizations. These included ministry of education heads and officials; heads of curriculum development units; senior officials in health departments; key local funding agencies; heads of national AIDS programs and a range of NGOs working with youth and education (including HIV/AIDS).

Findings

- **Soul City credibility.** In all the countries stakeholders were familiar with Soul City through the TV series, which can be received by some of our neighbours. In addition, in Namibia the first and second TV series had been broadcast and two of our booklets had previously been adapted. This gave the project credibility and support from the beginning. For example, at a meeting of NGOs in Swaziland it was reported that: "Lots of our youth are already aware of Soul City."
- **South African dominance.** While there was support for Soul City, some anxieties about "South African dominance" were expressed along with the benefits of having local material.
- **A valuable initiative.** While some people expressed the view that a more appropriate booklet for youth was needed, most people felt that it was a valuable initiative to explore. In Namibia for example it was stated that, "youth, teachers and parents are desperate for access to information and good materials."
- **Better communication.** Many people spoke about the need to "bridge the gulf of silence" between parents and children.
- **Endorsement of process.** A great deal of enthusiasm was expressed for the consultation process. "If the project was to be owned by the people, then they must be involved in the process." In Swaziland one ministry official stated that, "his department would support the project if all stakeholders were involved." However, caution was also expressed about the fine line between consulting and getting things done. A line that is always difficult to tread!
- **Concern to test what works.** For example in Botswana it was said: "Something which works in South Africa does not automatically work here."
- **The importance of utilising the schools for distribution** came up strongly as "the bulk of our target audience are in schools." Many people expressed concern to bolster and support existing lifeskills programs.
- **A need to locate the booklet within wider health education programs.** There was a strong concern expressed that this booklet needs to be linked to existing country plans and programs. In Namibia at a large meeting with the Namibia Network of AIDS Service Organisations (Nanaso) one representative said: "This booklet would provide good support to our

existing activities …There is definitely room within our programs. It could be used as back-up information."

- **Need for initiatives to be co-ordinated.** In all countries National AIDS plans had been developed. However, many people expressed concern about the lack of co-ordination both within and out of government around the implementation of these plans. At the Lesotho Stakeholders' workshop one delegate called for: "co-operation, co-ordination and communication between different role-players."
- **Importance of buy-in from the Ministry of Education.** It became clear that the Ministry of Education plays an important role both in an advisory capacity and in helping facilitate distribution to schools.
- **The local environment's impact on the project.** The consultation meetings alerted us to the way in which the environment, e.g., local support services, attitudes to the disease, and cultural norms and practices would impact on the project. However, there was rarely a uniform view on these issues.
- **Local capacity.** A number of people spoke about the problem of capacity within the country to produce quality materials or deal with the HIV epidemic. In Lesotho, for example there is a real lack of HIV/AIDS services available and very poor condom distribution.
- **Growing recognition that the scale of the epidemic requires frank and direct interventions.** We had anticipated that stakeholders might find certain aspects of the booklet too direct and frank, for example the page on How to Use a Condom. However, this was not the case. Most people felt that in tackling the AIDS epidemic, countries needed to deal with the issue of safe sex among young people head-on.

It became clear that extensive consultation is essential. When one starts a new initiative there is always the danger of reinventing the wheel. Local actors have often grappled with problems for years and can provide innovative and locally relevant solutions.

Role of Partners

In April 1999 the following partners were selected in each country to establish local ownership and co-ordinate the project in the country.
- **Botswana:** Population Services International (PSI)
- **Lesotho:** Catholic Council of Lesotho (CCL) this changed to The Lesotho Network for AIDS Service Organisations (Lenaso) during Phase 4. Lenaso, a consortium of organizations working in the field of HIV/AIDS was keen to support the project as their first major initiative. Choose Life was formally endorsed by Lenaso members at a meeting in Maseru early this year.
- **Namibia:** Population Services International (PSI) changed to Red Cross in Phase 4. PSI staff were too stretched to continue with the project. The

Namibian Red Cross, decided that HIV/AIDS and, specifically, communication were priorities for them and was keen to partner us. They have extensive rural outreach.

- **Swaziland:** Schools HIV/AIDS and Population Education (Shape)

Findings

The role of the local partner is central to the success of the project in the country.

- **The partner brings legitimacy and local buy-in.** This is important not only for consultation but for distribution and marketing as well.
- **Understanding of context.** The local partner provides an understanding of political, social and cultural norms and practices which is essential for the effectiveness of any communication initiative.
- **Negotiating the political playing field.** The AIDS arena can be a nightmare. In all four partner countries here is a plethora of task teams, cabinet committees and sub-committees, AIDS strategic plans and implementing committees. The partner plays a crucial role in finding a route through this maze, which is often difficult and time-consuming. For example, in Swaziland, Shape worked tirelessly to successfully set up a meeting with the critically important Information Education and Communication (IEC) team. The IEC is a national task force in Swaziland which is mandated by government to approve all HIV/AIDS materials in the country. Their endorsement of Choose Life was crucial. Finally, at a meeting between the IEC and Shape at which 28 people attended, the IEC gave feedback on the booklet and officially endorsed it.
- **Effective monitoring.** The local partner has a key role to play in monitoring distribution and marketing. A distribution agency needs to effectively track and monitor deliveries. However, there will always be queries, complaints and requests which the country partner needs to manage. In Botswana for example, complaints came in that a few schools had not received copies. PSI followed it up and in most cases found that the booklets had been delivered but not given to the relevant teacher. In another instance, a guidance teacher had kept the booklets in her cupboard to use with students next year. PSI negotiated with the teacher concerned to give the booklets to the students.
- **Ensure a synergy with other HIV/AIDS initiatives and a cohesion of messages.** The initiative must be integrated into the local HIV/AIDS strategy A partner can ensure that mixed or conflicting messages don't occur. An amusing example of this was in Swaziland. The original booklet used a heading: "Trust won't protect you". However, a new brand of condoms was being marketed called Trust condoms. An unfortunately mixed message!

- **Leverage other opportunities.** A local partner is best placed to use the brand to take advantage of other opportunities. This in turn increases the potential for social change. For example, in Botswana, PSI used the Choose Life brand to get radio coverage on a popular teentalk program.
- **Seek local solutions to problems.** A partner is best placed to explore local solutions to problems. This has been particularly successful in distribution. For example in Lesotho, a solution was found to use maize food bags to get the booklet to difficult to reach rural areas.

The testing process

The aim of pre-testing the core publication was to inform the development of country specific versions.

> *"The move you have made [to test] is good in understanding people here, especially the youth."* Participant at consultation meeting – Swaziland

Testing outcomes:
- To assess the effectiveness of the booklet; its appropriateness for local use in terms of its educational message, readability, cultural sensitivity, language level and format
- To assess the potential usage of the booklet by teachers and other educators in schools and within HIV/AIDS programs
- Based on research findings to make recommendations for changes to the booklet

The research methodology involved:
1. **Administering a questionnaire** to youth before and after giving them the booklet to read, to see if their attitudes and knowledge levels had changed as a result of reading the booklet.
2. **Conducting focus group discussions.** A minimum of 8 focus groups with young people (in and out of school) and a minimum of 3 focus groups (or key informant interviews) with gatekeepers teachers, parents, church leaders, principals and relevant officials in the education ministry were conducted to collect qualitative data. In some countries site observations in schools to observe classroom practice were also conducted.
3. **A stakeholder workshop** to present research findings, discuss recommended changes and get a mandate to develop a local booklet.

Some research findings

In Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia testing showed that the booklet was effective in increasing knowledge and awareness around sexual issues

and HIV/AIDS and promoting discussion and debate among young people. The use of stories, young people's views and voices created empathy and identification. People wanted to read and talk about the booklet.

> *"You cannot see it [the booklet] and not want to read it."* Lesotho, youth focus group

Most importantly the testing provided crucial information on what young people liked and didn't like in the booklet; which stories were and weren't effective and what changes would be needed in an adapted version.

> *"We have gone through the publication and found it to be useful and youth friendly. It is factual, resourceful, colourful and attractive. The topics are in simple language that can be understood by the target group."* Namibia

Some of the key overall findings are outlined below.

The booklet increases knowledge
The testing findings showed that the booklet was effective in enhancing readers' understanding of HIV/AIDS. The booklet also clarified confusions and improved readers level of knowledge.

> *"The findings of the study in Swaziland confirm findings of a recent study by the Ministry of Education (1999) that Swazi youth are quite knowledgeable on issues of sexuality, STDS and HIV/AIDS, but they still have misconceptions. Evidence indicates that the Choose Life booklet has been useful in clearing some of the misconceptions, hence improving knowledge."*
> Shape – Choose Life pre-testing report
> *"I liked page 23 because I never knew how to use a condom, now I know."* Swaziland
> *"I know now that I do not have to fear wet dreams."* Namibia

Changing attitudes
The booklet was effective in changing attitudes:

> *"I used to think that if a man beat a woman, this showed that he loved her. Now I don't believe that anymore."* Namibia

Format promotes reading
Research showed that the use of young voice, real stories and photographs is an effective way to encourage young people to read. The interactive features (quizzes and questions) also helped to get readers thinking and talking.

> *"It is a book with all the relevant information for youth, only it is even better because it is written in a clear way and has beautiful pictures which all make it enjoyable to read.*: Youth, Lesotho

Facilitates communication

Youth, parents and teachers said that the booklet helped to facilitate communication inside and outside the classroom.

> *"The booklet is very useful because as parents, it is very difficult for us to talk to our twelve-year-olds especially about sexual education."*Parent, Botswana
> *"The story Being a Teenager provoked a lot of discussion among participants in all the groups. Group members were very enthusiastic and said that that was the most educative and interesting session they'd ever been involved in."* Lesotho youth focus group facilitator

In addition testing showed us which stories were most effective. There were local differences, which we will discuss later. But there were also similarities, some of which were:

The pages on relationships and gender issues were particularly well received and focus group discussions on these topics were often vigorous and heated. In Swaziland over 90% of the pupils identified information on sexual rights as the most important information they learnt from the booklet.

> *"This booklet should be distributed quickly to the youth because it will help us a lot. Nowadays boys hit or hurt girls."* Swaziland

The agony aunt column was particularly popular.

The pages on death and dying were not liked. In Swaziland close to 60% of the participants suggested that these pages be removed. Writing messages in memory of dead people is not a common practice in Swazi society.

A better reflection of rural youth was needed. This was particularly true in Lesotho and Namibia.

On the whole respondents (including parents) liked the directness and frankness of the language. A small percentage felt that some of the more explicit language should be toned down.

There was a strong suggestion to include local youth and celebrities. Soul City actors were well known in Lesotho and Swaziland, less so in Botswana and Namibia

> *"There are many different groups in Namibia and the faces of the children must reflect this. When they see a face similar to theirs, they can relate to the information talked about."* Girl, Namibia
> *"It is time we called a spade a spade because calling it a garden tool has contributed to the spread of the disease."* Parent – Botswana

Stakeholder workshops

At the end of the testing process, stakeholder workshops were held in all four countries. The aim was to present the research findings, get feedback on the booklet and a mandate to develop a local version. At all the workshops there was a high level of participation from senior officials within ministries, the church, local funding agencies and NGOs. Many of the issues that had come up during the consultation process emerged again, like the need to link the booklet to broader programs and the importance of school distribution. One issue worth noting is the response to the page on How to use a condom.

As previously mentioned, we had anticipated that stakeholders might find certain aspects of the booklet too direct and frank, for example the page on How to Use a Condom. However, this was not the case.

All stakeholder workshops supported the research findings that the page on How to use a condom should remain. This was despite earlier predictions from stakeholders that "80% of teachers will reject this page." However, it was recommended that this be balanced by a stronger abstinence message elsewhere in the booklet and the inclusion of a religious voice.

Country differences

The testing process highlighted a number of similar responses but it also showed some of the differences. When one looks at the final versions of the booklet that each country developed, the differences are very clear. Approximately two-thirds of the booklet stayed the same and one-third changed. Some of the changes in the different country versions are worth highlighting:

- **Local celebrities and role models are different in each country.** While some of the Soul City characters remained many were replaced by a range of stars from soccer players, to beauty queens and radio DJs.
- **Some South African youth colloquialisms were replaced** with local English usage.
- **How to link the booklet to existing AIDS services** changed from country to country. For example where to get condoms, HIV testing, contraceptives and information on health issues.
- **In all countries the page on death and dying was dropped.** In Botswana it was replaced with a story on an AIDS care project. In Swaziland, where there are few orphan support programs, the story highlights the plight of orphans and suggests ways for communities to deal with the problem.
- **Other content issues and local myths were included** for example, the problem of sugar daddies in Lesotho and alcohol abuse in Namibia.

Marketing

A book is not a book until it is read! In terms of the three challenges of the project marketing and distribution are core components.

Quite simply our marketing and distribution goals were to:
- Get the booklet into the hands of all 12-16 year olds (effective distribution)
- Create awareness of and demand for the booklet
- Get kids to use it!

In any marketing and communications campaign you need to know who your target audience is – who do you want to reach with your product. With Choose Life the target market was:
1. Primary audience (youth 12-16 years old, in and out of school)
2. Secondary audience (gatekeepers; teachers, parents, principals etc).

Marketing and distribution work closely together. In all the countries, we worked with a marketing and distribution agency to develop a model and implement the strategy.

The *Open the Box* campaign

In terms of school distribution, our experience in South Africa (partners comfirmed that their situation was similar) was that it is one thing to get materials to schools. It is another to get the material out of the principal's office and into the hands of teachers and pupils. The journey that needs to be travelled from central depots to schools across the country, is often less hazardous than the journey from a storeroom in a school to a classroom!

We therefore developed a model called the *Open the Box* campaign, which aimed to encourage the relevant gatekeepers in schools or clinics to distribute the booklets to the youth.

The campaign elements consisted of:
1. **Product Packaging** (colourful sticker and tape on the box) to promote the booklet and competition.
2. **A competition for pupils** (inserted into the booklet) with great prizes attached.
3. **An information pack for teachers** consisting of an introductory letter, poster, a facilitators competition information flyer, and notes on how to use the materials to promote learning (for teachers).[6]

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6. The same information pack was given to gatekeepers responsible for distributing the booklet to out of school youth e.g. nurses in clinics. The letters were adapted accordingly. Samples of some materials are attached as Appendix A.

4. **Letter to the principal** endorsing the material from the Permanent Secretary (PS) of Education.

The *Open the Box* campaign was supported by radio spots for parents and youth and print media. The objectives as well as the different campaign elements were broken down in the following way (*See Table* 26).

Table 26. Marketing and communication objectives and elements

Objective	Marketing & Communication Elements
1. **To advocate and lobby support for** *Choose Life* **with secondary audience** gatekeepers—e.g., government officials, adolescent health advocates, decision makers and teachers.	Personal contact (meetings, lobbying) Launch Newspaper editorial Print adverts in press
2. **To create excitement and interest in the product** when boxes arrive at the distribution outlet.	Open the box: product packaging
3. **Lobby support of school principals** to pass on the booklet to relevant teachers	Open the box: letter from the PS
4. **Encourage facilitators to hand out the booklet to youth.**	Facilitators' competition
5. **Create awareness of the booklet and encourage young people to read it.**	Radio Competition Poster
6. **Create awareness of the educational value of the booklet among parents**	Radio

While the broad elements of the marketing components were the same in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana different countries used the media in different ways. For example:
• Botswana made use of an extensive roadshow tour to promote the booklet to both in and out of school youth. The roadshows were done at randomly chosen schools and selected BP filling stations.
• In Lesotho, radio has a reach of 75% of the population and radio adverts were broadcast in both Sesotho and English for parents and youth.

Leveraging other opportunities

In the first part of this paper we discussed Soul City's communication model and how a successful social brand can be used to leverage other opportunities. Lesotho provides an interesting example of how this worked.

We ran into distribution difficulties as the cost of reaching rural areas was extremely high.

We explored the possibility of approaching a local company to come on board as a commercial partner on a trade exchange basis. The advantage of this was that it might solve a financial problem and at the same time build an important partnership between an NGO and a commercial organization.

Local business partners are important not only in terms of financial support but also in terms of the marketing opportunities they bring. Soul City has successfully worked with BP and MTN in South Africa. A successful brand presents opportunities for a mutually beneficial co-operation between NGOs and commercial organizations. Some of these benefits include:
- Advertising space on the product and promotion campaign elements (including radio, posters)
- Product branding
- Association as a key player in the implementation of AIDS education.

The maize bag solution

We finally found an innovative solution! We made an agreement with Lesco foods, who distributed 165,000 copies of the booklet inside selected maize bags that sell in far-flung rural communities. The booklets are covered in a plastic sleeve to protect them and a label has been sewn on the outside of the bag telling customers that there is a free health booklet inside!

In exchange Lesco foods have a full-colour advert on the back of the booklet as well as product acknowledgement on other promotional elements such as posters. Their product is being promoted to 400,000 young people around the country as well as key decision-makers and teachers. And our booklet is getting to places we otherwise couldn't reach.

Distribution

All countries used the school system as the primary distribution vehicle to reach youth but the out-of-school sector was accessed differently. It is best to contract distribution out to a commercial company that has experience of packing and dispatching. They need to have effective recording and proof-of-delivery systems in place. The partner however, needs to monitor distribution and answer queries and requests. The following T*able* 27 shows the print quantities and distribution outlets in the four countries.

Table 27. Distribution outlets

Country	Quantity	Distribution outlets	
Botswana	400,000	Schools: Out of school:	Junior & senior secondary Teacher training colleges District youth offices BP filling stations Roadshows Botswana College of Distant Ed
Swaziland	116,000	Schools: Out of school:	177 high schools Tinkundla Centres Clinics
Lesotho	435,000	Schools: Out of school:	1050 primary schools and 154 high schools NGOs (Lenaso members) Maseru Roller Mills District hospitals Adolescent corners
Namibia	380,000	Schools: Out of school:	170,000 school learners (Gr 7-12) Namcol Red Cross Regional Centres Post Offices Community libraries Clinics

Conclusion

Soul City is an African solution to African problems. As such, we are well placed to work regionally. Working regionally allowed for the sharing of experiences and learning from each other in a practical and immediate way. And the learning goes both ways. We have all learnt a great deal from each other.

Going to scale in the region creates the possibility of building regional capacity which in turn will strengthen the fight against HIV/AIDS in Africa. At the same time, establishing strong country partners ensures that the project is locally owned and relevant and appropriate to the country's needs and concerns.

The crucial processes of consultation and the forging of partnerships provide the foundation for effective materials development across borders.

HIV/AIDS Impact on Education in Africa

An Analysis of Conferences, Workshops, Seminars, Meetings and Summits Focusing on HIV/AIDS Impact on Education in Africa, December 1999 to June 2001

By Peter BADCOCK-WALTERS, Marelize GÖRGENS

Introduction

The purpose of this analysis is to provide a coherent and comprehensive picture of the outcomes of meetings on HIV/AIDS and education in Africa held over the period December 1999 – June 2001. A total of 17[1] such meetings were identified for analytical purposes and are analyzed in this document. However there may have been others about which nothing is widely known. In addition, the scope of work did not take into account the very many workshops, seminars and focus groups which have taken place within education ministries over this period, for purposes of internal strategic planning, orientation, advocacy and training, albeit sometimes with the assistance of professional facilitators and other technical assistance.

It should also be noted that throughout the document, the term "conference" has been used to refer collectively to any one of the following types of meeting in the documentation that was studied for this analysis:
- Seminars;
- Conferences;
- Workshops;
- Meetings; and/or
- Summits.

Methodology

The following process of analysis was used to review and assess the available conference documentation and derive certain preliminary conclusions. The steps included:

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1   In fact 18 are listed in Annex A, but of these identified meetings, the Seminar for Ireland Aid Education Advisors and HIV/AIDS Focal Staff did not meet the criteria and was not included in the analysis.

A) Compilation of a list of conferences that focused on HIV/AIDS in education during the specified period – see Annex A for a detailed list of these conferences;

B) Obtaining copies of all conference documentation, including declarations, proceedings reports, strategies developed as a result of conference discussions/decisions and relevant press releases/web sites prepared subsequent to conferences;

C) Study and review of all documentation, and establishment of evaluation criteria;

D) Identification of key issues and pertinent areas to be used in drawing up a matrix;

E) Conducting the analysis;

F) Drafting and editing the analysis results and final report.

It should be noted that this analysis was carried out remote from the conference dynamics in most cases, and that individual follow-ups or interviews with conference hosts did not form part of this scope of work.

Observations and comment

"Is there anyone so wise as to learn by the experience of others?" - Voltaire (1694-1778)

Several observations flow from this analysis which are offered in order to assist in discerning any apparent trends in this sequence of conferences, and to determine what might be usefully done in future events of this kind.

Rich content, limited reach

The unexpected reaction to the experience of reading 17 conference reports in an extended sitting is the discovery of how much excellent material they contain; but more overwhelming than this is the realization of how limited has been their audience and impact. The fact is that everyone in the world of education, HIV/AIDS and development is busy beyond endurance and probably suffers from some degree of conference fatigue. Recognition that so many issues have been extensively covered in these conferences, and that in some cases groundbreaking work of real import is contained, is at once humbling and frustrating. This said, it is apparent that while conferences – of whatever kind – remain a viable means of communicating, training and motivating, they are somewhat inadequate as they stand.

The time has come to reconsider the way in which very large amounts of money are spent and time made available for such interactions, and define a better way of doing things. As will be seen below there any number of

ideas available but the key must be to conceive of each event as adding value to whatever has gone before, as part of a continuing non-duplicatory process; to managing agendas meticulously based on prioritized demand; to identifying achievable and measurable outcomes, captured in professionally written reports that provide a framework for replication and utilization; and ensuring dissemination and access to these reports for all interested parties. It is therefore suggested that thought is given to commissioning the development of a new paradigm for conferences, in order to realize these and other outcomes.

Internal MoE workshops and seminars

It should be noted that this analysis does not cover the considerable number of internal workshops and seminars held by and within MoEs, principally for planning, training and management purposes. It is acknowledged that many such activities took place over the period and that these often involved external facilitators, experts and resource organizations; moreover it is probable that many of these achieved substantive outcomes and led to the establishment of strategic implementation plans and action not captured or recognized by larger national and regional conferences. It is suggested that a follow-up study to catalogue and capture these experiences and outputs should be considered, given that they are likely to yield a catalogue of best practice and provide deep comparative insights into practical application.

Trends

It is difficult to identify any coherent trend in this chronology of 17 conferences: In real terms there appear to be minimal links between the learning experiences of each, and even a puzzling lack of relationship between conferences within sub-sectors and related organizations. Notwithstanding competitive pressures between organizers and simple ignorance of what has gone before, the fact is that the geographic spread means that while Africa hosted 14 of the 17 conferences held over the 18 month period, Southern Africa had only 6, and West Africa and East Africa 4 each. Each region had its share of weighty declarations and one higher education meeting, while Southern Africa had a greater preponderance of action-oriented conferences. In short, there is little evidence of an evolving pattern of engagement but certainly a self-evident need to carry forward the experience and outputs of each conference into some form of clearing house to inform and support future events. The establishment of such a clearinghouse, with a comprehensive database and ease of access, should arguably constitute a priority activity for some appropriate agency with the capacity and resources to extend this service. However, such a development should be linked to a

change in "conference culture" and an understanding that the first step in future planning should be to review what has gone before as well as the material and lessons offered.

Political endorsement

It has long been common cause that no sustainable response can be contemplated without political endorsement at the highest levels; this presumes that within the public sector little is possible without a nod from on high, for example. However there may be a need to re-examine this concept, given the fact that, conversely, "political blessings" are no guarantee of action and may excite an unrequited crisis of expectation. A number of the conferences analyzed demonstrated remarkable levels of political support – in the form of physical presence, personal statements and formal declarations – yet had little prospect of realizing the anticipated, indeed demanded, outcome.

In short, it may be necessary to redefine this as the creation of a continuum in which Political leaders create a climate within which political heads and senior officials are empowered to attract and provide the resources required to enable a sustainable response. This would suggest that it is less a "blessing" than a personal commitment on the part of the Political leader concerned to oversee the process to fruition. Given the constituency impact of HIV/AIDS, the sooner it is recognized that this would be politically astute as well as the right to do morally and developmentally, the better.

Pronouncements and declarations

In a related sense there is an apparent danger in making ever more determined and ambitious pronouncements and declarations if it is patently clear that these will not be realized. Several of the conferences analyzed fell into this category and while there can be nothing but admiration for the sentiments expressed, it is quite clear that often the actions demanded are beyond the reach of those charged with implementation. This poses a quandary since there continues to be pressure on political leaders to pronounce and inevitably to promise solutions.

There is no simple answer but an approach might be to give considerably more thought to the nature of conference declarations and outcomes, and identify achievable action in "bite-size" pieces; in other words, begin with the possible and deliverable and then tailor the declaration to this end. The continuous citing of previous conference declarations that are simply not realizable in an HIV/AIDS era reinforces this point.

The effect of issuing statements that few people really believe to be achievable, is to devalue the worth of the meeting and increase conference fatigue; it also places a question mark behind the process of disseminating these outcomes amongst those charged with implementation and may lead to cynicism and dismissal. Global visions are vital, but they can only be realized through the achievement of a set of prioritized goals and objectives within a capacitated and sustainable system of response, and the lesson may be to begin delivering on more limited targets within what is more correctly a principled framework.

Report quality and wider impact

It is interesting to note how important the quality of the conference report itself appears to be: A mediocre encounter can be elevated to a position of prominence through excellent reporting while a really vital conference can be condemned to obscurity by poor written output. While it is unfair to point to any given conference analyzed in this report, there are certainly some outstanding and professional reports in comparison to some which are at best adequate.

Since the impact of any conference will be limited to those who attended it (dependent on their memories), the quality and extent of its action and output, and to those few who then read the conference report, it will be seen that dissemination of a professional and comprehensive report is critical. Ideally this should be a valuable piece of development literature in its own right, and should not fall prey to incorporating elements of little consequence to any but those who attended; for example, the direct capture of all flip chart pages, or introductory speeches that have little value outside the context of the conference.

This output of what are very expensive meetings should therefore be elevated in importance, certainly requiring interpretative and writing skills, and understood to be the legacy and measure of the meeting as well as the development of a freestanding development document in its own right. Extensive dissemination of the latter should therefore become a key conference objective.

Increased conference utility

Certain of the conference reports were little short of excellent in translating their content and proceedings into effective checklists and management response guides. This suggests that if the conference is opening up new

fields of practical methodology and implementation, it is incumbent on the report writers to treat it as a "user manual", to ensure greater utility and dissemination. For example, most conferences beseech their participants to go home and spread the good word of what they have experienced, but do not provide the means for them to do this effectively.

There is a huge opportunity to cascade the impact of a good conference downward if the materials are available for participants to replicate and disseminate it. This, too, should constitute a conference objective. This argues for the design of a generic conference template for this purpose.

Second, the conference materials should be carefully considered in the same light: Electronic presentations, for example, should be provided on disk to allow participants to repeat them in their own environments, and even adapt them for use in their own presentations. Sub-sections of the reports which constitute training or information modules in their own right should likewise be structured so that they can be extracted and used to widen the dissemination of the material, and hence its utility. Copyright, so jealously guarded by tradition, should be more rationally understood to be the protection of intellectual rights through acclaim, accreditation and acknowledgement and not a constraint on the material's use for the greater good.

Relevance and commitment of participants

It is necessary to recognize that participative, strategic development planning, of the kind envisaged in all the conferences under review, can only really be done by those who will be directly affected by its outcomes. While professional facilitators, conference organizers and resource people are central to this process, it is not their task to provide the answers, but to guide and distill what must be said and agreed. The point of this comment is that all too often many of those engaged have a limited personal or institutional stake in the outcome and implementation; they can for example fly north or return to a sinecure that insulates them from the uncomfortable process of turning words into action.

This is not to say they should not be there or be involved – quite the contrary – but that the comparative weight of responsibility should be recognized and roles and voices assessed accordingly. On this basis it may be possible to develop greater frankness and honesty about what can be done, and how; declarations of intent may indeed be more realistic, if those from outside the field of action opt for an objective and critical role in guiding conference quality and outcomes, rather than exacerbating the problem by imposing their own well-intentioned visions. There is no easy answer to this issue,

but a useful start would be to comb invitation lists and establish roles and responsibilities in direct relation to stake in the outcome, versus a professional input in ensuring there is one. If the way forward lies in sustainable, systemic mitigation and management, then those directly charged with these tasks should be supported in playing the leading roles that fall to them, with due acknowledgement of their responsibility.

Future conference design

This analysis proposes that future conferences should begin by reviewing what has gone before and asking the question: Why have another, and for what purpose?

Second, they should determine where in the intervention continuum they fit, what is required to make them useful, what outcomes should be expected and how these will be implemented and monitored. This sequence should be carefully considered to determine whether the envisaged theme is a priority, or whether there are other interventions required ahead of it, to enable its success.

Third, they should carefully consider who should attend and why, and what stake these participants have in the outcome; they should consider too whether the proposed conference should not be "multiplied" into a series of meetings at a level closer to the ground, to empower those more directly responsible for action.

Finally, they should make certain that the outcome has practical utility, that it is accessible to all interested parties and that its declarations and promises are deliverable.

Analysis results

Types of conferences

An analysis of the workshop participants and conference discussion points, and categorization of the types of conferences were developed (See *Table* 28 and F*igure* 15 on following page).

Table 28. Conference type categorization

Conference Type	# of Conferences	Typical Attendees	Typical Conference Discussions	Hiv/aids Focus
Heads of State conference (Code: HoS)	1	• Heads of government • Donor Agencies • United Nations	• Issues affecting all countries on a particular continent	Part of discussions, but not main theme
Education Sector Conference (Code: ESC)	8	• Education Sector Specialists • Ministries of Education • Education Institutions (e.g. universities) • Academics and education researchers • Education section representatives of donor/funding agencies • NGOs • Opinion Leaders	• The future of education • Strategies and policies regarding education	Part of discussions, could be the main theme or a sub-theme of the conference
Regional Education Conference (Code: REC)	5	• Ministries of Education within a particular region (e.g. SADC) • Other Ministries • Education section representatives of donor agencies	• Impact on education sector in each country • Development of a regional strategic framework	HIV/AIDS impact and mitigation strategies is the main theme of the conference
HIV/AIDS Conference (Code: HAC)	3	• HIV/AIDS specialists • PLWA • Government representatives • Religious Sector • NGOs • Donor Agencies • Opinion Leaders	• HIV/AIDS research • Prevention, councelling and care strategies • Main streaming of HIV/AIDS • HIV/AIDS intervention methodologies	HIV/AIDS is main focus of workshop

Figure 15. Different types of conferences
Conference Types

Heads of State conference (Code: HOS)   Education Sector Conference (Code: ESC)
Regional Education Conference (Code: REC)   HIV/AIDS Conference (Code: HAC)
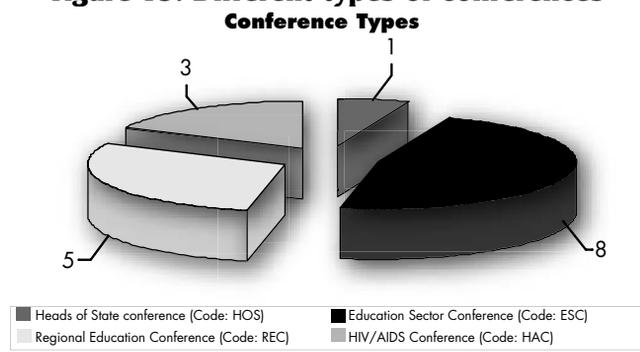
All further analyzes have been carried out based on this categorization of conferences

Conference location and duration

• Of the 17 conferences analyzed, 14 conferences (82%) took place in Africa and principally involved representatives from African countries.

These 14 conferences were geographically located across the African continent as follows: 6 in Southern Africa; 4 in East Africa; 4 in West Africa.

It is assumed that there is a direct association between the levels of HIV/AIDS prevalence and incidence and the choice of conference venues; this would explain the slight predominance of Southern Africa, for example.

- The average workshop duration was 3.6 days.

Conference Proceedings

Conference proceedings followed one or other of the general patterns described in *Table* 29 below. The proceedings of each of the conferences listed in Annex A, has been categorized using the definitions already described. Analysis results are as follows:

Table 29. Conference Proceeding Types and Analysis Results

Pattern	Pattern Descriptors	Percentage
One	• Introduction by host country • Key note speakers from education sector and HIV/AIDS research field • Identification of workshop themes • Working Groups to discuss theme selected • Feedback from Working Group • Agreement on actions/the way forward	6.25%
Two	• Introduction by host country/organization • Keynote speaker – to contextualise political commitment and severity of impact • Specialists providing research results in presentation format • Case study presentations by various groups • Group discussions – based on predefined themes • Feedback from groups • Joint closing session - identify outcomes • Closing keynote speaker	87.5%
Three	• Opening address • Case studies – presentations by participants • Open Space Technology – no formal group and feedback sessions • Discussion on issues not yet raised • Workshop conclusions and actions	6.25%

The individual conference proceedings are summarized in Annex B.

Conference Content Summary

Objectives of the Conferences

An analysis of the conference objectives per conference type (*See Table* 30) yielded the following results:

Table 30. Objectives for different conference types

Confer-ence Type	Objectives
Regional Education Conference (REC)	Develop a shared understanding of impact of the pandemic on education and economy.
	Provide management guidelines and frameworks to assist in dealing with realities of impact
	Attain a greater understanding of the scope of HIV/AIDS strategy
	Agree on guidance on working with/supporting governments
	Develop principles for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in Area Based Programs and at sectoral level
	Draft guidelines for supporting NGOs
	Understand how educators are responding to the impact of HIV/AIDS on education
	Understand the current and potential future impact of the disease on all education sub-sectors
	Understand how to act in a proactive manner to protect the education system
Education Sector Conference (ESC)	Draft a policy that universities could use
	Establish a Commonwealth Knowledge Network
	Draft a communiqué to be presented to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting
	Formulate a framework for action
	Instill hope and positive messages with participants
	Develop a Declaration: Dakar Framework for Action - Education for All
	Understand the socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on education sector
	Assess current national strategies and their effectiveness
	Discuss and approve the Synthesis Report on HIV/AIDS in education for submission at ADF-II
	Exchange experiences on the impact of HIV/AIDS pandemic
	Identify measures that have been introduced
	Identify strategies needed to ensure successful implementation of identified measures
	Understand the challenge of knowledge creation and application in the 21st century
	Scope the extent of the HIV/AIDS problem
	Share experiences of what activities and strategies have proven successful
	Agree on a detailed program that will have real, long-term impact and provide lasting materials
Hiv/aids Conference (HAC)	Enable participants to discuss the serious consequences for children directly and indirectly affected by HIV/AIDS
	Understand the effects and impact of HIV on the education sector
	Understand how to involve youth in the fight against HIV/AIDS
	Finalize the African Consensus and Plan of Action for Leadership to Overcome HIV/AIDS
Heads Of State Conference (HOS)	Endorse the ADF 2000 consensus on fighting HIV/AIDS

For 12 of the 17 conferences it can be deduced from the information supplied that the workshop objectives were at least partly met. The report information for the other 5 conferences was not conclusive in terms of whether workshop objectives have been achieved.

Understanding of the effects of HIV/AIDS

Some discussions on the effects and impacts of HIV/AIDS took place during various conference plenary sessions. In total, 7 conferences (42%) specifically addressed the issue of HIV/AIDS impact in the education sector. A summary of the types and levels of impact within the education sector (*See Table* 31) has been summarized below:

Table 31. Types and levels of impact

Type of Impact	Level of Impact
Decreased enrollment	Leads to decreased demand in education due to: • Reduced number of learners • Higher drop out rate This will lead to decline in skills development
Provision of education and training	Reduces number of skilled personnel able to supply educational services Reduces efficiency of sector through increased costs of service delivery (increased sick leave payments)
Quality of education	Decreases the amount of time spent on teaching in classroom and learning outside formal classroom time (increased sick that need to be cared for)
Resource availability	Reduces resources available to education sector

It is important to note that this understanding of the impact/effect of HIV/AIDS on the education sector was the product of these conferences and that it was communicated/shared at the conferences in different ways. In several, this impact was demonstrated using qualitative comments and anecdotal information to create understanding and awareness, as opposed to the use of scientific analysis and hard data. In some conferences however, statistics and hard data were used to great effect to demonstrate impact on education, but these indicators were often limited in scope and availability, reconfirming the overriding need to develop, capture and analyze dependable data, on a regular basis.

In summary, the impact on the education sector was understood to be very significant and quite unlike any other impact previously experienced. Please refer to *Annex* C for a visualisation of the types and levels of impact discussed and described.

Key challenges identified / constraints to implementation

Table 32. summarizes the key constraints identified in six of the conferences; while these may have been discussed in other conferences, there is no information forthcoming to inform this analysis.

Table 32. Indicated constraints on implementation of policy and mitigation/prevention strategies

REF	Conference Name	Conference Date	Type	Implementation Constraints
E	Working Group on the Teaching Profession/ Francophone Section	29 - 31 May 2000	REC	Geographic - location in Africa (e.g. Mauritius protected)
				Economic factors - poverty
				Cultural factors - use of condoms, etc.
				Political factors - e.g. refugees from other countries, lack of control
G	Regional HIV/AIDS Seminar for Ireland Aid	6 - 8 September 2000	REC	Lack of government resources for mainstreaming
				Lack of understanding of need for multi sectoral approach
				Lack of consistency between local and national policies
				Lack of NGO co-ordination with government
H	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa	15 - 17 Sept 2000	ESC	Lack of effective leadership commitment
				Need for openness and recognition of severity of disease
				Creating a real awareness
				Need to examine a number of untouchable cultural taboos
J	Rights of the Child and HIV/AIDS	22 - 24 October 2000	HAC	National legislation is not in place
				Traditional healers are not sufficiently engaged
				Political leadership not yet galvanized
				Stigma associated with the disease is not being dealt with
L	African Development Forum 2000: AIDS: The Greatest Leadership Challenge	3 - 7 December 2000	HAC	Lack of effective leadership commitment
				Need for openness and recognition of severity of disease
				Creating a real awareness
				Need to examine a number of untouchable cultural taboos
P	HIV/AIDS: Towards a strategy for Commonwealth Universities	11 - 13 March 2001	ESC	Lack of commitment, and the pressing nature of other problems
				Fear and denial, and reluctance to deal with prevention measures that encroach on students' time
				Religious, cultural and moral considerations
				No co-ordination of response, and lack of financial resources

Actions agreed upon and status of these actions

Table 33. summarizes the actions agreed upon at each workshop, and lists the status of the actions agreed upon (it should be noted that not all information was available on this matter). Each conference is coded (A to R) according to the complete and chronological list to be found in A*nnex A.*

Table 33. Actions agreed and levels of achievement at various conferences

Ref	Conference	Type	Declaration Prepared	Strategy After Conference?	Action Agreed To	Achievement Status
A	The Social, Demographic and Development Impact of HIV/AIDS: Commonwealth Universities Respond	ESC	N	Y - Draft policy for Universities developed	Finalisation of policy	Unknown
					Present communiqué to Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting	Completed
B	Third Biennial DFID Education Advisors' Conference	ESC	N	N	HIV/AIDS to be included in Dakar Declaration: Framework for Action	Completed
C	HIV/AIDS in Education Workshop	REC	N	N	Initiation of a network of professionals in the field	In Progress
					Demand for regional database identified	Unknown
					Agreement on the need for the development of an HIV/AIDS manual for district level managers	In Progress
					Development of a toolkit as a framework within which to define management responses to the impacts	In Progress
D	World Education Forum	ESC	Y (The Dakar Framework for Action)	N	Implementation of Dakar Framework Agreement	Unknown
E	Working Group on the Teaching Profession / Francophone Section	REC	N	Y - each country developed an action plan	Each member country to prepare an action plan	Unknown
G	Regional HIV/AIDS Seminar for Ireland Aid	REC	N	Y - Policy developed («Modalities for Effecting Support)	Ireland Aid to develop HIV/AIDS policy	Completed
H	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa	ESC	N	Y - Report prepared for ADF-II - entitled «HIV/AIDS and Education in Eastern and Southern Africa: the Leadership Challenge and the Way Forward»	Finalisation of report and presentation of report at ADF-II	Completed
I	IIEP Workshop on the impact of HIV/AIDS on education	ESC	N	N	Development of an HIV/Aids clearing house for information sharing	Unknown
					Conducting a study on the impact of HIV/AIDS and education and the response in 5 African countries	Unknown
					Development of training materials to develop regional networks	Unknown

K	14th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers	ESC	Y (Halifax Statement from Ministers of Education)	N	Preparation of Halifax Declaration plus schedule of objectives	Completed
L	African Development Forum 2000: AIDS: The Greatest Leadership Challenge	HAC	N	Y - African Consensus and Plan of Action: Leadership to Overcome HIV/AIDS	Finalisation of the African Consensus and Plan of Action: Leadership to Overcome HIV/AIDS	Completed
M	10th General Conference of the Association of African Universities- theme: «African Universities and the Challenge of Knowledge Creation and Application in the New Century»	ESC	Y (AAU Declaration on the African University in the Third Millennium	Y - Development of Core Program of Activities for 2001 - 2004 and addition of a new Program on HIV/AIDS	New Core Program of Activities Agreed upon	Unknown
					Declaration made by AAU members	Completed
N	SADC Education and Training Conference	REC	N	Y - Report on Country Preparedness prepared	Development of a report on the prepared ness of SADC countries in dealing with HIV/AIDS	Completed
P	HIV/AIDS: Towards a strategy for Commonwealth Universities	ESC	N	Yes - workshop document developed	Conducting of sensitization workshops for vice-chancellors	Unknown
Q	Elmina Conference on HIV/AIDS and Education: A Call for Action	REC	N	N	The conference defined how prevention and controlling the spread of HIV/AIDS should be handled	In progress in countries
					The conference recommended how the traumatic impact of HIV/AIDS can be reduced	In progress in countries
					The conference identified the need to improve management capacity and procedures	In progress in countries
					Regional linkages through the creation of regional frameworks and opportunities for working co-operatively be further explored	Unknown
R	Special Summit to endorse ADF 2000 consensus on fighting HIV/AIDS	HOS	Y (Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and other related Infectious diseases)	N	Leadership at national, regional and continental levels to mobilize society	Unknown
					Improvement of Information, Education and Communication	Unknown
					Resource Mobilization	Unknown
					Partnership development	Unknown
					Presentation of the spread of HIV/AIDS TB and ORID	Unknown

Conclusions

Conference logistics

It is a positive sign that 82% of conferences held took place in Africa. This would have had the effect of creating "ownership" of the problem and creating an important focus on contextual issues specific to Africa, and indeed to the local regions within which these conferences took place. This would have also assisted in facilitating the interrogation and transfer of knowledge and skills, and the involvement of Africans in discussing, planning and designing their collective future.

The average workshop duration of 3.6 days should not be seen as an indication of optimal duration, but simply the average amount of time available to the events and their planners. While future conferences may view this as some sort of benchmark, its significance is probably limited to an indication of the number of issues that can be discussed over that conference period. This may assist in fine-tuning workshop planning, maximizing effectiveness and minimizing participant fatigue, but it should be recognized that the key constraint is the availability of the right type and level of participant for the period in question. An objective should be to reduce the length of conferences in the future, based on prioritization and focus.

Conference objectives and outcomes

Conference objectives were extremely diverse, but few were seen to be achieved. In some cases, workshop objectives were either not defined, or not clearly stated in the documentation available for analysis. This is hardly surprising insofar as few conferences of any kind ever achieve their objectives in full, a problem compounded by the sheer enormity and complexity of the HIV/AIDS challenge. Areas that have not been extensively covered in the conferences are:

a) Determining success factors – how success can be measured and monitored over time;
b) Determining follow-up action and allocating responsibility for this within an agreed time frame;
c) Articulation of factors influencing best practice and useful case studies;
d) Identifying and understanding the fact that HIV/AIDS in education is a systemic management problem within which prevention, life skills etc must be located;
e) Understanding that HIV/AIDS will make worse existing systemic problems;

f) Recognizing that existing levels of system dysfunction will reduce the prospects for sustainable behavior change irrespective of the investment in prevention measures;

g) Identifying the importance of data and how this may be captured or supplemented.

HIV/AIDS: Understanding the impact/effects of the disease

The conferences demonstrated a good deal of understanding about the impact of HIV/AIDS, in general terms. The conference records indicate that although the severity of the impact is influenced by economic, cultural, religious and social factors within a country, the areas of the education sector that are identified as being affected by HIV/AIDS, are:

a) Demand for education services

b) Supply of education services

c) Quality of Education

d) Availability of Resources

It is clear throughout the conference material that whether the impact is understood on a qualitative basis or a quantitative basis, the scarcity of hard data required to validate these assumptions remained a key problem. As a consequence, use of anecdotal insights and subjective assessments were common, as was the lack of issue-related dialogue.

Assessment of actions agreed upon at conferences

The focus on "declarations" in these conferences was predictable, and is due at least in part to the need to establish and demonstrate visible Political support in the form of high profile statements of intent; indeed, there is a demonstrable international demand for such declarations. It is also a means of creating a "marketable" promise of action and transferring responsibility for its implementation, on the basis that someone else will be charged to do something about it, once the media response has subsided. The focus could also be due in part to the fact that many of these HIV/AIDS conference initiatives were hosted and funded by international agencies, which have all too often in the past relied on such declarations as a proxy for country commitment, and a way of asserting that the conference objective had been achieved. It may also be substantively influenced by the repetitive involvement of the same organizers, agendas and participants, suggesting that it is high time the existing framework of "cultural" reference be reviewed and perhaps replaced. This should challenge the prevailing sense of "mission accomplishment" borne of simply mounting a conference and place the

focus on the measurable implementation of plans capable of moving good intentions off the drawing board and into action.

Some very comprehensive and visionary declarations were made in this sequence of conferences and had much to offer, including measurable commitment to action and well thought through schedules of implementable activity. Amongst these more implementation-related successes was, for example, the ADF 2000 Conference, at which a practical plan of action was developed and accepted, and later endorsed at a linked summit in Abuja in April 2001.

Some parts of the university sector, particularly the Association of Commonwealth Universities, also took some excellent steps and developed frameworks to directly address the implementation constraints through a series of sensitization workshops, for example. This sector, one of the first to "politically" commit to the fight against HIV/AIDS, appeared to make good progress in converting action plans into measurable and implementable action, and in fact pioneered approaches that have relevance across the education spectrum. Although it is too early to claim a trend, these and other palpable successes in this chronology suggest that conferences are indeed getting better at recognizing their inherent limitations and setting their sights on some long term, developmentally-sound action. As indicated earlier, there is a rich vein to be found in most of these conferences and even value in those which fell short of discernable excellence; the secret of improving future outcomes will lie in translating ideas and intent into action, through the creation of access to their content and lessons, and the consequent mobilization of those required to deliver.

Level and effectiveness of commitment to HIV/AIDS solutions

Involving Ministers of Education and Heads of Government to publicly commit to fighting "the new war" ensured visible and demonstrable political commitment to the process. Declarations to this effect were made at 5 of the 17 conferences (29%).

This indicates much needed visible political commitment to the process, but still required some means of translating promise into action. This perceived gap between political commitment and operationalization/implementation, may be due amongst other things to:
a) A lack of human and material resources;
b) A lack of systemic capacity and structure in which action and prioritized implementation can be mounted and monitored;
c) A lack of permanently dedicated personnel within such structures; instead

there are "part time people handling a full time crisis", often in commit-tee environments, with a growing feeling of despondency – "how can I cope with this as well as my regular job and the many other crises and development agendas of my department?"

d) No marketing of regional frameworks and support structures and re-sources to various line function departments;

e) No operational presence at conferences to translate commitment into action;

f) The continuing lack of hard and regularly collected data and indicators to inform and guide prioritized response and quantify results sufficiently to provide a reality check.

The different types of commitments (*See Scatter Diagram* 1)demonstrated at the 17 conferences that were analyzed, can be visualized as follows:

Scatter Diagram 1:
Level of political commitment and level of action
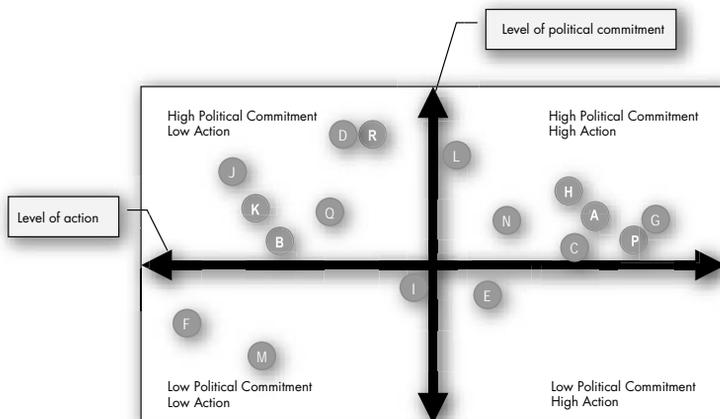
The criteria used in this Scatter Diagram are subjective, but are based on the following principles:

Political commitment was defined as the clear, public and unequivocal com-mitment of leaders at the Political level as well as sectoral/institutional heads (who might also be described as political leaders) to create the political space and resources required, for appropriately qualified individuals and institutions from across the societal spectrum to respond to and mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on education. This also implies the commitment of leaders at every level of a given sector or institution, and their preparedness to work together for the greater public good and integrate their responses into every aspect of their public, professional and social responsibilities. Conversely, by way of a process check, the question is whether the neces-

sary international, regional, national and local response to HIV/AIDS will be inhibited in any way as a result of the lack of such support.

In the context of this analysis, political commitment was therefore deemed to be the expressed commitment and support of those leaders (Political and political) whose support was critical to progress and the empowerment of action, regardless of whether they were international, national, sectoral or institutional in stature.

Level of Action was defined as the presence or likely development of a plan of action, flowing from the conference proceedings and linked to its stated objective(s), which looked likely to have a fair chance of successful implementation within the indicated time lines. Prospects for success necessitate the identification of a mechanism, agency or other systemic means of carrying the planned action forward, and some reasonable – if subjective – sense that this will have the desired capacity to achieve the objective. Conversely, by way of a process check, the question is whether the identified action plan is likely to fail or simply not be initiated as a result of the lack of some practical and sustainable systemic means to implement it, or the required resources to effect its implementation.

Thus, in the context of this analysis, Level of Action was deemed to represent the reasonable likelihood of action flowing from the conference and the achievement of at least 50% of its stated objectives.

It should be stated that the application of these criteria is subject to interpretation of conference reports that vary greatly in style, quality and content; for this reason, the location of these conferences on the Scatter Diagram above should be seen merely as a general indication rather than a hard and fast bracketing based on absolute and constant indicators.

Types of action

An analysis of the types of action plans developed at these conferences was undertaken to determine the nature of the action agreed upon and its area of focus. It is disturbing to note that the lowest frequency (1) was accorded to developing research, followed by systemic management tools (3) and dissemination of conference outputs (3), confirming a number of concerns already noted. The following criteria were used in placing conferences on the following histogram:
• Assessing the types of actions agreed upon for all conferences where the conference reports listed specific actions, per the analysis summary provided in T*able* 34 of this document; and
• Locating the type of action agreed upon in one of the defined categories.

The figure below (*See Histogram* 1) provides an insight into frequency of the types of action agreed upon at conferences where action plans where developed.

Table 34. Types of action agreed upon

Type of Action	Conference Reference	Frequency of Response
Develop/finalize policy document or action plan	A, E, G, H, L, N, R	7
Develop/finalize/inputs for declaration	B, D, K, M	4
Implement policy/strategy discussed and agreed upon	G, M, P, R	4
Develop systemic management tools	C, I, Q	3
Conduct research	I	1
Present/disseminate conference discussions to other persons in participant organizations	A, Q, R	3
Develop/establish network of regional/local partners	C, I, Q, R	4

Histogram 1. Frequency of response
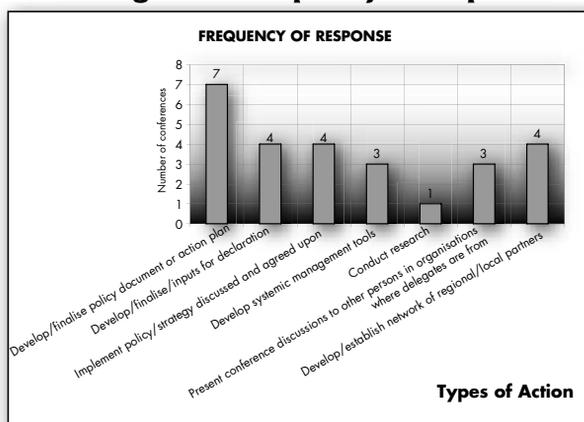
Lack of visual materials

Whilst there was a good conceptual understanding of, and consensus on, the impact of HIV/AIDS on the education sector, the lack of reliable data, analysis and value-added information, together with relevant case studies and best practice insights, was problematic for most of the conferences. Yet the foregoing analysis of Types of Action agreed suggests participants did not see this for the problem it patently is, nor did they appear to identify the need for sustainable and systemic approaches to mitigation in many cases.

While it is not known how much use was made of visual aids and electronic presentation techniques at the conferences themselves, the conference proceedings and subsequent records are text-intensive and lack graphic and illustrative representations (as well as maps and other models and tools) that would together have more effectively and economically focused the limited attention span of the reader. Examples of such graphic illustrations are contained in this report, although even here there is text-dominance.

What is clear is that any strategy to minimize the amount of time required from busy individuals and leaders, and provide summarized information that is easy to digest and respond to, is likely to shorten conference time and improve the quality of outcomes.

Such graphics (Annex C, *Scatter Diagram* 1 or *Histogram* 1 are cases in point) could be circulated prior to conferences, as part of preparatory reading sets for example, to ensure the rapid grasp of a common point of departure and early focus on strategically important areas. In reference to the conference proceedings however, it should be acknowledged that:

a) The impact of HIV/AIDS on education appears to be broadly understood although there is clearly limited perception of its systemic implications; secondly, that the nature of its impact is broadly generic to Sub-Saharan Africa, although the severity or level of impact differs from country to country, and within countries, from area to area, depending on circumstances.

b) The implication is that conferences should now move beyond "understanding" the and debating declarations and instead begin to focus on:
  - Advocating HIV/AIDS policies/strategies that have been successfully developed
  - Reaching agreement on action plans and initiating measurable implementation
  - Developing/utilizing reliable data and value-added management information
  - Assessing the mitigation impact of actions that h have already been undertaken

Critical success factors identified

The following critical success factors were identified in these conferences, and are listed to help ensure that future conferences are more successful:

a) The need for political will and determination clearly linked to an achievable plan for visible action within a given time frame;

b) The need and importance of identifying "bite size" activities that can be quickly and visibly implemented, particularly those options requiring little or no budget commitment (ie zero budget options); the value of short-term gains and small successes should not be discounted in building momentum and developing a sense of achievement;

c) The need to identify key data sets and indicators for benchmarking, measurement, analysis and monitoring, and ensure the systemic means of their regular capture and provision to inform proceedings and country strategies with supportable scientific evidence;

d) The need to establish a process to involve conference participants in the direction, prioritization and guidance of the agenda, so as to ensure shared ownership of the meeting and its outcomes. Failure to do so will lead to detachment, disinterest and even cynicism, particularly where conference declarations are obviously distant from implementation realities and constraints, and may exacerbate conference fatigue syndrome;

e) The need to "humanize" the HIV/AIDS pandemic by acknowledging and involving PLWAs, young people and others in presenting their views and needs as key stakeholders, in tackling the disease;

f) The need to acknowledge the sense of fatalism and denial that exists within many MoEs at various levels, and adopt strategies and specific interventions to systemically convert this outlook from negative to positive by demonstrating success and building momentum within the context of a "we will win" attitude;

g) The need to define mechanisms to ensure the feedback and dissemination of conference information and outcomes to MoEs and all other partner organizations, agencies and interested stakeholders after the event;

h) The need to also define and institute monitoring and evaluation procedures, both of the conference proceedings themselves and of the programs and outcomes that are developed and initiated, and identify the means to feed back this information to the participants and other stakeholders involved;

i) The need to improve focus on key points and conclusions through better presentations, conference reports and outcomes, and ensure the inclusion of succinct Executive Summaries, prioritized key points, best practice lessons learnt and better graphic and tabular information – based on hard data;

j) The need to identify the barriers/constraints – at all levels – to implementation and develop systematic means and mechanisms to directly target and overcome these;

k) The need to ensure Political Commitment from both political leaders and sectoral heads, as well as senior operational staff, to create the space for strategic decision making and planning, and that these plans are effectively and accountably implemented (Operational Output);

l) The need to recognize the availability of skills and specialist resources and best practice experience, and apply these to the regional benchmarking of impact on the sector to determine the current, real position in respect of future declarations, policy and planning, and the factors that influence them;

m) The need to facilitate and promote regional learning/sharing at all levels – between countries, between departments within countries, between public, civil and private sector partners, and between funding agencies. Conferences are a means to this end and therefore have a responsibility to address these issues in their objectives.

Closing remarks

It has been acknowledged in various of these conferences that "HIV/AIDS means having to do things differently" and that it is no longer "business as usual" in education management. By definition, this means that HIV/AIDS is making an already bad sectoral situation worse. Thus, the real issue is recognizing that that this is not simply a health issue but an education management challenge of the highest order; consequently, it must be recognized that mitigation is dependent in the first instance on better systemic management at all levels of the system. Policy change and prevention initiatives, however good, will be fundamentally inhibited by the comparative dysfunction of the school system and its management at district, regional and national levels. For all these reasons, it is vital that conferences begin in future by examining the prevailing structural and systemic climate within which they hope to locate declarations, policy and action, and become grounded in the reality of the situation in the classroom and school. To do otherwise is to betray the trust of those for whom the outcomes of such conferences are intended, and would be a missed opportunity of unparalleled magnitude.

The organic nature of the intervention strategy/methodology that has evolved over these workshops, and outside them, has developed a natural progression as understanding about HIV/AIDS and its impact increases. This may be represented graphically (See *Figure* 16).

This implies a natural progression from acknowledgement and understanding of the disease to understanding system impact and defining response modalities and mechanisms. This may represent a generous view of how far these conferences have come over the period of review. In any case, it is useful to consider locating the progression of conferences in this context, and to apply it to future planning.

Figure 16. Progression in intervention strategy methology

It suggests that in order to move all the stakeholders involved to the next step along this progression (ie, implementing and assessing actions plans), it is necessary to acknowledge the extent and value of the often unrecognized country work done so far, and then move all concerned from a detached strategic vision to prioritized goal and objective setting and the translation of these into practical, time-bound implementation plans within an information sharing and networking environment.

ANNEX A

Table 35. List of education conferences

	Conference/Strategy Name	Conference Paper/Report Name	Dates	Dura-tion	Venue	Hosted/ convened by	Fund-ed by
CONFERENCE REPORTS							
A	The Social, Demographic and Development Impact of HIV/AIDS: Commonwealth Universities Respond	Report on the proceedings of a Symposium hosted by the Association of Commonwealth Universities ad the University of Natal	8-9 November 1999	2 days	Durban, South Africa	ACU, UND	ACU, UND
B	DFID Africa Education Conference	HIV/AIDS: The Challenge to Education	4- 6 April 2000	3 days	Glenburn Lodge, Pretoria, SA	DFID	DFID
C	HIV/AIDS in Education Workshop	HIV/AIDS in Education Workshop	11-12 April 2000	2 days	Durban, South Africa	HEARD	USAID, DFID
D	World Education Forum	Information from web obtained, no formal proceedings report	26-28 April 2000	3 days	Dakar, Senegal	WEF	??
E	Working Group on the Teaching Profession / Francophone Section	Report of the Seminar on HIV/AIDS and the Teaching Forces in Francophone Africa	29-31 May 2000	3 days	Lome., Togo	MoE, Togo	WGTP/ FS

F	XIII International AIDS Conference	Report on Session D01: HIV Prevention in Educational Institutions	9-14 July 2000	6 days	ICC, Durban, South Africa	UNAIDS	UN-AIDS
G	Regional HIV/AIDS Seminar for Ireland Aid	Seminar Report	6 - 8 September 2000	3 days	Jinja, Uganda	Ireland Aid	Irish Government
H	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa	Draft Report from Ad Hoc Expert Group on the Impact of HIV/AIDS On the Education Sector in Africa» Sub Regional Outlook and Best Practices	15-17 Sept 2000	3 days	Lake Victoria, Uganda	UN-ECA, and Ugandan Government	UN-AIDS, UNDP
I	IIEP Workshop on the impact of HIV/AIDS on education	Summary Note of Workshop	27 - 29 September 2000	3 days	Paris, France	IIEP	UNES-CO
J	Rights of the Child and HIV/AIDS	Report on workshop	22 - 24 October 2000	3 days	Harare, Zimbabwe	SADC	EU
K	14th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers	Commonwealth News Release	26 - 30 November 2000	5 days	Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada	Commonwealth Secretariat	?
L	African Development Forum 2000: AIDS: The Greatest Leadership Challenge	African Consensus and Plan of Action: Leadership at all levels to overcome HIV/AIDS	3 - 7 December 2000	5 days	Addis Ababa	UNECA	UNECA
M	10th General Conference of the Association of African Universities	Press Release: The Association of African Universities holds its 10th General Conference	5 - 9 February 2001	5 days	Nairobi, Kenya	AAU	AAU
N	SADC Education and Training Conference	Report on Country Preparedness in dealing with HIV/AIDS in the Education and Training Sector	26 – 28 February 2001	1 day	Pretoria, South Africa	SADC	??
O	Seminar for Ireland Aid Education Advisors and HIV/AIDS Focal Staff	Report on Seminar topic: HIV/AIDS and education	26 - 28 February 2001	3 days	Dublin, Ireland	Ireland Aid	Irish Government
P	HIV/AIDS: Towards a strategy for Commonwealth Universities	Workshop proceedings report	11 - 13 March 2001	3 days	Geneva, Switzerland	WHO/ UNAIDS	
Q	Elmina Conference on HIV/AIDS and Education: A call for Action	Workshop Recommendations Report	19 - 23 March 2001	5 days	Elmina, Ghana	UNESCO	??
R	Special Summit to endorse ADF 2000 consensus on fighting HIV/AIDS	Web based workshop summary	26-27 April 2001	2 days	Abuja, Nigeria	ADF	??

DECLARATIONS						
14th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers	Halifax Statement from Ministers of Education	26 - 30 November 2000	5 days	Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada	Commonwealth Secretariat	?
Special Summit to endorse ADF 2000 consensus on fighting HIV/AIDS	Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and other related Infectious diseases	26-27 April 2001	2 days	Abuja, Nigeria	ADF	??
World Education Forum	The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All - Meeting our Collective Commitments	26-28 April 2000	3 days	Dakar, Senegal	WEF	??
10th General Conference of the Association of African Universities	AAU Declaration on the African University in the Third Millennium	5 - 9 February 2001	5 days	Nairobi, Kenya	AAU	AAU
XIII International AIDS Conference	The Durban Declaration	9-14 July 2000	6 days	ICC, Durban, South Africa	UNAIDS	UNAIDS
STRATEGIES						
Action Program on HIV/AIDS in Education and Training in the Southern African Development Community	No conference - strategy paper	1-Jan-00	not applicable	not applicable	SADC	SADC
SAUVCA HIV/AIDS Publication -	Strategy completed after conference on 26 Oct 2000 - strategy paper	26-Oct-00	not applicable	not applicable	SAUVCA	?
SADC HIV/Aids in Education Strategic Framework	No conference - strategy paper	1-Apr-01	not applicable	not applicable	SADC	SADC
Irish Government: Department of Foreign Affairs	Modalities for Effecting Support: Ireland Aid's HIV/AIDS Strategy	not applicable	not applicable	not applicable		

Annex B: Conference summaries[2]

Report A

The Social, Demographic and Development impact of HIV/AIDS: *Commonwealth Universities Respond* (8-9 *November* 1999, *Durban, South Africa*)

This thorough and well-structured 31-page Symposium Report details the impact of HIV/AIDS on the Commonwealth university sector, and goes further than might be expected in two days of engagement. Two of its three objectives were met: A communiqué was drafted for, and issued by, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting within three days of the Symposium, and a comprehensive 36-point HIV/AIDS Policy for Staff and Students at Commonwealth Universities was drafted and offered to ACU members as a framework for consideration, adaptation, adoption or rejection. A third objective, the establishment of a Commonwealth Knowledge Network apparently proceeds apace.

The Symposium was effective in unpacking many complex issues, including the need to mainstream response, better understand the nature of the challenge, and support strong leadership to drive research, improved institutional management and prevention strategies. Care, counseling, support and training as well as ethical issues and the fundamental re-thinking of resource allocation were also noted. The Report provides many thought-provoking insights: The fact that treatment cost per patient per year equates to the costs of educating ten primary school children per year, and that the term 'immerserisation' has been coined to describe the process by which peoples' lives are made miserable by poverty, disease and disadvantage.

While the Symposium drew on contextual inputs from Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, the Report does not provide much insight into these. Apart from a few well-known statistics, it is also thin on hard data regarding HIV/AIDS, a reflection of the paucity of such data at all levels of the education system; what is more problematic is that the Symposium failed to flag the university sector's potential role in meeting this strategic need. The Symposium identified the sector's links with the communities 'from which they draw their staff and students', but failed to locate universities within a wider definition of the education sector or recognize their direct dependence on the basic education feeder system.

On balance, the Symposium Report ranks as a very useful and perhaps groundbreaking resource document for the university sector, and its draft

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2   Note: Report O (Seminar for Ireland Aid Education Advisors and HIV/AIDS Focal Staff) is listed in Annex A, but has not been summarized or otherwise analyzed elsewhere given its limited relevance in the context of this report.

Policy document provides a substantive checklist for more detailed institutional response and regulatory framework formulation.

(Note: Although technically falling outside the period of review, this Symposium warrants mention and inclusion, not least because of its establishment of a principled approach within the tertiary sector; this is particularly relevant given other subsequent Commonwealth and university-sector workshops which spare little passing thought to the subject).

Report B

DFID *Africa Education Conference* (4-6 April 2000, Pretoria, South Africa)

41 education advisors, consultants, MoE officials, NGO and development agency personnel attended this third biennial DFID Education Advisors' Conference. The focus was squarely on HIV/AIDS impact on the education sector, and process rather than product; however the Conference Report claims success in generating a set of action plans for each of the four main DFID Africa regions, to be implemented in association with local partners.

The Conference theme was very clearly prevention related, with contextual inputs from Uganda, Zambia, Botswana, Kenya, and Nigeria. Each of these provided some key statistical indicators, often anecdotal, which together confirmed reduction in life expectancy, population movement, high mother-to-child transmission rates, reducing enrollments and stocks of teachers and managers, increasing orphan numbers and gender disparity, early and high risk sexual behaviour and limited evidence of behaviour change.

There was some emphasis on management and planning in one of four focal groups (described as an action plan), with the suggestion that future donor support should be conditional on MoE development and adoption of HIV/AIDS strategies. It suggested that technical support and capacity building be provided by the donor community, where required, with the support and assistance of NGOs. The Conference also considered who constituted 'agents of change' and stakeholders in mitigation, assessed availability of resources and examined issues of support and care structures and systems with particular emphasis on orphans. The use of radio as a key communication and behaviour change medium was analyzed and it was recommended that other countries in Africa should set up community radio stations to bring HIV/AIDS messages home to communities.

The Conference Report gives the impression of a loosely structured and largely informational if passionate meeting to share and learn. While it was clearly successful in awareness raising, and indeed contained many very valuable inputs, the lack of articulated objectives, linked outcomes and

structure in the Report make for somewhat fragmented comprehension and reading. As a consequence, its value to the wider development community is diminished by the difficulty of disseminating the lessons of this Conference. The four action plans mentioned early in the Report are perhaps more accurately focal points of discussion and interrogation and cannot be seen as objective-led plans emanating from this Conference.

Report C

HEARD HIV/AIDS *in Education Workshop* (4-6 April 2000, *Durban, South Africa*)

This two-day regional Workshop was attended by 60 representatives of Southern and West African government education and finance ministries, development and donor agency personnel and other researchers and academics; these included officials from Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and representatives from USAID, DFID, British Council, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNAIDS, CIFCD and HIID.

The main objective of the Workshop was to develop a shared understanding of the impact of HIV/AIDS on education and the economy, and begin to provide management guidelines and frameworks to assist in management and planning. The Workshop focused on four key themes: Understanding current levels of impact in each sector of government; reviewing likely future impact; examining options for mitigation; and identifying key indicators for benchmarking and monitoring. The participants used a HEARD-developed Toolkit for Education Managers to assist in considering these themes and were also introduced to the use of GIS and spatial analysis in identifying patterns of impact and potential high-risk areas.

The Workshop also examined prospects for a Resource Manual or Kit to assist local level education managers, a project which was already supported by DFID.

The well-structured Workshop Report claims four main outcomes: First, the initiation of a cooperative network of officials and development partners, in which a common understanding of the problem between education and finance ministry officials was established. Second, the identification of demand for a regional database; third, agreement on the need for the development of an education managers' Resource Manual or Kit; and fourth, the provision of a Toolkit to assist in management and monitoring. In addition, the Report notes very great interest in the further development of GIS and spatial analysis in establishing trends and sectoral associations in HIV/AIDS impact; usefully, it also lists other initiatives then underway in the region.

It would appear that the Workshop realized its stated objectives, and additionally introduced a number of new innovations and tools to the response effort. It also benefited from the seniority and standing of the officials opening and closing the Workshop, but the Report recognizes that participants were still – in spite of their comparative seniority –dependent on the support and 'buy-in' of their superiors on their return. Many participants noted that 'money' was not the limiting factor in their sectoral response, but 'political will and determination at the highest levels'. The Report notes the need for longer periods of workshop interaction and the need for 'mobile task groups' to go in country, and vertically integrate this kind of intervention within MoEs, from the highest levels down. On balance, this well-reported Workshop appears to have opened the way to a more practical, hands-on approach to mitigation and management response and focused exclusively on systemic management intervention rather than prevention.

Report D

The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All – Meeting Our Collective Commitments (26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal)

More than 1100 participants from 164 countries met for this World Education Forum, and ranged from teachers to prime ministers, academics to policy makers, and political activists to heads of international organizations. According to the Report, these participants shared a common vision of a world in which everyone would have the basic literacy and numeracy skills required to function as a citizen, worker, family member and fulfilled individual in the emerging global society. The purpose of the 3-day Forum was to agree on a strategy to turn this vision of 'education for all' (EFA) into a reality.

This meeting followed the 1990 World Conference in Jomtien, which adopted a 'World Declaration' on EFA, affirmed education as a fundamental human right and urged international support for the basic learning needs of all. Importantly, it approved a Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs, spelling out targets and strategies for attaining this goal by 2000. The Forum in Dakar was convened to assess progress towards EFA since Jomtien, to analyze where and why the goal had remained elusive and to renew commitments to turn this goal into reality. Participants presented data and analyzes, debated strategies and listened to input from across the spectrum, before adopting the Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our collective commitments. This Framework reaffirms the goal of EFA as laid out by Jomtien and other international conferences, commits participants to working towards specific educational goals by 2015 or earlier and affirms that 'no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources'. It also calls

for the developing or strengthening of national, regional and international mechanisms, built on existing structures, to coordinate global efforts and to accelerate progress towards EFA.

The Forum participants collectively committed themselves to achieving six specific goals related to EFA, which encapsulated the various themes and issues that permeated the sub-meetings and plenary sessions. These included: Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children; ensuring that by 2015 all children, especially girls, those in difficult circumstances and those from ethnic minorities, have complete access to completely free and compulsory primary education of good quality; and assurance that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs. Also, the achievement of a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults; the elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and the achievement of gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to, and achievement in, basic education of good quality; and the improvement of all aspects of the quality of education and the assurance of excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and life skills.

Report E

Report of the Seminar on HIV/AIDS *and the Teaching Forces in Francophone Africa* (29-31 May 2000, Lomé, Togo)

This Seminar was attended by 13 Francophone African countries, with 39 representatives in three person teams from the Ministries of Education and Health and the country WGs of the WGTP in Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Tchad and Togo.

The well-structured and professional Report sets out a comprehensive background, identifies the participants and provides a rationale for the Seminar. The early provision of the agenda provides a clear sense of issues and sequence and gives an indication of flow through to the Seminar outcome. The best feature of the Report is its provision of a structured framework for response reporting, ensuring some utility and continuation of the Seminar process. Importantly it notes geographic, cultural, political and economic variations in impact and analyzes the process through which policies develop, thus providing insight and a common understanding. The Report

also emphasizes the importance of partnerships but seems trapped in the view that HIV/AIDS is a health issue; however it is innovative in identifying how such a partnership with Health might work: Health might provide the technical knowledge/ skills, for example, while Education could provide action at a local level.

While the Seminar, and therefore the Report, is appropriately sensitive to the views, needs and capacity of participants, it fails to articulate any clear objectives for the meeting and instead raises a series of incremental questions about possible actions. Given that the Seminar seems to have been exclusively focused on issues of prevention, perhaps influenced by the view of HIV/AIDS as a health issue, this limits any appreciation of the systemic context within education. However, there is pleasing attention to the future, and the framework for future action outlines five steps which provide for commonality of reporting, and identify the need for general and specific objectives, linkages with the Ministry of Health, identification of actions to achieve each objective, expected results, timeframes and statement of support needs. This action was apparently directed at reporting to a scheduled Steering Committee meeting on 20-21 September 2000, in Paris; there is no information regarding this meeting or the success of the reporting to it.

One very useful insight into the problems of sectoral response is provided by the information that the representatives felt they 'had no mandate' to respond to the Seminar's key questions and request to participate in future activity. This goes to the heart of the matter of conferences and meetings on this topic and suggests the comparative impotence of participants in responding to what are, in effect, the major management challenges of the era. This statement opens the way to a continuing debate about the necessary seniority of decision-makers at such meetings, versus their limited availability, and alternative modalities for the empowerment of representatives.

Report F

XIII *International* AIDS *Conference* (9-14 July 2000, *Durban*, *South Africa*)

Given the scope and scale of this monumental event in Africa, and its unquestioned organizational triumph, the fact that only six out of 196 papers presented were on education-related issues, is simply outrageous.

This suggests that at a conceptual and organizational level, the allocation of only 3% of the available sessions to the issue of HIV/AIDS in education means there is scant appreciation of either the importance of the sector or its size and leverage in socio-economic and mitigation terms. On the face of it, the Conference organizers simply failed to grasp that the education system and sector represents both the largest defined block of population at risk

and yet the greatest opportunity for containment and mitigation. Given the fact that the education sector either enrolls or employs up to a third of the population of most developing countries, and that it consumes up to 30% of their national budgets, it is difficult to understand this lack of recognition and attention. One uncomfortable explanation is that the Committee believes the pandemic to be a health issue and not the development and systemic management challenges it more accurately represents.

Six papers on education were presented, only two of which were from Africa; this notwithstanding the continent's burden of 70% of the world prevalence and infection. Of the two African papers, one was from Malawi and described a project in which community volunteers were used to develop awareness and provide peer counseling. This pilot project provided some useful insights, as did the second from Ghana, which described a peer education and support program in universities, using students living with AIDS; the use of infected persons in this program contributed to its reach and effectiveness, and was linked to some degree of behaviour change, albeit short-term. A similar response was reported in a paper from the United States, in which presentations by students living with AIDS were also shown to motivate varying degrees of behaviour change in peer groups

In fact, all six papers were prevention oriented and none had any bearing on the health of the education system itself or otherwise addressed issues of systemic management or sustainability. This observation is not a criticism of the papers, which in fact provided some useful and thought-provoking ideas, but rather of the selection criteria by which they were chosen. For example, a paper on response in Mongolia discussed life skills, curriculum change and materials development in a country so sparsely populated, and with such miniscule levels of infection, that it bore not the slightest relation to the problems of Africa; while the level of response described was laudable in the extreme, it was also apparent that it was being mounted in a comparatively functional system, again far removed from the experience of Africa.

The three permeating themes were that HIV/AIDS education is a crucial ingredient in combating its spread; that this is difficult to accomplish because it is a sensitive and complex issue; and that we need to rethink old assumptions and theories of teaching and learning.

Report G

Regional HIV/AIDS Seminar for Ireland Aid (6-8 September 2000, Jinja, Uganda)

The fact that this is not specifically an education-focused Seminar Report does not detract from its excellence and demonstration of good development practice and professional strategic planning skills. There is however

constant reference to MoEs and every issue discussed is cross cutting, with implications for education.

The key point of departure is Ireland Aid's thoroughgoing internal evaluation of its capacity to mount a sustained response to HIV/AIDS and consequently do an effective job of supporting African ministries to mount and sustain theirs. This review of systemic capacity and the prioritization of strategic and institutional response is precisely what is lacking in most of the conference proceedings reviewed, and speaks to the fact that no ministry or organization can hope to respond effectively unless it is itself institutionally sound and equipped.

The Report is clear and professionally structured with content and objectives set out at the beginning; it also provides the Seminar program, list of participants and appends all the presentation papers. Most importantly, the Seminar Report identifies the structure and survival of their own organization as being a precondition to its ability to support others; while this internal focus may seem strange to some, their reaction may be driven by the fact that few MoEs and donor organizations appear to have engaged the simple truth of this basic development principle.

The Report lists the Seminar's targeted outputs upfront, which are systematically attained through the establishment of an operational management framework, and provides a valuable and replicable checklist and virtually guarantees that this Report will be utilized and disseminated widely – a valuable lesson indeed. It is also one of the few conferences reviewed to identify issues of recognition, learning and practice and to flag the overarching importance of monitoring and evaluation; it also deals extensively with the issue of 'mainstreaming' and provides useful practical insights into definitional and operational aspects. It short, the Report warns that it is no longer 'business as usual' and cites the need to seriously engage 'changing priorities'.

It also pays due attention to the views of Ireland Aid's country partners and provides welcome 'success stories' and best practice examples, emphasizing the value of partnerships with NGOs and Civil Society and a multi-sectoral approach to response – highlighting all the while that this requires operational frameworks and accountability. The Report sets out a schedule of achievable steps as well as action plans by country, with comprehensive, responsibility-allocated tasks clearly linked to defined deliverables. The only criticism of this approach is the looseness of its time frames (ie 'short-term', longer-term' etc).

Given the comparative size of Ireland Aid, this Report and the Seminar it details is an exemplary example to other development agencies – and indeed to MoEs themselves.

Report H

This Meeting was called to review the social and economic implications of the epidemic on education, in light of the emergency situation and the imminent danger of the collapse of the formal system. It brought together 40 participants, education policy makers and experts from 10 countries in the Eastern and Southern African region, including specialists at all levels, NGOs, religious leaders, resource persons and representatives from several development agencies. UNDP, UNAIDS, UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO and the EU Aids Project also attended.

The Meeting Report sets out seven focal points for discussion: A brief socio-economic study of HIV/ AIDS impact on education; assessment of current country strategies; a review of steps to increase MoE response capacity; examining strategies to support systemic capacity and human resource development; reviewing teacher demand and the flexibility of training options; identifying how systems could better recognize and mitigate the vulnerability of females; and debating the leadership role of education and its multi-sectoral relationships.

The Meeting was divided into eight sessions to review Country Desk Studies prepared for a Sub-Regional Synthesis Report: Session One was an Overview of the Strategic Issues and presentation of the draft report of the ECA, while Session Two and Three looked at country case studies in Rwanda, Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Session Four examined conceptual frameworks for evaluating what education can do to HIV/AIDS; Session Five focused on plenary discussion of each chapter of the Report in order to review Main Conclusions and Recommendations of the Meeting and synthesize these. Sessions Six, Seven and Eight summarized the recommendations of the Report and incorporated these into the Synthesized Report.

The Report thus contains the Report of the Ad Hoc Expert Meeting and the draft Synthesis Report, HIV/AIDS and Education in Eastern and Southern Africa: The Leadership Challenge and the Way Forward, which it produced. The 59-page Synthesis Report itself is an imposing body of knowledge: The first section is called Background and Impacts on Education, in which Chapter One deals with HIV/AIDS in Eastern and Southern Africa, Chapter Two addresses Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and Chapter Three looks at the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education Systems in the Sub-Region. In the second section, The Impact of Education on HIV/AIDS, Chapter Four covers The Response of the Education Sector to HIV/AIDS, Chapter Five examines Teaching Programs

and Activities for Containing and Responding to HIV/AIDS and Chapter Six addresses The Strategic and Organizational Response of Education to HIV/AIDS. In the third section, The Way Forward, Chapter Seven looks at Providing Leadership for Education's Response to HIV/AIDS and Chapters Eight and Nine examine The Role of the International Community and A framework for Action. Conclusions and comprehensive references and tables are dealt with in Chapter Ten in this seminal if lengthy work.

Report I

IIEP *Workshop on the Impact of* HIV/AIDS *on Education* (27-29 *September, Paris, France*)

This Workshop Report provides a good example of an established international agency, UNESCO's IIEP, coming to terms with the extent of the impact and seeking inputs from the countries concerned, on issues and responses. This structured Report provides a table of Contents and clearly sets out the purpose of the Workshop: To exchange experiences on the impact of the pandemic on education systems, identify measures that have been introduced to cope with this at all levels and identify strategies to introduce such measures.

The Report is in effect a synthesis of inputs from MoEs and experts in the Southern African field. Consequently the issues cited reflect practical experience on the ground and include: The slowness of MoEs and international agencies to recognize and respond to the scale of the problem; difficulty in obtaining data to measure systemic and socio-economic impact; the difficulty of dealing with the level of associated trauma; lack of capacity and resources to design counter-measures; the development of frameworks for local level response; and the need to move forward with existing indicators of 'order of magnitude'. The Report contains a useful analysis of the key areas of impact on the system, identifying four, including demand, supply, quality and equality of opportunity. It notes the challenge of simultaneously protecting the structural capacity of the education system while adapting to new needs and contexts.

The role of Impact Studies was interrogated at length, and several ideas and recommendations were mooted to improve the design of theses studies and supplement available data. While the Report betrays a degree of confusion around using prevention strategies to protect systemic capacity, it is driven by the participants' view that this is first and foremost a management problem, which must be addressed systemically.

These regional views also confirmed that Ministries of Health, Finance and related economists should be involved in a multi-sector response and that

mobile task teams of specialists should be deployed to provide support to MoEs. The Report notes that such a team is already in development at HEARD, in the University of Natal. It goes on to review national and local planning considerations and makes several recommendations based on these inputs: That committed and informed leadership is critical, and that a regular flow of local data is needed to determine trends; in this regard it noted that HEARD was developing such a system with support from DFID. It also recommends that HIV/AIDS should be seen as a core concern of management and planning, and that partnerships with NGOs, Civil Society, communities and development agencies should be strengthened.

Importantly, the Report identifies a number of knowledge gaps and proposes the creation of a clearing-house on information at the IIEP, action research, and the development of capacity building materials and courses for regional network workshops. There is no information on the action status of these ideas in the Report.

Report J

The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Rights of the Child to Education (22-24 October 2000, Harare, Zimbabwe)

The reported proceedings of this Seminar provide a good example of a critical issue being addressed with passion and concern, but highlight the impotence of such gatherings to articulate practical outcomes, and consequently the frustration and even anger manifested in the face of issues of this scale and enormity. In terms of stated objective, the Seminar was designed to enable participants to discuss the serious consequences for children directly and indirectly affected by HIV/AIDS, from a child right perspective.

This was a direct outcome of SADC/EU cooperation aimed at strengthening the rights of the child, a priority for both organizations. The level of political involvement, in respect of the Ministers', envoys' and other speeches, inputs and declarations of intent was substantial, but while the Report lists any number of challenges, it does not identify many open courses of action. Indeed, one keynote speaker cited the gathering of world leaders 10 years ago (United Nations, 1990) to discuss the future of children, which made a World Declaration and set a Plan of Action; he noted that achievements are presently being assessed and the reason that so many targets have not been met, is being analyzed. Several key themes and targets for intervention were however listed: The need to 'galvanize' political leaderships; the importance of education; gender inequity; the need for coordination and partnership; the growing number of orphans; and the need for youth to play a role in decision making.

There was much reference to global consensus and international campaigns, but again little substance in respect of how change might be effected; one exception to this was the clear identification of schools as 'the only permanent structures in many communities' and the potential of these to become 'social and service centers and bases of operations for local organizations and caregivers'. An excellent analysis of the Convention on the Rights of the Child was presented and made very articulate reference to the key issues for consideration. This was supported by a thorough review of tabular data and confirmed the importance of education, the child's right to it, the performance of infected/affected children, the growing number of orphans, decline in quality, trauma and stigma and the need for children to become social and economic providers. This reinforced the extent of the challenge and confirmed that a systemic response, within a policy and regulatory framework, was required.

Several other key points were identified in summation; these included the threat to the girl child, changing family structures, child abuse and neglect and the role of youth. A number of problems constraining response were also noted, including deepening poverty, lack of political leadership and legislation, the need to engage traditional leaders and healers and the lack of donor support. This was patently an important and passionate exchange, and many good ideas were captured; however, the inclusion of raw flip chart notes does not make for clarity and flow, and their interpretation and organization would have added value to the Report.

Report K

14th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (26-30 November 2000, Halifax, Nova Scotia)

This Conference is summarized in an official News Release, followed later by The Halifax Statement on Education in the Commonwealth. The importance of this Conference and its Statement is underlined by the fact that while 30% of the world's population lives in the Commonwealth, its member countries together record more than 60% of the global prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

The Halifax Statement sets out a comprehensive undertaking to translate intent into action in a number of areas and links its commitment to the 'spirit' of the 1990 Jomtiem Declaration on Education for All, the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action, and the 2000 UN Millennium and G8 Summits. However the Ministers note that member countries face continuing capacity problems in developing, sustaining and managing quality education, a situation exacerbated by the 'burdens of civil conflict, natural disasters, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and foreign debt'. In the context of the fact that

the Ministers affirm their belief that education is 'pivotal in the work of the Commonwealth', they have set out in this Statement a series of proposed action steps as well as a mechanism to measure and monitor progress. This approach is a welcome departure from generalized declarations of intent and confirms, first, that this represents a step in an important continuum and, second, that outputs will be required and built upon.

HIV/AIDS is flagged as the fourth of nine points in an Action Plan linked to the Halifax Statement, in which it is required that gender concerns – both male and female – and issues of poverty and inclusion should be mainstreamed. Under the heading 'Education to Combat HIV/AIDS', the Action Plan requires that urgent efforts should be made to 'formulate and implement policies and strategies leading to an increase in education programs and interventions for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and mitigating its impact on education. Education strategies for combating HIV/AIDS should also be intensified'. While it is general in character, this call for response opens the way for the development of systemic management interventions and recognizes that there are indeed multiple strategies required. Read together with other of the points in this Action Plan, including a call to establish a data bank of existing strengths and resources, support for 'education in difficult circumstances', the need for improved information and technology as well as the strengthening of teacher support systems, this is a welcome engagement with the pandemic's impact.

This is confirmed in the Ministers' advocacy of the 'increased use of education to combat HIV/AIDS through a holistic and multi-sectoral approach that emphasizes prevention and mitigation', and opens the way for innovative and sustainable responses at all levels within Commonwealth countries. While the Halifax Statement only makes passing reference to the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), the exceptional quality of the ACU's conferences and action plans (see summaries A and P) emphasizes the value of linked, Commonwealth-wide development thinking, and confirms its potential in providing international and regional guidance and support.

Finally, the Statement requires the Commonwealth Secretary-General to provide an interim progress report and comprehensive final report on the implementation of these decisions and action plans at the forthcoming Commonwealth Triennial meeting, further confirmation of their commitment to delivery.

Report L

The African Development Forum 2000: Leadership at All Levels to Overcome HIV/AIDS (3-7 *December* 2000, *Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*)

This ADF Meeting of some 1 500 leaders drawn from all segments of society across Africa was its second annual meeting and was positioned as a 'turning point in Africa's continental struggle against HIV/AIDS'. The executive director of UNAIDS, Dr Peter Piot, said it was 'not another AIDS meeting', making clear the implied distinction and perhaps summing up the level of conference fatigue that appears to dog response to HIV/AIDS. The ADF itself was a working meeting and was preceded by a series of 23 preparatory consultations across Africa at the national level, in which governments, UN agencies and civil society came together to set agendas and demands for the Forum itself.

The Forum scored high on political commitment both in terms of attendance and statements of concern and intent: 'Rarely in a prominent international conference have so many leaders spoken frankly about deeply personal issues'; perhaps the key point in this regard was that the entire meeting was focused on HIV/AIDS and it was not lost in a welter of other 'business as usual' issues. It was also refreshing in stating that there is no 'inevitable future', but that with the 'right leadership, the necessary resources and a true partnership of all, HIV/AIDS can be overcome'. This determined theme seemed to permeate the Forum, and the result is a very extensive schedule of outcomes reflected in five levels of commitment: Personal, community, national, regional and international.

These commitments are expressed in compelling if emotive language and leaves the reader in no doubt as to the anger of Africa at what they see as the lack of commitment, response and mobilization. This 'mood' characterizes the Report but is entirely understandable given that 'many commitments have not been translated into action'; the international donor agencies came in for some criticism, and reminded that they must change their worldview.

It would be presumptuous and unsatisfactory to attempt to synthesize the Forum Report but it is important to note the very substantial and rational links it makes between personal, community, national, regional and international levels of commitment: In short, no one level can be seen to work without the others and this fact is often overlooked in proposing a response agenda. It is candid in recognizing that a series of preconditions for mitigation, including peace, were required; it also recognized that HIV/AIDS is exacerbating existing problems and dysfunctionality: 'Every measure necessary to prevent HIV/AIDS and help those living with it is, without exception, something we want anyway for a better, more developed Africa'.

The Forum aroused considerable emotive energy and placed an enormous number of challenges on the table, but it remains difficult to derive from

the Report clear and articulate plans for action. What it has done however is integrate the views of leaders across the spectrum, and created an unprecedented climate of awareness and determination for action; whether the ADF remains another 'talk shop', or in the words of Mrs Graca Machel, becomes a 'turning point in the struggle', remains to be seen..

Report M

10th General Conference of the Association of African Universities (5-9 *February* 2001, *Nairobi, Kenya*)

This Conference, the tenth in the series, is intended to determine the general policies of the Association and approve its programs and budgets. This session attracted over 250 delegates, comprising Vice Chancellors, policy makers, senior public administrators, eminent academics, NGO representatives, donor agencies, resource persons and observers from various countries.

The theme of the 10th General Conference was, African Universities and the Challenge of Knowledge Creation and Application in the New Century. It addressed four sub-themes, namely: Higher Education Management and Leadership in the Information Age; Quality of Training and Research: Towards a Dynamic Process of Curricular Reform and Innovation in African Tertiary Institutions; Information and communications Technology: Building Capacity in African Universities; and Women in Tertiary Institutions, Equity, Empowerment and Advancement.

Given that the Conference theme was quite clearly linked to the 'new century', it is quite surprising that after five days of deliberation, none of the eleven recommendations adopted mentioned HIV/AIDS. In fact, the subject only appears as part of a new Core Program of Activities for the period 2001 – 2004 and is bracketed with the need for Education for Peace and Conflict Avoidance. The Record does go on to say, however, that the 'challenge posed by HIV/AIDS to human and economic resource development as well as teaching and research' was discussed, and that there was a recommendation that higher education institutions take a 'pro-active role in its presentation and management'.

Given the preponderance of prevalence on the African continent, and indeed the views expressed fifteen-months earlier by the Association of Commonwealth Universities, this afterthought approach to the problem of HIV/AIDS impact is difficult to reconcile. A review of the eleven issues identified as recommendations for the Association does not reveal any more pressing issue, and thus it remains unclear why this representative body does not consider the pandemic enough of a threat to flag it as a priority issue for the sector.

While this was intended as a 'general' conference, it is therefore disturbing to reflect that the largest direct and indirect challenge to the future of tertiary education in Africa did not warrant more than passing mention as a future agenda item. Nor can it be argued that not enough is known about the problem: Many of the participants were also involved in the Association of Commonwealth University meeting in November 1999, and were party to the design and adoption of a comprehensive management checklist for the university sector.

In short, few parts of Africa are so remote from the pandemic to occasion this remarkable insularity and it remains amazing that the sector can be so blinkered to the present and future impact of HIV/AIDS on the sector.

Report N

SADC *Education and Training Conference*: *Report on Country Preparedness in Dealing with* HIV/AIDS (26-28 *February* 2001, *Pretoria, South Africa*)

This Report takes the form of a Country Preparedness Report Synthesis, and is pragmatic and useful. It stems from a meeting of the SADC country education and training sector representatives and is located within the three-pronged SADC Regional Strategic Framework to combating HIV/AIDS in the Southern African Region.

The first of these, appropriately, is Creating a Foundation for Action: This cites the need for a dual approach in which prevention and mitigation are coupled with systemic response; the need for committed and informed leadership; collective dedication; research and monitoring; effective management; policy planning and regulatory frameworks and adequate resources. The second is Mitigating the Impact: This includes the need for impact assessments; projecting supply and demand; stabilizing provision and quality; reducing institutional impact; responding creatively to new learning needs; and supporting orphans and other vulnerable children and youth. The third is Preventing the Spread of AIDS, and addresses the need to introduce curricula; develop and use appropriate materials; develop educator skills and knowledge; upgrade teacher educators; evaluate curriculum interventions; provide counseling and care; and work in partnerships.

The Report is set out as a Country table in respect of each of these issues. Thirteen countries are reported, and in each case scored against their responses to a set of questions. For example, under a Foundation for Action, the questions probe whether or not there is a Dual Approach, Leadership, Collective Dedication, a Research Agenda, Effective Management, Policy and

Regulations, a Strategic Plan and Resources. The effect of this is provide a snapshot of preparedness, apparently on a scale of 1 to 3, although there is no explanation of how the measurement is undertaken; however, the Country comments are both comprehensive and informative within reason and provide a good comparative insight.

One inevitable problem is how objective the comments are: It may be difficult, for example, for a departmental official to point to anything less than the highest political commitment from the Country's leaders; however, since this is work in progress and will be regularly updated, this problem may be reduced. The value of this approach is that the key issues are quickly and simply addressed, without the cloak of a verbose report, and are considered in a common framework which compares their preparedness in a way that has real value for other interested parties. From a development agency's perspective, for example, there is sufficient information to narrow the search for answers and a sense of which other parties or agencies may be involved.

This methodology would benefit from more background and written context perhaps, but it gets to the heart of the issue and provides a usable investigative tool to open up a number of issues that may otherwise be lost in conventional reporting. Certainly, some insight into the criteria for scoring would add value.

Report P

HIV/AIDS: *Towards a Strategy for Commonwealth Universities* (11-13 March 2001, Geneva, Switzerland)

This is a Report on a Consultation process involving 15 interested parties from DFID, UNESCO, the university sector in Southern Africa, India, Latin America, Malaysia, the United Kingdom and the West Indies, the World Bank and the project leaders from the Association of Commonwealth Universities Secretariat.

It establishes the context within which the ACU has developed the deepest concern about the impact of HIV/AIDS, and makes clear that this Consultation is one step in a continuing process of engagement; strangely however, it does not cite or refer to the November 1999 meeting of the ACU, in which a comprehensive beginning was made in this regard. It can only be assumed that there is a link but this would not be obvious to the Report reader, and thus misses an important opportunity to establish a continuum of process and thought over a somewhat longer period. This said, the Consultation was thorough in setting out a valid and developmentally sound approach to sectoral response, albeit on a limited scale.

The Consultation was in the first instance refreshingly predicated on research: It analyzed the response of some 100 universities of the 450 in the Common-wealth, and set out the extent to which HIV/AIDS is recognized as a problem; this research was appended and also provided examples of strategies in use and certain of the policies that have been developed. It went on to ask some key questions, including why the ACU should take a role and interrogated the priority areas of response; these included Research, Advocacy, Capacity Building, Policy Development, Resourcing and Programs/Strategic Plans. This established a logical framework for further activity and was grounded in areas that lay within the realm of practical possibility for the sector.

This approach was supported by the balance of the well constructed Report and placed the desired qualities of the Project Outcomes up front; these spoke to the attainment of three inter-related outputs: Institutional Action Plans; a Refined Workshop Document; and a Good Practice Guide. It was agreed that these outputs or goals would be completed by 31 March 2002 and that workshops would be undertaken for this purpose between October 2001 and January 2002. This commitment to time frames was also very satisfactory and a welcome departure from many conference outcomes and reports.

These outputs were also well considered in terms of sectoral comparative advantage, and the Consultation examined Key Elements of the Project, Barriers to Implementation, Opportunities for Raising Student Awareness, Curriculum Change and Linked Activities. In essence, the Project sets out to facilitate a number of 2-3 day workshops designed to target Vice Chancellors and senior staff, in Southern Africa and India, to which 8 to 10 regional universities will be invited. These institutions would then be expected to cascade the workshops within their university communities, and a refined workshop document will be provided for that purpose. It was agreed that this must have Vision, Information, Self-Analysis, Threshold Standards, provoke Vice Chancellors and involve PLAs.

Report Q

The Elmina Conference on HIV/AIDS and Education: A Call to Action (19-23 March 2001, Elmina, Ghana)

This Report details the Recommendations of the Elmina Conference on HIV/AIDS and Education: A Call for Action, which stems from the Senior Experts Conference on HIV/AIDS and Education in ECOWAS. The Conference itself was attended by senior experts from MoEs and other ministries, such as Health, Manpower and Employment, Youth and Sports and Social Welfare in 13 ECOWAS nations; from universities; from social partners in education and NGOs; from UN organizations at HQ, regional and national levels; and

most major development/cooperation agencies.

The Conference was held to consider how educators are responding to the impact of HIV/AIDS and interrogate issues relating to access, equity, quality, relevance, capacity and partnerships, and establish the level of ability to provide education appropriate to national development in light of this threat. The point was made that while West Africa is comparatively less affected than East and Southern Africa, rates are climbing and mobility and conflict will exacerbate this situation; it was noted that Cote d'Ivoire is already among the 15 worst affected countries and that Nigeria, with a 5% infection rate already has more than 2,7 million people living with HIV.

The Report calls for ECOWAS education ministers to fulfill the national and international commitments they have already made and then focuses on three 'strategic lines of action': Preventing and Controlling the Spread of HIV/AIDS, Reducing the Traumatic Impact of HIV/AIDS and Improving Management Capacity and Procedures. In the first of these, the bullet points are all laudable but it is noteworthy that this is one of few conference reports to cite the importance of peer education and participation in response development. In the second, various interventions are listed but there is no sense of how these will be actioned, or by whom.

The third 'strategic line of action' is much more constructive and identifies several key interventions which are self-evidently the business of MoEs in any event. These include the establishment of a permanent HIV/AIDS Management Unit within each MoE, the regular and systematic collection of management data to inform a research agenda, policy audits and reviews, budget revision, capacity building and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation.

The Report calls for Regional Action, linking national response and action plans; this response should include Regional Frameworks for Cooperation, the establishment of 'Regional Assets' such as a Task Team and generic materials and training, regular meetings and a Regional Forum for advocacy and the expansion of expert networks – linking institutions of learning to supplement country capacity. It also calls for better regional cooperation between the ECOWAS-linked WHO and UNAIDS and other concerned UN agencies.

Report R

Special Summit to Endorse ADF 2000 Consensus on Fighting HIV/AIDS (26-28 April 2001, Abuja, Nigeria)

Sub-headed The Abuja Framework for Action for the Fight Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases, this Summit Report is

primarily Health Sector-focused, but its scope and indeed acknowledgement of the role of education make it a useful addition to this analysis.

It claims that African Heads of State and Government recognize the challenge of developing feasible policies, strategies, structures and processes to ensure adequate prevention and control of HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases (ORID); however the evidence to the contrary in many cases raises some doubt about the validity of this far-reaching claim. Nevertheless, the Report takes this position and implies a level of political support that is entirely desirable.

What is more important is that the Report indicates a clear line of development thought and a sequenced process that suggests the prospect of some agreeable outcome: In the first instance this Framework for Action follows and articulates the commitments made in the earlier Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, and insists that Member States will implement the activities in close collaboration with all stakeholders. It also declares that a Mechanism for Implementation, Monitoring and Follow-up exists to ensure that the Framework for Action is implemented in a sustainable manner, and that actions are well coordinated with continuous evaluation and feedback. These bold words do not, however, address the issue of who actually will do this.

The primary goal of all this activity is to arrest and reverse the accelerating rate of infection, and this is supported by a set of guiding objectives: First, to advocate for the translation into action and mobilization of the earlier commitments of African Leaders; second, to develop policies and strategies aimed at prevention and controlling impact on socio-economic development; third, the establishment of sustainable mechanisms for resource mobilization; and fourth, to attend to the needs of vulnerable groups.

For all its good intentions, the attainability of these visionary objectives seems uncertain given that, in the first instance, sights have been set so high, and in the second, the following Framework for Action betrays its very early stage of development. This is less a criticism than a reality check, and a reminder that the gulf between political declarations and implementation is vast indeed. In the event, the Framework for Action calls for Member States to adopt it in order to develop and strengthen their own plans, for the OAU Secretariat to follow up the development and implementation of National Action Plans of Member States and Mechanisms for Monitoring and Evaluation. It mandates the OAU Secretariat, together with Members of the Bureau and Regional Economic Communities, to develop the Strategic Framework into an Action Plan for the Continent, to be presented to the World Health Assembly in May 2001. It also calls on the OAU Secretariat to develop its own operational plan, but nowhere answers the key question of where all the required and specialized human and material resources are to be found.

Annex C

Figure 17. Understanding the Impact
of HIV/AIDS on Education

Officials

Teachers

Learners

Increased Service Delivery

Reduced Number of Skilled Personnel

Decreased Quality of Education

Reduced Resource Availability

Reduced Resource Availability

Decreased Enrolment

Decreased Demand

Declining Skills
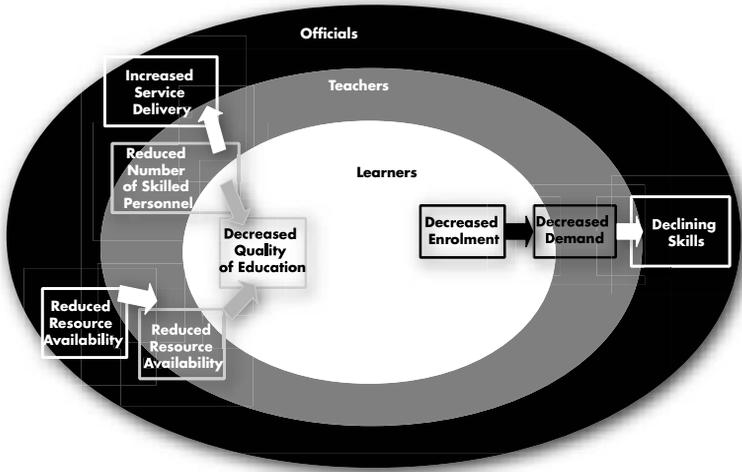
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About this publication

How can the educational policies and practices that have proved effective be expanded and made sustainable? This question, examined in depth by ADEA in 2000-2001, is reviewed in these pages, which bring together the major documents presented in Arusha (Tanzania) at the ADEA Biennale, in October 2001.

Among the topics covered are: scaling up educational reforms; the role of communication for increasing participation by the stakeholders; educational networks in Africa; leading educational programs; the impact of HIV/AIDS on education; and, identifying the most promising approaches for overcoming HIV/AIDS through education.