Civil Society and the Governance of Basic Education Partnership or Cooptation?

Burkina Faso Country Field Study

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Executive Summary

In Burkina Faso, despite substantial external support and a concerted devolution of authority to regional and provincial levels of government, the state is unable to assume full responsibility for the extension of good quality education. Consequently the involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the planning, delivery, and monitoring of basic education has been steadily increasing in Burkina Faso. In large part this can be attributed to the responsibilities that CSOs have been called upon to undertake within the context of the 10-year plan, *le Plan Décennal pour le Développement de l'Education de Base* (PDDEB). Overall, the relationship between the state and CSOs with regard to education in Burkina Faso has been characterized by a general understanding of complementary roles and a shared interest in the national agenda of expanding and improving basic education throughout the country.

Nevertheless, although there is a remarkable degree of consensus concerning the aims of the PDDEB and complementary institutional roles in implementing the plan, the degree to which policy-oriented educational decision-making is a democratic process (or even one that is nationally led as opposed to donor-led) is far from evident. Moreover, despite the relative inter-organizational cohesiveness that has emerged within the education sector in Burkina Faso, the notion of civil society engagement in educational *governance* is anything but clear-cut. To a large extent this is due to the capacities and diverse agendas of CSOs and to the dynamics of power and resources that underscore relations between civil society and the other main institutional stakeholders in education – the government and international donors.

Critics argue that CSO participation in basic education is a form of co-optation because it has essentially strengthened the legitimacy of educational policies that have been determined by central government and a cohort of international donor agencies. Yet there is also evidence that through a number of formal and informal mechanisms that have been set in place since the launching of the PDDEB in 2002, the role of civil society in educational governance is gradually increasing. CSOs are attaining the space to articulate demands, concerns and challenges that may in the long run influence educational policies and the modalities of educational governance in Burkina Faso.

For its part, the international donor community now generally acknowledges the merits of a sector-wide approach to external aid for education and the value of greater civil society participation in Burkina Faso's educational system. Yet most multilateral and bilateral donors have limited strategies for enhancing the role of civil society in educational governance. We argue in this paper that in line with the principle of SWAps, international donors should pay closer heed to the modalities of civil society partnership in educational governance and the ways in which external support can facilitate this partnership. To achieve this end, a broader, more cohesive, more direct relationship between international donor agencies and CSOs needs to be developed in Burkina Faso. Specifically this should entail more strategic financial and technical support for CSO capacity development at local and regional levels, a reinforcement of current efforts to transfer resources and responsibility to CSOs for more effective decentralized educational governance, and increased engagement of CSOs at all levels in educational policy deliberations and decision-making.

List of Acronyms

AMEs: Association des Mères d'Élèves APEs: Association des parents d'élèves

BSONG: Bureau du Suivi des Organisations Non-Governmentales

CBOs: Community-based Organizations

CCEB: Cadre de concertation des ONG/Associations en éducation de base

CRS: Catholic Relief Services
CSOs: Civil Society Organizations

DAF: Direction d'Administration et Finance

DEP: Direction des Écoles Privées

DPEBA: Direction Provinciale de l'Éducation de Base et de l'Alphabétisation DREBA: Direction Régionale de l'Éducation de Base et de l'Alphabétisation

EFA: Education for All

FAWE: Federation of African Women Educators FODECOM: Fonds de Démarrage des Communes

FONAENF: Fonds pour l'Alphabétisation et l'Éducation Non formelle

FTI: Fast Track Initiative

GCE: Global Campaign for Education HIPC: Highly Indebted Poor Countries

INGOs: International NGOs

LOE : Loi d'Orientation de l'Éducation MDGs: Millenium Development Goals

MEBA: Ministère de l'Éducation de Base et de l'Alphabétisation

NFE: Nonformal Education NNGOs: National NGOs

ODP-MT : L'Organisation pour la Démocratie et le Progrès – Mouvement du Travail

OSEO: Œuvre Suisse d'Entraide

PDDEB: Le Plan Décennal pour le Développement de l'Education de Base

PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

PTFs: Partenaires Techniques et Financiers (international donor agencies) SAGEDECOM: Service d'Appui à la Gestion et au Développement Communal

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program SP/PDDEB: Secrétariat Permanent du PDDEB

SWAp: Sector Wide Approach

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1. Introduction

This paper constitutes the report of a field-based study undertaken by three of the co-authors (Maclure, Kabore, and Meyong) over a period of twenty days in June 2006. Over the course of fieldwork, a series of interviews were conducted with the personnel of a range of civil society organizations (CSOs), *le Ministère de l'Éducation de Base et de l'Alphabétisation* (MEBA), and several international donor agencies. Interviews were conducted mainly in Ouagadougou, but site visits were made to Namentenga and Boulkiemdé Provinces. Fieldwork concluded with a seminar hosted by the research team and attended by several of the participants whom we interviewed. We are grateful to all who took the time to meet with us and to speak with us so candidly.

2. Burkina Faso: Political and Economic Overview

2.1 Lurching towards Democratic Constitutional Governance

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country in the Sahel region of West Africa with an estimated population of 13.5 million inhabitants. With a per capita GNP equivalent to about US \$400, the country is comprised of a largely undiversified labour-intensive rural agricultural economy, most of it focused on livestock and sedentary cultivation. The majority of the population belongs to two major West African cultural groups, the more numerous Voltaic, of which the Mossi make up half the country's population, and the Mandé cultural group. High population density in the south and centre of the country causes large annual migrations for seasonal employment in neighbouring countries to the south. Approximately 50% of the population is Muslim, with Christians accounting for an estimated 30%, and traditional "animist" worshippers another 20%.

Although the state in Burkina Faso has always been strongly centralized, efforts to institute constitutional democracy have historical roots that go back to the time of independence in 1960 when the presidential First Republic (1960 – 1966) of Maurice Yaméogo was established. Disillusion and disarray eventually led to the overthrow of the First Republic in 1966 and a subsequent four-year period of military rule under Lieutenant-Colonel Sangoulé Lamizana. In 1970, a new constitution and parliamentary regime were established, and the ruling party under Lamizana (who had become a civilian politician) handily won a general election. Within a short while, however, the Second Republic likewise came adrift in the wake of political quarrels that paralyzed parliamentary processes and undermined effective governance. The army once again intervened in 1974, bringing an end to party politics and civilian rule.

Public opposition to army rule was vociferous, however, and in 1977 another constitution was forged. Presidential elections were held in the following year, and General Lamizana once again emerged triumphant, this time as President of the Third Republic. Yet this did little to end political infighting and rumours of high level corruption. In 1980 a series of general strikes led to another army coup and a subsequent decade of turbulent military rule, most notable for the revolutionary project of Captain Thomas Sankara that favoured peasant mobilization in opposition to established political, traditional, and trade union elites.

Sankara was assassinated in 1987, the result of divisions within the ruling military clique, and the so-called "rectification" of the revolution under Captain Blaise Compaore ushered in a gradual shift from autocratic radicalism to open political debate and elected civilian rule. In 1991 a new constitution was adopted and Compaore was elected as President. The following year general elections were held and Compaore's party, *L'Organisation pour la Démocratie et le Progrès – Mouvement du Travail*, (ODP-MT), won 78 of the 107 seats in the National Assembly.

Throughout the last decade and a half, despite brief bouts of unrest, government in Burkina Faso has remained remarkably stable, marked by an evolving process of democratic party politics, the development of a market-oriented political economy, and the broadening of civil society participation in the delivery and administration of social services. Yet it has also been a period of centrist presidential power, with the dominant ODP-MT winning consistently strong majorities in municipal elections (1995 and 2006) and in the general elections of 1997. President Compaore was himself re-elected as President in 1998 and again for a five year-term in 2005. In April 2006 municipal elections were held in 302 newly established rural communes, and in May 2007 a general election was held for seats in the National Assembly.

Overall, despite concerns about the divisiveness of party politics and corruption in high places (particularly acute following the assassination of a leading political journalist in the mid-1990s by those close to the President), more than a decade of electoral politics has helped to foster an evolving constitutional democracy and an increasingly vibrant of civil society in Burkina Faso.

2.2 Decentralization

Since the early 1990s, parallel to political developments in Burkina Faso, a set of policies has generated a gradual decentralization of administrative authority to regions, provinces, and communes. The creation of the *Service d'Appui à la Gestion et au Développement Communal* (SAGEDECOM) and the *Fonds de Démarrage des Communes* (FODECOM) were both designed to facilitate the expansion and solidification of self-governing communes. (See Appendix 1 for a geographical overview of Burkina's 45 provinces). The 1998 passage of the *Loi de Décentralisation* further advanced the process by stipulating:

.... decentralization constitutes the fundamental axis of momentum for development and democracy. Decentralization enshrines the right of territorial and local collectivities to freely administer and manage their own affairs in view of promoting development at the base and of strengthening local governance (trans.: *Loi de Décentralisation*, Article 2).

The legislation also classifies the specific revenue streams (taxes, fees, etc.) that are allocated for provincial and communal budgets, as well as the responsibilities of each administrative level.

... decentralization must be accompanied by an adequate deconcentration of [central] State services to the end of strengthening the capacities for action of the local collectivities (Op. cit., Article 3).

Currently, both the provincial and communal administrative levels are governed by councils elected to five-year terms with a president elected internally. Each council is broadly charged with defining the orientations for development within its jurisdiction in conformity with broad national policy goals. Urban communes are endowed with special status and are divided into communal *arrondissements*.

Table 1: Territorial Organization of Burkina Faso (2006)

Regions	Provinces	Urban	Rural
		communes	communes
Boucle du Mouhoun	6	6	41
Cascades	2	3	14
Centre	1	1	0
Centre-Est	3	6	24
Centre-Nord	3	3	26
Centre-Ouest	4	4	35
Centre-Sud	3	3	17
Est	5	5	22
Hauts-Bassins	3	3	18
Nord	4	4	23
Plateau Central	3	3	17
Sahel	4	4	23
Sud-Ouest	4	4	25
Totals	•		
13	45	49	285

2.3 Economic and Fiscal Status: Incremental Growth, HIPC, and the PRSP

Burkina Faso is one of the poorest countries in the world. With limited natural resources and rainfall, the country's per capita GNP is equivalent to about US \$400. Reliance on cotton exports for most of its foreign exchange revenue has rendered Burkina's economy remains vulnerable to external and climatic shocks and heavily dependent on foreign aid (UNDP, 2004). In 2003 an estimated 46.4% of its population lived within the internationally designated status of absolute poverty, and in 2005 Burkina ranked 175th out of 177 countries in the UNPD's Human Development Index (Ibid.). The recent political and economic crisis in Côte d'Ivoire also caused a strain on the Burkinabè economy through disruption of supply lines, higher transportation costs, loss of markets, and lower workers' remittances.

Nevertheless, despite these constraints, over the past ten years Burkina Faso has managed to sustain modest economic growth. Since 1994, gross domestic product (GDP) has increased by more than 5 percent every year, real per capita income has increased 20 percent, and the numbers of people living below the absolute poverty threshold has decreased from 54 percent in 1998 to about 42 percent in 2006 (World Bank, 2007).

Reflecting its steady economic performance, Burkina Faso has been the recipient of debt relief programmes for the last decade. In 1997 the country became eligible for debt relief under the original HIPC Initiative. This eligibility was renewed in 2000 under a revised set of terms established by the World Bank and the IMF (Brazier, 2006). Debt relief status was further enhanced in 2006 when Burkina qualified for the multilateral debt reduction initiative leading to cancellation of outstanding debts to the World Bank, IMF and African Development Bank.

Burkina Faso likewise became one of the first developing countries to prepare a full Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which was ratified in 2000. Key aspects of the PRSP include investment climate reform, increased public-private partnerships for infrastructure and energy development, and administrative and fiscal decentralization. This was significant in establishing a framework for the coordination and improved efficacy of foreign aid. As a result, several donor agencies – or *partenaires techniques et financiers* (PTFS) as they are commonly known – have aligned themselves with Burkina's

poverty reduction strategy by harmonizing aid flows and providing direct budget support for various social sectors, notably health and education.

Table 2: Selected Economic and Social Indicators (1995 & 2005)

Selected Indicators	1995	2005
Real GDP growth	6.3	7.1
Per capita income	240	400
External debt (% GNI)	51.95	40.8 (2004)
Debt service ratio (exports/debt service	23	24.7
Poverty incidence (% of national threshold	54.6 (1998)	42 (2006)
Gross primary enrolment (%)	39.6	56.8
Gross secondary enrolment (%)	7.2 (1990)	15.5
Population (millions)	9.8	13.2

Source: World Bank 2007a

3. Education in Burkina Faso: Overview

Despite Burkina Faso's incrementally stable economic performance, the government's efforts to expand and improve the country's educational system have been seriously hindered by resource limitations and a birth rate of more than 2% per year. Between 1960 and 1980 successive governments regularly allocated a large proportion of the public sector budget for education. In the mid-1980s, however, a combination of low revenues, rising recurrent social costs, and expanding budget deficits in the context of an essentially subsistence rural economy compelled the government to implement a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of public sector downsizing and reduced state spending, particularly in education. By 1990 the educational budget was 17.5% of total public expenditure, a drop of 8.5% from 1984, and spending per primary school was less than it had been in 1980 (UNESCO, 1993).

The early 1990s saw a spurt in educational sector spending in the wake of the Education for All (EFA) fervor emanating from the Jomtien Conference and subsequent international commitments to basic education. Yet school enrolments in Burkina Faso are still strikingly low in relation to much of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. By 2001 the level of overall literacy in Burkina Faso was estimated at 26% and the gross primary school enrolment rate was only 43% (with female enrolments at approximately 34%) (UNESCO, 2004). Net enrolment ratios in secondary schooling and postsecondary education were likewise estimated at 9% and 1% respectively (Ibid.).

Within the context of the PRSP, however, basic education is regarded as a *sine qua non* of poverty reduction in Burkina Faso. Officially basic education comprises three components: a) pre-schooling for children aged three to six years; b) primary schooling for children aged seven to 12 years; and c) non-formal literacy training for adolescents and adults. Of these three, primary schooling receives the lion's share of public expenditures. The main body of the primary school system consists of state funded and administered "classical schooling" (*écoles classiques*) that offers a conventional French language subject-

based curriculum (e.g., history, geography, mathematics, literature) and has retained more or less the same structure since the 1960s. In recent years, in an effort to enhance the efficiency of the classical public system, two innovations have been adopted: multi-grade teaching in some rural areas where enrolment levels have been relatively low and early school leaver rates have been high, and double-cohort classes in urban areas where demand for schooling has tended to outstrip adequate numbers of teachers and classrooms. In view of the limited reach of public schooling in Burkina Faso, there has also been a steady growth of alternative community schools and private schooling, both tendencies that have been encouraged by the government and the international donor community.

In contrast to primary schooling, the other two sub-sectors of basic education are much smaller in terms of enrolments and resources. Pre-schooling has proceeded very slowly, largely because of resource scarcity and a general lack of conviction about the value of pre-school education (Faure et al., 2003). Likewise, indigenous language literacy training, although steadily expanding since the mid-1970s with support from international donors and the government's *Institut National de l'Alphabétisation* (INA), remains hampered by questions about its long term utility and status. On average an estimated one out every four persons who begins a literacy course abandons it before completion, and many who achieve a level of functional literacy at the end of their initial training eventually lapse into illiteracy for want of the need or the opportunity to read and write (Belloncle, 1998).

Table 3: Burkina Faso Education Statistics

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
Pre-primary Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) (%)					
Primary GER (%)	27.0	32.5	39.6	44.3	53.0
Secondary GER (%)	4.5	6.7	9.0	10.0	12.1
Tertiary GER (%)	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.7
Private Sector Enrollment Share – Primary	8.7	8.6	8.4	11.4	13.0
Private Sector Enrollment Share – Secondary	48.5	41.1		34.2	34.4
Gender Parity Index (GER in Primary and Secondary)	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8
Primary completion rate (%)		20.4	20.0	25.2	29.5
Progression to secondary level (%)		27.0		36.2	39.8
Teacher to Pupil Ratio – Primary	57.8	56.7	49.9	48.9	48.7
Total education spending as % of GDP	2.0	2.4	1.5	•'	

Source: World Bank, 2005

Table 4: Number of Accredited Primary Schools (by category)

School Year	Total Numbers	Public Schools	Private Catholic Schools	Private (secular) schools	Private Protestant Schools	Private Franco- Arabic Schools	Private (Arabic) Medersas
2002/2003	5804	5028	89	247	84	240	116
2003/2004	6266	5430	94	267	94	265	116
2004/2005	6917	5913	103	293	106	375	127
2005/2006	7579	6451	113	312	(74)	6	529

Source: Direction d'Éducation Privée / MEBA

4. Civil Society, Educational Policy-Making, and Shifts in External Aid

4.1 Policy Provisions Pertaining to Civil Society in Education

Over the past decade civil society organizations (CSOs) have attained an increasingly prominent role in the delivery and administration of basic education in Burkina Faso largely because of the following three factors: a) an inability of the central government to expand and sustain good quality education on its own; b) a combination of gradual democratization and administrative decentralization that has facilitated the development of civil society; and c) outright government and PTF support for civil society involvement in basic education. A succession of policy pronouncements that date back to the SAPs of the late 1980s has formally reinforced this expanding role of civil society.

In 1989, in the lead-up to the Jomtien conference, the government convened a meeting to review and revise its broad policy approach to education and the reduction of illiteracy. Commonly referred to as the "Koudougou Seminar" (the site where it was held), the conference produced an inventory of national educational services and training activities, and concluded that henceforth expansion of basic education should be a national priority. The conference also elaborated on the need for "interaction between formal and nonformal resources [such that] both subsystems can coalesce within a common framework for applying what has been learned from schooling and literacy" (Tapsoba et al., 2000). The Koudougou seminar not only specified an agenda for expanding and improving basic education, but it also clearly underscored the educational significance of numerous NGOs which for many years had incorporated indigenous language literacy training within the framework of community development assistance programmes.

A subsequent flurry of plans and decrees followed, all highlighting the seminal role of CSOs in contributing to the provision and expansion of basic education as defined at the Koudougou seminar. Plans for the expansion of indigenous language literacy training and the development of community-based schooling to complement the state-funded "classical" system were promulgated (see Table 5), and in 1991 a decree was passed indicating that the administration of every primary school in the country must include a formally constituted parents' association – *Association des parents d'élèves* (APEs). Such policy objectives were consistent with the Jomtien Declaration concerning basic education as 'the responsibility of the entire society ... [with] multisectoral strategies and action [involving] many partners' (WCEFA, 1990, p. 4).

In 1994, another national forum involving government officials, educators, academics, and international donor agencies, the *États Généraux sur l'Éducation*, reiterated the articulation of a broad view of education that would build on multiple educational experiences and encompass "traditional and modern, formal, nonformal and informal, secular and religious instruction" (ADEA Newsletter, 1995). Again, this was a clear signal of the need for active civil society support for a national campaign to expand all forms of basic education. In 1995, at the behest of the government, the *Cadre de concertation des ONG/Associations en éducation de base* (CCEB) was established in order to facilitate the work of NGOs and CBOs in the delivery and administration of basic education (see below).

A further important development was the 1996 passage of the government's *Loi d'Orientation de l'Éducation* (LOE), the overall legislative framework within which educational policy continues to be set. Significantly, however, although confirming every citizen's right to basic education and the necessity of ensuring that all children aged 6 - 16 years attend school, the LOE steered clear of declaring primary school to be free of charge. Instead, according to the LOE:

Aucun enfant ne doit être exclu du système éducatif avant ses 16 ans révolus, *dès lors que les infrastructures*, *les équipements, les ressources humaines et la réglementation scolaire en vigueur le permettent* (Article 2) (author's italics).

La communauté éducative dans chaque établissement ou structure de formation rassemble les apprenants, les enseignants et tous ceux qui, en relation avec l'établissement ou la structure, participent à l'effort d'éducation et de formation (Article 5).

Le financement de l'enseignement et de la formation est assurée *par l'Etat, les collectivités locales, les familles, les personnes morales et physiques* (Articlel 45) (author's italics).

These statements articulate official acknowledgment of the tenuous capacity of the state to finance all the recurrent costs of education, and its corresponding dependence on civil society organizations to assume a partnership role in shouldering a portion of the costs of basic education.

Table 5: Key Events & Decrees Pertaining to CSOs & Education in Burkina Faso

Year	Events & Decrees
1989	Koudougou seminar on basic education
1990	Three-year plan for development of literacy (1991 - 93)
1991	Development of 2nd Five-Year Plan for the Popular Development of Basic Education
1991	Decree establishing the Associations des parents d'élèves (APEs)
1994	Etats Généraux sur l'Éducation
1995	Establishment of Cadre de concertation en éducation de base du Burkina Faso (CCEB/BF)
1996	Formal passage of the Loi d'Orientation de l'Éducation
1997	Development of EFA Plan of Action
1997	Burkina Faso was determined to be eligible for HIPC Initiative
1998	Decree providing general orientation of decentralization in Burkina Faso
1999	Development of PRSP
1999	Council of Ministers approved the PDDEB
2000	Government adopted the PRSP
2002	Launch of the PDDEB

Concurrent to these policy developments in the 1990s, several modalities of international aid to education were introduced that likewise reinforced the role of civil society in the provision of basic education in Burkina. In reaction to the longstanding orientation of discrete project aid to education, which critics have persistently argued had diminished Burkina Faso's capacity to formulate and implement cohesive national education policies (Ilboudo et al., 2001), several PTFs in the mid-1990s deliberated on the need to shift towards a more coordinated program approach that would enhance the link between basic education and poverty reduction as outlined in the PRSP. This link was also directly related to Burkina Faso's designation as a participant in the HIPC initiative, with the proviso that approximately half HIPC funds were to be allocated to basic education activities (Gosparini et al., 2001). In addition, in view of the government's formal commitment to achieve the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary

school completion (UPC) by 2015 "through a combination of stronger national policies, improved capacity and incremental financial resources, both domestically and from the donor community" (World Bank, 2002), Burkina Faso has been included in the so-called Fast Track Initiative (FTI).

In light of these developments, a substantial amount of external resources has been directed towards basic education in Burkina Faso. Concurrently, because of the weakness of the central government in administering the entire complex apparatus of basic education in the country, particularly in the poorest regions of the country, the PTFs likewise have increasingly recognized the necessity of enlisting CSOs to help achieve the country's ambitious educational goals.

4.2 Le Plan Décennal pour le Développement de l'Education de Base (PDDEB): Budget Support, Decentralization, & Heightened Civil Society Engagement

In line with the *Loi d'Orientation* and the mounting discourse for a more coordinated long term program approach to educational aid within the overall policy context of poverty reduction, in 1997 the *Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation* (MEBA) embarked on the formulation of a 10-year plan for the development of basic education in Burkina Faso. Closely involved in this process were three international PTFs that had emerged as the leading proponents of sector wide approaches (SWAps) in education – the World Bank, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Following extensive deliberations, in 1999 the conceptualization of the *Plan Décennal pour le Dévelopment de l'Education de Base* (PDDEB) was approved by Burkina Faso's National Assembly. After a further two years of planning and preliminary organization, the PDDEB was formally launched in September 2002. Overseeing its administration is a Permanent Secretariat – SP/PDDEB – that consists of government and international PTF representatives.

Established as a comprehensive operational offshoot of the *Loi d'orientation*, the PDDEB is focused on three goals :

- a) to increase access to basic education to an overall 70% gross primary school enrolment rate (with a corresponding female enrolment level of 65%) and a 40% national literacy level by 2010;
- b) to strengthen the quality of basic education through improvements and innovations in curriculum content, classroom pedagogy, and methods of assessment, thereby reducing levels of attrition and generating higher completion and achievement rates; and
- c) to strengthen the capacity of educational administration through a combination of fiscal and managerial decentralization and improved coordination among diverse national and international, and governmental and nongovernmental educational stakeholders (MEBA, 1999).

Underlying these broad goals of enhanced access, quality, and capacity are two fundamental operating principles that have distinguished the PDDEB from previous educational policies and plans. First, as outlined in the breakdown of the annual PDDEB budget for fiscal year 2005 – 06 (Table 6), although basic educational activities are funded from a variety of different sources, the funds are all earmarked for specified activities within the framework of the overall ten-year plan. While the government of Burkina Faso directly contributes almost half of all PDDEB related expenditures (47.59%), HIPC funding accounts for a further 9.46% of allocated funds, and a 'common basket' (*panier commun*) of budget support set up by the World Bank, the Netherlands, and Canada, and now including allocations from Sweden and Denmark, comprises an additional 15.2% of expenditures on basic education (MEBA, 2006, p. 59). Overall, therefore, the PDDEB provides the framework of a long term partnership between government and major international donors.

Despite being a relatively small proportion of annual PDDEB expenditures, the *panier commun* has helped to harmonize external aid to basic education and has fostered close cooperation between MEBA and most of the PTFs. Although it is ostensibly managed by MEBA's *Direction d'Administration et Finance* (DAF), a conditionality of budget support is that most of the *panier* funding is directed to the 20 provinces with the lowest primary school enrollment rates. It has likewise helped to generate coordinated implementation and procurement procedures, comparable systems of financial disbursement and auditing, and common procedures for monitoring and evaluation (Faure et al., 2003, p. 32).

Table 6: Ten-Year Plan for Basic Education (PDDEB):

Budget Breakdown by sources of finance for 2005 – 06

Sources of Finance	Amount (1,000s FCFA)	Percentage
Central government	50,661,552	47.59
HIPC funding	10,268,991	9.46
"Common basket" funding	16,508,389	15.20
Islamic Development Bank	3,990,239	3.68
African Development Bank	6,896,908	6.35
UN Agencies/NGOs/Associations/Others	12,139,179	11.18
Special projects attached to MEB	7,087,604	6.53
Total	107,552,862	100.00

Source: MEBA, 2006

The second aspect of the PDDEB that distinguishes it from previous education policies and programs is its emphasis on the principle of decentralization as a basis for more effective educational governance. To this end, responsibility for educational planning, for infrastructure development, and for routine administrative procedures has been steadily devolving to regional and provincial directorates of basic education (DREBA and DPEBA). In addition, educational decentralization has helped to usher in a broader discourse of partnership between civil society and the state, with CSOs officially acknowledged as being instrumental in contributing to the three goals of heightened access, quality, and capacity in all realms of basic education (MEBA, 2006).

Underlying official encouragement of CSO involvement in basic education is the fragile financial and administrative capacity of the state to expand and sustain education in all regions of the country. Simply put, while education is seen as essential for poverty reduction in Burkina Faso, there is a general consensus that even in the context of substantial external support and a concerted devolution of authority to regional and provincial levels of government, the Burkinabè state cannot assume full responsibility for the extension of good quality education. As a result, there is general agreement among government officials, PTF representatives, and the populace at large that the expansion and improvement of basic education requires ever-greater engagement of CSOs that are capable of collaborating with different levels of government (Ilboudo et al., 2001; Interviews, 2006).

Yet as will be discussed later in this report, despite the pattern of formal policy pronouncements regarding the significance of CSOs in the delivery and administration of education in Burkina Faso, the role of civil society in educational governance is hampered by a number of limitations and contradictions.

5. CSOs in Burkina Faso: A Range of Institutional Actors

5.1 Overview

Historically a vast array of CSOs has been involved in various aspects of basic education in Burkina Faso. Ranging from large well endowed NGOs and religious organizations with extensive programs to myriad community-based organizations (CBOs) and parents' groups that have been set up to support schools and various nonformal educational activities, CSOs are now firmly established in Burkina Faso as key institutional actors in the educational system. According to the *Bureau de Suivi des ONGs* (BSONG), the government unit responsible for monitoring all NGO activity in the country, there are 462 registered NGOs working in the country, of which an estimated one-third provide financial, technical, material, and human resources necessary for the attainment of the PDDEB objectives pertaining to educational access, quality, and capacity. Although it is difficult to calculate overall educational spending channeled to, or through, CSOs in Burkina Faso, it has been estimated that apart from teachers' salaries approximately one-quarter of annual spending on basic education programs is administered by CSOs (Mbiye, 2002).

Alongside their organizational diversity, the types of interventions conducted by CSOs in the realm of basic education likewise vary according to their size, their capabilities, and their organizational mandates (Table 7). The larger of these organizations (those that are international and national in scope) are generally involved in several types of activities. In contrast, smaller CSOs, notably CBOs and parents' associations, tend to be the recipients of support from larger CSOs, although in turn they also contribute services such as local level monitoring and planning, community mobilization, and resource inputs.

On the whole, NGOs and CBOs working in the education sector do not have direct ties or involvement with political parties or the National Assembly. While some work with the popular media (television, radio, the printed press), both in terms of information dissemination and in a partnership role (Interview: Director of the CCEB)², their main government contacts are the various branches and offices of MEBA.

¹ Note that some of this support comes from bilateral external agencies that provide support through international and national NGOs.

² A number of NGOs work directly in the realm of "good governance" and are thus connected to political parties and representatives of the National Assembly (e.g., Oxfam International and the K. Adenauer Foundation). However, this activity is regarded as separate from work in the education sector.

Community of Organ (BOS) Parents ACTIVITIES Χ advocacy construction projects Χ Χ material/equipment Χ Χ Χ Χ Χ health/nutrition Х bursaries Χ Χ alternative schools Χ Χ Χ curriculum reform; Χ Χ teacher training Х Х Х Χ administrative training Χ Χ research & evaluation Χ Х Х literacy training / NFE Χ Χ X Χ Χ regional planning Χ Χ Χ sensibilisation Χ Χ Χ Χ monitoring & supervision Χ Х labour inputs Χ

Table 7: Typology of CSOs & Corresponding Educational Activities

Source: CCEB/BF (2006).

What follows is an overview of the main categories of CSOs working in the realm of education in Burkina Faso, with brief descriptive summaries of notable CSOs within each category.

5.2 International NGOs

Although there are many international NGOs (INGOs) working in Burkina Faso, most can be characterized as *bona fide* CSOs, for in essence they have emerged as institutional hybrids. On the whole they administer projects that are funded entirely by their parent organizations in the North and therefore adhere to the mandates and operating procedures of these parent institutions. Yet INGOs in Burkina are now staffed overwhelmingly by Burkinabè citizens at all levels, from field staff to senior administrative positions. Generally, too, they have developed their programs of assistance through ongoing consultation with central and regional branches of government, and in conjunction with other CSOs and with local community groups in the country.

INGOs have become major educational actors in multiple ways. Given their financial largesse, these organizations have often provided resources for the construction of schools and the provision of classroom equipment and materials for teachers and students. Some contribute directly to formal state schooling by focusing on increased enrolments, particularly among girls and in the poorest regions of the country, by extending financial and technical support for pre-service and in-service teacher training, and by strengthening regional and local capacity in educational administration through workshops and the provision of material resources for local government authorities. Other INGOs have tended to

concentrate more on the development of non-state community-based schooling, and on curriculum innovations designed to enhance links between schools and local communities. Generally, as well, INGOs have been involved in supporting various forms of nonformal education and literacy training for out-of-school youth and adults (Interviews, 2006).

INGOs play a significant, cross-cutting role in supporting as well as complementing official policies pertaining to the expansion and improvement of basic education in Burkina Faso. With guaranteed resources and latitude for autonomous action, these organizations are generally able to undertake numerous activities, in both formal and nonformal educational spheres, that relate to the three main PDDEB goals of enhanced access, quality, and capacity. Besides specific inputs in support of basic education, INGOs are usually engaged in community mobilization activities and are also often associated with innovations related to curriculum and pedagogy. Invariably they conduct their programs of educational support in collaboration with ministry officials and with other national CSOs and with local CBOs.

Of the INGOs contributing to basic education in Burkina Faso, three have established prominence in terms of their scope, innovativeness, and relative autonomy of action. Although each of these organizations has a different mandate, they nonetheless play a significant collaborative role in the provision of education in the country. Each of these is summarized in Boxes 1-3.

Box 1: Œuvre Suisse d'Entraide (OSEO)

As its nomenclature indicates, OSEO is supported primarily with funding from Switzerland. Active in Burkina Faso since 1974, for many years OSEO focused principally on the delivery of vocational training programmes and the production of literacy program materials. Since the early 1990s, however, drawing upon its experience in promoting national language literacy training among adults and out-of-school adolescents, OSEO has turned much of its attention to the development of bilingual community primary schooling. An alternative to the oftcriticized state-run French language 'classical' school system, bilingual schooling connects children's education more closely to the languages and socio-cultural realities of diverse community settings. In conjunction with Catholic Relief Services (see below), and with the support of other international donors, most notably UNICEF, OSEO has introduced a five-year school curriculum (le Programme ALPHA) that offers initial teaching in local languages followed by the use of French as the language of instruction in the third to fifth years of school. There are now approximately 100 bilingual schools sponsored by OSEA, all of which are accredited by MEBA. In keeping with the 'alternative' nature of these schools, teachers do not receive pre-service training in teachers college prior to being assigned their teaching positions. Instead they are jointly recruited by OSEO and local communities, and are provided training directly by OSEO (Ilbouda, 2002).

While approximately 70% of it annual budget now goes to support the expansion and sustainability of these alternative bilingual schools, OSEO also allocates technical and financial support for numerous community nonformal education centres (centres de formation continue) that are designed to provide an array of locally initiated training activities for purposes of improving community health and productivity. In contrast to Plan International, which has opted to contribute mainly to the expansion and improvement of the existing 'classical' primary school system, OSEO strives to foster more direct connections between NFE and adult literacy programmes on the one side, and children's schooling and the socioeconomic and cultural realities of local communities on the other (Interviews, 2006; OSEO/MEBA, 2005; Tiendrébeogo et al., 2005).

Box 2: Plan International

Plan International (PI) has been in existence in Burkina Faso since 1976, and currently works in seven provinces, with its educational projects fully integrated with local and regional educational plans. As stipulated in formal agreements with PI, all CBOs that work in partnership with PI are required to formulate annual project proposals that are subject to deliberation at annual meetings chaired by departmental authorities in each province. In this way, each year a common plan outlining specific educationally oriented projects is defined collectively with other CBOs and is then integrated into broader regional plans that are coordinated and authorized by regional government authorities. This mode of decentralized planning and decision-making has been a feature of PI's programming since the late 1980s and has served as something of a prototype for the system of regional educational planning and budgeting that is a key feature of the PDDEB. In effect, PI has merged its own decentralized planning approach within the overall PDDEB annual regional planning process (see below).

In terms of its development assistance, which explicitly has embraced child rights as its central raison d'être, PI's support for basic education focuses almost entirely on children's education, mainly within the context of the formal public school system, but more recently as well in conjunction with the burgeoning bilingual alternative school system supported by OSEO, Tin Tua, and Unicef (see below). Further support for enhanced educational access is being directed towards: a) a campaign of birth certification for all infants and children, a necessity if children are to be officially enrolled in primary school and ultimately eligible to obtain primary school leaving certificates; b) provision of direct financial assistance to families of girls who are enrolled in primary schools, and the extension of scholarships enabling girls who have completed primary schooling to carry on their secondary school education; c) a campaign of sensibilisation concerning the importance of education by means of radio programmes, music and popular theatre, and house-to-house meetings; and d) recent financial support for the construction of secondary schools in light of growing concerns about the bottleneck of secondary school admissions for growing numbers of primary school leavers.

With regard to improvements in the quality of schooling, PI has provided substantial resources to assist provincial educational authorities in providing in-service teacher training and supervision. This has entailed the construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure, the reinforcement of documentation capacities in regional education offices, the purchase of vehicles and the payment of travel costs for itinerant school supervisors, and financial support for professional development training sessions that are regularly scheduled for teachers in each province. Such activities clearly constitute direct support for government schooling within the context of the PDDEB (Interviews, 2006; Plan Burkina Faso, 2006).

Box 3: Catholic Relief Services

Since its inauguration in Burkina Faso in 1962, CRS has established itself as the key nongovernmental actor administering a school meals program through a vast network of primary school canteens. In 2004 CRS was distributing food to 1,754 schools with an estimated total population of just under 300,000 pupils. In recent years, however, the school canteen project has been a collaborative venture between CRS and parents' associations, many of which have been required to pay for transportation costs as well as the upkeep of the canteens themselves. In keeping with the PDDEB emphasis on capacity building and local mobilization, CRS has also focused on strengthening the ability of regional education authorities, community groups and parents' associations to assume increased responsibility for the overall management of the school meals program, particularly in provinces that are reasonably self-sufficient in food production. In addition, within the last few years, as a specific contribution to the PDDEB, CRS has sponsored Opération de farine, a program that extends compensatory food assistance to households that send their girls to primary school and to 25 community pre-schools (bisongos) in six provinces. In conjunction with regional school authorities, a CRS-sponsored food-for-work program has also been established as a contribution to school construction and renovation projects. As noted above as well, CRS has worked collaboratively with OSEO in supporting the development of community-based bilingual schooling, notably in providing school books and subsidies for girls. advocacy, CRS has also initiated a campaign (Information-Éducation-Communication) designed to raise awareness of the value of girls' education and has launched a curricular development program (Santé Scolaire et Nutrition) oriented towards increasing children's understanding of health and nutrition (Interviews, 2006; CRS, Burkina Faso, 2004).

5.3 National NGOs

National NGOs (NNGOs) comprise organizations and associations that generally have emerged as federations or umbrella institutions that are representative of particular national constituencies. Although generally not as well endowed as INGOs, either financially or in terms of permanent personnel, in many respects they resemble their international counterparts in that they have a national and even international stature and are often the recipients of substantial external support. Often as well they have come to assume a similar status in the education sector and they tend to be led by individuals who have past professional experience within the government – as teachers, researchers, or bureaucrats – and who generally maintain close cordial relations with government officials. All NNGOs offering services in basic education are officially regarded by the state as partner organizations, capable of working autonomously, but usually in collaboration with other governmental and nongovernmental entities, and all are deemed to contribute value added towards the PDDEB goals of enhanced basic education access, quality, and capacity (Interviews, 2006).

While space does not permit us to provide a descriptive outline of all national NGOs working in the field of education in Burkina Faso, two of the most prominent, FAWE and $Tin\ Tua$, exemplify the types of interventions undertaken by NNGOs (Boxes 4-5).

Box 4: FAWE

The national Burkinabè branch of the Federation of African Women Educators, FAWE's principal role is to promote the education of girls and women, and to support other organizations and associations that share the same mandate. Specifically FAWE has undertaken three broad activities. First, it has focused a substantial amount of resources and advocacy work towards girls' nonformal education. A key FAWE objective here is to expand training from traditionally designated female activities (e.g., sewing, knitting, and hair-dressing) to new subjects such as women's rights, reproductive health, citizenship training, and non-traditional vocational training for such occupations as electronics, lorry driving, and mechanics. In recognition of the gap between training received and possibilities for employment, FAWE has also initiated a co-op programme designed to enable young women to make the transition from training into the labour market. FAWE-sponsored programs are all-inclusive in terms of female recipient populations – primary school graduates unable to enroll in secondary school, those who have dropped out of primary school (generally more than half of all girls who initially enroll in the first grade), and those who have never attended school at all.

A second objective of FAWE is to ameliorate the conditions of classroom learning among girls. To that end resources are devoted to teacher training, specifically the pre-service and in-service sensitization of teachers with regard to the specific challenges and constraints confronting girls enrolled in primary schools, and to the promotion of specific activities in schools that are designed to enhance girls' self-esteem and overall scholastic performance. In both these objectives FAWE has received strong endorsement from MEBA and numerous PTFs. FAWE's involvement in teacher training is now an integral feature of national pre-service teacher training programmes, and its work in the schools – notably its sponsorship of girls' clubs that emphasize performance in maths and sciences – is conducted in cooperation with school principals and teachers. In addition, FAWE offers a limited number of scholarships to girls who are eligible for secondary school entrance.

A third objective of FAWE is to promote gender parity in alternative community schools such as those supported by OSEA, CRS, and Unicef as sites for girls' learning. As a result, alternative schools have generally achieved a more equitable gender balance than the conventional public school system (FAWE/BF, 2005; Interviews, 2006).

Box 5: Tin Tua

Beginning as a small support vehicle for literacy promotion in the province of Gourma, *Tin Tua* has since evolved into the representative organism of a quasi-federation of village committees in eastern Burkina Faso that undertakes a range of rural development projects. Given its genuine grassroots origins and autonomous planning and administrative capacity, *Tin Tua* currently has a four-year, 5 million euro plan that is financed by a group of external bilateral donors and international NGOs. With approximately 30 permanent staff, *Tin Tua* now focuses on three inter-related activities: expansion and reform of basic education, food security, and community level institutional capacity building. Given its expertise and experience in developing sustainable, good quality literacy programmes, *Tin Tua* is now considered as a veritable national partner by UNICEF, OSEO, and other external agencies in promoting and developing local language instruction in formal and nonformal educational settings (Faure et al., 2003; Interviews, 2006). Such is its stature in promoting literacy training among adults and children alike, that *Tin Tua* is one of eleven institutions that oversee the FONAENF, a special fund of the PDDEB (see below).

5.4 CSO Coordination

In view of the growing prominence of civil society in the education sector of Burkina Faso, and the corresponding need to increase inter-agency communication and collaboration, several alliances and structures have been established to facilitate a rational, coordinated approach to CSO educational interventions. Thus, parents' associations are all linked together through a confederated structure – the *Fédération des Associations des Parents d'Élèves* – with representation at provincial, regional, and central levels. Likewise, organizations and associations working in the sub-sector of pre-schooling are commonly inter-connected under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs and those working on behalf of girls' education function under the official umbrella of the Girls and Women's Directorate within MEBA.

In the specific context of the PDDEB, however, one coordinating body has attained particular prominence – the *Cadre de Concertation en Éducation de Base* (CCEB). Following the *États Généraux sur l'Éducation* of 1995 that formally proclaimed the significant role of civil society in all aspects of Burkina Faso's national education system, the CCEB was established as a non-partisan, non-political coordinating body for CSOs working in basic education in Burkina Faso and as an institutional liaison between civil society and MEBA. It thus plays a key role in augmenting the profile of civil society in educational governance in Burkina Faso. Currently there are 123 member organizations of CCEB, ranging from large international and national NGOs to myriad educational CBOs situated at provincial and commune levels (see Appendix 3). Its specific objectives are:

- to promote partnerships and collaboration among CSOs,
- to develop profiles of CSO activity in education,
- to provide training for CSO staff,
- to act as a clearing house for the exchange of CSO information and experiences,
- to promote harmonization and a degree of standardization among CSO educational activities, and
- to represent CSO perspectives in dialogue with both the government and PTFs.

Once a year CCEB member organizations convene to review their collective engagement in basic education in relation to the PDDEB and to assess institutional relations amongst themselves and with different levels of government.

Although CCEB has consistently maintained a good working relation with MEBA, it is nonetheless actively engaged in educational policy discourse. As with CSOs in general, CCEB did not actively participate in the formulation of the PDDEB (see further discussion below). Yet with the incorporation of civil society in the implementation of the ten-year plan, CCEB has since become a key player not only in contributing to the coordination of NGO/CBO activity in basic education, but as well in advocacy work and in ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the PDDEB, e.g., through commissioned research, annual meetings of its own, and the twice-yearly *missions conjointes* (see below).

As an institutional advocate of education for all, CCEB is a founding member and the national representative body of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE). As such it has received funding from OXFAM and USAID, and maintains collaborative ties with other regional and international organizations. Specifically its advocacy work has been directed to the following areas:

- gender equity in education (beyond simply enrolment parity);
- curricular reform;
- parental costs for children's schooling;
- care for teachers and students affected by HIV/AIDS;

• increased NGO/CSO involvement in national and regional policy-making and planning.

As a monitoring body, the CCEB has focused its attention on assessments of new measures and innovations undertaken to enhance girls' education and on the post-educational prospects of young school leavers.

5.5 Entrepreneurial and Faith-Based Organizations

Apart from formal public schooling and a relatively small number of externally sponsored community-based bilingual schools, there has also been a steady growth of private schooling over the last decade in Burkina Faso. Encouraged by the government and the World Bank, between 1992 and 2002 the private system experienced an increase of over 300%, from 166 schools to 692 accredited schools. Between 2003 and 2005 private school enrolment increased on average by 13% annually (MEBA, 2006). Yet private schooling in Burkina Faso has expanded haphazardly, largely in response to widespread demand for educational opportunities that the state cannot meet alone. To date there is no formal association of private schools in Burkina Faso, and private schools do not figure in any significant way in educational policy discussions.

Although there is a Direction d'Écoles Privées (DEP) within the MEBA and an accreditation process, in reality private schools are highly diverse, ranging from those that cater to the children of urban elites to those that operate clandestinely as examination cram schools for young people striving for a school certificate. Inevitably, therefore, the quality of private schooling is decidedly mixed. Private schools that conform to the structures, procedures, and curriculum of the public system tend to demonstrate high pupil performance levels (Interviews, 2006). Two key factors appear to explain such positive outcomes: dynamic school leadership and active involvement of parents. Parental resources are instrumental in ensuring ample supplies of books and learning materials for staff and pupils, and for the overall morale and motivation of teachers. Unsurprisingly, most successful private schools are located in urban centres that are comparatively more affluent than rural regions of the country.

An interesting feature of the growth of accredited private schooling has been the support received from various religious and non-governmental cultural organizations. As shown in Table 8, of all the accredited private schools in Burkina Faso, only about one-third are lay schools that have been funded through private means. Another third are Franco-Arab schools, many of which have received support from Saudi Arabia and other Middle-Eastern countries. Moreover, since 1997 the most significant growth has been in the number of Catholic schools that have increased by over 500%. While local community involvement has doubtlessly contributed to the construction of schools that are affiliated with religious organizations, financial support has also emanated from external church sources.

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³ This growth in the Catholic school system comes after a period of about twenty years during which the importance of the Catholic school system has declined.

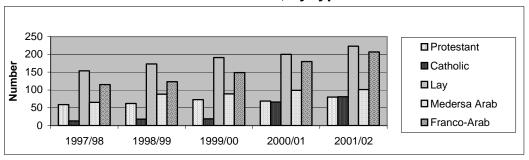


Table 8: Evolution of Private Schools, by type

Source: MEBA, 2002

In contrast, other private 'pirate schools' not accredited by MEBA cater to children who are striving to pass examinations for purposes of obtaining the primary school certification (CM2) and/or secondary school entrance. That such clandestine schools exist are due to client demand and lack of state resources to regulate them.

5.6 Teachers' Unions

Historically unions have been spearheads of civil society in Burkina Faso, often serving as the only political counterweight against the centrist state. Until the mid-1980s unions had demonstrated the collective capability of affecting regime change. The Sankara-led revolution, however, dramatically curbed union power. When teachers went on strike in 1984, the government disbanded their unions and fired thousands who refused an edict to return to their classrooms. Although the Sankariste Revolution was relatively short-lived, unions in Burkina Faso have been unable to regain their earlier political clout, in part because of government legislation designed to restrict the right to strike and to demonstrate.

Most primary school teachers in Burkina Faso belong to the *Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'éducation de base* (SYNATEB). Two other unions, the *Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'enseignement et de la recherche* (SYNTER) and the *Union générale des étudiants du Burkina* (UGEB), also articulate concerns pertaining to education in Burkina. The key interconnected objectives of these unions have been to protect the interests of their members and to maintain a generally critical stance towards a central government that is frequently viewed as hegemonic, corrupt, and unsympathetic to the needs of teachers. Inevitably, therefore, the unions find themselves struggling to balance their longstanding wariness of government and PTF actions that that they generally perceive to be undermining the professional well-being of teachers, and hence the quality of schooling in general, with the desire not to be left out in the cold from educational decision-making processes (Pilon Wayack, 2003).

The unions were not engaged, nor were they invited to participate, in the formulation of the PDDEB. As with other CSOs in Burkina Faso, there was a general recognition of the donor-directed impetus underlying the ten-year plan (further discussed below). Nevertheless, subsequent to its inauguration, union have been ambiguous in their criticism of the PDDEB as implemented. On the one hand, they have been highly critical of measures taken to reduce pre-service teacher training from two years to one year, to transfer responsibilities for the supervision of teachers to the level of communes, and to scale back the proportion of recurrent educational expenditures allocated for teachers' salaries (Interviews, 2006). On the other hand, however, SYNATEB has endorsed the PDDEB goals of expanding and improving the primary school system and implementing special provisions for girls' education (Interviews, 2006). Moreover, despite what it continues to regard as the government's systematic denigration of the teaching profession, SYNATEB is officially regarded as a civil society "partner" in the implementation of the 10-year plan (Interviews, 2006).

Somewhat ironically, therefore, this acknowledgment of a partnership role has strengthened the legitimacy of SYNATEB critiques which are leveled less at the objectives of the PDDEB and far more at what many regard as top-down decision-making and the corresponding failure to realize the precepts of participation and partnership that are inherent in the text of the PDDEB.

5.7 Research Organizations & Networking

In contrast to most CSOs in the field of education, research organizations in Burkina Faso play a relatively minor role as civil society actors. While educational researchers in Burkina are generally affiliated with one or more networks or research organizations, nationally conducted research and evaluation seem to have had little impact on educational policy-making. Partly this is due to the overall lack of an independent research climate within which autonomous critical inquiry can take place. In part, as well, it is due to the contractual nature of most research that focuses on aspects of education. While individual researchers are noted for their expertise and are frequently called upon to conduct studies for the purpose of policy-related dialogue, notably under the auspices of organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), researchers often work as consultants rather than as scholars pursuing their own independent research programs. As one researcher commented:

The donors, mainly the World Bank, conduct research, but it is very much according to a format. They are not interested in us researchers proposing research topics. It is they who determine the terms of reference. Even though there is a scientific community in Burkina Faso, there are no major research proposals that come from this community – it is the donors who define knowledge [about basic education]. From my point of view, there is a need to produce alternative understandings of basic education – "counter-knowledge.

Likewise, research reports that do focus critically on education tend to have limited circulation and rarely serve as a basis for policy formation or decision making (IDRC, 2005; Interviews, 2006).

5.8 Community Based (Educational) Organizations (CBOs)

Although nonformal education has always figured as peripheral to the predominant educational policy of formal school expansion in Burkina Faso, the mainly rural populace of the country has long been exposed to a vast number of NFE programmes that have been sponsored largely by INGOs and NNGOs. Yet within the last decade or more a relatively youthful population of community educators has emerged, many of them with previous experience as NGO educators. With limited or no external support, many of these young educators have formed CBOs that provide training in functional literacy, community health care, and other forms of NFE. In most cases they operate on shoestring budgets and, although often relying on some local support, most depend on external financial and technical assistance. Of the estimated 200 educational CBOs in the country, four were visited for purposes of this study, two in the province of Namentenga, *l'Association Wendpanga* and *l'Association Relwende*, and two in the province of Koudougou, *l'Association Weogbiga* and *l'Association Tengpaga*.

All four of these organizations are remarkably similar in terms of their origins, staffing, and activities. In Namentenga, core personnel in *Wendpanga* and *Relwende* are former employees of Plan International whose positions were terminated following Plan's withdrawal from Namentenga as a site of programme activity. Building on their skills and training, these former employees had independently constituted

themselves as small entrepreneurial enterprises aiming to provide educational services (mainly literacy training) to village communities.

While initially relying on support from local village committees and occasional funding from international NGOs, all four of these organizations have benefited from financial allocations from the *Fonds pour l'Alphabétisation et l'Éducation Non formelle* (FONAENF) (see below). To be eligible for a FONAENF grant, each association had to submit a proposal relating to the expertise and experience of its staff, the curriculum and *modus operandi* of the proposed training program, and the estimated number of villages, training centres, and potential male and female village auditors who were to benefit from training. Other conditions for a FONAENF grant include working under the direct supervision of the DPEBAs in Namentenga and Koudougou and submitting an annual report to provincial education authorities and to the FONAENF. In return, the senior administrators of these CBOs have benefited from FONAENF-sponsored training in aspects of organizational administration and have been encouraged to continue and indeed expand on their self-defined mandates of community-based NFE (Interviews, 2006).

In common with these four examples, the work of most autonomously managed educational CBOs focuses on literacy training and other forms of NFE. Despite support from FONAENF and occasional assistance from INGOs and NNGOs, these CBOs have few resources at their disposal, often relying on local contributions for recurrent expenditures such as routine travel and accommodation in neighbourhood villages. While clearly regarded as important players in the provision of basic education, rarely are they involved in any aspect of formal schooling, nor are they engaged in policy and program decision-making beyond their own specific pedagogical mandates. Reflecting the popular jargon, theirs is a partnership role that tends to be confined to that of *opérateurs* (Interviews, 2006).

5.9 Parents' Associations

Since 1991, a condition underlying the establishment of public primary schools in Burkina Faso has been the creation of parents' associations that serve as the official liaison bodies between representatives of public schooling, most notably school principals and teachers, and the communities served by the school system. Within the past five years, parents' associations have been of two types: the originally established *Associations des parents d'élèves* (APEs) and the more recently articulated *Associations des mères d'élèves* (AMEs).

Associations des parents d'élèves (APEs)

In every community with a primary school APEs are mandated to facilitate and reinforce the school's role as an institution contributing to the wellbeing of children and the community at large. As such APEs are expected to meet regularly with teachers, to inform the community about school activities and the significance of schooling for children, to encourage full enrolment and high levels of school completion, to periodically contribute labour and materials in support of the school, and to raise and administer funds for local school related expenses (e.g., maintenance or replacement of basic infrastructure, payment for transportation and preparation of school meals, etc.). In addition, as outlined in the PDDEB, in view of their considerable responsibilities as 'frontline' CSOs, APEs are regarded as important actors in annual provincial and regional educational planning exercises.

All APEs are statutory entities, each with a president, vice-president, treasurer, and executive membership who are ostensibly elected every two years. In reality, anecdotal evidence suggests that executive membership of APEs at the community level is often determined by other selective processes (e.g., nomination of literate parents only, selections by traditional authorities, and self-appointments) (Interviews, 2006). Likewise, all APEs are members of the national parents' association, the *Fédération*

des Associations des Parents d'Élèves (FAPE), a body charged with ensuring that the interests and concerns of parents are adequately articulated within MEBA and among the PTFs.

Associations des mères d'élèves (AMEs)

Introduced in the mid-1990s as part of the burgeoning campaign to increase girls` enrolment in schools, AMEs have also helped to counter-balance the skewed male presence in patriarchally constituted APEs. Generally the role of AMEs is more amorphous than that of the APEs. Theirs is essentially an advocacy and watchdog function on behalf of girls' enrolment and retention. As such they frequently serve as the community liaison body with NGOs such as FAWE whose mandate is to expand and improvement girls' education (Interviews, 2006).

Within the context of the PDDEB, both the APEs and the AMEs are regarded as significant cornerstones of civil society engagement in basic education and as barometers of the relative effectiveness of the decentralization of educational administration. There are, however, considerable concerns about the capacity of many parents' groups to fully live up to their mandated responsibilities both in relation to local schools and in terms of their participation in provincial and regional educational planning.

6. Civil Society and the Current Ten-Year Plan (PDDEB)

The PDDEB was brought about by MEBA and several PTFs, but we acknowledge a role for ourselves in this, so we have participated in dialogue with them and others to see how we can find a comparative advantage in this process (NGO representative)

To fully appreciate the role of civil society organizations in educational governance in Burkina Faso, it is necessary to do so within the context of the PDDEB, the current ten-year plan that is being implemented in accordance with the vision of educational development outlined in the 1996 *Loi d'Orientation*. In many respects, however, the PDDEB itself is now identified as the main educational policy thrust in the country, largely because of the tendency of PTFs and most CSOs to "buy into" the main principles of the PDDEB and agree to participate in efforts to attain the broad aims of the ten-year plan.

6.1. Formulation of the PDDEB

Such concerted endorsement of the PDDEB was by no means a foregone conclusion in its initial stages. As formulated, the current ten-year plan for basic education was very much the product of a top-down consultative process, largely managed by MEBA and the three PTFs – the World Bank, Netherlands, and CIDA – that were committed to the *panier commun* of budget support for education. Although educational officials at regional and provincial government levels were engaged in consultations ostensibly meant to contribute to the elaboration of the PDDEB, indications are that many participants considered such consultative processes as essentially forums for prescriptive centrist pronouncements rather than for open dialogue and shared policy formulation (Interviews, 2006).

This top-down orientation towards policy development and educational decision-making was consistent with the central government's longstanding approach to civil society involvement. Although historically open to CSO participation in delivering various modalities of education and in making up for government shortfalls, ministries of education in Burkina Faso have generally shown little inclination to involve representatives of civil society in educational policy formulation, especially in the realm of formal schooling (Vellutini et al., 2001). This tendency to exclude CSOs from policy formulation was retained

in deliberations leading up to the initial promulgation of the ten-year plan. While numerous individuals within CSOs known for their expertise in specific aspects of education were invited to participate as consultants in the planning process, CSOs as discrete organizational entities, particularly those located outside Ouagadougou, were largely excluded from PDDEB planning deliberations and decision-making (Faure et al., 2003; Interviews, 2006).

Apart from the government's own tendency to exclude CSOs from educational policy-making, two other factors underlay the rather restricted nature of the elaboration of the PDDEB. First, three key aspects of the plan – a growing shift towards the development of a basic education SWAp, the corresponding establishment of budget support (the *panier commun*) for basic education, and decentralization as a central element of educational governance – were strongly promoted as fundamental operating principles by the the World Bank, Netherlands, and CIDA – the core donors of the *panier commun*. Consequently, while dialogue with national stakeholders was an integral feature of the elaboration of the PDDEB, deliberations were focused essentially on how best to implement donor supported principles.

Second, there were veiled concerns that civil society involvement in the formulation process might actually derail the development of the plan, either through the encumbrance of dialogue involving too many players with too many competing interests or through outright opposition to aspects of the plan (Interviews, 2006). The teachers' unions in particular were regarded as a potential source of destabilization, since the focus on educational decentralization and enhanced cost-effectiveness incorporated an agenda of 'rationalizing' the relatively high proportion of recurrent educational expenditures allocated for teacher training and teachers' salaries and benefits (Interviews, 2006). In effect, somewhat ironically, CSOs were largely excluded from the formulation of a plan that was specifically designed to increase their involvement in expanding and improving basic education. It was little wonder, therefore, that when the PDDEB was launched in 2002, most stakeholders in the education system regarded it as essentially a well funded educational project, representing no fundamental departure from previous large donor-funded projects (Interviews, 2006). Even today, as some of our respondents attested, there is uncertainty concerning the degree to which implementation of the PDDEB reflects a genuine partnership of CSOs, the state and donor agencies.

6.2 Implementation of the PDDEB and the Evolving Role of CSOs in Policy Deliberations

Despite the top-down orientation of the deliberations underlying the formulation of the PDDEB, within the last half decade CSOs have become major actors in implementing the plan. In addition, many have become attuned to educational policy-making and are more prepared to participate in policy oriented dialogue. In large part this can be attributed to the responsibilities that CSOs have been called upon to assume within the context of the 10-year plan. As fieldwork for this study revealed, there are four points of entry that have facilitated CSO involvement in policy dialogue. These are as follows:

Regional Annual Planning

A key conditionality of the implementation of the PDDEB is that disbursement of a substantial proportion of annually budgeted funds is to be conducted on a regional basis, and that these disbursements are in turn dependent on regionally drafted annual educational plans submitted to MEBA. Operationally, therefore, each regional prefecture coordinates the planning process by convening meetings of representatives of all stakeholder groups – teachers, head-teachers, superintendents from regional and provincial education offices, parents' associations, educational CBOs, and national and international NGOs working in the region (Interviews, 2006). This annual planning process entails a review of activities within each province, informal assessments of such activities, deliberations on prospective educational actions and needs in both formal and nonformal educational sectors, and the elaboration of a corresponding financial

plan for the subsequent fiscal year. Although proportionately these regional plans cover a relatively small percentage of MEBA's overall budget – of which most continues to be allocated for teachers' salaries – they nonetheless are supposed to be developed through dialogue and shared input from local and regional CSOs.

The annual submission of regional action plans is a pre-condition for the transfer of funds from the PDDEB *panier commun* to the regional and provincial education offices. Although brought about by an essentially top-down directive articulated as a key principle of the ten-year educational plan, the obligation of regional governments to submit annual educational plans and assume increased responsibility for the administration of educational programs funded in accordance with the PDDEB has contributed significantly to an expansion of the role of CSOs from operating almost entirely as deliverers of education to participating officially – if not always effectively (see below) – in processes of coordinated regional educational planning and monitoring.

Missions Conjointes

Approximately every six months, a two-day meeting open to all educational stakeholders is convened in a designated region of the country. Commonly referred to as *missions conjointes*, these meetings are relatively open-ended affairs that are attended by representatives of MEBA and the international donor community, by INGOs and NNGOs, and by various provincial CSOs and CBOs. The purpose of each meeting is to conduct an ongoing review of all PDDEB components, particularly within the six-month period preceding the meeting. Attention is also devoted to a review of the objectives and processes of the annual plan of the host region. By reviewing implementation of the PDDEB in local areas, the *mission conjointes* help to generate critical appraisals of efforts to decentralize educational administration and to engage CSO activity in the delivery of educational programs (Aides mémoires, 16 décembre 2005; 5 mai, 2006). As a result, by serving as forums of dialogue among distinctive institutional stakeholders, these *missions conjointes* have contributed to the sense of a shared mandate and collegiality among diverse groups of educational stakeholders.

Following each joint mission an 'aide-mémoire is produced that summarizes the discussions of the meeting, and itemizes recommendations that deal not only with specific issues related to PDDEB implementation within the host region, but as well to broader government and donor agency responsibilities pertaining to the PDDEB. As various respondents for this study indicated, MEBA and the PTFs have generally demonstrated a willingness to solicit the voices of local and regional groups, regardless of whether they emanate from regional government authorities or from diverse CSOs (Interviews, 2006).

Le Fonds pour l'Alphabétisation et l'Éducation Non formelle (FONAENF)

Since its inauguration in 2002, the largest proportion of the PDDEB budget has been directed towards the expansion of conventional state-administered primary schooling – the *écoles classiques*. Nevertheless, in order to address perennially high levels of adult illiteracy, a small grants fund, the FONAENF, has been set up to support approximately 10% of the annual *panier commun* portion of the PDDEB budget for national language literacy training projects and other forums of NFE. Established as an integral feature of budgetary support, the FONAENF is an officially registered association administered on a quasi-independent basis by a directorate and an 11-member governing council that consists of three government officials, three national CSO representatives, three senior PTF personnel, and two private sector representatives. As discussed above, resources that are administered by the FONAENF are made available mainly to educational CBOs that submit sound proposals for the development and operation of literacy training projects throughout the country.

From it outset, the FONAENF has proven to be a dynamic institutional component of the PDDEB. In its first year (2002 – 03) 185 applications for funding were received, of which 91 were approved for financial support. During the fiscal year 2004 – 05, 310 projects were approved out of 400 applications received. To be approved for funding, all applications must adhere to a number of conditions. Each association submitting a project proposal must demonstrate its experience and expertise in NFE, include a minimum of ten literacy or NFE training centres as designated beneficiaries of educational intervention, outline specific training and capacity development needs, guarantee submission of annual reports that highlight training activities and all operating expenditures, and be open to regular audits by DPEBA officials. This last point is a critical one, for the FONAENF has entailed close cooperation between the educational CBOs that are the main recipients of funding, the DPEBAs that are charged with coordinating and monitoring basic education in each province, and the FONAENF itself. Each stakeholder entity thus assumes a significant partnership responsibility. For its part, on average the governing council of the FONAENF meets on a quarterly basis in order to review proposals and project reports. In addition, the council undertakes its own auditing of funded projects, and allocates a proportion of funds for in-service training of CSO administrators and educators.

Overall, the FONAENF represents an acknowledgement of the longstanding efficacy of the so-called *faire-faire* (out-sourcing) approach that reinforces the significance of CSOs in the delivery of NFE and literacy training to sectors of the population who have never been enrolled in formal schooling, or whose formal education ended at the primary school level. It likewise serves as vehicle for retaining a flexible project approach to basic education within the common programme orientation of the PDDEB. Because of its success to date, there is a strong likelihood that its annual operating budget will be increased to an estimated 15% of the overall PDDEB budget (Interviews, 2006; MEBA, 2006).

Informal Networking: Personal connections and ICTs

During the fieldwork stage of this study, the research team was struck by the remarkable degree of regular informal contact among state & CSO officials, particularly in Ouagadougou. Connections between civil society & government have grown stronger within the last five years, in part because of personal relationships that have evolved and been strengthened over time, greatly reinforced by e-mail messaging and frequent use of cell phones. Indeed, the advent of the cell phone has been nothing short of revolutionary. In all regions of the country, those involved in planning and delivering basic education are now in easy earshot of one another. In addition, it is not uncommon for senior administrative personnel to move in and out of governmental and nongovernmental positions fairly regularly, and this has helped to foster inter-organizational familiarity and understanding.

7. CSOs and Educational Governance: Questions and Challenges

There is no doubt that CSO participation in the planning, delivery, and monitoring of basic education has increased in the last half decade in Burkina Faso. This is turn has led to a growing sense among many CSOs of shared ownership in basic education. As outlined above, there is also greater stakeholder coordination, right down to communal levels as APEs and AMEs become involved in provincially coordinated educational planning. Nevertheless, despite the relative inter-organizational cohesiveness that has emerged within the education sector in Burkina Faso, the notion of civil society engagement in educational *governance* is less evident. To a large extent this is due to the capacities and diverse agendas of CSOs and to the dynamics of power and resources that underscore relations between civil society and

the other main institutional stakeholders – the government and international donors. It is to these aspects of governance that we now turn.

7.1 Decentralization & CSO Capacity: Constraints and Limitations

Decentralization is now a national endeavour – all projects have to be the responsibility of the communes which are part of the action plans. . . The community development approach is based on partnership. The old [centralized] way, with construction and so forth, depended on people in Ouagadougou to undertake projects and then leave, but now everything involves people at the departmental level (INGO representative).

This statement reflects a common sentiment among government and donor officials, as well as many CSO representatives. Nevertheless, while the rhetoric of educational decentralization has been widely articulated in Burkina Faso since the promulgation of the *Loi d'Orientation*, it is only within the context of the PDDEB, launched a scant five years ago, that fundamental measures have been undertaken to shift the processes of educational planning, decision-making, and financial administration away from the centre to regions and provinces. As a result, the promotion of a sense of civil society 'ownership' of basic education has been a slow incremental process. In the eyes of many Burkinabè, especially the rural majority who remain strongly attached to conventional social *morés* and traditional forms of governance, communities, primary schooling continues to be seen as part of a large state bureaucracy that is far removed from local communities (Interviews, 2006). Despite decades of existence in Burkina Faso, conventional "classical" schooling is <u>not</u> an indigenous institution over which most rural people feel a strong sense of ownership, but rather is rightly seen as an externally financed and administered institution that appeals to young people and their families mainly because of its longstanding promise as a way to improve their socio-economic status (Maclure, 1994; Faure et al., 2003). In these circumstances, efforts by the state and PTFs to decentralize school administration are fraught with challenges.

For decentralization to be successful, and for civil society to be fully engaged in educational governance, the issue of CSO *capacity* is of course critical. While the steady rise in school enrolments indicates that increased resources invested in basic education have stimulated demand in some regions and facilitated responsiveness to heightened demand in others, in some provinces in Burkina Faso there has been a disjunction between the availability of resources and local capacity for resource management and accountability. In 2006, for example, concerns about regional financial management for school construction and methods of financial reporting led those PTFs associated with the *panier commun* to insist on delaying further scheduled disbursements of funding until regional accounting mechanisms were reviewed and refined.

Inevitably, issues of capacity are also bound up with the question of sustainability. Because the current expansion of basic education can only be sustained through shared responsibility among all stakeholders, there is widespread agreement that the current process of decentralization and regional coordination involving CSOs and regional branches of MEBA is the direction to pursue. It is a direction that entails the strengthening of knowledge bases and technical capacities at regional and community levels, the cultivation of collaborative ties among provincial and regional offices of MEBA, NGOs, and CBOs, greater latitude for regional initiatives and for structural flexibility, and substantial political and professional commitments on the part of senior politicians and bureaucrats situated in government. Inevitably, of course, it is a slow process, moving in fits and starts that give rise to doubts and frustrations as evidenced in this respondent's comment.

There are capacity problems. The provincial and regional directorates of basic education were not well prepared for their new responsibilities, mainly because of insufficient training. For example, financial administration – there has been training,

but it was quickly done, and there hasn't been much follow-up or good monitoring (NNGO representative).

There are likewise questions about the degree to which CSOs can substitute for the state. Although NGOs such as FAWE, Plan International, and Tin Tua have become increasingly involved in pre-service as well as in-service teacher training, it is unlikely that these CSOs can make up for the state's dramatic reduction in pre-service teacher training from two years to one year. Similarly, the inexorable interface between schools and the communities in which they are situated – manifested particularly in teacher/parent relationships – is invariably a critical factor in either facilitating or undermining local level capacity. As numerous respondents indicated in this study, many of today's newly recruited teachers are young, feel little if any affiliation to the villages in which they are posted, and tend to regard parents' understanding of school activities as limited.

Many teachers are young and come from elsewhere – they are not affiliated to the villages to which they are posted – so it makes it difficult sometimes for APEs and teachers to work together – there is a lack of communication and understanding (APE representative).

Such lack of communication and understanding can clearly weaken relations between APEs and teachers. A further conundrum relates to the circular effects of abiding poverty and illiteracy. As respondents in this study frequently indicated, in the poorest provinces – notably those without dams for irrigation and the possibility of seasonal farming – poverty inevitably undermines the capacity of CBOs and parents' groups to become involved in a process that authorities ironically hope will contribute to a reduction in poverty.

Poverty and lack of rainfall are a problem in many regions – can education be part of the solution to poverty, or is it an end to poverty and an end to long dry seasons necessary for enhancement of education? For now what is obvious is that expansion of education is very much dependent on external aid, especially to poor regions as we are here. . . . [Many] parents can't pay APE [parents' association] membership fees, and they don't have enough even to pay for children's notebooks and pens (Local CSO representative).

As poverty and illiteracy are closely related in poor communities, there are often not enough literate parents able to ensure adequate representation and turn-over in APE leadership. In such circumstances, the envisioned participation of civil society in policy formation, implementation, and monitoring assumes a capacity that many parents' associations do not yet possess, a weakness that manifests itself in the context of larger meetings in which most local level associations cannot always participate effectively. Speaking about the capacity of the involvement of APEs in regional educational planning, one APE representative stated:

The PDDEB is something for teachers and the education system – APEs are not involved in discussions concerning PDDEB – villagers don't know about it. Even participation in [annual regional educational planning] is not strong. Annual meetings where officials explain policies and request village participation in planning and implementing activities, like fixing the teachers' house, doesn't always lead villagers to do much (APE representative).

As well, many AMEs are overshadowed by their counterpart APEs and have little understanding of their role in school-based management. Although ostensibly designated to heighten local consciousness concerning the value of girls' education, in many localities this type of advocacy is more effectively conducted by local government authorities and by NGOs working in the regions, rather than by the AMEs

(Interviews, 2006). Anecdotal evidence suggests that many AMEs see themselves as fund-raising bodies and therefore concentrate on selling small items in local markets for school support.

Confronted with profound complexities and constraints, educational decentralization – and indeed, the whole process of devolving responsibility for public sector governance to regions, provinces, and communes – will require ongoing sensitivity and attention towards the perspectives and evolving educational aspirations of the myriad NGOs and CBOs that constitute civil society in Burkina Faso. For the time being it is fairly clear that across-the-board stakeholder support for the PDDEB is a guarantee that substantial resources will continue to be allocated to basic education. Yet the expansion of primary schooling as specified in the PDDEB seems to be generating a burgeoning dilemma for the government and for external agencies. While training and technical support for parents' associations are useful, sustainability of the system will for the foreseeable future continue to depend on a resource-poor government and an international donor community that has slowly and differentially embraced SWAps as a framework for effective aid to education. The current availability of ample external resources is unlikely to last for many years. In this context, the injection of external funding for education may prove to be a tenuous social investment, with today's nation-wide initiatives facing the prospect of rapid dissipation in the event of reduced external funding. For example, as one respondent indicated to the research team, the recent rise in girls' enrolment may not outlast the provision of scholarships for girls and various other subsidies and incentives for girls' education.

Despite SWAps and the advent of limited budget support for the education sector, in the long run, decentralization of the educational system and CSO capacity to participate effectively in educational governance cannot be sustained by external aid, but will have to be grounded in the development of local economies able to absorb a young work force and generate a sustainable resource base upon which and ever-expanding educational system can be maintained. This in turn raises questions about the very nature and content of mainstream education in Burkina Faso, and the policies and programmes that have long sustained it – questions to which we will turn in concluding this paper.

7.2 Government & Civil Society: A Relationship of Cooperation or Co-optation?

All NGOs working in Burkina Faso must be accredited by the government and be signatories to the *Convention cadre d'établissement entre les ONG et le Burkina Faso* (see Appendix 3). Except for a history of occasional tensions between teachers' unions & the central government, which came to an apex in the mid-1980s (noted above), relations between the state and CSOs, particularly those situated in the field of education, have been remarkably collaborative and cordial. According to the director of the Bureau du Suivi des ONGs (BSONG), there has been only one recorded suspension of NGO activities, in the early 1990s, and this stemmed from a case of fraud perpetrated by the founder of a small religious organization in several villages. Overall, the relationship between the state and CSOs with regard to education in Burkina Faso has been characterized by a general understanding of complementary roles and a shared interest in the national agenda of expanding and improving basic education throughout the country.

Yet until recently it has also been a relationship skewed by the power of the state. While CSOs have participated in numerous state-sponsored forums examining the issues and challenges of basic education (for example, the 1989 seminar in Koudougou on basic education and the 1999 National Forum on Literacy in Burkina Faso), by and large MEBA's decision-making processes have been determined internally in collaboration with numerous PTFs. When CSOs were encouraged to participate as "partners" in education, they invariably were regarded as executing agencies or – as in the case of APEs – bodies charged with mobilizing local resources in support of schools. This was exemplified in the early 1990s during the *Education IV* project financed by the World Bank and other external agencies.

Although community involvement was regarded as a key feature of what in fact was a major 5-year school expansion program, communities and individual beneficiaries had little say in identifying local educational needs and challenges (Maclure, 1995). This approach to civil society involvement likewise typified the formulation of the PDDEB. Even the FONAENF, which has clearly expanded the nature of civil society participation in literacy training and other forms of NFE, was the result of government/PTF deliberations (Sanwidi & Vaillancourt, 2001).

Yet since the formal promulgation of the PDDEB in 2002, the nexus of state-PTF dominance in setting the educational policy agenda in Burkina Faso has begun to shift largely due to the PDDEB's explicit avowal of the need for civil society engagement in basic education. As discussed above, CSOs are now expected to participate in the formulation of regional educational plans on a yearly basis and in the *missions conjointes* that are scheduled every six months in different provinces. The CCEB has likewise emerged as a key institutional presence representing the interests and concerns of CSOs in education. Equally significant has been the participation of CSOs on the board of the FONAENF, signaling an accommodation of civil society influence over the disbursement of a portion of PTF budget support for basic education. Reflecting on these developments, representatives of MEBA and PTFs interviewed for this study were consistently of the view that CSOs now play a critical role in monitoring progress of the PDDEB and in shaping the direction of basic education in the country.

We have made progress – partners at all levels are very engaged in the implementation of a national basic education programme – there is a lot of dialogue at all levels, as exemplified by the missions conjointes (Donor agency representative).

From this perspective, there is general agreement that all stakeholders – the government, the PTFs, and the CSOs – are involved in a compelling national project and that all have a legitimate say in how it is being managed and how problems and potential solutions can be broached. Numerous NGO and CSO representatives whom we met expressed similar views, as reflected in these two statements:

NGOs play a very big role in all aspects, including financial support. The CCEB is a force de frappe (a significant policy player) with well over a hundred member organizations. Together NGOs play a big partnership role in discussions & debates [on education] (NNGO representative).

The policy of engaging local people to become more involved in school –hiring local masons, for example – and taking more ownership of the school and in meeting to participate in annual plans, has been a slow process. But it is slowly taking hold – people are beginning to see their control when a local mason does the work and is responsible to local committees rather than to outsiders (Local CSO representative).

In fieldwork for this study, there was little doubt about the remarkable degree of understanding and consensus concerning the aims of the PDDEB and complementary institutional roles in implementing the plan. Nevertheless, despite the generally positive tenor of the discourse concerning civil society participation in Burkina Faso's education sector, the degree to which policy-oriented educational decision-making is a fully democratic process (or even one that is nationally led as opposed to donor-led) remains a moot point. Although there is clearly a consensus about the importance of state – CSO partnerships in education, there are some affiliated with NGOs and research groups in Burkina who regard the engagement of civil society in education in Burkina Faso as a form of "governmentalization" or "delegated democracy" (Rose, 1996) in which CSOs, most of which are dependent on external funding to pay for staffing and programme costs, have been recruited to strengthen a broad national agenda that continues to be defined by the central state and a coterie of PTFs.

There is a lot of dialogue, but often its not coherent and has relatively little influence on decision-makers – the main role of [civil society] partners is essentially to implement the PPDEB (INGO representative).

This is a misgiving that was articulated by some as a central concern, and by others as a reflection that did not weight heavily upon them. It nevertheless is a sentiment that does raise questions about the nature of educational governance and the role of civil society therein. Does a partnership role in governance imply a general acceptance of the overall policy thrust of the government and most PTFs, which is to direct most resources towards the expansion of the existing school system, and thereupon debate the technical issues that arise in implementing the policy? Or does full engagement in educational governance allow for dissenting views on the broad orientation of the PDDEB?

According to representatives of the state and most PTFs in Burkina Faso, educational expansion and reform both depend upon and can help to facilitate greater civil society involvement in governance, particularly in the context of gradual decentralization, annual regional planning activities, and *missions conjointes*. Certainly, as respondents in this study indicated, dissension with aspects of the PDDEB has clearly been articulated by teachers' unions, researchers, and a number of NGOs. Implementation of the PDDEB has likewise accommodated diverse perspectives and has allowed for a full range of non-school basic educational alternatives to classical schooling. While questions and concerns about the heavy focus on basic education in relation to secondary schooling and tertiary education, and about the volume of resources allocated to "classical" primary schooling in proportion to alternative community schools, preschooling, and nonformal education are being articulated, respondents within government and PTF circles generally argue that critics of the state's main educational policy thrust have been acknowledged and their perspectives are being heeded as the ten-year plan proceeds. Yet given the evident power relations that exist between the PTFs and the state, and in turn between the state and an amorphous array of CSOs in Burkina Faso, it is as yet premature to consider the role of civil society in educational governance as one of full democratic partnership.

7.3 Civil Society in Educational Policy-Making in Burkina Faso: Adjunct to the Status Quo or Force for Educational Transformation?

Because constraints related to resources, capacity, and sheer variability and differential locations have impeded the emergence of civil society as a major force in educational *governance* in Burkina Faso, there is still the issue of the engagement of CSOs in policy-making, or at least in influencing the direction of educational policies. Here too, however, we heard different points of view. By and large, representatives of the PTFsand MEBA referred to the growing importance of civil society in policy-making, particularly through annual regional planning and the *mission conjointes*. In addition, as several pointed out, the overall policy of basic education in Burkina Faso has been clear for a decade. In the words of one respondent,

The educational policies are clear . . . The [1995] Loi d'Orientation is clear . . . The key is to implement the policies by finding the necessary resources. For this, the PDDEB highlights the need to have all stakeholders participate. The World Bank has pushed this approach, but the state has so little resources – so the state has to look for resources just as NGOs and CSOs do . . . There is a difficulty in coordinating all of this – so now most donors are involved with PDDEB so as to assist with financing . . . So now there is an 'esprit' of partnership in a common enterprise (Donor agency representative).

Yet this is a perspective that underscores the operational role of CSOs only, and allows for little room to engage in policy *re-formulation* and medication. Moreover, since the LOI was promulgated over ten

years ago, there is certainly value in reflecting upon and debating current policy thrusts. It is this aspect of policy-making and governance that many CSOs in Burkina Faso appear to be falling short. For example, as several respondents in this study argued, no notable CSO has overtly challenged the primary focus of the government and PTFs in Burkina Faso in "pushing up the numbers" – building classrooms, hiring teachers, and boosting enrolment rates.

So many educational policy issues are based on a purely managerial logic. Preoccupation is with system management and a quantitative perspective – the focus on numbers of students enrolled, and so forth. This type of policy approach doesn't lend itself to a genuine societal project, to fundamental questions such as what kind of education for what kind of society. . . . But a big problem remains quality. My big fear lies in the actual functioning of the system – that we are in the process of creating a serious relapse when half the children enrolled don't complete schooling. Many of them no longer find a fit in their environment, so they drift to towns. But there are not enough jobs and the political situation may not be able to deal with growing unrest. Look at Côte d'Ivoire. Even among those who complete the primary school cycle, most don't achieve exceptional results, and if they remain in an environment that doesn't encourage use of literacy, they easily lapse into illiteracy. . . . Before moving the [education] machine forward at an accelerated pace, [the decisionmakers] should have focused on remedying the machine. And why the rush to 2015 [of the MDGs]? This has created a problem with the link between primary and secondary school – the latter is bottle-necked. . . When one considers the financial investment by government and families in these young people! However, there are those who say that it is better that they had some schooling and didn't complete, than never to have gone at all. But that's a debatable point (Researcher/writer).

From this critical perspective, while CSO participation in technical and administrative decisions pertaining to the implementation of the PDDEB abounds, there is far less evidence of sustained civil society opposition to the overall thrust of educational policies or to widespread questioning of the officially espoused link between the main thrust of classical primary school expansion and poverty reduction. Accordingly, from this point of view CSO participation can be seen as essentially strengthening the political legitimacy of dominant educational policy without substantially challenging or altering its overall directions and premises.

Yet here, too, the jury is still out in terms of the degree to which civil society has been "co-opted" by predominant forces of educational policy-making and governance. Increasingly it has been CSOs that have raised concerns about the effects of primary school expansion on the narrow bottleneck of secondary school access, about the continuing reliance on French as the principle language of primary school instruction, and even about the assumed *urgency* of enrolling as many children as quickly as possible within the established school system. Where strides have been made in introducing local languages as the media of instruction in schools, in hiring local teachers, and in introducing new curricula connected to local needs and realities, these have mainly been led by organizations such as Tin Tua, OSEO, FAWE, and Plan International. In addition, as we discerned through interviews, some CSOs have begun to raise questions about the socio-cultural import of schooling and the extent to which it can generate opportunities or change. As one villager put it:

What is the value of schooling for children who cannot go on past primary school, or for girls who get pregnant while still in their teens and must then marry & look after the children? (AME representative).

At the end of the day, however, while such reflections and debates are clearly percolating within a civil society sector that is increasingly engaged in planning and delivering, as well as deliberating upon, basic education throughout Burkina Faso, one cannot easily dismiss the following rejoinder that was articulated with a hint of exasperation by a PTF representative:

There are those who argue that we need to reflect and have a vision – to have a clear idea of where we are going with educational policies and decisions, and so forth. But at the same time there is an actual system with an <u>existing</u> policy – the Loi d'orientation – and there is a clear need to fast-track, . . to enable more children to attend school. It's all very well to reflect and discuss, but dialogue and reflection take time, and meanwhile we are confronted with an urgent situation [to educate children] (Donor agency representative).

What appears to be occurring in Burkina Faso is an unprecedented engagement of civil society in education that is characterized by two major tendencies: CSO eagerness to participate more fully in an educational agenda that has largely been determined by the state and the PTFs, and at the same time a burgeoning collective CSO awareness of their significance in this process and of the corresponding possibilities of articulating concerns and challenges that may in the long run influence educational policies and the subsequent nature of educational services that are provided to the populace at large.

8. Donor Agencies & Civil Society: Power Dynamics and Proposed Avenues to Pursue

In general terms PTFs in Burkina Faso have established their institutional partner relations in Ouagadougou where contacts are easily maintained and where stakeholders meet frequently. In contrast, links between PTFs and those CSOs that are located in the regions and provinces are relatively rare. Nevertheless, there are distinctions in these relationships. PTFs that are not committed to the *panier commun* tend to have more direct links with specific national CSOs since they have greater latitude in determining the recipients of direct funding. Switzerland, for example, maintains a policy of only supporting basic education through the nongovernmental sector rather than through the government. In contrast, relations between those PTFs that are fully committed to budgetary support and CSOs working in the education sector tend to range from limited to non-existent. As noted above, however, limited channels of dialogue between these PTFs and local level CSOs have to some extent been opened through the systematic scheduling of the *missions conjointes*.

Despite varying relations between different PTFs and CSOs, overall in Burkina Faso there is a prevailing view across civil society that international donors are the predominant institutional actors in setting the educational policy agenda. The following comments reflect this fairly common perspective:

[Our] relations are good with MEBA. But the donors still want to direct things without establishing a real partnership with civil society (INGO representative).

We [NGOs] don't have the same way as donor agencies in seeing things... NGOs are more oriented towards immediate action, and we see the educational needs of the children. But the donors provide money to the government and they set all sorts of conditions because they don't have much confidence that the government will do what is recommended. ... And so things advance very slowly. That is why funds from the panier commun were four months delayed in being released for the 2006 fiscal year. It caused a

lot of worry, especially regarding payments for infrastructure building (NNGO representative).

In addition, although the PTFs in Burkina Faso are virtually unanimous in espousing the role of civil society as being significant for the expansion and sustainability of the country's educational system, those from within civil society tend to see themselves as the "poor cousins" in a partnership relation that is shaped by the donors. The thrust of the following comments was not atypical among respondents:

The donors sub-contract with NGOs. . . But they still have a tendency to lack confidence in working with us – they prefer to go through MEBA (INGO representative).

Sometimes one has the impression that the donor agencies consider the NGOs a bit of a nuisance . . . that we are either agitators or we are standing cap in hand for their PDDEB money (NNGO representative).

In order to allay these perceptions, it is our view that PTFs must move beyond acknowledgment of the value of greater civil society engagement in Burkina Faso's educational system, and pay closer heed to the modalities of civil society partnership in educational governance and the ways in which external support can facilitate this partnership. To achieve this end, a broader, more cohesive, more direct relationship between PTFs and CSOs needs to be developed. One clear possibility would to be to either expand the scope and mandate of the FONAENF or to establish other similar collaborative mechanisms of educational monitoring, planning, and resource allocation. An increase in budgetary support transfers to FONAENF and to other such joint state-CSO-donor agency entities responsible for the development and expansion of all forms of basic education other than the "classical" school system would likely reinforce efforts to expand educational innovations and reforms, and ensure greater CSO involvement in fundamental educational changes (see Lavergne & Wood, 2006). In addition, international donor agencies are in a position to strengthen international CSO connections with civil society groups in Burkina Faso – among parents' groups, teachers' federations, researchers, and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE). Such nongovernmental linkages are likely to reinforce the status and effectiveness of CSOs in educational governance in Burkina Faso. And lastly, PTFs should strive to heed the commitments articulated in the 2006 Paris Declarations, particularly those related to the facilitation increased civil society ownership of education. Essentially in Burkina Faso this will require more strategic financial and technical support for CSO capacity development at local and regional levels, a reinforcement of current efforts to transfer of resources and responsibility to CSOs for more effective decentralized educational governance, and increased engagement of CSOs at all levels in educational policy deliberations and decision-making.

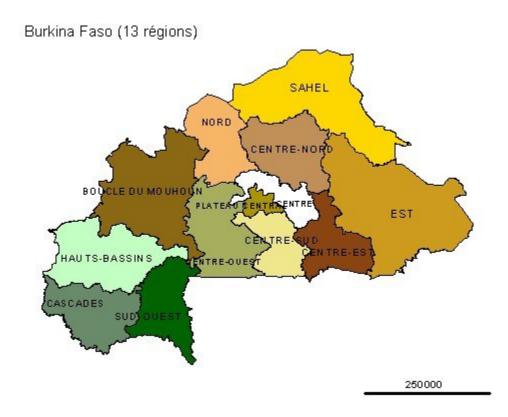
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APPENDIX 1: Province & Regions of Burkina Faso





APPENDIX 2: Organizations Interviewed (June 2006)

INGOs: 7

National NGOs: 4

Networks (national & subnational): 6

CBOs: 8

Faith-based Organizations: 2

Teachers' Unions: 1

APEs: 3
AMEs: 2

Community School: 1 Research Associations: 4

PTFs: 5

Government Units: 4

APPENDIX 3: List of NGOs & Member Associations of CCEB

N°	ORGANIZATION
01	Association Burkinabé des Oeuvres Laïques (ABOLA)
02	Association Burkinabé de Recherche Action et d'Autopromotion pour le Développement (ABRAAD)
03	Association Développement Sans Frontière (DSF) Ouahigouya
04	Association Femme 2000 (AF- 2000) Ziniaré
05	FAWE Burkina
06	Association Benebnooma
07	Association Nationale pour la Traduction de la Bible et l'Alphabétisation (ANTBA)
08	Association des Parents des Enfants Encephalophtes (APEE)
09	Association Sirayiri Formation (ASF) Bobo
10	Association Tin Tua (ATT) Fada
11	Association Wend Panga pour le développement (AWDS) Kongoussi
12	Association Wuro-Yire pour le Développement (AWY) Bobo
13	Christian Relief and Développement Organiszation (CREDO)
14	Groupe de recherche Action pour le Développement Endogène de la Femme Rurale au Burkina Faso (GRADE/FRB)
15	Groupe de Recherche et d'appui pour l'Autopromotion des Populations (GRAAP) Bobo
16	Promo – Femmes / développement Sport (PF/DS)
17	Sahel Solidarité
18	Secrétariat Nationale de l'Enseignement catholique du Burkina (SNEC)
19	Association Nodde Nooto (A2N) Dori
20	Association Féminine pour le Développement Buayaba (AFD/Buyaba) Fada
21	Association Appui Moral, Matériel et Intellectuel à l'Enfant (AMMIE) Ouahigouya
22	Association Frère Neblaboumbou (AFNB)
23	Association pour la Promotion de l'Alphabétisation et le Développement (APAD)
24	Association Burkinabé pour la Promotion des Aveugles et Malvoyants (ABPAM)
25	Association Manegdbzanga (AM) Loumbila
26	Association Navenegba-Boulsa

27	Association Nasongdo-Boulsa
28	Association Pagla biig Yidgri- Boulsa
29	Association Wend Panga de Boulsa
30	Assocition pour le soutien de l'Education pour Tous (ASEPT) Koudougou
31	Association pour la promotion et l'Intégration de la Jeunesse du Centre Nord (APII/CN) – Kaya
32	Union Namanegbzanga des Groupements de Tanlii-Ziniaré
33	Association pour la Gestion Holistique des Ressources au Burkina Faso (AGEHOR/BF) – Boulsa
34	Association pour Agir au Burkina Faso - Ouagadougou
35	Association d'Aide aux Enfants et aux Familles Démunies (ADEFAD) – Ouahigouya
36	Association Féminine de Koudougou (AFK) Boulkièmdé
37	Association DEWRAN – Ouahigouya
38	Association Bangr la Yidgr Soré (ABYS)– Kaya
39	Association zoodo pour la Promotion de la Jeunesse (AZPF) Ouahigouya
40	Association Koom pour l'Auto Promotion des Femmes du Burkina Faso (AKAFEM/BF) – Ouagadougou
41	Ecole Humanitaire des Parents d'Elèves « la Savane » Ouagadougou
42	Association pour le Développement du Département de Ipelcé (ADDI) – Ipelcé
43	Groupement PAMIRAL - Dori
44	L'Amicale des Institutrices du Houet – Bobo Dioulasso
45	Association pag la biig Yidr (APBY) – Kongoussi
46	Association Fémine Relwendé pour le Développement Genre à la Base (AFR/GB) – Kongoussi
47	Union Nabonswendé de Sabcé
48	Cellule pour développement et la promotion du Sahel / association Paysanne à Caractère Fédératif (CDPS/APCF) – Ouagadougou
50	Association Elan Développement (ELAN-D)
51	Organisation Catholiques pour le Développement Economique et Social (OCADES)
52	Comité de Développement du Monde Rural Nongtaaba (CDMRN) – Ziniaré
53	Adalo Alpha - Sissili
54	Association TON – Niangoloko
55	ANTBA Comoé

56	Sous commission Nationale du CERMA- Banfora
57	Association Munyu des Femmes de la Comoé – Banfora
58	Office de Développement des Eglises Evangéliques (ODE)
59	
	Association Etre Comme les Autres (ECLA) - Ouahigouya Union des groupements Féminins Cedwane Nyee (UGF/CDN)
60	- Sanguié
61	Association la Boabab – Boulkimedé
62	Association FINDIMA – Komandjari
63	Association des Femmes Educatrices et Développement / FANDIMA
64	Association pour le Développement des communautés Villageoises (ADCV) – Gourma
65	Association TIN SOAN (ATS)
66	Association d'Appui et de Promotion Rurale du Gulmu (APRG) – Gourma
67	Association Formation développement Ruralité (AFDR) – Yatenga
68	Appui Conseil pour la professionnalisation des produits Agricoles (APPA) Yatenga
69	Association des Femmes Burkinabé de Ouhigouya (AFBO) – Yatenga
70	Association pour le Développement des communautés Villageoises de Irin/ tarwendpanga(ADCVI / TWP)
71	Organisation Recherche Formation appui aux communautés de base (ORFA)- Yatenga
72	Comité Baoré Solidarité- Kadiogo
73	CEPROFET – Gonsé
74	APASEB – Boulgou
75	Association des communautés en Action
76	Union des Groupements Nongtaaba de Pô (UGN/Pô) – Nahouri
77	APPEL – G- Koulpelgo
78	Anndal et Pinal – Korsimoro
79	Association Vive le Paysan (AVLP) – Saponé
80	Association Navènega
81	Association de Solidarité Internationale pour le BAZEGA (ASIBA)
82	APDC – Fada
83	Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL)

Association Zoodo pour la Promotion de la Femme/ Yatenga Aide et Action/ActionAid (AetA/AA) BORNEFONDEN Catholic Relief Services/Cathwel (CRS) Centre Canadien d'Etudes et de Coopération Internationale, Burkina Faso (CECI/BF) Enfant du Monde (EDM) Ceuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvrière (OSEO) Save the Children Canada (SCC) Save the Children USA/Fondation pour le Développement Communautaire (FDC) Voisins Mondiaux Chirstian Children's Fund of Canada (CCFC) Plan Burkina Association Dakupa – Garangp Association Songui-Koamba
86 BORNEFONDEN 87 Catholic Relief Services/Cathwel (CRS) 88 Centre Canadien d'Etudes et de Coopération Internationale, Burkina Faso (CECI/BF) 89 Enfant du Monde (EDM) 90 Œuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvrière (OSEO) 91 Save the Children Canada (SCC) 92 Save the Children USA/Fondation pour le Développement Communautaire (FDC) 93 Voisins Mondiaux 94 Chirstian Children's Fund of Canada (CCFC) 95 Plan Burkina 96 Association Dakupa – Garangp
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95 Plan Burkina 96 Association Dakupa – Garangp
96 Association Dakupa – Garangp
97 Association Songui-Koamba
77 Historiation Bongar Houmou
98 Union Fraternel des croyants de Dori (UFC)
Association Burkinabé pour la Promotion de la Jeune Fille (ABPJF)
100 Association KABEELA des Femmes de Guilongou
Association pour la Promotion des Initiatives Locales (APIL) – Ziniaré
Alliance Technique d'Assistance au Développement (ATAD) – Kaya
103 Association des Veuves et Orphelins du Burkina (AVOB)
104 Association les 6 S
105 APPA – Lorum
106 Association CED
107 Meducus Mundi
108 REACH Italia/Burkina
109 Association WUPAKWE
110 APRODED
Association la Plume du Savoir pour le Développement (APSD –Kongoussi

112	Association pour le Développement de l'Artisanat Rural ADAR –Bourzanga
113	Association Koom pour l'Auto Promotion des Femmes du Burkina Faso (AKAFEM/BF) – Ouagadougou
114	Association pour la Défense des Droits de l'Enfant (ADDE)
115	Association Cri de Coeur pour les Enfants Déshérités (ACCED) – Ouagadougou
116	Association Burkinabé pour la Scolarisation des Filles (ABSF)
117	Association Seyoore Sahel
118	Association pour la Sauvegarde de l'Environnement et la Promotion de l'Elévage (ASEPE) – Yatenga
119	Association pour la Promotion de la Femme et de l'Enfant du Passoré (APF) – YAKO
120	Association Varena –Diébougou
121	Association Femmes Scientifiques du Faso pour la Promotion de l'Education Scientifique et Technologique des Femmes (FESCIFA /PRESCITEF)
122	Association Burkinabé Terre des Enfants – Nouna
123	Association pour l'information, la Sensibilisation, la Formation et l'Alphabétisation du Monde Rural. Bougouriba (AISFAMRB)

APPENDIX 4 : La Convention cadre d'établissement entre les ONG et le Burkina Faso

Le Burkina Faso représenté par le Gouvernement d'une part, et l'Association _____ ciaprès dénommée 'l'Assocation', d'autre part,

Désireux de consolider les relations et la coopération entre les peuples.

Soucieux d'harmoniser et de rendre complémentaires leurs action conformément aux orientations et aux objectifs de développement économique, social et culturel définis par le Gouvernement du Burkina Faso ;

Considérant la volonté manifestée par le Gouvernement d'associer les Organisations Non Gouvernementales à l'œuvre d'édification de la Société Burkinabè ;

Sont convenue d'organiser par le biais de la coopération les conditions de participation de l'Association aux tâches de développement entreprises au Burkina Faso.

Engagements de l'Association

<u>Article 1</u>: L'Association s'engage, conformément aux objectifs définis dans ses status et en harmonie avec les priorités nationales à mobiliser les ressources humaines, financières et techniques nécessaires à l'appui des projets et programmes de développement initiés et exécutés par les populations des zones rurales et urbaines du Burkina.

<u>Article 2</u>: Aux fins de réalisation desdits projets et programmes de développement, l'Association nouera toute collaboration utile avec les collectivités locales, organismes publics ou privés agréés par le Gouvernement.

Article 3 : L'Association s'engage à assurer l'africanisation de ses cadres ainsi que la formation de Nationaux Burkinabès dans les tâches et les domaines de son intervention.

Article 4 : L'Association prendra à sa charge les frais découlant du recrutement, du transport et de l'installation de son personnel engagé à l'extérieur et affecté aux programmes mis en œuvre, elle en assurera les traitements et les charges sociaux.

Article 5 : Après consultation du Gouvernement, l'Association désignera son représentant pour superviser l'ensemble des programmes et projets mis en œuvre.

Article 6 : Les agents recrutés par l'Association et mis à la disposition des services gouvernementaux devront se soumettre aux devoirs et règles de discipline applicables au personnel de l'administration concernée.