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The Case of EFA In Sub-Saharan West Africa: How Notions of Human Capital Shape the Discourse of EFA Policymakers and EFA Teachers in Sub-Saharan West Africa

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HOW NOTIONS OF HUMAN CAPITAL SHAPE THE
DISCOURSE OF EFA POLICYMAKERS AND EFA
TEACHERS IN SUB-SAHARAN WEST AFRICA

BY

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B.A. International Studies, De Paul University, 1991
M.S. Ed. Hunter College, 2003

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Language, Literacy, and Sociocultural Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2010

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, Morton D. Minkus, who inscribed in me the passion to do what is right and strive to achieve my goals. I know he would be proud of this accomplishment for he valued education and working towards a positive cause. It is also in memory of my grandmother Rachel Minkus who taught me that women can do anything they want and to never stop seeking knowledge.

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ABSTRACT

This research examined the role of human capital in shaping the discourse of Education For All (EFA) policymakers at UNESCO, in Paris, France, and EFA teachers in Sub-Saharan West Africa. UNESCO, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) all operate as neocolonial powers which continue to exert control over former colonies. These institutions exert control through ideology and financial restraints based in neoliberal policy. Through an examination of UNESCO documentation, interviews with UNESCO policymakers, and interviews with EFA teachers in Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Togo, the ways in which ideologies were communicated and internalized was examined.

The UNESCO policymakers and EFA teachers both have insights into human capital and its role in EFA policies, but each group has varying levels of insight based on

their lived experiences. Some of the interviewees were blind or chose not see discursive effects of human capital in EFA policy and how it contributes to a system of global and regional inequality. One of the reasons for this is that both groups do not want to lose their perceived status. Another reason that emerged was the disconnect between the policymaker and the EFA teacher.

This research looked at the role ideologies play in shaping policy and how neocolonials maintain control over former colonies through the permeation of their hegemonic view. Ideologies are maintained and produced by structures which need to change if a counter-ideology were to emerge. This study showed that alternatives to the current ideologies contained in EFA need to emerge. There needs to be counter-ideologies that break the cycle of being controlled by neocolonial powers through ideologies and reliance on foreign aid.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

  When a child enters school, he or she is indoctrinated into his or her society's rules and ideologies. School forms the foundation for a child's future way of thinking. There are particular subjects like literacy and mathematics that are common throughout the world. These are indicators that are used when evaluating the success of an educational program. When embarking on this research, I brought with me the experience of teaching in very low socio-economic schools in New York City. I had attended very affluent schools and I had done my student teaching on the affluent Upper West Side of Manhattan. Once I was placed into my permanent classroom in Brooklyn, I was faced with a very different reality. The inequalities of educational opportunities between the two schools were very apparent. From the books to the resources available, there were two very different learning opportunities.

  I have had the opportunity to travel to many parts of the world. Throughout my travels I visited many educational sites. As a teacher, I was fascinated to learn about how other countries approached education and what problems they were having. In the United States we are struggling with how to teach under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) and I was interested in what other countries, in particular, underdeveloped nations, were doing for education and what programs they followed. Educational policy has always been of interest to me, especially policies that affect vulnerable populations. I taught in a very low socio-economic neighborhood in New York City and I was appalled at the lack

of resources, qualified teachers, and amount of policies by which we had to abide. I took this concern for how vulnerable populations were being affected by educational policy to a global level. I believe that change needs to happen, but that we need to address the root cause of the problems. This was the guiding passion that led me to look at the Education For All (EFA) program in the most vulnerable region of the world. I wanted to hear from the actual educational personnel, the real actors, and determine what was going on and if the policies were working or not.

I first became introduced to Education For All after visiting Bhutan, a Buddhist kingdom in the Himalayas. Bhutan is the last Buddhist kingdom and is ruled by a King and the Je Khempo, who is the divine spirit of the country. I had pre-arranged visits to many schools in different regions to really get a feel for what the curriculum looked like. At each school, traditional language, history, and religious values education was given preference over what we in the West might consider the standard subjects. After reading about decolonization issues of the Maori people in New Zealand in Smith (1999), I was excited to see a curriculum containing traditional subjects that were valued and preserved. I often thought that traditional subjects of many vulnerable populations are put on the back burner in the light of educational policies and programs. Upon returning to New Mexico, I reflected on how this tiny Buddhist kingdom of 300,000 people, a protectorate of India, could continue on this way in a world that encourages adopting Western ideas and globalization.

Three months after returning, an article appeared in the New York Times which reported that the King of Bhutan was going to accept $300 million dollars from the World Bank for educational projects (Sengupta, 2007). This was written in contrast to

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quotes from the King from a speech he delivered in the 1990's in which he declared, "gross national happiness is more important than gross national product" (Schell, 2002).

My first thought was that maybe the money would help bring electricity to many of the schools. I also thought the money could aid in bringing technology, such as copiers and computers, and sufficient books to the schools. In a country where it is not uncommon to walk 2-3 hours each way to school, this money could help build more schools and recruit teachers. I had very idealistic views of how this money could be spent, but then reality started to sink in. Would the Bhutanese people be able to choose how to spend the money? What was the real motivation of the World Bank in loaning $300 million dollars? What were the terms of repayment?

I began writing letters to contacts I had made. I was interested in what the terms of the money were and how it was to be allocated. I was allowed to see the documentation from The World Bank, which listed the conditions of the loan (World Bank Document Service, 2004). The conditions were in terms of observable results through test scores. There were also conditions placed on how many schools must be built and which schools to tear down and combine more efficiently. During a subsequent trip to Bhutan a year later, I visited many of the same schools to see if I could notice any differences after the money had been accepted. I saw some computers in rural schools, but electricity was not readily available. The textbooks contained more English than before and I noticed "Buddhist values education" classes were reduced to once a week from everyday. I also noticed an increase in the level of English spoken by the average student. On previous trips to Bhutan one only heard Dzongkha, the language of Bhutan, spoken in the schools and streets. After The World Bank loan, one heard English spoken

in many places by younger people and not as much Dzongkha. Bhutan's educational system is modeled after India and many young Bhutanese emulate the Indians who are taking part in "globalization."

During that trip to Bhutan I found the education system had shifted in a way that I found unsettling, in terms of how I saw the focus of education shifting. What was considered important to include in education was pushed to the side in order to include "Western" subjects and tests. While some of these improvements can lead to the improvement of quality of life for many underdeveloped nations, they also can bring with them the gradual loss of culture and indigenous languages. This was something I encountered during my interviews, which will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five. These "improvements" could be seen as positive in that the students were improving their English skills and could be active participants in the world outside of Bhutan. Improvements in quality of life are beneficial if they are being made by the people being affected rather than a top-down method in which policies are simply implemented by representatives.

During this visit I met the World Bank consultant, S.Bell, (personal communication, May 17, 2005), who had been influential in the loan. He was a mechanical engineer who had no experience in the Education field. I questioned what gave him the authority and right to make decisions in a field in which he had no professional experience. His response to me was that it's all money and money is a business. This incredibly special country that seemed to survive and thrive on the fringes of "globalization" was reduced to "money" and "business" in a single sentence.

After researching who was making these policies, it became apparent that it was UNESCO, The United Nations Education, Science and Communications Organization, and the program that was being implemented was Education For All (EFA). After seeing the effects of educational policy programs like No Child Left Behind in the USA and the disparities that continue to exist between the wealthier schools and poorer ones, the future effects of EFA on the recipient nations were forefront in my mind. I set out to learn as much as I could about the policies. Who is making the policies and how involved are members of the recipient nations in the decisions? Wherever I travelled and at conferences, I began to ask as many people as I could about EFA. I wanted to discover who the stakeholders were, if the recipient countries had representation, and who the decision makers were. This was the foundation for embarking on this dissertation. When this was decided, I knew that in order to get a truly accurate representation of the effects of EFA, I needed to focus on the lowest performing nations. Every UNESCO sponsored conference or EFA speech focused the attention on the successful nations and what was working. In order to understand the issues, the focus needed to shift to areas where EFA was not working, which would lead to a discussion of why.

UNESCO and EFA

UNESCO in its earliest form was created January 16th, 1926 when the League of Nations inaugurated the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris. This occurred post World War I, when intellectual leaders of the world questioned the violent acts that had taken place during the war. The original formation did not include provisions for education and instruction. The early members included Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, and prominent French intellectuals, who met to discuss sharing and intellectual

cooperation. The purpose was to have lines of communication open in order to avoid creating such destruction as occurred during World War I in Europe.

According to Conil-Lacoste (1994), who wrote the most thorough history of UNESCO, "in the aftermath of World War II, libraries, universities and schools were destroyed and there was no support for intellectual cooperation"(p. 52). The need for education and assistance in materials was greater than the sharing of intellectual ideas. It was in this rubble that UNESCO and the Bretton Woods Group were formed. In Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, 1944, forty-three countries met to rebuild a post-war economy and encourage international cooperation. Out of this meeting, the World Bank and The IMF (International Monetary Fund) were created.

Around the same time in 1945, the current charter for UNESCO was created in London. "Education" is the first word after United Nations in the acronym for UNESCO and this was done deliberately. Education is part of every program that is enacted. The idea of fundamental education "was central to the first major action program. "The goal was to find a common denominator in world education systems" (UNESCO, 1947, p. 4).

EFA was created in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, and is the largest educational policy within UNESCO. It is funded primarily by the World Bank. A global educational policy that incorporates all nations is not that far-fetched of an idea. During an interview with a UNESCO policy maker, Luc, (personal communication, September 2008), I learned that the United States is about to embark on a Global Education Fund which would be very beneficial to the funding of EFA. It would also give the United States a role in the governance of the program.

After seeing the effects of EFA being implemented in various underdeveloped countries, I wondered if the program was the same in each country. Who were the heads of this program? Who oversaw the implementation? Who was in charge of the governance? Questions like these colored my subsequent research interests during coursework. I wanted to find out as much as I could about UNESCO and its history of policymaking. Who were the stakeholders in these programs and what, if any, involvement did the recipient nations have in the process?

I attended several UNESCO conferences in order to network and present some of my ideas to get feedback. One of the observations that came out from listening to the various presentations on EFA was the devaluation of humans to dollar amounts and returns, which was very upsetting to witness. The prevalence of Human Capital theory in the EFA verbiage was not surprising, as most programs need solid indicators such as dollar amounts. I did find other passionate educators who were involved at many levels of the EFA program. They questioned why the same regions like Sub-Saharan Africa always seem to be lagging behind in EFA assessments, but did not look at the historical nature of the problems surrounding these areas. Spring (1998) said, "white love serves as the justification and rationalization for imperialism, under the banner of saving a population from backward or savage cultures" (p. 10). If the historical purpose of educational policy is to save a population from their "backward" or "savage" culture, then is the goal of current policies in place empowering enough to offer them the opportunity to participate in "forward" and "cultured" educational systems?

In today's world globalization is a word that is often thrown around. It is used to describe the process of bringing jobs to developing nations, increasing access to

technology, providing basic education for the children of the world, and allowing competition to prevail. Globalization becomes this movement that everyone is told they should join, but never told exactly how. Globalization, as I will discuss in Chapter Four, is a guiding ideology of a program like EFA. Globalization is painted as something urgent and immediate, when, in reality, it has been occurring since exploration began in the 1400's. Suarez-Orozoco and Qin-Hilliard (2004) assert that there is a feeling of fervor and that we need to "act fast" (p. 27). Ross-Holtz (2004) states, "Globalization isn't sitting still; neither can our schools" (p. xi).

After spending time in underdeveloped nations and questioning what the motivation behind the educational policies was, an analysis of the educational policies could elicit some understanding as to why some programs fail and why certain regions continually are not meeting the millennium development goals (MDG's) (World Bank, 2004). This research does not look at specific cases of EFA in its implementation, but rather an analysis of this program and policies. In an examination of the history surrounding EFA and UNESCO, the motivation behind educational policy programs like EFA may be clearer to define.

Organizations like UNESCO take on structures and cultures that guide their policymaking. Corporate culture is defined by Thomas and Inkson (2004) as "a broad term used to define the unique personality of character of a particular company or organization and includes such elements as core values and beliefs, corporate ethics, and rules of behavior" (p. 34). In identifying the discourse within UNESCO, I will look at the historical formations of the organization, the policies surrounding its creation and the policies surrounding literacy efforts of EFA.

Statement of Problem

The problem this research addresses is that there is a hierarchical system of nation-states and regions, which are maintained through mechanisms created through European imperialism. A nation-state, according to Wallerstein (2006), is defined as, "the de facto ideal toward which all, or almost all, modern states aspire. In a nation-state all persons can be said to be of one nation and therefore share certain basic values and allegiances" (p. 96). This hierarchy falls along a color line. The wealthier countries at the top are lighter-skinned, whereas the poor nations on the bottom tend to be darker-skinned. There is a great imbalance of resources and wealth between these countries.

Institutions with global presence function to maintain and reproduce this global hierarchical system. These institutions implement policies and give loans to nations that help maintain this system. These institutions have global reaching policies and programs, but are commonly centered in Europe or the United States of America. These institutions use statistical methods to categorize a countries' position on this hierarchy. The HDI (Human Development Index) is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, and education and is used by many of these institutions as one of the ways of determining success or failure of policies and overall standing in the global hierarchy (United Nations Development Programmes, 2009).

UNESCO also functions consciously or not as an institution that reproduces and maintains this global hierarchical system. UNESCO is based in Paris, but has far-reaching policies and programs that affect many underdeveloped nations of the world. UNESCO, being created and based in Paris, is at the top of the global hierarchy and, therefore, benefits by its position in the system.

UNESCO's EFA reproduces this system of global hierarchy through the language that is used in its policies. The policies of EFA reproduce this system through the ideologies present in the policies. The implementers and educational personnel who are the key players in the EFA strategy are consciously or unconsciously enabling this reproduction of the system of global hierarchy. The World Bank, which is one of key donors for EFA, heads the governance of this program in recipient nations. They do this through the FTI (Fast Track Initiative), which is a global partnership between donors and developing countries to increase progress to the MDG's. The governance and implementation of EFA is primarily overseen by members of countries on the high end of the global hierarchy system. The countries that, according to UNESCO, continually do not meet MDG or FTI goals, are those which are on the lower end of the hierarchy system. The ideologies that are present within the policies are often in conflict with the way policy makers and educational personnel at sites of implementation make meaning of these policies. An ideology is a collection of world-view factors that contain the attitudes, values, and beliefs of a society. Fiske (1994) reiterates the power that words can have in conveying the intended attitudes, values and beliefs of a society when he writes, "our words are never neutral" (p. 52). The policies of EFA contain meanings that convey the ideologies that the dominant society wants to spread. Ideology can be a site of intervention through a shift towards a new ideology that can be empowering and not act as a mechanism to reproduce the system of global hierarchy.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to gain insight into how UNESCO creates educational policy. Through a critical analysis of the EFA policies, in particular the literacy policies, ideological representations will emerge.

The EFA High-Level and Working Group meets every couple months to discuss shortcomings and successes in various aspects of the program. Every year a new book is distributed by UNESCO that compiles these meetings and redirects the focus. These publications look at the shortcomings and successes of the program. Subsequent meetings are devoted to the shortcomings and then they re-draw new initiatives, declarations, and policies. Having had the privilege to sit in on some of the discussions at UNESCO conferences regarding the shortcomings or reissue of initiatives, I was interested in analyzing how these policies came into being. What is the motivation for the various programs and who is in charge of the governance of these programs? The EFA meetings tend to focus on the peripheral issues and not what may have gone wrong with the policy itself. By looking at the ways the High-Level Working Group and educational personnel at sites of implementation make meaning of the literacy policies within EFA, a deeper understanding of how these policies are being interpreted and what effect this will have could be better understood.

The only time that policy makers came close to critically evaluating their policy wording was at the Amman, Jordan meeting in 1997, where High-Level and Working Groups of EFA questioned if encouraging more local ownership of EFA would make the program more effective. Typically UNESCO had representatives dispatched to the recipient nation's local offices to oversee the program. If the country did not have a stake

in the program or was not active in the ownership, then there was no accountability and motivation to succeed. Amman resulted in an initiative to have EFA programs under more local ownership.

The ways that the educational personnel at the sites of implementation in recipient nations make meaning of the various policies are not included in UNESCO literature. The High-Level and Working Group has many discussions about how they view the policies and programs, but these are more in quantitative terms. Much attention is paid to statistical analysis of the success or failure of programs and restructuring is done to address these issues. The purpose of this research is to add a new dimension to looking at educational policy through analyzing the policies, but also the inclusion of meaning making and ideological representation of several of the key players in EFA.

Significance

The significance of this research is that future policymakers who will be involved in international educational policy will be better informed of the ideologies and discourses that exist within an organization like UNESCO. By taking a critical look at the ideological representations within the literacy policies of EFA, a body of knowledge will be created that views the policies from a different angle. UNESCO research papers on EFA tend to focus on the statistical data and do not bring in the meaning making aspect as it relates to the educational personnel. The data emerging from analyzing the ways that these policies function to reproduce and maintain a system of global hierarchy can be used by critical educators and policy makers to begin the process of transformation towards more empowering policies. While this knowledge may not be viewed by some of the current members of the EFA program as being beneficial, it can begin the dialogue

towards transformation. The information gained can also function as a starting point to reflect on current practices and trends in international educational policy. Educators in the field of comparative education will benefit from this research in that it will examine an educational policy program and how it relates to political and social development for underdeveloped nations.

The knowledge gained through a critical analysis of the educational policies will help future policy makers become aware of ideologies that may exist that could have negative impacts of recipient nations. This information will also be useful in evaluating current programs like EFA along with other global reaching educational policies. Institutions like UNESCO have global reaching capabilities and this research will examine the role such an institution has in the area of globalization. Since the Bretton Woods meeting in 1944, institutions with far-reaching governance became players in globalization. The World Bank was created at this time and as a key donor for EFA. This research will look at its role in globalization. There is a lack of research focusing on this aspect of globalization, which would aid in policy analysis and critical deconstruction of any global reaching policy.

The information and insight gained from doing such an analysis that brings in the ways the key players make meaning of the programs can be beneficial in gaining a truer understanding of how and why educational policies are created within UNESCO and what their functions may or not be.

Research Question

Does EFA fulfill its intended purpose?

- How do the EFA policymakers and EFA teachers in Sub-Saharan West Africa make meaning of EFA policies?

- What ideologies are present in the participants discourse and what social and educational problems do they pose?

Key Terms

EFA – Education for All is a program created by UNESCO in 1990. The goal of this program is to provide quality "basic education" for all children, youth, and adults by 2015. The program is comprised of six educational goals. These goals align with UNESCO's eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The World Bank primarily funds EFA.

Literacy – UNESCO defines literacy as meeting the basic learning needs of every child, youth and adult stating:

> These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 127).

In contrast to UNESCO's definition of literacy, the definition of literacy that I use is derived from a Freirian view of emancipatory literacy. Literacy is "part of the process of becoming self-critical about the historically constructed nature of one's experience. To be able to name one's experience is part of what it meant to "read' the world and begin to understand the political nature of the limits and possibilities that make up the larger

society" (Macedo & Freire, 1987, p. 7).

Ideology – An ideology is more than just a way of thinking and doing things. Ideologies are much more pervasive and permeate into all levels of society. For this research I am using definitions by Eagleton, Althusser, and Giroux. Eagleton (1991) refers to ideology as "ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power and forms of thought motivated by social interests" (p. 7). An ideology is what gives dominant groups the right to operate how they see fit. People "buy into" ideologies if it will help them get ahead or become an honorary member of the dominant class. Althusser looks at ideologies as being enacted through ISA's (ideological state apparatuses). These ISA's, like the school, function by ideology and rule by this ideology, which is primarily of the "ruling class": "Ideology is the medium through which people experience the world. This medium is a system (with its own logic and rigor) or representation (images, myths, ideas, or concepts) endowed with an historical existence and role within a given society" (Althusser, 1971, p. 133). Giroux contributes to the definition of ideology with the concept of "agency." Giroux says, "As both the medium and the outcome of lived experience, ideology functions not only to limit human action, but to also enable it. Ideology both promotes human agency and at the same time exerts force over individuals" (Giroux, 2001, p. 145).

Discourse- For this research discourse is defined by Foucault in Weedon (1987) as "...ways of constituting knowledge together with social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations, which inhere in such knowledges, and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the

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'nature' of the body, unconscious, and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (p. 116).

Globalization- The World Bank defines globalization as "the growing integration of economies and societies around the world" (Gorodninchenko, Svenjar, & Terrell, 2008, p. 2.) This view is very simplified because globalization has economic, political, and social effects. For this research I will use a view of globalization taken from Joseph Stiglitz combined with my own definition.

Stiglitz says, "Globalization itself has been governed in ways that are un-democratic and have been disadvantageous to developing countries, especially the poor within these countries" (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 16). Globalization is typically seen as the removal of trade barriers, decentralization, and the free-flow of information and technology. This research looks at globalization from the angle of the institution. UNESCO and the Bretton Woods group are global reaching institutions, which are an important part of the globalization process. These are global governing organizations that have far reaching effects in the flow of capital and technology.

Methodology

This research combines personal interviews with High-Level and Working Group members of EFA and educational personnel in West Africa, combined with a critical discourse analysis of the literacy policies within UNESCO and EFA from 1990 to the present. For the first part of this research I will analyze the policies, including some founding documents from 1944, that will offer insight into the background of how the current policies came about. Themes and representations that emerge are discussed. Within these themes exist sub-themes that are also discussed. The data for this research

has come from primary documents available at UNESCO, Paris archives, UNESCO publications of meetings, and sources available on the internet. The six goals of EFA are used as the guide. These goals incorporate the motivation of UNESCO and provide a map for analyzing EFA.

While doing the critical discourse analysis of the literacy policies, I interviewed members of the High- Level and Working Group for EFA. These interviews questioned how they are making meaning of EFA literacy policies. I analyzed the themes and found the ones that were the most discussed. These themes began as a macro view of EFA and the documentation. After looking at the macro view, I broke this down to micro level themes that were more specific and showed how the motivations and ideologies of UNESCO are transmitted through EFA. The micro level themes emerged within the six goals of EFA. Each goal is discussed and how it relates to the overall themes found in the documentation. After the interviews with UNESCO policy makers, I analyzed how their statements fit in with the themes expressed within the documentation and six goals of EFA. I also looked at how their statements supported or refuted the ideologies present within UNESCO.

The second round of interviews was done with Educational personnel in fifty-five elementary schools located in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Ghana, and Togo,West Africa. The schools were chosen to represent rural and urban settings. While the majority of schools did not have access to water, electricity, or adequate materials, they were distinguishable as rural or urban schools. The interviews focused on comparing and contrasting their making meaning with the ideological representations found in the critical discourse analysis. Did they share the same ideologies? Was there ideological

conflict? I also looked for ideas for a different policy discourse that would be more effective. During the interviews I thought about whether or not the actual "actors" in West Africa felt that the six goals are worthwhile. Were they in conflict with traditional educational programs? Did they feel they were being supported in meeting the six goals? Did they make meaning of the goals in the same way as the policy makers?

Limitations of the Study

UNESCO is a very large global reaching organization and to study "educational policies" as a whole would not yield specific useful data. Even within a specific program like EFA, there are issues ranging from HIV education to non-formal education. By looking broadly at this program, the scope is too large to study in-depth. This study could have focused on a specific implementation of EFA, which would have yielded data as to why there is a success or failure in a particular region. This information would be beneficial for that country specifically but would not tie it to the larger picture. By focusing on a specific implementation, the global scope of this program is not fully realized. The global reaches of the policies are also not discussed in a specific implementation study. I chose to focus on the policies themselves because I feel the lack of success of this program in underdeveloped regions such as Sub-Saharan West Africa is structural and the result of the policies rather than specific implementations. The policies contain the wording that spreads the ideologies that are present within an organization like UNESCO. As stated, I feel that EFA is a program that consciously or not functions to reproduce and maintain a global hierarchical system. It is the policies that contribute to this problem. The way the policies are formed and the words that are chosen are all fundamental parts of this issue. By focusing primarily on implementation, problems of

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local and international control of the program, teacher training, and infrastructure come into play. While these areas are some of the specific problems of EFA, they do not speak to the structural governance of the program as a whole.

This study is an in-depth critical discourse analysis of the literacy policies of EFA and not an analysis of "education" within UNESCO. EFA is a specific program that has far-reaching influence throughout the developing world. It has specific goals which all recipient nations of UNESCO are aiming to meet. This program is the longest running program of its kind within UNESCO. There have been other initiative and educational programs, but they are short-lived and not worldwide. EFA is unique in that it touches so many nations and that it has been continuously in effect since 1990.

There are currently 203 countries in EFA in every region on the globe. The lowest performing region is consistently Sub-Saharan Africa. South East Asia has several low performing countries, but it is not as all encompassing as Sub-Saharan Africa. I am not looking at regions like Latin America, Middle East and Asia, which have low performing countries along with high, but instead I am choosing to focus on a region that is 100% low performing and is isolated geographically from any successful region. Mali, Benin, Ghana, Togo and Burkina Faso are all very low performing countries located in Sub-Saharan Africa. They are also the poorest in the world. I chose these countries to compare and contrast the meaning making of EFA literacy policies and to see if they share the same ideological representations as the High-Level and Working Group. By looking at the most troubled areas, I am hoping the sites of ideological conflict that emerge from how the High-Level and Working Group, and educational personnel in Sub-Saharan Africa make meaning of the policies, compared with the actual policies, will shed light

onto why these regions are consistently not meeting the millennium development goals within EFA. The role and governance that institutions like UNESCO and programs like EFA play in this system of global hierarchy will be identifiable through interviews in these Sub-Saharan African nations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This literature review will focus on three areas: (1) Globalization, (2) Ideology and (3) Current empirical research regarding EFA. In the first section, I will give an overview of globalization and the role of global institutions. I will focus on the mechanisms of these institutions that function to reinforce a system of global hierarchy. The development and history of how these institutions came into being will also be discussed. In the second section, the ways in which the institutions this research examines (The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and UNESCO) define ideology will be looked at. I will then look at the way these ideologies are used by school and global institutions. The last section will look at current empirical research about EFA to show research that has already looked at areas of specific implementation. Last, the conclusion will bring all three of these areas together to explain how they each function in reproducing a system of global hierarchy.

Globalization

There are many definitions of globalization because its many facets can be described in various ways. According to Stromquist (2002) "globalization is a multidomain, multilevel phenomenon" (p. 1). There are intersections within globalization at social, economic, political, and technological levels. Kellner (2002) sees globalization as "The restructuring process and the enormous changes and transformations that scientific and technological revolutions are producing in the networked economy and society" (p. 288). Stiglitz (2002) says, "Globalization itself has been governed in ways

that are un-democratic and have been disadvantageous to developing countries, especially the poor within these countries" (p. 16). Globalization is also the influence of neo-liberal policies that go hand in hand with globalizing efforts. Privatization and deregulation make it easier for corporations from developed nations to take advantage of the cheap labor and land. In some nations the privatization has increased corruption and disparity of wealth. Stiglitz (2002) continues, "Globalization itself has been governed in ways that are un-democratic and have been disadvantageous to developing countries, especially the poor within these countries" (p. 16). Globalization is typically seen as the removal of trade barriers, decentralization, and the free-flow of information and technology. Globalization has moved in cycles whereby the benefits and wealth of each cycle has not been evenly distributed. Through each of these cycles, the inequalities of distribution of benefits, wealth, trade, and education have created great divides between the rich and poor nations. This has exacerbated the poverty that already existed in some of the poorest nations on earth. This poverty has brought with it violence, health and educational deficiencies that cannot be alleviated with loans. Depending on the lens a person looks at globalization through, the definition and focus will differ. None are wrong, nor is only one correct; as stated, globalization is the intersection of various dimensions.

Spring (2000), says, "The current global system emerged from past colonial empires. Post colonialism is an extension of the colonial system" (p. 39). When many of these colonial powers were in place, there needed to be institutions to govern in the colonies. After colonial powers pulled out of the former colonies, there still was a need for these institutions to oversee the transitions that were occurring. These former colonial

powers went on to create institutions that would still allow them to have governance over resources in former colonies. Stiglitz (2002) says, "Globalization has been accompanied by the creation of new institutions that have joined with existing ones to work across orders" (p. 9). The three main institutions are The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund (IMF), and The World Trade Organization (WTO). Each of these has organizations like the United Nations that work with in tandem with them. Globalization is often described as something that is happening but no one knows who or what is in control. It is immediate and people need to jump on board or lose out. The problem with this view is that behind globalization are actors that are controlling the moves. These global institutions are behind the scenes and in control of what is happening. This review will first examine the various meanings of globalization and then the current research about global institutions' role in globalization.

For the purpose of this research, I will focus on the definitions of globalization used by the sectors of society, which this research is examining. The World Bank defines globalization as "the growing integration of economies and societies around the world" (The World Bank, 2001). UNESCO (1999) states that benefits have been brought through globalization by "increased trade and investment; through its technological impact, the way it has allowed the chasms of time and distance to be bridged; and through its social and political impact, reveals our global interdependence and opens up new opportunities for participation, empowerment and communication" (p. 13). The IMF primarily acknowledges globalization as an economic event. In an International Monetary Fund Brief from 2000, they define it as "economic 'globalization': [It] is an historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the

increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labor) and knowledge (technology) across international borders" (p. 1). These definitions are rather simplified because globalization has economic, political, technological, and social effects. Whereas The World Bank and IMF primarily look at globalization as an economic and trade related event, UNESCO has taken into account other facets like communication, knowledge production, and education, and looks at globalization in these areas as well as economic.

Each of the definitions of globalization as stated by the three main global institutions has a monetary element that has guided it. Be it trade liberalization, economic summits or conferences, there is monetary motivation behind each definition. UNESCO refers to increased trade and investment and The World Bank and IMF use the word "economy" in their definitions. Is globalization just an exported form of capitalism? Chua (2003) describes the prescription for underdevelopment as "take[ing] the rawest form of capitalism, slap it together with the rawest form of democracy, and export the two as a package deal to the poorest, most frustrated, most unstable, and most desperate countries in the world" (p. 195). Many programs driven by these global institutions hold a false promise of mobility similar to what occurs in the West. "Outside the West, in countries with widespread poverty and a market-dominant minority, the dream of upward mobility is largely a nonstarter" (p. 197). As stated, globalization is economic, political, technological, and social.

How does this reliance on a monetary aspect of globalization affect how these institutions approach underdeveloped nations? Are they selling a false promise of upward

mobility? Stiglitz (2002) states that organizations like the IMF and The World Bank put the interests of its largest shareholders (United States, Western Europe) above those of developing nations. How did these institutions come to have such an important role to play in globalization? It is important to understand the history of these institutions when looking at globalization as they did not just appear, but were created for specific reasons to accomplish specific roles. These institutions may not have existed in name during the early phases of globalization, but as mentioned, there were governing organizations which guided the path globalization would take.

When describing the role of global institutions it is important to realize that globalization is not something that was created with the emergence of organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO) or The World Bank, but rather it has been occurring in cycles that began in the 1490's. According to Coatsworth (2004), "the first globalization cycle began in 1492 and lasted until the early 1600s and witnessed the conquest and colonization of American societies by Spain and Portugal and the creation of a vast trans-Atlantic trading system" (p. 38). These trading systems were governed by the Portuguese monarchy. The success of Portugal, being a smaller country than its European neighbors, in developing the trade routes was due to the amount of large ports that Portugal has on the Western coast. The ports of Lisbon and Oporto became economic centers of control and governance of the vast trade routes. The second cycle was a continuation of increased trade and colonization but also the development of the main slave colonies in the New World and the creation of settlement colonies in North America. There needed to be systems of governance to control the economies, population, military and development of the colonies. International systems of financial

and political control emerged as a way to "simplify the processes involved in expropriation of land, cultural domination, military occupation, and political control" (Spring, 2000, p. 39).

World War I brought on the third cycle, which resulted in an increase in international trade, technology and migration from Asia and Europe to the Americas. Another feature of this cycle was the increasing colonization and conquest of Africa and Asia. The creation of the League of Nations, the precursor to UNESCO, occurred during this phase. The League of Nations was a global institution that was created after the First World War. The Covenant establishing the League was part of the Treaty of Versailles. The aims of the League were to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security. One of the pledges that members signed was that they would not go to war without submitting their disputes with fellow members or non-members for arbitration and questioning. The League of Nations stands out as one of the first instances of a global institution creating a "global identity" that is disseminated through literature and information. The materials produced by the league stressed "International cooperation and International public opinion" (Shinohara, 2004, p. 6). Though international and global are not the same, Shinohara says that international cooperation and international public opinion "under the league can be regarded as a traditional notion of the world divided by national boundaries, and was part of a gradual process toward establishing the idea of a world community" (p .6).

The current cycle started with liberalization of international trade after World War II and "intensified with even greater liberalization of manufactured goods after 1967" (Coatsworth, 2004, p. 39). UNESCO and the Bretton Woods Institutions emerged during

this cycle. Throughout each of these globalization cycles there has been an institution or collection of institutions that has been the governing body of major economic and trade movements. Colonization goes hand in hand with governance by a foreign power. Institutions needed to be created to enforce rules, govern, control military, and oversee trade. The emergence of these institutions created global reaching institutions which could affect the economic, political, social, and educational outcomes of any country in the world. UNESCO will be discussed later, but the creation of The Bretton Woods Group is pivotal in an examination of the monetary influence on globalization barriers, decentralization, and the free-flow of information and technology.

The largest and most active of these institutions that was created is The Bretton Woods Institutions. The Bretton Woods institutions, The World Bank and The IMF were created in 1944 at a meeting in New Hampshire with forty-three countries in attendance. The primary goal of this meeting was to rebuild a war-torn Europe and promote international economic cooperation. The World Bank and IMF were structured around the ideas of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, chief economic advisor Harry Dexter White, and the British economist John Maynard Keynes. "They wanted to establish a postwar economic order based on notions of consensual decision-making and cooperation in the realm of trade and economic relations" (Bretton Woods Project, 2005, p. 30). At the first meeting in 1944 the overall consensus was that global economic interaction was necessary to maintain peace and security. The institutions would facilitate, in Morgenthau's words, "[The] creation of a dynamic world community in which the peoples of every nation will be able to realize their potentialities in peace" (Bretton Woods Project, 2005, p. 32). The IMF would mainly be concerned with creating

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a stable climate for trade, harmonizing its members' monetary policies, and maintaining

exchange stability barriers, decentralization, and the free-flow of information and

technology. The World Bank, which is comprised of two main institutions, the

International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IRBD) and The International

Development Association (IDA), work in tandem to fulfill the mission of "Global

poverty reduction and the improvement of living standards" (The World Bank, 2003).

There are three other institutions, founded in 1956, 1988, and 1966 respectively; The

International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

(MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

The World Bank plays a more active role in development projects rather than the short-

term monetary intervention the IMF engages in.

     The Bretton Woods Institutions, which undertook the primary mission to finance

the reconstruction of a war torn Europe, have evolved into much more. The World Bank

Group lends over $20 billion dollars to developing nations worldwide and the IMF is

owed close to $34 billion dollars by seventy-five countries (Bretton Woods Project,

2005). This is a lot more than just "rebuilding a war torn Europe." The Bretton Woods

Institutions have financial, social, and political influence in almost all developing and

underdeveloped nations in the world. The headquarters for both these organizations is in

Washington DC, USA.

     If globalization is seen as "The impact of global economic processes, including

processes of production, consumption, trade, capital flow, and monetary interdependence,

the rise of neoliberalism as a hegemonic policy discourse, and the emergence of new

global cultural forms, media and technologies of communication" (Burbules & Torres,

2000, p. 1), then the Bretton Woods Institutions are active in these processes. This influence on the underdeveloped nations goes even further in that, within the World Bank, there are specific institutions that only deal with the poorest of the poor. In 2001, Nicholas Stern, a former Vice President and Chief Economist at the World Bank said, "Globalization often has been a powerful force in poverty reduction, but too many countries and people have been left out"(Stern, 2001, p. 26). In a World Bank publication, Kray (2002) says, "For many of the poorest least-developed countries the problem is not that they are being impoverished by globalization, but that they are in danger of being largely excluded from it" (p. 2). The problem with this statement is that it makes it seem as if the undeveloped nations of the world have a choice. Allen (2001) says, "Since the poorest people often reside in the former colonies of Europe and the United States, corporations are moving to these specific places so as to exploit those who have already been exploited over the last 500 years" (p. 471).

I do not see a difference in a corporation and a global institution exploiting populations. A corporation can come in and get cheaper labor and the IMF and World Bank can take valuable resources if loans are defaulted. Either way, populations are still in debt to former colonial masters. One may ask how the Bretton Woods Institutions can be referred to as "former colonial masters," but the institutions are headquartered in Washington DC and the major players, donors, and decision makers are from former colonial powers such as the UK, France, and the United States. Wallerstein (2006) discusses the move to a modern world system and how institutions like The World Bank and IMF took the role of enforcing the "Washington Consensus." The Washington Consensus was originally a term coined by John Williamson in 1987 to describe a set of

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economic policy prescriptions which would be become a standard reform package for underdeveloped nations (Williamson, 1989). Wallerstein (2006) further states that the Washington Consensus was "neoliberalism as theory and the Washington Consensus as policy. The World Economic Forum was the locus for promoting the theory and the IMF and the World Trade Organization (WTO) were the chief enforcers" (p. 86). The WTO was included in the original plans from the Bretton Woods meeting in 1944, but did not emerge officially until 1995. Like the IMF, which oversees monetary issues, the WTO governs trade between nations. The WTO website describes it as "An organization for liberalizing trade. It's a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements. It's a place for them to settle trade disputes. It operates a system of trade rules" (WTO, 2003).

Carnoy (2000) discusses the main bases of globalization, which are "information and innovation…Massive movements of capital depend on information, communication, and knowledge in global markets. And because knowledge is highly portable, it lends itself easily to globalization" (p. 43). The Bretton Woods institutions have a large stake in education. The World Bank views education as a way to reduce poverty and inequality. It also views education as necessary for the "Construction of democratic societies and globally competitive economies" (The World Bank, 2003, p. 117). The IMF is also involved in education through its partnership with The World Bank and assisting underdeveloped nations meet Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in EFA. The MDG are a series of initiatives that "are designed to improve the lives of the worlds' poor people" (The World Bank, 2003, p. 34). EFA is part of the education MDG's. Partnerships between Institutions have emerged, as the goal is to achieve the MDG by 2015. One important organization that is very active in achieving the MDG is the

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD was formed in 1961 and is composed of thirty member countries, which "share a commitment to democratic government and the market economy" (OECD, 2006).

The MDG's are a yardstick that these global reaching institutions use in evaluating policies and conditions in the underdeveloped nations. In looking at Appendix E, the goals that are meant to be reached by 2015 require a lot of intervention. Countries cannot do these things alone. They need the support of global institutions to accomplish these goals. Each of the goals needs to be governed and supported by the monitoring groups as directed by the World Bank and partners. It is interesting that the rhetoric of these institutions is that they want the poorest nations to be lifted out of poverty, but they attach so many restrictions and relationships that they may never achieve independence from the global institutions. It is a never-ending web that keeps growing with each new summit and conference. A training kit for UN workers to teach people about the MDG states, "At the country level they provide a platform for the UN system to use neutrality and influence to advocate for change" (UNDP, 2005). The word "influence" troubles me because I wonder in whose interest is this "influence" being enacted? Throughout the literature that comes directly from the MDG organizing institutions are words like "influence", which does not bring an image of dialogue and cooperation to mind. Influence sounds like the organization doing the influencing knows what is the correct way and is the dominant ideology. Most people, including myself, cannot disagree that the benefits of achieving the MDG would be beneficial for the health and well-being of underdeveloped nations, but, like many facets of globalization, it is not the concept, but the way it is being done that is questionable.

In examining the conditions and restrictions that are placed on loans for underdeveloped nations, one must question whether it benefits the World Bank, IMF or UNESCO to make it so difficult for a country to repay debts. As stated previously, global institutions function as a mechanism to maintain a system of global hierarchy. Wallerstein (2006) bases this system on a world systems theory. Wallerstein places globalization at "the intersection of political, economic, social structure, and culture" (p. 86). A world system is made up of a world-economy and capitalism. "A world economy is a large geographic zone within which there is a division of labor and hence significant internal exchange of basic or essential goods as well as flows of capital and labor" (p. 23). There are no specific boundaries around these economies. Wallerstein acknowledges, "A capitalist system requires a very special relationship between economic producers and the holders of political power" (p.23). The holders of the political power are the global institutions and their influence is on the local power. Keeping countries poor benefits wealthier nations in that they could use labor and resources from "periphery and semi-periphery" nations. The Core nations benefited the most from capitalism and the World Bank, IMF, and UNESCO are all led at the top level by Core nations. I am not inferring that members of these global institutions deliberately set out to exploit periphery and semi-periphery countries, but that they have internalized a system of global white supremacy.

In examining how the World Bank categorizes countries of the world, it is similar to the way in which Wallerstein (2006) described a world system. The World Bank has three classifications, "low-income, middle-income, and high-income countries" (The World Bank, 2003, p. 73). The low-income countries would fall into the same category as

periphery nations as would middle-income fall into the same category as semi-periphery. The World Bank also classifies countries under developing and industrial status. According to the World Bank, "Developing refers to countries whose economies are classified as low-income or middle-income" (The World Bank, 2003, p. 73). Industrial countries would be high-income countries like The United States. The grouping of nations by the World Bank also falls along a color line. The majority of low-income nations are located in Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia.

Global institutions, as stated, have been controlling the economies and colonies of underdeveloped nations for centuries. The inhabitants of these nations are typically people of color and have been victims of colonialism and imperialism (Allen, 2001). It is important to bring this issue to the forefront, being that my research is grounded in critical race theory. I go into more detail in Chapter Three about how critical race theory shapes my research.

There are many critics of the Bretton Woods Institutions and other global institutions who state that there are too many of them, operating under their own agendas and not necessarily supporting one another (Messner, Maxwell, Nuscheler & Siegle, 2005, p. 15). Messner et al. (2005) reviewed the current state of global governance and stressed the need for developing nations to be represented. They refer to aid as, "resembling a structure in which one large enterprise dominates and many small ones struggle to survive" (p. 20). Burbules and Torres (2000) stated, "Nation-states have become increasingly internationalized, in the sense that their agencies and policies become adjusted to the rhythms of the new world order" (p. 4). This structure, as referred to by Messner et al (2005), has become a normalcy for many of these underdeveloped

nations. There has been a dominant power that has had some type of control over resources and economics since the time of the Portuguese exploration. This presence does not always mirror what the underdeveloped nations want. Stromquist (2002) reiterates this domination of outside international institutions and corporations in that "the increasing presence of multinational global and regional institutions is a strong characteristic of globalization and highlights the importance of the state of central countries because many of these international bodies faithfully reflect interests of the major industrialized countries" (p. 8). Each of these statements shows the strong presence global institutions have within underdeveloped nations. These institutions wield tremendous power. While the power of these institutions affects all levels of society from the military to hospitals, this research is concerned with educational policies. The next part of this review will examine how these global institutions extend their control through education and what affect this has on globalization.

Education is impacted by Globalization in "financial terms, labor market terms, and educational terms" (Carnoy, 2000, p. 2). Education is one of the main ways that these global institutions can exert "influence" over underdeveloped nations. "Education has become a vehicle to support globalization" (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000, p. xiv). Through education, priority can be given to specific forms of knowledge and can be a vehicle for global institutions to have influence in the types of vocations and skills that are taught. The OECD, which works with the Bretton Woods Institutions in monitoring and assessing the MDG's "sell economic growth through a market economy and the application of market principles to social problems….OECD policy statements express concern about social cohesion in Member youth facing exclusion" (Spring, 1998, p.

163). If the governments of underdeveloped nations buy into this ideology then they will want to adapt their schools to fulfill this need for skilled workers.

Much of the World Bank, IMF, and UNESCO policy is grounded in human capital theory. Becker (1975) said, "People cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, health, or values in the way they can be separated from their financial and physical assets" (p. 1). In an IMF briefing on globalization there is a heading titled, "How can the poorest countries catch up more quickly?" (IMF, 2000). One of the solutions is that "Growth in living standards springs from the accumulation of physical capital (investment) and human capital (labor), and through advances in technology (what economists call total factor productivity)" (IMF, 2000, p. 113). Human capital theory, like quantitative research, puts problems in the form of numbers that can be visualized by many government officials and policy makers. Unfortunately, the end result is not always what was promised. Just because you invest in education does not mean the quality of life will improve. There are so many other factors that need to be taken into account. For example, if everyone is getting access to education, are there jobs available once people learn the skills, and what continuing support will people receive? The OECD plays an influential role in the globalization of economic policies.

There is also the dehumanization factor that happens when humans are reduced to economics. This will be discussed later in this review. "The globalization of educational policies is different from the concept of education for a global economy. Globalization involves the diffusion of uniform educational goals and systems" (Spring, 1998, p. 160). Human capital economics equates education into an economic commodity, which is a disturbing approach if the goal is to empower and aid people to get out of poverty.

Education that will contribute to a market economy is valued. Similar to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (1977), certain skills and experience will be valued by the school and given dominance. It is the elites who determine what forms of culture are valued. Through globalization of education, forms of knowledge are being given priorities over others. In underdeveloped nations, which may be very tribal and or have high indigenous populations, there may be alternative forms of knowledge that are given high priority. Throughout the reading I have done in preparation for this research, I have been struck with the level of naiveté on the part of the policymakers that the underdeveloped nations will whole-heartedly desire the education that is being distributed through programs like EFA. There is an underlying assumption that the recipient nations will want the programs that are being offered. During my observations at conferences and traveling, there is the desire to improve the educational system, but there is also the feeling expressed that agencies like UNESCO and the World Bank impose programs from above without a lot of input from the communities. The assumption that what is used in the West would obviously be desired by everyone is expressed in some of the UNESCO brochures and the World Bank information material.

Spring (2000) asks if "there is a universal definition of education?" (p. 1). I have not found evidence that the Bretton Woods Institutions consulted a large amount of various peoples to determine their definition. The definition that is used by these institutions is based on a Western concept of education and a capitalist society. Morrow and Torres (1995) situate the relationship between globalization and education as the "globalizing process unleashed by capitalism as a world system. Such accounts take as their focus of analysis the role of educational systems in the formation and reproduction

of the capitalist nation-states, as well as the theme of colonialism and imperialism" (p. 31). Educational programs need to take into account that "Globalization is the product of the emergence of a global economy, expansion of transnational linkages between economic units creating new forms of collective decision making, development of intergovernmental and quasi-supranational institutions, intensification of transnational communications, and the creation of new regional and military orders" (p. 29).

All of these characteristics suggested by Morrow and Torres (1995) highlight the fact that education has taken on a new form. Globalization up until World War II had dealt primarily with economic and trade agendas. With the creation of UNESCO after World War II and the Bretton Woods Institutions, there was a new interest in maintaining a world that was based on democratic and capitalist ideas. Mundy (1998) discusses the role that UNESCO took on as a mediator between "developing country demands for educational funding and the resources for development now available from Western governments through the United Nations, bilateral aid programs, and the World Bank" (p. 458). This new role allowed UNESCO to represent and define what the educational needs for underdeveloped nations were. UNESCO used this new role to popularize research on the economics of education and linking its new education development activities to Western enthusiasm for educational expansion (Mundy, 1998; Gardner & Millikan, 1968; OECD Perspective, 1994). The emergence of the MDG also allocated more power to the global institutions in their control of how underdeveloped nations operate. In order to achieve these goals and take advantage of the loans that accompany the program, they need intervention that the state alone cannot give.

According to Apple (2000) "Neoliberals are the most powerful element within the conservative restoration. They are guided by a vision of the weak state…what is private is necessarily good and what is public is necessarily bad" (p. 59). Economic rationality guides neoliberals. Apple goes on further to say "All people are to act in ways that maximize their own personal benefits" (p. 60). During the last several years, neoconservatives have been rising in power and strength. According to Apple (2006), "one of the distinguishing features of the neoconservative position is its notion of character. It supports marketisation through its clear preference for incentive systems in which people are motivated by personal, not collective, gain" (p. 4). Neoconservatives and neoliberals differ in some of their ideals but they both agree that, "to support a market economy we need to encourage everyone to think of themselves as individuals who always act in ways that maximize their own interests. At the same time, there is an additional ideological goal. People also need to be encouraged to accept that it is entirely 'appropriate' to have winners and losers in the system" (p.3).

How does neoliberalism affect globalization and education? During the 1980's there was a focus on poverty alleviation that was being undertaken by many of the global institutions. One of the ways to do this was to free up prices and markets, increase the economy's export orientation, reduce the size of government and liberalize trade (Mundy, 1998, p. 473). These policies did not, however, raise economic growth rates and had adverse effects on the poorest populations, but it set the stage for the IMF and World Bank to become the managers of the global economy (Helleiner, 1992). The problem with this new role is that structural adjustment policies came hand in hand with a change in educational policy.

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Structural adjustment policies (SAP) are "Normally associated with the correction of imbalances in foreign accounts and domestic consumption and with the deregulation and privatization of the economy" (Carnoy, 1995, p. 653). These cuts in spending resulted in less money to be available for educational purposes. Calderisi (2006) examines the detrimental effects SAP's had on the education in Sub-Saharan African nations. "In the early years of structural adjustment, health and education services took the brunt of government cuts because they were a large part of the budget and no one insisted they be protected" (Calderisi, 2006, p. 148). Many conditions of SAP relate back to the concept of human capital. Carnoy (1995) discusses how the conditions are centered on a philosophy that "translates into organization reforms of educational institutions in order to raise the quality of their output as measured mainly by students' performance on tests" (p. 660). Another interesting feature that Carnoy (1995) discusses is that SAP's often refer to increasing teacher training in their subjects but that the loans rarely allocate for this but allocate for teacher recruitment. SAP's are a large part of globalization as these loans and policies are set forth to help a country qualify for a new loan and help them make debt repayments on previous loans. Current research criticized these policies as taking money away from health and education, while encouraging neoliberal policies like privatization.

Another area of SAP's, which has not been written about as extensively, is how they are another form of colonization. The colonial power is not residing in the nation, but the conditions of the loans linger in the air. The negative effects of SAP's in Africa are visible in the unbelievable amount of poverty and continual lagging behind other underdeveloped nations on the MDG. Allen (2001) says, "The neoliberal educational

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policies promoted by the IMF and World Bank in 'financially dependent' countries…do the bidding of the global white polity through blaming the educational conditions of these countries on the lack of competition rather than the globalization of white supremacy" (p. 483). These countries have to buy into the idea that if they open markets, free up trade, and privatize that they will improve their situation. As stated previously, the SAP's further indebt many nations. When reading how supporters of privatization say that privatizing schools will increase the quality and competition, I recall a speaker from Nigeria who came to a conference to discuss the role of privatization of schools in his country. He claimed that private schools fared better than government ones, but admitted that mothers will go without providing food for their families to send their children to school. How can a malnourished child do better in school? This debate caused a lot of controversy and a BBC documentary was made comparing the private and government schools in Nigeria and Bangalore, India (UKFIET conference, 2005).

The role of globalization in education is very visible through the ways policies are enacted and created for underdeveloped nations. All of this planning is done on behalf of raising the poor out of poverty. When nations are living in situations of extreme poverty, lack of education, and lack of employment, the international organizations respond with the need to create programs and policies to address this. Rafael (2001) referred to this "saving" of people as "white love." "White love is the desire to save the savage and heathen by conversion to Christianity, replacement of native languages with English, and changing native cultures" (p. 54). Today there is a new form of white love; the OECD and the World Bank claim that free markets and imperialism will save the world (Spring, 1998). This new "white love" is reinforcing a system of global white supremacy. As

stated, the World Bank follows a similar system as Wallerstein (2006) in dividing the world into the haves and have-nots. These divisions fall on a color line and it is next to impossible to move up the ladder. An underdeveloped Sub-Saharan nation is indebted to former colonial powers through SAP's and will remain a periphery country until debts and agreements are repaid. Freeing markets up does not automatically mean that the local businesses will benefit. A free market makes it more accessible for transnational corporations to be able to find cheaper labor. When this happens, this system of domination is continuing with no end in sight. A program like EFA promises mobility with education, but education is only a small portion of what is needed. There needs to be political and social change for people to become empowered.

The final area that current research surrounding globalization is lacking is that, within the role of the institution as a mechanism for globalization and maintaining a global hierarchy, what is the role of agency with the individuals at the sites of implementation of programs and policies? Much of the research surrounding the globalizing effects of global institutions make them seem like a monolith that acts as one entity. There are many groups within these organizations and there may be some that approach globalization in a different manner. Through my interaction with different members of these institutions, if differing ways of making meaning of globalization occur, then I will be able to contribute that to the body of knowledge on globalization.

Ideology

Ideology assists in creating a "common sense" or a "second nature" to the people who are being subject to it. A definition that speaks to me of the normalcy of ideology is, "Ideology freezes history into a 'second nature', presenting it as spontaneous, inevitable

and so unalterable" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 59). This view accentuates the way that ideology

is like air, we don't notice it, nor do we question it. Ideologies are not questioned when it

appears to people as something they are naturally believing in or doing. Eagleton (1991)

says, "Ideology, on this view, offers itself as an 'Of course' " (p. 59). People do not

necessarily hold a single ideology. A mixture of ideologies guides most people's beliefs

and actions. Giroux (2001) says that for Althusser (1971), "ideology contains two crucial

elements…the material existence in the rituals, practices and social processes that

structure the day-to-day workings of schools…and functions as a system of

representations, carrying meanings and ideas that structure the unconsciousness of

students" (p. 81). There is an element of power in ideologies as shown by Giddens (1997)

definition, which is, "shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of

dominant groups" (p. 583). The element of "legitimizing" a belief or set of beliefs is an

important element of ideology that will be looked at in the way various institutions

legitimize forms of knowledge that disseminate the dominant ideology. Ideologies are

not permanent as they are constantly being replaced with new ones. This section on

ideology looks at the role it has in a policy like EFA and in global institutions like the

World Bank and UNESCO. It also contains how I am mobilizing ideology for this

research. There needs to be a "buy-in" to a particular program or policy for it to operate.

Though through World Bank loan policies, underdeveloped nations do not necessarily

have a choice whether they participate in EFA, the cooperation and expenditure of large

amounts of resources to make EFA goals within individual countries is very large. There

has to be acceptance of the ideologies of the program and policies for it to be operating.

How are ideologies disseminated and what role does education play?

To begin this analysis of ideology, it is important to look at what types of ideologies are prevalent in a Western system of education. How are these ideologies manifested? In a Western system of education, a capitalist ideology is very prevalent. It is one of the school's functions to produce future workers. Ramirez and Meyer (1980) look at the role an economic system has in the development of the educational system. "The modern economy demands a huge labor force trained in the required skills or more broadly socialized to commitment and conformity" (p. 371). For Karl Marx, "the economic organization was the foundation of life and society" (Harris, 1948, p. 6). This economic organization is comprised of a mode of production, a mode of exchange and a mode of distribution. Harris (1948) also goes on to expand on the role of production in that "when the capitalist mode of production is found, society tends to be stratified into owning and non-owning classes" (p. 7). In a capitalist mode of production, commodities are a necessity. Accumulation of and production of commodities characterizes a capitalist system. A commodity, according to Marx, is "External to man, which satisfy man's wants" (p. 12). As a means of satisfying wants, commodities, in turn, take on value. They can be used for exchange values as well as use values. From an ideological standpoint, Marx viewed this process as "resting upon wage slavery, a new condition of servitude" (Marx, 2000, p. 72). As Harris (1948) says, the capitalist system as viewed by Marx is a system of "force and compulsion, the authority to compel being vested in the capitalist class" (p. 11). There is a sense of dehumanization and reduction of people to economic elements. The element of power is visible in this view as, under a capitalist system, the laborers are under the control of the land and capital owners.

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Within this notion of power, is it essential to insert the role of white supremacy in the discussion. As discussed, a capitalist system needs a worker class which as discussed was a new kind of "servitude." As Mills (1997) states "the racial contract is calculatedly aimed at economic exploitation, The whole point of establishing a moral hierarchy and judiciously partitioning the polity according to race is to secure and legitimate the privileging of those individuals designated as white persons and the exploitation of those designated as nonwhite/subpersons" (p. 32). Reducing a person to an economic unit, as in human capital theory, takes away "humanness." People become numbers and there is no sense of individuality. It confers a privilege on the person who is creating the economic policies in that they can take away the humanness of a person. The capitalist system encourages exploitation and slavery. In the universalisms that UNESCO espouses in its discussions of "universal" education and how they define the needs of education, they take on the attitude that only those who have culture (white Europeans) are capable of intervening (Mills, 1997). Power is exerted by European powers over underdeveloped nation through series of SAP's set forth by the World Bank. In viewing the element of power, for Marx and for this current research, there needs to be institutions that organize and enable the reproduction of this system. These institutions act as mechanisms to reinforce, legitimate and enforce this ideology through means that will be discussed next.

In the reproduction of this system, there needs to be ways of legitimizing and enforcing particular ideologies. It is important to bring in the concept of *hegemony* as it is a crucial link in the disseminating of ideologies. For Gramsci (1971), hegemony permeates all aspects of society. "Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an 'organizing principle' that is diffused by the process of socialization into every area of

daily life… internalized by the population it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things" (Boggs, 1976, p. 39). When we internalize the taken-for-granted assumptions of our culture, we internalize their hierarchical relationships and come to see them as normal and natural. An ideological hegemony would mean that people accept what happens as being "common sense", or the way to do things. This hierarchical system is based on a system of white superiority. Allen (2001) says, "Whites operate as the normalized body, a walking and talking synonym for 'human.' Meanwhile, people of color are constructed as the always visible, yet 'abnormal' " (p. 480). This feeling of "abnormal" is constructed through the proliferation of European aid agencies and institutions like the World Bank and UNESCO professing what they feel is best for underdeveloped nations, which are comprised of former colonies. Fanon (1967) describes this emerging as a form of "common sense" in his description of how "every colonized people- in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality- finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation" (p. 45). Once the "death" occurs, the colonized need to adapt to the new hegemony. Hegemony is a way of legitimizing an ideology (Apple, 2003). Apple also acknowledges that "Hegemonic power constantly has to be built and rebuilt; it is contested and negotiated" (p. 6). Schools for Apple (2004) act as "agents of cultural and ideological hegemony" (p. 5). As stated earlier, there is an element of power in ideology and the same can be applied to hegemony. It is the dominant class whose ideology is made to seem as "the way things are." The connection to power, ideology and hegemony is not that far-fetched,

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but. as mentioned, there need to be "institutions," "sites," or "apparatuses" that serve as the mechanism for the reproduction of the ideology. Schools do not decide at random what to teach nor do policy makers in the World Bank create policies based on random whims. The ideologies that legitimate a capitalist mode of production seem natural through hegemony. Hegemony is disseminated through government propaganda, curriculum, media, and other forms of communication.

To return to the discussion of the types of institutions that are necessary to disseminate ideologies, Althusser (1971) describes the process in great detail within his research. Althusser sought to analyze how ideologies functioned in society and what institutions ("apparatuses") served as the sites/mechanisms for their functioning. Althusser did this through a critical reading of Marx's *Capital* (1867). Althusser did not feel that the traditional Marxist view of the superstructure could adequately express the influence it has over the, "reproduction of existing relations of production" (Resch, 1992, p. 104). Althusser distinguished two social sites or "apparatuses" that "conditioned the capitalist mode of production" (Wolff, 1994). Althusser (1971), regarding the reproduction of labor, says that it "requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e., a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression" (p. 103). In order to understand how the two apparatuses use ideologies, it is important to look at the role of the State.

According to Althusser (1971), in the Marxist tradition, "the State is explicitly conceived as a repressive apparatus. The State is a 'machine' of repression, which enables

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the ruling classes (in the nineteenth century the bourgeois class and the 'class' of big landowners) to ensure their domination over the working class, thus enabling the former to subject the latter to the process of surplus-value extortion (i.e. to capitalist exploitation)" (p. 137). Althusser takes the role of the state even further in that for the Marxist definition of the state contains "the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc., which constitute… the Repressive State Apparatus" (p. 38). He uses the word repressive because for him the repressive state apparatus (RSA) functions by violence foremost and ideology second (Althusser, 1971). The introduction of the second site, the ideological state apparatus (ISA) is where Althusser expanded on the Marxist conception of the state. The ISA's "function by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression" (Althusser, 1971, p. 245). The ISA's range from schools and families to churches. Each is unified under the dominant ruling ideology (Althusser, 1971). The "violence" may be physical in the form of military or police force. It may also take the form of economic and social violence.

For Althusser, the school serves as an ISA. The school indoctrinates and socializes children as they are "squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology (French, arithmetic, natural history, the sciences, literature) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy)…a huge mass of children are ejected 'into production': these are the workers or small peasants" (Althusser, 1971, p .66). Although Althusser recognizes that some teachers try and teach against what the dominant ideologies are professing, they are in fact, "contributes[ing] to the maintenance and nourishment of this

ideological representation of the School, which makes the School today as 'natural', indispensable-useful and even beneficial for our contemporaries as the Church was 'natural', indispensable and generous for our ancestors a few centuries ago" (p. 157). Giroux (2001) further clarifies the role of the school for Althusser as "relatively autonomous institutions that exist in a particular relation with the economic base, but at the same time have their own specific constraints and practices" (p. 80). This naturalness and internalization of the ideologies of a capitalist society are visible when MacLeod (1995) writes, "the school. In the popular mind, school is the great equalizer: By providing a level playing field where the low and the mighty compete on an equal basis, schooling renders social inequality superfluous" (p. 11). Communities have bought into the belief that everyone has the same chance within the school, but for a capitalist society to flourish there needs to be a separation of classes into workers and owners.

To discuss ideology, one needs to look at the concept of discourse. Discourse, according to Fowler (1981), "is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies; these beliefs etc. constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience-'ideology'"(p. 2). Foucault (1972) expresses an even broader view of discourse as, "The general domain of all statements; that is, all utterances or texts which have meaning and which have some effects in the real world, count as discourse" (p. 72). These utterances, according to Mills (1997), "have a coherence and force to them in common (p. 6). This view of discourse is aligned with the post-structuralists, who "saw language as a system with its own rules and constraints, and with its own determining effect on the way that individuals think and express themselves" (p. 7). MacDonnell (1986) analyzes the ways in which language is

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controlled by the dominant ideologies. She states that, "All speech and writing are social. Discourses differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape and with the positions of those who speak and those whom they address" (p. 1). Institutions play an important role in the reproduction and development of discourses. Schools, government, and community all shape our discourse. The various repressive apparatuses shape how we use language and communicate.

If ideology is "common sense", then ideology is communicated through discourse. Our discourse is determined and shaped by our ideology. According to Leonardo (2003), "Discourse is the realization of language in speech…it is responsible for breaking up material reality into discrete categories, constituting them in words, and achieving systems of meaning from them" (p .53). The discourse in a school is mediated and functions through the dominant ideology. This may be visible through curriculum, the types of knowledge teachers give praise to, the messages in the textbooks with which they are teaching, and conversations in the classroom. Language is the key to understanding the ideologies that are being disseminated. Leonardo (2003) reiterates the power of language in uncovering ideologies in that, "a language of critique enables subjects to rupture ideological assumptions about themselves and their world and by doing so reconstitute their ideological dispositions" (p. 54). If ideologies are disseminated through discourse, then Eagleton's (1991) suggestion that "ideology is a matter of 'discourse' rather than 'language'" (p. 8) is applicable. Eagleton (1991) goes on to state, "Ideology is less a matter of the inherent linguistic properties of a pronouncement than a question of who is what to whom for what purposes" (p .9). Ideological discourse is essential in reproducing dominant ideologies in society.

Ideologies are legitimated through discourse as ideas, phrases, words, and other forms of language are given credence through media, schools, and government. These are, in turn, seen as "common sense" and there is nothing unusual about it. Dominant ideologies have a way of permeating the air and we do not recognize them as being oppressive. Bourdieu (1998) looks at the way the dominant ideological discourse can control our views. He says "The dominant discourse would have it, the economic world is a pure and perfect order, implacably unrolling the logic of its predictable consequences, and prompt to repress all violations by the sanctions that it inflicts, either automatically or through the intermediary of its armed extensions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the policies they impose" (OECD, 2006). Bourdieu (1998) explains how there are institutions that are constructing realities and meanings. The IMF and World Bank, through their rhetoric and graphic representation of poverty-stricken populations, are creating meaning of how we discuss and interpret underdeveloped countries. They infuse the discourse with ideas such as human capital theory, neoliberalism, and structural adjustment policies. These become part of our language, thereby reproducing their ideological discourse. The role of ideological discourse will be further examined in the schools in the way dominant ideologies may be legitimated through the forms of instruction and what knowledge is given priority.

As discussed, ideology has many diverse meanings and can take on different forms in different settings. I am examining how ideology is used in an educational setting. How are ideological discourses reproduced and communicated? This is important, as school is the site of socialization for future citizens. As Apple (1978) says,

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"A critical element in enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes is the control of the knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society" (p. 368). The school acts as a mechanism to reproduce economic inequalities. This manifests itself in how knowledge is shared and to whom it is made available. Young (1971) expresses this intersection in his analysis of how certain groups have knowledge that is only available for them and that allows them to assert power and control over others. Schooling, according to Giroux (2001), "represents a major social site for the construction of subjectivities and dispositions, a place where students from different social classes learn the necessary skills to occupy their class-specific locations and the occupational divisions of labor" (p. 78). This distribution of education as the schools see fit is important to understand. It is the various forms of education, what constitutes the education, and who is receiving what types of education that shows how various ideologies are being disseminated. Louis Althusser, according to Giroux (2001), "attempts to tackle the difficult question of how a labor force can be constituted to fulfill the important material and ideological functions necessary for reproducing the capitalist mode of production" (p. 79). How is this capitalist mode of production reproduced in the schools? Bowles and Gintis (1976) give a very insightful description of how this occurs: "[T]he structure of schooling can be understood in terms of the systemic needs for producing reserve armies of skilled labor, legitimating the technocratic-meritocratic perspective, reinforcing the fragmentation of groups of workers into stratified status groups, and accustoming youth to the social relationships of dominance and subordinancy in the economic system" (p. 56). The concept of "Force and compulsion" (Harris, 1948)

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returns, as it is through schooling that the new workers learn how to be subordinate to authority. The school is exerting violence to disseminate the dominant ideology.

If it is the schools' function to reproduce a capitalist society (Althusser, 1971, Giroux, 2001, Bowles & Gintis, 1976), and the dominant ideology (Althusser, 1971), then how is this ideology manifested? What is meant by a "dominant ideology"? For Baer and Lambert (1982), "a dominant ideology refers to beliefs system, promulgated by and for dominant classes, which makes palatable to them, and in varying degrees to subordinate classes, the large inequalities in the social distribution of power and wealth" (p. 174). The state is "centrally involved in the dissemination of a dominant ideology through the educational system" (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p.105). Miliband (1969) says that the state "could be defined as an institutional complex which is the political embodiment of the values and interests of the dominant class" (p. 27). Within this dominant ideology is the notion of power. "Power is something that either works through the curriculum in a way that goes unquestioned, specifically as it defines what counts as legitimate forms of school knowledge, or is seen as a negative instance of social control that represses the possibilities for struggle" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993, p. 135). Power is exercised through the ISA's and RSA"s (Althusser, 1971) through the curriculum, the ways the schools are organized and what is determined to be "knowledge." According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), a visible way this occurs is through the "differential and training along class and gender lines of students with the technical and cognitive skills required for adequate job performance" (p. 52). Schools, in turn, prepare students for their future roles in the workforce. The way that the same knowledge is not available to all but rather doled out as the school or state policies see fit is a form of exercising this

power. The discourse that occurs within the school and what knowledge and language is given preference is also a way in which power is exerted.

This concept of how different education is offered for various groups of students was explored in depth by Anyon (1980), who looked at the "hidden curriculum" that was being taught. This 'hidden curriculum' of schoolwork is tacit preparation for relating to the process of production in a particular way" (p. 89). This hidden curriculum is not an overt act where members of the Elite class sit around a board room discussing how to infuse the curriculum with their own agenda. This hidden curriculum is "the tacit teaching to students of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of school" (Apple, 2004, p. 13). Similar to ideology as an abstract concept and, like air, just is. The hidden curriculum in the school is a mechanism to maintain the dominant ideology. This hidden curriculum is a form of hegemony. In a world systems analysis (Wallerstein, 2006), it is in the best interests of wealthier countries to keep poorer countries poor. The school functions to maintain a similar system of inequality. This inequality is maintained through "teach[ing] a hidden curriculum that seems uniquely suited to maintain the ideological hegemony of the most powerful classes" (Apple, 2004, p. 41).

So far this discussion has centered on the school, but a program like EFA is being implemented on a global level at many different types of schools. Many of the same analyses can apply on a global scale to this program. It is the proliferation of a capitalist ideology throughout the underdeveloped nations that is visible in the way the World Bank and UNESCO break policies down to human capital. Human capital theory essentially means that that "education is an investment in human capital and that it will

pay off through increased future monetary returns" (Hurn, 1978, p. 35). Becker (1983) says," The human capital approach considers how the productivity of people in market and non-market situations is changed by investments in education, skills, and knowledge" (p. 39). Human capital theory assumes that investment in education will lead to prosperity, when in many underdeveloped nations, it is not the case. The naiveté of assuming education alone will bring prosperity is as absurd as planting wheat in Antarctica. The seeds are the same, why will it not flourish and grow? It is the climate or culture that makes the difference. Human capital theory assumes jobs will exist once the education is received. In many underdeveloped nations educated people leave for countries where jobs are available. This "brain drain" is a reality in countries like India.

Karabel and Halsey (1977) stress that many have prescribed programs that support a human capital theory for underdeveloped nations, "countries that are considered poor not because of the structure of international economic relations, but because of internal characteristics, most notably their lack of human capital" (p. 15). Walters (2000) further supports this in her discussion of human capital theory, "The dominant trend in the Western world is human capital mostly supported by neoliberal ideology. The theory of human capital expresses a view concerning the economic reasons for education and training, but nothing about the learning process" (p. 204). Along with EFA comes the rhetoric that "material prosperity was more feasible under freedom (private property, free markets, and democracy) than under communism" (Easterly, 2006, p. 25). The hidden message in this is that if a country internalizes the ideology of a capitalist, democratic society, then wealth and success will follow. If a country believes that taking part in an educational policy program that is grounded in human capital theory will bring prosperity

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and development, then they are mistaken. Unless the policy takes into account the political and social landscape and makes future plans for employment, then the education is not going to achieve the results the policymakers believe it will.

UNESCO has historically taken a role as a mediator between underdeveloped countries' demands for educational funding and the resources for development through institutions like the World Bank. Through its role as a mediator, UNESCO has "both represented and helped to define Third World educational needs" (Mundy, 1998, p. 458). By defining what the educational needs are, UNESCO is able to insert their ideologies. Mundy (1998) shows this connection: "… [UNESCO] played an important role in the construction of an elaborate ideology about the relationships between education and economic development" (p. 458). Through the way the program is presented and how donor agencies assess progress, EFA takes on an economic form as well as educational. It is the economic power that is exerted over recipient nations through the form of FTI (Fast Track Initiatives) that are goals that, if met, increase money available to a region, SAP's, and other programs that emerge from various declarations. These programs, like Literacy for All, Literacy Initiative for Empowerment (LIFE), Universal Primary Education (UPE), and the MDG's all reiterate the need to meet EFA goals and offer more incentives for progress. This form of control is similar to what Althusser (1971) discussed in his definitions presented earlier of ISA's and RSA's. The World Bank and IMF would be RSA's as they have authority to call in loans, take away resources, and reduce assistance if cooperation is not received for a program like EFA. EFA would then, in turn, take on the form of an ISA. This would also apply for other types of educational policy programs, like LIFE, that are concurrently being implemented with EFA. These global institutions

can exert their power through methods that are not necessarily physically violent, but through structural adjustment policies and other loan programs, which they become indebted to, power is exerted. UNESCO would be an RSA, as it has governing authority to allocate or take away resources to health, education, and technology. UNESCO disseminates its ideologies of democracy, liberalism, and universalism through the policies of EFA. These are, in turn, implemented at local state levels throughout the world and the local schools play their part as an ISA. This is a rather simplistic view that this research will expand on, but it is important to place ideology in the context of the current EFA situation.

There needs to be a new clarification of ISA's and RSA's in a world in which the role of the transnational corporation and global institution is growing. Economic interests take precedence over local ones. Policies like SAP's create indebtedness for many underdeveloped nations. This indebtedness is similar to being beholden to a colonial power once more. These policies are a form of violence, which takes its form in a non-physical form. Global institutions transcend geographic boundaries and create policies that have far reaching effects. Spring (2003) says, "The World Bank thinks in terms of world markets, it envisions a reduced role for the nation-state in the provision of products and services" (p. 41). This reduced role also occurs from the promulgation of a neoliberal ideology. This ideology reduces the role of the state and government in that "corporate bureaucracies are more efficient than government bureaucracies and that free market is more responsive to public interests than government" (Spring, 2003, p. 41). Allen (2001) adds to this with the concept of the nations-states being pressured to operate under the philosophy of neoliberalism. What is interesting in this new clarification is that the same

ISA's and RSA's would exert their power globally. Current research does not include a concept like a repressive global apparatus (RGA) and an ideological global apparatus (IGA).

Another characteristic of how these global institutions function as ISA's and RSA's is that they operate under colonial mentality and global system of white supremacy. "The colonial mentality- the white man's burden, and the presumption that they knew what was best for the developing countries persisted" (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 25). These global institutions operate under a "pensee unique" which, according to Ramonet (1999), is "a single thought that represents the interests of a group of economic forces- in particular, free-flowing international capital…this doctrine…is the only ideology authorized by the invisible and omnipresent opinion police" (Ramonet, 1999, p. 119). This "pensee unique" operates under a "fog of a collective historical and geographical amnesia of how the world system of nation-states came into being and how its hierarchies have been maintained" (Allen, 2001, p. 480). This collective amnesia helps supporters of the World Bank, IMF and UNESCO place the blame for underdeveloped nations not improving their status on issues within their own country. These people buy into the ideology of the dominant class that under a free market anyone can succeed. Also if these countries have access to similar education as the West through a program like EFA, then they have all the tools necessary.

There is no thought given to the history of a system of white supremacy that contributed to the situation of underdeveloped nations. The hegemonic ideology of capitalism in globalization according to McLaren and Farahmandpur (2001) "represents an ideological façade that camouflages the manifold operations of imperialism" (p. 76).

Imperialism brings together the ideologies of racism and capitalism which shape the history of underdeveloped nations' experience with global institutions. Mills (1997) talks about how the ideology of racism and white supremacy seems "natural" and "the way things are." This is similar to hegemony as discussed earlier. This hegemony had an effect on many treaties, pacts, and formation of the current global institutions. For example, UNESCO was founded "To build peace in the minds of men" (UNESCO, 1945). Mills (1997) says, "The various inter-European pacts, treaties…informal arrangements on policing their colonies….making the world safe for democracy with complete clarity a world being governed by white people" (p. 31). Universals are easier to buy into because these global institutions present them as the "status quo."

To look at what all this means for EFA is that there has to be a motivation to endorse and buy into a program like EFA for underdeveloped nations. Though the World Bank exerts its influence through the SAP's, there has to be the human interaction and desire to participate. There is a lot of involvement of teachers and educational personnel in the preparation and implementation of EFA and if there was no "value" to be gained, the level of participation would not be as great. Leonardo (2003) goes on to offer further explanation that would account for the "buy in" to a program like EFA. "In Schools, one can extend the critique of fetishism in various practices….knowledge is a form of commodity" (Leonardo, p. 24). The various schools in underdeveloped nations would be buying into the ideology of capitalism that is being promoted through World Bank, UNESCO and IMF discourse of neoliberalism. Spring (2006) says, "Inherent in the World Bank's activities is an ideology that encompasses a particular view of an ideal world order and system of schooling…if implemented it would create a uniform global

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political and economic order" (p. 28). Underdeveloped nations see this program as their ticket out of poverty by buying into the program; they are internalizing, legitimating, and reproducing the ideologies that are being promulgated by global institutions. There are no articles that specifically look at this new global Althusserian way of viewing these institutions and the effect on the spread of ideologies through programs like EFA. This research addresses this lack of information and adds to the current body of knowledge.

Ideology for this research represents the unchanging ideas and beliefs which are being disseminated through global institutions, the global RSA's and ISA's present in today's world. Throughout the process of analyzing what ideology means for me and my research I gravitated towards an Althusserian definition. As discussed throughout this section, Althusser (2001) looked at ideology as "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (p. 109). This is appropriate for how I am mobilizing ideology in this study. The ideologies being expressed and disseminated through UNESCO's EFA policy represent the real conditions of existence for the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa. While ideologies are not something that are tangible, their effects in the real world are experienced by the people. UNESCO has their ideologies which stem from how they view themselves in relation to the world. These are formed from their hegemonic view of white, European supremacy that has stemmed from years of being colonial powers. Their ideologies are so ingrained in everything they do that it has become part of their language. Through the document analysis and the interviews I will present, the ways that discourse of UNESCO is communicated through their written and spoken words.

Althusser also viewed ideology as always manifesting itself through actions which are "inserted into practice" (Althusser, 2001, p.114). Apparatuses or institutions are essential to view ideologies this way. The apparatus for this research is the global reaching institutions of UNESCO, the World Bank, and the IMF. These institutions are the disseminators of the ideologies present which effect the populations of Sub-Saharan West Africa. In my document analysis and discussion of the interviews, I looked for ways in which the institutions like UNESCO, the World Bank, and IMF communicate what they believe is expected of Sub-Saharan West Africa. They hold the region to measures based on their hegemonic view. This research looked at phrases that showed domination of Sub-Saharan West Africa in how policies were worded. For example, some of the policies referred to it being the "responsibility of the leaders of Sub-Saharan West Africa to allocate money if they wish to achieve development." The wording of UNESCO is that they feel that education, human capital, is what will lead to development. They are operating under their ideologies which are being enforced through the institution, or in Althusserian terminology, the apparatus.

For this research I also take the position that ideology is not always negative. Ideologies can have positive effects if they are grounded in liberatory ideas which serve to emancipate populations under domination and operate in the interests, needs, and experiences of these populations. Unfortunately ideology when analyzed in critical theory often has discursive effects that serve to maintain domination and control over minority populations. When analyzing ideology in the framework of a system of global hierarchy, ideologies are often being disseminated to maintain this system. The ideologies of whiteness as the norm, human capital, and globalization all play into the maintenance of

system of inequality. The point that I want to make is that while these ideologies have negative effects, they can be replaced by a more liberatory ideology. It is the critique of an ideology that can bring about this change. Leonardo (2003) says, "Exemplary theorists exist who consider the ideological struggle as a sign of utopic possibilities" (p.516). I believe that ideological struggle can lead to moments of social action that can have positive effects in an environment that has been under negative effects from the dominant ideology.

It is difficult to define exactly what is meant by "ideology" as it is like the air, so natural that we don't even know it. Only when a critical lens is used to examine ideology can the negative effects emerge. Only when the effects can be represented in real conditions do we start to think about ideology and its motives and effects. I look to Althusser, Giroux, and Eagleton to provide me with the background and language to be able to recognize and place ideology in the discussion. These three theorists as mentioned all represent different aspects of ideology, different ways they are communicated and where they originate from. The one thing they all have in common is that ideology is something that we cannot exist without. Within every thought, every action, and every policy is ideology. It guides our views and our motivation. Though for me and this research, I view ideology has having an essence of control and domination, guided by hegemonic views of the supremacy of European language and thought.

Current Research in the Literacy Policies Within Education For All

Education for All (EFA) is a movement to provide quality basic education for all children, youth, and adults. It was signed into a declaration in 1990, at the World Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand. There were delegates from 155

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countries and 150 representatives from non-government organizations like the World

Bank, IMF, UNICEF, and UNDP. Simon McGrath, in a presentation at The Oxford

Conference in 1997, referred to it as "the greatest educational jamboree of all time"

(McGrath, 1997). The overall aim of the main organizers of the conference was "to get

developing countries and donors to turn around the downward trend of falling

enrollments, falling completion rates, and poor learning outcomes within primary

education in developing countries by the beginning of the new millennium, by the year

2000" (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 5). The first goal was to make primary education accessible

to all children, and massively reduce illiteracy by the end of the decade. A World

declaration was adopted for all countries to intensify their efforts to address the basic

learning needs of all children (UNESCO, 1990). There is not a lot of research that looks

at EFA as a whole, as many researchers choose to focus on specific regions of

implementation. Jones (1990) expresses this lack of research in that "it is surprising that

so little scholarly attention has been paid to the global structures and mechanisms that

bind the educational destinies of the world's people" (p. 41). Some of the areas that have

been researched are lack of qualified teachers, defining "basic learning needs" and

"literacy", lack of qualified teachers and teacher training. I address each of these areas of

current research and discuss what is missing to adequately analyze EFA.

Within this review the slant is towards research that looks at the literacy policies

contained within EFA. Recent research has provided some research on literacy policies

within EFA. The 2006 Education for All Global Monitoring Report was entitled, *Literacy

for Life*. There is a renewed interest on focusing on what EFA is referring too when

discussing literacy.

Every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem - solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time" (Worldwide Declaration, UNESCO, 1990).

Spring (2000) questions whether education would have the same meaning in every culture (p. 6). In the World Declaration on EFA, there is a very vague reference to literacy, oral expression, and numeracy- there is no reference to human rights education or to a specific content of "universal education" which conveniently leaves out any reference to how this "education" will be adapted to individual countries and cultures. Defining what is meant by "basic education' and "universal education" is very troubling in the sense that one has to question who is doing the defining. Lynch (1997) says, "Education is a pre-condition for the emancipation of the individuals" (p. 10). Does basic education equal primary education? The first goal under the World Declaration of 1990 was to make primary education accessible, but there is also a lot of rhetoric about "basic education." When examining the funding leaders of EFA, more money has been set aside for Universal Primary Education (UPE) as opposed to adult education (Colclough, 1997, p. 8). Brock-Utne (2000) questions why the World Bank did not advocate for vocational

education as a part of EFA. Brock-Utne, who is a critic of how EFA has been planned an implemented in Sub-Saharan Africa, makes the bold assertion that "The World Bank intends to recolonize Africa by giving Africans a poor and rudimentary education and letting advanced knowledge belong to the West" (p. 12). While they may not be doing this consciously, it, unfortunately, will be the outcome. Buchert (1994) also questioned why UPE was being focused on as a form of "basic education" being that there are many members of the adult populations in underdeveloped nations who are illiterate and without what UNESCO would refer to as "basic skills" from the declaration. Buchert (1994) noticed that many agencies which typically funded vocational programs and adult education in Sub-Saharan Africa were pulling out and moving their investments towards primary education. In the 2006 EFA Global Monitoring Report they commented that, "although the focus on primary education was justified… it was also limited, for it neglected those who had either not attended school, or who had done so without becoming literate" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 28).

As one can see, defining "basic education" is difficult when applying a universal concept to all nations. For many of the representatives from African nations, the term has become equated with UPE to the extent that countries have created special programs to achieve UPE targets for EFA. Aduwa-Ogiegbaen (2006) did a comprehensive study of schools in Southern Nigeria and looked at the adequacy of services available for the implementation of the ideals of Universal Basic Education. During his research he found that, "a broader vision of basic education needs to be promoted in order to enhance or boost human development and socio-economic progress" (p. 177). In order to meet these needs, the government of Nigeria created a program called Universal Basic Education

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(UBE). This program works hand-in-hand with EFA. UBE sought to address the needs of disadvantaged groups within Nigeria: Children of nomadic pastorals, migrant fisher folks, migrant farmers and hunters (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). It primarily targets primary education. This program enhanced EFA and allowed a Nigerian perspective to be added to educational programs. Perspective, according to Asante (1998), is "a crucial component of cultural centeredness" (p. 187). Afrocentricity for Asante is "a perspective which Africans to be subjects of historical experiences rather than objects of the fringe of Europe" (p.187). This is an important point to elaborate on because it shows how each region and country brings different experiences with them.

　　There has been discussion in UNESCO briefings and meetings that stress literacy being the most neglected of the six goals adopted in 2000 at the World Education Forum in Dakar. Bhola (1990) did an extensive study on the role of literacy in Sub-Saharan Africa and how international organizations are having an influence in how literacy is being defined and taught. One issue in how literacy is being approached is that "Is it possible to speak of Sub-Sahara as one culture [?]" (p. 6). Gauger (2002) in her research, says, "Concepts that are embedded in the definitions like 'life skills' have very specific structures and prescriptions within the definition of Basic Education and, unless one achieves these skills via a particular method, UNESCO's statistics will reflect a lack of knowledge on the part of the individual" (p. 44). Rarely is research done on how to approach cultures uniquely within the policy rhetoric. Different cultures have different ways of interpreting and experiencing education. In 1989, UNICEF and UNESCO teamed up to write a report titled, "African Thoughts on the Prospect of Education for All." Their main concern was preserving African culture through education. They wrote,

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"what education, to what classes of the population at what specific periods in their lives, by what means and for what purposes" (UNESCO-UNICEF, 1989, p. 6). As Gauger (2002) discussed, if someone is not following the prescribed methods of UNESCO then they will be shown as lacking in knowledge and skills. There is not a lot of time and money to allow researchers to examine indigenous or tribal ways of knowing and how these could translate into the definition of basic education or how the perspective of the community is being approached.

EFA currently uses a 1978 definition of literacy being, "a person is functionally literate who can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing, and calculation for his own and the community's development" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 30). This definition is not culturally specific and questionable in how it is to be assessed. One of the goals is for countries to have a fifty percent improvement in levels of literacy; what if the country is performing above a fifty percent level? Literacy levels continue to be the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Tandon (1996), a Zimbabwean researcher, points out, "Africa stagnated for over three centuries as a direct result of slavery and colonial conquests. This part of global history must be kept in mind when looking at the contemporary African situation" (p. 1). Tandon also in his attempt to answer the question of what is the core of the struggle within Africa to meet educational goals says, "Opening up educational opportunities for the majority populations of Africa, introducing African languages as languages of instruction, constructing indigenous curricula, and liberating Africa from its intellectual recolonization imposed through educational policies designed elsewhere forced adoption of Euro-American curricula,

tests, and textbooks, and the erosion of the African languages as languages for intellectual pursuit" (p. 4).

There is also conflict in what type of literacy is being advocated. In 2005, UNESCO sponsored a research that was specifically devoted to the various understandings of literacy by different nations. Some of the findings of this research were: Brazil defines functionally literate as "individuals who have completed four grades of schooling, though some NGO's have been lobbying to redefine it as eight years of schooling" (Ribeiro & Batista, 2005, p. 1). In 1999, "literacy in Kenya was defined as a person who has had four years of primary education" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 143). Nepal, on the other hand, defines literacy as "being in Nepali, the three R's plus functionality" (Koirala & Aryal, 2005, p. 172). As one can see, literacy does not always mean the same thing. As for the donor agencies, their definitions have remained consistent with UNESCO. The donor agencies have specific objectives which explain why their definitions are narrower and pragmatic. There has not been a lot of research devoted to the problems associated with the defining of literacy in a culturally appropriate context.

Another interesting element to UNESCO's approach to literacy is their inclusion of Paolo Freire in descriptions of literacy programs. In 1986, UNESCO awarded Paulo Freire the Education for Peace Prize. In 2003 REFLECT (Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) was awarded a UNESCO prize for their work that was built on the work done by Paulo Freire (NRDC, 2005). Within documents that discuss "Freirian literacy," there were broad generalizations of Freirian methods, and the wording makes it seem like there is a "method" or "recipe" that can be followed to achieve his ideas. Throughout extensive reading of Freire's work, it is clear that Freire

used a method, but the results were always different. Similar methods did not always yield the same generative words or understanding that would occur from understanding the world and the word. Freire wanted to be critiqued and knew his methods needed to be altered for different groups. Freire acknowledges that people want a "quick fix," but realizes that a critical educator needs to look at the specific circumstances surrounding the students. (Freire & Macedo, 1987). UNESCO may follow similar patterns such as culture circles and generative words, but the political aspect of truly understanding the history and place of one's community is missing from UNESCO programs. Just using the same words Freire did does not make the literacy projects "Freirian."

In a report titled, "Literacy, A UNESCO Perspective" that was written in 2003, the challenges of literacy are expressed after doing surveys in several EFA countries. Particular attention was paid to low performing countries that continue to have low literacy rates. One of the problems that this research found was that once the communities became literate, there was no place to practice or encourage the literacy to continue. There was a lack of materials to read that were relevant and no encouragement to participate in cultivating their literacy (UNESCO, 2003, p. 26). Another issue that was raised in this research was that a lot of UNESCO EFA literature was beginning to refer to creation of knowledge societies and how literacy is so important for this to happen. One respondent in this study said, "While this [importance of a knowledge society] is important in wealthier parts of the world and wealthier sections of the population in poorer countries, it is hardly true for the millions who have neither the means nor the infrastructure to benefit from the 'digital revolution' " (UNESCO, 2003, p. 26). Literacy

definitions within EFA need to take these issues into their discussions and look for ways that truly embody Freirian literacy.

One educator who has been attempting to make a difference in the literacy struggles in Sub-Saharan Africa is Joseph Ki-Zerbo from Burkina Faso. Badini (2000), a researcher and scholar in Burkina Faso, describes Ki-Zerbo's educational philosophies and achievements in a paper for UNESCO. Ki-Zerbo, who was the Chairperson of Education for Africa, wrote a report for UNESCO titled "Educate or Perish." Many of his ideas have begun to be put into place under the funding of NGO's in the region of West Africa. Ki-Zerbo stressed the "democratization of education, linkage between education and training, enhancement of African culture and to overcome and inferiority complex through the adoption of national languages, and a positive interpretation of African history"(Badini, 2000, p. 22). UNESCO (2006) states that "Ki-Zerbo has documented mobilization for an 'Africanized' literacy that would directly respond to the pressing communication needs of the continent and this has motivate the introduction of Freirian methodologies by several NGO's" (Fernandez, 2005, p. 148). This is at least a step in approaching literacy from a culturally appropriate perspective.

When defining literacy it is important to see how it is measured and assessed. This point has been an area of conflict and there has been some research devoted to this issue. Most countries are assessed on progress by the same agency, Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP). Criticism has emerged in that the assessments do not adequately reflect the progress being made in many underdeveloped nations. Daniel Wagner (1999) expressed his concern that the data that was being received by UNESCO was not that reliable. "UNESCO has relied almost entirely on data from its member

countries. These countries, in turn, rely on national census information, which most often determines literacy ability by self-assessment questionnaires and/or by the proxy variable of the years of schooling" (p. 113). Understanding the landscape and isolated areas of many of these underdeveloped countries, it is not feasible to expect large numbers of people to complete a survey. They may not know the reasons the surveys are being given as the instructions might be in a state language, but not a language spoken by members of a community. They also may not be comfortable with releasing family information in countries that are having political turmoil.

More troublesome is the fact that national languages may differ from the languages spoken at home or in the community. Wagner (1999) points out examples like Senegal, Morocco, Ghana, and Mali, where French and English may be the official state languages, but, being Muslim countries, Arabic or a local dialect like Madinka or Berber may be spoken at home. If the survey is not in the local language, then the level of "illiterates" would be higher. In assessing how individuals or groups would rank themselves as literate or illiterate on surveys and questionnaires, the question of how to define literacy immediately returns. People may be operating under different meanings of "literacy" and therefore answering incorrectly according to UNESCO's terms. To return briefly to this area of defining literacy, Heath (1980) questions how UNESCO would define what "functional literacy" would be. The functionality of literacy skills may be dependent on the context. "Being able to read a newspaper may justify the label 'literate' in one context, but, in a second context may be a less relevant measure than a mother's ability to fill in a governmental form for her sick child" (p. 122).

The other research regarding literacy within EFA and how it is defined looks at the ways that it is promoted. Literacy is often promoted in underdeveloped countries as the key that will unlock the door. Mourchid (2003), a Moroccan scholar, looked at the role of educational policy reforms in his own country. He questioned whether or not a higher level of literacy necessarily improved one's life. (Mourchid 2003; Wagner 1999). The results from Mourchid and Wagner when looking at this same question was that improving literacy helped them, but did not increase wealth as there were no higher paying jobs that required advanced literacy skills. During previous research regarding educational policy in Bhutan, I found this sentiment echoed even stronger. If a Bhutanese achieves high levels of literacy in English, which is taught in all EFA schools, there is nowhere for him or her to work in Bhutan. They most likely need to travel to the US, Europe or neighboring India to gain employment. This is another example of "brain drain."

With the implementation of EFA, there are strict guidelines that accompany the policy. Countries need to meet the EFA goals in order to continue receive funding. In many underdeveloped nations there are not enough schools and teachers to adequately teach the population. Lack of qualified teachers is a problem that affects many parts of the world. As stated in the globalization section, SAP policies often call for better educated teachers in their field, but there is no money to help better prepare teachers. In 1990, after the Jomtien Conference, UNESCO forecast that Africa must "expand its teaching force at a rate of 5.6 per cent per annum during the 1990's if it was to cope with the challenges of meeting EFA goals" (Perraton, 2000, p. 16). Perraton's study found that the teaching force only managed to grow at a rate of 3.4 percent overall, which was a

little more than the growth in the number of children in school, but nothing like the rate that is needed to provide enough teachers (p. 17). Leach (2005) uncovered another startling and rather depressing fact in her study of teacher shortages in Africa. She found that in 1999 "860,000 children in Sub-Saharan Africa lost their teachers to AIDS" (p. 295). An article in the Angola Press stated "Sub-Saharan Africa needs at least four million additional teachers to achieve the UPE and EFA targets of 2015" (Angola Press, 2007). When reading this statistic one cannot help but be shocked. It is understandable why the lack of teachers is one of the most researched topics within EFA empirical research.

At a Paris High-Level Group meeting in 2005, it was noted that "the majority of teachers in several least-developed countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have, at the most, a qualification not exceeding the first level of secondary education and many of them have received no vocational training" (UNESCO 2005, p. 2). The teacher training programs are often out of phase with national development priorities in regard to literacy and the MDG's. Leach (2005) sheds light on the cycle that continues in lack of teachers in that the existing teaching force is under- qualified in academic and professional terms. New teachers receive inadequate training and "if pre-service training is a neglected area, in-service training is commonly even more underdeveloped" (p. 295). Another site of conflict is that the methods of education historically used in areas such as Sub-Saharan Africa are "Rigid chalk-and-talk, teacher-centered and teacher-dominated pedagogy. Such pedagogy places students in a passive role, limits their activity in class to memorizing facts and reciting them back to the teacher' and is also reflected in classroom assessment practices" (Dembele & Miaro, 2003, p .6). This type of education does not

lend itself to critical thinking skills or skills that would lead to empowerment for the teacher or the student. As Moon (2000) points out, "Existing institutions of teacher education created for the twentieth century will be unable to cope with the scale and urgency of demand in the twenty first" (p. 5).

In the study conducted by Aduwa-Ogiegbaen (2006), the teachers who were involved in the research were asked, "are educational services adequately provided in primary schools in Southern Nigeria[?]" (p. 178). The results of this study were that there are "inadequate or absence of learning resources" (p. 184). The lack of adequate learning resources has led to teachers not having access to materials and students not being able to achieve the EFA goals.

A common complaint echoed in presentations I have heard at UNESCO conferences is that there is no money for training teachers. In a study done by Rukingama (2005), who is a specialist for UNESCO's Regional Bureau for Education in Africa (BREDA), a lot of the same issues were echoed by many teachers and implementation experts from UNESCO throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. When the study was presented at the High-Level group meeting in Paris in 2005, a "teacher training initiative action plan was created and backed by financial resources. Forty-six countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were chosen for the first pilot and then fifteen more countries will be added in 2008" (UNESCO, 2005). According to UNESCO documentation, "for sustainability and ownership, a full-time national coordinator, proposed by the concerned country and selected by UNESCO, guides the initiative at the national level over four years" (UNESCO, 2005). There is no empirical research on how well this program is functioning. When interviewing educational personnel at sites of implementation in Sub-

Saharan Africa, I was surprised to learn that almost all of the interviewees had no knowledge of any program that has been successful in recruiting teachers. Common complaints were that the salary is too low, schools are located in rural areas and there are no lodging quarters for teachers, and the preparation is not sufficient for current teachers. The only program in which I personally met someone who had taken part was a World Bank effort to get teachers to open private schools in Benin. Teachers who left their jobs were given a financial incentive to start a private school. One teacher I met at the 2005 Oxford Conference was going to be quitting his job in order to pursue this. He felt he could create a learning environment that welcomed the home language and French together. The lack of teachers was so evident throughout the interviews and most did not see a way out.

The only other area within EFA that has been researched is the role of higher education and non-formal education of adults. This research is focusing on EFA literacy goals in the primary education and therefore will not look at the role of higher education and non-formal adult education. For such a large program it is interesting to note the lack of empirical research that focuses on EFA. As this literature review has shown, teacher training and defining the terms are the most popular research to do regarding EFA. This research adds a new dimension to the current focus of EFA research and fills a needed void for policy makers and other interested parties.

Conclusion

This literature review took three separate areas that are important to understand in a study of EFA. Each part is an integral piece in understanding how a program like EFA can be accepted, legitimized and enforced worldwide. It is the emergence of the new

global institutions that are central to starting the dialogue. These global institutions, as discussed, wield tremendous power and influence over underdeveloped nations around the world. They derive their power from their colonial histories. The major stakeholders, The United States and Western Europe, have a lot to gain by implementing these programs and being a part of these institutions. They are able to still exert control over the resources of former colonies. As this review has discussed, resources are not only products like oil, minerals, and other items. Resources are human beings. Under a theory of human capital, a human has a value to the extent they are educated. Like oil, there is a finite amount of oil, but the value can be increased when refined. There are also a finite number of human beings, and in underdeveloped nations, their value can increase by bringing in Western education. I admit this is a very crude analogy, but, unfortunately, it is true. The World Bank, IMF and UNESCO have as their goals for education to prepare workers for a "globalized world." As Allen (2001), Stiglitz (2002), Mills (1997) and Wallerstein (2006) express, labor is cheaper in poorer parts of the world and the majority of these parts are inhabited by former populations that were under colonial control.

Under human capital theory, those who are more educated have a higher value. Countries with large amounts of educated people are given higher value than those with low populations of educated people. This is visible through looking at the world as core, periphery, and semi-periphery countries. As stated, this same classification is used by the World Bank under the guise of low, middle and high-income nations. The higher status countries (core and high-income) will be comprised of more educated people and, therefore, in a global market, their workers will have a higher value than those from low-income, periphery and semi-periphery nations. The other problem that exists is that,

within nations, hierarchies begin to take shape. The people who have access to higher education can take advantage of the programs that are being implemented. They can take advantage of higher education and training, thereby increasing their status and value. The divide between rich and poor will continue to widen as the lower socio-economic members of the society will not have the same access to education and will be left behind. To use Bhutan as an example, the wealthier families can afford to send their children to college in India and the only university in Bhutan. To enter these schools, they must pass rigorous tests that require outside tutoring, which costs money and takes away from time spent working in the fields. Only the wealthy can afford this, so having a university in Bhutan is not bringing prosperity and value to the average rural citizen.

The governments of these underdeveloped nations want their countries to emerge out of poverty and internalize the ideology of capitalism. By adopting policies of neoliberalism, free markets and privatization, they are lured and or "pressured" into the belief that this will be their "golden ticket" into globalization. The problems, as shown by Stieglitz (2002), have been that many of these policies have done more harm than good. Private schools in Nigeria and other African nations charge such a high fee that children are starving to go to school. Even though free universal primary education was a promise made to many African nations, books, uniforms and other necessities have such high price tags that many families cannot afford to send all their children to school. AIDS is also a horrible occurrence in Africa where privatization of healthcare has left millions unable to get medication. This has drastically reduced the population and many children have become head of household, unable to attend school. Western education is touted as a panacea because it is not hard for a policy maker to come into an underdeveloped nation

and say that they will have the same thing Western Europe has, so that will allow them to achieve. Unfortunately like neoliberalism, Western education does not always produce such positive benefits.

The new Global RSA's and ISA's exert a control that is greater than any state government could have ever envisioned. Through policies like SAP's they are creating indebtedness that seems impossible to recover from. As many of the authors referred to discussed, this indebtedness is repeating a process of colonization. The power exerted by the new global RSA's and ISA's is legitimated and reproduced through ideological discourse that is sanctioned and put out by institutions like UNESCO and the Bretton Woods group. There is lack of research that looks at these issues from a global perspective, which this research attempts to fill the void.

Finally, an occurrence that happened May 2nd, 2007 in Belgium brings all areas of this review together. The World Economic Forum (2007) released a press release stating the following, "The private sector, governments, international organizations and donors have joined forces in an unprecedented partnership to accelerate progress towards EFA" (World Economic Forum, 2007). Key organizations driving this initiate were AMD, CISCO, Intel, and Microsoft. The release went on to describe how these stakeholders will contribute their "unique core competencies." They also described the in-country partnerships that will emerge from this and how they will enable countries to meet MDG. What is troubling about this is that these corporations are going to help countries develop "skills necessary to realize their potential" (World Economic Forum, 2007). This echoes of what Allen (2001), Stiglitz (2002), Apple (2000), Spring (2008), Wallerstein (2006), and Mills (1997) discussed in exploiting labor in poorer countries. It also echoes of a

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capitalist ideology. These underdeveloped nations see the prospects of having a Microsoft or Intel in their borders and skills for their population, but, as a critical educator, one must question if they are learning the skills for empowerment or are they being trained as cheap labor?   With this new development, there is a great need to address globalization from the institutional view and what ideologies are being disseminated and through what means.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research Design

This research is a qualitative study that involves interviews and a document analysis to answer the research questions as stated in the Introduction. The research questions emerged after reading and analyzing the existing body of knowledge about Education For All and its policies. This period of questioning and reading uncovered three main areas that I used to organize my Literature Review. The existing body of research fell into one of these three categories: globalization, ideology, and current EFA research.

Examining the existing literature about EFA involved searching for documents related to the formation of the policies involved in implementing EFA. A large portion of these documents are available online and in person at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, France. Meeting proceedings and other specific EFA documentation are all accessible from the archives in Paris. The documents are primarily in English, but for the

ones in French, I used a translator. There is also a service available in UNESCO for translation. There was one copy machine available, which I used to make copies of the documents that were hard copy. I was also able to purchase the Global Monitoring Reports at the UNESCO bookstore.[1]

During the analysis of the documents I looked at how EFA was formed. I looked for meeting proceedings that led up to the creation of EFA. I also looked through the articles written after each meeting occurred. I organized the document analysis by looking at documents that occurred around 1990, the creation of EFA, and then moved forward to the most recent. The six goals of EFA [2] also were organizing factors in the document analysis. They provided a roadmap to organize the large body of literature.

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[1] Global Monitoring reports come out every year and focus on a goal of EFA. The purpose of these are to look at progress and problems in implementation. These Global Monitoring Reports involve annual meetings in various locations around the world.

[2] The six goals of EFA are; 1. Expanding and improving early childhood care and education, especially for those most vulnerable and disadvantaged. 2. Ensuring that by 2015 al children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances, and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality. 3.Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programs. 4. Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult and children literacy by 2015, especially for women, girls, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all. 5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

These six goals are the motivating factor for the policies within EFA. These goals also form the themes of the Global Monitoring reports, which are a substantial part of the existing body of knowledge.

I organized the data in the document analysis under the six goals of EFA. I focused primarily on the goals regarding literacy policies. I looked for themes that were common in the various documents. Once I developed a list of the themes, I looked for how these fit into the six goals of EFA. My purpose was to focus on the connection of what was being said in the UNESCO documentation and how that was manifested in the actual policies and then the interviews. Were the themes and ideologies present in both the documents and the interviews? I narrowed my focus only to documents from 1990-present. I wanted to examine EFA only, not any previous educational initiatives.

In my organization I used critical discourse. According to Van Dijk (1988) "critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to revel the discursive sources of power, dominance,, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts" (p. 11). CDA allowed me to "uncover ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of words and written text" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22). A discourse analysis does not answer specific questions, but can aid in identifying assumptions and hidden motivations of a problem. This was useful in looking at how a global institution like UNESCO serves to maintain and perpetuate ideologies that contribute to maintain a system of global hierarchy. CDA allowed me to look at underlying motivations and, through the interviews, listen to what was being said and how it supported or refuted these motivations.

The UNESCO interviews took place at UNESCO in Paris and over the phone in September and October 2008. I interviewed eight members. The interviews were structured and contained the same questions. The only time the questions differed was to do a follow up on what was being said. In November, 2009 I had contacted several of the interviewees again to affirm some of their statements. The interviews were tape-recorded and I took notes. After the interviews, I listened to them and analyzed their responses to questions to see how their answers fit into the organization of the document analysis. I chose to organize the responses from the interviews in a chronological order of EFA documentation. This still followed the organization of the six goals, because each year a different goal was focused on. My questions also represented the six goals of EFA. The interviews lasted about 45 minutes to an hour each. Some of the interviewees had strong opinions regarding EFA and they felt the need to elaborate on some of the questions. All of the interviewees were fluent in English, so there was no need for a translator. Several interviewees gave me documents that they had regarding some of the questions about EFA. These documents were taken and, in some cases, translated into English.

The next sets of interviews were done in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Ghana, and Togo. These are all located in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The interviews were done with educational personnel working in primary school and familiar with literacy policies. These interviews were arranged beforehand through several UNESCO contacts who had arranged a contact with a local guide who was a former elementary school teacher. He made sure that interviewees received the consent form and a description of the research. These interviews were scheduled between September and November 2008. The interviews took place at the schools, mostly during school session. The only time this was

not possible was during a Moslem holiday in which the schools were closed. The interviews were structured and the same questions were asked to each interviewee (See Appendix A). The only time questions differed was when there was need for further clarification or an interviewee felt compelled to elaborate on a particular topic. The interviews were tape recorded and notes were taken. Each night, notes were compared to the recordings to see if they were the same. Once the interviews were complete, I looked to see what themes emerged.

The two sets of interviews were compared and sites of ideological conflict and congruence (i.e., the ideology that UNESCO EFA is promoting is not being disseminated in the way the EFA policy makers envisioned) were analyzed. The way the policy makers make meaning of the literacy policies within EFA and the way the educational personnel make meaning of the policies were examined. I also analyzed how the themes and ideologies present within the documents were being disseminated, having organized the document analysis in a chronological order around the formation of EFA.

Role of the Researcher

As an educated, white woman I bring with me unearned power and privilege when engaging in research which examines minority populations. Within UNESCO, my goal was to report my observations from interviews, meetings, and the analysis of the documents. While an institution bases a lot of its research on facts and numbers, I included this information along with observations. I have heard presentations that do not view EFA in a positive light and personally know some teachers who are struggling to teach in adverse conditions in EFA recipient nations. Even though I already have a preconceived notion of my feelings towards this program, the purpose of this research

was not to deem it "good" or "bad." I tried to not allow my personal connection with this program to influence the interview process or the document analysis. One of the reasons I chose to examine the program as a whole rather than a specific implementation was that I did not feel I was able to speak for a population I am not part of. Even though I looked at EFA in specific countries, I was more interested with the relation of these areas to the program as a whole. While reporting my observations and data from interviews with the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa, I tried to accurately represent their ideas and experiences. While my views of EFA are not representative of all the people in this region, the population that I represented is one that is part of EFA and the ideologies present within the program.

While interviewing the educational personnel in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, and Ghana, I arrived with unearned power and privilege. Being white, from the United States, and from an affluent family, I have not lived the experience of poverty that exists in these nations. I have been a tourist in underdeveloped nations, but never a researcher. As Ladner (1973) says, "The role of researcher and his [sic] subjects, by definition resembles that of the oppressor and the oppressed, because it is the researcher who defines the problem, the nature of research" (p. 49). There is a fear and assumption that exists within these nations when a white researcher arrives. Postcolonial scars still exist and this was very present in the way I approached the interviews. I found that in many of the schools the postcolonial scars were very apparent. As discussed in Chapter Four, many interviewees referred to institutions like UNESCO and The World Bank as colonial masters. Geographically too, this region is full of remnants of the colonial past. In particular, Benin and Ghana were so full of remnants of slavery that almost every village

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had some story they would recount. The Route D'Esclaves (Route of the Slaves) that went through the properties of four of the schools was a constant reminder of the scars of slavery. While these buildings and historical sites were not focal points in this research, they were constant reminders to me and the populations and played a part in the background during the interviews. I made an effort not to "other" the people with whom I am researching. As McLaren and Giarelli (1995) state, "In our attempts to understand the Other we do not need to take shelter in a universal citadel that houses Eurocentric, patriarchal, and colonialist narratives, one that stands above the messy terrain of textual, cultural, and geopolitical specificity or that removes us from the daily concrete struggles that characterize contemporary social life" (p. 10). It is important to "accept responsibility that comes with giving the world meaning and for providing spaces for subjects to understand the literalness of the reality in which their subjectivities are inscribed, the contexts through which such a reality is articulated and experiences which are imbricated in contradictory, complex, and changing vectors of powers" (McLaren & Giarelli, 1995, p. 11). My role as a researcher was to allow the voices of those whom I interviewed to be heard and create a space for empowerment. By using critical theory as a lens to interpret the observations, analyses, and interviews, my goal was to represent the people accurately and allow their voices to be heard. Critical theory provided a framework for the discussion of disempowerment, poverty, and racism.

Methodology

This research is a case study. A case study is, "the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system" (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). A case study is appropriate for this research because there is an identifiable case with

boundaries. EFA as a program is the case and it is examined through interviews and observations in two specific geographically bounded locations: UNESCO in Paris, France and Sub-Saharan West Africa. Creswell (2007) states, "cases may involve an individual, several individuals, a program, an event, or an activity" (p. 74). Though the research was done at two different sites, it is still focusing on a single case, EFA's literacy policies.

The theory this research is grounded in is Critical Theory. Critical theory focuses on the oppression of the individual, the group, and of society by self imposed or externally imposed influences. Peca (2000) refers to critical theory as "the highest level of obtaining truth is critique of reality through the dialectic whether an individual, social, or societal level" (p.4). Bodner and MacIssac (1995) also say, "critical sciences which operate in the emancipator domain include politics and education (p.62). Organizations are very important to the field of critical theory. Within organizations, communication is seen as crucial to understanding the totality of the organization. Using language that continues to reinforce the status quo, which can lead to domination over a group, serves to maintain systems of inequality. Critical theory allows one to analyze the discursive effects of the language of organizations while deconstructing elements of domination and inequality.

The ontology this research uses is phenomenology. Ontology, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) is "the nature of reality" (p .37). Phenomenology is concerned with understanding behaviors from the participant's point of view. Each person experiences the world based on his or her own reality. These realities and constructed experiences differ and can cause points of disagreement between people. Though people can reach a consensus, there can never be two people who interpret the world in the same

way. Phenomenological inquiry requires that researchers go through a series of steps in which they try to eliminate their own assumptions and biases, examine the phenomenon without presuppositions, and describe the "deep structure" of the phenomenon based on internal themes that are discovered (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Intensive interviewing to uncover the subject's orientations or his or her "life world" is also widely practiced (Costelloe 1996; Grekova, 1996; Porter 1995). In the "life world" is all of the remembered experiences and those that help us make meaning of and shape our world views.

For this research, the "life world" of the Sub-Saharan West African is very different from that of the UNESCO High-Level group member. For Korzybski (1950), each person possesses his or her own "map" which differs greatly from others. Groups though, as mentioned, can have a consensus. While each person has his or her own individual experiences, the shape the "map" or "life world" takes is not random. It is shaped by our experiences and histories within rigid social structures and guided by the dominant ideological discourse that is present in society. We internalize stereotypes and suppositions based on fear or lack of knowledge. Our maps are reflective of the dominant ideologies present. For example, the educational personnel in Sub-Saharan Africa have different life experiences that are constructed from their unique lived experiences. These emerge from the history as racism, exploitation, colonialism and poverty. This forms their "map." The UNESCO Working Group or High-Level Group member has his or her own unique lived experiences and expectations for the Sub-Saharan African in EFA. This is not achievable because the experiences are different and the policy maker is not taking that into account. The idea of what works for one will work for all is not taking into

account the individual maps we all have and the consensus that has been reached within our society. This type of ontology is compatible with critical theory in that one of the characteristics of a study based in critical theory is story-telling and narratives. The use of these allows the "voice" to enter which "provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism and beginning a process of judicial redress" (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 56). Within phenomenology, the individual experiences and the ways one interprets his or her own reality are important.

In examining how one is interpreting his or her experiences, it is important to also look at what is not being said. Leonardo and Allen (2009) speak to this notion of listening to what is not said in that "a researcher must also venture into meanings not readily perceptible in the data but must be deconstructed out of the discursive silences that it represses" (p. 9). The discursive silences that are present in any interview setting can represent areas of disempowerment and struggle. Inhabitants who lived under destructive and oppressive colonial rule were silenced in their oppression. Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000) talked about a culture of silence amongst colonized peoples. Cammarota and Romero (2006) speak to this culture where "liberation from the silencing force of oppression is extremely difficult for the colonized, because they tend to gravitate toward the model of living imposed by the dominant class" (p. 11). The discursive silences as discussed by Allen and Leonardo (2009) are present and contain the histories of colonization. By only looking at and focusing on the transcripts of the interviews and not paying attention to what is not being said, a large part of the analysis would be missing. In order to accurately represent the people I interviewed, I needed to also look at

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what was not being said and not dismiss the silence but rather deconstruct it through the lens of critical theory. By doing this, experiences of oppression and struggle can emerge.

Within a qualitative study, there is an epistemological assumption that "the researchers try to get as close as possible to the participants being studied" (Creswell, 2007, p. 18). An epistemology according to Ladson-Billings (1999) is "more than a way of knowing, an epistemology is a system of knowing" (p. 399). Ways of knowing are more than just how we think about things, but they are also is constructed from our worldview, and what knowledge we already possess. As a researcher it is important to understand the different experiences and "maps" each of us bring. Our maps are shaped by the experiences we have in the world and by internalization of dominant ideologies through schools, society, government, and our community. Within a qualitative study, epistemologically, the researcher "collaborates, spends time in field with participants and becomes an 'insider'" (Creswell, 2007, p. 17). To become an 'insider' one needs to have an understanding of the experiences of the group which one is studying. I bring with me to my research the ideological discourse of Western society. In doing a case study that involves interviewing and interacting with the African communities in Sub-Saharan West Africa, I must be cognizant of the power and privilege I bring. In order to lessen the distance between myself and the people I interviewed, I needed to be aware of the different experiences we each possess and what ideologies shape them.

The epistemological stance I chose is important in that it shaped how I interacted with the people interviewed. The epistemological stance this research takes is from critical theory. Critical Theory allows one to challenge what is held up as the dominant view. It offers a lens to deconstruct the stereotypes, myths, and false information that

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may exist regarding underdeveloped nations. Questions about control and the production of knowledge can be brought up through this method.

Methods

Sampling.

For this research I used purposive sampling. Creswell (2007) defines purposeful sampling as "the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (p. 125). For a phenomenological study it is important that the participants have experienced the phenomenon. For this research, at UNESCO, I chose to interview people who met the following criteria:

- History of working with EFA.

- Members of the High-Level and Working Groups, which are personally involved in the decision-making who are directly accountable to the donor agencies.

- Have experience in working with EFA in Sub-Saharan Africa.

- Knowledgeable of the literacy policies and may be involved in concurrent literacy programs like LIFE that are working with EFA.

- Western origin, or Western educated, living in the West. (UNESCO workers are located in Paris because that is where UNESCO is located.)

These criteria are specific in nature as these characteristics are representative of the population, from which I wanted to learn the most information. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) say, "The object of the game is not to focus on the similarities that can be developed into generalizations, but to detail the many specifics that give the context its unique flavor" (p. 201).

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For the educational personnel in West Africa, the criteria were:

- Directly working with EFA at an educational site (i.e., a school).

- Directly working with primary school children.

- Currently involved in the literacy program within EFA.

These characteristics are specific for the same reasons as the UNESCO ones. I wanted to find the group that is highly representative of the educational personnel in Sub-Saharan Africa. These two samplings were purposive and based on information from discussions with UNESCO EFA personnel in Paris and Mali at the UNESCO West African headquarters. I used contacts made at the Johannesburg Conference (2007) and Oxford Conference (2007), who are involved in educational projects throughout Africa. Through these contacts along with the UNESCO West African headquarters and Paris office, I was able to find a highly representative group to interview. I also was assisted in a small part by the travel company that arranged the journey in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The Guide/Translator that was used was a former elementary school educator and curriculum coordinator. Once I received the recommendations from the UNESCO EFA personnel in Paris and Mali and my contacts from the South African Conference, he was able to contact the schools and make sure that all parties understood the reason for interviewing. This was necessary since many of the schools needed to be made aware the there was no financial compensation for the interviews. I did pay for people's transportation to and from the school if it was a day they were not working, but besides that, there was no payment made. This detail was integral that it be understood before we arrived at the educational sites.

Setting.

The interviews were conducted in the settings which were natural for the interviewees. For the UNESCO workers, interviews took place at UNESCO in Paris, or at UNESCO conferences, which are held at UNESCO sites (UK, Hamburg, Zurich). The UNESCO EFA office is on the seventh floor of the UNESCO building at the Place L'Enfant, Paris. Posters from every "year of" since 1944 surround the building. The building has a bookstore, public cafeteria and museum. It is open to the public, but the EFA floor is closed for public viewing. One is required to get permission to enter the EFA floor.

The interviews with the educational personnel took place at educational sites (i.e., schools) in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, and Ghana. The interviews were conducted at their sites in the various villages. The villages were located mainly in rural areas of the countries. The only countries that have an "urban" area are Mali and Ghana. The urban areas are primarily business and government centers and do not have schools that are representative of the typical EFA school in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The schools in the urban areas have many diplomat and foreign children and are not representative of the population which this research is addressing. The only countries in which interviews were conducted in an "urban" setting were Benin and Burkina Faso. Even though the urban centers were large in population, the schools were very basic and lacking in most necessities. The urban centers were as underdeveloped as the rural areas; the only difference was the population. In most cases, there was no running water or electricity in any of the schools visited.

Gaining Entry.

For UNESCO, I submitted a request to gain entry for interview purposes. This request was submitted to the International Coordinator for EFA.I also personally contacted the people with whom I was familiar to set up interviews in Paris ahead of time. There was no problem in gaining access to the EFA floor and there were no problems in getting the interviewees to cooperate. Several of the interviews needed to be completed via telephone. There was also no permission needed to access the archives. All one needs to do is surrender their passport at the UNESCO checkpoint in the lobby and you are free to use the archive system. They have translators available for a fee if documents are not in English.

For the educational sites in West Africa, I contacted the Bamako UNESCO office in Mali, which oversees the schools in the countries I intended to visit. They were able to provide schools and personnel that fit the criteria. I then had my contact in Mali who was the guide/translator personally contact each school and give them the letter of introduction and intent to gain permission. Two weeks before embarking on the trip, each interview was confirmed, as there was very limited communication in the region. The only hurdle I foresaw before leaving was that of language. The guide/translator used was a former educator and curriculum coordinator and his English was perfect. All the countries, with the exception of Ghana, spoke French. I am fairly fluent in French so I was able to ask the translator clarification. I found his translations to be perfect. He did not interpret them in his own manner. I recorded all of the interviews and have been able to go back over them and was very pleased with the translations received. Many of the interviewees wanted to speak in English which was also very helpful, but I told them if

they wanted to speak French as well, it was fine. Only in one area was dialect very difficult and they used a more indigenous language. In this region, I needed to rely completely on the translator, but was I confident in his translating abilities.

Data Collection.

The types of data that were collected were: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, and physical artifacts. It is important in a case study to use multiple sources of information to be able to fully understand the phenomenon. The data for the document analysis was collected through physically examining the documents and policies. This was done through archived information and documents available in the UNESCO library or online. I copied and took photographs of those materials that I could not access online. I also took notes and formed the ideological themes that exist within them. This was all done on my laptop. The documents I collected were copies or photos of the primary documents from meeting minutes from EFA planning meetings and the documentation of the policies. I focused on the literacy policies of EFA and included any relevant information from concurrent programs like LIFE.

The interview data was recorded using a recording device on my iPod and a tape recorder. Only I had access to the iPod and tapes. The interviews were also uploaded on my laptop. I took many notes freehand. I recorded the notes from the interviews and compared those to the voice recordings for any areas that may not have been covered. The data from the interviews was stored on the laptop and on my iPod. I also collected EFA documentation at the educational sites that related to literacy practices and policies along with general EFA documentation. Some of this documentation was photographs of charts and teaching materials.

I did not have any problems collecting the data. The hardest part was organizing

the interviews with UNESCO. It was interesting that all the educational personnel in Sub-

Saharan West Africa that were contacted agreed to do the interviews knowing there was

no financial incentive. Once they were contacted, the interviews were set. This

organizing went through several people, but it was no problem and no plans were

changed. The UNESCO interviews, on the other hand, were very difficult to get. It took

many phone calls and emails to even get a response. It was very easy to do the document

analysis and they were very helpful at the archives and the UNESCO offices in Paris.

Once I got the correct contact, the International Coordinator for EFA was able to

distribute my letter of introduction and intent to the UNESCO personnel that fit the

criteria. Once he did this the interviews started occurring. In Matsuura (1996), the former

secretary general of UNESCO stated that it is not popular to speak poorly of UNESCO

within the organization. Maybe this is why it was so difficult. I do have to say, though,

that once the interviews were scheduled, the people I got were very open and easy to talk

to and provided amazing feedback.

Data Analysis.

The data from the document analysis was categorized into various ideological

themes. According to Leonardo and Allen (2009) "In ideology studies of qualitative

research, meaning becomes a political site" (p. 1). In analyzing the data, I looked at the

various forms of meaning making from the experiences of UNESCO workers and

educational personnel in Sub-Saharan West Africa. An important element of analyzing

the meanings is that it is important to "invoke a critical qualitative methodology that

emphasizes the repressed dimensions of members' meanings, or what we call

dismembered meanings" (Allen & Leonardo, 2009, p. 3). What is left out in analyzing

interviews and documents often contains the intersection of ideological conflict and

power struggles. When analyzing the interviews, I paid close attention to the silences and

motivations. Leonardo and Allen (2009) refer to, "reading into the data what 'is not there'

is warranted if the purpose is to excavate muted and marginalized voices" (p. 9). Critical

theory aims to expose the silenced voices as a way of exposing systems of oppression and

empowering people to develop counter ideologies.

While analyzing the documents, I looked for words that called attention to various

ideologies, (i.e. capitalist ideology, neo-liberalism, dominant Western ideology). These

words were categorized and, under the ideological themes, quotes and observations were

recorded. It was interesting that there were more phrases that were repeated which, as

discussed in Chapter Four, created the macro and micro levels of themes. Through an

ideological analysis, I was able to uncover the ideologies which were present in the

discourse. Van Dijk (1988) discusses how communities, groups and organizations use

language to defend or legitimate a position. It is through this language that, "ideological

discourse may thus serve to sustain or challenge social positions" (p. 136). The positions

that are being legitimated contain the ideologies which the dominant group wishes to

disseminate. Through a critical analysis of the discourse an "understanding of the nature

of power and dominance and how discourse contributes to their production" (Van Dijk,

2001, p.301) were uncovered. The benchmarks for success in a program like EFA and

what EFA values as necessary to fulfill the requirements also help identify what

ideologies are valued within UNESCO. These benchmarks are the goals of EFA. I related

the seven goals to the ideologies and then looked for how these are internalized through

the interviews at both sites. I looked at how the goals are incorporating the macro and micro level themes uncovered.

The UNESCO interviews were transcribed and I looked for words that corresponded to the ideological themes present in the document analysis. I also looked at how they made meaning of EFA and the literacy policies. These were related to the micro and micro level themes uncovered in the document analysis. As mentioned, I paid close attention to what is not being spoken. I made an effort to not be looking for meanings that fit what I wanted the result to be, but looked at the meanings as "spaces of ideological struggle within and among groups for status and privilege" (Leonardo & Allen, 2009, p. 5).

The interviews in West Africa at educational sites were written up and, as with the UNESCO interviews, they were codified in terms of words that communicated a particular ideological discourse or how they make meaning of EFA and the literacy policies. I also made note to observe the actual educational setting for educational materials provided by EFA. Were these materials consistent with what the policies convey? The themes that emerged from their meaning making were compared and contrasted with those of the UNESCO High-Level and Working Group. This was analyzed and looked at for points of conflict and agreement. I then looked at how the meaning making compared or contrasted with the ideological themes from the document analysis and the goals of EFA.

For both interview sites I described personal experiences each person had with EFA and its literacy policies. These were then organized around the micro and macro themes and then how they related to the goals of EFA. I looked for patterns that emerged

among the interview responses and how these related back to the document analysis. In the interpretation phase of data analysis, I developed a textual and structural description. These looked at issues of "what happened" and "how it was experienced". In doing this I looked at the results of some of the ideologies that were being transmitted along with the results of the goals of EFA. The manifestation of these goals on the populations of Sub-Saharan West Africa was examined through the interview questions and my descriptions of the educational setting. At both UNESCO and in Sub-Saharan West Africa, it was essential to understand how each group made meaning of EFA and the literacy policies.

The final step was the analysis of the ideologies present and, through an ideological critique of what ideologies are dominant in EFA and its literacy policies, counter ideologies were developed for the conclusion. In the ideological critique, the consequences are the points of ideological conflict in the meaning making of the UNESCO worker and the West African educational personnel. The difference in their experiences and how they make meaning show sites of conflict. What are the consequences of this disconnect if it exists? What consequences does this have on a program like EFA and for educational policy? These are the questions that were examined in the data analysis.

Trustworthiness/Validity

Credibility

This research used the following techniques to increase the likelihood that credible findings and interpretations will be produced.

Triangulation.

There are several methods that I used for triangulation. I analyzed the documents at UNESCO and interviewed with the same research goal of uncovering ideological themes and meaning making. During the interview process at UNESCO, I asked several questions to seek similar information as the interviews in Sub-Saharan West Africa. For the interviews in West Africa, there was a translator present and an observer who also took notes. At the end of each day we went through the interviews, each recanting what they heard and observed. This person was there to make sure I did not interpret things how I wanted. This person was also present to read drafts of the interview analysis. Another thing that I did is to have UNESCO workers who were not participating in the study look at my conclusions from the data analysis and the ideological themes that was created to get their opinion on my research. Last, I used counterstorytelling as a way to reinforce the "falseness of accepted premises, or myths, especially ones held by the majority" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 144). Within an institution like UNESCO there are ideological assumptions about underdeveloped nations. If an institution like UNESCO is an actor in reinforcing and reproducing a system of global inequality, then there are views that help reinforce this system. Counterstorytelling aims to shine light on false representation and premises. Counterstorytelling is also a way in which I, as a white researcher, can make sure I am representing the populations this research looks at without false premises.

Peer Debriefing.

The peer debriefing was done with two PhD's who are outside of UNM and are familiar with my research interests. They have read through my research and given their

opinion as to whether I am using good judgment and if it is consistent. Another way this was done was discussion amongst colleagues at international educational policy conferences which I attended. I was able to send what I was working on to them. These people were very good for peer debriefing as many have worked with EFA in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Member Checking.

This was done by immediately testing my conclusions from interviews with the interviewees. I was able to ask them questions to clarify at the end of the interviews. I also emailed them summaries or sent them through the guide/translator, as he travels the region extensively, and gave them a specified time period to respond if there were any inaccuracies. For the interviews in West Africa, if they were done with the translator, I played back their answers and offered them an opportunity to add any relevant information. When the dissertation was completed, I sent copies to UNESCO and people I interviewed for their feedback to ascertain if they were accurately represented. Being that there are great geographic distances involved, I set a time limit that I needed to hear back from them.

Dependability.

This was done in several ways. The first was through detailed field notes and journaling; I also checked and rechecked the data and the process. This was done through peer discussions and keeping records of my data analysis. I also did a dense description of my research methods. Through this dense description of the methods, I was able to do a replication of the research methods. I also had peers play "devil's advocate" and they challenged my findings.

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Chapter Four

UNESCO

Introduction

UNESCO is a large global reaching institution that exerts its control through

programs like Education for All. The discussions amongst the UNESCO policymakers

center on creating programs in the most underdeveloped nations of the world that would

help lead to development. This concept of development is foundational in UNESCO

policy. Without development the poorest nations in the world cannot become viable

workers in the global economy, or so it is believed. While this is a large view of what

motivated UNESCO policy, it is an important one to keep in the back of our minds as we

look at the development of EFA and what motivates UNESCO in their policy discussions

and planning.

While UNESCO is so vast that it seems almost impossible to focus on a common

thread that runs throughout the entire institution, there are some common ideologies that

guide them in their policy planning and discussions. One is that of globalization.

Globalization according to UNESCO is "a process characterized by shrinking space,

shrinking time and disappearing borders - certainly has the potential of bringing great

advances for humankind" (UNESCO). By getting rid of borders and shrinking space, the

cultural diversity of the people begin to disappear and blend into the norm, which is

Western culture. UNESCO was created in the shadow of World War II and had as its

motivation not to let atrocities that occurred in the war happen again. The founding

members of UNESCO said, "The new organization must establish the "intellectual and

moral solidarity of mankind" and, in so doing, prevent the outbreak of another world war" (UNESCO). From the time of founding UNESCO, the member nation representatives have held their position very high as one of creating universal peace, and providing basic human rights to the most underdeveloped nations of the world. There is a sense of obligation and duty to make the effort of helping underdeveloped nations. This is similar to what Spring (1998) refers to as "white love" which "serves as the justification and rationalization for imperialism, under the banner of saving a population from backward or savage cultures" (p. 10). This "white love" emerges in UNESCO documentation as a "moral obligation" that only they have been given the opportunity to undertake. Throughout the interviews with UNESCO policymakers, there was a sense of authority and obligation to do what they did. The policymakers took pride in EFA and expressed that this was the correct path for them. If a country is not meeting EFA progress and UNESCO is providing the basic human right of education, then, as several policymakers expressed, UNESCO cannot be blamed for the lack of progress. UNESCO cannot be blamed for denying access to education if EFA is implemented throughout the world. They are paving the road to development for the poorest nations in the world. If they follow the plans and implement EFA the way UNESCO desires, then the belief is that they have the same opportunities to become developed.

Within UNESCO there are commonly held beliefs that hold the people together as a cohesive planning team. This is similar to corporate mission statements and a corporate culture that exists in multinational corporations. There needs to be something that brings people together across borders and language barriers. As discussed, the role of globalization is a major theme. Globalization is espoused by UNESCO because many of

the member nations are profitable capitalist societies. Without the promise of globalization to the underdeveloped nations, the Western powers that control UNESCO would have overwhelming guilt that they were not working together to "save a population." Once the population is "saved" they can join the work force. Most of EFA's goals center around creating a viable workforce that can contribute to the economy in their country and the world. If EFA can help produce literate workers then the investment was worth the effort. Human capital theory works in conjunction with globalization in that people are reduced to economic units. When people are reduced to numbers, reporting on how well countries are doing can be done by producing tables that show progress and avoiding focusing the lens on the real situation that is occurring.

The information collected through the interviews and the document analysis centered on these themes that exist within UNESCO discourse. The themes are: globalization, education is a human right, education equals development, and human capital theory. These three themes will guide our examination of the information gathered at UNESCO. Within these three themes, subthemes emerge, but it is these themes that form the ideological framework for how EFA is planned, implemented and evaluated. Before I begin the discussion, I want to give a description of the experience of going to UNESCO headquarters and a brief discussion of who the policymakers are.

UNESCO Headquarters

UNESCO headquarters are located at Place de Fontenoy in Paris, France. Place De Fontenoy is an unassuming neighborhood with large old buildings. It is quiet and very residential. I was expecting something more akin to the United Nations in the middle of busy Manhattan. The building is surrounded by artwork of all the themes of decades

since the building was inaugurated in November, 1958. Three architects from three different nationalities were chosen to each build a wing of the "Y" shaped building. The architects were Marcel Breuer of The United States, Luigi Nervi of Italy, and Bernard Zehrfuss of France. The main "Y" shaped building houses the entrance, bookstore and archives. Upon entering it is similar to going to an international festival. There are people from all different nations speaking many languages. Even in seeing various policymakers and other UNESCO workers from other nations in traditional dress, they are carrying laptops and briefcases just like the Western counterparts. The iconic building seems to evoke a certain reverence for those who enter it. There are many guards and one has to surrender their passport if they are not a French citizen. Upon entry I needed to sign several releases stating that I would not disturb any meetings in progress or take any information that is not for public knowledge. There is a café on the seventh floor which anyone is allowed to go to, but people still had to pass through the same security barriers.

My first time going to UNESCO happened to be during a rather large meeting which focused on literacy initiatives in Africa. I was not allowed to go into the meeting, but there were many people from Africa waiting in security. The guards spoke mainly French and many of the African nationals were confused about surrendering their passports and signing all the waivers. It was rather chaotic as the French speaking security did not want to adapt to the situation. I thought that this must happen a lot because there are so many meetings occurring at UNESCO. The only languages that I heard spoken to anyone were French and English. I speak French and heard a French speaking African asking questions about their passport and how they would get it back. The guard acted as if this person was speaking a completely different language. His voice

got louder until a colleague turned to the African national to help. This seemed odd in such an international setting. It made the impression on me that UNESCO, although an International organization was deeply rooted in English and French language. More specifically, a Western English and French language.

I surrendered my passport and told the security officer that I was there to visit the Education For All offices and the archives. EFA occupies the entire fifth floor of the main building. The EFA offices are crowded and busy. There are Monitoring Reports piled high for that year and all other years in boxes. There are at least twenty people working on EFA in the Paris building. Many are administrative assistants to UNESCO employees who are in the field. The administrative assistants were extremely helpful and knowledgeable in pointing me in the right direction for my research. I proceeded to ask the secretary who I should approach first to get access to interviews and how to go about this. This required explaining my research to her and why someone from New Mexico was concerned about EFA in Sub-Saharan West Africa. I was told to approach one of the directors first and that way I would get permission to solicit interviews and access the archives. I did not have an appointment so I did not think I would be able to talk with this individual. The secretary informed me that he was in a meeting and if I went up to the café, he would come up after he was finished.

The view from the café is majestic with the Eiffel Tower in the middle of the horizon. The history of France, the art, and the culture all take center stage in this view. It is easy to see why it is considered one of the most beautiful cities in the world. All of the monuments commemorate some military victory and inspire a sense of awe. There were several school groups visiting UNESCO and were being told how France is the host to

the most important international institution in the world. The school children did not seem impressed by this. It reminded me of when I was teaching in New York City and took my sixth grade class to the United Nations General Assembly. They were not impressed either. It was nothing spectacular that their countries were hosts to organization like UNESCO and the UN. It seemed natural that they should hold so much power in the global hierarchy.

Finally the director found me in the café. The Director for International Coordination is from Mauritius, a small African Island in the Indian Ocean. He was educated in Paris and spent time at The World Bank. He was very relaxed while I proceeded to tell him about myself and my research. He too seemed surprised that an American would be concerned about EFA in Sub-Saharan West Africa. He asked why I was so concerned about it, and I told him about my background and my area of study in Critical Race Theory. He began to understand what the draw was to that region, but said, "It's absolutely dreadful there." This seemed an odd comment for a director to make. I assumed that people would want to work on EFA out of a sense of obligation and empathy for the underdeveloped struggling with education in the world. I did not expect the attitude that it is "dreadful" in that region. What made it even stranger was that this person was from an African nation. Mauritius is the third highest rated nation in Africa in terms of their Human Development Index (HDI)[3] whereas the nations in Sub-Saharan

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[3] Human development index is used to rank countries by human development. They are ranked on three dimensions; life expectancy at birth, literacy rate and gross enrollment ratio, and the standard of living. This index is commonly used to categorize countries as "developed" or "developing."

West Africa are all in the lowest categories of HDI in Africa. This was of interest to me because the Director was from a nation that seemed to look down upon a region like Sub-Saharan West Africa. From the literature read and the discussions with the Director, being from a higher "developed" nation that scored higher on the HDI index gave him authority to generalize and pass judgment over a lower performing region. This interview set the stage for how I began to see the three themes emerge in the interviews, data, and my experiences at UNESCO.

The Actors in EFA

It is necessary to give an overview of who the actors in EFA are and what their responsibilities include. There are many people who work on this program all over the world, but there are two main groups. EFA is coordinated and monitored by several groups internationally. The two main groups are the High Level Group and the Working Group. The High Level Group is comprised of top-level representatives from recipient nation governments, donor government representatives, development agencies, UN agencies, civil society, and the private sector. Its role according to UNESCO is "to reinforce political will in order to accelerate progress towards EFA, strengthen partnerships, identify priorities, and mobilize more resources." (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2009). In the last High Level Group meeting in Oslo, Norway, member nations were urged to pledge at least four to six percent of their GNP and fifteen to twenty percent of public expenditure to education. This pledge was done to the UNESCO General Assembly and to the recipient nations of EFA. This is supposed to help close the yearly funding gap of at least seven billion dollars for EFA. They also created a task force called Teachers for EFA that plans to address the global shortage of teachers in the

most vulnerable regions in the world. The High Level Group makes declarations and policy that is then pushed downward to the Working Group.

The Working Group provides technical guidance to all partners of EFA. They are responsible for facilitating information exchange between all the various international partners. They meet annually in Paris and discuss the progress from the last year. The people in this group are primarily government representatives, representatives sent by donor agencies, and people from the private sector who specialize in various areas of education. Many of these meetings are comprised of UNESCO EFA staff and outside agencies like DFID[4], and CCNGO/EFA[5] .

Their annual meetings highlight issues that need to be addressed. The Global Monitoring Reports emerge from these meetings. The Working group takes the recommendations of policy and action that the High Level Group decides on and tries to figure out ways to implement it. There is a lot of overlap among these two groups. I have attended a UNESCO yearly meeting and members of the High Level Group are very vocal in matters of the Working Level Group. The High Level Group does not see its responsibility as going out in the field and meeting with the representatives. The

[4]DFID, The Department for International Development is located in London and works with international organizations like UNESCO and The World Bank. They coordinate and organize assistance in their 64 international offices for EFA efforts.

[55]CCNGO/EFA – The collective consultation of NGO's (non government organizations) on EFA was established after the Dakar 2000 meeting to reflect the recommendations of the Dakar Framework for action and to encourage cooperation between UNESCO and outside partners. It was created to make sure that follow up activities are taking place to put the Dakar framework into action.

members of the Working Level Group are the ones who are supposed to go to a

UNESCO field office for meetings in various regions of the world. The High Level

Group tends to meet in more developed nations, whereas the Working Group meets in

countries where EFA progress is a focal point. Recent working level groups have held

their meetings in underdeveloped nations like Senegal, Mali, and Cote D'Ivoire.

These groups also work on a local level with agencies. While UNESCO

documentation states that there are seven African agencies in the Sub-Saharan region that

they work with as partners; none of the UNESCO interviewees who work in the region

mentioned any of these agencies. I only know of these agencies from UNESCO meetings

and UNESCO literature.

Education: a Human Right and the Road to Development
Providing Education is our Moral Obligation

For those UNESCO personnel I interviewed, education is seen as a moral

obligation. The sense of a moral duty and obligation is also conveyed by the UNESCO

archives museum. The declaration of 1942 for the founding of UNESCO is prominently

displayed with several phrases taken out and enlarged on the walls above and below.

Some of the phrases that are displayed are "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in

the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed" and "in full and equal

opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the

free exchange of ideas and knowledge". These are directly from the preamble to the

declaration. Throughout UNESCO there are posters and pictures that establish the long

history of policy and planning. The building inside is marble and white, resembling a

lavish European building. There is a lot of history in this building. You feel a sense of

international cooperation looking around at the diversity of people going in and out of the building and the posters and artwork depicting various themes around the globe. There are also a lot of pictures of UNESCO world heritage sights that also made me ponder the global reaching power of this organization. They have a foot in every corner of the globe, be it education, world heritage sights, or health. UNESCO policies are seemingly everywhere.

The moral obligation of UNESCO to provide a basic human right such as education is guided by their underlying feeling of superiority in knowledge and culture. There is a definite push for Western systems of education and language in the underdeveloped nations of the world. As stated, this moral obligation comes from a place of "white love". The 1990 meeting at Jomtien attended by representatives from many different countries held as its motivation the current state of education in underdeveloped nations. It is from this meeting that the nations in attendance pledged to each other and the world to do something about the situation. The nations of the south were suffering illiteracy, poor health, and corrupt governments. There was no discussion as to how previous colonial regimes may have created these situations, but there was talk of how they can "save" these people from continuing to go further down the paths they were on. While there was no "religious" aspect of EFA, Rafael (2000) argues that saving means the replacement of native languages with English and changing native cultures (Rafael, 2000). EFA set out in 1990 to increase literacy by 50% in western languages like French and English.

If education is a basic human right, or so EFA documentation says, then other organizations and agencies will want to be a part of such a moral undertaking. Once they

are achieving EFA goals then they are ready to become a viable workforce. If they are not literate and not under the universal education system that is being pushed, then they cannot be part of the global workforce. This will be discussed in detail, but keep it in the back of your mind while we discuss the moral obligation UNESCO claims to have made to the poorest nations in the world.

The Jomtien meeting was attended by 155 nations and representatives from 150 international agencies and organizations. The focus of the Jomtien meeting was motivating everyone under the banner that it was their collective moral obligation. It is UNESCO's obligation. At the opening address of the conference, UNESCO used dramatic statements to get people to join them on their moral cause. At the start of the 1990 meeting the Secretariat General of UNESCO said,

> On the threshold of the 21st century, the world faces major global challenges characterized by the threat of economic stagnation and decline; widening economic disparities among and within nations; millions of people dislocated and suffering from war, civil strife, and crime; widespread environmental degradation; and rapid population growth (UNESCO, 1990, p .4).

This statement set the stage for the UNESCO policymakers to start their mission of creating an "intellectual and moral solidarity" (UNESCO, 1990). UNESCO as a global reaching institution took on this problem. It was up to them to create a world without these problems, or at least to create programs that gave the impression that they are alleviating some of them.

Education as a Human Right

Every year UNESCO publishes a Global Monitoring Report which focuses on one of the six goals of EFA [6]. The yearly meetings of the Working and High Level Groups meet to discuss the results of the reports. In 2003, the Global Monitoring Report looked at the need for a "rights-based" approach to policy. In 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared that "Elementary education should be free and compulsory and that higher levels will be equally available to all on the basis of merit," UNESCO did not think that over fifty years later this right would be so far from being realized. According to UNESCO (2003), "A rights-based approach to improving access to education of acceptable quality gathered pace, providing a basis for a comparative assessment of national progress." Viewing education as a human right is a foundation for UNESCO's educational policy planning. They view education as the key to open up doors to development. A rights based approach also feeds the moral obligation of UNESCO so that they feel they are providing basic human rights to those they have deemed are denied access.

A human rights approach to achieving EFA goals has a lot in common with UNESCO's "human development and poverty reduction paradigms" (UNESCO, 2001, p. 42). This paradigm holds the capability approach which creates a framework for

[6] The six EFA goals are 1. Expand early childhood care and education, 2. Provide free and compulsory primary education for all.3. Promote learning, life skills for young people and adults.4. Increase adult literacy by 50%. 5. Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015. 6. Improve the quality of education.

evaluating development policies and processes. "Policies are judged to be successful if they have enhanced people's capabilities-- whether or not they have also affected income, growth, and other important means to an end." (UNESCO, 2001, p. 45) In order to enhance capabilities, basic education must be available to all. UNESCO feels that without basic education the poorest of countries cannot develop capabilities and are denied a basic human right. This is the first report that devoted a substantial amount of time looking at research and discussing the role of development and capabilities.

During the interviews one interviewee stated his feeling about the obligation of providing a human right to the poorest nations in the world. While he spoke I was aware of the wealthy, beautiful scenery from the UNESCO offices. In the shadow of French colonial architecture, he gave his view on Sub-Saharan West Africa and the importance of providing them with education

> The region has been plagued with disease, poverty, draught, political turmoil, and other disasters. They need so much help to reach these goals. In 1990 UNESCO was aware that this region was going to need the most assistance and that made it all the more necessary. It is a human rights violation not to provide education. This region is suffering and needs to be pulled out of their situation (Marc, UNESCO).

Marc's words echoed the feeling of the policymaker to provide the rights they believe are necessary to achieve EFA goals.

The 2003 Global Monitoring Report also focused on the concept that education will lead to development, in particular the education plan of EFA. According to UNESCO, when a country is a recipient of EFA and follows the prescribed courses of

action, they will work their way to being a developed nation. While this is in words only, UNESCO policymakers assert that they are giving the tools for development.

> EFA has been designed and planned according to educational systems that are successful in the North. These systems are based on a planned curriculum that exposes the child to important skills necessary to compete in the economy. If the countries in EFA follow this design and are successful, there is no reason they cannot move up the scale to a more developed nation (Pierre, UNESCO).

By stating that if the country follows the prescribed plan they will move "up the scale," a nation like Burkina Faso begins to buy into the ideology of globalization and human capital theory. Declaring the education provided by UNESCO is a "human right" it takes on a loftier feeling. It is as if it is being handed down from a higher power. This higher power is UNESCO, which is run by the powerful Western countries.

We Have Provided the Education: If a Country Fails it is Their Own Fault

UNESCO documentation and interviews yielded this view of the country being at fault if they are not progressing in EFA goals. UNESCO contends that it is providing a human right and trying to right the wrongs of previous generations. They are trying to accomplish lofty goals and move countries forward. If a country is not responding in the manner which they hoped, there is a belief that it must be something wrong at the country level. Early EFA policy did not involve the local levels, which led the way to criticism. In Jomtien documents it was stated that UNESCO would have representatives in the various countries. There was no discussion as to how aid would flow to the schools and vulnerable populations. When the 2001 meetings were held to look at progress towards EFA goals, there was great concern in the poorest regions, like Sub-Saharan West Africa,

because they were not making progress. One of the working group members said this about the issue:

> In Jomtien UNESCO thought that if they laid out the plan it would be easy to follow. Maybe not easy….but the map would be there for countries to see. They would know if they did certain things, they would meet goals. The aid was set to go to countries. Some places excelled and looked like they would make 2015 deadlines, but many places in the South were not getting there fast enough. Our optimism was waning for achieving the goals in the time frame set. When we discussed this in Dakar it became apparent that those countries had corrupt governments and aid was not flowing properly. We needed to gain trust and cooperation from the people in these countries. The only way to do this is to involve the local level and work with them. They had to feel like they had some sense of ownership of EFA. They had to know that we were working with them. We thought this would change the situation and lead towards making progress (Francois, UNESCO).

Francois reiterates UNESCO's feeling that a country needs to feel as if they are a part of EFA. Previous policy that was created in Dakar did not involve ownership at the country level. By involving the nations and giving them a sense of ownership, UNESCO believes that it will encourage them to achieve EFA goals.

Giving local authority a place in EFA planning was a big part of the Dakar meeting in 2000. When goals were not being met, UNESCO did not want to blame themselves. They were quick to point out cultural and political reasons certain regions

were not succeeding. The Dakar 2000 meeting created the Dakar framework for action[7],

which laid out the challenges facing EFA and why the goals of the World Declaration for

Education that produced the six EFA goals. Within this new framework for action was

the issue of the role of national governments. The Jomtien meeting created the six goals,

but the governance of the program was done by representatives of UNESCO and other

international organizations that were in charge of monitoring EFA progress in recipient

nations. In Sub-Saharan West Africa, many of the nations were, and, are still going

through civil strife, so it was up to UNESCO to ensure EFA goals were being met. It was

the moral obligation of UNESCO to see that the goals were being met. The new

framework for action put governance of EFA into the hands of the national governments.

There was more involvement of local educational ministers in organizing their goals

around those of EFA. In the original wording of Jomtien documents there is a lot of "we

declare" and "we the representatives pledge to." There were no deep discussions about

how to work with the local governments of the recipient nations.

The framework for action says:

We recognize that governments have the principal responsibility for ensuring

adequate financing of basic education. Included in this responsibility is the leadership

that government shall play in facilitating partnerships at all levels with civil society

agencies, the private sector, NGO's, religious groups, communities parents and teachers'

associations, teachers' trade unions, families. We seek partnership with stakeholders, not

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[7] The Dakar framework for action was a reaffirmation of the goals of the Jomtien meeting in 1990. It

pledged the international community's strategy for ensuring that the goals of EFA were met.

simply in cost-sharing, but for the whole education process, including decision-making,

management and teaching toward this new form of partnership (UNESCO, 2000, p. 107).

There was a renewed emphasis on reporting and how to get the local

governments on board with this. From 1990-2000 there had not been a lot of progress in

EFA. When asked about the lack of progress from 1990-2000, a member of the Working

Group said,

> Everybody was on board and the Jomtien meeting was exciting as for the first
>
> time in UNESCO educational policy history, we had conducted comprehensive
>
> studies and focused our efforts on six goals. At the time, the time frame was ok.
>
> In 1990, 2012 or even 2015 was far away and we felt ready to tackle this program.
>
> The problem happened when there was no one at the local level that was in the
>
> field to communicate the strategy. Dakar 2000 helped create a way to
>
> communicate this to the countries (Pierre, UNESCO).

When there is no local level person to relay the messages of UNESCO, then there is no

way for others to buy into the promises EFA makes, or so UNESCO policymakers

believe. For UNESCO to be successful at spreading their ideologies there need to be

people who are allies with UNESCO to enforce their agenda and strategy to meet EFA

goals. These people, according to UNESCO, need to buy into the power of UNESCO in

bestowing human rights on them and the promise of development. UNESCO still needs

to have a guiding place in EFA even though they share in the governance with local

people. Spring discusses this idea of an institution or power still needing to maintain

some form of control in *The Universal Right to Education*, when he discusses how post

colonialism is an extension of the colonial system (Spring, 2000). After the colonial

powers have pulled out of many former colonies, there still needs to be institutions in place to oversee development in the region. These institutions, I believe, are the new colonists. UNESCO is one of these institutions and EFA is a policy that is promising development. The local governments need to be allies with UNESCO and spread their message.

The 2003 Global Monitoring Report set the stage that individual countries need to commit and need be responsible for their progress. Dakar had created a shift in including the local governments in the policies of EFA. The shift was now turning to put the blame in place if countries were not meeting EFA goals. This report also focused on the most challenged regions and expressed concern for them meeting 2015 goals. Sub-Saharan Africa was discussed as having many obstacles in order to achieve major goals like universal primary education (UPE) and halving literacy rates. In 2001, it was projected that the US would need to provide $4.5 billion per year to reach 2015 goals and that Sub-Saharan Africa will require 85% of this external assistance. (UNESCO, 2001) Sub-Saharan Africa has been targeted as being one of the most challenging regions; yet the idea that it was the countries' individual fault for not meeting EFA goals was expressed by several of the interviewees. For example,

I joined UNESCO in 2007, but in 1990 regions like this [Sub-Saharan West Africa] spurred the EFA policies to be enacted quickly and then in 2000 created a timeframe to achieve the goals. I have been to this region and for every step they take forward it is like they take two back. They get aid but it is very corrupt in many of the countries and the aid does not get to the right people. I think EFA is

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improving their situations, but they were so far behind it is taking much longer

than originally thought (Luc, UNESCO).

Policymakers are quick to blame the governments in place for aid not getting to the right

person or place. This is another excuse the policymakers like Luc can offer for a country

not meeting EFA goals. This takes the blame away from UNESCO and plants it firmly on

the recipient nation.

Education equals Development

Education bringing about development is a powerful concept that can change

many attitudes towards a program like EFA. The underdeveloped nations of the world are

suffering from the scars of colonialism and exploitation. There is a drive to be part of

globalization and increase economic prosperity in their country. This is discussed further

in Chapter Five during the analysis of the interviews in Sub-Saharan West Africa. By

creating the link between development and education, UNESCO is able to sell EFA as

the ticket to becoming developed. In the EFA goal of increasing literacy by 50%, there is

a lot of discussion of how important literacy is to being a productive member of society.

Literacy is one of the backbones of EFA. In past years there has even been creation of

programs like Decade for Literacy and Literacy for Life, which seeks to increase literacy

in the most vulnerable regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa. These offshoots of literacy

programs are able to get additional funding for materials and teachers in addition to the

EFA funding. Jeanne, in an interview done in the UNESCO cafeteria said this about the

importance of literacy:

Literacy is a human right that has been taken away from many of the poorest in

the world. Without literacy they cannot participate in their community activities.

Literacy is the key. We thought that achieving UPE (universal primary education) would be the most important. 2006 [The Global Report focusing on the lack of improvement in Literacy] really made us stop and refocus on literacy (Jeanne, UNESCO).

Following is a chart that shows the literacy situation for Burkina Faso from 1991- to the present.   There are complete charts for each of the nations in this region in the appendix. (See AppendixD)

Percentage of adults and youth who are literate (2007)
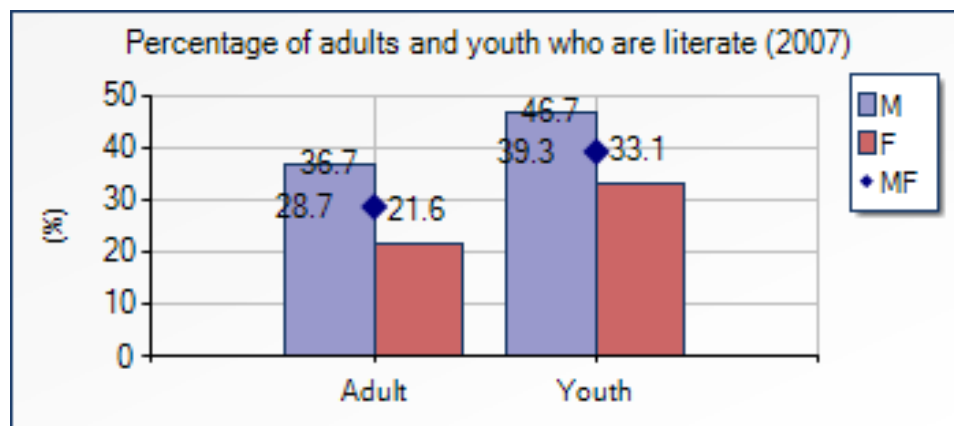
UNESCO Institute for Statistics- Literacy Rates for Burkina Faso

Literacy is held up in the Global Monitoring Reports as one of the key benchmarks to meet in order to become productive citizens. Literacy is an integral part of the basic education component of EFA[8]. In Sub-Saharan West Africa, the language of instruction and testing is French and in Ghana, English. Home languages are not part of this paradigm. There are not enough resources to teach native languages and develop a

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[8] EFA states that every child should have access to free and quality basic education. Basic education is the education a child receives from kindergarten to 5th grade.

way to assess alongside English and French. While countries that currently have a bilingual educational policy in place like Honduras (UNESCO, 2008,) EFA funding does need to support the effort, but countries in this research do not have bilingual programs in place or money to support one, so EFA funding cannot create a new program for them. English and French are viewed as languages of development and keys to access to the global economy. This will be looked at in detail later in this chapter.

If education is the key to development, then literacy is essential, or so the thinking goes at UNESCO headquarters. As Jeanne expressed, literacy needs to come before everything. Even if one achieves UPE (Universal Primary Education) without literacy they have nothing. The Global Monitoring Report of 2006, titled "Literacy for Life," looked at the issue of literacy and how EFA was not meeting literacy goals and that literacy tended to be the most neglected goal of EFA. As stated by Jeanne, up until 2006 attention had been focused on achieving UPE, achieving gender parity, and quality of education. UNESCO created a Decade of Literacy in 2003 which worked with EFA on the literacy goal. They came to the belief that literacy is integral to human rights and without the ability to comprehend one's own situation through reading, there is no need for the other goals. Another concern was that the World Bank Millennium Development Goals only targeted two EFA goals: achieving UPE and gender parity. Literacy was not given the attention that it should have. EFA also recognized that women who are literate pay more attention to health thus improving the overall health of their communities. The 1990 Jomtien meeting declared, "The challenge of literacy is in a much broader context meeting the basic learning needs of every child, youth, and adult" (UNESCO, 2006). The

new focus was on literacy as a societal issue and not just an individual one. The assertion was that without literacy, the moral obligation of providing education could not happen.

By turning the focus to literacy as the key to development and education, there needed to be accurate ways of assessing literacy rates. There was a general feeling of mistrust for the data that was being provided by the countries. Marie, a member of the Working Level Group spoke about this.

> In many underdeveloped nations when they [the teachers] administer literacy assessments to the students, they [the students] have memorized the answers. In the poorest schools they give the students cards and they use memorization and repetition to learn. They learn what they need to for the local school district tests.

> This is a problem that we are trying to resolve even today (Marie, UNESCO). Being able to accurately assess literacy is a widespread problem in Sub-Saharan West Africa because the data is not always current or accurate. Without accurate data, UNESCO cannot state that they have delivered the EFA goals. Another issue with assessing is that native languages are not used in schools. This is a major problem for Sub-Saharan West Africa. There are no extra funds to have bilingual education or create materials in students' home language.

Literacy can also mean different things to different people. In many of the countries this research looks at there is a national language and a Mother tongue. The national language, French and English, is what is measured for literacy. The Mother tongue is, in most cases, not allowed to be used in school. UNESCO is aware that there are indigenous languages, but they tend to focus their gaze on the national language literacy data. For many children their parents do not even speak the national language, so

unless there are opportunities outside of school to practice English and French, the students do not speak it outside of the school. When defining literacy, UNESCO wanted to incorporate all aspects into the definition. This is why they use a definition of "functional literacy" which is defined as being able to "engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing, and calculation for his own and the community's development" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 102). This report focuses a lot of attention on declaring all the positive effects literacy has on a society. And, with all these positive effects, why has literacy been neglected? UNESCO, in the 2006 Global Monitoring Report UNESCO declared that literacy is a human right. According to UNESCO, "Literacy is a right, indeed an essential part of the right of every individual to education, as recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 68).

UNESCO is aware of the issue of native language, but they also see themselves as helping these communities become proficient in French and English, which are the national languages.

In many of the schools in the region you will be going to, the home language is not taught in the school. In most cases it is not even allowed. In the region, French is the only official language and is the only language that is used in school (Luc, UNESCO).

I realize that many children come to school with their home language, in most cases indigenous. In school the curriculum is in the official language of their country (French), I have heard that some schools are creating some opportunities

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for the home language. This is an area EFA is not very clear. We monitor literacy

rates, but those are in the official language, not the home language (Pierre,

UNESCO).

Both Luc and Pierre acknowledge that the home language is still being spoken outside of

the school, but that it is the national language that is being assessed.

Marie was quick to point out that without French or English, the citizen will not

be able to be productive. There is an underlying message that the home language will not

bring productivity.

A child that concentrates on the home language and does not learn to be proficient

in the official language and or English is not going to be able to a responsible

citizen of their country (Marie, UNESCO).

Being in French speaking Africa, Marie's comments echoed Fanon's (1967) feeling of

speaking and learning French. UNESCO believes that French is the language that is

going to allow a citizen to become a responsible member of society. UNESCO believes

that they are giving opportunities by giving the French language. UNESCO is selling

EFA as a key to open the doors that have been closed to the underdeveloped nations.

Another interviewee, Jean, also implied that French and English are the only languages

that will help them and that there are no resources to spend on the indigenous languages.

EFA is so massive; we cannot make provisions for every indigenous language.

Education is going to give these Southern populations the tools to be economic

participants in the future. They need to know French and English. Those are the

official languages that will help them (Jean, UNESCO).

As mentioned, there are exceptions where UNESCO supports a bilingual program that is currently in place along with EFA. I found these only to be programs that were Spanish and English bilingual, not indigenous languages like Madinka or Bambara of Mali. The ability to be functionally literate according to UNESCO is to be able to "engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing, and calculation for his own and the community's development" (UNESCO, 2006, p.102). This definition has not changed throughout EFA's history. This definition is also not culturally sensitive being that there are different languages spoken all over the world, and the main languages of EFA are English and French. The work of the EFA policymakers in creating literate societies is never ending. They meet often and as mentioned are involved other initiatives that work alongside EFA in their pursuit.

For UNESCO, the interviewees implied that if they cannot provide literacy to the underdeveloped nations of the world, they are not giving them the human right of basic education. The policymakers are operating under the ideology that education is a basic human right that it is their moral obligation to fulfill. If they [UNESCO] are unable to provide basic education then I believe they would feel as if they had not succeeded in their moral obligation they spoke of. As we shall see in the next section, this human right and moral obligation allows them to offer the promise of globalization.

Globalization

Globalization is one of the guiding ideologies of UNESCO doctrine. UNESCO is a global reaching institution with a lot of power. The programs and policies they set in place have global reaching capabilities and can alter the hierarchy of nations. From the

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opening address in Jomtien 1990, UNESCO painted a picture of underdeveloped nations suffering from corrupt governments, illiteracy, poor health, and other economic indicators. This set the stage for EFA and got people motivated to work on providing opportunities. The moral responsibility UNESCO has in providing education extends itself in wanting to bring the underdeveloped nations into their globalization ideology. The promise of gaining access to or higher status in the global economy is at the forefront of UNESCO's motivation. Once a country is given access to globalization, they become future workforces to UNESCO, being placed there by the ideology of human capital theory that UNESCO also promotes. "Education has become a vehicle to support globalization" (Stromquist, 2000, p.xiv). Through education, priority can be given to specific forms of knowledge and can be a vehicle for global institutions to have influence in the types of vocations and skills that are taught.

While globalization is not one of the six goals of EFA, it is a guiding doctrine use to motivate governments and communities to participate. Empowerment through education is a central theme running through the policies. When asked about the promise of globalization within UNESCO's policy, Marc said the following:

> We don't promise globalization to the poor southern nations- what we do give
>
> them is a key to the door. If they follow EFA and achieve literacy rates similar to
>
> the North, they are functional and productive. They can join the global economy
>
> and participate. The doors are not closed to these nations, they just need our help
>
> through EFA- we are giving them direction, education, and the tools to make it in
>
> the world (Marc, UNESCO).

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Marc talks of "giving" direction, education and tools. There is no talk of working with the people to see what systems are already in place that could benefit the country. The systems currently in place are not satisfactory to lead an underdeveloped nation to globalization. Stiglitz (2002) says, "Globalization itself has been governed in ways that are undemocratic and have been disadvantageous to developing countries, especially the poor within these countries" (p. 16). This statement is similar to EFA policies of English and French only in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The native languages of these countries are not good enough to compete in globalization.

At a meeting in 2001 that looked at progress since Jomtien, the meeting proceedings yielded the following statement about the High Level and Working Groups' investment of effort for globalization.

> The effects of globalization need to be examined, there needs to be retooling and reconfiguring education and training at all levels enhancing productive capabilities, mainstreaming gender in order to identify and address inequities. Laying the foundation necessary for dealing with the new global environment by equipping students with the essential employability skills- problem solving, critical thinking, analytic and evaluative skills, willingness to adapt to change and commitment to lifelong training. (UNESCO, 2001).

This statement shows that UNESCO looks at their role as creating the changes necessary for these nations to be part of globalization. They claim to know what is needed and what needs to be done. French was a colonial power in many of these nations. They are exerting their control to offer globalization to the underdeveloped nations in Sub-Saharan West Africa.

Without EFA the Underdeveloped Nations Have No Future

UNESCO policymakers believe that without EFA and the opportunities that it

will bring, nations like Burkina Faso, Benin, Mali, have no future. They are still headed

on the road to worsening health care, economic divide, poverty, and illiteracy. It is

because UNESCO feels that they know what is best for the underdeveloped world that

they can exert their control over them. The people in Sub-Saharan West Africa see how

successful the countries of the West are and, as I will show in Chapter 5, they want to be

a part of it. The policymakers feel the pressure to make sure EFA is successful. There is

great concern that goals will not be met by 2015. At a meeting in Paris with Marie, a

policymaker from UNESCO, she reflected on a conference held in 2008 that was held to

rethink how to achieve EFA goals.

> At the time 2015 was only 7 years away. We have been trying to achieve these
>
> goals for over 15 [years] and are still so far behind. There is a sense of urgency to
>
> complete it by 2015. I don't know what will happen to EFA if we do not succeed
>
> (Marie, UNESCO.)

Marie was concerned that EFA would not get the funding necessary if goals were not

starting to be met with more speed. I asked what it would mean if EFA did not succeed.

> It would be terrible for the countries of the South. They would be lost and go
>
> further down to the bottom. There would be no way to raise them out of their
>
> troubles. We would need to rethink how to effectively make change and how to
>
> effectively bring the poorest people in the world up to a higher standard. They
>
> would fall further and further behind while the North is still being successful. We
>
> need to work but it will never be equal (Marie, UNESCO).

Marie's believed that UNESCO was giving the countries of the South an opportunity to move up to a "higher standard." She also was honest is that even if they moved up, they would never be equal. She seemed aware of the great divide that exists between the North and South and no program, as I believe, could even out the situation of inequality.

"The North and South will never be equal" was a statement that I heard several times when I discussed the role of EFA in accessing globalization. When talking about the 2009 EFA meeting that focused on Governance, Henri, a UNESCO policymaker said,

The North has the benefit of culture and language and a history of being successful. Our success has not come about by necessarily good deeds. Colonization led to a lot of our wealth and when we left the nations they became increasingly poorer and poorer. Our duty as representatives of UNESCO is to help and achieve some balance and give these nations the chance to be a part of the new global economy. Give them access to computers to be part of the digital age and let them learn skills to compete. Will it ever be fair? No it will never be equal, but that is not necessary for them to get access (Henri, UNESCO).

Henri holds assumptions that allowing access to technology will start to balance some of the inequalities that he feels exist as a result of the actions of the North. He also holds the assumption that the South does not have "culture" or "language", which he states that the North has the benefit of. This view is similar to that of the Mills (1997) description of Africa as "Non-European space is thus demonized in a way that implies the need for Europeanization if moral redemption is to be possible" (p. 45). For Henri, he expresses the view that the North is superior because of the language and culture and thus is the savior of the poor South.

There has been great concern that EFA goals will and literacy goals will not being met. The blame is not staying solely with UNESCO. Many interviewees were fast to point out that the countries need to follow through. Stephen, when asked about the 2008 meeting which reexamined EFA, said this about not meeting goals.

> EFA has been in existence since 1990, now its 2008 and some things have improved but many things have not. In the most vulnerable regions, we cannot get adequate commitment to follow through. We can't achieve our goals without cooperation and if we don't achieve our goals I do not know how we will proceed (Stephen, UNESCO).

This is still a problem even toady as we are less than five years from the deadline. Luc expressed his concern,

> We have five years to meet EFA goals on time and even those have been extended. The global economy is growing and these countries are losing their chance to be a part of it. They need to commit on all levels. The Aid is slow, but it comes to them. They need to recognize this as the future for their people. If they don't meet these goals by 2015, we need to seriously think of our next move (Luc, UNESCO).

We Need to Accomplish EFA Goals

The urgency of each consecutive meeting to look at what goals are not being met and what can be done to meet 2015 deadlines is felt throughout the analysis of EFA documentation and the interviews. Even today there is still doubt that the goal will be met in the next five years. This urgency is motivated by a belief in the good of globalization because, through accomplishing EFA goals, the populations in the underdeveloped

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nations are closer to being able to contribute as human capital to the economy of their country.

> Its 2009 and we can't see some goals like literacy and gender equality being accomplished by 2015. The sooner we can meet our benchmarks, the sooner the populations of the poorest nations can join in the global economy. They will have the skills necessary to compete and be an active participant (Marie, UNESCO).

It is as if the citizens of the poorest nations are not contributing or accomplishing anything. Without the skills taught through EFA and literacy in English and French, their communities appear to be stagnant with nothing of value.

The views expressed by the UNESCO interviewees are similar to Mills (1997) description of how Africa is perceived by the developed world. There is an assumption that nations in regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa do not have anything of value to add to the global economy. The policymakers make assumptions that without the assistance of UNESCO the countries of the South would not achieve anything. Mills, in *The Racial Contract,* describes a non-European state as:

> *"*The non-European state of nature is thus *actual,* a wild and racialized place that was originally characterized as cursed with a theological blight as well, an unholy land. The European state of nature, by contrast, is either hypothetical or, if actual, generally a tamer affair, a kind of garden gone to seed, which may need some clipping but is really *already* partially domesticated and just requires a few modifications to be appropriately transformed- a testimony to the superior moral characteristics of this space and its inhabitants" (p. 46).

Sub-Saharan West Africa, according to the views of UNESCO policymakers and their documentation, is void of any worthwhile economic or cultural contribution. Even the UNESCO documentation paints the picture of the underdeveloped nations as being corrupt with poor healthcare, education, and lack of literacy. While many of these characteristics are fitting for the region, there are still forms of indigenous knowledge, culture, arts, and community economies that support the community. These are farming enterprises and local crafts that are used on a daily basis. These are not on the same scale economically as Western nations, but they are important and recognized by the citizens of Sub-Saharan West Africa. In the next chapter I discuss the view the educational personnel[9] had with UNESCO's sense of urgency to complete EFA goals by 2015.

The 2008 Global Monitoring Report titled, "EFA – Will We Make It?" brought forth even more of a sense of urgency. This report looked at how UNESCO will achieve the goals by 2015 and what issues are currently standing in the way. Most countries by 2008 had not achieved UPE and if things do not change 58 of the 86 countries that have not achieved UPE will not make the 2015 deadline. (UNESCO, 2008). Literacy is still at the top of the list of neglected goals. 72 out of 101 countries without accelerated efforts will not half their illiteracy rates by 2015. The previous years' issue of early childhood care and education has not even made a change in Sub-Saharan Africa. There also needs to be an increase from 2.1 million teachers to 4 million teachers to reach 2015 goals. Donor countries need to give the amount they pledged in order to achieve the necessary

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[9] The educational personnel are the teachers interviewed throughout the region of Sub-Saharan West Africa.

changes. These are just some of the issues that this report discussed. The primary focus was on the need for governments to renew their commitment to EFA and ensure that they will follow through with necessary action to meet 2015.

From this report came many initiatives to shed light on how grave the situation was in the poorest nations. This meeting was attended by all of the interviewees and many expressed that this meeting was their final call to action to make EFA a reality. If people did not heed the warnings presented by the data discussed in the report, then EFA would fall apart. The urgency was expressed even stronger by several of the interviewees.

> EFA has been in existence since 1990. Now it's 2008 and some things have improved but many things have not. In the most vulnerable regions, we cannot get adequate commitment to follow through. We can't achieve our goals without cooperation and if we don't achieve our goals I do not know how we will proceed (Stephen, UNESCO).

The UNESCO policymakers interviewed felt the urgency to increase involvement in the most vulnerable regions. Stephen along with Pierre are struggling with a strategy to achieve a level of success.

> It has been 18 years since Jomtien. This is the last chance to push forward and make EFA goals. I have been working over 15 years on this program. This is the most important policy I have ever worked on – it has the power to really bring change to the poorest nations in the world. We need to figure out our strategy soon. With the financial crisis occurring all over the world, donors are not so eager to give as much- we need to come to a resolution to make EFA work (Pierre, UNESCO).

Pierre implies that this EFA is the most important program he has ever worked on. He assumes that if EFA can be successful then it will change the poorest nations in the world for the better. Without coming to some resolution, EFA will not make meet the 2015 goals. The sense of pride and ownership by UNESCO for this program was expressed by several interviewees, including Pierre. As discussed, they feel as if they have a moral responsibility to accomplish it.

Human Capital Theory and EFA: We are Creating Future Workforces

EFA policy is guided by human capital theory, which looks at education as an economic variable in raising productivity in workers. One main premise is that by imparting knowledge and skills, the lifetime earnings of future workers is increased. This way of creating policy reduces the individual to numbers that are analyzed in terms of economic outcomes and the accumulation of profit. Whether or not a policy is beneficial for the health of a culture is not taken into consideration. From the earliest EFA documents from Jomtien, the promise that countries who achieve EFA goals will become members of the global economy has been touted. In the Jomtien proceedings it was noted that "access to information is perceived to be vital to economic development and power" (1990). The information that is being provided is chosen though by UNESCO and is based on what they deem to be necessary to be productive. During my interviews at UNESCO, I was fortunate enough to be able to speak with someone who was present at Jomtien and when I asked what EFA meant to him, he said,

> In Jomtien we knew we were embarking on a difficult road, but the benefits that could come about as a result of the policies overshadowed any fears we may have had. We were giving educational access and providing skills for the poorest

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nations of the south that would help them become productive contributors to their

society. They would be able to take part in the global society (Henri, UNESCO).

Henri alluded to the benefit of EFA being that the citizens of the underdeveloped nations

would be able to develop skills necessary to be productive and contribute to their

economy. The belief that providing the knowledge necessary to gain skills was prevalent

through UNESCO documentation and interviews.

We Make Sure There is Aid, They Need to Allocate it Properly

Aid is a big part of EFA. There are several large donors, including the World

Bank, International Monetary Fund, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and

the United States. The amount pledged to support EFA has increased gradually from

1990 to the present. The 2000 Dakar Framework for Action said, "Government spending

on education is a reflection of a country's commitment to education and also a key factor

in financing Education for All. It has been argued that governments should invest at least

6% of GNP in education." (UNESCO, 2000, p. 68). This is particularly harsh for nations

like Burkina Faso, which has a GNP of $17.41 billion as opposed to that of the United

States which has a GNP of 1,2970 billion. Nations in Sub-Saharan West Africa have

extreme concerns of poverty, water, food, and in many cases, a lack of money for

education. This issue of spending was discussed in the interviews.

If a nation is truly committed to becoming economically successful and a part of

the global community, then they must look at what they are doing and realize that

the return on allocating more money to education is very great (Pierre, UNESCO).

Pierre has internalized the ideology of human capital and feels that if a nation is serious

about EFA and being part of the global community, then they need to take action and

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realize that money needs to be allocated towards education. The assumption is that money for education is more important than allocating for other expenditures.

> Nations need to set their priorities and make sure they support EFA in their country. They need to allocate money and with the aid they receive, they need to put education above all else. How else will the children be able to contribute to their nations' prosperity? (Jeanne, UNESCO).

In order for EFA to be successful a nation needs to be buying into the ideology that education will bring prosperity and development. This ideology is believed and implemented through policies by UNESCO. Both Pierre and Jeanne assert that countries need to focus their efforts on EFA and be willing to allocate resources for education. The UNESCO policymakers are selling the outcome of joining the global economy as the prize for doing this. There is no consideration taken into how different each country is and the political, cultural, and social issues that exist within them. Each country in this research has its own individual issues. In some countries there are tribal conflicts, whereas, in others, there are corrupt leaders. UNESCO policymakers tend to make blanket statements and generalize about large regions based on data. They look at Sub-Saharan Africa as one entity, not as individual countries with their own set of circumstances.

Under the EFA goal of UPE, all children need to have access to free, compulsory, and quality education. If every child has access to basic education, then skills can be imparted upon them and they can continue on to be productive contributors to their nations' development. One of the problems of UPE that UNESCO addressed in Global Monitoring Reports was that it would take a lot of educational expenditure to realize the

goal of UPE. The report "Education for All: Is the World on Track?" looked at the

concept of education as having a productive value to the forefront. Consistent with

human capital theory, rates of return on investing in education are looked at as the

motivating factor for underdeveloped countries to devote more of their budget towards

education. Getting countries to commit money and governments to follow through with

allocating education enough money was a major focus of this report. I asked one of the

EFA team members what was being done to encourage countries to do this.

> The World Bank is a major partner in funding EFA as two of EFA goals are
>
> included in the Millennium Development Goals. In allocation of aid the World
>
> Bank can advise money to be set aside for education. The countries that are in the
>
> most need for education need to prioritize their spending and realize that the
>
> return on investing in the education of their citizens is the most important
>
> investment they can make (Pierre, UNESCO).

Francois had the following to say about getting countries to allocate funds towards

education:

> When we met in Dakar there were representatives from all the nations. We
>
> presented data that showed how countries that held education as a priority and
>
> provided it to all children were participating in the global market.(Francois,
>
> UNESCO).

A UNESCO report stated that governments' commitment to EFA can also be measured

by the share it devotes to education relative to other budget expenditure (UNESCO,

2007). Both Francois and Pierre uphold the view that if a country is willing to commit

resources to EFA then they will be successful. The problem that is occurring in Sub-

Saharan West Africa is that so many other problems like Aids, lack of food and water, illiteracy, and proper healthcare are taking precedence over other expenditures.

There is pressure by UNESCO and donors on the recipient nations to make the commitment to meet UPE. As mentioned in Chapter Two, UNESCO has often taken the role of mediator between an underdeveloped nation's demand for educational funding and the World Bank's distribution of resources. Through their role as mediator, they have "both represented and helped to define third world educational needs" (Mundy, 1998, p.458). When the topic of funding came up in the interviews they had strong opinions that there is funding , and, yes, it has lessened in the light of the recent financial crisis. But, the responsibility falls on the nations themselves.

> With each meeting and report we discussed how the countries needed to be more involved and how they needed to allocate money for education. A government if it is serious about meeting the goals by 2015 needs to put priority on education and put more money into it. If they spend on education they will get the return in the new productive, literate work force (Stephen, UNESCO).

Stephen believes that money will provide the opportunities and create literacy. Money alone cannot provide this. UNESCO policymakers need to realize that just allocating funds will not equal success. There are other factors like materials and qualified teachers that also make literacy a reality.

In the past years countries pledged more money to EFA. The US increased aid from $57 billion to $72 billion between 2002-2004. Sub-Saharan Africa increased from 26% to 32% of the aid. There are five main donors that make up the majority of aid. These are; France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 2007

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there was a renewed effort to get more money from other areas. UNESCO tries to make sure the money gets to where it is supposed to. One UNESCO document argues, "Donors are more likely to honor their aid promises if they see evidence that countries are using aid effectively" (UNESCO, 2007, p. 188). I asked several UNESCO people if using aid effectively meant making progress.

> If a country does not make any progress in literacy and they receive a large pledge of aid from a donor, the donor might question how the money was spent and not follow through with the full amount (Jean, UNESCO).

> When a country receives millions of dollars to help achieve EFA goals, we expect to see an effort to achieve this or the country might not receive such a large pledge the next time. It takes commitment and they need to commit their effort since we are committing our resources (Pierre, UNESCO).

Jean and Pierre, along with the other interviewees, imply that money equals progress. Just because a donor has given money towards EFA efforts, it does not always reach the correct channel and increase learning. The policymakers also believe that countries that are not making progress are not utilizing the aid effectively. The policymakers have not taken into account the channels in which the money is funneled through the economy. Unfortunately, Sub-Saharan West Africa is plagued with corrupt governments that do not always allocate aid in the manner the people need it. This is a problem for the region that is not properly addressed by UNESCO. There is a lot of blame from the policymakers on the countries not making progress that they are not using aid effectively or devoting resources to education. The money alone will not bring success and reliance on the aid will not bring independence.

Get Every Child, Including Girls, into School to Achieve Prosperity

One of the goals of EFA is to meet gender parity of enrollment by 2005. Participants at the meetings in 2003 looked at gender and equality realized that this would not be accomplished by 2005, but felt that 2015 would still be viable. The focus of getting all girls into school and developing skills in them is part of the human capital approach of EFA. The more skilled workers that can be created through schooling, the better the economic situation can become. UNESCO policy spends a lot of time discussing how to give girls equal opportunities through access to education. In some countries, such as Mali and Benin, girl's enrollment has increased and, in some cases, they are even outperforming the boys. The problem is that even if they do well in school, once they finish, there are no jobs for them. The girls are expected to take on familial and cultural roles like their mothers. There is no industry in the villages and most villages rely on subsistence agriculture or handicrafts for their economy. Outside opportunities are not readily available to the average village girl. The culture needs to change in regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa for girls to see the incentives of getting an education. The cultural responsibilities are far too great in Sub-Saharan West Africa. UNESCO is aware of the cultural blocks girls face and much of the Global Monitoring report of 2003 addressed this. In one of the interviews, when the topic came up about how to motivate communities to keep girls in school, I was told,

>   It is a difficult thing for these girls to break out of their culture. In the strict Moslem countries the girls are often married at young ages and then they become the mothers and wives for their village. In other areas girls must work hard with the other women. This is their future, how will they want to send their girls to

school when there is no future beyond the traditional role of the girl (Jean,

UNESCO).

Jean asserts that there is not a future in education for girls in the region, but Pierre sees

the contribution girls could make in the economy.

Gender equality is so important because the women of these nations can be

productive contributors to society and be a part of the economy (Pierre,

UNESCO).

Once the girls are in school there is no incentive for them to remain there. There are

familial and cultural obligations that outweigh schooling. UNESCO does not see it in this

way. They feel that if the girls are educated and acquire skills, the jobs will come.

"The attainment of necessary skills like literacy and numeracy by girls will bring

development. Companies will want to create jobs and opportunities for the newly skilled

workforce" (UNESCO, 2004).

Marie, when asked about the jobs that would exist for girls once they were

educated said,

The first step is getting the girls into school. Parents need to realize that they need

to send their daughters to school. They will gain the skills so that they will be able

to work for their community. I believe that once the large corporations in the

West see this new workforce in the South, they will want to create opportunities.

This can better the situation greatly in the poorest countries (Marie, UNESCO).

Marie asserts that if girls do not have access then no changes can be made. She is

assuming that once girls are educated that the region will be attractive to outside

corporations to invest in future workers.

Along with getting girls into school, the push to get every child enrolled is very strong throughout Sub-Saharan West Africa. Unfortunately, most schools have enrollments beyond their capabilities.

The same argument holds true that if children get the education, they will become productive citizens. Investment in new schools and teachers is based on creating a viable future workforce. When discussing the goal of UPE, Luc had the following to say,

> We are getting every child into school which is one of the most important components of EFA. In order to accomplish our goals of increasing literacy and providing quality education, the children need to physically be in the school. These nations need to realize that sending their children to school is the first step they can take to development (Luc, UNESCO).

Getting every child into school is an important task, but what happens when they are out of school? Luc went on to say this,

> Once the population becomes educated and literacy rates improve, development will follow. Opportunities will open up when the future workforce can read and solve numeracy problems. Without the skills they are not a viable workforce. Multinational corporations will see opportunities and offer economic opportunities to these nations (Luc, UNESCO).

UNESCO works hard to sell the idea that if every child goes to school, jobs will come. I believe this message has been internalized by the leaders of the underdeveloped nations because the leaders of these nations are striving to submit data that shows they are striving to meet EFA goals. For example, the enrollment rates are the most important information a school in Burkina Faso sends to the district office. The office does not care

if there are no books, they just want the numbers. These numbers are usually discussed in the media when they talk about meeting EFA goals. The leaders of nations in Sub-Saharan West Africa have signed on to take part in EFA and are striving to make progress. UNESCO policymakers believe that they are all on board to accomplish EFA goals. At a UNESCO conference in 2006 the following was said in the proceedings:

> "Countries in the south have united together and forged their belief in Education for All and the importance of universal primary education. They have realized that education will bring development and pledged to ensure every child goes to school" (UNESCO, 2006).

From 1990 till the present enrollment numbers have increased in the poorest nations, the outcomes of these increasing numbers is less clear.

The Numbers Tell the Story

UNESCO and other donor agencies like the World Bank and IMF like to see numbers to get the big picture of a situation. One of the problems with just looking at the numbers is that the culture of a community is left out. Another problem is that under the promise of economic returns, vulnerable populations can be taken advantage of by policymakers. UNESCO uses numbers to get more donors, but while the donors may be blinded by the illusion of success, the story is that the numbers are not telling the accurate facts

In 2001, after the Dakar meeting, members of the High Level and Working Groups, along with some donor representatives and regional educational ministry delegates, met to discuss the Dakar Framework for Action and how to conduct monitoring. They set as their goal to "agree on a series of interim milestones and

sufficiently small intervals for appropriate interventions to be implemented effectively"
(UNESCO, 2003b, p. 341). This group formed the EFA Observatory, which was a group

of the various experts created to monitor EFA progress. The monitoring work done from

1990-2001 was not adequate as there were differing definitions of terms within EFA

goals and there was not active involvement by local government agencies. Many just

turned over raw data that had been collected on school attendance, test scores, literacy

rates, etc. But these were not uniform; they were only based on common indicators. This

meeting in Paris developed 18 indicators that helped clarify the six goals of EFA into

terms that could be universal. [10] While the individual indicators are not that important, it

is important to note that EFA was finally creating a system to monitor progress towards

the goals that all recipient nations could follow. The problem with this is that for some of

the indicators there is not accurate data available, especially with school enrollments and

completion rates. In the rural areas, records are not kept as well as in the urban centers.

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[10] The indicators were 1.Gross enrollment, 2, % of new entrants to primary grade 1 who have attended

some form of early childhood development program, 3.Apparent gross intake rate: new entrants in primary

1 as a % of the population of official entry age , 4.Net intake ratio, 5. Gross enrollment ration, 6.Net

enrollment ratio, 7. Public current expenditure per pupil as a % of GNP and GNP per capita, 8.Public

expenditure on primary education as a % of total public expenditure on education, 9.% of primary school

educators with qualifications, 10.% of primary school teachers certified by national standards,

11.pupil/teacher ratio, 12.Repetition rate, 13.survival rate of enrolled who enter primary 1 and finish

primary 5, 14.Coefficient of efficiency needed for a cohort to complete primary cycle. 15.% of pupils

reaching primary 4 mastering set of nationally defined basic learning competencies, 16.literacy rate of15-24

year olds, 17.Adult literacy rate, 18.Literacy gender parity index.

As I learned while in Sub-Saharan West Africa, there are no rural offices of education. Representatives visit the school from the educational offices in the capital city. When data is collected it is sent through many people to reach the city educational office. In the urban areas, teachers and principals are able to give their data directly to the appropriate person. While visiting a district office in the capital city of Bamako, there was a lot of confusion as to where data from rural schools was and who was in charge of it. Getting accurate data was one of the problems that several UNESCO interviewees expressed.

> It is hard to know whether or not the data is accurate. When we get information about how many students complete elementary school, it is hard to tell how accurate it is. Some students come in late and others leave school. It is a difficult thing to measure (Jeanne, UNESCO).

Policymakers like Jeanne questioned the authenticity and accuracy of the data, but still used it to create EFA policies.

> The data we are able to gather may have some inconsistencies in it because of the size and scope we are dealing with, but I believe that it is accurate for the purposes we need it for. We want to look at it from above and see how a country is doing and where there are problems. The numbers we are getting fulfill this purpose (Luc, UNESCO).

Luc, also realizing that the data may not be 100% accurate, justified it by implying that they were interested in the "big picture" not the individual snapshots of a village. He felt that the big picture was being seen through the numbers.

In Sub-Saharan West Africa, schools report their enrollment rates to a district office at the start of each year. The numbers are taken in the first month of school and then another set of numbers may be sent at the start of the second half of the year. UNESCO has sold UPE to recipient nations under the context that every child entering school and getting educated will increase their economy. The investment in every child being educated will pay off in the future. While human capital theory tends to look at training in specific skills, the education that is being espoused by UNESCO for EFA is supposed to give the basic skills necessary to be a productive member of society. When asked about how UPE will create future jobs in the region, Henri, Jean and Luc had the following to say:

> We are not promising a job to every child that finishes primary education, but if they do, they will have learned skills like numeracy, literacy and problem solving that will give them the edge over a child who has not gone to school. There needs to be an imparting of the necessary knowledge to be a future worker. How can a child who does not complete school before learning to read proper French or English and understand basic equation become a worker for a multinational company that may look at this region as a prospective factory site? (Henri, UNESCO).

While Jean did not explicitly say that these children are the future factory workers for multinationals, he said,

> Literacy and numeracy are the most important skills a child can learn. If we don't have UPE then there is no incentive for the communities to get every child into school. Once these children are in the system of school they will learn the skills.

Just by going to the school house it is the first step. The knowledge is there with

the teacher and if they stay in the village and work on the farms or fishing they

will never move beyond that. UPE is such an important goal and I believe it is the

key to developing (Jean, UNESCO).

Luc added to the view of UPE as the key to creating workers the idea that not every child

will become a worker but that the numbers are showing progress.

Every child that comes into school will not go on to work for a multinational, but

the chances are better that some will go on to be factory workers or skilled labor if

they complete school. At the end of the day some will stay in their villages and

support the local agriculture or fishing trade. They are needed to sustain their

villages, but some will go on to join globalization and work with multinationals.

Without UPE a company has no trust in the capabilities of the people they are

going to be hiring. They do not know if they have been to school or not. But with

UPE they see the countries' commitment to investing in education and feel good

about setting up shop in that country. That is how they will move from poor to

developing (Luc, UNESCO).

Luc, Jean, and Henri stressed the importance of UPE and that it is necessary for

every child to have access to school. Just getting bodies into a classroom is enough to

meet the requirement of UPE. There is no thought placed on what is being taught and

how the students are learning. The students who are being stuffed into overcrowded

classrooms are being shortchanged an education. The policymakers feel that some will

make it and some will not. They imply that the strong will go on to work for a

multinational in a factory, while some will stay in the village. This supports a structural

functionalist view goes along with human capital theory. According to structural functionalists like Parsons, not everyone in a society can be successful, some need to stay poor and support a middle class.

UNESCO has stated that getting ever child into school is an investment that the countries must make in order to be part of EFA. There are campaigns that need to be undertaken and effort needs to be made in the rural areas to get children out of the fields and fishing boats and into the classroom. Rates are increasing and that gives UNESCO something to boast about. At the 2009 Global Monitoring Report Meeting many people remarked that UPE was probably going to be one of the only goals that is making adequate progress for 2015 goals. While they will not meet 100%, they are making progress more than other goals.

Highly Trained Teachers Yield the Best Outcomes

In 2005 there was a renewed commitment to providing quality education that would have the best returns. In 2005 UNESCO devised a "production function" economic approach to educational policy. They wanted to create a formula which analyzed which policy controlled inputs, teacher education, experience, salaries, facilities, pupil/teacher ration- had the largest impact on outcomes."(UNESCO, 2005, p. 287). While this approach was not yielding success for earlier programs of UNESCO, it still was in place in 2005. The only difference is that UNESCO now looks at how the production function ignores the ways in which the process of learning and teaching- the creative interaction that happens in the classroom- affects education quality. UNESCO was now looking at specifically what goes on in successful schools where students acquired the basic skills necessary for life. They found that highly trained teachers

yielded the best outcomes. This is pretty obvious, but EFA needed to figure out how to get highly trained teachers in regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa.

There is a lack of highly trained teachers in the region for a variety of different reasons.

There is no incentive to become a teacher in this region. The teachers do not get paid well and it is hard to go for the training if you live in a very rural area. TTISSA[11] is trying to help create an environment that motivates young people to become teachers. They are trying to demonstrate how quality teachers can help their communities meet EFA goals (Marie, UNESCO).

In the region this research looked at there were few teacher training colleges and most teachers had only completed secondary education. While AIDS is one of the largest reasons for the lack of teachers, I asked why it is so difficult in the region to recruit and retain teachers.

The culture of education is not widespread in this very poor region. The average person from this region does not have ambition to become a teacher. They don't have role models who were successful teachers from their villages. There needs to be a change in thinking, in ideology, to make these people want to become educated and teachers (Luc, UNESCO).

Luc implies that Sub-Saharan West Africa does not value education. For many of the policymakers, they talk about the region as if there is no value to education. Education takes on different meanings for different people. A Western education may not

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[11] Teacher Training Initiative for Sub-Saharan Africa achievements

be what is taught in a country like Burkina Faso, but they value education and strive to teach their children the best they can. Luc assumes that there are no successful teachers, but as I discovered when conducting my interviews in the region, the teachers were very dedicated and tried to be role models for their students.

There is a need for over 2.4 additional teachers in Sub-Saharan West Africa to meet EFA goals. This number has been known since the 2000 meeting, but many UNESCO people thought the problem would work itself out or the situation would improve drastically. There is a lack of training facilities and post primary school graduates that are able to enter the teaching profession. The contract teachers can be anyone who has graduated from secondary school. They do not need to have a teaching background. These teachers are hired at a lower salary than licensed teachers because they have not gone through formal teacher training. While the member countries' representatives felt that contractual teachers will not be able to provide the quality education to meet 2015 goals, they also recognized that these are the only teachers available.

If UPE is the goal and UNESCO sells the idea that investment in education will have high returns on future salaries, then how would the lack of qualified teachers affect this?

> While the teachers may not be the highest quality, they are all that are available and willing to work. At least we have the children in the classroom and allowing them the chance to learn necessary basic skills. The teacher training will improve in time, and many communities are looking at how to work on this. The main thing is to get all the children into school (Henri, UNESCO).

Just getting a child in the classroom is a problem in low socio-economic schools all over the world. In *Savage Inequalities*, (1992) Kozol meets a teacher at a vulnerable school who says, "It's all a game," he says, "Keep them in class for seven years and give them a diploma if they make it to eighth grade. They can't read, but give them the diploma. The parents don't know what's going on, they're satisfied" (p. 46). This is the situation with EFA and UPE. Just get them in the school and to the next level. They may not have the skills, but at least they are moving forward.

The insistence that all that is needed is to physically get the child into the classroom is present throughout many of the discussions with UNESCO policymakers. Stephen added the following to the argument,

> The teachers are lacking in quality, but they are still in front of the students teaching them the skills they need to be productive. Even inexperienced teachers can improve over time and there are professional training and development that districts offer to get teachers up to speed. I feel that we are going to have a problem getting the numbers of teachers we need, but local district offices are working to offer incentives to prospective teachers (Stephen, UNESCO).

Stephen seemed to suggest that there are training and professional development programs in place in the region, but as I will discuss in Chapter Five, this is not the case. In the discussion of the lack of quality teachers and the need for 2.4 million teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa to meet EFA goals by 2015, the UNESCO policymakers felt worried about this number, but were confident that local district offices and countries were making the effort to offer the incentives necessary for recruitment.

With the focus on the lack of teachers UNESCO began to look at ways to get children ready for school at an earlier age that would not involve formal teachers. Early childhood development became a focal point for UNESCO from 2003 onwards. The purpose was to implement and strengthen ECD[12] policies and increase access to quality ECD for vulnerable children affected by AIDS, war, and extreme poverty. The goal was to come up with a plan in light of the current economic crisis. UNESCO organized this meeting with country representatives. Countries sent attendees who are working in the public sector in education and health. UNESCO wanted to show the necessity for investing in ECD and how it can help the poorest countries reach 2015 goals. "ECD is essential for attaining sustainable development and achieving Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals. They (African decision makers) understand that ECD yields one of the highest rates of return of any social or economic investment" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 57). With 2015 close to five years away, ECD remains one of EFA's challenges. According to UNESCO, many countries need to "develop a paradigm in which children are exposed to educational opportunities from a young age" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 98). By turning the focus to early childhood, UNESCO can look to communities and families to start working with children from a young age to get them ready for formal school. This does not require trained teachers nor a set curriculum. The feeling is that if children are ready for school they will be successful and become the future workforce.

When asked about the role ECD has in supporting the thesis that UPE will yield a productive workforce, Luc said the following:

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[12] ECD- Early Childhood Development

Early childhood development can involve getting books into communities so that

parents can work with their children on learning the basics. This can also be

organizing a group of children together to complete projects led by community

members. The curriculum is not formal; it is just to get children ready to become

productive students. This takes an investment though from local governments in

facilities and supplies. If they want to see the returns they need to make the

commitment (Luc, UNESCO).

The insistence by UNESCO policymakers that just getting children into school will bring

productivity is misleading. The issue is that education alone is not going to provide jobs.

Hurn (2002) speaks of this overinflated value education is given and the problem of the

expectations associated with it. He believes that schools promise "credentials" that will

bring jobs, when in reality they "legitimize the existing highly unequal social order. Not

only do they reproduce inequality, they are perhaps the most important way of justifying

that inequality and thus concealing its true character" (p. 114).

By turning the focus to ECD, the burden can turn and fall on the families and

community rather than the government in offering incentives for future teachers. It also

gets the children prepared for entering schools so that if a teacher is not highly qualified,

they still have the previous educational experiences that will help them.

Conclusion

Getting countries to support EFA in one of the worst economic crises in decades

is a very difficult task for UNESCO. There needs to be incentives for countries to want to

give aid and those who receive the aid, they need to have incentives to participate. 2009

was a difficult year for UNESCO in getting countries and donors to honor their aid

pledges. When so many nations are in debt, how do you sell investment in a program like EFA? I asked this question of Luc, Henri, and Stephen.

Without the pledges of donor nations the people are being denied basic human rights. They are being denied health care and education. We need to work towards getting aid to the region and then getting the governments to allocate it wisely. In this climate, every cent matters (Luc, UNESCO).

When countries are not receiving the aid pledged they cannot achieve EFA goals and therefore will not be able to become developed and join the global economy. We need to figure this problem out and come up with an agenda (Stephen, UNESCO).

There needs to be a reason for a donor to want to participate. One can be a moral reason that we are providing a human right; one can be an economic one- these people can become future workers and join globalization. It is necessary to sell this program as a moral and economic one to prospective donors. I know this sounds cold, but we need to do what we can (Henri, UNESCO).

Stephen, Luc, and Henri all feel that it is paramount for countries to be donors for EFA. The UNESCO policymakers have internalized the ideologies that education is the way to development. The policymakers have seen the problems that exist in regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa as a result of political and economic strife. The plan of UPE is supposed to provide opportunities for everyone, but in reality it is more like what Collins (1979) described as the role of universal elementary education as "reducing the cultural diversity" and "manage training in Anglo-Protestant culture and political values

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compulsory" (p. 129). School serves as the place to indoctrinate students into the appropriate ideology with the faint hope that it may lead to economic prosperity.

Selling a program is another way of saying that one is spreading their ideology to another. The other person needs to buy into the ideology that is being spread. They need to think it is going to better their situation if they go along with it. In the case of EFA, the recipient nations' governments want to be a part of the global economy. These countries like the ones in Sub-Saharan West Africa have been denied and left out of the rapidly expanding economy. They see the developed nations, which many were their former colonial masters, acquiring and achieving riches that their nation has yet to see. There is a divide that is not fair, nor is it an accident. UNESCO though maintains that the underdeveloped nations can become developed through education.

> Of course development is the final goal. When they will reach this goal is not
> easily determined, but the goal is for nations of the South to become as developed
> as the Northern ones (Pierre, UNESCO).

Pierre still upholds the ideology of education equating development while all along the reality of the North and South being equal is very far in the distant.

Do they really want the underdeveloped nations to become as developed as them? This is a question that stuck with me throughout the interviews. Each interviewee expressed concern and care for EFA and for the good it could accomplish if 2015 goals were achieved. They had each bought into UNESCO ideologies of globalization, human capital theory and education as the key to development. From Jomtien in 1990 the guilt of the western nations for their deliberate abandonment of the underdeveloped nations in their economic progress, UNESCO has sought to redeem themselves through a program

like EFA. By approaching it from a place of morality and providing human rights, they are ignoring that the fact that they have been the ones denying these rights to the underdeveloped nations. The culture of an institution like UNESCO with global reaching powers maintains systems of global hierarchy that have been in place since colonial times. When the French first arrived in Sub-Saharan West Africa they sought to control as much of the resources and land as possible. The Africans were subjects not citizens of their former homelands (Ali, 1990). Ali also says, "Increasing awareness by the French of the unlikelihood that the African peoples they were colonizing would be 'suitable` French citizens" (1990). The French maintained control in every aspect of the economy and government. They established a system of hierarchy and when the French left the colonies, they were often in physical and economic ruin. The French wanted to control every aspect of their colony and when the colonies fought for independence, there was often years of bloodshed and struggle that left the economy and population worse off than before the colonists left. EFA is their way of trying to right some wrongs and feel like they are trying to correct some past issues.

I do not mean to say that UNESCO has as its sole agenda to keep Sub-Saharan West Africa in poverty because they have many programs that seek to improve health, education, and technology in the region. The issue that I looked at throughout the interviews at UNESCO was what were the guiding ideologies behind EFA. The motivations of the policymakers were honest and in most cases well-meaning. They are implementers of plans that maintain a system that has been in place for several hundred years. This system of global hierarchy is based on a world system that according to Wallerstein (2006) "is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member

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groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence" (p. 347) This system is integrated through markets rather than a political center. Countries like France, USA, and other key EFA donor nations are members of the core countries which need the resources of the periphery ones for labor and resources. This system goes back beyond the slave trade in the 1600's. It is necessary to maintain the current world order. For countries like the G8 to remain in power and able to create policies like EFA through UNESCO, they need to have periphery countries that supply them necessary resources, alliances, and workforces. EFA fits in with this concept because according to UNESCO, education will lead to development and will create the future workers to support the core nations. They have bought into the ideas of development and believe that EFA could help achieve this. The problem is that the program is to general and to vast to really accomplish the goals promised. As I will show in Chapter Five, the situation in Sub-Saharan West Africa is vastly different than the picture painted by the policymakers. Global institutions like UNESCO are more powerful than governments because they have the money and the backing of united groups of leaders that can spread ideologies through their policies and programs.

Reflecting upon the interviews with UNESCO policymakers I wanted to know what the effects of these ideologies are the populations programs like EFA target. How are they experienced in policy implementation? Would the teachers and educational personnel in Sub-Saharan West Africa make meaning of the policies and expected outcomes in the same way the policymakers did? Did they internalize the ideologies being spread by UNESCO? These are the questions that guided the next part of this research.

Chapter Five

West Africa

After going through the documentation of Education for All and spending time with UNESCO policymakers in Paris and at UNESCO conferences, I had a picture of how they interpreted EFA and what motivated and informed their policy making. The ideologies employed by UNESCO are disseminated through EFA policy. The UNESCO policymakers, through the policies they create, spread the voice of UNESCO throughout the world. After the interviews with the UNESCO policymakers, I knew it was necessary to see how the implementation of these policies was being interpreted at actual sites of implementation. Were the ideologies such as human capital ideology, being internalized by the people involved in implementing EFA? How did the people involved in EFA at the schools make meaning of the policies? These were questions I sought to answer while interviewing the EFA teachers in Sub Saharan West Africa.

I chose this region because it is the lowest achiever of EFA goals. I selected the countries in this region with the lowest achievement to visit. The countries I visited were Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, and Ghana. All of these countries with the exception of Ghana, a former English colony, had been French colonies. As several of the interviewees discussed, UNESCO, being located in France, is still viewed as an extension of the French colonial power.

Planning

The first task in planning was to talk to people involved in UNESCO in the region. I had been to several UNESCO sponsored conferences where there were

representatives from West Africa. I approached these individuals and explained the purpose of my study and where I wanted to collect data. These UNESCO individuals, while working for EFA, had lost touch with their home countries. They had lived outside their homeland for many years and attended European and American universities. They were willing to offer advice on arranging interviews, but they had lost track of many colleagues as they had not been home for an extended period of time. The representatives still expressed a love for their homeland. A prominent professor from Mali who was working for UNESCO in education said, "You will meet the warmest people and Mali will become your home." I was touched with how strongly this Professor loved Mali, but it raised this question. If EFA has representatives from Sub-Saharan West Africa then why is it not being successful in the region? As the interviewees in this chapter express, their needs and interests are not being met. There is also a contradictory ideology that is being spread through the teachers at sites of implementation that will be discussed. So, with representatives of their nation being involved in EFA planning, why was the situation not better in Sub-Saharan West Africa?

The UNESCO representatives from Sub-Saharan West Africa were able to point me in the right direction to make connections for arranging interviews. I wondered why they were so eager for someone to research EFA and why it was not successful in the region. Being a white woman I am especially cognizant of the problems caused by white people in Sub-Saharan West Africa. From the colonizers to missionaries and other global institutions like UNESCO there have been many white people who try to spread their ideologies of how things should be and what is wrong with the situation. White people have gone to this region and disregarded any type of societal structures and indigenous

beliefs that were in place, replacing them with white, European ideologies. Mills (1997) says, "Knowledge, science, and the ability to apprehend the world intellectually are thus restricted to Europe, which emerges as the global locus of rationality, at least for the European cognitive agent, who will be the one to validate local knowledge claims" (p.46). This description of how white Europeans view themselves to be superior in knowledge is evident in the history of white people claiming they know what is best for Sub-Saharan West Africa. I did not want to conduct this research as a white person acting "on behalf" of or "speaking for" the populations of these countries. I wanted to objectively look at how white people have been perceived in this region, and be mindful to tell the stories of the EFA teachers while not passing judgment or representing that I knew what is right for them. This was one of the most important things I kept in mind while doing this research.

I contacted a former school teacher in Mali, who was recommended to me by one of the UNESCO representatives from the region. I was concerned that this contact would only take me to schools that were doing better at achieving EFA goals than others. I was skeptical that the UNESCO representatives from Sub-Saharan West Africa would want to show EFA implementation in anything other than a positive light and make it appear as if they were working for the interests and needs of their people. After speaking with the contact in Mali I became aware that while he was recommended by UNESCO, he had never worked with them in any manner for EFA. He had worked with local guides to arrange travel for UNESCO policymakers when they visited. We discussed my research and my expectations to interview teachers in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Being a former elementary school teacher, he was interested in this research and

knew the problems Malian teachers were having with meeting EFA goals. While he did not have specific knowledge of EFA, he knew about the state of Malian education from his teaching days and discussions with current teachers.

The first obstacle in arranging the interviews was that there was no phone service in most of the chosen areas. Cell phones are just gaining popularity, but service is very sparse. After speaking several times through email and phone with the Malian contact, we decided on a plan to arrange interviews. The plan was that the Malian contact would be leading two tours through the countries and along the way he would meet with prospective interviewees who met the criteria set out in Chapter Three[13] Schedules were set. As each teacher agreed to participate, I began to plan the trip. It took about three months to create a schedule that fit school and religious holidays. I decided to go in October 2008, as schools were going back into session after Ramadan[14] and the weather was the driest. This region has a period each winter which is very windy and meningitis is very common. I wanted to complete the interviews before the rainy and windy season began.

What is EFA and Who Was Involved in the Planning?

While in UNESCO everyone I spoke to knew what EFA was, and all the interviewees were well versed in every aspect of EFA. I thought that a program this

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[13] The criteria for the educational personnel in Sub-Saharan West Africa is: 1) Directly working with EFA at an educational site (i.e., a school). 2) Directly working with primary school children. 3) Currently involved in the literacy program within EFA.

[14] Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. It is marked by fasting from dawn till sunset for 28-30 days. During this time Muslims ask for forgiveness for sins, and practice good deeds.

prominent would be well known throughout the region. The first EFA school I visited in

Mali was in the capital city, Bamako. It was a cinderblock building with very few

windows. There was no electricity and running water. There was a neighborhood well

that the school children used and an outdoor latrine. The teachers approached us wearing

a Boubous, a colorful robe that most men in West Africa wear. They were accompanied

by several children who were curious who the "tubobs[15]" were.

I wanted to go with just the Malian contact and myself, but the region is very

large and a car is necessary. Public transportation is not available throughout the region I

was going to. Unfortunately there is also political strife occurring in several of the

countries, so it was necessary to have a separate driver along with the guide. I also had a

companion with me who was helping to document the interviews. This was important for

triangulation of data. I knew that travelling with a guide and a driver was troubling, as I

did not want to appear as the stereotypical white person going to Africa; but it was

necessary to travel this way and I strived in my interviewing and interactions to be aware

of this perception. The Malian contact, Mamadou, was the guide and translator for

interviews. While I studied French for twelve years, the dialects and indigenous

languages were not easy for me to understand, so the use of a translator was necessary. It

was also important that the translator be able to speak each dialect and indigenous

language encountered. Mamadou was very proficient and translated in a manner that the

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[15] The word for foreigner in the French speaking countries we visited. It translates to "white ghost."

stories were being told through him, not in a way that he appeared to be speaking for the teachers.

The teachers greeted us warmly and led us to an empty classroom. My plan was to bring my laptop and a recorder to each interview. My companion would be in charge of recording the conversation and taking notes on the laptop and I would take notes by hand on pre-printed paper that had the interview questions on them. We had to make sure we had fully charged all equipment and had a flashlight with us as the school had no electricity and very few windows. It was dark and very dusty. There were very few desks; many children had to sit on the floor. The classroom had several candles and a lantern that was battery powered. The walls though were covered with colorful pictures drawn by the students. The pictures were of animals, which was the current lesson. There were elephants, lions, and many birds drawn on brown paper and newspaper that was taped to the walls. The classroom smelled dusty and moldy as there was very little ventilation and very little light. I saw a lot of insects in the classroom. This classroom was similar to almost every classroom we would see during our time in the countries this research looked at.

I looked around this classroom and saw no outward signs of EFA posters, like the ones I saw in Paris in the EFA offices, but I thought that maybe they were placed somewhere else to make room for the children's pictures. We moved outside for the interviews in the "teachers lounge" which was a table in a dusty area outside the school. Being that there was no outward sign that the school was part of EFA, I wondered how he teacher would respond when asked how he came to know about it. The middle aged

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teacher put his hand on his head, stood up, and let out a deep laugh. I got nervous and

thought I may have insulted him, but he came back and looked me in the eyes and said,

> I know EFA from the radio. Our country is getting money from people for this. I
>
> know EFA from the literature that came over ten years ago, but I don't know
>
> EFA. You are the first person to ever ask me about it. You are the first to ever
>
> come and see my school with the purpose of seeing how we know EFA. I don't
>
> know how it is working and I don't think it is. Nothing has changed at this school
>
> because of it. (Oumar, Mali)

Oumar spoke of hearing about EFA from the radio which was common throughout the

interviews. Satellite television is not very common in the typical home and local

television stations have limited programming and are not broadcast widely. I found that

the most common way people received information about current events was the radio.

There were several radio stations in each country we were in that broadcast news in the

local languages. Radios were very common in all the marketplaces and even in the

schools visited. Most of the teachers had heard about EFA through radio addresses from

the political leaders. There were also several outside radio programs like BBC World

Service that broadcast in English and was popular in Ghana.

I was taken aback after spending so much time with the UNESCO policymakers

for whom EFA was such a prominent part of any discussion. Yet here in the region that is

being focused on so greatly by EFA, the head teacher told me that no one had ever come

to this school. What was even more surprising was that this school was located

approximately 10 miles from a UNESCO field office. Oumar went back into his

classroom and came back with a very old looking brochure written in French. It listed the

six goals of EFA[16] and had pictures of children reading in a classroom. It basically said the same information that is written on the EFA portion of UNESCO's website about the mission of EFA. Seeing my disbelief that being so close to a UNESCO office, no one had ever come to the school, Oumar told me how he received the brochure and the lack of EFA materials.

> We have no materials that are new or special to this program. The district leader for Bamako went to a conference a few years ago and he spoke at a pedagogical conference.[17] He spoke of EFA and said that we would be getting materials and that all children would need to come to school. He is the one that brought the brochure. (Oumar, Mali)

This was a very revealing first interview. Here was a teacher located in such proximity to the capital of Mali and had no information about EFA. Policymakers from the region would have most likely been in Bamako, which was located very close to this school. The teacher was the principal and head teacher, who would have been privy to knowledge

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[16] Six goals of EFA are: 1. Early childhood care and education, 2. Access to free and compulsory primary education of good quality, 3. Equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs, 4. Achieving 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy especially for women, by 2015. 5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, 6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence so that all recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy, and essential life skills.

[17] Teachers during the interviews used the phrase "pedagogical conference" a lot. Any type of professional development meeting outside of school is referred to in this way.

about EFA if it was given. I began to wonder what the teachers' responses and feelings about EFA would be the further we went away from the capital city.

We went on to the Dogon region in Mali. The Dogon are an ethnic group of about half a million people. They are animists who refused to convert to Islam, which the majority of Mali is.[18] They have many customs and rituals that are sacred to them. Our guide/translator is from the Dogon region and was able to arrange visits to several schools in this area. Without his assistance, I do not think they would have allowed visitors inside their school. There are tourist attractions in this area, but like the Pueblos of the American Southwest, outsiders do not go into villages without invitation. This was a region in particular that many white anthropologists have visited to take pictures and create documentaries about the Dogon. The Dogon have been exoticized by white travelers and it was essential that I was aware of my purpose to tell the teachers stories and not perpetuate the stereotype. We were welcomed by the chief of the village in Sangha and paid our respects to him by drinking a local drink out of a large half gourd. It tasted of barley and was very strong. Sharing this drink was a way of welcoming us and our giving trust to them. We met Adama, the principal and head teacher at the elementary school.

> You are the first person to ever come here and ask me about it [EFA]. I have
> received nothing from UNESCO except for some tubes with posters in them.
> (Adama, Mali)

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[18] Currently Muslims make up 90% of the population of Mali.

Here was another teacher who had never met anyone from UNESCO to discuss EFA. The difference in this school was that they had actually received some materials from UNESCO that had EFA logos on them. Since I was the first person to discuss EFA with him, Adama proceeded to show me the posters that UNESCO had sent.

The posters had pictures of children doing various activities like getting dressed, getting ready for school, walking in a village, and other activities. They were in French and had phrases like, *Marie est une fille* (Marie is a girl) There was no curriculum or instructions with this. Adama was troubled by these materials.

Why would they send us something with no instruction? How should we use it? We have used some for basic reading, but some do not make sense for these children. There are no cities for them to relate their experience to the pictures. These children are not even looking like Dogon children. What a waste of someone's money to prepare and send this to me. I feel bad that I cannot use it in the way it should. I am sure there is a viable lesson for these posters, but how can I guess what UNESCO is thinking when they send this. (Adama, Mali)

Adama felt that this was a waste of resources.

Malian people would not waste like this. Every resource is precious to us. Why does UNESCO not ask us about what we need? I would have told them to put some Black children in the pictures. We do not have these kind of brown hair, blond hair children. We have African children, put them in the poster. They don't ask us they just do. (Adama, Mali)

Adama expressed a deep feeling of resentment for the policymakers of EFA in his disgust of their waste of resources. It was as if UNESCO was just doing what they wanted and

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not asking the people who were actually in the schools and living in the countries. What was interesting though in this situation was that many of the teachers interviewed expressed a concern for lack of materials; and here was a school that had actually received some, but they were of no use. A contradiction exists between believing that if they had more resources and materials they would succeed, and actually receiving some that were worthless. Even if the teachers get more resources and materials, they will not necessarily improve the state of education. This was a prevalent theme throughout the interviews. In Burkina Faso, I spoke with a teacher, who said,

> I never knew exactly what EFA is. I hear on the radio we are getting money for education but where is it? Who are these people on the radio talking about the future of my country? The children are not real people and sometimes I don't think we are viewed as real people. We are Burkinabe, we are one of the poorest nations in the world and we are just numbers to the World Bank, to UNESCO, and even to the USA. No one ever comes here and asks the man or woman on the road what they need and what they want. We are just numbers to them. I don't know who made EFA I don't know who decided this. (Karim, Burkina Faso)

The radio again is a common form of communication. Karim referred to the people talking about the future of his country on the radio. This radio program was an address by the President after a recent election. Karim is the head teacher at a school located outside Bobo Dioulasso, a red, dusty city. The school resembled many of the others visited in Mali. The only exception was that this school had a lot of tables for students to sit at. This differed from the lack of chairs and tables in Mali.

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Once UNICEF people came to our school in 1978 and asked us what we needed

and at the time we needed tables and chairs. They sent these to us in 1979 and

even though they are rusty and old, we still use them. I wish they would have

done that with EFA, they never asked us so they don't know what we need.

(Karim, Burkina Faso)

Karim wanted to be asked what his school needed. His sense of helplessness and

disconnection from the policymakers in UNESCO was apparent. Sitting amongst desks

that were splintered and rusting, he really did not know what was going to happen to his

school and community.

If education continues down this road, these children will suffer. They will not be

fully literate because I am only supposed to teach them in French. They will be

forced on to the next level even if they are not ready because of overcrowding. I

want these children to be the future of Burkina Faso, but how can they when the

state of education is so poor. They are not being prepared for the world this way.

(Karim, Burkina Faso)

Karim expressed his lack of confidence in the current educational system preparing his

students for life after school. He also felt that they were receiving an inferior education

because of current policies like French only, and all children being enrolled.

The sense of powerlessness was expressed throughout the interviews, in the sense

that the teachers felt as if these policies were enacted upon them without their consent,

and without their involvement. What is interesting is that after 2001, the meeting for the

Dakar Framework for Action, UNESCO felt that some of the problems from 1990-2001

were due to the fact that countries did not have ownership over the program (UNESCO,

2000). Even policymakers in UNESCO felt that individual countries like Burkina Faso, Mali, Benin, Togo and Ghana were beginning to take part in EFA policy.

> After Dakar the local governments were involved. This was a turning point for EFA. Now there was ownership. They had a vested interested in seeing it succeed. (Luc, UNESCO)

Luc's statement seems like he is talking about another region because the interviewees I encountered felt as if they had no voice in EFA. The idea of having no voice came out in an interview in Benin. Benin was considered the "Latin Quarter" of West Africa. This came about because of the rise of intellectualists that emerged from Benin. This reference goes back to colonial times when many of the intellectuals served under colonial powers. The French felt that Benin was more "civilized" (Lefort, 1999).than other neighboring countries. The Beninoise were viewed as being able to speak "Parisian French" and engage in intellectual discussions (Lefort, 1999). The teachers in Benin all still referred to their country in this manner and not in a derogatory way. It was as if they felt their country had a higher status when the French viewed them as intellectuals and now, they are suffering from extreme poverty and lack of education and are no longer looked at in this way.

> While at a school in Nattitingou in an old colonial building two teachers expressed their frustration with not having a voice in EFA planning.

> We were just told to do it and not given any real instructions. I heard about it on the radio when they met recently in Cotonou and talked about the education of Benin. I don't really pay attention. It's just policy, not real, there is no real action.

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They want us to do all these things but they do not ever come see us or see what is

best for us. (Amadou, Benin)

Another teacher at this school felt the same frustration. Salif said the following about

how EFA left them out.

I am not any part of this policy. I have no voice in this policy. Even if I told you

my feelings towards it what does that mean? Nothing. I am not a part of the

policy. (Salif, Benin)

Resentment for having a policy thrust upon them was felt by most interviewees. The fact

that they had never personally been contacted nor asked what they needed weighed

heavily on the interviewees. Another interviewee in Benin said,

I know of EFA because I heard we got money for education, but look around at

this school. Where is my roof? How do I teach with no books? Where is the

money? I know that we need to get every child into school and that is very good,

but did they even think to ask a Beninoise what we need? Maybe our leaders

spoke with UNESCO, but they are just like the French. They answer to them and

use us to get what they want. I wish I had been asked about what Benin needs for

education. I have a lot of ideas, but no one would hear my voice. (Harim, Benin)

Harim knew of EFA because he had heard about it in the media. There are campaigns

throughout the region to get every child into school and increase literacy, so he was

aware of the program. Harim, like the other teachers, wished his voice had been included

in the discussion. The policymakers of UNESCO are faceless, nameless entities to the

teachers. They do not even give them individual attributes. The policymaker appears to

be akin to the institution of UNESCO from their point of view. The teachers want to be

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included, but if they are included in the policymaking, they become one of the policymakers and are going to be thrusting the ideologies of UNESCO upon their people.

We are Invisible to the West

Harim believes that even if he had an opinion about what Benin would need for education, no one would hear his voice. When asked about EFA and how they were involved the teachers all expressed that they heard about it through news, and they felt that the policy was not made for them.

UNESCO also looked at the populations as statistics and not as individuals. UNESCO policymakers look at the data and see the lack of literacy, healthcare, and basic necessities for life, and from this they decide what is best for the region. In some cases there are local people involved, but they are not truly representative of the local population. At a UNESCO conference at Oxford University there was a presentation by several of the EFA coordinating teams for Sub Saharan West Africa. While these men were African, their English and French was of an academic quality. They also had been educated at schools like the Sorbonne, Cambridge, and Oxford. Although they were from the region, it appears that they did not know the real story about what was going on in the schools. They spoke of the region as one homogenous group. Everyone was poor. Everyone struggled with literacy and school enrollment. There was no concern for the individual student, different cultural and historical backgrounds, or political situations. While the teachers in the region feel that they are invisible to the West, the West has chosen, not to see them by avoiding engagement with their concerns..

In the backdrop of the green, lush beauty of Burkina Faso surrounded by a cinderblock building with no roof and electricity, Sekou, a head teacher and principal

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asked me if I ever went to any of the planning meetings for EFA. He thought he could finally put a face to the nameless entity of "policymakers." I told him that I had never been at one, but I had been to several of the large conferences organized around the theme of that year's global monitoring report. He asked if any people from Burkina Faso were there. I told him that at the Oxford Conference there were several Malian and a Burkinabe that spoke about progress of universal primary education. He asked who they were, and I told him that one was one of the secretaries of education in Ouagadougou.

> The people who are representing me are like the French. They speak the language and try and fit in and go to their schools. They are not here in the hot, dusty village worried about how the children will learn to read or put food in their mouths. Their lives are so different from ours. They are Burkinabe by name but we are the real Burkinabe. (Sekou, Burkina Faso)

Sekou is expressing the fact that while a policymaker may be African they do not necessarily represent him and what he or others need. This is similar to the Antillean in Paris that Fanon (1952) refers to. They can either "support the white world – i.e., the real world – and with the help of French be able to address certain issues and at a certain degree of universalism in their conclusions. Or reject Europe" (p.46). The Black Antillean who has gone to Paris changes and becomes whiter. Adas (1996) also talks about how the local person works on behalf of the colonial power. "Local elites were considered the representatives of traditional practices that had been altered by European hegemony "(p.20). These reflect the feeling that Sekou discussed about how lose sight of the interests and needs of their fellow countrymen.

> While in Togo, Miriam, a teacher said,

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I don't think that when they decide on policies like EFA, that they see us as

people. They see us as a problem. The West always looks at our problems, not our

strengths. Yes we have many problems and we do need aid, but I do not think the

West sees our good qualities. They just want to fix us. EFA is like putting the

bandage on a cut for them. We may have infection later or need stitches, but it is

out of sight to the policymakers. (Miriam, Togo)

Miriam does not even think that she is considered a person in the policymaker's eyes.

There is the desire from the policymakers to "fix" things. This stems out of their sense of

moral obligation they discussed in the interviews with UNESCO policymakers. They

look at the statistics and being a developed nation like France, they assume they know

what it is best for a country like Togo or Burkina Faso. They do not hear the individual

stories; they just need to focus on fixing the problems. This supports the ideology of

human capital theory which UNESCO espouses. In human capital theory "the economic

prosperity and functioning of a nation depend on its physical and human capital stock"

(Olaniyan and Okemakinde,2008, p.158). Because UNESCO views educational

expenditure as an investment, this leads to increased potential for a society's earnings.

For proponents of human capital theory, people are reduced to potential earners.

One Policy Does not Fit All

Lumping countries in the region into homogenous zones where there are just big

problems lends itself to the idea that one policy will work for everyone with similar

problems. This idea is prevalent amongst policymakers. When there are budget issues and

lack of resources, it is easier to create one overarching program for the majority of the

population. In the ideology of human capital theory, there is not the need for everyone to

benefit from education. Some will make it and some will not. The program cannot be adapted for every circumstance, or so that is what UNESCO believes.

While the teachers were not involved in the planning of EFA or the implementation, they knew that certain benchmarks needed to be met. They knew that every child needs to get into school and that literacy rates need to increase. They were also aware that literacy rates were very low in their region and that this was a spot for concern from their governments and international aid organizations. When I asked about the literacy policies I was met with frustration. The teachers felt trapped in a method and way of teaching that was not working for them. As stated, every child needs to be in school, so as one can imagine, the schools are very crowded. In most schools there are 90+ students in each classroom with one teacher. The teachers felt trapped in that they knew they had to impart the skills, but how could they in such extreme conditions. It was almost as if they were being set up to fail. One teacher, Sugara, in Ghana said,

> You tell me that every child must be in school -- ok the men from UNESCO they tell our government this. Now all the children are coming to the school but where is the new space? Where are new desks? New books? They know that we will not be successful in teaching so many children at a time. Even worse, I need to push them on to the next level even though many are not ready. How could I not. I would have double classroom size. This is not a plan to help us achieve, this is a plan for our failure, at least they can go to sleep at night thinking they helped us. They don't come and see the real picture. (Sugara, Ghana)

Sugara went on to say,

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This program may be successful in other African nations, but you can't expect us all to be the same. I am sure there are different educational policies in the West; you don't all have the exact same rules and goals no? How are we supposed to do the same as all of Africa, South East Asia and even the Caribbean? We are all different and require different methods. This is one of the reasons I think EFA will not work in this region. (Sugara Ghana)

The idea of a program like EFA not being appropriate for all of Sub Saharan West Africa was a concept that I had thought about during the interviews with UNESCO. I felt that there was a sense of naiveté amongst the UNESCO policymakers. They looked at the numbers, developed a plan, worked with a select few from the region, and thought it would work. The problem is that cultural and historical issues are different all over the world. One program would not work for everyone. I kept this concept in my mind through the interviews in Africa and was not surprised to see people agree with this.

In Benin, a country with a deep history in the slave trade, the teachers were very open about their feelings about not wanting a "one size fits all" educational policy program. Mamadou, a principal in Parakou, a small city in the center of the country said,

Education in Benin was a lot better before EFA. We had better literacy rates and the quality of our life was better. There were a lot of political problems that led to our current situation, but back then we were in control of our education. It was by Beninoise, for Beninoise. (Mamadou, Benin)

While I have no hard data that literacy rates were higher or quality of life was better, this view was held by several other teachers in Benin. They felt that when they had a say in their educational policy, it was more successful, or at least they felt ownership of

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the program. From what was told to me by the interviewees in Benin they said that before

EFA there was an informal bilingual education and that schools were allowed to choose

their materials and curriculum as long as it met country standards. I found it difficult to

find empirical data supporting this, but feel it necessary to allow this sentiment to be

stated.

The statements by Mamadou and Sugara expressed the contradictory ideologies

that were beginning to emerge in this research. While the teachers felt that a program was

being thrust upon them with no concern or care for what their educational needs may be,

they either wanted to be part of it or get rid of it. Sugara wanted UNESCO to come and

see his situation and the conditions he was under to teach. He still, though, was working

to spread the ideologies of UNESCO. He wanted to increase literacy rates and enrollment

with the goal of entering a global economy. On the other hand, Mamadou wanted Benin

to be in charge of its own educational system. This still would not be a solution because it

would isolate them and not allow for collective action to create an educational system

appropriate for the region.

Faiza, a teacher in Cotonou, the capital city of Benin with a population of 1.2

million said,

> We are here in Cotonou, a city with many foreigners. We have industry here form
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> pharmaceuticals and textiles. Even with all that you see, I can't fit all the children
>
> into the classroom. I can't teach them French -- a foreign language for many of
>
> them -- in such a setting. You would think that at least someone would come to
>
> Cotonou to see what Benin education is like. The parents that have the money and
>
> know better send their children to the private schools. The private school has

many of the foreigners so they are getting a western education not the education

UNESCO has made us go for. (Faiza, Benin)

Faiza was especially frustrated being located in such a large city with many foreigners

and no communication with UNESCO. The teachers expressed the feeling that they were

supposed to make something work that was not working. Faiza also brought up the

stratification that was occurring because of private schools. The private schools were

only accessible to students with the social capital to get in and the money to pay for it.

Students who were from a higher class were being allowed access to globalization before

the students forced to attend EFA schools. Faiza even says, "the parents who know

better" which widens the gap further between the EFA students and private school

students. His partial insights into the ideologies of UNESCO like human capital theory

and globalization have led him to view the education at the private school at a higher

value. He believes that if his students had an education comparable to the private school,

they would be able to enter a global economy. Because they had no say in the

development of the policies and they had to follow through, they were the ones with the

burden of trying to adapt to it and make it successful. Faiza looked at the skyline of

Cotonou of modern buildings and said,

> Did they really think one program would work for all of Africa? I am sure they
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> think this program works in other poor parts of the world. They never thought
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> about what we really needed. Here in such a big city I see successful foreigners
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> and I know they do not have a program decided for their children and a program
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> that is the same for every other country that is developed. Why would they think
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> we would all be the same? I heard from some people that some Americans think

Africa is one big country. I am sure that some European children think so, too.

We are all different and what works for one country may not work for us. (Faiza,

Benin)

Faiza wanted me to hear his words and he repeated them several times. He wanted to make sure that I understood that everyone and every country is different and required different ways of doing things. I assured him that I understood this and would take it with me in my research.

Faiza along with other teachers felt that they were given a program that had been decided upon away from their region, by people who did not know the story. When I interviewed the UNESCO policymakers they said that the situation in Sub Saharan West Africa was grave and that a lot of work needed to be done to complete EFA goals by 2015. But when I asked if they had been to see schools in the region, they said they had not. They had however seen the data. If people are reduced to data, then it is easy to develop overarching policies that are not customized in any way. This goes along with UNESCO's ideology of human capital theory. By reducing people to an economic unit, it is easier to analyze and get governments to buy into the idea that investment in the education of their country will bring economic returns. Alain, a teacher in Burkina Faso, was frustrated with trying to keep a program going when many parts of it were not working.

We are not like every other country in Africa. We have our own set of problems.

Our own problems mean that we can't have the same plan as someone else. In

EFA I know that every child is now coming to school and that this is a marvelous

thing, but that is just half the battle. I could get everyone in my village into the

café, but if there is no cook or food to feed them it is a façade. It is not real. They look at the data and say "oh Burkina Faso has increased enrollment, they are doing very well in that area. But look at their literacy. They are behind" Of course these things will happen. No Burkinabe is coming around with ties to UNESCO and seeing how their decisions are affecting us. (Alain, Burkina Faso)

Viewing the policymakers as some distant entity that decided on the program for their country was another feeling that arose in the interviews. Along with the frustration that the current program was not appropriate for them, the teachers looked at the policy making in an abstract way. Dembele, a teacher in Burkina Faso, wondered out loud about how the policies are decided. He said,

I know they did not ask anyone from this region. I am involved in my district office and EFA for me is just a pamphlet. It is just a policy with no substance. How could they think that one program is good for everyone? Each country should know the goals and develop their own path to reach it. Some may be slower in reaching the goal than others, but each country should have their own say. We are independent. No longer a French colony. We can create our own. I don't even know who does it. I know that the leaders meet with the big groups like the World Bank, but that is all I know. It's all policy, not practice. (Dembele, Burkina Faso)

Dembele and other teachers felt that if they had control over their education that they would be successful. The problem as stated earlier is that this would isolate them and not solve the underlying hegemony of white, European superiority. The teachers would still be the agents of the dominant class instilling the ideologies upon the students. Even if

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they were involved in the policymaking, they would be operating within UNESCO a neocolonial institution which operates under their own ideologies.

Soumaine, a principal in Benin also felt that they were completely left out of the policy making,

I would have sent someone to see us. To observe our schools, get to know us. Sometimes I think that people at the IMF and World Bank think all Africans are the same way. We are not. They put all poverty peoples together in the same view, which is not correct. We all have our own specialties. Unfortunately for us, the French colonized us and they are the worst colonizers. They did not involve the people in any planning. The English know how to colonize well. Look at English colonies- India, Nigeria, Ghana, and others. They speak English, they are developed, and they are part of globalization. The French colonies are still struggling here in Africa and in South East Asia. They don't know how to colonize people and bring them up with them. That is the problem. English built roads, taught English and had the people help them in power. The French did nothing but make us speak French and exploit our resources. (Soumaine, Benin)

The teachers like Soumaine even felt that EFA represented a "French" policy, because it came out of UNESCO, and that current school systems based on the colonial system that was put in place was even worse for their nation. According to Soumaine and several other teachers, the English had put locals in power positions and worked with the locals whereas the French drained colonies of resources requiring them to pay the French Government to retain colonial power. What Soumaine and others did not realize is that while there were locals in positions of power in the British Colonies, they were put there

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as agents for the colonial power. They were working against their own people and not keeping the interests and needs of the local people in mind. The British colonized through violence and intimidation to get members of the population to turn on their own people and do the dirty work of the British Crown. The British may have created roads and infrastructure, but at what cost? They used the local populations as slaves to accomplish this. Wherever the British colonized they tried to create Britain. They vanquished local culture, language, and history. They replaced it with the superiority of white, British power. Soumaine and others seemed to looking for answers as to why they were lagging so far beyond economically when other neighboring English speaking nations appeared to have more resources than them. The former English colonies like Ghana have their own share of problems. The interviews conducted in Ghana with EFA teachers yielded the same problems that the other EFA teachers were experiencing. The Ghanaian EFA teachers felt as left out of the policymaking as their French speaking counterparts. The fact is that the French and English operated under the same hegemonic view and control and created the same economic and social problems that are still in existence. Each was dehumanizing and marginalizing populations that they tried to control. Colonization in any form is dangerous.

Ownership of the educational policy in their own country was openly discussed in every interview. None of the teachers felt they had any say in the creation and implementation of their educational policy. They were just told to do it and expected to comply.

We have no voice in EFA. I am not heard in the policy. The children of Burkina are not a part of the policy. They are a statistic of poverty, they are a picture of a

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starving child, and they are not the future of our nation to UNESCO. They need to

feel good about themselves that they have tried to help the poor. We help our

community and do not let anyone go without shelter or food. I will go hungry so

that an elder will not. This is the difference. The West they have so much and

concerned about their own before the community. They see us in Burkina and feel

that they will be better people if they give to us. Why don't they help their

community and let us help ours. We need the aid but someday for my children I

hope they don't. (Mamadou, Burkina)

Mamadou expressed his desire to be the solution to the educational problems of his

country. While aid is essential for this region, the teachers interviewed feel that they need

to be involved in policies that affect them like EFA..

UNESCO and the World Bank are the New Colonial Powers

Institutions like the World Bank and UNESCO have global reaching powers and

can exert control through policies and programs like EFA. While EFA on the surface

seems like an educational policy, it is also a way to control what happens in the

underdeveloped countries of the world. UNESCO has historically taken a role as a

mediator between underdeveloped country demands for educational funding and the

resources for development through institutions like the World Bank. Through its role as a

mediator, UNESCO has "both represented and helped to define Third World educational

needs" (Mundy, 1998 p.458). By defining what the educational needs are, UNESCO is

able to insert their ideologies. Mundy (1998) shows this connection, "It [UNESCO]

played an important role in the construction of an elaborate ideology about the

relationships between education and economic development" (p.458). UNESCO has

global economic powers as its ally and can exert control in virtually any sector it chooses. EFA takes on an economic form as well as educational. It is the economic power that is exerted over recipient nations through the form of FTI (Fast Track Initiatives) that are goals that if met, increase money available to a region, SAP's,[19] and other programs that emerge from various declarations.

Other researchers like Wickens and Sandlin (2007) support the idea a program like EFA and its literacy policies take the form " literacy-education-as-oppression" can be understood as *neocolonialism,* which consists of a "politically independent people of a developing nation continuing to be bound, though voluntarily and perhaps through necessity, to a European or American society" (p.275). The nations in this research are still bound to UNESCO and the World Bank for aid and other essential resources. Looking at UNESCO in this way, it is clear to see how many of the teachers interviewed view EFA and UNESCO akin to a colonial power. Some countries did not gain full independence until the 1970's. With independence came political and economic turmoil. When the French left the former colonies, they did not leave them in a financially viable situation. They left them in a place of struggle. Most of the teachers remember colonial times and the problems caused. This region was also involved in the slave trade and there are remnants of the historical impact throughout the region. The teachers interviewed

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[19] Structural adjustment policies are prevalent throughout underdeveloped nations. They are policies that dictate how a loan made by the World Bank or IMF is to be spent and can define the overall goals of a loan. If a country is not meeting these goals, they are subject to fiscal decisions that can entail; devaluing currency, deregulation, cutting social expenditure, resource extraction, among others.

expressed concern that a program like EFA just like a colonial power is once again exerting control in their country. Faisal, a teacher in Benin said,

> These policies are just that, policies. What do they mean to me? What am I supposed to do with them? No one ever asked the actors, the teachers, what should be done, what we need, what we want. They just prescribe it like medicine without ever checking us over. The colonial powers may have physically left but this UNESCO is just like a colonial power, enforcing their French on us and their system of education. Leave us alone. Tell the World Bank to stop colonizing us with our debt. Let us fail if we are going to fail on our own. Let us be Beninoise. We are independent now so let us be independent. Each policy and each loan is just another form to colonize us. (Faisal, Benin)

Faisal views the policies and loans as an extension of colonial power. Even though France and Britain had granted independence to nations like Benin, it is still nominal, they control through these policies. The former colonies have interests in the political, economies, and resources of former colonies. Amadou also expressed his feelings of still being under colonial powers.

> EFA is just a policy but policies are used by these groups like World Bank and IMF to control us. The French left us and we became independent, but how could we truly be when we do not have money. It's like putting a child out on the street with no clothes and no food and telling them they are independent now. Well they are not. They still need to ask their mommies and daddies for help. That is the situation we are in. They put us out and now we need to go back and ask for help.

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They know this and that is how they control us. EFA is just another form of their

control. (Amadou, Mali)

Amadou felt that they were still being controlled by a colonial power. The World Bank,

the major funding body of EFA perpetuates a colonizer mentality of never being truly

independent. There is still a reliance on the power for education, aid, and other

necessities. Teachers like Amadou wondered when they would if ever truly be

independent.

When aid is given it makes national television throughout the region. While I was

in Burkina Faso, the G8[20] had just met and pledged aid to Sub Saharan West Africa.

Everyone knew about the aid and they all wondered where it was going. The aid that

Sub-Saharan West Africa receives is tied to policies of repayment and instructions for

how and where it will be used. The teachers realized that the aid was another form of

control and also how it is misappropriated. A teacher in Togo said the following about

the aid.

I saw that we were getting money, but where does it go? My school has no roof or

electricity so I know it's not going to education. The West gives us money to help

us, but it really to make us owe them something. (Makane, Togo)

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[20] The G8 is a group created in 1975 comprised of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United

States, Canada, and Russia. The group was created as a forum of the worlds most industrialized nations

after the oil crisis of 1973. The group meets every year and discusses topics that are affecting the world

like energy, terrorism, health, and education.

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Viewing EFA as a form of control by former colonial powers was a widespread belief

throughout the interviews. The former colonizers are now the leaders of global

institutions like the IMF, UNESCO, and the World Bank. The teachers interviewed were

happy to talk about education before EFA or their country after independence.

Emmanuel, a teacher in Mali said,

> When we became independent Keita became our first president. He was a great
>
> leader. He gave us good relationships with the East and we were achieving a lot as
>
> a nation economically. It was socialist then and education was very good. We had
>
> many poor people unable to go to school, but we had programs that were starting
>
> and we had spirit to go forward as a new Mali. After Keita was brought down in a
>
> coup we have had a hard time recovering. There is a lot of corruption and
>
> violence. In the 70's students fought back and many died. I think today Mali is
>
> stable, but we rely too much on donor money. We need to learn to achieve with
>
> our African spirit, not tied to the colonists anymore. (Emmanuel, Mali)

Other interviewees thought that too much emphasis was put on aid by their governments

and that the strength to overcome needs to come from within. While in Ghana, Paul, a

teacher said,

> We need to stop relying on the outside. We let them in and it is just like letting the
>
> British back in to colonize us. Let us be in charge of our education on our own,
>
> without the chains of former colonizers. I believe that Africans thought
>
> independence would give them respite to develop but this was never to be as the
>
> colonial masters used their corporations and intelligence services against them

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and have spoilt our land with mining and chemicals and let our children go

without quality education. (Paul, Ghana)

Paul was one of the more outspoken in the interviews. He even writes a column in the

Ghana newspaper where he discusses the corruption in his country and other neighboring

African nations. Most of the teachers were well aware of SAP's and where aid came

from. It was intriguing that even in the most remote areas with little access to media, the

people were versed on the World Bank, IMF, and their policies. Mohammed, a teacher in

Burkina Faso said,

EFA is not a real program. They claim it is and have all these goals to go along

with it, but we know that there will never be gender equality in school and that

literacy rates will not increase by 50% by 2015. It is a way for us to get aid and

with that aid comes the problems with how we are going to pay it back. Will they

take away our resources? Will they prevent us from spending on things our

country needs that are not deemed necessities by UNESCO? I don't know but I

think that we need to live without aid. We need to stand on our own feet.

(Mohammed, Burkina Faso)

If institutions like UNESCO and the World Bank are still able to dictate the type

of education and literacy that a nation receives, they are still in control. Mohamed

realizes they need to live without the reliance on aid. The aid is the neocolonial strings

that are held onto by the World Bank and UNESCO. The problem is that if nations in

Sub-Saharan West Africa were to declare they did not want to receive aid then what

would the consequences be? They would be deemed as rogue nations by the West and

possibly receive embargos and other economic sanctions. Unless it was done collectively

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by the entire region together, more aid could be allocated for another Sub-Saharan West African nation more willing to do the bidding of the global institutions.

The Illusion of Success: All they are Concerned about are the Numbers, not the Reality

The situation in Sub Saharan West Africa is so complex that many of the teachers do not see a way out. They feel that involvement from the teachers who are actually in the school and aid would help, but they are very frustrated. They are caught in a dichotomy as they wish they could do without the aid, yet they claim they need resources. They also stress the control that UNESCO and other global institutions retain over them, yet they want to be a part of the decision making. Ousmane, a teacher in Mali was frustrated with the same things that Alain and others were. They felt that UNESCO expects one program to work for all. If they accomplish certain parts of the program like Universal Primary Education (UPE) then, for UNESCO, it appears that it is working; but to Ousmane it is not. Ousmane feels that education under this policy is not quality for the students. EFA strives in their goals to provide "quality" education. But a blanket statement like that makes one wonder who decided what quality will mean and how quality is interpreted at each school. Teachers like Ousmane do not feel that the "quality" that UNESCO is extolling is that good for his students.

> The biggest problem I have is that all children have to come to school. All children need to come to school, but now we have so many children and no new teachers. We have at least 95 students in a classroom with one teacher and you saw the shape of the classroom. Where will they sit? Where are the books? You [UNESCO] ask me to bring every child to school, but you don't give me any tools

to do this. We need more buildings, chairs, books, and teachers. When they sit in

their big meetings they say (the teacher got up and pretended to be at a podium)

"all children must go to school" and all the people cheer and nice things are said

how they are helping our people. But look at our conditions. The real actors, the

teachers have not been given any help in taking care of all the children. We give

our enrollment numbers to the district and I am sure it looks good with all the new

students in school- but that is not quality- no – not quality. (Ousmane, Mali)

Ousmane even went so far as acting out what he thinks the policy meetings would be

like. His representation of what the planning meeting would be like showed me how

detached the teachers feel they are from the policymakers. Ousmane though is supporting

the ideologies of human capital theory by working with the district to give enrollment

numbers. He expresses the need for books and resources, but all of these are to support

EFA. The conditions under which Ousmane and the other teachers are forced to teach

under is inhumane. The teachers do not see any other way out except to go along with

EFA, but insist on more help. They only have partial insight into how an institution like

UNESCO operates and what the underlying motivations and ideologies are. The teachers

are being used by UNESCO through EFA to accomplish their goals. While the teachers

are operating under the assumption that they are working for the good of the students,

they are still supporting the hegemony espoused by UNESCO.

UNESCO documentation states that "UNESCO should continue to be creative

and innovative and more focused and driven by the need to show tangible and measurable

outcomes" (UNESCO, 2007, p.452). Measurable outcomes are very important to

UNESCO because the numbers are how they show if a policy is working or not. The data

also shows progress to get more donors to join EFA and give money. The teachers are aware that data is very important for their governments to report how they are doing in meeting EFA goals. They also understand that the data paints a different picture than what is actually going on. They are forced by policy to bring every child to school, but they are not able to provide "quality" education to all these children. Yacouba, a teacher in Mali said,

> It is very hard on us. We know as much about the goals (EFA goals) that all children need to be enrolled in school. That is the law now, we know. The problem is that all children do not have a space in this school. We need bigger buildings and more desks. Look at what we have from 1979? In America you do not have same desks from 1979 I am sure of this? Why is this ok for Mali? I want these children to have opportunities. I want them to be part of the modern world and how can they when they get poor attention in classrooms. We are one teacher and we can't give 110 students individual attention. We have to pass them on to the next grade even if they are not ready. This is because we have a new group of 100 students and need to make room. I have students of many levels in one room. I cannot give everyone the attention I want. UNESCO wants every child to be in school, but do they think that our schools can hold every child? (Yacouba, Mali)

Yacouba along with the other teachers realize that they need to abide by the policies and that the numbers are very important to UNESCO. But like others he does not understand how to implement this policy without the addition of resources to accommodate all the students. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is the act of having the students in

school that matters. It is not the quality of what goes on in the classroom; they just need the warm bodies in the classroom to fulfill their goals.

It is very conflicting for the teachers who want every child in school and want to show the data that they are meeting EFA goals, but in reality they are not providing a quality education for the children. During the interviews, I asked about changes that were apparent in their school and country from EFA. This question elicited a lot of emotion regarding the fact that they had to submit enrollment numbers and that was one of the most important things that their district offices wanted. Sekou, a principal in Togo said,

> One of the biggest changes is the districts' interest in my school's enrollment
> numbers. They used to be more concerned with graduation rates, but now they are
> more concerned with how many students are entering the school. The district
> hounds us the first couple months of school and asks us for our enrollment
> numbers. We tell them to wait because sometimes students come a little late to
> school. We are sensitizing parents to send their children to school, including the
> girls. This is a big thing, now girls are coming to school. The district wants those
> numbers too so they can say to UNESCO that girls are getting access to
> education. The problem is that they don't ask us anymore about our graduation
> rates. That is a big problem. I would be more concerned about graduating because
> those are the future of our country. Just because a child goes to school does not
> mean they finish or they learn anything. (Sekou, Togo)

Importance is placed on increase in enrollment (see appendix B). For Sub-Saharan West Africa there is an increase in primary education enrollment rates, but UNESCO lets the

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data speak for itself. They do not look beyond the superficiality of the numbers, and question the story behind them. Emmanuel, a teacher in Benin said,

> I learned about EFA there and when I came home to teach in my village I was also given some documentation from the pedagogical offices. I don't see too much about it besides a policy. The things that have changed are we have to bring every child to school, but the school is the same size. There are no new desks, no new books, and no new chairs. We have to teach more students with the same tools. This is very hard. I don't think it is quality when I have to teach that many students at one time. French and English are both foreign languages for these children. They speak their home language at home so it is hard to teach a foreign language to so many children at once. (Emmanuel, Benin)

The teachers have seen many changes occurring and even though they submit their data and everything looks like it is improving, there are still so many problems that remain hidden behind the numbers. The data hides the overcrowding of classrooms and lack of materials. The data hides that real story. All the data shows is a country striving to meet EFA goals by 2015. Amadou, a principal in Burkina Faso felt the pressure to get every child into school, but the school has not changed. His frustration was similar to many other teachers interviewed who suffered from lack of resources to complete goals.

> You ask us about changes, well we have very poor literacy rates and poor quality of education in Burkina. We try, but what can you do with nothing? The big change that I see that is a good change is that all children need to come to school. We even have facilities to help children get into school who are late comers. This a good change, but also bad in the sense that now all children come to school, but

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the school is the same. No new buildings, no new desks, no new chairs, nothing is

new but we have double to triple the amount of students as before. (Amadou,

Burkina Faso)

Amadou feels the same frustration as the other teachers in trying to live up to the goals of

the policies imposed in difficult situations. UNESCO policymakers are concerned about

the investment in education to create economic outcomes for the nations. Each child in

school could become a future worker. The problem with this is that there are those

children who will not become workers and who are hindered in such a crowded

classroom. Saif, in Benin said,

Every child gets to come to school and their [UNESCO's] numbers look good.

What is the good in that? The children are there but nothing is happening. We

have too many children to teach to read and write. We do not have enough books

for the children. I am doing a disservice to the children because they are only

getting half of my attention. The hard thing is we have to pass all children on to

the next grade regardless if they pass or not because we have 100 new students

arriving. This is a crime. This is not a policy. This is not helping our children, but

hurting them. If the World Bank wants to help build us more schools. Give

incentive to become teachers so we have more. The World Bank was actually

paying teachers to leave and start their own private schools. That is not a good

thing. We need all the teachers we can. The World Bank should look at how they

can help us make it happen not just the numbers. (Saif, Benin)

Saif even exposes that the World Bank is paying teachers to start their own private

schools. This was backed up by other teachers in Benin. This seemed particularly

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frustrating for teachers like Saif because the World Bank was undermining their own effort. If every child is to be in school then there needs to be more teachers, but they are taking teachers away from the schools to start their own. There was distrust in this motive and most teachers did not understand or agree with it.

There is a sense that UNESCO and the donor agencies like The World Bank and the IMF just want to complete goals and show data that makes them look successful in accomplishing this. Teachers also expressed the feeling that programs like EFA existed to make organizations like UNESCO feel better about themselves. They show the data at meetings and feel good about their efforts even if 2015 goals will never be met. Miriam, a teacher in Burkina Faso had this to say about it,

> The data is there for enrollment and as a country we have improved. You look at our numbers and see that more girls are in school and that we have done a lot to encourage parents to send their children to school and not keep them in the fields at home. I think that EFA makes the west, especially the French, feel better about how they left our country in political and economic disarray. They feel better thinking they are helping the children of Burkina Faso when in reality their program is not creating the returns they thought. Just numbers from enrollment do not make a program successful. (Miriam, Burkina Faso)

Numbers make a policy look successful; but when they look at the other areas like graduation rates and literacy rates they will see that their numbers do not tell the whole story. The desire for UNESCO to be able to generalize from data was very prominent in the interviews with the policymakers. They liked data that showed them as being successful and did not want to delve into problems that may be occurring as a result of

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this. UNESCO and its donors like to appear that they are helping the underdeveloped of the world; the underdeveloped that, as former colonizers, they were largely responsible for creating. This is an example of Freire's definition of "false generosity" which Freire (2000) says, "Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization" (p.54). This false generosity is an attempt about relieving the guilty conscience of the oppressor, the former European colonizers, rather than working with the oppressed to liberate them. The contradictory form of this would be what Freire calls "true generosity" which is consists in "fighting to destroy the causes which nourish false charity" (p.55). This type of charity is selfless and is not just a hand-out but a conscious effort to work alongside the oppressed in order to reduce their dependence. UNESCO and the global donor institutions operate under ideologies that support a false generosity.

Our Native Language is not Part of EFA

Within EFA literacy policies, English and French are the languages of instruction. In each of the countries there are native languages that are spoken at home, but not allowed in the schools. Similar to what Emmanuel said, the teachers are expected to enroll every child and have them in the classrooms, but they are not allowed to teach in their native language. Teaching a foreign language to so many children at a time is very difficult for the teachers. Mamadou, in Burkina Faso said,

> Every child in the village comes to my school and in my class I have 85 students
> at one time with just one teacher. It is hard to teach a foreign language – French --

to them. There are many levels of intelligence in each room, even though they are the same ages. Some have home literacy skills in their mother tongue, but some are behind. I do not have the time and materials to teach all 85 children a foreign language. (Mamadou, Burkina Faso)

The same held true in Ghana, where the national language is English.

It is hard because English is a foreign language to many children. They do not speak English at home. They speak their own language. We are not capable of helping them in their language. We only have English material and tests are only in English. It is hard in such a crowded classroom to teach a foreign language. (Miriam, Ghana)

Each teacher needs to follow EFA policy and teach French and English. This was one of the most difficult things to do according to the teachers interviewed. They felt they were shortchanging the students and not providing them with the necessary skills to be literate in French or English.

Having to teach a language that is not your mother tongue, but that of the former colonial powers is still exerting power upon the former colonies. According to Thomas and Postlethwaite (1984), "Colonialist organizations tend to shape schooling in specific patterns to maintain, enforce, and perpetuate colonialist rule "(p.281). The ruling bodies of UNESCO and the World Bank are former colonial powers and want to maintain their control. There is also the element of how UNESCO and the World Bank define literacy. In terms of EFA they gravitate more towards a functionalist view of literacy (Oxenham et al, 2002). A functionalist perspective views the world in terms of structures that need to function in particular ways to support the society. A functionalist view of literacy would

provide literacy necessary for the functioning of a workforce in a society. The skills

necessary to be productive and contribute to the overall functioning of the society is what

is necessary. Functional literacy advocates the student learning just enough to function,

but not be able to understand complex ideas about the society they live in. This is

interesting in that UNESCO often refers to Freire in their discussions of literacy. This is

the opposite of what literacy meant for Freire. For Freire (1987), literacy is the ability to

"read the word and the world" which involves being able to understand one's place in

society and the world. In UNESCO and World Bank documentation on literacy policies

for EFA and the Millennium Development goals, literacy is linked with productivity,

especially productivity of a community. Functional literacy, for UNESCO and the World

Bank, goes hand in hand with labor force training and economic development, which

need to promulgate the languages of the colonial powers -- English and French. Paul, a

teacher in Benin, feels this pressure to speak the language of the former colonial powers.

> We are only allowed to speak French, the language of our colonizers. They never
>
> really freed us, they never really left. They are still here but using our own
>
> government leaders as their puppets. They tell them what to do and they do it to
>
> us. No teacher would ever make a policy that they would have to teach a foreign
>
> language to 100+ students at a time. (Paul, Benin)

Paul stressed that he has lost faith in his government to do what is right for his students.

By referring to them as puppets, he took away their ability to think for what is truly good

for Benin. This supports a neocolonial hegemony. Neocolonialism consists of "politically

independent people of a developing nation continuing to be bound to a European or

American society" (Thomas and Postlethwaite, 1984, p.13). Neocolonial powers are

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international organizations like UNESCO and multinational corporations. Current leaders of nations like Benin are still operating under the powers of their former colonizers. They are recipients of aid and other programs that maintain the control. Chillisa and Preece (2005) go on to say, "former colonizers contribute to economically, culturally, financially, militarily, and ideologically dominate what constitutes the so-called developing world" (p.660). The governments have internalized the hegemonic view that the former colony benefits from their occupation. They have come to rely on the aid and have bought into the hegemonic view of development. The leaders of the Sub-Saharan West African countries believe that globalization is open to them. Krumah (1965) one of the most influential leaders in African Independence said, "The rulers of neo-colonial States derive their authority to govern, not from the will of the people, but from the support which they obtain from their neo-colonialist masters" (p.43). The new leaders of these nations have been allowed to achieve their status from the neocolonial powers. They would not want people in power do not support their hegemonic views.

Colonizers, according to Ashcroft (2001), tend to place higher cultural value on the language of the colonizers. The language before colonization is not "up to par" with western languages. In order for the children of Sub Saharan West Africa to become productive members of society, they must speak the language of the former colonial power. Feelings of linguistic colonization were expressed by several interviewees. Herve, in Benin said,

> We all know that we are expected to speak French. I worry for the children that
> they will not be proficient in their home language. Here in Benin we speak Fon
> and Yoruba, amongst other tribal languages. I do not have the resources to

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conduct my lessons in Fon for my students. I have to try and impart as much

French as I can so that they can pass the exams. (Herve, Benin)

I asked if bilingual education was common.

I think that in time bilingual education will gain popularity. There a few private

schools that have bilingual programs and the private expensive schools often have

English and French along with the native language. At this school we don't have

time or money. I can only do with what I am given. French has been given more

importance over our tribal languages. This was also the case during the French

times. French was the language, not our own. (Herve, Benin)

Another teacher in Benin had this to say about bilingual education.

We have so many illiterate children. If we could have bilingual education it

would help because I have to only speak French to these children. French is not

their language. They need to have a home language to use as reference before

introducing a foreign language. (Paul, Benin)

Paul expressed the common feeling that there needs to be a base in the mother tongue to

learn French. It is as if the native languages are not considered "literacy" in the eyes of

UNESCO. Only a Western language can be "literacy."

In *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and liberation,* Freire (1985) says

that "Colonizers had to convince the people that the only valid language [in Guinea-

Bissau] was Portuguese. They always emphasized that what the colonized spoke was an

ugly, savage dialect" (p.185). Freire was referring to Guinea - Bissau, but the same can

hold true for former French colonies of Sub Saharan West Africa like Benin. This was

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evident in the signs displayed in each classroom that said, "English Only." I asked

Chantal, a teacher in Benin, about the sign.

> I need to have that up there to remind myself and the students that we must speak
> French. Yoruba is not taught in this school. They learn their mother tongue at
> home in the village. I must teach French to these children. I hope that we have
> bilingual education someday and that signs like that can be removed. (Chantal,
> Benin)

By not allowing the children to speak their mother tongue in the school and learn in it,

they are once again being silenced. They have to speak the voice of the colonizer, not the

voice of their culture. It is interesting to note that even the materials were not very

culturally appropriate. The books that almost every school used were called *Karim and*

Aissa and *Life in Burkina*. They are published in Burkina Faso and were mostly provided

by USAID.[21] Each of these books had some culturally appropriate pictures, but the books

were entirely in French. The children from a young age saw people who resembled them

speaking French, not the language their mothers and fathers speak to them. When I asked

a teacher in Mali if there were any materials that had Bambara,[22] he told me,

> We use *Karim and Aissa* and those are entirely in French. Often I will use the
> wood from the desks that are broken to carve letters and in that way I can use
> some Bambara for the children. (Ahmet, Mali)

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[21] USAID is United States Agency for International Development. This 40-year old agency focuses on Sub
Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and Eurasia, and the Middle East.

[22] Bambara is one of the most popular languages in Mali.

Ahmet wanted there to be more appropriate literacy materials, so he created his own. He could create Bambara lessons from the carved wood.

Ousmane, a teacher in Mali even felt that UNESCO does not think their native language is considered literacy.

> These students come to school and they speak their home language. We have our own languages here in Dogon. Many parents do not speak French and no one knows very much English. We have some "Karim and Aissa" books but very few. We tell a lot of stories as that is our culture here. We tell stories and draw a lot of pictures. I know that a goal of UNESCO is to improve literacy, but that is not happening here, at least not English or French. Our children speak their language at home and with the village. We don't have materials to teach French. I speak French because I went to teachers college in Bamako, but here is such a small village, our own language is good for us. I don't think UNESCO considers our stories and pictures "literacy." (Ousmane, Mali)

This idea of the native language not being "literacy" was felt throughout the interviews. In each room, as mentioned, there was a sign reminding the teachers and students to speak French or English (in Ghana). These signs reminded me of the Native American boarding schools where English was forced upon them or the Mexican population that had to live by English only rules. It is dehumanizing to not allow someone to speak their first language. UNESCO believed that they are enforcing this for the good of the people, it is still dehumanizing.

Sekou, a teacher in Mali spoke of policy before EFA. This was interesting in that he spoke of the current system being based on the principles and policies from the French

Colonial System. Before EFA, Malian President Keita[23] wanted to create a Unified

Africa make Mali economically and politically stable. He was overthrown in a coup that

Sekou felt led to the current economic problems in Mali.

> I started teachers college while Keita was in office. He wanted to unite all of
>
> Africa and he wanted us to be proud to be Malian. He wanted to do away with the
>
> colonial past and move towards being a strong economic force in the region. Our
>
> education under Keita's rule focused on our own languages and our own history.
>
> (Sekou, Mali)

Being silenced by a global institution like UNESCO through language was felt

throughout the interviews. The teachers were quick to show books where children spoke

French or even books with blond and blue-eyed children. There is a fear that indigenous

languages will disappear, or the children will not know how to read and write them, only

speak. Native languages not being a part of EFA is an issue that UNESCO has tried to

deal with. They have said that it is up to the individual governments to allocate resources

for materials for a bilingual education or to create materials in indigenous languages.

According to UNESCO, "Giving up social and especially "cultural" pride is one of the

"costs" of literacy (UNESCO, 2003, p.15). Learning to be literate in a second,

international language often at the expense of and indigenous, vernacular language is one

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[23] Modibo Keita was the Malian President 1960-1968. He strived to create He was a socialist and tried to

socialize the economy of Mali. He created the Malian Franc which resulted in severe inflation in the

country. He also met with John F. Kennedy and wanted relations with the United States. In 1968 there was

a coup which resulted in Keita's imprisonment. He died in Prison in 1977.

of the high stakes involved in building a literate society in dense multilingual settings"(Alidou, 2003 p.6). On the other hand a UNESCO researcher said, "Small investments to support the emergence of a local publishing industry could contribute importantly to both the formal education sector and individual development" (Fagerberg-Diallo, 2001, p.157). UNESCO views the expenditure on appropriate materials up to the individual country and encourages local governments to take this matter into their own hands. UNESCO is not against the use of bilingual materials, but does not want to contribute their resources towards it.

The Offer of Globalization- Will It Be a Reality for Us

UNESCO policymakers hold the idea that if a country follows EFA and meets goals by 2015, they will better their economies. They hold the carrot of globalization out to the leaders of these nations. They use the lure of being in the same playing field as the Western powers. The teachers interviewed all stated that they want to be a part of the global economy and some had internalized the messages UNESCO was sending.

> The 2015 goals are far in the distant for us in Burkina Faso, but we are improving. If we can meet some of the goals then we may be attractive for foreign people to want to do business here. Once we get our children literate in numeracy and reading and writing, they can be the future. (Miriam, Burkina Faso)

Miriam acknowledges that Burkina Faso is far from meeting EFA goals by 2015, but has internalized the message that if they were successful at meeting goals, they could be attractive to multinationals looking to set up businesses. This goes along with the neoliberal agenda. This was disturbing as Miriam throughout our interview had expressed distrust and dissatisfaction with UNESCO EFA policies. She even expressed that living

without aid would be beneficial for Burkina Faso. However, her internalization of the promise of globalization was strong enough to get her to look beyond the realities of the situation and towards an idealistic promise held out by UNESCO.

Globalization, according to McLaren and Farahmandpur (2001) "represents an ideological façade that camouflages the manifold operations of imperialism" (p.76). Neoliberalism emphasizes free markets, free trade, deregulation, and privatization. Structural adjustment policies are a product of the neoliberal agenda. During the 1980's there was a restructuring of the third world economies (Sniegocki, 2008) which the World Bank and International Monetary Fund thought would make the third world countries attractive to investors. This is a form of new imperialism that McLaren and Farahmandpur (2001) talk about. The ones who benefit from neoliberal policies in Sub-Saharan West Africa are the elite and ruling class who can afford to own and operate businesses. Neoliberal policies go hand in hand with globalization. While teachers like Miriam want to be a part of globalization, UNESCO and its donor partners are using it as way to control. Several UNESCO policymakers even said that the divide between the North and South will never truly be equal. Salim, a teacher in Burkina Faso, said,

> Education is the only way out of this poverty for my people. If you can help them, you need to try. I love my country but we have very poor education. We need same globalization opportunities as other countries. (Salim, Burkina Faso)

Saif, another teacher in Burkina Faso also echoed the desire to be part of globalization.

> We need to be part of the globalization. We need to become developed. For so long Burkina Faso is on the top of the list of the most "in need" country in the world. We need to change this view. (Saif, Burkina Faso)

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John, a teacher in Ghana wanted his students to become part of globalization and felt that English was the best way to achieve it.

In Ghana we speak English, that is the language of our colonizer and we have kept it. We think it is better for globalization that we are knowledgeable in English and I try to teach my students English the best I can. The problem is they do not speak English at home and in their villages. What will they do with English. They see on the TV all the business in the world, but they know they cannot have a part of it if they are not proficient in English. My hands are tied because I know what I need to do but I cannot do it. I want the future children to be part of globalization, but I don't think they will be right away- it will take some time. (John, Ghana)

Many of the teachers expressed their frustration of having the prize of globalization dangled in front of them with no plan on how to achieve it. While according to UNESCO, the plan is to meet EFA goals by 2015, the reality for the teachers is that the students are not being prepared to enter a global world. Adama a teacher in Mali even felt that UNESCO was not that serious about allowing them into the global economy. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, he received posters from UNESCO with no explanation of how to use them.

I asked Adama about what he thought would help his students become future members of a global economy.

All I know is that these posters are not going to help my students. If UNESCO really was going to be giving a key to join globalization, they would want to work with us and see what would make us the most successful. The field is not even.

They do not really want Mali in the same league as them. If they wanted us a part, they would send better materials, give teachers better training, and build more schools so that each child can get the attention they need. A French child would never learn with materials like this or in these conditions. (Adama, Mali)

Adama and several other teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with the materials and how they did not feel they were the most appropriate to give them access to globalization. Sugara, a teacher in Mali said,

If we are to be part of globalization and we are to be learning skills to be workers, then what are they teaching us? Where are the computers? You can't be in globalization without having access to the internet. There is no internet here in Dogon. What type of jobs are they preparing us for? I don't see the materials they have given us preparing my students for anything but staying in this village and working in the fields with their community. (Sugara, Mali)

Sugara wanted to have access to technology, which there was none throughout my entire time in Sub Saharan West Africa. I did not see one school with a computer. The closest came in Ghana where a school had a poster of a computer that was drawn on white poster board. It was a very old desktop with floppy disks in the picture. That was the computer that was used for a computer lesson. It was not preparing the students for access to technology.

Several teachers expressed the feeling that France or the West would not impose a policy like this on their own children and that children would never be expected to learn in these types of circumstances. Serge, a teacher in Togo said,

Look at the poor quality of the books I am expected to teach with. They are

falling apart and I don't even have enough. I am supposed to teach French to 100

students in one room with books that are falling apart. Would they do this in your

country? Would a French teacher have to teach in these conditions? They expect

so much of us without giving us any resources. They really do not want us to be in

the global economy. If they did we would have comparable materials. (Serge,

Togo)

The feeling throughout the interviews was that UNESCO was just going through the

motions to make itself look good to the outside world; that it was operating under "false

generosity." Teachers interviewed felt if UNESCO really wanted countries like Mali and

Burkina Faso to join the global economy, they would have involved the actors, the

teachers. They would have looked at each country and analyzed their populations to

determine what they needed and what would help them be successful. Chantal, a teacher

in Burkina Faso who felt that UNESCO has been trying to improve education, but with

no progress, said,

UNESCO and the World Bank have been trying to improve the education in our

country. Without development in other areas, the education is meaningless. How

can we tell parents to take their children out of the fields, away from the herds and

come to school when there is nothing for them outside the village when they

finish? If we had colleges and we had professional institutes to teach our children

to be leaders, teachers, professionals, so that they can help Burkina develop then

that is another story. But we don't have that. It's like opening a beautiful

restaurant but there is no food. We come the first couple times to see the building,

but after so many times walking away hungry. No one will come back. That is

school here in Banfora. They come a year or two, start to learn to read and write,

they go home and work in their villages and then they think "why should I finish?

What is there for me to do besides this?" This is the problem we have. (Chantal,

Burkina Faso)

Chantal expressed that there needed to be development in other areas along with

education. Education alone is not the answer to all the problems. There needs to be

development in healthcare, access to water and food, and infrastructure like roads.

Without basic human needs education is difficult to complete. The needs in the

community for food and basic necessities can outweigh the value of education. In Togo

students would not come to school because they needed to fish every morning to supply

food for their community and sell at local markets. Opportunities after a student

completes school do not exist. This type of development has not occurred. I proceeded to

ask Chantal what she thought might help the situation.

They should have talked to the teachers. We know what is going on here in our

country. I don't think they really want us to be successful when we are given

policies that are impossible to implement. We are given goals that are not going to

be our reality. We are already set up to not succeed. Did UNESCO do this

purposely? I don't think so. I think they just look at data and not the people. No

one cares about Chantal in Banfora. They care about the data for a whole region.

(Chantal, Burkina Faso)

Chantal felt that they were being set up not to fail. This view was common from the

interviews. They felt that if UNESCO was serious about education for development, then

they would have offered materials that led to that outcome. The outcome with what they have is just reporting data that all children are in a classroom, not that literacy is improving or that graduation rates are increasing. These are all indicators that would lead a country to becoming economically stronger.

UNESCO policymakers believed that they were doing good work and believed in the goals of EFA. They were not purposely setting up countries to fail, but that was a feeling that was held by many participants in Africa. In *Learning to Conform: Globalization, Governance and UNESCO's Basic Education*, Christine Gauger (2002) says, "Concepts that are embedded in the definitions like 'life skills' have very specific structures and prescriptions within the definition of Basic Education and unless one achieves these skills via a particular method, UNESCO's statistics will reflect a lack of knowledge on the part of the individual" (p.44). Rarely is research done on how to approach cultures uniquely within the policy rhetoric. Different cultures have different ways of interpreting and experiencing education. Interviewees felt that UNESCO did not have knowledge of their particular circumstance. As stated earlier in this chapter, UNESCO espouses a belief that one policy is good for all. Even in the universal rhetoric of "education for all" it appears as if one education is good for all. Many of the teachers felt that this was not the way to make the underdeveloped nations a part of the global economy.

Getting girls into school is another part of the promise of globalization. If girls are given equal access to education, then a country is viewed as having equality, allowing more of the population to become educated citizens. Getting girls into schools is one of the goals of EFA, and it is making progress in many regions. The problem is that even if

the girls get into schools, there is no future outside of remaining in the village. Even though teachers realize this, they still are striving to get every girl into school.

> All children must come to school so we get the young girls in first and second year. Once they are old enough to do the home duties they do not come back to school. We need to sensitize parents that if the girls stay in school, they will have a better future. (Sekou, Mali)

Sekou also expressed that even if there are no opportunities after they are in school, it is still beneficial to expose girls to literacy and numeracy. Miriam also felt the same way.

> We must sensitize the parents that school can help their daughters. They need to learn to read and write to help their communities. (Miriam, Mali)

These same teachers also acknowledged that even if the girls get access to school, if there are no opportunities for them, it is meaningless.

> If the girls come to school, their future may be better because they will learn to read and write. But once they go back to their village, there is no opportunity for them to use their skills. The girls have cultural duties and unless there are good paying jobs waiting, parents do not see the necessity to keep them in school. The same is true for the boys. Unless there are opportunities it's just like a tease. They give us education and nowhere to use it. (Sekou, Mali)

Sekou knows that even though all the children, including girls are in schools, there are no opportunities once they graduate. There is little incentive to continue to secondary education which leads to a population with a very limited basic education. This is a contradiction in UNESCO's ideology of human capital theory. They base their educational policy on this ideology and encourage expenditure in education with the

promise of globalization. If their main goal is to get all children to finish primary school with basic skills, then what type of profession would they be prepared for? What type of workforce is being created? Sekou has bought into the ideology of human capital theory in that he expects there to be opportunities if he gets all children through school. He questions the motives of wanting to get every child into school if there is no opportunity for them when they graduate. It is a rare circumstance like Miriam's that allowed her to become a teacher.

> I am a woman and there was an opportunity for me to become a teacher when I finished secondary school. I am lucky-. I had an uncle who went to university in Bamako. He even had a chance to go to France several times. My family saw that there could be opportunity for me so they encouraged me. I am very lucky and my case is rare. They typical family does not see this. They only see what is around them. (Miriam, Mali)

Both Miriam and Sekou see the need to get girls in school, but are troubled by the lack of available jobs for them.

The same feeling was expressed by Saif in Burkina Faso.

> Girls in the village are in charge of the general well being of the house. They work with their mothers and have a lot of responsibility. It is difficult to sensitize the parents so that they see just as much benefit if not more by letting their daughters come to school. My problem as a teacher is we need to create opportunities for the girls to go on to secondary school. Encourage them to teach, to become nurses, to do something to better our country. (Saif, Burkina Faso)

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Saif wants to create opportunities within his country for students to utilize the skills they acquire. It is hard to retain information if you do not use it.

There was also resentment towards the French and how they left the countries they once colonized. The colonizers had made it almost impossible for the countries in the region to join the global economy. The French utilized all the resources of the colonies they occupied to pay the French government. They did not have regard for the populations and their welfare. They left the countries in physical and economic pain. Teachers felt that if the colonizers had taken more care, they would not be in the current situation. Sekou, a teacher in Benin said,

> French are the worst colonizers. They destroy the land and culture and think they give us the French language. I would have preferred the British come in Benin. At least we would have good roads, health care and our children would speak English. (Sekou, Benin)

Another teacher echoed this response,

> Yes, the French do not colonize well. All we have left from them are some old buildings and that we have to teach French language. My Grandfather fought for France but can I go to Paris to study? No, they do not even give visas to former colonies. (Mamadou, Benin)

Mamadou and Sekou were not unusual in their internalization of being colonized in an inferior way. They were teenagers during independence. They struggled with this emotion and it was only after our interview was almost over that it bubbled to the surface. They looked to their neighbors like Ghana and Nigeria and saw economic success and global leaders going to those nations. As discussed though, this view is not accurate

because the British used violence and the same dehumanizing efforts as the French. EFA teachers who held this opinion were misled in their views on colonization. Colonization is hegemonic and made to seem as if it is natural. This is a very problematic view. It is like saying "well he was not the worst murderer." In any form colonization is destructive. The view that these teachers should adopt is that colonization in any form is wrong and dangerous. They need to break the hegemonic view of white, European supremacy that has plagued them.

The overwhelming feeling that globalization was held out there as a golden ticket that they would not have the opportunity to possess got stronger and stronger through each interview. The view that the former colonial power even put them in the current position they were in was also prominent in the former French colonies. The idea that accomplishing EFA goals would be the key to globalization was held by many in the beginning of EFA, but with the current condition most did not see that happening. The problems of lack of resources, food, and teachers all created a feeling of resentment.

Amande, a teacher in Burkina Faso was particularly troubled by the abandonment he felt from the Policymakers in their expectations of his implementing EFA and working towards achieving 2015 goals.

> How can I teach a child who has no food in his belly? How can I teach a child who has disease from poor health? How can I teach a child with no materials? How can a child be taught by a teacher who has no food and poor health too? Tell me…how do they expect this to happen? I am sure there are very few children in America who go to school like the children in Burkina. Our bellies are so empty

and we cannot sleep from hunger. How do we teach and learn? (Amande, Burkina

Faso)

Amande expressed the feeling of being marginalized and dehumanized. He feels that

there is no thought behind the policies. There is no concern for the people who are being

affected by the policies. While in UNESCO I also felt that the disconnect between the

policymakers and the situation in Sub-Saharan West Africa was great. While there were

representatives from the region they were privileged and did not accurately represent the

poverty that existed. This statement also supports the idea that education alone is not the

answer. Education is seen as the key to globalization and development by many of the

teachers interviewed, but without basic human needs the situation will only get worse.

The situation described by Amande is contradictory to the policymaker's view that they

were helping to achieve a basic human right. Food, shelter, and health are also human

rights, which were not expressed by the policymakers as concerns.

While in Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso, I met two teachers who

showed me the state of desperation and distrust for EFA that currently exists. I had gone

through the beginning of my interview and Karim, a teacher, seemed to know about EFA.

His school was three cinderblock buildings in a red dusty field. When asked about EFA

he said,

Oh, they come here and look at our school and we are given information. I do a

lot to make sure EFA is being properly followed here. I am the one that knows all

about it. (Karim, Burkina Faso)

He continued to say,

I am very happy to help with EFA and I will continue to do so for as long as they

need me, but it is a hard job, I need more help, maybe if I am able to pay someone

to help me would help. (Karim, Burkina Faso)

I told him that I was not with EFA and that I was researching EFA implementation. I told

him that I was in no position to ask for and that I have no ties to UNESCO.

Suddenly the interview changed. He said that he thought I was from UNESCO.

He said the school needed money desperately to teach their students. I asked what some

of the issues were.

We have too many students to teach. This is the city. We have double and triple

more than a village. How can I teach 150 students in one room? You can tell

UNESCO our situation and maybe they will give us money. (Karim, Burkina

Faso)

It was at this moment a torrential downpour came down splashing red mud everywhere.

The winds picked up and we lost the generator. We were in a red fog and could not see

further than a couple feet in front. I felt that this weather condition must be how he felt.

He knows what needs to be done but cannot see how to do it. There is such a lack of

cooperation with UNESCO that the teachers feel a sense of abandonment. The situation

at this school was no different, but the teacher was at such a point of desperation that he

needed to try and help the situation by any means necessary. Once the situation had

calmed a little we began to talk about what EFA meant for him.

EFA is a chance to be part of globalization. They told us on the radio when we

receive aid that it is part of our path to becoming part of the global economy. I

know we have to teach the students French and increase enrollment, literacy, I

know this, but I do not have the tools to do it. You would think that here in Ouaga

it would be different. Children here in Ouaga are exposed to many people. In fact

we have foreigners that live here, so there are times they may speak French or

English in their lives, but there is no job for them once they finish school. We

have no books that they can take home to practice. Even though this school is in

the city we have no supplies. The government gives us books but we have one

book for every 5-6 students. This is part of their "one book per child program."

That program may work in rural areas, but we have too many students here. This

is not even the largest primary school. This school costs money that children

cannot afford so, in many cases they don't come to school. (Karim, Burkina Faso)

The feeling of being left out of globalization purposely because a policy had been created

where there is no way a region like Sub Saharan West Africa can succeed was very

prominent. Being set up to fail and not given a fair chance was echoed in each region.

Conclusion

The sentiment of being invisible and without a voice was the thread that ran

through the interviews. Participants in each country (Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo,

and Ghana) expressed this feeling. The colonizer may have physically left, but the

colonizer can still exert power through policies, funding, and programs. UNESCO, the

World Bank, IMF and other donors are the new colonizers. They are global reaching

institutions that can enforce policies across borders without physically being there. They

are able to do this through loans and SAP's. This financial capital which is lent through

programs like SAP's supports a neoliberal ideology. The World Bank and IMF lend

money to the countries in Sub-Saharan West Africa with strings attached as to how the

money will be used and repaid. The money goes to support neoliberal projects within these nations to attract investors and multinationals. Countries will remain in debt indefinitely, but without accruing debt they cannot survive. It is a "catch 22" and many of the teachers expressed the desire not to have loans and to become self- sufficient. A program like EFA ties them to aid because in order to meet the goals by 2015 they need outside resources.

At the end of each interview I asked each person what development meant to them. This was an important question because UNESCO policymakers view education as the key to development and operate under that ideology. For each person, the answer was basically the same. They wanted health, food, education, and opportunities. The difference between their views and those of UNESCO participants was that they did not necessarily want to be developed in the sense of a Western nation. Ousmane, a teacher in Burkina Faso said,

> Development for me is when every person has food in their bellies and every child can go to school and read. Development is when my students can go and learn better ways to farm, irrigate, be doctors, lawyers and then come back to the village and teach a new generation these skills. Development is not leaving Burkina for America or France. We are Burkinabe and development is to lift our people up ourselves without the loans. (Ousmane, Burkina Faso)

Miriam, in Ghana also wants a similar idea of development.

> Development is when a Ghanaian is teaching us how to farm our fields and build buildings. Not a foreigner, one of us. We need to survive on our own without the debt. We need to reclaim our Africanness and be proud of who we are. Ghana is a

country with many different kinds of people and many Westerners come here and say that they feel comfortable. I want people to look at Ghana as a developed nation that accomplished it on their own. (Miriam, Ghana)

Taking ownership and control over their own development was a message that rang loud and clear with each teacher. They wanted to be able to create a better society based on their values, morals, and their culture. They did not want to continually be modeled after and living in the shadow of the former colonial power through neocolonial institutions like UNESCO and the World Bank.

UNESCO policymakers on the other hand insist that the loans are necessary and are what makes development possible. The teachers interviewed longed for a time when they could achieve education, and economic goals with their own power.

We were brutally colonized by the French. They used our resources and our people were slaves for them. We are free now, but not really. We are slaves to the West. They control us through policies. They control us through loans. I don't want to be in debt. Beninoise are vibrant people. We have a rich culture and history. Our languages are important to us. Do not turn us into what you think we should be; let us become what we can. Development will happen one day once the chains are broken and we are in charge of our own destiny and are given back our voice. (Saif, Benin)

Saif's comment resonates through each and every interview. The stories of people who want to have a voice in what happens in their countries is what needs to be heard. UNESCO looks at statistics and does not look at the individual stories and the rich

culture of each nation. The stories of wanting to reclaim their Africanness and not be modeled after what the West thinks they should be also needs to be heard.

In the Racial Contract, Charles Mills (1999) talks about how the ideology of racism and white supremacy seems "natural" and "the way things are." UNESCO makes Western knowledge and languages appear as the way things are. A program like EFA is still asserting the supremacy of white, Western ideology and knowledge as the "status quo." Regions like Sub Saharan West Africa are viewed by the West and institutions like UNESCO and the World Bank by their statistics. They are faceless numbers describing what UNESCO calls the poorest of poor in the world. The World Bank follows a similar system as Wallerstein (2006) in dividing the world into the haves and have-nots. These divisions fall on a color line and it is next to impossible to move up the ladder. An underdeveloped Sub-Saharan nation is indebted to former colonial powers through SAP's and will remain a periphery country until debts and agreements are repaid The teachers interviewed did not believe that they would truly ever be allowed by global institutions like UNESCO to join the rank of developed nations who are part of globalization. They want to join globalization, but are wary of how far they will be allowed to go. The contradictory ideologies of wanting to accomplish globalization and development on their own, but on the other hand wanting more resources existed throughout the interviews. This was an issue that will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Each interview showed me how policies and global institutions can silence a people. By making global white supremacy and Western ideology and thought the norm, the populations of regions like the one researched see their culture, language and history being devalued by the outside world.   How can former colonial powers that exerted such

pain and created such destruction know what is best for the region? How can the former colonial powers take away their ability to choose what is best for the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa?

The teachers all expressed the feeling that if they were involved in EFA planning then it would be successful. Would this have been the case? The teachers had partial insights into the ideologies of UNESCO. In particular they could not see through the full discursive effects of supporting an ideology of human capital. There were conflicting ideologies amongst the teachers interviewed as to what would make an educational policy successful in their nation. Even if the teachers were involved, they would be working with the neocolonial power, creating policies to spread their ideologies. The teachers are already at a higher status. They have benefited from finishing secondary education which is not part of the basic skills of EFA. They are already instilling ideologies of education creating development, and globalization in the students. The teachers are passionate about wanting their students to have the opportunities that they had, but are conflicted in how to achieve it. EFA is the only choice they have to teach under. There is no alternative education outside the private schools. The teachers know that EFA is not going to meet many of the 2015 goals. There is an ideological inconsistency amongst what the teachers believe to be best for their nation. Until there is collective action and consistency, no educational policy will ever be successful. Contrary to UNESCO's belief, one education cannot be for all.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Before beginning this research I went into it thinking that Education For All (EFA) was problematic and had many faults. Everything I had read led me to believe that EFA was controlling. After conducting this research I still believe that EFA is not motivated by humanitarian qualities as much as I believe it is based on a Freire's (2000) concept of false generosity. I also had preconceived ideas about what the situation would be like in Sub-Saharan West Africa when I went to conduct the interviews. I had a picture in my mind based on UNESCO documentation and the interviews with policymakers. I thought that the EFA teachers would be in opposition to EFA and that there would be many problems in the schools. I knew that there would be a lack of resources and overcrowding, but the structural inequalities that are in place are devastating. I felt that disconnect between the policymakers and the EFA teachers would be so great that there would be no common understandings between the two groups. While EFA had many issues in the way it was being implemented, what I did find is a situation that was much more problematic than I originally thought. What I uncovered was the discursive means by which UNESCO as a neocolonial power operates through supposedly well-meaning, humanitarian programs. From the average person looking at UNESCO literature on EFA and sees representation from Sub-Saharan West Africa, they assume that UNESCO is doing all they can and that they carefully examine the region during policy planning. The harsh reality though was one of an architect designing a home they will never set foot in. The policymaker secure in their Parisian offices looks at the data and creates policy. This

research shows the way in which the notions of human capital shape the discourse of the policymaker and the EFA teacher in Sub-Saharan West Africa.

UNESCO, an institution which has global reaching powers, has many ideologies ingrained in how it shapes policies and programs. The policymakers share the hegemonic view that UNESCO espouses. UNESCO is a neocolonial institution which uses EFA as a vehicle to accomplish their neocolonial project. The EFA teachers in Sub-Saharan West Africa are also part of the structure which functions to maintain UNESCO's neocolonial stronghold in the region. This research demonstrates the ways in which UNESCO, using neoliberal policies which support the ideology of human capital, perpetuates the current system of global and regional inequality.

Neocolonial institutions operate through ideological, economical, and political measures to accomplish their projects. Neocolonial powers wish to maintain control over their former colonies. Said (1993), in his discussion of empire building, argued that modern means of conquest are accomplished through cultural forms, political maneuverings, and hegemonic policies. He said that former colonizers may have physically left, but "they retained them [colonies] not only as markets but as locales, on the ideological map over which they continue to rule morally and intellectually" (p. 25). In order for former colonies to maintain their control, they are operating through neocolonialism by international institutions like UNESCO and the World Bank, who act in the interests of capitalism and competition, favoring the nations at the top of the global hierarchy.

This research looked at EFA as the mechanism to accomplish the neocolonial project of UNESCO. There were sites of ideological conflict between how the UNESCO

policymakers made meaning of EFA and how it was being interpreted at the sites of implementation in Sub-Saharan West Africa. These sites of ideological conflict contribute to the lack of EFA success in Sub-Saharan West Africa. While there is much criticism of EFA on the part of the EFA teachers, this research showed evidence as to why the counter ideologies of the EFA teachers are also problematic. I will show how insight and blindness to ideologies such as human capital effect how the EFA teachers and the UNESCO policymakers make meaning of EFA and operate within its formation and implementation. Each group has their own agenda, the policymakers being guided by their investment in neocolonial power and the teachers being motivated by their desire to see their nations improve economically by elevating their global economic competitiveness. While they each are operating under the mechanism of EFA the point I want to make in this chapter is that the way each group has internalized the ideologies of UNESCO contributes to the lack of success of EFA and the perpetuation of a global and regional system of inequality.

Neocolonialism is the continuation of the economic model of colonialism that occurs after a former colony has achieved political independence. Altbach (1971) says of neocolonialism, "It is a planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries, but it is also simply a continuation of past practices" (544). It is in the interest of former colonial powers to maintain a form of control over their former colonies. They accomplish this through their involvement in global reaching institutions like UNESCO, the World Bank and the IMF. Neocolonial institutions maintain control through financial and political means, but this research examined mainly how a neocolonial institution like UNESCO maintains its control through ideology. Ideologies

are used by these institutions to maintain control. "An ideology may be defined as "an internally consistent body of thought (which can take the form of images, myths, ideas, or concepts), characterized by its historical function within a given society" (Althusser, 1977). The ideologies within UNESCO function to create hegemony. This hegemonic view of the superiority of white, European thought and language is prevalent throughout the UNESCO documentation and interviews. Within this hegemonic view is the reliance on human capital.

Insights and Blindness: Human Capital

For the ideologies of UNESCO to be communicated they must be internalized by the EFA policymakers and EFA teachers. Ideologies are not always internalized the same way for each group. While both groups are operating under the same ideologies, the ways in which they are manifested are different. This is because both the EFA policymaker and the EFA teacher have insights and blindness regarding the relationship they have with ideologies. When the teacher and the policymaker have insight into an ideology, they are able to see the outcomes and feel as if they have an understanding of the motivation and how it relates to their existence. Their insight is based on their lived experience and how they structurally see themselves. This insight is also a penetration (Willis, 1977) which can be described as "impulses within a cultural form towards the penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position within the social whole" (p.119). Each group may see the real way in which they believe an ideology functions in their existence. For example the EFA teacher believes in every child coming to school even though the conditions are so poor. The teachers question why there are no jobs for their students when they finish school. They are viewing human capital in the way they

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believe it will play out. The teachers themselves have achieved success and a higher economical standing based on their belief in education.

The problem then emerges in the areas which the teachers and the policymakers are either blind to or choose not to see. This occurs when one does not have full insight into an ideology. The insight of the policymakers and teachers into their conditions of existence is mystified by "blocks, diversions and other cultural effects" (Willis, p.119). For example the policymaker advocates and enforces UPE which they feel will lead to a productive economy and allow the region of Sub-Saharan West Africa to enter the global economy. The problem is that in some cases the policymaker is blind to or is choosing not to see the fact that UPE (Universal Primary Education) only serves to stratify the society more and that until the region is viewed in a higher global standing, education alone will not allow them to achieve what UNESCO is selling and that it only serves to maintain a system of global and regional inequality.

In a 1995 World Bank document, *Priorities and Strategies for Education*, they say, "We believe that education is an investment and in every sense just as hard as building bridges and roads" (p.273). This statement illustrates the way that human capital theory is ingrained in EFA and in their donor organizations. For the EFA policymaker investment in education is seen as another form of strengthening an economy. I believe that the EFA teachers also feel this way. They strive to educate as many students as they can and look at the process as being very difficult. Burnett and Patrinos (1996) state, "Economists in the education sector try to argue that the education sector is not just any public sector, it is an investment sector, a sector dealing with human capital. When the right investments are made, the benefits for both the individual and society will be great"

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(p.12). The founding documents for EFA are firmly planted in an ideology of human capital. The World Bank, which is one of the major funders for EFA derives its principles from its neoliberal approach to economics, in particular a human capital theory. Coleman (1988) says, "Human capital is created by changes in a person that bring about skill and capabilities that make them act in new ways" (p.100). Human capital theory rests on the assumption that imparting skills will increase the productivity and economy. The World Bank's main goals in their investment in Africa "both in terms of sectoral lending and as components of structural adjustment programs, seem to be to prepare people for jobs that a global division of labor offers, which means primarily producers of raw materials" (Brock-Utne, 2000, p.46). The promise of jobs and economic success guides the governments of Sub-Saharan West Africa in their pursuit of EFA goals and the teachers in their efforts in the classroom.

The educational system of former colonies often reflects and is rooted in the structures put in place by the former colonial rulers. Even if their education system has gone through some changes, it is most often modeled after a foreign model. The countries this research looked at had school systems that were based on the French colonial model. The use of French in assessment and instruction indicated a reliance on the colonial system. The same grading system and course of standardized testing still persists in the former French colonies. The yearly exams in the countries in this research were standardized and in French. According to Mills (2009) French education system has always been (and continues to be) elitist—i.e., it focuses on a minority of the most talented and tries to develop their capabilities to a very high level; the elite are separated at an early age from the majority (streaming); education of the majority does not have as

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high a priority" (p.23). This research supports this statement in that EFA policymakers believe that the education that is being provided will allow students the opportunity to become productive members of society. They realize though that school is a "sorting machine" (Spring, 1976) and that the educational policies they are advocating serve to stratify societies in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The curriculum and language are also reflective of the former colonial power. Bokamba (2002) says "Post-colonial African states, with a few exceptions, have continued the inherited colonial language policies in spite of perceived and demonstrated problems with such policies" (p.112). The EFA teachers also supported the use of curriculum and language based on former colonial powers. Several teachers even said that it was important to learn French and English. While the teachers expressed the wish that they had funds for bilingual education, they still taught French and the curriculum directed by the policymakers.

This research demonstrated ways in which both the policymakers and the EFA teachers had internalized the ideology of human capital. Each group operated in their own way to perpetuate the ideology. Ideologies are created out of structures and serve to maintain structures. The ideology of human capital is born out of the necessity of a neocolonial power like UNESCO to maintain an economic and social footing in former colonies. The EFA policymakers are planning and implementing policy based their co-opting of human capital. They operate under a hegemonic view that is indicative of their experiences. The EFA policymakers have insight into how the ideology of human capital is played out, but some are blind or choose not see the discursive elements of it. When looking at the policy of UPE, which is a major part of EFA, it appears that it is a well-meaning policy. This policy is discussed by all the policymaker interviewees. They are

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able to analyze EFA success or failure based on this number. The policymakers hinge EFA success on getting every child into school and completing primary education. The policymaker has insight into how UPE affects the region of Sub-Saharan West Africa. They state that getting a child into school is the first step. The contradiction is that if every child is in school it does not necessarily mean that they will all become future workers. The policymaker is blind to, or for some of them, chooses not to see the effects this will have in the region. There are not the resources or teachers for every child to be in school which will therefore yield an inferior education. It will further stratify the society because only those children, who get the attention from their teachers or seek out private schools, will have the opportunities of raising their economic status. The policymaker sees UPE as paramount to EFA success. They are complicitous with UPE as the stepping stone of human capital; the more children in school, the greater that chances for a return on the investment in education.

The EFA teachers are also operating under the ideology of human capital and also feel that UPE is important for their nations. UPE has been an undertaking at the country level of campaigns to educate parents or "sensitize" as it was called, to send all their children including girls to school. In each country in this research there were billboards and public service announcements on the TV and radio explaining the importance of sending their children to school and not keeping them at home to work. The lure of economic success was shown in these campaigns. In several of the posters there were pictures of professional people and children in a school. One sign in particular said that the future of Benin depended on all children getting educated. Rajan (2007) says, "If a key factor is education or human capital, it may be hard to increase its economy-wide

availability in even the medium run, especially if the educated are opposed" (p.16). This statement reflects how it is important for the teachers or the "educated" to buy into the ideology of human capital. The teachers interviewed had insight into human capital in the sense that they felt that it was more important for children to be in school than working in their villages. The teachers were complicitous with this aspect of the ideology of human capital. They agreed with the policymakers and were being manipulated by UNESCO to spread the message of UPE. If every child is in school, then the teachers are guaranteed a job and maintain their economic standing. The teachers discourse reflected their experience and as one teacher even said, that they were lucky to have gotten to go to secondary school and they hoped their students would get the same opportunities. The structure though is set up to further stratify communities. Not every child will graduate school or go on to have a career. Most will stay in their villages fulfilling their cultural obligations. I feel the teachers believe that they have insight into the situation. Their discourse made me believe that they expected jobs to be there if they fulfilled their end of the bargain of getting every child into school. Each teacher said that there were no jobs once the students were out of school, yet they continued to be a part of EFA and teach under their policies.

The EFA teachers in regard to UPE are blind to the actual reality of the ideology of human capital and how it is reproduced in the classroom. The reality is that conditions have deteriorated so in schools that the education the children are receiving is inferior quality. The teachers expressed their frustration with not being able to address each student's learning needs and the lack of any resources. They are suspicious of UNESCO's motives based on their view of them as a colonizer, but they do not express

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any indication in the interviews that they understand how human capital theory further creates inequalities and segmentation. The true structure of the school as a sorting mechanism is either unknown, or, as I believe not expressed by the teachers. Margison-Hyslop and Sears (2006) refer to schools as "production facilities whose primary mission was to provide industry with its required human capital" (p.2). Under neoliberal policies "Education becomes a publicly funded means to develop human capital rather than promote democratic learning" (Dale, 1989, p.104). If the teachers had full insight into how human capital theory is based on reducing people to financial terms and not with the goal of providing jobs and raising the region's economic status, then they would want to resist EFA and create counter ideologies that are more empowering. I also believe that the teachers would not want to lose their economic status so they may choose to ignore the effects of human capital so that they maintain their status.

Another issue where the policymakers and teachers are grappling with the ideology of human capital is basic skills education. The interviews with UNESCO policymakers showed evidence of their reliance on human capital theory. Their discourse about how getting all children into school through UPE will yield success in the region was vocalized by the policymakers. At first this seemed to be very naïve, but when one realizes that EFA is based on basic skills of literacy and numeracy then the jobs they are preparing the Sub-Saharan West Africans for are not very skilled. There was no speculation on the part of the UNESCO policymakers that the future EFA- educated children will be doctors or lawyers. The language that was used referred to imparting basic skills and preparing them to be "productive" members of their community. The problem though is that they are aware that all they are providing are basic skills, which

will not lead to higher economic professions and will maintain a lower class. The EFA policymaker chooses not to see this element of human capital because they do not want to appear to be acting in a way that harms Sub-Saharan West Africa. The policymaker has insight from their experiences at UNESCO, which shapes the way they see human capital playing out in Sub-Saharan West Africa. They are influenced by the hegemonic view of white, European status. Their experiences at UNESCO have shaped them to believe that they hold the power to enact and enforce policies on vulnerable populations. In their view, they do not see human capital as a problem. Their insight into it allows them to feel benevolent and well-meaning. The policymaker is so entrenched in the discourse of the ideologies at work in UNESCO that they are blind or choose not to recognize the discursive elements of human capital.

The EFA teacher knows that they are providing basic skills to the population. According to Bennett and Lecompte (1990) the economic purpose of schooling includes "preparation for the work force by teaching attitudes, technical skills and social behavior appropriate to the work place" (p.10). The schools in Sub-Saharan West Africa are based on this assumption. The teachers buy in to human capital encouraged them to teach the students French and the basic skills deemed necessary by UNESCO. Poulson (2001) in looking at how teachers conform to the dominant ideology said, "An unproblematised conception of knowledge has been accepted by researchers, and imposed by policy-makers keen to identify 'what works' in education" (p.47). The EFA teachers have accepted what is deemed as knowledge for them by UNESCO policymakers. They do not challenge it and teach according to it. The teacher's insight into human capital theory allows them to believe that by imparting the basic skills that UNESCO has prescribed,

the students will achieve success. They are blind though to the structural process in which a basic skills education will not allow them to achieve economic status. . The EFA teachers believe that opportunities are made by education and are therefore willing to abide by UPE and basic skills no matter how difficult their job may be. But as Willis (1977) says, "There is a common educational fallacy that opportunities can be made by education, that upward mobility is basically a matter of individual push, that qualifications make their own opening" (p.127). The EFA teachers discourse expresses their belief in the educational fallacy described. The problem though is that the teachers do not have full insight into how UNESCO is using EFA to push their neoliberal policies; neoliberal policies that encourage privatization and competition, not a policy that encourages everyone to raise their economic status.

Globalization is another promise held out by UNESCO through EFA. Human capital is integral to globalization. "A viable workforce is necessary for a country to be an active member in globalization" (Krninska, 2002). UNESCO and the EFA teachers believe that the education that they are providing is working towards a productive workforce. The EFA teachers and policymakers discourse is that that education should lead to jobs and development, which is paramount to human capital theory. The promise of globalization is one of the lures that UNESCO uses with EFA. The policymakers all stated that EFA is the key to the nations of Sub-Saharan West Africa entering the global economy. An EFA study that was part of the 2000 Dakar Action For Framework stated, " It [education] is the key to sustainable development and peace and stability within and among countries, and thus an indispensible means for effective participation in the societies and economies of the twenty-first century, which are affected by globalization.

Achieving EFA goals should be a matter of urgency and postponed no longer"

(UNESCO, 2000). The rhetoric within UNESCO documents and from the interviews

with policymakers is that globalization is something that is happening now and it is their

moral obligation to get the underdeveloped countries on board with it. While the reality is

that UNESCO's neocolonial form of globalization serves to weaken borders and

boundaries allowing them through multinational corporations and other agreements to

take economic control over resources. Outtara (1997) the past Deputy Managing Director

for the IMF said, "The globalization of the world economy is the integration of

economies throughout the world through trade, financial flows, the exchange of

technology and information, and the movement of people" (p.15). This was in reference

to a conference about globalization and Africa. His statements demonstrate that

globalization is part of the neoliberal plan to deregulate and encourage free trade and

competition, all working towards establishing the neocolonial empire under the control of

UNESCO, the World Bank, and the IMF.

Neocolonial globalization is aligning the governments of Sub-Saharan West

Africa with UNESCO, the World Bank and the IMF's plans. UNESCO policymakers

need the governments and teachers to buy into their view of globalization. Dr. Gregory

Anderson (2002) at a conference called *Africa in the Age of Globalization* spoke of the

use of the ideology of globalization as a controlling mechanism in the region. "These

global forces are increasingly hegemonic and, in the case of Africa, with its longstanding

history of problems and dilemmas, globalization as an ideology is distinctly shaping the

arenas of policy and the directions and scope of state reforms" (p.30). The UNESCO

policymakers felt that their push towards globalization was for the benefit of the people

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of the South. They referred to literacy as the key to entering a global economy and becoming developed. They are complicitous with the ideology of human capital in its relation to globalization. This language only serves to perpetuate false promises in the form of humanitarian effort. This "false generosity" that Freire (1993) spoke of is seen in the promise of globalization.

The UNESCO policymakers act as if they are the gatekeepers to globalization. If the countries meet EFA goals by 2015 then they will be allowed to join in. The problem is that the neocolonial powers of UNESCO and the World Bank will not really let them in. The core nations like the United States and the European Union will never fully allow the periphery nations in Sub-Saharan West Africa join in their club. According to Wallerstein (2006) the more a nation has been colonized, the less able they are to resist core nations from staking claim on their resources. Semi-periphery nations in the region will always serve as the gap between the wealthy core nations like the European Union and the periphery ones like Burkina Faso. The periphery nations have been set up by the core through colonization and military and economic control to remain a core. UNESCO holds EFA as the key to entrance, but the program is reproducing illiterate and poorly educated children throughout Sub-Saharan West Africa.

The policymakers discourse reflects their belief in human capital and EFA as being a major factor in Sub-Saharan West Africa being part of globalization, but the part they are either blind to or choose not to recognize is that Sub-Saharan West Africa is already part of globalization. They are on the bottom rung of the ladder, but they are participants in globalization by the mere fact they are on this earth. The policymaker's insight into globalization stems from their belonging to an institution like UNESCO that

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has a very high global economic status. The policymakers, even those who are from Sub-Saharan West Africa, are seen as members of a high global economic status. They do not see or recognize the discursive effects of globalization and how regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa are used for their resources and workforce. Their insight into globalization from their discourse recognizes that things will never be equal but that EFA is pushing them in the right direction. The policymakers hold out globalization to the nations of Sub-Saharan West Africa and encourage the governments to align themselves with it. The teachers are the ones that disseminate the ideology of globalization through the schools. They need to have insight into the working of globalization that serves the interests of UNESCO.

The EFA teachers all expressed the desire for their students and nations to enter the global economy. Globalization has become hegemonic in the way that it seen as the natural way of things. There is no alternative presented which therefore ingrains globalization as being the norm. Wallerstein (2006) discusses the role hegemony plays for capitalist enterprises.

> Hegemony creates the kind of stability within which capitalist enterprises, especially monopolistic leading industries thrive. Hegemony is popular with ordinary people in that it seems to guarantee not merely order but a more prosperous future for all (p.58).

The hegemonic ideology of globalization has been internalized by the EFA teachers in their insistence that literacy will allow them to enter the global economy. Once again, the teachers have only partial insight into the discursive motivations behind the ideology of globalizations. The EFA teachers want their students to be able to have the skills to be an

active part of globalization. The EFA teachers do not see or choose not recognize the ways in which the structures of society operate. The EFA teachers believe that their student will be able to be a part of the global economy if they are literate and complete the education as dictated by EFA. What is problematic is that the EFA teachers are instilling ideology in their students and the families of the children they encourage to send to school, while a neocolonial power like UNESCO, under current structures, will not allow Sub-Saharan West Africa to achieve higher global economic status. It is in the interests of UNESCO that the region buys into the hope of globalization, but does not have full insight into the mechanisms currently in place.

In examining the discourse of globalization among the policymakers and EFA teachers, the role language plays is important to examine. The role of French and English are important to EFA. In developing human capital, it is necessary that the future workers speak the language of the global economy. The countries in Sub-Saharan West Africa use the language of their former colonizer as the official language. Language is a means to continue colonizing. (Altbach, 1971, Fanon, 1967). The EFA teachers all expressed their frustration with teaching a foreign language (French or English) to their students with no materials, and not being allowed to teach in their native language. Bokomba (2002) says, "Post-colonial African states, with a few exceptions, have continued the inherited colonial language policies in spite of perceived and demonstrated problems with such policies. Some of these problems include high rate of failure in the secondary school systems, high repetition rate, and the poor performance overall of teachers who are expected to teach subjects in the official languages"(p.112). Teachers comply with teaching in languages that the students do not speak at home.

The policymaker's insight leads them to believe that knowing French and English will allow them to enter the global economy. Like their insight into globalization, the reality is the language is not the key, they key is being viewed at a higher global economic status, which Sub-Saharan West Africa is not being allowed to under current structures. The complicitous nature of the policymaker to enforce a belief that is unlikely to materialize stems from their blindness or choosing not to recognize the discursive elements of globalization. They would choose not to recognize it in order to maintain allies with the governments in Sub-Saharan West Africa, or to not appear immoral. The discourse of the policymakers indicated that they had belief in their cause of EFA and that even though some of their promises may not materialize in the way they hope, they are providing a human right that has been denied to the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa. I will discuss the human rights obligation of UNESCO later, but it is important to note that it is a contributing factor to their blindness to the structural system of inequality of globalization.

The EFA teachers are under the same false beliefs in globalization and language. They are guided by the rhetoric of their government's insistence on abiding by EFA policy. The teachers believe they have insight into globalization and language and therefore teach French and English. They do though express the desire that their native languages were taught in the schools and have a false belief that their native languages would help their students in becoming members of the global economy. The teachers want to teach in the mother tongue and then teach French and English, knowing that their language is not valued as "literacy" outside the region. Their partial insight into globalization and language is problematic for them. The discourse of the teachers

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expresses their frustration with a lack of chances for their students to speak English or French outside the school. Several of the teachers said that they know that French and English will help their students, but under current conditions it is impossible to teach. The illusion that knowing French or English will allow entrance into the global economy is false. As the EFA teachers discussed, there was no place to speak the languages of instruction or opportunities. Their expectation of opportunities demonstrates the EFA teachers' partial insight into the ideology of globalization. UNESCO has led them to believe that they are working for the goal of entering the global economy through false statements and expectations that only serve to perpetuate their neocolonial stronghold in the region.

Insights and Blindness: EFA Policy Planning

UNESCO policymakers want to be ideologically unified. As discussed in Chapter 4, EFA was the most important program any of them had ever worked under and that they felt it was a sense of duty as it was a "human right" they were trying to spread to underdeveloped nations.   They also want the EFA teachers on board with EFA and unified with their ideologies too. The policymakers want the teachers to feel that UNESCO is providing them with a human right and to view them as benevolent and well-meaning. In *The Racial* Contract Mills (1997) says, "Non-European space is demonized in a way that implies the need for Europeanization if moral redemption is to be possible" (46). This is demonstrated in the policymaker's belief that they are accomplishing a "moral obligation" with EFA. One of the characteristics of a neocolonial enterprise is that it maintains its power through ideologies. As stated the policymakers need the governments and teachers of Sub-Saharan West Africa to ally with them in their

"moral obligations." The discourse of the policymaker was that Sub-Saharan West Africa should be grateful for the efforts of UNESCO. I honestly believe that the policymakers see EFA as their way of "saving" the underdeveloped nations.

The EFA teachers interviewed had their own representations of how the EFA planning emerged. The teachers have their insight into the ideology of human capital and how it is manifested in their society. They have accepted it and work within EFA policies to accomplish the goals by 2015. The EFA teachers though have a contradictory ideology about the motivations of the policymaker. Their discourse reflected their view of UNESCO, the World Bank and IMF as the new colonizers. They did not view their efforts as well-meaning. The teachers even said that they felt controlled by these institutions. It was interesting in that the teachers viewed the policymakers with distrust and having a humanitarian motive, but they had bought into their ideology of human capital. While they only have partial insight into the structural elements of UNESCO's policies, their discourse reflected their agreement and participation in EFA. There was one interview in which the teacher acted out what he thought the EFA policymakers discussed. This teacher's insight into the policymakers planning and motivation demonstrated his lack of trust in the policymaker's motivation and experience.

While there are representatives from the Sub-Saharan West African nations, these representatives are manipulated by UNESCO. These African representatives were chosen because they had attended Universities that were accepted by the white, Europeans and they had internalized the ideologies of human capital theory, globalization, and neoliberalism. These representatives had benefited from opportunities given to them. They had been able to go to France and Western universities. There were two

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representatives from Mali, who had won scholarships in high school from their United Nations Club and were able to go to high school for their senior year in France. This led to them eventually going to the Sorbonne. Another policymaker who I met was from Burkina Faso. His father worked for a French Bank and he was invited to complete his high school in Paris. He ended up going to Oxford and studying international studies. While these are three extraordinary cases, these individuals were seen as "representatives" of the region.

In order for neocolonialism to be successful, there must be members of the colonized who ally and work with the colonizers. In *The Wretched of the Earth,* Fanon (1965) referred the new African elite as, "promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of Western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth" (p.7). I believe it is important to UNESCO that the representatives they bring into EFA planning have internalized the hegemonic view of white Western supremacy of thought and knowledge. The UNESCO policymakers showed evidence to this in their statements about how they were providing a valuable skill in teaching them to be fluent in English and French. The policymakers hold the assumption that they know what is best for Sub-Saharan West Africa. Their discourse also reflected an alliance with their white, European counterparts. The policymakers feel that they get a representation of what the region is like through the insight of these policymakers. The Sub-Saharan West Africa policymaker has special insight as he or she works alongside the white, European counterparts and is privy to their conversations and views into their underlying ideologies and motivations are. I believe this policymaker chooses not to recognize the discursive

elements of EFA. He or she chooses this because they have accepted UNESCO's ideology and want to maintain their global economic standing. They are viewed as having a higher status than the people of their homeland. This motivates them to be complicitous with the ideologies in UNESCO. Brock-Utne (2000) discusses how UNESCO and the World Bank use African intellectuals to spread their message. "It is not easy for an African intellectual who is unable to live on his regular university wage to write from an African perspective if this perspective is not what the donors want. The African policymaker will often perform a type of self-censorship to write what he guesses the donors want to hear" (p.72). The African policymaker will be quoted in reports, while all the while he or she did not accurately report for fear that it will make the neocolonial power look bad.

EFA teachers discourse expressed their sense that the African policymaker was not representing them in EFA are not really doing their job. They felt that they had left their homeland and forgotten who they were. This is similar to Fanon's (1965) description of the Antillean who has left for France and becomes whiter. The EFA teachers expressed the feeling that they wish they had been involved in the planning of EFA and that if they had been there, the policies would be more successful. They used language such as "the real actors" to describe themselves as the teachers in the field. There was distance between the policymaker in Paris and the teacher in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The contradiction in their ideology is that if the EFA teachers had been involved in the planning, they would have become similar to the representatives from their nation. They would be indoctrinated in UNESCO's neocolonial project and would not be able to work outside of it. Even if they found fault with the policies being created,

they would not be able to be the rogue policymaker and go against over 60 years of ingrained ideologies within UNESCO. They would not be allowed to participate in the policymaking if they were not aligned with the ideologies and projects of the dominant white, European neocolonial power. They would no longer be able to operate under partial insight into human capital. They would be exposed to the inner workings and systemic nature of it and may not want to lose their new economic status.

Insights and Blindness: Aid

Neocolonials exert control through financial measures as well as ideology. Nowhere is this more evident than in foreign aid given to Sub-Saharan West Africa. The ideology of human capital is supported through aid because education requires investment and Sub-Saharan receives aid in order to make the investment. EFA is funded by the World Bank, the IMF, donor nations like the United States, European Union, Japan, Canada, and other powerful G8 nations. Aid is ingrained in the history of Sub-Saharan West Africa since colonialism. The nations of Sub-Saharan West Africa have undergone tremendous conflict and upheaval since former colonial powers left. The nations in this research were left in economic, political, and social ruin. One of the characteristics of a neocolonial power is their control through economic means. In *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stages of Imperialism,* Nkrumah (1965) says, "The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside" (p.2). Aid is a form of control that neocolonial powers use. The aid maintains the bonds between the former colony and the new neocolonial master. In lieu of political or military control, the neocolonial power used

financial means to dominate. As discussed in this research, SAP's (structural adjustment policies) tie the former colony to neocolonial powers through loans and programs that are based on repayment plans or resources as capital. SAP's are part of a neoliberal agenda because the "SAPs share a common objective: to move countries away from self-directed models of national development that focus on the domestic market and toward outward-looking development models that stress the importance of complete integration into the dominant global structures of trade, finance, and production" (Oringer and Welch, 1998, p.120). This supports the neoliberal agenda that believes that an unregulated free market and private sector will create benefits that will trickle down from the owners of capital to the entire population. The problem as seen in Sub-Saharan West Africa is that the benefits are not reaching the population. Neoliberalism is one of the mechanisms that keep neocolonials able to enact policies and change in the former colonies.

This financial capital that is used benefits the donor such as the World Bank or the IMF, but it harms the recipient in terms of their labor and resources. Stieglitz (2002) was appalled at the outdated policies institutions like the IMF were using for underdeveloped nations. They did not think about how these policies would affect the nations in the long term. "IMF structural adjustment policies – the policies designed to help a country adjust to crises as well as to more persistent imbalances – led to hunger and riots in many countries" (p.57). Their debt was more than the money they were receiving and effects of the SAP's have been money taken away from healthcare and education in order to meet payments or follow through with the purpose of the loan.

The EFA policymakers are unified in their insistence the EFA cannot function without aid. Even the African policymakers are aligned in this. This was expressed in

their discourse surrounding aid. They made statements such as EFA cannot achieve goals unless they receive the aid promised to them. For the policymaker EFA and aid are inextricably linked. On the other hand the EFA teachers all expressed their desire to be free of the aid. They referred to the aid as a form of colonization. The teachers felt that the aid from the World Bank and IMF was another form of colonization. This sentiment was expressed by many of the EFA teachers. The feeling of still being under control of the former colonial power through the loans echoed throughout the interviews. The problem is that the nations of Sub-Saharan West Africa are tied to the aid they receive. After independence many of the former colonies in Sub-Saharan West Africa failed to develop economically and they began to take loans from institutions like the World Bank and IMF. Quickly the former colonies began to rely on this aid and became increasingly in debt. The SAP's discussed contained directions on how aid was to be spent and many programs that are in place for education, healthcare, and technology came about from these loans. The nations in this research would not be able to accomplish an educational policy on their own without the assistance of neocolonial powers like UNESCO. When their nation receives aid from the World Bank or IMF it is usually discussed in the media. The people are aware that they are recipient of the aid. It will usually come with an explanation such as "Burkina Faso receives 10 million dollars for infrastructure improvements" or designating the money to other uses. The teachers hear of the aid and look around and see no outward signs that anything is improving so they create a counter ideology of achieving development without aid.

The insight the teachers have into their countries reliance on aid is deep. As stated, they hear about aid through the media and know that certain programs like

healthcare and infrastructure cannot exist in its current form without the aid. Their counter ideology though is problematic because the teachers' number one complaint was lack of resources and materials, which can only be achieved through aid. The contradiction is that the EFA teachers want to cut the colonial purse strings, but could not teach without the aid. There was just the insistence on wanting to be free from the aid and accomplishing improvements on their own. Aid is also an integral part of human capital as it allows Sub-Saharan West Africa to make the investment in the education of their country. The EFA teachers have insight into human capital which contradicts their desire to be free of aid. Aid is the continual reminder that that the nations of Sub-Saharan West Africa are still under control from neocolonial powers. This vicious circle of not wanting to be reliant on aid, but realizing that resources and materials come from aid was a problem that the teachers discourse expressed. The EFA policymakers though insisted that aid would help these countries. The policymaker's discourse was that through aid they will be able to achieve EFA goals. This is problematic in that Sub-Saharan West Africa is not really achieving independence or success when they are still tied to colonial powers. The policymakers choose not to see this or are blind to the structural financial control of aid. I believe after this research that they are aware of it, but realize recognizing it would make their support of aid and its impact on EFA not as strong. The teachers and governments may develop a full insight into the discursive elements of neocolonial control through aid.

Synthesis

The ways in which human capital shapes the discourse of the policy makers and teachers around EFA was looked at throughout this research. Each group has their own

insight or lack of insight which affects how they operate under the mechanism of EFA. It is important to note that UNESCO is functioning as a global repressive state apparatus (RSA) which operates through repression first and ideology second. An RSA maintains the economic dominance of the ruling class, or in this case, the neocolonial power of UNESCO. Ideologies are produced and reproduced in these structures. The ideologies are disseminated through ideological state apparatuses (ISA) which is education, and in this case, EFA. These two structures operate together and both need each other. The teachers are the vehicle for this to happen. Education for Althusser is the primary way in which the ideologies of the dominant class are reproduced in society. "The ultimate condition of production is therefore the reproduction of the conditions of production" (Althusser, 1971). The EFA teachers are complicitous with UNESCO in creating the future workers, which is reproducing the same system of inequality and imparting the most basic skills necessary to continue to be the workers for multinationals and keep the neocolonials economically in control. The EFA teacher's discourse showed that they were trying to teach the "basic skills" that were deemed essential by UNESCO policymakers. The teachers did not question in the interviews as to why EFA focused on basic skills and did not include technology that would give them a competitive advantage. The EFA teachers are also complicitous with EFA and the ideology of human capital based on the insight they have. The EFA teachers' insight is based on their experience, which comes out through their discourse. They believe that jobs should exist if the children are educated, and that following EFA guidelines and achieving EFA goals will allow them to enter the global economy. The EFA policymakers also play a role in this cycle. They are acting on behalf of UNESCO the global RSA, and are charged with the

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"moral obligation" of providing EFA to Sub-Saharan West Africa. They need to believe in their mission in order to get the governments and teachers in the region to be on board with EFA.

The theoretical issue that this research examined is that while both groups have insight to ideologies they also operate from a blindness or choice not to recognize the elements of an ideology. The EFA teachers and policymakers are both on board with human capital theory, but their insights are different. Despite the actual experience of EFA teachers and their perceived status, they do not have full insight into the discursive elements of EFA. The EFA teacher may feel that he or she is opposed to a policy and voice opposition to having to teach so many children in harsh conditions, but in reality, they have accepted the ideology of human capital and are working with the policymakers based on their insight. Their partial insight into human capital prevents them from seeing the systemic inequality that is being created in the region. Their discourse does not recognize how their society is becoming more stratified. Their discourse supported their belief that all children need to come to school in order to become productive members of society. The hidden elements of human capital like stratification, widening of class differences, and inferiority of education are not contained within either the policymaker or the EFA teachers' discourse.

The policymakers and the EFA teachers need to be unified in order for a program like EFA to be effective. The neocolonial power needs representatives and allies working for their project. Throughout this research I have shown the ways UNESCO has functioned in their creation and implementations of EFA as a neocolonial power. Along with the World Bank, the IMF and other donor organizations they have banded together

to create global reaching institutions that serve to maintain the systems of inequality that are currently in place. There is a reason that Sub-Saharan West Africa has remained one of the poorest regions in the world. The persistent effect that colonial institutions have in the region through neocolonial projects has tremendous effects in the huge differences of income across the former colonies (Bhattacharyya 2004). Neocolonial powers have exerted their power and dominance through SAP's, policies, loans and other aid projects. All of these create economic conditions in former colonies where they are not allowed to achieve economic independence or success without the purse strings of the former masters. According to Rodney (1973), "One of the main components of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely, the exploitation of one country by another" (p.39). The exploitation is being done by UNESCO through their pressure on regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa to take part in EFA. The pressure they exert is in the forms of the SAP's, loans, programs, and resources.

EFA needs the teachers and schools to disseminate the ideologies that support this neocolonial project. The schools as shown in this research function to reproduce the inequalities that keep a society stratified. One of the ways that this research has demonstrated how UNESCO does this is through their lack of assistance in bilingual education programs in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The EFA teachers in their discussions of the lack of bilingual education said that there were some people who can afford to send their children to private schools. These people are becoming the new elite in their society.

Stratification assists capitalist development because roles and jobs are sorted out to creating a hierarchy of exploitation. For a capitalist society to function there needs to

be people who control the means of production and workers. Not everyone can control the production. EFA is keeping this system in place. Some people, like the local representatives who work with EFA and families who can afford private schools, are allowed to move up the ladder of stratification. They have the cultural capital necessary to exist in different spaces. The cultural capital, the cultural background, and knowledge and skills that have been passed to the average student in Sub- Saharan West Africa are not given value by UNESCO. This cultural background and inherent skill set is deemed as inferior to Western thought and language and therefore does not enable the Sub-Saharan West African to move up in global social standing. This research showed this in EFA's lack of support for bilingual education and their statements that the region is illiterate. Within the region of Sub-Saharan West Africa there are complex societies with languages, culture, and history that are important to them. EFA does not incorporate any of this knowledge into the curriculum and testing. They test only for English and French in the region, and in the EFA schools I did not see any history books that were reflective of the African experience. I only saw a couple history books that contained European history. The other indication was the signs in the classrooms reminding children to speak either French or English, depending on the country. If the children acquire French or English proficiency, they will have the language to gain access to spaces that are off limits to the majority of the population. They will know the customs and rituals of the dominant class that are hidden from the typical member of the society. For the teachers, these students will be able to join globalization. They see these students as benefitting from their parents investment based on their insight into human capital. The

policymakers also express through their discourse of human capital that learning accomplishing EFA goals will open up opportunities for the region.

UNESCO, through EFA, has created a system that on the surface appears to be based in human rights and the goodwill of the neocolonial powers. It is bringing knowledge and language to the underdeveloped nations of the world. The reality is that it is a form of control and a continuation of the system of global hierarchy that exists. In *Education for Critical Consciousness,* Freire (1974) describes the way in which I assert UNESCO as a neocolonial is operating through "assistentialism." This "assistentialism" gives the impression that the Government owned all the economic resources in the country and could choose to give assistance only to those they wished" (p.137). Assistentialism is the way in which the elite determine what aid is offered and tow whom it is offered. UNESCO through its donors like the World Bank controls the purse strings and can therefore dictate where they want money to go. In the policymakers discourse this was shown when several interviewees said that aid is given for specific purposes and that if a country wants bilingual education it is up to their individual government to provide it. The policymakers also stressed that they were giving aid to help EFA achieve success; and if there is failure, then they need to look at the individual governments' investment in education. UNESCO can advise the World Bank and IMF in how to allocate resources for EFA. Assistentialism is providing assistance with a strategy, not originating from a place of "true generosity." The assistance through EFA and aid from the World Bank, IMF, and other foreign donors are aligned with a strategy of maintaining neocolonial power in Sub-Saharan West Africa. They tie aid like structural adjustment policies to conditions and clauses which, if not met, result in taking of resources and

labor in regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa. For Freire (1974) the opposite of assistentialism would be that a country would control their wealth. Freire says "without them [the population] there would be no nation but only a country landscape" (p.137). Under an anti-assistentialist view, the national wealth would be distributed equally and not concentrated in the elite ruling class.

The world is growing smaller and smaller and international institutions, as mentioned, are becoming as powerful as governments. They are neocolonials without borders that can pass through any space and create policies and laws that use economics as a way of control. This new world is not an easy place for the former colonies to create alternative models of education. The chain of aid is firmly in place and many underdeveloped countries are indebted so deeply to global institutions that it is doubtful they will ever pay them off. In a New York Times article, Thomas Friedman (2009) said that most Sub-Saharan African Nations have more debt than they receive. Since they are unable to pay their debt, under the policies of the loans, resources and other forms of payment can be taken. Creating educational policy that serves as mechanisms for reproducing systems of inequality and the hegemonic view of global white, European supremacy is not the way to create a new liberatory paradigm.

The final questions I want to pose are what would an alternative to neocolonialism be? Is that an option for Sub-Saharan West Africa? Ideologies are produced and reproduced by structures such as UNESCO, so in order for there to be change, the structures need to change. Giddens (1997) defines ideology as "shared ideas or beliefs which serve to justify the interests of dominant groups" (p.583). Ideologies legitimize power so that it can distort the real situation people are in. The hegemonic

view that is espoused by UNESCO permeates throughout society, an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality (Gramsci, 1971). The hegemony of UNESCO is an organizing principle that is diffused into every part of life for the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa. It is so penetrating that it is hard to distinguish. The aid which they receive and the belief in human capital demonstrate how the hegemony is permeated. To change this hegemony there needs to be a structural and ideological change. A counter ideology that is still influenced by the structure of UNESCO is not going to bring change. There needs to be a collective action from the part of the Sub-Saharan West Africans to remove the structures put in place by neocolonial powers.

A structural transformation will allow the people of Sub-Saharan West Africa to create their own ideologies, based on their needs, interests, and experience. It is hard to get rid of an ideology itself because a new ideology will take the place of the former. New ideologies cannot simply be arrived it based on national self interest. This can create alienation and isolation and fragmentation. When the teachers claimed that they want their own country to be in charge of their education system, what would the benefit be? They would isolate themselves from other nations who also want to break free of the neocolonial strings. If the education was created by the current rulers in place, wouldn't they still align themselves with the old ideology in order not lose status they have over others? Another problem that needs to be addressed is that UNESCO views regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa as being deficient. Their discourse expresses their view of the Sub-Saharan West Africans as having no resources, no literacy, limited skills, and extreme poverty. They look at them as a problem to be solved. UNESCO policymakers believe under human capital that education will help change the economic situation of the

region, knowing that it is not going to elevate them to a high global level. They see them lacking the tools and only prescribe what they see missing. Just prescribing the tools does not lead to liberation. The EFA teachers will continue to be manipulated by UNESCO as the means to get their ideologies spread. The teachers need to collectively work with communities to create education that liberates and teaches students to be critical thinkers. Literacy can no longer be defined by the former colonial powers. Languages of Sub-Saharan West Africa need to be given value and respect. In *Literacy Reading the Word and the World,* Macedo (1987) says of Freire's methods, "Literacy is not approached as merely a technical skill to be acquired, but as a necessary foundation for cultural action for freedom" (p.7). A collective Sub-Saharan West African movement needs to work together without the invasion of neocolonial agents like consultants, the World Bank, UNESCO, Peace Corps, and USAID.

This view can be applicable to other areas of society. Whereas this research concentrated on EFA, the point is that all areas of society are being permeated by neocolonial ideologies and projects. The classroom can be a metaphor for other areas of society. Professionals in other areas of Sub-Saharan West African society, like the teachers, may see through parts of UNESCO's ideologies and not others. It is based on their lived experience and how they view themselves and their status. The hegemony of UNESCO and other neocolonial institutions like the World Bank, and the IMF have infiltrated society so deep that some of the teachers interviewed did not see a way to change the way society thinks. When they referred to UNESCO as another colonizer, they did not have alternatives to escape the view. They declared that they need to be in charge of their own education and that they should be free of aid, but they still wanted

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resources and materials from UNESCO. They could not see themselves out of the cycle of dependence. I feel that the policymakers are aware of the pervasive nature of the hegemony of UNESCO. They will continue to create policies under the ideologies and act in accordance with UNESCO's wishes.

Hopefully this research will begin a dialogue on how regions like Sub-Saharan West Africa can be free of neocolonial strings. There also needs to be further examination into whether or not countries in the region can create educational policy without the use of aid, based on a more Afrocentric education. I would like to look at ideologies present in other areas of society in Sub-Saharan West Africa. There also needs to be research into other forms of assessment that are culturally appropriate other than standardized testing. Another crucial area is the research of anti-neocolonial movements and what the outcomes are. I would be remised not to note that currently EFA in Sub-Saharan West Africa receives close to $1.3 billion dollars[24], but I saw no evidence of how this aid is being allocated beyond what their local governments could provide. I think it is necessary to examine where the aid is actually going. I hope that this research gets policymakers and teachers thinking about how their actions affect society in general and how hegemonic ideologies are. People can be unaware the consequences of their insight into an ideology and not see how they could be complicitous with it.

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[24] According to EFA statistics $1.3 billion dollars was allocated to EFA in Sub-Saharan West Africa. This equates to close to $15 per child for basic education needs with the exception of Mali which is reported to receive $70 per child.

The final thought I wish to express is that it is unlikely that EFA will ever be a success in Sub-Saharan West Africa, and the role ideology plays in the policymakers' and the teachers' experience is only part of the larger issue. The issue at hand is that the policymaker believes the teacher is working with him or her in their efforts to achieve EFA goals by 2015. The policymakers are enacting and creating policies based on their insight into the ideologies of UNESCO. The policymakers have their view based on their lived material existence and derive their insight into human capital from this. The EFA teacher on the other hand does not feel that they are working with EFA policymakers; in fact, all the interviewees did not feel that they were accurately represented by them. They believe they are not working with the policymaker, yet they still follow EFA guidelines and strive to meet the goals. They only have partial insight into human capital based on their material existence and how they see it played out in society. The teachers see through parts of the ideology, but not through others. This is based on their hanging on to the status they have over other. The teachers are being manipulated by the policymakers in that the policymakers, in my opinion, are aware of the partial insight of the teachers. Only when this structure of manipulation and oppression by the neocolonial powers is changed by a new libratory, inclusive, ideology, will Sub-Saharan West Africa begin to be truly independent from the former colonial masters.

> "Bolstered with ideological clarity, these organizations [Nkrumah's newly created Pan African Youth Movement and All African Trade Union Federation], closely linked with the ruling parties where liberatory forces are in power, will prove that neo-colonialism is the symptom of imperialism's weakness and that it is defeatable. For, when all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-

backed, exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who

decides. And he invariably decides for freedom" (Nkrumah, 1965).

Appendices

Appendix A- Interview Questions

Appendix B- Millennium Development Goals

Appendix C- Literacy Questionnaire

Appendix D- Literacy Definition for Region

Appendix E- Literacy Statistics for Region

Appendix F- Enrolment Rates for Region

APPENDIX A – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions for Educational Personnel in Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, and Ghana

1. What is your position at this school? Describe your responsibilities.

2. How did you first become involved in EFA? How was it introduced to you and your colleagues?

3. Do you interact with different people because of EFA?

4. How has EFA changed the educational site you are at?

5. What do you think about the literacy policies in EFA?

6. What kind of literacy materials do you have in the classrooms?

7. Has EFA helped or harmed the educational site you are at? Have the literacy programs in EFA helped the school?

8. Has EFA and the literacy policies helped or harmed the education in your country?

9. How would you determine if EFA is a success? Is this different from how it is currently being done? What do you define development as?

10. Do you have any concerns or problems implementing EFA and the literacy policies?

11. Tell me your opinion about the Millennium Development Goals?

12. Do you have another idea for what your school really needs or does EFA capture it all?

Interview Questions for High-Level and Working Group of UNESCO EFA

1. How did you come to be involved in UNESCO? EFA?

2. Explain your tasks and responsibilities in your role at UNESCO as a member of the EFA team?

3. Describe from your point of view how current initiatives of EFA and its literacy policies helped or harmed education in developing nations like those in Sub-Saharan Africa for the better or worse.

4. Describe how current initiatives of EFA and its literacy policies have hurt or not changed education?

5. Discuss what problems you may be having in the implementation of EFA.

6. What measure would you use to determine whether or not EFA and its literacy policies are successful? What do you consider development?

7. If you had your choice, what changes in the current literacy policies of EFA would you make?

8. Has EFA been more helpful than harmful? Explain.

APPENDIX B- MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Millennium Development Goals For 2015 (The World Bank, 2003, p.35)

1. Eradicate poverty and hunger

    a. Halve the proportion of people living on less than one dollar a day.

    b. Halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.

2. Achieve universal primary education

    a. Ensure that boys and girls alike complete primary schooling.

3. Promote gender equality and empower women

    a. Eliminate gender disparity at all levels of education.

4. Reduce child mortality.

    a. Reduce by two-thirds the under five mortality rate.

5. Improve maternal health

    a. Reduce by three-quarters the maternal mortality rate.

6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.

7. Ensure environmental sustainability

    a. Integrate sustainable development into country policies and reverse loss of environmental resources.

    b. Halve the proportion of people without access to potable water.

    c. Significantly improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.

8. Develop a global partnership for development

    a. Raise official development assistance

    b. Expand market access

    c. Encourage debt sustainability.

APPENDIX C- DEFINITION OF LITERACY FOR THE

REGION

	Definition of Literacy
Benin	2002 Population Census: A person is literate who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on his or her everyday life
Burkina Faso	Literates are persons who declare that they can read and write in any language
Ghana	2000 Population Census: Ability to read and write any language with understanding. The languages in the question are English and Ghanaian languages
Mali	Any person aged 15 or older who can read and write in any language
Togo	...

(UNESCO, 2009)

APPENDIX D – LITERACY QUESTIONAIRE

Literacy Questionnaire used by UNESCO

UNESCO INSTITUTE for STATISTICS

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

UIS/LIT/2009

Montreal, April 2009

Country: _____

LITERACY STATISTICS QUESTIONNAIRE 2009

1. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) strongly encourages the use of the electronic form available at http://survey.uis.unesco.org.
   Questionnaires completed using the printed forms can be sent to:

   UNESCO Institute for Statistics
   P.O. Box 6128
   Succursale Centre-Ville
   Montreal, Quebec H3C 3J7
   CANADA

2. For any queries concerning the questionnaire, please contact the UIS by email:
   survey@uis.unesco.org or by fax: **(1 514) 343-5740**.

3. Please use the following symbols in the tables if you do not have the data requested:

   a = category is not applicable
   m = data missing (or not available)
   n = quantity nil
   x = data included in another category (to be indicated with a comment)

4. Please indicate any provisional or estimated figures with an asterisk (*).

Please provide the details below of the person completing the questionnaire.

[ ] Family name: _____ Personal (or first) name: _____

Job title (or position): _____

Service, division or sector (if any): _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____ City: _____

Country: _____ Postal Code: _____

Telephone: country code: _____ area code: _____ number: _____ ext: _____

Fax: country code: _____ area code: _____ number: _____

Mobile: country code: _____ area code: _____ number: _____

E-mail: _____ Website: _____

1. **Does your country use a Direct Assessment Survey to measure literacy skills?**

   1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No

   If **yes,** then go to **Section D**.

2. **UIS criteria for selecting literacy data (dichotomous variable):**
   2.1 A "direct question" to assess literacy must comprise part of the methodology.
   2.2 A satisfactory evaluation by the UIS of the responses to the metadata questions.
   2.3 Data must be provided in the format required by the UIS.
   2.4 Educational attainment data will not be accepted as a proxy measure for literacy.

   Please refer to the UIS website www.uis.unesco.org for more complete information about the UIS data selection criteria.

   <u>**Section A: Source of Literacy Statistics**</u>

   A1 Please indicate the source of your literacy data:

       A1.1 ☐ Census of Population (please check one only):

           1 ☐ 'De jure' population (based on citizenship or permanent residency)

           2 ☐ 'De facto' population (including foreigners, tourists and other temporary visitors)

       A1.2 ☐ Sample survey (please check one only):

           1 ☐ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS)

           2 ☐ Labour Force Survey (LFS)

           3 ☐ Other (please specify): _____

       A1.3 ☐ Other (please specify): _____

   A2 What is the reference year of the data source indicated in A1? _____

   A3 Are there any specific population groups or geographic regions excluded from the coverage of the data source indicated in A1 (i.e. populations in remote areas or the non-national population)?

       1 ☐Yes   2 ☐No

   If **yes,** what is the approximate proportion (%) of the population that is excluded:

       1 ☐ Less than 1% of the total national population

       2 ☐ Between 1% and 5% of the total national population

       3 ☐ More than 5% of the total national population

   A4 Who was the respondent to the census/survey indicated in A1?

       1 ☐ The head of the household only

       2 ☐ All individuals within a household

       3 ☐ Other (please specify): _____

   <u>**Section B: Literacy Data**</u>

   B1 What is the definition of literacy that is used?

   ┌───┐
   │   │
   │   │
   │   │
   └───┘

   B2 Please specify the literacy question(s) used in the census/survey.

   ┌───┐
   │   │
   │   │
   │   │
   └───┘

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Table B3.2 Number of Literate and Illiterate Persons in Urban Areas by Sex and Age Group

Age - group	Total				Male				Female			
	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified
10-14												
15-19												
20-24												
25-29												
30-34												
35-39												
40-44												
45-49												
50-54												
55-59												
60-64												
65-69												
70-74												
75-79												
80-84												
85+												
Age unknown												
Total population aged 10+												

B3.2.1 Please provide the definition of "urban area". If you are unable to provide data by urban area, please indicate the reasons for not being able to do so.

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Table B3.3 Number of Literate and Illiterate Persons in Rural Areas by Sex and Age Group

Age - group	Total				Male				Female			
	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not specified
10-14												
15-19												
20-24												
25-29												
30-34												
35-39												
40-44												
45-49												
50-54												
55-59												
60-64												
65-69												
70-74												
75-79												
80-84												
85+												
Age unknown												
Total population aged 10+												

B3.3.1 Please provide the definition of "rural area". If you are unable to provide data by rural area, please indicate the reasons for not being able to do so.

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Section C: Dissemination of Literacy Statistics

C1 Have the literacy data been published?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No

If **yes**, please give references:

[ ]

C2 Are the literacy data available on a website? If **yes**, please indicate the link below:

[ ]

C3 Are the literacy data available for analysis?

1 ☐ Yes
2 ☐ No

C4 If known, please indicate the source and date of your next census/survey from which your next literacy statistics will be produced:

Name: _____

Date: _____

Section D: Direct Assessment Survey of Literacy Skills

The UIS is undertaking an inventory of existing literacy assessments worldwide in order to better understand the extent to which they are being used. The UIS is also interested in presenting these data on a global basis for the data user community. The purpose of this section is to collect information and data about your country's most recent literacy assessment.

D1 Name of the Literacy Assessment Survey: _____

D2 Reference year of the literacy assessment: _____

D3 Please indicate all the skills that were tested:

1 ☐ Numeracy   2 ☐ Reading   3 ☐ Writing   4 ☐ Information and Communication Technology Literacy

5 ☐ Other (please specify): _____

D4 How many levels (or categories) of literacy skills are included in the assessment analysis? _____

D5 Please provide the website where information and data may be obtained: _____

D6 Please send an electronic version of your summary report (including description, methodology and summary data tables) to: survey@uis.unesco.org. If an electronic version is not available, please send a paper copy to the address indicated on the front of this questionnaire.

[Submit]

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APPENDIX E- LITERACY STATISTICS

Projected number of total illiterates in Sub-Saharan Africa at 15 years old

2005	118,403,000
2010	124,718,600
2015	131,644,900

(UNESCO Institute of Statistics, Total number of Illiterates for Sub-Saharan Africa,

2009a)

Literacy statistics for Sub-Saharan West Africa

Literacy rates age 15+ percentage of population

Country	1990	2000	2005	2008
Benin	NA	34.7	40.5	NA
Burkina Faso	13.6	21.8	23.6	28.7
Ghana	NA	57.9	NA	65.0
Mali	NA	19.0	24.0	26.1
Togo	NA	48.3	49.0	47.0

(UNESCO, Institute of Statistics, 2009b)

APPENDIX F- ENROLLMENT RATES FOR SUB-

SAHARAN AFRICA

New Entrants of Primary Education

Country	2000	2005	2008
Region as whole	17,537,541	23,535,489	25,887,810
Benin	205,066	252,499	402,634
Burkina Faso	160,256	295,426	388,889
Ghana	480,223	538,356	658,896
Mali	181,592	265,940	341,824
Togo	136,079	160,632	174,665

(UNESCO, Enrolments of new entrants into primary grade 1, 2009c)

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