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EDUCATION IN SENEGAL:

PROBLEMS AND ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS.

D. GREASLEY.

Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Education.

October, 1969.



11 MAY 2006

EDUCATION IN SENEGAL: PROBLEMS AND ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS.

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Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Education.

University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

November, 1969.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

This work is intended as an introduction to the study of problems in education in Senegal. It tries to indicate the comparative worth of some of the solutions to these problems, and to set them in an objective manner in their context in the general pattern of education.

The thesis endeavours to show why certain attempted solutions have come to nothing, and why others may be likely to fail. It suggests alternative solutions, or other possible ways to achieve the desired results within the framework of the existing system.

The book shows that Senegal has perhaps attempted too much too soon in educational development, and, on the eve of the Third Plan for the Economic Development of Senegal, tries to present a re-assessment of the priority accorded to various plans for the reform of the educational system; to re-examine the aims and aspirations; to take stock of the present situation, and to indicate further promising avenues of experiment and change for the future.

INTRODUCTION.

A foreign teacher in an overseas country must beware of one grave fault: that of imagining that he knows better what are the problems of that country than the native-born administrators. A foreign observer, it is true, possesses certain advantages; he is not emotionally involved, and his position as a spectator sometimes permits him to see more of the game than the actual players. His position allows him to give advice and encouragement, but it should not blind him to the fact that the problems must be faced and solved by the combined efforts of the inhabitants of a country, not by expatriate foreign experts.

In my own case, having only lived in Senegal for just over two years, it would be impertinent to suggest that I could contribute substantially to the understanding of the problems to be overcome in the development of the Senegalese system of education. Indeed, during the course of my research, it has often been due to the kind and willing assistance of Senegalese administrators, civil servants, teachers and politicians that I have become aware of particular problems.

The Senegalese have an awareness of the problems they face in their attempts to educate their people and develop their country, but it is a fact, as far as I am aware, that no complete study has been made of these problems. This thesis represents a general survey of the problems, and I hope that it will serve as an introduction to the subject for students of educational matters who are not familiar with West African countries.

There is evidence to show that the Senegalese realise what must be done to solve their problems. It is, however, at the level of practical solutions that difficulties occur. Once again, an outside observer cannot

begin to appreciate local traditions, resources, difficulties and prospects as well as a man who is a native of a country, but I have, in this study, tried to indicate the comparative worth of some of the solutions, and at the same time I hope to have placed them in an objective manner in their context in the general pattern of education in Senegal.

There is not an infinite number of practical solutions to the problems of education in developing countries, but there is an infinite number of variations on these solutions. The variations, for the most part, consist of a difference in emphasis or in the timing and planning of a particular project or series of projects. I have tried to indicate where it seemed to me that the emphasis laid on a particular part of a solution is unduly heavy, or where it seemed that the timing and planning are not as accurate as they could be.

Finally, I have tried to show reasons why some of the solutions attempted have come to nothing, and why other solutions may be likely to fail. At this point, it seemed reasonable to suggest alternative solutions, or other ways to attempt to achieve the desired results within the existing framework of the present system.

It is apparent that Senegal has attempted too much too soon. This is not a statement of failure, but rather an indication of the willingness of the country to come to grips with its problems. After nine years of trial and error, it would seem that now, on the eve of the Third Plan for the Economic Development of the Nation, is the moment for the country to take stock of the situation, and to re-assess the priority accorded to various plans for the reform and development of the educational system; to re-examine its aims and aspirations; to investigate further avenues of experi-

ment and change; above all, to plan again, but this time with more accurate knowledge of what is desirable and possible. The ultimate aim of the planning is to produce a system of education of education which is both possible and desirable, which answers the needs of the country and the requirements of the students. The planners, however, are obliged to compromise with these ideal objectives because of the factors I have tried to describe in this study.

This thesis has been divided into sections which should make cross-reference easy. Parts I and II deal with a description of the problems of education in Senegal at the local level - in the towns, schools and classrooms. In Part III I have dealt with the planning and administration of education, and the development of the system, at the national level, analysing trends in the past, and speculating about the pattern for the future.

After the general list of contents, I have included a detailed list to make it possible for the reader to refer easily to any topic treated in the book.

I would like to acknowledge the help, encouragement and kindness I have received from both Senegalese and French administrators and experts, teachers and others, during the preparation of this thesis, and at the same time I would like to express my gratitude for the facilities placed at my disposal by the various organisations and institutes in Dakar named at the start of the bibliography to be found at the end of this book.

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PART ONE:

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF FORMAL EDUCATION.

Chapter 1. Senegal.

Senegal has common frontiers with Mali in the East, Mauritania in the North, and Guinea in the South. In the West, Senegal is bounded by the fishing grounds of the Atlantic Ocean.

The climate varies greatly, and the country, as a consequence, changes from arid desert in the North and East to rained-drenched tropical forest areas in the South. The people vary as much as the country. There are six main ethnic groups, speaking about twenty languages or dialects - Wolof, Serer, Poular, Diola, Mandingo, and so on.

The official language of the country is French, part of the heritage from the centuries of French rule. For everyday communication, however, between Senegalese of different ethnic groups, the language most commonly employed is Wolof. Many Senegalese do not understand French, whereas it is estimated that about eighty per cent of the population understand Wolof sufficiently well for it to be used as means of communication.*

The working population can be divided into three classes.** In the first category come the peasant farmers, forest workers, labourers and general agricultural workers. This category accounts for about eighty-five per cent of the working population of Senegal. The second group, comprising construction workers, builders, and other industrial workers, makes up a further six per cent of the working population. Just over ten per cent of

* Native speakers of Wolof account for 36% of the population. "Le Sénégal (population, langues, programmes scolaires)". Thippet, CLAD, 1965.

** Sondage Démographique, 1960-61. Service de la Statistique du Sénégal.

Senegalese come into the third class which is made up of the civil service, army, police, other public services - transport, fire and so on - and other professional men. As yet, the majority of Senegalese adults can neither read nor write. In 1960 it was estimated that 95% of the population living in rural areas were illiterate* compared with about 85% of the adult population in the large urban areas. This disparity is explained by the inequality of opportunity for education which exists between town dwellers and country dwellers. While it is true that over 75% of the children in Dakar receive primary education, in the more remote parts of Senegal under 15% are in this fortunate position**.

In general terms, the peasants and agricultural workers are the underprivileged members of Senegalese society, and comparatively speaking, the town worker is able to enjoy a much higher standard of living. This social inequality leads to the exodus from the land which is causing so much concern to the government. In 1960 the population of Dakar was about 444,000, and five years later, it had swollen to 594,000 inhabitants. This last figure represents a total of 17% of the population of Senegal.

-----By 1973 it is expected that the population of Dakar*** will be

*La Population du Sénégal. L. Verrière, University of Dakar, 1960.

** Communication Relative A Une Organisation Nouvelle Des

Enseignements Primaire et Moyen au Sénégal. Ansane Seck,

Ministry of National Education, 1969.

*** Etude sur la situation de la Jeunesse au Sénégal, Issa Diop, 1966.

(Where the word Dakar is used here it is meant to include the region of Cap Vert, that is, the whole urbanised region around the capital).

about a million, and that by 1980 about 30% of the entire population of Senegal will be living in or near Dakar. It is easily understandable why the authorities of a country which is entirely dependent on agriculture should be worried about migration from the rural areas to the towns. So far, all attempts to stem this movement have been in vain. Indeed, due to poor harvests and increasing discontent among the peasants, the exodus to the urban areas has accelerated.

Senegal is a country which enjoyed relative prosperity during its long period as a French colony when it was the administrative centre for the whole of French West Africa. When the country became independent in 1960 there was a considerable drop in revenues, and this decline has continued ever since independence because Senegal cannot compete industrially or agriculturally with its more favoured neighbours. In particular, much of the prestige and importance which were once Dakar's has now been assumed by Abidjan in the Ivory Coast. One consequence of this economic decline is that, at a time, when the country must make the utmost endeavour* to improve and expand, its educational system, the available finance is not sufficient to meet the demands made on it. Were it not for enormous French subsidies,

*"Le blocage actuel de l'extension de l'enseignement à la base ne peut être qu'une simple décision de circonstance, due au fait que le taux actuel des dépenses publiques pour la formation (soit 28%), ne paraît pas pouvoir être augmenté". Assane Seck, Minister of Education, 1969.

the whole system would have collapsed long ago**. Many French educationalists and Senegalese civil servants are of the opinion that the system of education in Senegal is passing through a grave crisis and that unless there is radical and far-reaching reform within the next two years, the structure of education will be so undermined, internally from student unrest, and externally from lack of finance, that it will crumble away entirely in the secondary system, and the primary system will receive a set-back which might require twenty years to make good***.

Like most African countries Senegal has a society which is still based on the old traditions - immediate loyalty is given to one's own family and to one's elders. The family unit is very strong and is more comprehensive than is the case for European families. In many cases all the inhabitants of a small village will consider themselves members of the same family and will address each other as "cousin" or "brother". The council of village elders will determine the administration of the village, sanction marriages, allot plots of land, and generally supervise the behaviour of the younger members of the community. When independence was established, one of the first tasks facing the government was to create some form of national unity and

** French aid in 1964 accounted for over 50% of the cost of secondary education. 82% of university costs, and nearly 32% of teacher training costs. Figures from Clement: *Angewandte Bildungsökonomik. Das Beispiel von Senegal.*

*** The officials who gave this opinion do not wish to be named.

cohesion to replace the old tribal loyalties*. Senegal has progressed some way towards the achievement of this aim, but it has not yet succeeded in opening up real educational opportunities for the majority of its young people.

A young educated Senegalese is in a delicate position if he tries to spread his knowledge and newly acquired skills, particularly in the country districts. The old traditions die hard, and resistance to new methods and ideas is difficult, and at times impossible to overcome. It is easy to conceive why such a situation should make the young Senegalese restive, occasionally unruly, and almost always frustrated. For its part, the conservative elder element of Senegalese society is just as perturbed when it sees what appears to be an attempt to overthrow the tried and trusted traditional values**.

"Il s'agit surtout de former des citoyens, qui aient la volonté de transformer leur situation collective... des hommes qui aient le sens de l'intérêt général... La réalisation du Plan exige... la volonté consciente des hommes et, partant, leur formation morale et technique"...

The President of Senegal, M. Léopold Sédar Senghor, Introduction to the Deuxième Plan du Développement Economique et Social.

"L'Indépendance a hérité des déséquilibres ainsi créés et se trouve confrontée à la double exigence de sauvegarder les valeurs essentielles de la société traditionnelle, tout en assurant le développement économique et social de la Nation... Il est évident que ce sont les jeunes qui supportent le plus psychologiquement et socialement le poids de ces mutations... Il est non moins évident... que l'avenir du pays est étroitement lié à la manière dont les jeunes générations assureront le passage du vieux pays à la condition d'une nation moderne"...

It is obvious from the foregoing why sociological problems are just as important in Senegal today as educational ones. Indeed the two are inextricably intertwined, as can be seen by anyone who examines the course and causes of the student strikes in May and June 1968 and the student unrest in 1969 which has wrecked the final four months of the school year 1968-9.

Because the position of young people in Senegalese society is so important, I shall now describe in detail the background of some typical Senegalese school children.

Chapter II. Social Background.

Until recently, even in Dakar, parents were unwilling to send their children to the French school because it was feared that the children would be lured away from the traditional way of Senegalese life. Many teachers in rural areas still face opposition from the parents of their pupils*. This attitude has been changing over the last fifteen or twenty years, and parents are becoming eager to send their children to school, not so that they - the children - can receive a technical education and become mechanics or builders, but so that they have the chance to become civil servants or lawyers, doctors or teachers.

This attitude is common to all parents in all countries, but it is especially marked in Senegal because of the desire of parents that their children shall not know the misery and harshness of the peasant life their families have led.

When a child goes to school for the first time he takes a leap into the unknown. In Senegal the first steps along the road of formal education are doubly fraught with obstacles. Not only is the child entering a world which is entirely alien to anything he has known before in his tight-knit family circle, but also he is obliged to bid

*"I was appointed to Cambérène (a small village about 6 miles from Dakar) as headmaster in 1945... At the beginning I had 8 pupils. I was obliged to have the children dressed and to repaint the mosque in order to curry favour with the parents... I was forbidden to mingle with the people of the village... the school was in the centre of the village, and the villagers complained about the noise"...

Statement by a headmaster made in an enquiry into primary education

by M.-C. Ortigues and A. Colot in Dakar, 1963.

farewell in a real sense to his parents. Soon the child is alone, pursuing studies which are beyond the grasp of his parents, and later, for most rural children who have the opportunity and ability to continue their education further, the time comes when the child must leave his natal village and travel to one of the big towns.

The fact that parents often find it difficult or impossible to understand their children's studies does not mean that they are not interested in the work done at school. On the contrary, many parents have a keen if misguided interest in the progress of their children's education. A case in point was the young boy who was examined at the psychological centre at Fann, near Dakar. This eight-year-old boy was the victim of severe emotional disturbance. His father told the psychologist that the boy was stupid and refused to learn in spite of the fact that his father made him work until 10-00 p.m. every night*.

The majority of parents cannot keep check on the progress made by their children at school because they cannot read the school reports and because the subjects being studied are beyond their understanding. A primary school inspector reported the case of a child who made no progress and did no homework. Investigation at the child's home showed that the boy's mother had been deceived by her son, who had simply shown her, as proof of his assiduity and progress at school, the same page of an exercise book every day for three months**.

* Reported in "La Classe d'initiation dans l'agglomération dakaroise" ..

A. Colot. 1964.

** Ibid.

These cases would have little significance were it not that research at the Fann Centre in Dakar and by sociologists throughout Senegal shows that parents who are illiterate cannot comprehend the stresses and strains imposed on their children when they go to school*.

The difficult situation in which the average Senegalese school child finds himself is made even worse by the appalling living conditions in which he must work.

Throughout Senegal the average pupil lives in a mud or wood hut with no electricity or running water. The rooms are overcrowded and there is no quiet spot for the student to work in. The school is often a considerable distance away from the home, and a walk of one and a half hours in each direction is not uncommon. The schoolchild is often underfed and frequently suffering from one or more diseases.

If a rural child overcomes these difficulties he is obliged to continue his education in one of the big towns. Boarding facilities are inadequate and most children live with relatives. The Senegalese conception of a "relative" is very different from what Europeans understand by the same word. Relationship is based as much on an ethnic or geographical common origin as on a family relationship. Thus, a Diola from a certain village will take into his house a Diola child from the same village even if there are no immediate blood ties. This guardian automatically receives the child's allowance for board and lodgings, and not infrequently misappropriates the money.

* Conditions de vie de l'enfant en milieu urbain en Afrique...

A survey** of first year students at the technical lycee in Dakar showed that there were enormous differences in the home backgrounds of the African pupils but that, nevertheless, the majority of the children worked in conditions which were unsatisfactory.

A considerable number of African students (about 37%) live in wooden huts or shanties made of corrugated iron. Other students live in concrete or stone buildings but often in surroundings which are no more congenial than those endured by the children who lived in shanties. Commonly the houses are dirty, dark and unhealthy.

Accommodation in one case was a four-bedroomed stone villa, shared with ten other people, in another it was a one-room lean-to shack inhabited by eight people. About 70% of the houses had electric lighting, but often only one or two bulbs for the entire house. The other houses had to manage with paraffin lamps and candles.

Most pupils at schools in Dakar have to live in these overcrowded conditions. The pupil often shares his bedroom with numerous brothers and sisters, and while some children are given a special table and chair to work at, others must do their schoolwork on the corner of a bed on which younger children are already sleeping. It is not uncommon in Dakar to see young children working under the lights of street lamps* because of the lack of lighting and room at home.

** Les Conditions de vie de l'élève de sixième du Lycée Maurice Delafosse de Dakar.....Flis Zonabend, Dakar, 1964.

* This is something I have often seen myself, but it is also frequently commented on by sociologists.

It is not surprising that places are much in demand at those secondary schools which have boarding houses. The advantages of these places are obvious. Outside interference is cut to a minimum, food is adequate, and so are the facilities provided by the school. The pupil does not have to travel long distances, and almost invariably the boarder is better equipped with books and clothes than the day-boy. The boarder's allowance is paid directly to the school which then provides the boarder with everything necessary. The day-boy's allowance is paid to the parent or guardian, and all too often the money is spent for the benefit of the family and not for the needs of the child.

So far we have examined the situation of the child who has been brought up in a town. Many Senegalese children have never lived in a town before they begin their secondary education. They arrive in the large towns, - totally unsophisticated but more mature physically than their schoolfellows. This is due to the fact that many of them are 14 or older when they start in the first year of their secondary education compared with an average age of just over 12 for most of the town-bred children in the same class*.

Rural children will be the sons and daughters of parents who have a modest position - minor civil servants, country craftsmen and peasant farmers. Such children have known little or nothing about the distractions of modern urban life.

*Le financement et les coûts de l'enseignement au Sénégal...

Although the government gives the child an allowance for his secondary education (about £7 a month), most of the money is spent before the child sees it, and there is certainly not enough left to pay for the expensive pleasures of urban life, nor even enough to buy books for leisure reading.

More often than not the rural child achieves a lower standard of academic success than a town child of about the same intrinsic ability. A great part of a child's academic success is due to the family which looks after him during term-time. An estimate in 1964** suggested that over 20% of all families acting in loco parentis did not take sufficient notice of the child or interest in his problems. Nearly 70% of the children who were in the charge of these guardian families had legitimate complaints about their living conditions. These stresses not infrequently turn children into social misfits and they may well join one of the growing bands of idlers and delinquents who prowl round the streets of the larger towns.* The rural child, with his lack of sophistication has a ready tendency to withdraw from the urban community into which he has been thrust, or else, in a gesture of defiance, he will associate with the more undesirable elements of that community.

** Les Conditions de vie de l'élève de sixième au Lycée Maurice

Delafosse...

F. Flis-Zonabend,

Paris, 1964.

* Psychopathologie Africaine No.1: Délinquance à Dakar.

Cf. also "Dakar has the highest rates...for alcoholism, Indian hemp smoking, homosexuality and juvenile delinquency... Many of the young people fall an easy prey to thieves and pimps..."

Sankaré: L'Urbanisation et l'enfance à Dakar....1964.

The social background of the children represents an important factor when considering education in Senegal, and it must always be borne in mind when considering any modification of the system.

It is true that steps have been taken to try and ease the strain on the children of leaving their homes and families. There are, for example, more advisory bodies and welfare workers than there were before Independence. Serious attempts are being made in some villages to educate the parents, and particularly the mothers, so that they may learn how best to care for their children and prepare them for school.

Parents are being taught to read and write, and they are being shown how to improve their living conditions. The health of the children is gradually being improved thanks to campaigns against the more common diseases - kwashiakor (a vitamin deficiency disease), malaria and measles.

Praiseworthy as these attempts are, the fact remains that, due largely to financial restrictions, many Senegalese children are unable to derive maximum benefit from their education because their progress is inhibited by the appalling conditions in which they must live and work.

With careful planning more could be done to help the underprivileged Senegalese child. This need not cost the government a great deal of money. Less wealthy families, for example, could be loaned chairs, tables and perhaps even a bed for the child. Schools could help by allowing day-pupils to stay on at school after lessons so that homework and preparation of lessons could be done in buildings with adequate furniture, books and electric lighting.

These measures are simple remedies for the problem of social inequality on a small scale. In the larger context of the country as a whole what needs to be done to combat social inequality is to increase as much as possible the social services available in rural areas, to intensify worthwhile projects such as the campaign against illiteracy among adults, and to propagate more information about hygiene and family care.*

*See Chapter IX: Illiteracy and Related Problems.

Chapter III. General Background to Education.

The pre-school education of Senegalese children is in the hands of women; grandmothers, mothers and elder sisters. Most children are brought up by their own families, but the many orphans and even more numerous illegitimate children are, for the most part, looked after by the clan or village group in which they are born. Illegitimacy does not carry the same stigma in an African community as in a European one, and the only burden a fatherless child has to bear is usually that of poverty.

Early training for the African child is liberal and free. He is allowed to play most of the time, and traditionally he is only taught to respect his elders. This is not to say that he is never punished. On the contrary, should a child show disrespect towards any older person he is beaten, either by his parents or by any responsible adult in the village. Girls are given rather stricter training, and for most youngsters this means that they are kept perpetually busy fetching wood, carrying water, guarding animals and looking after younger children. In the towns, much of the serious purpose of traditional early training has been lost, and many children under five years of age are allowed to roam the streets and to do exactly what they like.

If a child comes from a rich family* he may well be sent to an école

* "Rich", "well-to-do", "poor", are relative terms. In general, a worker in the towns is quite well paid if he is getting about £15 a month. This amount will enable him to feed, clothe and shelter a family of four or five, but will leave nothing over for luxuries. My own houseboy received free accommodation and earned about £25 a month, (rather more than a trainee teacher.) He was considered wealthy by the simple fishermen in the neighbourhood.

maternale at the age of three. These schools are private and fee-paying, and very few African children attend them. The only requirement for attending one of these nursery schools is the ability to pay the fees.

In the early stages of pre-school education fathers have little to do with the upbringing of the children. The mother plays an all important social and economic role. (The mother decides how the housekeeping money should be spent). It is from these early days that the young African conceives a lifelong respect and love for his mother and grandmother. There is a woman member of the National Assembly, women are fairly prominent in most of the professions, and small-level trade and business is usually in the hands of women*.

Only when the child is about six or seven years old does the father have to make a decision about the education of his son or daughter. At this age there is a possibility of choosing one of three forms of education: public (that is, State) schooling; private schooling; and the Koranic school.

The Koranic school is the traditional form of early education, for boys only. Many Senegalese spend some time at the Koranic school before going into some other form of education. The "école coranique", as its name suggests, is a form of religious education. At these schools the education of the young boys is in the hands of the "marabout" or Islamic priest, although in some villages any elder of the village who is well versed in the Koran may be appointed to direct the religious training of the children. The marabout has an entirely free hand, and can do with the children as he sees fit. Fees are charged, but these are

* See chapter V111: The Education of Women.

usually modest and may be waived altogether in the case of very poor children.

The marabout can insist that the children provide him with domestic help, and also has the right to make the children go out and seek alms on his behalf. (Obviously there are many abuses of privilege to be found among the marabouts).

Education in the Koranic School is very elementary and largely oral - like all forms of traditional African education. The children are taught the essential parts of the Koran, and made to learn them by heart. They are taught to observe the recommendations for hygiene, the observance of times of prayer, and may be taught enough of Arabic writing to be capable of picking out a few verses of the Koran. Discipline is very strict, beatings and scathing sarcasm are frequent, and education in any modern sense of the word is minimal. What is inculcated in most of the children is a respect for the religion of their fathers, a hazy notion of reading and writing, a clear idea of the traditional values of right and wrong, and an immense respect for their elders in general, and for Holy Men in particular.

Of the other two courses open to a father, State education or private education, the decision is usually taken out of his hands by force of circumstances. State education is free (although there are occasional levies to provide certain items of equipment), but there are places for few children*, often there is a waiting list, and girls

*Figures used as a basis for the First Plan showed that only 28% of all children of primary school age were receiving formal education in 1960.

have a low order of priority for the places available. The private schools vary in standard, from the good to the appalling. The one thing that all private schools have in common is that they charge fees. Whether a child goes to a private school or not depends on his father's willingness and ability to pay the fees. For most families this means that only the oldest boy (or the cleverest) will be sent to school**.

In almost every case where a choice has to be made in a family regarding which children should be sent to school, the girls are passed over in favour of the boys.

Life at school for the young African boy from an average family is by no means easy. As we saw in the chapter on social background, the average child's living and working conditions leave much to be desired. Furthermore, most children (and this applies without exception in the case of girls) have to do domestic work at home, often to the detriment of their studies*.

No matter how hard the lot of certain African school children, they are still privileged beings compared to the majority of their contemporaries who are denied admission to the schools. These unfortunates are condemned by the whim of destiny to be the hewers of

** Cf. "Aussi dans les familles modestes et nombreuses, le père fait un choix: il ne met à l'école que ses fils - ou seulement l'un d'entre eux, celui qui paraît le plus doué, les filles restent à la maison en attendant de se marier..."

L'Enfant Africain à Dakar, G. Désiré-Vuillemin, Paris, 1964.

* Certains enfants arrivent fatigués et somnolents à l'école: ils ont trop travaillé à la maison..." Ibid.

wood and drawers of water of Senegalese society (when they are able to obtain work at all). In the rural areas they will either become simple and not very efficient peasant farmers, or they will go to seek their fortune in the large towns where they swell the ranks of the unemployed. Too often the urban child will be left to his own devices to scavenge a living in the streets and quite possibly to run foul of the police. The child who is not fortunate enough to start on the educational ladder is certain to find life a desperate struggle whether his departure point is a shanty in a town or a mud hut in the country. The fortunate child who starts his formal education at the age of six or seven stands at least a one in ten chance of reaching a position of considerable standing later in life.

These considerations explain the enormous importance attached to education by parents of young children, and the keen competition for any places available at the schools. At the same time they explain the government's determination to improve the facilities for education throughout the country.

Once a child has started his primary education he has begun the long process which can lead him, if he is one of the lucky few, right through to University or to one of the establishments for advanced professional training. I shall now show what might happen to him at various stages of his educational progress*.

* It would be useful at this point to look at the chart showing the organisation of education in Senegal in appendix 2.

Chapter XLVI. A Description of Primary Education.

Officially, primary education begins at the age of six when the child enters the "classe d'initiation", the first form at the primary school. Many children, however, are older than the official minimum age, usually because shortage of available places is so acute in some areas that there is a waiting list for up to two years ahead. In the country districts some schools have a fresh intake only every two years.

Primary education is supposed to last about six years, but a high proportion of children have to repeat one or two years of work. The official limit is a maximum of two years of repeated work, and after this limit, unless the child makes satisfactory progress, the school should dismiss the pupil. It is known, as a result of French surveys* and by examination of the birth certificates of candidates for secondary education, that many children manage to evade the official requirements and repeat for anything up to four times during the course of their primary schooling.

Having entered the "classe d'initiation" which is a general preparatory class designed to introduce the children gently to what will be required of them during their time at the primary school, the children pass on to the "cours préparatoire", from where they will proceed, if their records are good enough, to the two years of elementary classes: "cours élémentaire 1 and 2". Primary schooling

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* "Les rendements de l'enseignement du 1er degré en Afrique francophone".

University of Paris. (IEDES). 1967. (Vol 3).

This study is also the authority for the statements made in the next paragraphs.

ends with two further years spent in the "cours moyens", which lead to the primary school leaving certificate (C.E.P.E.), and sometimes to secondary education (by means of the competitive examination for entry to a secondary school). More often than not, however, the children say farewell to school-life and formal education for ever after the end of their primary school.

Because so many children repeat work, many of the school-leavers will be thirteen or fourteen (and occasionally even seventeen) years old when they leave primary school instead of the officially normal leaving age of twelve.

As a former French colony still retaining close links educationally and in every other way with France, Senegal has tried at all levels of education to maintain a parity of standards with those appertaining in France. In the case of primary education in Senegal's state schools, standards are not very high because of lack of equipment and a shortage of trained teachers. For this reason, virtually all expatriates (who, are, for the most part, French) and nearly all moderately wealthy Africans, prefer to send their children to the fee-paying private primary schools of which there are many in the large towns.

At a reputable private school the children are sure to have a French teacher, or at least a French-trained teacher, and this means a better start for the education of the children. In the smaller State schools teachers are generally of poor quality.

Private schools use the French names for their classes, beginning with "douzième" (and occasionally two years of pre-douzième work for younger children) and working on up to "septième". Both private and State Schools prepare their pupils for the primary school leaving certificate and for the secondary school entrance examination.

Officially the language of instruction throughout the Senegalese system of education is French, but often the teachers make use of the local languages. Obviously in country districts where the people know and use little French the children are at a grave social and educational disadvantage compared with children in good schools in the large urban areas. There are no text-books in languages other than French, and not one of the local languages has a recognised written form.

Although primary education on European lines has been established in the large towns in Senegal since the first French-style school was opened in the former capital of the country, Saint-Louis, in 1816, expansion of the system under the old colonial regime was very slow, because the French colonial administrators were not encouraged to bring their families to West Africa. Admission of Africans into the system was even slower than the expansion of the schools. In 1860 about 850 children, very few of them Africans, were attending European-style primary schools. (Most African children attended the Koranic school). By 1956 this number had only increased to about 60,000 pupils. Since just before Independence the rate of expansion has rapidly accelerated, and in 1967 about 230,000 children were receiving primary education, either in State schools or private establishments*.

Since 1960 the average numbers of children in classes in primary schools has remained at about 44, but classes in some parts of Dakar, for example, commonly have more than 65 children in them.

*Figures from: "Conference on education and scientific and technical training with regard to their bearing on development in Africa. "UNESCO, Nairobi, 1968, and from: "Statistiques Scolaires, 1964-65". (see bibliography: Statistics).

All primary education, whether State or private, is controlled by the Ministry of National Education and is supervised by the nation-wide system of "inspecteurs primaires". Private schools are subsidised by the State which pays up to 50% of the cost of new buildings and materials, and guarantees to pay up to 50% of approved teachers' salaries in the towns and as much as 70% of teachers' salaries in rural areas. In return, the schools to which this assistance is given must undertake to maintain the standards required by the State, and must satisfy the inspectors both as to the quality of the instruction given and to the facilities offered by the school.

Grant-aided primary schools must guarantee their teachers a minimum salary of at least 85% of the salary which would be paid to a teacher of equivalent qualifications under the State system.

The formation of primary school teachers is controlled by the Ministry of National Education, and promotion for teachers is not an automatic progression but depends on satisfactory reports from the inspectors. As a policy, the Ministry has increased its in-service training and promotion schemes.

Types of classroom vary enormously, depending on the age of the school and the area in which it is situated. Most classrooms, although adequately constructed for a country where cold is not a problem, and where the only essential protection against the elements is a water-proof roof during the rainy season, are not impressive to a visitor accustomed to European-style schools. The classrooms are usually in a bad state of repair, the furniture is old, and the rooms are too small. The walls are more often than not cracked and peeling, and quite frequently no attempt has been made to enhance the appearance of the room with pictures or

examples of the pupils' work.

The following descriptions of two classrooms are taken from the study of Ortigues and Colon already cited. The authors compare several classes they have visited in Dakar, and give examples of what they consider to be some of the best and some of the worst classes they inspected. I myself visited some of the same schools, and my impression agrees with theirs. These two cases are about average for the type of schools visited in Dakar.

"The class consists of 49 boys, the majority of whom are seven. The classroom is a wooden hut in a very bad state of repair with the road on one side and wasteland on the other.

I listened to a writing lesson; the children have an exercise book prepared by the teacher with letters to copy; they are learning "u". The teacher writes the letter U on the blackboard, showing the children what he does.

There is nothing else on the blackboard - no drawing, no pictures, no sentences.

The teacher speaks Wolof nearly all the time.

The children are very good... Every time the teacher approaches to look at a pupil's work, the pupil looks at him anxiously and some shield themselves with their arms; the teacher cuffs a few of them... There is a dismal atmosphere, and the children do not smile. The teacher's attitude is disdainful and abrupt... he goes about hitting the children and pulling their ears... The children are inhibited and passive...

The young teacher came to me and said spontaneously: "I am overcome by this class. It is the first time I have done an initiation class and I have only done a 15 day training period; I don't know how to deal with it".

... The children's results, incidentally, were extremely poor...

"The class consisted of 60 boys from seven to ten. The teacher did not know the breakdown into age groups. The classroom had a neglected air... About half the class could do the lesson (simple arithmetic at the blackboard). Those who could not do the lesson went back to their places without the teacher pointing out where they had made a mistake... The teacher did not appear to me to be in the least equal to his task".

In each of the two descriptions, neither of which represents the worst of Senegalese primary school classes, the observer was unfavourably impressed by the teacher. It would be advantageous at this point to consider the training and professional qualifications of Senegalese primary school teachers.

In 1960 there were four categories of teachers: Teachers, "instituteurs", had to have the secondary school leaving certificate (Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle, BEPC) and the teacher's certificate (Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnel, CAP), or they must have taught as assistant teachers for a period of seven years. Assistant teachers, "instituteurs-adjoints", had to have their school leaving certificate and the junior teacher's certificate, the CEAP (Certificat élémentaire). Pupil teachers, "moniteurs", were recruited from students who had failed the written part of the BEPC but who were given a pass in the oral. Assistant pupil-teachers, "moniteurs-adjoints" were merely required to have passed the primary school leaving certificate, CEPE, and to have attended secondary school for at least three years. Assistant pupil teachers were not permanent government servants, but the other three categories of teachers were.

It is evident from the foregoing that many children in primary

schools are being taught by teachers who are not adequately trained and who do not have even the most elementary academic qualifications. Since 1961 the Senegalese have been trying to improve standards of teachers by in-service training schemes, salary inducements for higher qualifications, postal correspondence courses for teachers run by the newly established Bureau Pédagogique, and by lessons broadcast on the schools' radio service.

Since 1966 no more assistant pupil teachers have been recruited, and it is hoped to raise all existing pupil teachers up to the recognised standard for assistant teachers during the course of the next few years.

In 1966 the former method of training teachers and assistant teachers in the "cours normaux" was replaced by training them in the institutions known as the "Centres Régionaux de Formation Pédagogique". (CRFP, Regional Teacher Training Centres). These establishments were to take students at the end of their time in a secondary establishment - usually after the "cours complémentaires" - and concentrate on their professional training as teachers. The old "cours normaux" had had the dual task of continuing the students' education at the secondary level while giving them professional training at the same time. The advantage of the CRFP was that it made it possible to concentrate more fully on the professional training of the students. At the same time the siting of these centres in different places throughout the country - in 1966 there were eight CRFP's in different large towns - encouraged a more widespread and equitable regional distribution of teachers. The CRFP's recruit their students mainly from holders of the BEPC by means of examinations and interviews. Holders of higher academic qualifications are admitted without having to pass through the selection procedure.

A pupil leaving the CRFP on the successful completion of his training is awarded the CEAP and is appointed as an assistant-teacher.

Primary school teachers are trained in the Ecoles Normales d'Instituteurs (or d'Institutrices in the case of women). There were three Ecoles Normales in Senegal in 1966, with plans, not yet realised, for three more. In 1968 the total output of trained teachers was under a hundred for the year. This figure is insufficient to supply the need for trained teachers. In 1966-7 a minimum of 306 teachers and assistant teachers were required to off-set losses due to retirement and the expansion of the primary system. It was possible for the State to recruit only 240 teachers who had the required level of Senegalese training. Ten Senegalese who were trained abroad were recruited, ten more posts were filled by former teachers who were arbitrarily transferred from other positions in the civil service, forty six other civil servants were also transferred although they had had no training or experience as teachers, and the remaining posts, more than fifty, were simply left vacant*. The problem created by shortage of trained primary school teachers is far from being in sight of a solution. Too many young Senegalese are attracted by other forms of employment which offer better rates of pay for the same qualifications, side advantages in the form of higher housing subsidies and transport facilities, and more prestige than is carried by a post as a primary school teacher. There is a considerable

* Statistiques Scolaires: 1966-7, and the French report "Les Rendements" already cited. Vol 3 of this report adds: "One must reach the conclusion that the present means of training teachers...in Senegal are far from satisfactory".

drift of young teachers to other sectors of public service, particularly to the gendarmerie and the police, where housing is good, prestige high, opportunity of promotion better and the work not so arduous.

It is hardly surprising, given the shortage of trained teachers and the deplorable conditions under which most children work, both in the schools and at home, that results generally throughout the primary system are poor, and the number of children who fail is extremely high.

The child's progress through primary school ends, for the successful, with the CEPE which is awarded on the basis of the child's performance in a nation-wide competitive examination. Although nearly every child in his final year takes this examination, only about 45% are awarded the certificate. Nearly 80% of all final year children take the competitive examination for entrance to a secondary school, (concours d'admission en sixième), but of all primary school children, only about 25% will ever gain admission into a secondary establishment*. (In 1968-9 only 17% were admitted to secondary education.)

The official statistics of the Ministry of education show that there is very little difference in the percentage of successful pupils in 1960 and that in 1967. This would indicate that standards in the primary schools have not improved in the last seven years in spite of the strenuous efforts made by the government.

* It should be remembered that at all levels of Senegalese education the standards are supposed to be the same as those in France. All French teachers I have spoken to maintain that the level of the Senegalese students is usually much lower than that of French children at the same stage of their educational career.

Taking a sample of 1000 children, and following their progress during the period 1960-66, one can make the following generalisations:*

401 children can hope to obtain the CEPE, and a lucky 217 will be accepted at their first attempt to obtain admission into a secondary school. The wastage rate revealed by these figures** is enormous. About 167 children out of every 1000 will drop out of primary school before the end of the final year. Nearly 77 will repeat one or more years' work. The percentage of unsuccessful pupils is about 60%. Consider that only an average of 40% of Senegalese children are being admitted to the primary schools at the present time and it will be appreciated that the country is devoting an enormous part of its budget towards the successful primary education of only about 16% of the children of primary school age. The country cannot permit itself the luxury of spending so much money for such poor returns, nor can it allow itself to be satisfied with a system which leaves about 85% of its population uneducated and ill-equipped to participate in the development of the country.

* Figures are taken from the survey carried out for UNESCO by MM. Guillaumont, Garde and Verdun: "Le fonctionnement et les coûts de l'enseignement au Sénégal". University of Dakar, 1965, and from a parallel report made by Professor Guillaumont for the Ministry of Planning: "Les Dépenses de l'enseignement au Sénégal".

** There have been at least five surveys of this type - by the Ministry of Planning, the Ministry of Education, the Economic Council, the University of Dakar, and UNESCO. While the figures are all slightly different in each survey, the end results agree within about 5% of each other.

The figures given in the last paragraph are as accurate as French research can make them, but it is possible that the actual state of affairs is worse than I have described it. The French survey, "Les rendements de l'enseignement du premier degré en Afrique francophone", talking of figures to show the percentage of pupils who retake one or more years of work, states: "It is very probable that these figures are under-estimated...we have noticed an undeniable tendency on the part of the teachers to omit the number of pupils redoubling in their schools; certain schools reveal figures which are ridiculously low, showing only two or three students repeating classes out of forms of 50 or 60 school children, whereas one would expect at least ten or eleven, and other establishments simply refrain from sending in returns". The exactitude of these figures is a matter for the statisticians to settle. What is undeniable is that if the wastage rate for urban schools is very high, that for rural schools is even higher.

As we have seen, rural children are in every way at a disadvantage educationally compared with their urban counterparts. Recently attempts have been made to improve educational facilities for children in rural areas. The essential problems to be overcome in country districts are that there are not enough teachers and there are not enough schools. Children are being taught by teachers who are even more unqualified and unsuitable than many of the teachers in the towns. In some schools hardly a word of French is spoken; there are few books and virtually no materials. The curriculum in the rural schools is, fundamentally, the same as that in the town schools, but methods of teaching, and the poor quality of the teachers mean that the rural child will always be behind his age group when compared with urban children.

The expressed aim of primary education in Senegal is to increase general standards of civilisation and to provide the elite from which will be chosen the future leaders of the towns and villages, and ultimately the leaders of the country. (President Senghor himself came from a small fishing village).

The possession of a school in a village confers undeniable prestige on all the inhabitants of that village. For this reason alone, villagers are always keen to have a school in their village**. In addition to this there are certain social advantages for the whole village: a closer contact with central authority, the presence in a village of an educated person (comparatively speaking), the possession of a meeting house for the discussion of news and the dissemination of information, and more frequent visits from medical and welfare workers***.

The paradox of all this is that, at a time when the village school should be helping to train the future leaders of the village, it is one of the main agents responsible for encouraging these young people to leave the village. Pupils leave the village schools to pursue their education in the towns, and once they arrive in the towns they are tempted to stay in them.

In the villages literacy is an almost unknown skill. By teaching the child to read and write, the school is already driving the thin end of a thick wedge between a child and his family. The educated child no

**"L'Ecole Primaire en milieu rural", A. Dottelonde, Min. du Plan, Dakar, '62.

***"Avance-Projets du Troisième Plan", Min. du Plan, Dakar, 1968.

longer fully participates in the ordinary life of his family, and not infrequently the child reaches a point where he despises his relatives and the way in which they live.

The parents are partly responsible for the alienation of their children. While relatives tend to be proud of their educated children, they find them strange and incomprehensible and become a little shy of them, treating them almost as strangers in their midst. Older country people cannot understand the attitudes of mind and processes of thought of the educated younger members of their community. These factors play an important part in the decision of children to leave their villages to seek their opportunities in the modern sophisticated towns*.

The teachers themselves, quite apart from any deficiencies in their training and qualifications, have considerable difficulties to overcome before they can even begin to make a success of their teaching. Although a teacher has a certain prestige in the village community, he too often tends to be excluded from the ordinary life of the other inhabitants of the village. If the teacher is a native of the village his influence will be diminished because he will be obliged to show too much respect for

*Cf: "L' Ecolier devient étranger à son entourage et est considéré comme tel par celui-ci". A. Colot, Notes sur l'entrée à l'école, Dakar, 1963.

"Ni les élèves, ni les parents ne pensent que l'enfant scolarisé peut être utile dans son village..." Issa Diop, op. cit.

the traditions of the village. If the teacher comes from elsewhere in Senegal he will too often be so ignorant of local conditions and traditions, language and culture, that he cannot play his essential secondary role as guide and innovator in the village. More recently, training methods have been improved slightly so as to give the young teacher a better idea of what he should be teaching both inside and outside the classroom, and how he should be teaching it**. The increase in the numbers of primary school inspectors, and the growth in the advisory services available through the Bureau Pédagogique in Dakar should enable the rural teacher more easily to obtain the guidance and advice he so desperately needs.

It is more than obvious from what has been said about primary education that the system is totally unsuited to the needs of the country. For too long the French model of primary education has served as the exclusive yardstick by which to judge the system. S negal has reached its financial limit as far as primary education is concerned, and this will be the situation for the next forty years or more***. What is necessary now is for the country to re-think its policies for primary education on the basis of what is more immediately useful to the country and its development.

** The Ecole Normale Sup rieure in Dakar (see chapter on Higher Education) has been experimenting on courses for rural teachers since 1967. (In co-operation with the Min of Education and UNESCO).

*** See Chapter XIX. Beyond the Third Plan.

Primary education should no longer be considered as a means of creaming-off a social elite*. Education should be of a more uniform standard whether in the towns or in the villages, and primary education should be an end in itself and not merely a prelude to more advanced education. At the moment a child leaving primary school has been trained for nothing practical, and to capitalise the investment on his education requires at least three or four years of secondary education. (As we have seen, nearly 80% of the efforts made to educate children under the present system result in nothing but the failure of the children to complete the course satisfactorily).

If primary education is to be a complete unit by itself, then the present curriculum needs to be changed. This is the object of much research and experimentation at the present time.

Until recently the Senegalese child was studying books about "nos Alpes, couvertes de neige", and "nos ancêtres, les Gaulois". This is gradually changing as more books are written with an African background. Even so, many children are still being taught the elements of geography and history from a French viewpoint.

* "Le choix, n'est-il pas, pour un grand nombre de jeunes ruraux, entre une scolarisation sommaire et pas de scolarisation du tout ?... un fossé existe entre ceux qui ont eu le privilège d'aller à l'école de style européen et les autres enfants des campagnes. Tant qu'elle ne sera pas généralisée, l'école apparaît comme un instrument de différenciation sociale". M. A. Cissé, Directeur de l'Animation Rurale, 1963.

Any revised curriculum for the primary schools should be severely practical in design. For many years to come, primary education will be the only prolonged form of education received by the majority of children in Senegal. This education should consist of basic French (since French is the official language of the country), arithmetic (since the days of barter are now, to all intents and purposes, a thing of the past), reading and writing (since communication is the essence of civilisation), and, of equal importance with all these things, instruction in practical matters connected with the everyday life of the region in which the school is situated: fishing, forestry, crop-raising, native crafts, and so on.

The school must become a part of the community rather than stand apart from it. Teachers must be trained and expected to take part in the life of their community. The schools themselves must be designed to be used as community centres after school hours, and the villagers must be persuaded to consider the schools as the centre of village life rather than as an alien element*.

Some of these steps have already been taken. Some schools have had their own gardens and workshops for over five years now. Next year over two hundred village schools will have canteens. There is a regular, if infrequent, film service for rural schools, and Radio Senegal has some broadcasts specially conceived for rural children out of touch with modern life. All of this, however, is only a small step in the right direction, and much more remains to be done. Experimentation is slow

* A. Dottelonde. Op. cit.

and expensive, and Senegal cannot afford to allot any more money towards the cost of research**. Many years will be necessary before the country has the system of primary education most suited to its needs.

From the foregoing description of primary education in Senegal it may well be imagined that the picture is one of unrelieved gloom. This is not accurate. All that has been demonstrated is the length of the journey ahead and the magnitude of some of the problems to be overcome. What must be emphasised is the measure of success the country has already had in its efforts to improve its system of education over the last nine years. Nearly 40% of Senegalese children are receiving some form of primary education now, and this represents a growth of more than 4% a year (compared with the national economic growth rate of about 2% a year). This is no mean achievement for any country. However, the time has now come for Senegal to consolidate its progress so far, to examine what it wants to do in the future, and then to re-arrange its present system to suit its future objectives.

Only by making a pause at this time will the country give itself the respite necessary to ensure the successful advancement of its economic and educational development in the future. Primary education is the foundation on which the other storeys of education are built.

** The present budget for primary education is about £4 million overdrawn. In ministerial circles there is even anxiety about the government's ability to pay the teachers. The State-financed plan for the expansion of private primary education ground to a halt in early 1968. Only departments of UNESCO and the French-financed University of Dakar can afford to engage in educational research at the present time.

Unless the foundation is sound the whole structure will fall; if the foundation is valid, the structure will serve the function for which it is designed: to produce the men who will be willing and able to lead the country along the road of economic and technological development which is the goal of all emerging countries.

Chapter V: A Description of General Secondary Education.

Officially the age for admission to secondary education is about twelve, but many children, are older than this on entry to a secondary school. Entrance is by examination, and although children are allowed to state a preference in their choice of school, the selection of pupils is based on their examination results and the location of their homes rather than on any serious consultation of the students' wishes. There is a "pecking order" among the secondary establishments, and a well-known school, like the Lycee van Vollenhoven in Dakar, can select the very best pupils. Technical lycees come lower down the order of precedence, and are followed by the colléges and the cours complémentaires and the centres d'apprentissage.

About one out of every ten children gains entrance to a secondary school, that is, two out of every ten children who enter primary school. These figures include children of all nationalities, and due to the relatively high proportion of French and Lebanese children in secondary schools it is probably more accurate to say that only about eight Senegalese children out of every hundred ever manage to be accepted by a secondary establishment.

Expansion of the system of secondary education, from about 10,000 students in 1960 to about 25,000 in 1965*, was achieved mainly by

* These figures are my own approximate average based on French, Senegalese and UNESCO statistics. Not unnaturally, the Senegalese figures tend to exaggerate the progress made in education, UNESCO and French Reports display a tendency in the other direction.

permitting overcrowding in the existing schools, and by lowering the minimum entrance requirements for Senegalese students.* In spite of one or two changes of policy recently (since the student riots in May and June, 1968), the government tendency has been to revert back to the old higher standards as the primary school numbers have increased. At the same time, building programmes have ensured that overcrowding in classrooms is not so acute.**

Although the increase in the total number of students may seem unencouraging, in actual fact it reflects considerable credit on the way Senegal has attempted to solve its educational problems at the secondary level. The disturbing element is the "wastage rate" among secondary school pupils. In 1966-7 there were some 240,000 Senegalese children in primary schools. In the same year, only 2000 received the BEPC certificate marking the successful completion of the first level of secondary education, and a mere 220 were awarded the Baccalaureat, mainly in arts subjects. Nearly 350 certificates of professional aptitude were given in a wide variety of subjects.***

The figures for the successful candidates in the baccalaureat exam-

*This was a deliberate policy, as is made clear in the second plan for the economic development of Senegal. (See Bibliography).

**In spite of encouraging average figures given by the Government, large classes are so frequent as to excite little comment. Two beginners' classes at the Lycee Blaise Diagne in Dakar, for example, have fifty-eight and fifty-nine pupils respectively. (My own observation.)

*** Figures are taken from "Statistiques Scolaires: 1966-7".

inations are far short of what was anticipated in both the first and second plans for the economic development of Senegal. However, since the chief need of the country is to produce more middle-level managerial classes*, the most disquieting figures are those which concern the failure of children at the first level of secondary education, that is to BEPC standard.

About 65% of Senegalese children in the secondary education establishments fail to obtain the junior school leaving certificate. This means that their only "marketable" qualification is the primary school leaving certificate and a few unsuccessful years of secondary education. Their education at this level has cost the country about 85,000 F. CFA (roughly £140 sterling) for each year that each pupil has spent at a lycee, and about 35,000 F. CFA (£50) each year for each pupil at a "cours complémentaire" or a "collège d'enseignement général". In the present financial crisis in Senegal, quite apart from the wastage in educated manpower, the financial loss to the country represented by the high rate of failure among secondary school pupils is economically disastrous.**

At this point one is inclined to ask a simple question: Why are the results obtained from secondary education so unsatisfactory? The answer is not simple. Obviously, a system of education will only produce the results in proportion to the quality of the students and the type of education given to them. If the results are unsatisfactory, either the pupils are not of the right calibre, or the system is not adapted to the needs of the pupils, or perhaps the answer lies in a combination of both these things.

*This was a stated policy in the First Plan for economic development.

**Figures and costs taken from Guillaumont, Garde and Verdun: op. cit.

It is undeniable, as was shown in the chapter on primary education, that children coming into the secondary establishments have not had the training best suited to their capabilities. Occasionally, because of changes in government policy, admission standards for entrance to secondary education have been lowered too far. It is certain that secondary education at present is not developing the abilities of the pupils as they should be developed.* Reasons for this failure are primarily to be found in inadequacies of the curriculum, shortage of teachers, and lack of adequate research into what is the best way to educate young African students, and what are the subjects it is most useful to teach.**

Part of the trouble in secondary education arises from not selecting the right type of pupils for admission to the schools. A considerable proportion of first year pupils are well over the average age of their class. They have been blocking the terminal classes of the primary schools, and

*This fact is commented on by several observers of the educational scene. A case in point is the manifesto issued by the students at the Ecole Nationale de Cadres Ruraux (ENCR) at Bambey when they went on strike in April, 1969. Part of their grievancies were these: ... "Le programme n'est pas adapté aux réalités nationales; au lieu de nous faire étudier ce qui est nécessaire à notre formation... on nous apprend Le Tartuffe et autres absurdités... La carence de professeurs est notoire, aussi bien du point de vue du nombre que de leur capacité... Notre encadrement administratif est défectueux, voire déplorable..."

** For elaboration on the inadequacies of the curriculum in secondary schools in Senegal, consult the chapter on Foreign Aid and also Chapter XVI.

later it is these same pupils who have to repeat classes in the secondary schools.* An important amount of overcrowding and expense would be avoided if these borderline and unpromising pupils were "weeded out" before they even started at the secondary schools.

Senegalese schools only allow their pupils to move into higher forms if their end of year examinations and teachers' reports are satisfactory. A pupil must obtain a satisfactory mark in all of his subjects before he can gain promotion at the end of the year. There is a complicated system of co-efficients, as in France, whereby certain subjects carry more weight than others in the final assessment. Although there is an annual staff meeting at every school to discuss the promotion of students, the system is fairly rigid, and it would be difficult for a child, for example, gifted in mathematics but very poor at French, to win promotion. This system of promoting children is not flexible enough to answer the needs of Senegalese students.**

*The proportion of over-age children who fail the BEPC has not been established by research, but many teachers of my acquaintance feel that the percentage failure rate among over-age children is higher than among pupils of average age.

**This year, 1969, many pupils have lost almost the whole of the last term of the academic year. They went on strike in March and did not return until June, and even after their return most of the children refused to work. Headmasters received instructions from the Ministry of Education that no pupil was to be expelled, and no pupil was to repeat a year. This directive, issued to prevent further student unrest, has been strictly observed by the schools. (This is the impression I received at a teachers' training college outside

/Continued on next page...

Most countries have a shortage of qualified teachers. The shortage in developing countries is particularly acute. In 1965, foreign aid, mainly French, provided about four hundred secondary school teachers to Senegal, and of these, about two hundred and fifty had either the licence or the agregation. There were, in the same year and in the same schools, just under two hundred Senegalese teachers, of whom only twenty-six had either the licence or the agregation. In 1968, many French teachers left Senegal, either because they were classified as personae non gratae as a result of their activities during the student unrest in 1968, or because their contracts were at an end and they were unwilling to renew them. This year, 1969, many French teachers who are worried about the educational futures of their own children will not be renewing their contracts. It is doubtful whether these teachers will be replaced, in view of measures to be adopted in France to reduce expenditure overseas. It is difficult to foresee what might happen in secondary education in the near future in Senegal, but the outlook is far from bright.

There is no satisfactory short-term answer to the problem created by the shortage of teachers. When I describe the planning and policies behind educational development in Senegal* , I shall write about the two possibilities

Dakar, two ordinary lycees, and a technical lycee in Dakar.) If this emergency measure should lead eventually to the promotion of students based on a consideration of the teachers' recommendations, and to a generally more flexible system, then in my opinion nothing but good can come of it.

* See especially the chapter "Beyond the Third Plan", and Chapter XVI.

which are being discussed at the moment: whether it is possible to increase the numbers of trained teachers, or whether it may not be more advisable to decrease the numbers of children at the secondary level of education.

Another problem to be considered later is whether it might not be more advantageous to the country to decentralise its present lycee system in favour of constructing and maintaining a greater number of smaller schools in the rural areas. (In 1967, Dakar had 9,000 pupils engaged in some form of secondary education, whereas Senegal Oriental had a mere 267.*) The present system is acting as an instrument of social discrimination: it encourages young people to leave their own districts; it underlines the lack of equality which exists between the townpeople and the country-dwellers.

Above all, the present concentration of secondary education in and around Dakar and other large towns precludes the possibility of planning a form of education which is suitable to the needs of the outlying districts of the country.

Until there is a firm formulation of policy to overcome these problems, there is little probability of general secondary education playing a full and useful part in the future advancement of the Nation.

* Official figures: "Statistiques Scolaires: 1966-7". In 1966, Dakar schools awarded the BEPC to 787 pupils; no BEPC's were awarded in Senegal Oriental.

Chapter VI: A Description of Secondary Technical Education.

Technical education is of paramount importance to a developing country. The need is to produce as quickly as possible a wide range of middle-level technicians. The very highest levels of technology, at least in the early stages of development, are not quantitatively so essential to a country as the production of trained mechanics, machine makers and operators, and middle-level civil engineers*. The comparatively few positions available for the highest level technologists can quite easily be filled by recruiting foreign experts. For these reasons, technical education at the secondary level has been the object of special research and effort in Senegal since Independence.

Technical and professional education is given in the lycées techniques, the écoles d'agents techniques, the centres d'apprentissage, and in the regional training centres. Students have a choice of two forms of technical education - a four year course (l'enseignement court) leading to a Brevet, a diploma, or a certificate of professional aptitude; or an eight year course (l'enseignement long) leading to the technical baccalaureat, a higher diploma, or, eventually perhaps, to university studies. There are other courses of shorter duration, either part-time or full-time, which last from a few weeks to as long as one to two years, and which are designed mainly to act as refresher courses or for the improvement of qualifications.

* For a development of this theory see: Shonfield: The Attack on World Poverty.

Since 1960, technical education has been expanding at the rate of about 16% a year. In 1960 there were about 2867 students in technical education. At the end of 1967, counting pupils in both State and private establishments, there were about 5819**, to which should be added, perhaps, another 2700 students attending short courses or evening classes, and as many as another 1000 students at private institutions whose returns were not received in time to be included in the official figures.

There have been signs that students, in the last four years or so, are coming to attach greater importance to technical education. Until about 1965 technical education was very much the poor relation of secondary education. Technical establishments found it difficult to attract students of the right calibre, and were having to select their students from among those who came 2000th or lower in the nation-wide competitive examination for entry to secondary education. The entrance standard for admission to a technical lycee in 1965 was lowered to a minimum aggregate total of 175 marks (compared with a minimum standard of 185 aggregate marks for admission to an ordinary lycee*).

** The figure for 1960 is taken from UNESCO statistics: Appendix 1.

The Figures for 1967 are taken from the official "Statistiques Scolaires".

* These figures are taken from a report prepared in 1966 for the Ministry of Technical Education by the Lycee Technique Maurice Delafosse in Bakar. The same figures are to be found in numerous studies of technical education.

In 1965-6, the teachers at the technical lycee in Dakar considered that about 21% of the intake for that year were unsuitable material for any form of secondary education, and that about another 34% were borderline cases. For a short time the numbers at technical lycees actually dropped.

Although it is still possible to gain admission to a technical lycee with poorer academic qualifications than are required for the normal lycee, changes in teaching methods at the technical lycees mean that the average achievement of technical students, measured in terms of certificates awarded at BEPC and Baccalaureat levels is now almost as good as the achievements of the pupils at normal lycees. The reason for this is that technical students are given far more intensive supervised teaching - about 40 hours a week in some cases, compared with a normal maximum of about 25 hours in the ordinary lycees.

Parents and children alike are becoming aware that technical education has its own special advantages, but even so, it still takes second place when children are making a choice of the establishments they would like to attend if they gain admission to a secondary school. The reasons for this are largely traditional.

When Senegal was still an important French colony, the upper limit of the average young man's ambition was to obtain a steady and remunerative post in the civil service. As in France, in Senegal nearly every post (even of minor importance) is open to competitive examination. In general, the very best posts were awarded to people who had had good academic educations. The only way to receive a good academic education was to attend a lycee. Even after the French gave Senegal its

independence, a good civil service post (or a career in local government and politics) was still the aim for the average Senegalese. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that a technical education took second place to an academic education; in many ways, it still does, but attitudes are changing as the government increases grants to technical students and as more ex-technical students manage to acquire positions of prestige and importance comparable with those of former students at the ordinary lycees.

The French did less for Senegal in the field of technical education before Independence than in any other sphere of education. (Even minor posts were filled by French technicians, so it was never necessary for France to build up technical education to provide a Senegalese source of technicians). When Senegal was thrown on its own resources and faced with the problem of developing those resources, the government was at a loss. It was not known what types of technician would be needed, what were the most urgent areas to be developed and what numbers of technicians it was necessary or desirable to produce. This has led to considerable confusion within the planning and administration of technical education.

There have been a number of surveys of technical education attempting to define the needs both of the students and the country. One of the most important of these surveys deals in depth with the careers of children who left the technical lycees of Dakar and Saint Louis in 1963 and 1964*.

* La Situation des Anciens Elèves des Etablissements d'Enseignement Technique, published in 1966 by the Ministry of Technical Education, Dakar. The technical lycees involved are the Lycee Maurice Delafosse in Dakar and the Lycee Andre Peytavin in Saint Louis.

Basically, the survey was concerned with following the careers of school-leavers who had obtained the certificate of professional competence in commercial studies, and those who had obtained the same qualification, but in industrial studies. (Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnel Commercial - CAP Com; and the Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnel Industriel - CAP Ind).

The report found that the market was being saturated with students holding the CAP Com, whereas the supply of CAP Ind holders was barely adequate to meet the demand*. Furthermore, it was shown that the general level of education of candidates for commercial studies was so low that more than 65% had to repeat at least one year's work, whereas only 7% of industrial studies pupils had to do so.

As a result of this survey, it was decided that instruction in commercial studies should be designed to produce more trained typists and secretaries, and fewer office clerks - 'aides comptables'. It was also decided to make admission standards for commercial studies rather more difficult in an effort both to reduce the failure rate of students and to decrease the numbers of qualified CAP Com holders who were coming onto the work market each year. (It is interesting at this point to note that private establishments are producing far more trained typists than the State system**.)

* This conclusion was arrived at when it was seen that, two years after leaving school, 42% of CAP Com holders were still out of work compared with 11% of CAP Ind holders. Furthermore, 44% of CAP Ind holders found work within 3 months of leaving school, whereas only 10% of CAP Com holders were in the same fortunate position.

** Continued on next page.

** In spite of this tightening up on standards there are always far more candidates for commercial studies than for industrial studies. This is because commercial studies tend to lead to higher salaries once the initial obstacle of finding a position has been overcome: cf. (Figures from survey already cited).

Qualification.	Earning between 15 and 20,000 F a month.	Earning between 20 and 25,000 F. a month.
CAP Commercial	13.9%	60%
CAP Industriel	48.3%	32%

(About 5% in each category are earning more than 25,000 F a month, and the remainder are earning less than 15,000 F a month).

Technical education is expensive, and technical establishments suffer from lack of adequate finance. In 1967, a report was issued which examined in detail the costs, productivity and organisation of the technical lycee in Saint-Louis*. The school at that time had 800 pupils, and the running costs for the academic year 1967-8 were expected to be about £75,000 (pounds sterling). (This estimate was based on the cost of teachers' salaries, boarding expenses, books and essential equipment and so on, but took no account of the cost to the government of scholarships held by the pupils**). A rough estimate is that the education of each pupil costs just over £100 a year. Figures are not available for the failure rates of the children at the school. One could assume about 160 pupils in each of the first four years at the school, and of these it is fair to expect a failure rate of about 50% (minimum) among candidates for the certificate at the end of four years' study. My own, conservative estimate is that the cost to the country of the 80 unsuccessful pupils leaving the school every year at the end of the first cycle of secondary education is about £32,000***.

* "Lycee Technique Andre Peytavin, Saint-Louis. "Min of Technical Education, Dakar 1967.

** A survey of the Lycee Technique Maurice Delafosse in Dakar in 1964 showed that of 314 children considered in the survey 63.4% were in receipt of complete allowances from the government, and a further 13.7% were in receipt of semi-allowances with additions for clothing and supplies.

*** Assessing the failure rate at 50% is a conservative estimate since many
(continued on page 66).

Not even a rich country can afford losses of this magnitude from one school. It is obvious that measures must be adopted to curb this wastage, and, indeed, certain steps have been taken to re-arrange the organisation of technical schools so that they are more efficient.

Emphasis has been placed on the more careful selection of candidates for admission to technical lycees. Courses have been extended for an extra year so as to permit more time to be spent on the general education of the pupils, and also to postpone the choice of a narrow specialisation as long as possible. (So that there will be fewer failures due to pupils' dissatisfaction with their choice of courses).

The normal organisation at a technical lycee is as follows:- there is one year of general introductory studies compulsory for everyone. After the initial preparatory year, there is a choice of courses: 7 years of study to become a qualified technician; 5 years to obtain the CAP Commercial as a qualified office worker (typist, financial clerk, etc.), 4 years to qualify as an electrician or car repairer or household repair man; 3 years of study to become the holder of the domestic science certificate, or 1 year of study after the preparatory year to become a nurseryman - a qualification which is only given after further training at a special centre at Pikine just outside Dakar.

(continued from page 65).

secondary schools have as many as 65% of failures in their examinations; the cost figure of £32,000 is based on the calculation: 80 students at £100 a year for each student over a period of 4 years. (80 x £100 x 4). It will be seen that this figure represents about half of the annual running cost of the Lycee Andre Peytavin.

The technical lycees are organised to help with further training for people who are already in employment. For this purpose there are evening classes and short holiday courses. Wherever circumstances allow, the lycees provide accelerated courses for CAP holders who wish to change their speciality.

A considerable number of lycee pupils are sent on, after the first stage of secondary education, to one of the écoles nationales, where specialised training at an advanced level is given to the students who are already considered as civil servants. These establishments train their students in a wide variety of studies of immediate use to the country. The pupils are guaranteed a position in the civil service on the successful completion of their studies. While at the schools the students are paid a salary by the State. (Entrance standards are high - only about 15% of candidates are accepted, and about 30% of the students fail their final examinations).

Because of the complexity of technical education, the wide choice of courses, the possibility of higher education in technical studies, and the ultimate difficulties, in some specialities, of finding employment, serious attempts have been made to institute a careers' advisory service for the students at technical establishments.

In 1967 two advisory centres were set up, one in Dakar and the other in Saint Louis. These Centres d'Orientation Scolaire et Professionnelle - COSP - work in conjunction with the State labour department (Service de la Main d'Oeuvre), the Conseil Supérieur Pédagogique, and the individual technical establishments. So far it is hard to judge the effectiveness of the COSP. In 1967 their report on their yearly activity showed that

they had given talks and lectures about choices of careers and specialities to a total of about 4,000 students (either prospective candidates for technical education or children in the early stages of their courses). In the same period, the COSP had arranged only 250 individual interviews with students with a view to helping them find employment. (It is not known how many of these pupils were actually successful in obtaining employment due to the efforts of the COSP advisory service). It is undeniable, however, that the COSP go some way towards helping the successful development of technical education in Senegal.

As we saw in the introduction to this study*, Senegal is an agricultural country. There are no rich mineral deposits, and the only immediate possibility of economic development is for the government to exploit more fully the resources of the land. On the national level this is being done with the aid of foreign capital and experts who are advising on irrigation and agricultural projects, but it is at the level of the peasant farmer that successful land development can ultimately be achieved. The production of trained land-workers is woefully insufficient in Senegal, but efforts are being made to overcome this deficiency.

Establishments have been created throughout the country to teach peasants a knowledge of modern farming techniques and how to apply these techniques to local conditions. These establishments try to give some form of elementary general education (basic reading and writing, and

* See Chapter 1: Senegal.

arithmetic), and also act as centres for village co-operatives**.

Because of the prohibitive cost of building and equipping institutions to specialise in agricultural work, Senegal has tried another approach: the training of special "animateurs ruraux" and "cadres ruraux", who form part of the programme known as the "vulgarisation agricole". These trained specialists work in the villages, and advise on crops and animal husbandry, on conservation and development projects of all types. This specialised technical training is organised by the Ministry of Technical Education in conjunction with a joint French-Senegalese body - SODEVA, Société de Développement de la Vulgarisation Agricole. The financial support for the project comes mainly from France.

The highest level posts of the agricultural programme are filled by French agronomists, but the secondary levels are formed from Senegalese specialists, "agents techniques agricoles" who are given extra training

** There are two "Centres de Perfectionnement de Paysans in operation, with a third nearing completion. There are two centres for "Perfectionnement d'Artisans Utilitaires". The instructors for these establishments are trained at the Ecole Normale d'Enseignement Technique, which has one section devoted to the training of agricultural instructors. Women staff are also being trained in the two Centres Féminins (one in Dakar, one inland at Thiès). The Senegalese government also has a travelling advisory service.

to enable them to become "animateurs".*

In spite of all the efforts made so far, there is a grave shortage of agricultural specialists in Senegal, and this is the field of technical education which is most in need of improvement.

* It is extremely difficult to select and train the people who are to do this work. Cf. "Pour être efficace, le vulgarisateur doit être un paysan, assez jeune, alphabétisé, dynamique, ouvert, parlant couramment le dialecte local. Il doit connaître parfaitement le milieu, aussi bien physique qu'humain, dans lequel il opère. Il doit posséder une solide formation technique englobant les pratiques agricoles coutumières et les techniques modernes qu'il a la charge de vulgariser. Il doit savoir parfaitement utiliser, régler, et entretenir les outils et les machines agricoles, employer correctement engrais, fongicides et insecticides...". Pierre Guéry: "La Vulgarisation Agricole".

(It is not unduly cynical to suggest that most young men who have these essential qualifications are usually too ambitious to be satisfied for long with the financially and socially unrewarding life offered to them as "animateurs" in isolated villages far from the opportunities to be grasped in the big towns).

Chapter V11: A Description of Higher Education.

Education in Senegal gives the outside observer the appearance of an obstacle race, with a series of eliminatory hurdles, and the winning post consisting of entrance to higher education. Only a select few ever manage to reach the end of the race. (The total number of Senegalese students at the University of Dakar at the end of 1968 was 1480)*.

Higher education in Senegal means the University of Dakar with its four faculties and its ten associated institutes. In addition to the University, there is the UNESCO financed Ecole Normale Supérieure where teachers are trained for lycées and collèges. Under construction and not yet functioning properly are the military academy at Thiès, and the training centre for journalists and broadcasters (Centres d'Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l'Information).

Just beginning its functions is the Ecole Nationale d'Administration du Sénégal, whose purpose is to train future top-level civil servants. It is also possible for students to pursue post-baccalaureat level studies in some of the specialised institutions depending on ministries other than the Ministry of Education.

* The University has its own office for statistics, the Bureau Universitaire de Statistiques, which publishes yearly statistics under the title: "Université de Dakar: Année Universitaire...: Informations Statistiques". Unless otherwise stated, the figures in this chapter are taken from the relevant year book of statistics.

There are a few establishments, like IDEP** in Dakar, which are part of the foreign aid programme to African countries generally, and which offer advanced courses in planning, economics and administration to selected graduates and senior civil servants from all over Africa.

The University of Dakar was founded by the French in 1950 for the education of students from the whole of French West Africa. It has shown a steady growth in the numbers of students enrolled, but the numbers of Senegalese students remain disappointingly low because of the lack of suitably qualified candidates for places. (For a degree course the minimum requirement is the baccalaureat).

In 1961 there were 520 Senegalese students at the University of Dakar. It was planned to increase this number to 1500 by 1964 (out of a planned capacity of 3000 students). The extra buildings to accommodate this increase were provided entirely by the French government, but even so, by 1968 the total number of students at the University was 3888, and of these, only 1480 were Senegalese***.

** IDEP is the popular short form of the name of this establishment: "Institut Africain du Développement Economique et de la Planification", run and financed solely by UNESCO, and staffed for the most part by foreign experts on a two year contract with UNESCO.

*** By no means all of these Senegalese students were pursuing degree-level studies. (This is one of the problems of higher education in Senegal).

By 1964 the enrollment of the University had increased to 2500 students, of whom 880 were Senegalese. The disquieting fact about these students is that no less than 527 were in the Faculty of Law, and 319 law students were only studying for the *Capacité en Droit**.

In both primary and secondary education we have seen that one of the problems is the enormous number of students who repeat one or more years of their course. This problem is more acute at the level of higher education. The total of Senegalese baccalaureat holders from 1961 to 1964 was a mere 494. If one assumes that every one of these went on to University, about one-third should have left after three years of study, that is at the end of the academic year 1964. During these years the number of baccalaureat holders remained roughly constant, so the numbers of students leaving should have been balanced by the numbers of fresh admissions, giving a total of about 500 students for the year 1964-5. During the three year period under discussion: 1961-4, a total of 65 Senegalese students were accepted for courses of study lasting longer than three years. A simple addition gives an expected total of about 520 Senegalese students at the University studying degree courses for the year 1964-5. Not counting students taking the *Capacité en Droit*, the actual numbers of Senegalese students at the University in this year was 670. This means that about 150 students (or about 25%) were

* This is a qualification which allows the holder to work as a solicitor's clerk, but which is not a degree level course and has absolutely no relevance to Senegal's needs in trained graduates.

repeating at least one year of the three year first degree course**.

The official figure for the average annual cost for each student at the University of Dakar is about £1500. If the estimate of 25% is taken as the yardstick of the average number of Senegalese students repeating the work of one or more years then the present unproductive cost of the Senegalese students at the University can be calculated at about half a million pounds sterling every year*. This problem therefore assumes grave economic importance.

The University is organised on a faculty basis. In 1968 the Faculty of Law and Economics was happy to announce that, for the first time since the inception of the University, there were more students engaged in degree studies at the Faculty than there were students for the "capacité en droit"***. The growth of this faculty showed an increase of 23% over the previous year. Senegalese students at this faculty numbered 794, and of these, 483 were following the capacité course. It is evident that

** My own calculation based on official statistics, but the situation is studied both in the Second Plan, and in "L'Etude sur les orientations d'un plan éducationnel à long terme au Sénégal"...Min, of Planning, 1965.

* This is calculated as 25% of the 1480 Senegalese students at the University in 1968, (=370) and multiplied by the average annual cost of each student, calculated in 1964 at £1500. (Survey of the costs of education in Senegal. Op.Cit.)

** 785 students taking first and higher degrees compared with 750 working for the capacité.

Senegal is achieving much less success in discouraging students from taking elementary level courses than most of the other African nations represented in the Faculty of Law (Only about 173 Senegalese students were taking economics in 1968).

In the Faculty of Arts (Lettres et Sciences Humaines⁽¹⁾), there were 323 Senegalese Students, of whom the majority were studying for the Diploma in Education.

In the Medical Faculty (Faculté Mixte de Médecine et Pharmacie), in spite of a 29% growth in the general totals of students, there were only 34 Senegalese students training to be doctors (in 1964 there were 52), 40 studying pharmacy, and only 1 taking dental surgery.

The Faculty of Science, with its new preparatory courses for the certificate in veterinary science, and a further new course leading to an elementary certificate in medical studies, proved very popular with Senegalese students, and there were no less than 252 in this faculty, of whom 165 were engaged in studies for the two new certificates.

This year, 1968, saw the creation of the new University Institute of Technology. This Institute is to prepare students directly for higher level administrative and technical positions in industry, commerce and in the public services. The new Institute was started by expanding the already existing Institut Polytechnique (which became the first department of the new Institute). There is a general preparatory year of study, followed by two further years of study leading to diplomas in physical sciences, chemistry and electricity, or alternatively general mechanics and rural engineering. Entrance is by competitive examination, and the normal basic requirement for admission is the

baccalaureat. There are at present about 29 Senegalese students in the preparatory year. This preparatory year is to improve the general scientific background of the students so that they satisfy the minimum standards for the courses offered. In other words, it is possible for a student to be accepted without having the baccalaureat providing that he can complete the preparatory year of basic studies satisfactorily*.

At one time it was charged that the University had little contact with the realities of the situation in Senegal. It was also said that there was too little co-operation between the faculties. This is no longer the case. Courses are being devised to meet the specific needs of African students. Furthermore, the University staff have made an extraordinary effort in the last few years to create a link between the University and the public at large. Teachers hold discussion groups, publish articles in the local paper (Dakar Matin), give public lectures

* If the new courses at the Institute of Technology prove worthwhile, it is planned to open more departments and institutes which will accept students who do not have the baccalaureat. The courses at these institutes would be shorter than the average university courses, the final certificates would be below degree level, and the courses would be specially conceived to provide an answer to African needs - both the needs of the students and the needs of the country. It will be the development of courses such as these which will determine whether the University of Dakar is to become economically viable or whether it will remain an enormous white elephant.

and broadcast frequently on Radio Senegal. Many research projects have been started with the aim of establishing the needs of Senegal and the part to be played by the University if these needs are to be satisfied**.

One way to ensure that the University fulfils its role in satisfying both the needs of the country and of the African students is to increase the numbers of Africans on the teaching staff. Although the French-controlled administrative body of the University has always been willing to consider very favourably applications for teaching posts from Africans, it has found few suitably qualified applicants. In the academic year 1964-5, only 33 Africans were employed in academic posts at the University*. The total number of academic posts at that time was 220. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future. As long as there is a predominance of European teachers at the University, it is hard to conceive that the courses dispensed there can be relevant to the needs of African students and African countries.

The only other establishment of importance in higher education is the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Dakar. Here, teachers are trained for posts in lycées and collèges. This establishment was set up, financed and staffed by UNESCO. It is now controlled by the Senegalese

** Very important research projects are being run by the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD) into language teaching and learning problems in Senegal, and a wide variety of research has been undertaken by the Faculty of Medicine.

* Only 19 of these Africans were lecturers, the others were laboratory assistants or employed in very minor non-teaching posts.

government, but many of the staff are still UNESCO experts, although it is proposed to Africanise the staff as soon as circumstances permit.

The students at the ENS follow a two year course leading to certificates in either History/Geography/English or Mathematics/Science. The numbers of teachers in training has increased from 97 in 1965 to 123 in 1967**. The ENS has never worked to full capacity because of lack of suitable qualified applicants for admission***.

The ENS has excellent courses given under ideal conditions, and the teachers are experts. The intention to replace foreign experts by local staff has not yet proceeded very far. Perhaps the standards demanded of candidates by the present staff are too high for many of the Senegalese at the school. If the ENS would accept students at a slightly lower level of academic attainment and lengthen the courses by one year to improve the general education of the students, it is possible that both the numbers of students at the ENS and the numbers of successful students graduating from the establishment would show a marked improvement.

The whole area of higher education in Senegal is fraught with problems. There are many issues and so many possibilities that any clear-cut policy on higher education is unlikely to be determined for at least ten years. Furthermore, as we shall see later in this study, the most promising avenues to explore in the future are likely to be barred for a long time to come because of tight French control over the administration and financing of the University*.

**Statistiques Scolaires: 1967-8. Later figures are not yet available.

***The head of the ENS blames administrative incompetence for this situation.

*See Chapter 13 on Foreign Aid, Chapter 19: Beyond the Third Plan, and Chapter 17 Past and Present Development of Higher Education.

Chapter VIII: A Description of the Education of Women.

An African woman, in a predominantly Moslem country, is traditionally inferior to a man no matter how equal her civil rights. However, in spite of this inferiority, the woman has a vital and essential role to play in the development of her country. She is the guardian of traditional ways, and is expected to teach children obedience to these ways and respect for them. The woman is in sole charge of the early education of the children, and builds the base for whatever instruction the children receive after leaving their mother's influence to begin their formal education.

It is, therefore, important to educate women, at least to the extent that they can better prepare their children for life at school, and make the first two or three years of formal education easier for their children.

Only the women are in a position quickly to improve standards of living, culture and education throughout the country. Yet, the majority of these women in Senegal are illiterate and cannot speak French*.

* ACLAD survey of Senegal, "Le Sénégal - population, langues, programmes scolaires" (Thippert, 1965), showed that, outside the large towns, about 98% of the women were illiterate and had insufficient command of French for any of the normal purposes of communication in this language.

More than this, far fewer girls receive education in Senegal than boys**.

Although married women have long been accorded a good deal of respect and importance within their families, it was never considered necessary to educate young girls. The girls were expected to learn all that they would ever need to know, to fulfil their role in society, merely by following the example of the older women in their communities.

In many cases the girls themselves have adopted the attitude that formal education is not necessary for them. (This attitude explains, in part, why women in Senegal have been content for so long to accept a lower level of instruction than the men). Women tend to be illiterate and uninstructed; they often fail to understand the need for social change, and usually it is the women who are resentful of any attempt to break with tradition*.

** Statistiques scolaires:

- 1). - 1963-4: 115,317 boys were receiving primary education in Senegal as opposed to 57,434 girls.
- 2). - 1967-8: 146,069 boys in primary education as opposed to 85,076 girls. This shows a happy increase in the numbers of girls receiving education, but it must be remembered that the proportion of women to men in the age group -1 to 44 years of age is 110 women to every 100 men. (These figures are taken from a thesis presented at the University of Dakar: L. Verrière: La Population du Sénégal (Aspects Quantitatifs): University of Dakar 1960).

* This argument is developed in "La Mère Africaine face à la Scolarisation", Min of Ed. 1962.

(Cont'd on page 81).

Apart from the traditional attitude of men towards women in a Moslem society, the disparity in educational opportunities between boys and girls has an historical explanation. During the years of colonialism only men were required for positions in employment demanding educational qualifications. Women were never expected to do anything more intellectual than washing and ironing and other domestic work.

In addition, many families are unwilling to allow young girls to start on long courses of studies. A girl begins to be useful around the house at the age of five. Her most productive years of work for the family are from about seven to fifteen years of age. She helps in the fields, digging, planting, harvesting, and in the house, cooking, cleaning and looking after younger children. The young girls are given the most time-consuming jobs in an African household: fetching water and looking for fire-wood for the cooking fires. Although girls should be receiving their formal education during these years, it is not unnatural that many families should be unwilling to release such a valuable source of labour.

Even if a girl is allowed to attend school, she is usually obliged to perform her household tasks before school in the morning and after school at night. She is often kept away from school if there is extra work to be

(Cont'd from page 80).

It is of great social importance that women should not be illiterate and uneducated. Social workers have traced a significant correlation between illiterate and yet respectable home backgrounds and the high incidence of juvenile prostitution among the young girls from these homes. "La Delinquance Juvénile à Dakar", Pierre, Flamand, Collomb, 1963.

done, or if there is illness in the house. In these circumstances, her school results inevitably suffer, and she does not justify her place in the school. For this reason alone, when school places are in short supply, many teachers are unwilling to accept girls in the schools unless all the boys in the area are already being catered for. Furthermore, private firms are usually unwilling to spend money on the training of women because of the high absentee rate among married women with children, and because most African girls marry so young that the firms never get the benefit of any attempts made to instruct and train them.

There are two approaches to the education of women in Senegal. There is education of the young girls in the schools, and education of the older women outside the formal system of education, by means of travelling lecturers, wireless programmes, and even an experimental television education service organised by UNESCO.

In the school system, apart from the normal academic forms of education, there is considerable opportunity for girls to receive the type of technical education which will be most useful to them and to the country. There are three "Centres d'Etudes Techniques Féminins - CETF - in which the young girls train for professional qualifications in mothercraft, social work and commercial studies. The CETF courses start with a two year preparatory course, followed by three years of study leading to the CAP. At the end of this course, the girls can leave and start work, or they may go on to one of the Ecoles de la Santé, or to the Centre Pédagogique Féminin.

The Ecoles de la Santé consist of the Ecole des Aides Sociales, which takes candidates after the Certificate of Primary Studies - CEPE -

and gives them a two year course of training to be assistant nurses or social workers: the Ecole des Infirmières d'Etat, which recruits its pupils from holders of the BEPC (or the CAP Aide Maternelle) and trains them to be nurses after a two year course: the Ecole des Sage-Femmes, which takes CAP or BEPC holders and trains them to be mid-wives after three years of study. A few girls go on to the Ecole des Assistantes Sociales, and it is hoped to start an Ecole des Assistantes Techniques which will give training in technical subjects beyond the level of the baccalaureat. There are about 300 girls in training at the Ecole Normale de Jeunes Filles at Thiès.

Throughout the country there are the Centres de Formation des Ménagères Rurales, in which girls who have a minimum qualification of the CEPE are trained for two years in domestic science subjects relevant to rural African conditions - instruction is given, for example, in elementary hygiene, planning diets, the upbringing of children and so on.

The Ecole Normale d'Enseignement Technique Féminin takes pupils who have the BEPC or CAP and trains them for three years. The teachers in this establishment are French Assistantes Techniques or UNESCO experts, but the aim is eventually to produce Senegalese teaching personnel in technical subjects. There are very few students at this institution at present.

The Centre National de Formation de Monitrices Rurales at Thiès was founded with FAO money, and its aim was to form people who could educate peasant women, transform their way of living within their communities, and organise their work and family lives along more modern lines. The minimum qualifications required for entry to this establishment

are that the girls should be at least eighteen years old, and should have completed the second term of the second year class at a secondary school - that is, the girls should have had a minimum of a year and half of the secondary education.

This establishment trains the girls to the level of the BEPC or the CAP over a period of three years. The girls must give a guarantee of future service to the country for a minimum period of ten years after leaving the centre. There is a department to train teachers who will eventually replace the foreign experts at the centre. (It is proposed to recruit all future teachers from among monitrices who have had at least four years experience of service in the field).

The number of girls being educated in Senegal has shown an increase in the last few years, but the situation is still by no means satisfactory. This explains the importance attached to schemes outside the formal system of education.

One of these schemes is the UNESCO pilot project involving the use of television. This project was devised for the general social education of women, and for the purpose of the experiment, five hundred women from different social backgrounds in Dakar were chosen to act as guinea pigs*.

* Of these 500 women, 75% were illiterate. 33% married with five or more children 33% married with no children, and 33% unmarried. Ages ranged from 16 to 50, but more than half the test group was in the 16 to 25 age group.

For full details see : L'UNESCO: Projet-Pilote, Ba, UNESCO Working Paper, Dakar, 1968.

The number of women participating in the experiment is small, but the results obtained so far are significant because they show that the urban women, no matter what her background, is prepared and able to make the effort to understand modern life and developments. Any move whatsoever which helps to overcome the intellectual inertia of the average uneducated African is a step in the right direction, and the unqualified success of this UNESCO experiment should encourage further ventures of the same type.

In the villages the twin barriers of ignorance and a slavish regard for tradition present greater obstacles than they do in the towns*. Nevertheless, in spite of the problems of distance and isolation, the government is making a determined effort to overcome ignorance in the rural areas.

The Service de Cantines Scolaires is in charge of the setting up and supervision of school canteens in those villages where there is marked malnutrition, or where children have to travel exceptionally long distances to school. This Service also explains to the teachers in village schools what sort of crops should be planted in the school

* Even in the towns tradition can represent a great barrier. After an African doctor had explained modern methods of treating dysentery and malaria to a group of African town-women, a survey of the group at the end of the lecture showed that over 50% of the women rejected the modern way of treating dysentery and 25% were not convinced of the effectiveness of the modern treatment for malaria. Cf: Ba, Op. Cit.

vegetable garden, it issues recipes and advice about cooking problems. The Staff of the Service pay visits to the women in the villages, trying to explain why certain diets are better for the children than others**, and what can be done even in primitive homes to improve the general standards of health and hygiene.

The health services regularly send visitors to the schools and villages to inspect the children, but perhaps the most important aspect of their work is to advise and instruct the mothers in matters concerning personal and general hygiene, living conditions, treatment of disease, mothercraft and baby-care. The international volunteer organisations send out young students to live among the people in the villages, and especially important is the example set to the women by the young American and English girls living in their midst.

Whenever wives of the local chiefs are found to be capable and intelligent, one welfare service or another tries to enlist their help in social welfare activities among the peasant women in that district. Such women as these, although by no means trained social workers, are helping to change the whole traditional attitude and habits of Senegalese women.

** There are still many taboos concerning certain types of food in primitive regions. For instance, some tribes will not allow pregnant women to eat eggs; certain sorts of perfectly edible fish are forbidden, certain spices proscribed, and so on. In the face of the determined approach of patient and trained social workers, such taboos are gradually giving ground, and general standards of physical health are improving.

These activities show that the government appreciates the necessity for educating women and girls, and the comparative success of the measures adopted shows that the women are capable of being educated and are willing to make the necessary effort. The difficulty is that there is a grave shortage of feminine leadership, and there are not enough trained women to build on the foundation of the encouraging results which have been obtained so far. If one accepts the view that the training and education of women is a vitally important factor in a developing country*, then it is apparent that Senegal must adopt even more energetic measures to bring this about than it is doing at the present.

It is my opinion that the majority of girls educated in State schools in Senegal have not had a training which equips them fully to play their role in the development of the country. It is important that the programme of instruction for girls should be revised, and that the present academic courses should be replaced by shorter courses leading to other more practical studies.

* M. Badiane, Minister for Technical Education, once said: "The education of women, far from being considered a secondary matter, must, on the contrary, be given the utmost priority because of its great importance... and should be made the object of studies, and special solutions must be arrived at to solve the problems involved... An emerging country will be slowed up in its development, if not stopped altogether, if a conscious effort is not made to bring women to the same standard of educational development as the men"...

"La Femme: Education, Promotion". Ministry of Technical Ed. Dakar, 1964
(Formation)

PART TWO:

EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE FORMAL SYSTEM.

Chapter IX: Illiteracy and Related Problems.

One of the difficulties in Senegal is the problem of communication and dissemination of information. It will be difficult to make great strides towards development until a substantial proportion of the population can be brought to a practical level of literacy.

In the large towns there are many social workers, educators, administrators and planners. In the isolated areas there is great demand for the services of these trained people. Unfortunately, due to prohibitive costs and difficulties of transportation, shortage of personnel and inadequate facilities, the majority of villages do not come into contact with these experts.

Radio can help to bridge the communication gap between the villages and the towns, and it is indeed now being used by UNESCO in pilot experiments to educate the rural populations in "the central groundnut basin" area of Senegal.*

Books and pamphlets would bridge the cultural gap even more effectively than radio, since they ensure a continuous source of information and at the same time constitute a ready supply of material for reference. The difficulty is that too many Senegalese are too uninstructed to be able to profit from printed material.**

* These experiments only started in late 1967 and no results have so far been published, not even in the form of a working paper.

** The government, nevertheless, prepares and distributes a great many simple illustrated booklets about farming and medical matters.

In the villages a small proportion of the people have received some form of instruction - usually from the Ecole Coranique - but this education rarely extends beyond a sketchy knowledge of some of the characters in the Arabic alphabet and a rudimentary acquaintance with some of the principal chapters of the Koran. It has been established that throughout Senegal the practical level of illiteracy in rural areas is about 92% for males over the age of ten, and about 98% for females.*

It is important to concentrate the available resources on the education of people who seem most fitted to give the greatest return for the instruction they receive, that is to say, the village headmen in the country districts and foremen and leaders of labour in the towns. UNESCO is again helping in these projects by providing courses for the leaders of village co-operative farming associations throughout the country.** It is plain that if the leaders of any society or community are literate, then the chances of achieving a new outlook in a country which is bound by strict traditions are appreciably increased.

It is essential in a country where there are at least five major languages, and several minor ones, that a fixed policy should be made to govern which language should be used as the medium of communication. French has been chosen as the official language for this purpose, but a great number of people, in fact the majority of those over the age of ten, do not understand French. If French is to be used for education, then, clearly,

* These figures are taken from the CLAD survey by Thippet (already mentioned), which in its turn derived much of its information from UNESCO sources and from the thesis written by M. Verrière in 1960.

** See Chapter XIX: Possible future development of these schemes.

more people must be taught to speak it: hence the importance of the experiments organised by the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, CLAD, into methods of teaching languages. If the local languages could be used for educational purposes, and there would be many advantages to be gained from this, then it would first of all be essential to carry out an enormous amount of costly research to draw up a logical and acceptable system of transcription (none of the local languages have a recognised written form, although various missionaries have made different attempts to reproduce the languages in writing), to work on drawing up a unified system of grammar and vocabulary, and to regularise the usage in different regions.*

In developing countries the ability to read and write is recognised as an enviable achievement. This simple ability is thought to be a guarantee of obtaining a good job or advancement in whatever sphere of life one moves. The ability to read and write is creating a dividing line between the young who are rapidly developing a more modern outlook, and the old who have, for the most part, remained both illiterate and true to the old ways of life.

The traditional organisation of life in the villages has been greatly affected by the pressures created by the division between young and old. The older generation are struggling to preserve their former authority and prestige, and the young are trying to introduce new methods and ways of thought. The old ways are dying slowly in the country, but the new ways have

*In 1968 in Bamako (Mali) there was a conference of linguists to consider the problems to be solved before African languages can be used effectively as a means of instruction. The only conclusion reached was that more research was necessary to permit the problem to be considered scientifically.

quickly gained ground in the towns. It is in the towns that there is most demand for education, and it is to the towns that the young men come from their villages in quest of knowledge and opportunity, and filled with the ambition to succeed in life.

Thus, training people to read and write initially drives a wedge between the generations, especially in countries where tradition has in the past always been strongly respected. It creates social unrest, and for a time may even give the impression of doing more harm than good. A painful period of transition is necessary when a country is determined to develop rapidly, to shake off old habits and to assume new ones. For each step along the road to progress and development there is a price to pay in terms of unrest and uncertainty. Senegal is certainly no exception in this respect, and labour and student troubles in 1968 and 1969 underline the difficulties the country is experiencing.

Sociologists consider that it is desirable to eradicate illiteracy, not because it is in itself an evil thing in a country where there is in any case a flourishing oral tradition, but because it acts as a brake on progress and development. An illiterate woman can only be taught with the greatest difficulty how to improve the living conditions of her family; an illiterate man cannot be given written instructions or even read the labels on his tools; the illiterate child will never be able to play a full part in the modern technological development of his country. This is the tragedy of the illiterate; he can never participate in the broader affairs of the nation; he remains a man apart, and his talents may lie forever hidden, unsuspected and unused.*

* International Conference of Ministers of Education, 1965: "Teaching adults

The problem of illiteracy is particularly acute in African countries, where the population is increasing relatively quickly, and where the budget for development is strained to the limit. Given the two factors of population growth and restricted funds, and taking into account the number of children who leave school before their knowledge of reading and writing is sufficiently profound to remain with them for life*, it is not surprising that in Senegal, and African countries generally, the number of illiterates is increasing in spite of all the attempts being made to combat illiteracy.**

It is necessary, therefore, to concentrate these efforts in those sectors of society where they will be most effective. The ideal time to attack illiteracy is between the ages of fourteen and forty-five, both by reason of the comparative youth of the people to be instructed, and by virtue of the fact that illiterates in this age-group will have considerable

(Continued from footnote on previous page).

to read and write should be closely linked to the economic and social priorities of the country, and should take note of present and future requirements of trained labour. Far from being an aim in itself, it should be conceived with a view to preparing a man for the part he will play in the social and civic and economic development of his country...Teaching people to read and write should help to increase not merely general elementary education...but knowledge about the world, leading to improved standards of culture."

*Findings of UNESCO research suggest that a child must have at least four years in a primary school for basic elementary education to leave a lasting impression.

** Conclusion drawn from : "L'Analyse de l'Analphabétisme dans les pays en voie de Développement", Vaugrante, UNESCO, Dakar, 1968.

incentives in learning how to read and write. (It is not necessary to concentrate efforts on the below fourteen age-group because a high percentage of these children are receiving their instruction in the schools.) The illiterate is usually intelligent enough to realise that the literate man will have every sort of advantage both in finding work and in gaining promotion. The illiterate woman can appreciate the benefits to herself and her family if she will learn to read and write.

This is the background to a project being carried out by UNESCO and by the Senegalese government. Initiated in 1965, the project had these aims: to help to accelerate the development of education in both urban and rural areas; to increase the effectiveness of the movement for adult education; to contribute to and improve attempts to stamp out illiteracy; to help to adapt educational programmes to the needs of Africa. This is an especially important project because of the emphasis placed on teaching a wide variety of socially important subjects while, at the same time, making an effort to combat illiteracy.

The project was preceded by a year of intense research among women and workers in Dakar, to determine what their needs were and how these needs could best be answered. It was in 1967 that the first UNESCO attempts were made to relate the teaching of literacy to the overall educational needs of the people who were to be instructed. Out of these attempts was born the Centre National de Formation et d'Action which is located at Rufisque just outside Dakar. This centre is designed to receive and instruct illiterate workers. (The application of this project to the education of women has already been described. See Chapter VIII).

The first principle adopted was that the programme of instruction should also include elementary arithmetic and practice in simple technical

operations. The method of teaching was to assemble the groups selected for instruction and to let them watch television programmes, at the end of which there were explanations and practical work under the guidance of a trained monitor who was equipped with notes and explanations given as a guide to the programmes by the planners.

The success of the scheme has become quickly apparent, and it is planned to introduce such programmes into the Senegalese television service when it opens during the period 1973-5.

The advantages of using television are obvious.*It creates an immediate visual appeal, and quickly establishes a willingness to learn in the pupil. It is much easier to explain a new idea if the teacher can be seen as well as heard, and the presence in the classroom of a trained monitor helps to reinforce the impact of the lessons. The novelty value of television in a country where all the people are ardent cinema-goers is an enormous asset to educators.

*The idea of using television and radio was not a new one. The Senegalese radio for some time has been emitting broadcasts designed for the cultural and civic development of its listeners. What the pilot television scheme has achieved is to underline the significant role to be played in the education of illiterates by modern means of mass communication. It has made clear the need for detailed research in order to define the aims of such education, and has emphasised that any form of education must be strictly linked to the needs both of the pupils and of the country. Finally, it has shown that both radio and television have an advantage over other forms of education in that they allow huge audiences to be reached by a comparatively small number of teachers, and permit the local languages to be used for much of the instruction given.

The UNESCO report about the Pilot Project * ends with these words:

"Present day Senegalese society, like almost every other society in under-developed countries, is in a period of transition. The transition is characterised by the contrast and conflict between traditions and modern techniques. In this confrontation the individual is constantly torn between his past and his future ways of living"...

"This is why Dakar's experiment is important. In the last analysis it was a question of bringing, in Dakar,... Senegalese men and women to be more fully aware of the period of transition in which they are living ... Television offers every reason to believe that, in view of the results obtained in Dakar, modern methods of communication are the best. But what has been done in Dakar would be in vain if it does not lead to the position where this experiment is made the point of departure for a global strategy of social education in undeveloped countries".

The UNESCO project in Dakar is not the only one concerned with teaching illiterates and with spreading social education. For several years now there have been other campaigns with these aims in mind. The Bopp Experiment in Dakar is perhaps one of the oldest and most valuable. (The name Bopp comes from the rather poor district in Dakar where the centre is situated). The Bopp scheme was started as a private venture by joint Senegalese and French organisations. The government of Senegal has supported the experiment in many ways over the last nine years - gifts of land, building materials, funds and personnel.

* Ba. Op. Cit.

As a result of research for an effective and appropriate means of education, courses were started at the Centre for about 200 women and girls**. Other courses were started in other areas of Dakar. The first women to be trained at the Centre, together with trained voluntary technicians, have since helped to continue and expand the work of the Centre.

In order to arouse the interests of the women, regular seminars were organised, at which subjects such as civics, education, health, food, hygiene, the family budget, and so on, were discussed and illustrated by demonstrators using the local language, Wolof.

Once initial contact had been made with a large number of women, and when they had been taught to realise that they had an important role to play both in their families and in the country as a whole, and once they saw that technical training was necessary for them in order that they should be able to face up to modern life, a school of household management for illiterate women was established. With the help of State-trained technical teachers this establishment is trying to devise courses to teach Senegalese housewives the best way to combine modern and traditional methods for the organisation of their households.

The women want a minimum of training in reading and writing such as to render them free and independent in urban society. They want information concerning the structure of the modern state and the services available to them. They need training to enable them to improve their living

** The facts and figures in this and the following paragraphs are taken mainly from: I Poznanski: "L'Expérience du Centre de Bopp à Dakar", Dakar, 1964.

conditions and their household work and satisfy both the modern and the traditional demands of their husbands. They want to learn new techniques (sewing, knitting, etc) either in order to add to the family budget or in order to acquire a certain degree of economic independence, since they are conscious of their lack of security in urban surroundings, where divorces, illegitimate children and deserted wives are to be found in increasing numbers.

This experiment convinced the organisers that "the education of women, and particularly the education of mothers regarding the care to be given to their children and the supervision of their health is more fully imparted when included in an all-round basic education".*

It was decided to broaden the scope of the experiment, and to try to give instruction to families as a whole. The Centre was opened to young people of all ages. The older ones are organised in a Club, to which they come every evening. It was decided to organise continuation classes so as to enable young people, too old for State schools, to complete either their primary education or the first cycle of secondary education.

The evenings are also reserved for reading or writing classes for men, the majority of whom are workers handicapped in their work by their inability to speak French.

Over the years the Centre has thus developed a highly varied social programme adapted to the requirements of the population. A number of students give lessons on a voluntary basis. "Those who have profited from the centre learn the habit of mutual assistance; for example pupils in the

* Poznanski. Op. Cit.

BEPC class give elementary lessons in reading and writing. This is civics in the making, first of all in a well defined framework, but which will later be expressed in the surroundings where these young people find themselves once their vocational training is completed. We find them, for example, as teachers in country districts carrying on voluntary work among the youth or collaborating with the development services".*

There has been, for at least five years, a series of programmes for rural and urban development. The government sends travelling lecturers around the country, or else the "animateurs ruraux" or the "vulgarisateurs"', as part of their work, give elementary instruction in reading and writing and social education in the districts and villages to which they are assigned. Occasionally there are more substantial campaigns to combat illiteracy. During the long summer holiday from mid-July to October, the Government sometimes tries to persuade all schoolchildren and students who can read and write to attempt to teach other people who cannot.***

* Poznanski: Op. Cit.

** See the Chapter on Technical Education, Pages 68-9.

*** These schemes have not been very successful for several reasons. The young school children possess neither the training nor the authority to be efficient teachers; the long holidays coincide with the busiest time of the agricultural year, and few people have the time or the energy to attend lessons; there is rarely the time or opportunity to have any form of follow-up programme or continued supervision.

One of the difficulties to be overcome in any widespread attempt to combat illiteracy, as we have seen, is the enormous problem of communicating in French with a population largely ignorant of this language. This problem underlines the importance attached to the efforts of the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar to improve the standards of language teaching in Senegal. We shall consider these efforts and experiments in the next chapter.

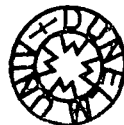
Chapter X: Research into Language Teaching.

Although the research and experiments in this chapter take place within the framework of formal education, they have been placed here not merely because their importance warrants that they should be treated in detail but also because they are still experimental and have not yet been put into general wide-spread use in the Senegalese school system.

In 1960 the Ministry of National Education issued a report, "L'Enseignement du Français et des Mathématiques dans les Ecoles Primaires", about the teaching of French and arithmetic in primary schools. In this report, concern was expressed about primary school leavers who had no well-founded knowledge either of French or of elementary arithmetic. The report gave this situation as the main reason to explain the high failure rate in examinations at the end of the first cycle of secondary education, and explain why children who left primary school and who did not pursue their education further, soon forgot all they had learnt at school.

The report examined some of the possible causes of this disquieting situation, and concluded that the only solution to the problem was to concentrate almost exclusively on the teaching of French and arithmetic during the last two years of the primary school programme. Only by improving the standards attained in these two subjects would it be possible "to obtain the results expected, and to give the pupils the foundation necessary to enable them to follow fruitfully and in the best circumstances the academic and professional studies to which they are destined".*

* Min of Ed. report already cited in paragraph two.



As a result of this report there were several conferences and investigations into the possible causes of the poor levels of attainment reached by school children in these subjects. Most of this exploratory work was carried out by the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, and as a result of the research it was suggested that several factors were responsible.

In general, it was found, there was not a sufficiently accurate method of selecting the pupils for primary schools; the classrooms were over-crowded; the average age of the children was tending to fall as more and more younger children were accepted into the schools. Discipline in the classrooms was poor and the standards of acceptable performance in the end-of-year tests was too low.

As far as the effectiveness of the teachers was concerned, it was found* that too many had had insufficient training, they were not conscientious, some arrived late for lessons, and some were in the habit of taking too much time off school without good reason. Their methods were not flexible and there was far too much concentration on making the pupils learn things by heart even though it was obvious that the children did not understand what they were learning.

In the classrooms visited during the course of the research the general impression gained by the investigators was that the children were not taught accurately and the teachers themselves did not speak good French. Their vocabulary was weak and their understanding was poor.

* Conclusion taken from: L'Enseignement du Langage dans les écoles primaires du Sénégal, Thiriet, CLAD, 1967.

The books used were poorly adapted to the needs and knowledge of the pupils, and since the books were designed in the first place for the use of young French children the exercises and reading passages were far too complicated for young Africans.

The standards of writing were poor, and in spoken French it was found that very few of the children used any other than short words or simple phrases and interjections whose meaning was amplified by the liberal use of gestures. Reading ability was under-developed, and was usually restricted to the mere recognition of individual letters or very short words. In the majority of cases, elementary rules of grammar were not known, or if known were not applied. The general picture emerging from the surveys was that of a situation intolerable in a country where French is the official language.

Deeper research into the causes of the deplorable standards in French revealed that French is only used on certain occasions by the pupils. For example, it was discovered** that although French was the essential means of communication when trying to express any intellectual activity, it was employed by children in the classroom only when the teachers vigorously insisted on its use. French is used when talking to Africans who do not know the local language, and to strangers in general. Even when French is used, the children speak a sort of pidgin French in which there are many African constructions, and much vocabulary derived from African languages. The children themselves feel that they fumble for words in French, and do not express themselves clearly or fluently.

** Ibidem. (Thiriet op.cit.)

At home, French is rarely spoken for the simple reason that the parents do not understand it, and often pupils refuse to speak anything but the local language even if they can express themselves in French. In towns, French is used if it is not possible to find anyone who speaks the local language. It is used in large stores and in offices, but even here it is quickly given up if it is found possible to converse in one of the local languages.

In short, therefore, the Senegalese do not use French for the everyday transactions of their business, and although children may be obliged to use French in the classroom, they revert to the use of their mother-tongue as soon as they leave the influence of the teacher*.

The social obstacles preventing the effective teaching of French in Senegal are clearly very important. The Linguistic difficulties are of equal importance. After considerable analysis of the mistakes made by Senegalese children it was found that the greater percentage of errors were caused by the interference exerted by the mother-tongue of the children**. Other mistakes were often the result of faulty teaching, and the repetition of misunderstood expressions and constructions which had been learnt by heart. "The most serious difficulty, however, was the

* "A Dakar un bon Sénégalais parle le wolof. Il s'en suit que la pratique du français est réduite au maniement d'un vocabulaire plus ou moins technique, et déborde rarement les heures de présence en classe". Thiriet, Op. Cit.

** "Recherche des principales interférences dans les systèmes verbaux de l'anglais, du wolof et du français". S. Grelier, 1967.

complete inability of most of the pupils to express themselves clearly and fluently on simple subjects - some pupils retreated into obstinate silence, and others gave nonsensical answers when they were asked questions".***

The Centre Linguistique de Dakar grew out of the efforts to resolve these problems, and was specially charged with the responsibility for improving the teaching of French, and for carrying out a programme of research into the problems posed by the interference of the various languages spoken in Senegal. The researches were originally directed at drawing up linguistic inventories of the languages spoken in Senegal, and towards making comparative studies between different African languages, and between those languages and French. (Later English was introduced into the research programme)****. It was hoped that the results of this research would be given wide circulation in non-technical language in the press, on the radio and in the schools.

In 1963-4 CLAD, with the support and encouragement of the Ministry of Education started to collect all available information about language teaching in Senegal, and began to set up its own training and research programmes in African languages and French. An information service was to be established, new text-books devised, and wherever possible audio-visual methods were to be used in teaching. It was decided that extra lessons in the schools should be devoted to practising spoken French, and that to avoid later lapses from acceptable standards, aspects of the

*** Enquête sur les langues parlées au Sénégal par les élèves de l'enseignement primaire - Wioland CLAD - 1966.

**** Fondements théoriques d'une méthode d'anglais pour le Sénégal.
Rudigoz, CLAD, 1966.

spoken language, such an intonation and pronunciation should be emphasised right from the start of language learning instead of being left as unimportant matters for the pupils to pick up as they went along.

CLAD has achieved some creditable results. Working through the Bureau Pédagogique in Dakar it has inspired teachers to a greater insistence on correct French. It has drawn up a series of specimen lessons suitable for the various levels in primary schools, and has established a new French* course which recognises that African children have special linguistic problems, and different linguistic needs from European children.

To overcome the difficulty created by poorly trained and inadequate teachers, CLAD has maintained close co-operation with the school radio service** which now provides, during term-time, daily morning programmes designed to stimulate the interest of the children and to provide them with instruction in basic pronunciation and constructions which are often beyond the scope of the teacher to explain.

It is the ambition of President Senghor of Senegal that one day his country will play a great part in international affairs. In Africa the most commonly spoken language is English, and outside Africa, English is

* The research work into the teaching of English has begun, but naturally it is not so developed as the work on the teaching of French. Specimen text-books and radio programmes for use in the teaching of English have already been prepared, and the first lessons will be given in six schools in Dakar next year, 1970.

** The radio sets used in the classrooms were donated by the French Government.

more widely spoken than any other language (with the exception of Chinese). With these considerations in mind, it is to be expected that CIAD will develop its research work into the teaching of English in Senegal, and that, in the not too distant future, English teaching will become just as important as French.

It is difficult to give a quantitative assessment of the success of the CIAD experiments. Figures are rarely published and it is in any case almost impossible to obtain statistical comparisons between the results obtained under the old methods and those obtained under the new. What can serve as a guide are the reactions of the teachers, the pupils and the inspectors, and these, almost without exception, are favourable towards the new methods. In March 1968 in a radio broadcast in which the new methods were discussed, the school inspectors said that results now showed that over 75% of the pupils following the CIAD course were making good progress, whereas only about 20% of the children being taught in the old way were making comparable progress.

Teachers in primary schools and in CEG's have told me that there is no doubt at all that the pupils being taught by the new audio-visual methods are making much better progress than those in the control classes being taught in the conventional way. Pupils find that they have greater confidence in their ability to handle both the spoken and the written language correctly, and teachers feel more competent to teach the subject, secure in the knowledge that they are following a scheme of lessons devised by experts and intended specifically for African children.

There is an excellent advisory service run by the Bureau Pédagogique and the school inspectors.

The planning of the lessons, and the printed teaching instructions and audio-visual materials which accompany them, more than compensate for any inadequacy of the teachers' training.

The significance of the CLAD researches and experiments is that they reveal that a language teaching programme involving audio-visual aids need not be prohibitively costly. At its inception, the cost of the programme was high because of the amount of research and equipping to be done, but as the project continues, and involves more classes, the cost for each pupil has fallen substantially, and improved results seem to justify the slight overall increase in cost, especially taking into account that the experiments have also provided a means of retraining teachers and of ensuring acceptable standards of teaching at little or no extra cost to the country.

Using radio, charts, flannel boards, interesting text-books, and issuing copious guidance notes to the teachers, a small team of specialists can control with precision the education of vast numbers of young children. This would seem a good solution to the shortage of teachers, at least in the elementary schools. The success of such methods of teaching make it certain that experiments of this type will be developed further, and perhaps put into practice for the mass-teaching of adults. Undoubtedly, the use of radio, in an age when even the poorest of Senegalese peasants has ready access to a transistor radio, should provide real hope of developing some form of universal elementary education before the end of the first quarter of the twenty-first century.

Chapter X1: Youth Organisations.

In a country where few children go to school, and in which an even smaller number have the opportunity to continue studying beyond the most elementary level, there is urgent need for educational work and social development programmes to be carried on within the framework of the youth organisations, whether these organisations are private or public, whether they are similar to the boy scout movement in Europe, or based on the equally well-known Catholic youth movements.

Scouting has been known in Senegal since 1935, and although it has never been a mass movement it has produced many of the instigators and directors of the other youth schemes in the country. These other schemes have achieved much wider support than the original scouting movement. Directly inspired by the patterns and the organisation of scouting are the youth association affiliated to the UPS - (Union Progressiste Sénégalaise - the only political party in Senegal) - and also the Catholic association "Coeurs Vaillants - Ames Vaillantes". It is difficult to reach an accurate assessment of the numbers of young people involved in these movements, but a reasonable estimate for all the associations combined would probably put the total at about 25000 members*.

* The official figures in 1965 showed about 7500 scouts, 5000 members of the UPS association, and 7500 members of the various Catholic movements. These official figures given by the Ministère de la Jeunesse, are only an estimate.

The Catholic Church is also responsible for youth movements of a different nature, the purpose of which is to interest young people in their surroundings, to make them aware of what needs to be done to improve those surroundings, while at the same time dispensing the more traditional types of education - teaching young people, for example, how to read and write. These associations, La Jeunesse Agricole (JAC), La Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique (JEC), and La Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique (JOC) have only met with limited success, partly because of the religious implications of the movements, partly through lack of funds, and partly because of the attractions of other forms of youth activity.

There exist many traditional forms of organisations for young people - dancing associations, sports groups, singing clubs and so on. These associations still exist, but they have given rise in Senegal, over the last twenty years or so, to societies and groups which are more cultural in intent.

Following the French example, the organisers of the scouting movement created the "Maisons de la Jeunesse et de la Culture" which were to serve as meeting places for the exchange of ideas and the propagation of culture, and which were to be open to all groups and individuals without exception. The Maisons de Jeunes are self-administering under a Director, an Administrative Council made up of local dignitaries (mayor, school inspector, teachers), and a House Council consisting of the elected representatives of the members of the Maison. These establishments receive financial and other assistance from the Government, but are expected to finance and organise most of their programmes from their own resources. Most of the control of the Maisons is

in the hands of the young members themselves, and the young people, resenting the idea of losing their autonomy, were strongly opposed to the creation, in 1963, of the Centres Culturels, which were to be much more closely controlled by the Ministry for Popular Education, Youth and Sport. This opposition did not prevent, however, the establishment of the Centres Culturels*, but it did ensure that shortly after their inception the Ministry of Education decided to convert the Centres Culturels into Maisons de Jeunes et de la Culture, organised along exactly the same lines as the old-style Maisons de Jeunes**.

La Fédération Sénégalaise des Foyers et des Maisons de Jeunes et de la Culture now has about 100 centres throughout the country, and about 30,000 members. Co-ordination of the activities is supposed to be ensured at the national level by the Ministry for Youth and the Union Nationale de la Jeunesse du Sénégal which was formed in 1962 to act as a liaison organisation between the various youth organisations in Senegal at that time. In actual fact there is little co-ordination or effective central administration, and the success or failure of any particular centre is dependent almost entirely on the enthusiasm of the personnel and members, and is at the same time directly proportionate to the outside distractions.

* The Centres Culturels were established with these aims: "The formation and the development of a native Senegalese elite... The Centre Culturel should play an important role in the creation of this elite...and should ensure the quiet acceptance of this elite in the new African society"...

Issa Diop, Op. cit.

** A simpler form of the Maison de Jeunes et de la Culture are the Foyers de Jeunes, which have the same organisation but are smaller centres created for the more outlying towns.

offered by the town in which the centre is situated. In a busy and cosmopolitan town like Dakar, attendance is, comparatively speaking, far less satisfactory than in a little town like Ziguinchor in the South of Senegal.

In addition to the cultural centres there are a number of sporting associations, directly under the control of the Ministry of Sport, which cater for twelve different types of sport at all levels of proficiency from beginners to international competitions. A Centre National de l'Education Populaire et Sportive was created in 1960 to train the personnel essential to the success of the sporting associations. The programme of training was expanded in 1962, but the production of trained coaches and instructors is still far from adequate. In the schools the majority of sporting activities are controlled by French assistants techniques. Outside the schools, only the very largest centres have trained staff, and the shortage of competent teachers is particularly felt in athletics*.

It will be appreciated that associations outside the schools only cater for a small percentage of the total population of young people in the country. This percentage appears even less impressive when it is realised that the people who benefit from these extra-school activities are often children who are already enjoying some form of schooling, and

* In physique and natural ability the Senegalese are fine athletes, and in the days of French administration the most distinguished athletes and sportsmen in West Africa came from Senegal. The present decline in standards of athletic performance is caused by shortage of money and trained instructors.

that consequently the associations are, more often than not, merely supplementing the formal system of education instead of giving a chance of development and general education to children who can obtain neither elsewhere.

It is, however, necessary to recall that, limited as their achievements are, because of financial and other factors, the associations are making a real and valuable contribution to the attempts being made to solve the problems of education in Senegal.

The justification for giving official support and recognition to the various schemes was that the educational system proper was not reaching enough children, and those who were not lucky, or who gave up their studies before the end of their courses, were often discontented and represented (and still represent) a serious threat of delinquency and social unrest. Often, children who have had no education prefer to live by crime rather than to do what they consider as degrading manual work. They are drawn by the glitter of the towns, and they fall into bad company and anti-social behaviour.

The Government, aware of this situation and recognising it as a dangerous and socially disruptive condition, decided to support the idea of extra-school activities and youth associations, seeing in them a palliative, if not a cure, for a disturbing problem. It is unfortunate, in these circumstances, that greater efforts are not being made to ensure that the young people who are reached by the associations are the type of children who will derive the greatest social and educational benefit from this contact.

Although the Maisons de Jeunes are concerned with the formal education of illiterates, they also serve as centres for dances, song clubs, play productions and the showing of films. Other youth clubs are invited to use their premises, and an effort is made to plan special programmes for women and girls, giving them instruction in family matters and child care, sewing and cooking, hygiene, and other similar subjects. The boys and young men are offered practical instruction in manual and agricultural work, and are given the opportunity to join classes in art or languages.

At the same time, the centres provide library facilities, lectures on topics of general interest, sporting facilities, organised outings, and act as official information offices, relaying local news to other districts and supplying their own areas with news about Senegal, and giving details of the latest governmental decrees, recommended measures for the protection of health (they serve as vaccination centres for their areas), and above all they form part of a movement which is helping to unify the country and weld the people into one nation.

The ideals and principles behind these associations are sound. It is unfortunate that lack of financial support makes it almost impossible to expand the youth movements to the extent that they can make a more permanent and valuable contribution towards answering some of the educational problems in Senegal. In the more isolated areas there is no doubt that the Maisons de Jeunes fulfil an urgent need. The education dispensed in the centres is of the most elementary and basic type, but it has many recommendations in its favour: it is inexpensive, of comparatively short duration and firmly linked to the type of instruction most necessary to the development of the backward regions.

Another recommendation is that the Maisons de Jeunes tend to encourage the young men to stay in their own villages, whereas the schools, as I have shown, encourage them to leave the countryside to seek their fortunes in the big towns. It would be heartening to see the Government putting more money into this type of venture and a little less into the further development of the lycee system. The results of an extension of the Maisons de Jeunes would undoubtedly be worthwhile, but this expansion is unlikely to be brought about, partly for financial reasons, and partly because of the low order of priority traditionally given to all schemes outside the formal system of education*.

There is a curious anomaly about the planning of education in Senegal. All countries have to decide what is to be done with the money available for the purposes of education. The money can either be concentrated on providing education for the few, producing an elite, or else the available funds can be spread more thinly, providing some form of mass education but at a level below that to which an elite could have been educated. Senegal is in a position when it is attaining neither of these objectives, and yet it would like to achieve both. Not enough people are being trained in the right way to provide a useful elite, and too many,

* When economies have to be made in the budget for education, the cuts invariably fall first of all on those schemes which lie outside the formal system of education. Add to this the difficulty experienced in trying to obtain trained staff to run the Maisons, and it is clear that this inexpensive means of education will never be given the chance to prove its effectiveness on a large scale.

on the other hand, are being trained in a way which, for practical purposes, will provide an essentially useless elite. In contrast to this, not enough children are receiving the simple basic education which would be useful to them and to the country, and which the Government is committed to trying to provide for them.

In these circumstances, a case could be made out for the Government to look at the whole structure of the educational system, and to plan a re-distribution of the available money so that useful and inexpensive means of giving basic education - like the Maisons de Jeunes - receive assistance at the expense of the costly and wasteful forms of traditional academic education - like the lycees.

Chapter X11: The National Civic Service.

The project, adopted by the Senegalese National Assembly in July 1968, for a National Civic Service has developed from a series of earlier experiments. In 1959 a number of workyards were set up, staffed by young volunteers, aged from fourteen to twenty-five, who were to work on projects for the public benefit. These "chantiers" were to promote unity among Senegalese of all types and from all levels of society, and to make young people aware of the emerging spirit of nationhood.

The early attempts achieved little, and were soon abandoned altogether, to be replaced by the "camps de Jeunesse" which were set up in 1960. These youth camps were abandoned in their turn in 1962, two years after their inauguration, because they were a failure due to poor administration and inadequate planning.

The basic idea was not allowed to die, and in the same year, 1962, the first of the "chantiers écoles" was established at Cambérène, just outside Dakar. The name "chantier école" implies a changed outlook on the part of the authorities. The purpose of these establishments was no longer primarily the ideal of voluntary service, but the training of young peasants who were carefully selected from young boys in the villages and taught the most modern techniques of agriculture and village development. The instruction given was designed to make the young peasant aware, as never before, of the part to be played by rural youth in the general development of the country.*

*At the end of two years it was hoped that a young man would have received enough training to enable him to develop new farming land in the isolated areas of the country.

A second establishment was created in 1963, but neither of these pilot "chantiers" seems to have fulfilled its objectives, partly because of lack of trained personnel and partly through shortage of money.

These early projects, although unsuccessful, led to the formal adoption of a "Service Civique National de la Jeunesse".** By the law of 9th February 1965, the Civic Service was open to all young volunteers aged between 16 and 20, but certain powers of compulsion were reserved to the Government to be used in the case of young men without regular employment. Youths from the urban areas were to go to "chantiers écoles" on the outskirts of large towns, and there they would work in youth brigades to help in the training of other young people and to participate in schemes for the general good of the local communities. Young people from the rural areas were to receive instruction in village and land development in "chantiers écoles" to be created in country districts.

The National Youth Civic Service Scheme began with six centres, one run directly by the Senegalese army, and the other five controlled by the

** The conception of such a service was not new in African countries. It has been tried with varying degrees of success, and in one form or another, in most of the countries in West Africa. Cf. *Revue Internationale du Travail*, January, 1966:

"Les formules spéciales de mobilisation de main d'oeuvre et les programmes de jeunesse au service du développement".

central administration. The scheme was theoretically sound, but the planning was poor. It was initially hoped that each camp would cater annually for 120 young pioneers, but financial support was so inadequate that the camps were doomed to failure from the start*.

The army scheme however, at Savoigne in the North of Senegal in the Région du Fleuve has been very successful. The young people in the chantier were either soldiers or volunteers recruited from young civilians. The soldiers and civilians alike lived under military discipline and regulations. The scheme involved the development of uncultivated land in the area, the construction of roads, one major bridge, and a whole system of irrigation. The army was responsible for the training and general administration, including the feeding of the volunteers. It also provided the materials and equipment necessary to the successful completion of the

* The official allowance for the 5 civilian camps was 25 million francs CFA, or approximately 40,000 F CFA for each volunteer if each camp was to have 120 pioneers. Out of this sum the chantiers were expected to pay for food, lodging, clothing, medical care, maintenance of vehicles, petrol, and general administrative expenses. If the cost of food alone is estimated at about 150F a day for each pioneer (about 5/-), the annual cost would be in the region of 55,000 F a head. It is not surprising therefore that the five civilian camps between them only produced 450 young pioneers at the end of two years, instead of the planned 600 fully trained youngsters (and the further anticipated 600 who should have completed their initial year of training by that time).

project. Within two years the scheme had become largely self-supporting, and it was expected that 1968 would see for the first time a surplus of agricultural goods from the new farmland finding its way to the markets in Saint Louis and Dakar.

The Senegalese army was so impressed by the results obtained at Savoigne that it has decided, to extend the original idea of the "chantier école" and to use these establishments for some of the basic training of young soldiers. Since 1966 young infantrymen and engineers have constructed many miles of new roads, built bridges and developed land throughout the whole country.

The Service Civique National de la Jeunesse was not successful. Such a service ought to imply some form of mass action involving thousands of young Senegalese. The money allocated should not be a few millions CFA but many hundreds of millions. The whole project should be carried out in a more determined manner. In July 1968 the organisation was changed, and a new law was adopted* bringing the National Civic Service under the control of the armed forces, and embodying the results of the lessons learned during the previous three years under the old system.

The two-fold aim of the Service, education of Senegalese youth and development of the land remain the same. In addition, however, the Service is to act as "protection morale" for those young people who are considered

* Sources for comments on the National Civic Service: See bibliography.

1. Rapport concernant le projet de loi No. 41/68.
2. Projet de loi instituant un Service Civique National.
3. Loi instituant le Service Civique National.

to be in moral danger in the urban districts. For the most part the Service will still depend on volunteers, but a proportion of the pioneers will be conscripted. These "pioniers requis" will be placed in special chantiers, still under the control of the army but dependent on the Ministry of Justice. The intention is both to prevent these young people from lapsing into delinquency and to rehabilitate them socially in ways profitable to the Nation.

The pioneers, whether volunteers or conscripts, will be treated as soldiers during their stay in the "chantiers". They will enjoy the same medical facilities, accommodation, food and accident benefit schemes as are provided for soldiers.

The report presented on the proposed law underlined the reasons for the failure of earlier schemes. The system of recruitment was not adequate; the standards of training and selection were poor; the pioneers on leaving the chantiers had nowhere to work, and were often worse off financially at the end of their training than they had been before it. Some of the projects, it was felt, were ill-adapted to the conditions in which they were to be achieved. It is hoped that the new Service will work towards the slowing-down of the drift away from the land, that it will improve self-discipline among young people, and strengthen their sense of duty towards themselves, their society and their country, while creating a peasant class which has a working knowledge of modern agricultural techniques.

The law, as it was finally adopted in 1968, gave as the initial function of the Service: "to dispense to young people a moral and civic training of military type, at the same time as it gives them fairly

advanced acquaintance with modern agricultural and rural techniques". The young pioneers, after leaving their chantiers, should be able to settle themselves in village co-operatives in undeveloped zones, or else return to their original homes equipped with a stricter sense of duty and knowledge adequate enough to be a source of benefit to themselves and to their communities.

I have described the history of the Civic Service because this type of venture represents a significant step forward in the story of Senegalese efforts to develop their country. Education cannot be divorced from the idea of a practical form of training which will yield tangible profits to the overall economy of a country. The cultural benefits of education, while important and necessary, are not so vital to a struggling nation as the economic benefits. What is essential is a programme of education and development which will most quickly answer the needs of a nation. The cost of the present system of education in Senegal is prohibitively high. The administration, as I shall show, is badly organised, and the results are not economically viable.

It remains to be seen whether schemes like the National Civic Service will receive the support, financial and administrative, which is necessary if success is to be achieved. Although the idea behind the project is sound, it must be remembered that, since Independence, the Government of Senegal has been making sound plans, only to realise that they could not be put into practice because of shortage of money*.

* See Part 111: Planning and Policies.

The one great advantage of the National Civic Service is that it will be answering a pressing need, and that with planning and foresight the projects connected with the scheme could become financially self-supporting after a relatively short time. After three or four years all the chantiers should be showing a profit on the initial capital investment, and there would be the additional bonus of hundreds of trained young men and women produced by the camps.

The National Civic Service could become one of the most interesting and significant attempts to come to grips with the problems of Senegalese education. The pioneers will be given a short and intensive training in modern agricultural methods; they will be assured of an outlet for their talents after their training. More than this, the scheme will not cost a lot of money, and the results could be extremely beneficial to the country. At a time when it has been estimated that Senegal could absorb 10,000 trained men a year in agriculture alone, it is refreshing to see that the Government is initiating practical steps to answer the country's needs.

PART THREE.

PLANNING AND POLICIES.

Chapter X111: Foreign Aid.

Foreign aid is vital to Senegal. Although the largest proportion of the aid comes from France, other countries also donate large amounts. From America, the Senegalese have received food shipments and equipment of all sorts, books, volunteer Peace Corps members, several cultural centres and large sums of money. German aid is mainly confined to land development projects, but funds are also made available for assistance with education. Canada makes an important contribution with money and teachers, and Israel, the United Kingdom and Russia all offer a certain amount of aid*. The Senegalese could not begin to maintain their present standards of educational expansion without the assistance pouring into the country from abroad. If French aid, in particular, were to be reduced drastically, the damage to the system of education in Senegal would be serious and probably irreparable.

"Of all countries, France is the one which cares most about exporting its language and culture", said M. Pompidou in a speech in Moscow in 1965. This explains in part why the French Government allots so much money to projects like the CLAD language teaching research programme, or to the cultural centres which have been set up throughout the country. In their colonies the British have pursued a policy of development

*During the trouble at the University of Dakar in May and June 1968, offers of overseas scholarships for students were sent from all over the world when it seemed probable that the University would close down for at least one academic year.

designed to promote the appearance of autochthonous national characteristics; for their part, the French have adopted a policy of assimilation. The result of this policy is that a French-speaking African is proud to consider himself "de culture française".** The policy of assimilation, and a paternalistic attitude towards former colonies, linked with the genuine desire of the French to spread their language and culture, explain why France feels compelled to maintain its technical assistance to countries in West Africa at such a high level.

Before the French territories in West Africa became independent, France was paying about one third of the recurrent expenses in the national budgets. This percentage has increased in many West African countries since they became independent***. In spite of internal

** To appreciate the unconscious irony of this remark, read "Vive le Président", by the Cameroonian author Daniel Ewandé.

*** Figures are taken from: French Aid, Teresa Harper, ODI, 1968.

France is spending 1.26% of its gross national income on foreign aid, compared with the United States' 0.7%. Almost half of this money, however, goes to pay the salaries of civil servants and staff both in Paris and abroad. The very highly paid French co-operative workers send a large proportion of their salaries back to France in the form of savings. Because of the movement of money within the financial zone of the franc, more money flows back into France than leaves it. (For example, Senegal imports about 65% of its total imports from France, and exports about 80% of its exports to France). It is true, nevertheless, that the presence of French technical assistants and their families provides an important stimulus to local trade and development. There are, at present, about 1500

(Cont'd on page 127)

difficulties, France has kept the numbers of its technical assistants at a fairly constant level. In 1965 there were 1406 of these assistants techniques, of whom about 936* were teachers. In 1967, there were about 1000 French teachers in Senegal, mainly engaged in teaching in secondary or in higher education. Of these, 106 were national servicemen working in West Africa instead of doing military service. In 1967, other countries, notably America and Canada, provided about 70 teachers. The French contribution is even greater than these figures suggest, because many of the assistants techniques have wives or children who are teachers and who are engaged on local contract terms by the Senegalese Government. In 1967 nearly 700 teachers in Senegalese secondary schools were engaged on these local contract terms. The saving on teacher training costs is a great help to Senegal.

After Independence in the former West African colonies, France took a fresh look at the whole question of foreign aid. The new principles of French foreign aid, expressed in the Jeanneney Report in 1963, placed new emphasis on assistance not being merely a gift to appease the former colonies, but on it being a planned step leading to complete self-sufficiency and real independence. This new attitude has been welcomed by educationalists in France as an opportunity to depart from traditional

(Cont'd from page 126)

technical assistants with their families in Senegal, and this figure does not include the sizable detachments of the French armed forces in training in the country, nor the many technical assistants who are in Senegal on short-term postings.

* Statistiques Scolaires: 1966-7.

ideas and to experiment with new methods better adapted to the needs of the developing African countries.

It is unfortunate that the new experimental methods worked out in France have not so far been adopted to any significant extent. African leaders are for the most part, distrustful of moves to change the established system of education. They themselves were educated in a French way, often in France, and they tend to regard any change or experimentation as an attempt to provide cheap and unsatisfactory education. They cling to the principle of maintaining an equivalence of their examinations with those of France, regardless of the fact that by slavishly following the French pattern an enormous amount of potential talent is never developed, or is developed in such a way that it is of comparatively little use to their countries*.

Another obstacle barring the way to reform in education is that the French teachers are opposed to change. They have, usually, been in Senegal or other West African countries for a long time. Some of them transferred from the former French administration into education. My own observation is that many hold the opinion that if an African child is intelligent enough that he should be given a European style education, and if he is not good enough for this, then there is no point in giving him an education at all. French teachers in the former colonies seem to be very conservative in their attitudes towards the methods and contents of the

* In 1968, Senegal announced its intention of lowering the standards of the final examination for the licence, but it seems that even this step will be postponed indefinitely because of the local French opposition.

traditional lycee style of education.

A further problem is caused by the attitude of the ordinary French parent whose children are being educated in Senegal but who will have to find work or qualify for careers and professions in France. The parents are opposed to any change or experimentation within the system which may tend to reduce the level of academic qualifications compared with French qualifications. Since most of the parents are highly placed either in the advisory section of the Senegalese civil service or in trade missions (or in other influential positions), and since many of the teachers are in full sympathy with these parents, it is not surprising that any new proposals for change in the system should meet up against a barrier of resistance and conservatism sufficient to ensure that any change is anodyne and uncontroversial.

It is important that French attitudes should be altered, and also that African leaders should adopt a less conservative attitude. It is apparent from what I have described of changes in primary schools, in technical and agricultural education, that reform is on the way, but it is not far-reaching enough and the lycees are holding firmly to the old ways.

Primary education in Senegal makes the children fit only to pursue secondary education. This is a situation which is tolerable, perhaps even desirable, in a country with sufficient resources to allow most of its children to go on to secondary education. In Senegal, where so many children never have this chance, it is a waste of money to invest so much for such poor returns. Even the children who succeed at the end of their primary schooling in obtaining the opportunity of further education are often unable to find an outlet for their talents when they leave school, and thus derive no benefit from the extra years they have spent at school.

If this is tragic for the individual, it is even more so for the country as a whole.

The whole system of education in Senegal is guided and controlled at the highest level by French advisors. Although it would be unjust to suggest that these advisors would deliberately exert a retardative influence on the evolution of the educational system, it is fair comment to say that they are in a position of sufficient power and influence to ensure that Senegalese planning is in line with French policy, simply because France holds the purse-strings of the budget for education*.

* When President Senghor announced his intention in 1968 of closing the University of Dakar indefinitely because of serious student unrest which had provoked civil disturbance, France made it clear that the University was to remain open or lose all its French teaching personnel, and equipment, grants and aid. This threat to withdraw aid, announced by the Rector of the University, speaking for a joint Senegalo-French committee of investigation, was sufficient to ensure the re-opening of the University.

International bodies and foreign governments sometimes feel resentment because of the amount of control exercised by the French over development projects in former French colonies. There are numerous cases where French influence has been brought to bear to make sure that projects proposed by the FAO or UNESCO were turned down. This is explained by the feeling that France has, that it knows better than other countries what is best for the former French territories. (See Harper: op. cit).

The importance of French financial assistance in education to Senegal is illustrated by the following table:-

Proportion of French Aid*

Level of Education:	1961.	1964.
Primary education:	19.2%	19.3%
General secondary:	38.4%	50.6%
Technical secondary:	29.1%	27.2%
Teacher training:	20.3%	32.1%
Overseas scholarships:	40.0%	48.4%
University:	84.2%	82.0%

Figures taken from:

Angewandte Bildungsökonomik (Das Beispiel von Senegal).... U. Clement.

Massive French assistance to Senegal tends to mask some of the deficiencies of the system, and is not conducive to making the country self-sufficient. For this reason, the French Government has financed research projects into the cost and productivity of education in African countries, to produce estimates of future and present needs, potential training schemes of various types, and has urged the revision of school curricula with the aim of putting added emphasis on practical education.

* It is clear that French assistance has substantially increased in the last few years, but the true extent of the increase is hard to assess because France accords Senegal, from time to time, special subsidies and low-interest loans which are not recorded in the official statistics for aid in education.

Many innovations are opposed by both the French teachers and administrators and the leading Africans alike. The French Government is well aware that it needs to change the attitude of members of the assistance technique, and for this reason has introduced intensive training and re-training courses in Paris**. It will be some time before senior French officials overseas (and perhaps even longer in the case of the African leaders) will be prepared to accept wholeheartedly the new ideas put forward by the research centres in France, but this acceptance is essential before any radical alteration of the system can be attempted.

** See Jeanneney Report.

Chapter XIV: Planning and Administration in Senegalese Education.

We have seen the need for co-ordination of planning and administration in education. This need is growing greater. The demand for education is one of the strongest of social pressures in Senegal, and it is a demand that the present system cannot hope to satisfy. The actual increase in the number of children being educated has been considerable, but the system is already overcrowded, and has attained its optimum level unless there is a large extra subsidy from abroad*. Without this subsidy, Senegal's rate of economic development, which is slower than the increase in child population, will not be sufficient to finance any further expansion of the system.

The general problems met at all levels of the system are these: the form of education is not economically viable; nor does it answer the needs of the country; the courses are too long, the failure rate too high; on leaving school, too many children are unable to find an outlet for their talents either in industry or in commerce. These problems can only be solved by greater attention to planning.

"In many ways, managers of educational systems are much better equipped to-day than they were ten years ago to deal with their problems, and to make necessary adjustments. Moreover, they now see much more

* Cf. report already cited: Communication relative à une organisation nouvelle des enseignements primaire et moyen au Sénégal. Min of Education, 1969.

clearly what their problems are, and what kind of adjustments are required. Nonetheless, the main point stands: educational planning will have its plate full with enormous problems. It will need to move from a decade of formation to a decade of increased action - action involving not merely the application of what has been already learned about educational planning and management, but of new things yet to be learned, and with a renewed attitude¹¹.¹² How does this call for planning and action, and renewed attitudes apply to Senegal ?

A system of education in an underdeveloped country should tend to be constructed in such a way that pupils, on leaving the system, can exert a tangible and immediately beneficial effect on the economy of the country. Education in the emerging countries cannot allow itself to become a mere luxury; it must be a planned investment, yielding, like all investments, a calculable return on what has been invested. In other words, it is essential to know in advance what is more useful to the country, and then to plan the investment in the system of education so that it is capable of providing efficiently what is required.

In spite of the research that has been done in Senegal into the needs of the country, it is still difficult to assess with certainty the extent of those needs. In recent years, Senegal has been attempting to satisfy the most obvious requirements, particularly by trying to train middle-level managerial classes. Where the Senegalese are perhaps making a mistake is that there is as yet no system of training which is not based on narrow specialisation. The consequence of this is that certain

¹¹"Education and Planning," UNESCO, 1968.

positions have been over supplied with qualified personnel, whereas other posts remain unfilled, not because of a shortage of native Senegalese talent, but because of a lack of trained people. The system of training for technical, managerial and administrative posts needs to be planned to produce a flexible-minded and polyvalent student who can assume a wide variety of responsible positions. Once the definite quantitative needs for this type of student have been established, it should be possible to replan the pattern of training on more efficient lines*.

One of the problems in planning and administration is the lack of co-ordination between the various departments dealing with education. Education is mainly controlled by three ministries: the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Technical Education, and the Ministry of Culture. In addition, various other government agencies are involved: the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Planning, and the Ministry of Finance. Any proposal for reform of the system are considered by these ministries, and are first studied in detail by the Social and Economic Council, and the newly-formed Bureau de Ressources Humaines.

After the initial stages are completed, a new project is studied at

* Here I am talking about the formation of a managerial "semi-elite". For lower level positions in technology and industry, it is more economical and practical to produce men and women with a narrow technical speciality, e.g. lathe-workers, loom-tenders and so on.

the committee stage in the National Assembly - the legislative assembly in Senegal - and from there the discussion is carried on with all the ministries affected and with the Pr sidence, the consultative department which advises the President. At all stages, reports and recommendations are made by civil servants economic advisers and foreign experts.

The result of this unwieldy administrative structure is that any change or reform takes a long time from its conception to its adoption; any project stands a high chance of being refused on grounds that are not always valid; and almost nobody is clear at any time what has been decided about any particular project, or indeed whether the project is under serious consideration or not. Once a firm decision has been made, the system of administration makes for interminable delays, postponements and adjustments on political or economic grounds, with the result that projects are not infrequently shelved or forgotten altogether*.

*Communication is so bad between departments of the same ministry that senior civil servants are frequently unaware of what is going on. In September, 1967, for example, the Ministry of Education was supposed to send a circular about the British Institute to all members of their own ministry, and to other ministries as well. After three months the circular had reached only two other ministries, and as late as April, 1968, I met two highly-placed officials in the Ministry of Education itself who were unaware of the existence of the Institute, even though by that time it figured substantially on the budget of their own ministry. (The circular in question was certainly written in September 1967 - I helped to write it myself).

Lack of communication and co-operation between the various departments defeat all attempts to ensure the smooth-running of the educational system.

No plan, however detailed and precise, can hope to succeed without adequate co-ordination between the planning agency and the administrative departments responsible for putting the plan into practice. Without this co-operation a plan remains a merely academic, and often expensive, piece of speculation. A spirit of common purpose should exist between the various executive departments of the government, and between them and the planners. This spirit is not conspicuous in Senegal, and examples should be cited to show how enmity between heads of departments, and between ministers, has led to a break-down of the execution of schemes for the development of the country.

The Senegalese have tried to resolve these difficulties. (There have been four ministerial re-shuffles in the last two and half years). It is true that there is closer contact between ministries than was the case three years ago, but it is fair to add that this rapprochement is not yet complete, and that the need for closer consultation and co-operation is still real to-day.

One problem which must be solved is the difficulty of communication when there is no central clearing house of information. The teachers themselves are kept better informed now, since the establishment of the Bureau Pédagogique, and, with the creation of the Bureau de Ressources Humaines, the administrative services are in closer contact with the overall economic situation in the country. Nevertheless, most information, including the results of research, is never circulated at all.

These are some of the problems in administration and planning in Senegal. Of greater immediacy is the lack of adequate programming of educational policy. Senegal tries to plan on the basis of a period of five years ahead. The money available for the plan is never sufficient for the demands made on it, and consequently the plan is never fulfilled, and requires continual revision. Thus, reforms in the system occur as isolated efforts rather than as part of a unified attempt to improve the system as a whole.

The Senegalese budget has never balanced without external assistance, and is unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. When a project is on the point of running short of funds, the money is taken from another part of the budget, or else is diverted from a less essential project. Funds ear-marked for educational projects are not infrequently taken to bolster needs in housing development schemes or health projects. There is no immediate solution to this problem. Only recently, the President announced in the Dakar Matin (and reported in Le Monde) that the student unrest of May and July 1969 had cost the country about three and half million pounds. This loss alone means that proposed schemes in education will probably be delayed by at least two years.

The difficulty about the proper programming of education could be minimised if the country were not trying to do so much so quickly. If, for example, the planners were prepared to allow more time for fewer projects it should be possible, within the framework of this slower but surer progress, to introduce new ideas and practices into the present system of education without an enormous outlay of capital.

The changes which are urgently needed: revised curricula in all subjects at all levels; alteration in selection procedures for admission

to schools; the shortening of courses; training for qualifications adapted to Senegalese needs; all these steps could be taken at little or no expense...

But when this has been said, we have come back full circle to the point where it was said that planning and administration must be undertaken with a "renewed attitude". Renewed attitudes result from education and experience, and reform in educational systems results from renewed attitudes. The process of change is slow and long, and Senegal still has far to go before it can even begin to solve the problems of planning and administration, whether by these terms we mean management at the national level or within the confines of the schools themselves.

Chapter XV: Past and Present Development of Primary Education.

When Senegal became independent in 1960, the planners realised that their principal efforts should be devoted to the development of primary education*. At this time only about 23% of Senegalese children were going to primary schools, and Senegal had accepted the proposals to be adopted by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa, meeting in Addis Ababa in 1961, that primary education should be universal, compulsory and free of charge for the children. The First Plan, therefore, aimed at a growth in the proportion of children

* Since Independence in 1960 the system of education in Senegal has been shaped in two plans for the economic development of the country. The first plan, "Premier Plan Quadriennal de Développement pour la période de 1961-1964", (Loi No. 61-32 du 13 Mai 1961) published Rufisque, 1962, is abbreviated to the letters F.P. in footnotes in this and the following three chapters. The second plan, "Deuxième Plan Quadriennal de Développement Economique et Social, 1965-1969", published 1st. July, 1965, is abbreviated in the footnotes to S.P. The Third Plan is still in the committee stage, but there are advance projects to be consulted in the administrative departments concerned; The Education Sub-Committee at the National Assembly; the Finance Sub-Committee; the planning department at the Min. of Education; the National Archives. For convenience, these advance projects are abbreviated to T.P. in the footnotes.

receiving primary education to over 50% by the end of 1964, with a corresponding increase in the arrangements for teacher training, and for the building of schools.

Although primary education was still seen as a means of developing an elite, greater importance was attached to the idea that it should become the means of mass general education, preparing the youth of Senegal to take its place in a unified nation. The ultimate goal was that children should develop a sense of patriotism and of civic responsibility coupled with a love of work**.

** "L'important effort de scolarisation doit, pendant le premier plan, renforcer la cohésion nationale... par l'accès accru aux moyens d'information... l'effort principal devrait porter sur le développement de l'enseignement primaire".

"L'enseignement primaire... doit, certes, permettre de sélectionner les élites dont la Nation a besoin, mais elle est aussi et surtout un instrument d'éducation généralisée des masses... Il doit préparer le jeune à la vie active... F.P. (page 19) dans le contexte national, en intégrant au maximum les valeurs culturelles locales. ... Les programmes scolaires devront être conçus dans une perspective essentiellement pratique. Ils viseront... à éveiller chez l'enfant le sens patriotique et civique et l'amour du travail". F.P. (page 130)

With these lofty ideals it was important that primary education should be used to ensure, as quickly as possible, the spread of a common language, and the sharing of a common culture among the six different main ethnic groups in the country.* To achieve these aims it was decided that there should be more attention paid to the teaching of French, arithmetic, history and geography**, which explains the vast amount of research which has taken place in the last eight years into the teaching of these subjects and related matters in primary schools.

It was the intention of the government progressively to raise the proportion of children admitted to the primary schools so that universal primary education would be achieved by 1975 at the latest. The figure of 50% to be attained by 1964 was not chosen arbitrarily or because it was a round number. This target was selected because UNESCO research had suggested 50% as the minimum percentage to ensure lasting results, whereas a percentage lower than this would produce a minority whose efforts would be submerged by the greater mass of the uneducated majority.*** It was

* In round figures the ethnic totals are: Wolof, 36%; Peulh, 17%;

Serere, 17%; Toucouleur, 9%; Diola, 9%; Mandingue, 7%; Others, 6%. F.P. p6.

** L'Enseignement sera surtout orienté vers l'acquisition de notions sûres en matière de langage et de calcul, d'histoire et de géographie. F.P. p130.

*** A partir de ce taux (50%) non seulement la masse des écoliers conserve les notions acquises à l'école lorsqu'elle se replace dans le cadre social, mais encore... cette masse s'avère capable d'agir sur les adultes, notamment pour la diffusion de la langue véhiculaire de l'enseignement.

also felt that a minimum of 50% was required to ensure the effective spread of the French language throughout the country.

By the end of 1961 it was hoped to increase the number of children in school to about 125,000, and it was further hoped that by the end of 1964 the situation in primary education would look like this:

No. of pupils (public and private establishments):	249,000
No. of children eligible for primary education:	487,000
% of children receiving primary education: 51.1%	51.1%
No. of classrooms:	5,260

By 1964 it was apparent that, even after two revisions of the First Plan, the achievements would be far short of the target. The deficiencies can be seen by comparing the figures I have just given with the actual statistics for 1964.*

No. of pupils (public and private establishments):	202,000
No. of pupils eligible for primary education:	562,500
% of children receiving primary education:	36.0%
No. of classrooms:	4,564.

It will be seen that the number of children receiving primary education was about twenty per cent short of the target, and the percentage of eligible children in primary schools was 15% short of the figure aimed at. A surprising detail of these statistics is that the number of children eligible for primary education should be so much higher than the number originally estimated. (75,000 more).

These two tables illustrate that the planning of education in Senegal is not accurate. As the Government admitted in the introduction to the

* Figures taken from Statistiques Scolaires: 1964-5.

Second Plan, "the gap between the aims and the achievements is very great." The reason for this deficiency stems originally from the philosophy behind the conception of the First Plan. The First Plan was an idealised blueprint for the development of the country rather than a precisely calculated plan.* It represented more what the planners would like to see rather than what they knew they could hope to attain. The subsequent plans for the development of education in Senegal have been more carefully elaborated, but even these later schemes have not been entirely free from the over-optimistic idealism of the First Plan.

The Second Plan, 1965-9, was as concerned as the First to maintain and improve standards of primary education, but, more realistically, it now stated that the aim must be to achieve a percentage of about 40% of children at primary school before 1969.** At the same time it was hoped that the number of pupils in a class could be brought down to an average of about 40.

There were many obstacles barring the way to the achievement of these aims. The average number of pupils in a class was about 50 in 1960, and in 1965 about 45. It is impossible to believe that Senegal can find a sufficient

* "Le premier Plan du Sénégal a été conçu au lendemain de l'Indépendance du pays. Il porte de ce fait et tout à la fois, la volonté de faire disparaître certains vestiges d'une longue dépendance, la volonté de vaincre rapidement le sous-développement, le souci de donner au Pays une idéologie qui aiderait à cimenter l'unité nationale et qui serait aussi un technique et une méthode de développement permettant la propagation du progrès économique et la transformation des mentalités." S.P. p 18.

**S.P. p 209.

supply of teachers to effect a reduction of five in the average number of children in a class for many years to come. The Second Plan records a total of 4534 teachers of various categories in the primary schools in 1965. To reduce the number of pupils per class by about $1/9$ it would clearly be necessary to find at least another 504 teachers*. Furthermore, this end would be doubly difficult to attain because the average figure of 45 per class conceals the serious over-crowding in the town schools, where 60 in a class is the rule rather than the exception. The real figure for extra teachers required would probably be nearer 1,000.

Although the Plan called for about 40% of children to be receiving primary education by the end of 1969, a calculation at the end of 1968 showed that the actual percentage was nearer 38.5%** The reasons for this are the reduction in the budget for primary education and the overspending in the first two years of the new plan which resulted in later building projects being curtailed or postponed.

While recognising that primary education was of the greatest importance

* For the difficulties in recruiting primary teachers, see Chapter IV.

** My own calculation: Assuming the population growth in the primary education sector to be about 3% a year (this is the average of French, UNESCO and Senegalese assessments of the population growth), the number of children eligible for primary education in 1967 would be about 600,000. The number of children actually in primary schools in that year was 231,000, or about 38.5%. The figures for 1968-9 are not yet available, but I was assured at the Ministry of National Education that the figures for this year would show little increase over those for the year before, whereas the children eligible would increase to about 615,000.

to the development of the country, the planners, in the Second Plan, felt that the time was now ripe to try and accept a greater number of children into secondary education, and especially into technical secondary education. The consequence of this was that primary education no longer received 50% of the educational budget, but only 33%. This has adversely affected the planned building programme. The Second Plan called for an extra 1460 classrooms by 1969. (This included 200 state-subsidised classrooms in private schools.) This represents a total of about 350 new classrooms a year. The latest figures show that classroom building had averaged under 150 classes a year by the end of 1968. (When the statistics are published next year for the school year 1968-9, I estimate that the average number of pupils in a primary class will again be near the 50 mark.) Building of state-subsidised classrooms in the private schools came to an end in 1967 because the budget was so overdrawn that the State could no longer guarantee to pay the subsidies.

Already in 1960 it was clearly seen that the rural child was at a disadvantage compared with his urban counterpart, and it was hoped that progress in the expansion of primary education, and in the type of instruction given in the schools, would be such that the rural child would be given greater opportunity to develop his talents, and greater encouragement to remain in his village to make use of his new-found skills.*

*"Mais par rapport au développement économique et culturel, la déficience la plus accusée du système scolaire actuel se manifeste dans les campagnes où les jeunes scolarisés quittent presque tous leur village pour la ville, l'école n'ayant pas contribué à leur faire prendre conscience de la dignité du travail de leur terre...et ne leur ayant pas appris les techniques

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Apart from encouraging young people to stay in their own districts, it was hoped, during the course of the First Plan, that a new concentration on agricultural teaching in the rural primary schools would make the youngsters aware of the importance of farming to the development of the country, thus producing eventually a beneficial effect on the economy. There is no sign that these measures have achieved the desired results. The aim of rural education was to prepare youngsters for life in a rural setting. The advance projects of the Third Plan state categorically, "the programme has manifestly failed to achieve this aim: "The majority of people still want the old-style classical education, and "this is dangerous, because it does not lead towards an agricultural education, nor towards a love of the land."*

In both the First and Second Plans, emphasis was laid on the importance of training teachers for primary education. Several grades of teacher were recognised**, but fully trained teachers only accounted for 17% of the total primary school teaching force in 1964, assistant trained teachers made up another 44%, but the remaining 40% had neither sufficient training nor academic qualifications to be effective teachers. It was hoped to bring the

* La Situation Actuelle de l'Education, published by the Bureau des Ressources Humaines, 1968.

** See Chapter IV.

(continued from previous page)...agricoles modernes..." (F.P. p 8)...Il s'agit en effet de faire évoluer le monde rural, en lui permettant de posséder une élite qui contribuera à l'amélioration de son niveau de vie... (F.P. p 19)...et des essais seront faits en vue de la mise au point de programmes et méthodes qui éveillent l'intérêt et la capacité des jeunes élèves pour les tâches manuelles...notamment dans le monde rural"...(F.P. p111).

percentage of fully trained teachers to 18.5% by 1969, and that of assistant trained teachers to 53%. Since recruitment of the lowest category of teachers was halted in 1964, it was hoped that by 1969 only 30% of primary school teachers would be formed of "moniteurs". No official figures have been released, but talks with Ministry of Education officials lead me to suppose that any change in the percentage of trained teachers has been brought about by in-service promotion, and represents a change of name rather than a change for the better in the quality of the teachers.

The Third Plan lays just as much importance as its predecessors on the training of primary school teachers, and calls for expansion in the three écoles normales already functioning, and the construction of an additional three establishments, many more regional training centres, and a better inspectorate and advisory service to be directed by the Bureau Pédagogique which was set up in the course of the Second Plan.*

* The Second Plan underlined the importance of the Bureau Pédagogique: "Le nombre important de jeunes enseignants à recruter et la lenteur de la formation de maîtres qualifiés fait reposer l'amélioration qualitatif de l'enseignement primaire pendant la prochaine période quadriennale sur... l'action du Bureau Pédagogique...le nombre croissant des écoles éloignées des sources de documentation pour les maîtres rend indispensable la création d'un Bureau Pédagogique affecté à la recherche de techniques propres à accroître le rendement scolaire et à venir en aide aux jeunes enseignants peu expérimentés, qui, en présence de difficultés d'ordre professionnel, ressentent parfois une cruelle impression d'isolement préjudiciable au bon exercice de leur métier.. le Bureau Pédagogique recevra mission d'analyser les programmes actuels et d'en entreprendre ...une réforme destinée à réaliser

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The Second Plan, with its emphasis on the training of teachers, the establishment of the Bureau Pédagogique, the increase in the number of inspectors, and its building and research programmes, hoped to increase the effectiveness of primary education. In 1964, fewer than 36% of children were going to primary school. Admitting the over-optimism of the First Plan, it was now decided that a 50% intake should be aimed at for about 1975, and that if it should be possible to attain this rate of progress, the country might hope to see universal primary education by about 2020.* To achieve this rate of expansion, it was estimated that three hundred classrooms a year should be built. The Third Plan has retained this target figure of three hundred a year, in spite of the fact that during the Second Plan it has been possible to build an average of only 120 classrooms a year. It has been calculated* that to maintain the present percentage intake (40%) into the primary system, new classrooms should be built at the rate of 175 a year, so it is more than likely that, far from improving on present numbers, 1975 will see a decline in the percentage of children admitted to primary schools. More disquieting is the fact that there is a possibility that the quality of the education will decline as well.

The number of children of primary school age is increasing at the rate of just under 3% a year. The gross national income in Senegal is developing at about 2% a year. As a result, merely to maintain the status

* La Situation Actuelle de l'Education, Bureau Pédagogique, 1968.

(Continued from previous page...) une meilleure adaptation des élèves à leur mode de vie, principalement en milieu rural." S.P. p 211.

quo, the available money is being spread more thinly to cover the cost of salaries for extra teachers, the expense of new constructions, and so on. More children are being educated using increasingly inadequate materials, and the logical consequence is that standards will decline instead of improving.

Reform in scholastic programmes is very slow, because of the conservative influences I have already discussed.* The improvements in standards called for in the Second Plan have not materialised, and the increase in admissions to the secondary schools is below what was hoped. The Second Plan aimed at one child in every three leaving primary school being able to gain admission to secondary schools by the end of 1969. In 1968-9 only 18% of all primary school leavers, that is one child in five, was granted admission, and, in view of fresh unrest in the schools in April, May and June 1969, it is unlikely that the school year 1969-70 will see any improvement over these figures.

It is evident that planning of education in Senegal has persistently over-estimated both the capacity of the system to produce the improvements called for, and the ability of the economy to support the programmes of development. Until the policy-makers base their plans on a realistic understanding of Senegal's economic capabilities, it is hard to see any possibility of an adequate and universal system of primary education.

* See Chapter XIII: Foreign Aid.

Chapter XVI: Past and Present Development of Secondary Education.

Secondary education in Senegal is controlled by two separate ministries: the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Technical Education. Although the functions of these two ministries overlap in certain areas, it is preferable to consider each in its own right separately. In this chapter, therefore, I shall first consider general secondary education, and later, technical secondary education.*

Admission to secondary education in Senegal is by competitive examination, "l'examen d'entrée en sixième". There has never been any intention in educational planning in Senegal to do away with this examination, but there have been attempts to improve it as a means of selection.* * Greater selectivity in the examination was demanded in order to diminish the number of children who were admitted to secondary education without being capable of completing the first four years satisfactorily.

The form of the entrance examination has altered little. It is mainly a test of French and arithmetic. The Government has experimented

*L'enseignement primaire est relié de façon satisfaisante à l'enseignement secondaire, mais ces deux cycles n'ont que peu de liaisons avec l'enseignement technique...". F.P. p 8.

** L'examen d'entrée en sixième sera maintenu; sa valeur sélective devra être améliorée". F.P. p 130 ... "De plus, la sélection opérée par l'examen d'entrée en sixième... permettra de limiter l'accès du premier cycle aux seuls élèves qui présentent des chances de réussite suffisante..."

with the pass level in the examination, but the percentage of failures is still very high, and is likely to remain so, unless the examination syllabus is altered to make it accord better with the pupils' needs and capabilities.

It was the government's policy in 1960 that secondary education should become a genuine "middle school" education, and that any pupil capable of passing the examination would be able to complete the course satisfactorily.*** The Second Plan instead of insisting on a thorough revision of the curriculum in the schools, suggested that it should be the government's aim to regulate more strictly the numbers of pupils admitted to the secondary schools in proportion to the numbers of children taking the examination.

The target for the First Plan was that there should be a progressive increase of 68% in the number of children in the first stage of secondary education by the end of 1964. In fact the numbers leapt from 8220 to 18,332 between the years 1960 and 1965, an increase of nearly 125%. This increase was in no way due either to improvements in the standards of candidates for secondary school places or to improved accommodation facilities. Mainly the increase resulted from Government manipulation of entry standards and from the fact that schools were ordered to fill their classes to overflowing.**** After 1964 the old standards were

*** De toute manière, l'organisation pédagogique devra assurer au premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire le caractère d'une véritable "école moyenne", suivie sans difficulté par tous les élèves qui réussissent à franchir le barrage de l'entrée en sixième. FP. P.131.

**** See footnote at the bottem of next page.

reimposed and percentages of children admitted have shown a fall, while, thanks to the building programme, some of the worst overcrowding is now a thing of the past.*

The Second Plan underlined the fact that lycees on the old style were very expensive to run, construct and staff. It stated that the cost of a lycee for 1500 pupils was about £830,000 whereas a college d'enseignement general could be built for 240 pupils for about £50,000. This would represent a saving of about half a million pounds sterling for each group of 1500 pupils if the country were to invest in new collèges d'enseignement général instead of new lycees. It was the stated policy in the Second Plan that new establishments in secondary education should be

**** Footnote referring to previous page:

To illustrate the overcrowding at this time: the proviseur at the Lycee van Vollenhoven in Dakar told me that in 1966-7 his school, with an estimated capacity of 1500 pupils had over 2400 on roll. Several secondary school teachers have told me that their rooms have fewer places in them than the numbers they are supposed to accommodate, and that the situation is made barely tolerable by the high proportion of absenteeism among African children.

* The Second Plan attacked over-crowding because it made education so inefficient:..."Outre que la surcharge des classes (des sixièmes), engendre un rendement affaibli, les élèves...sont jetés dans d'énormes établissements. La difficulté d'adaptation tend à traumatiser un certain nombre... et leurs études peuvent gravement s'en ressentir." S.P. p 213.

collèges d'enseignement général, and that the existing lycees should gradually be turned into specialised schools for the second level of secondary education, that is, for the cycle leading from the Brevet d'études du premier cycle to the baccalaureat.

For a variety of reasons, nothing has so far come of this far-sighted and brave plan. The chief reason is the conservative attitude of teachers, parents and administrators who are emotionally attached to the lycee system, coupled with the lack of money which has prevented the construction of the new collèges. The plan was thwarted during the period 1965-9, and will be similarly frustrated from 1969 to 1974 because of foreign aid which has been promised for the specific purpose of expanding and improving the lycee system.

The advance projects for the Third Plan show that aid from America, Canada and the international agencies will ensure the expansion of nine lycees, creating a further 5000 places at the first level of secondary education and an extra 2000 at the second level. Although the planners of education in Senegal have said that it is their policy to build collèges first, before considering the further expansion of the lycees, foreign aid will determine that the collèges come second in order of priority.

Although lycee development runs counter to educational planning in Senegal, it is clear that the offer of assistance will be accepted. Yet this foreign aid is a mixed blessing for another reason. It is currently estimated that with the present (1967-8) rate of expansion, about 550 new places will be necessary each year in the post-brevet classes in the lycees. At the end of the Third Plan, the extra 2000

places created by foreign aid will be insufficient to cater for the normal expansion within the system.* The extra 5000 places created in the first cycle of secondary education will mean that far more children than at present will be competing for proportionately fewer places, and many children will arrive at the end of their fourth year only to find that it is impossible for them to pursue their studies further.

(It is my opinion, and the opinion of some of the highly-placed officials at the Ministry of Education that the money could be put to better uses if only the donors could be persuaded to leave the arrangements for the employment of the money in the hands of the Senegalese).

The Second Plan revealed other disadvantages in the lycee system,**

* Extra places needed if present rate is continued: 1969-73. Four years with 550 new places a year is 2,200 places.

** "La répartition actuelle des élèves dans l'enseignement secondaire montre que 49.7% fréquentent les classes de premier cycle des lycées, 20.3% les collèges d'enseignement général, 15.7% les cours normaux et sections normales... Cette situation entraîne des conséquences (suivantes):

1. Plus d'un élève sur deux occupe une place dans les lycées édifiés sur le territoire des cités les plus importants, notamment à Dakar et à Saint-Louis. On aboutit ainsi à la nécessité de déraciner de nombreux élèves qui prennent le chemin d'internats déjà surchargés....
2. Enfin, l'effet d'accélération du mouvement conduira fatalement à la construction de lycées de plus en plus coûteux et de plus en plus vastes... L'édification d'un collège... rapproche l'école de l'utilisateur par un heureux processus de décentralisation scolaire; le développement régional... ne peut qu'en profiter". SP 213.

which made the idea of constructing collèges appear even more attractive. However, the situation on the eve of the Third Plan is such that the planners can only deplore that the building of collèges has been far from satisfactory.

Secondary education has always followed closely its French model*, and in spite of plans to change curricula, length of courses, methods of selection, and so on, there has been little real alteration in any of these matters since Independence. The Third Plan follows its predecessors in calling for reform of the teaching programmes, but differs from them in that it makes more specific demands, or rather, recommendations, as to what form the changes should take.

In the advance projects for the Third Plan, it is recommended that dead languages (Latin and Greek) should be taught only in one or two secondary schools and only to a few pupils. The schools are urged to follow the new French system of having an orientation stage in the first years of secondary schooling. At the end of the second year it would be possible to exercise greater control of the pupils' choice of specialities, and it would be easier to "weed out" children who prove themselves unsuitable for secondary education. It is further recommended that all pupils in their third and fourth years should be given elementary instruction in technical subjects. These aims are laudable, but with the

* "A côté de l'éducation traditionnelle ^{qui} est l'oeuvre exclusive de la famille et du village...coexistent les cycles scolaires classiques qui s'inspirent tous du système français..." F.P. p.8.

current crisis in education in Senegal, lack of capital, shortage of teachers, and above all the strong conservatism in the schools themselves, it is difficult to believe that anything practical will come of the proposals. Like similar proposals in the First and Second Plans, a certain amount of lip service will be paid to them, and then they will in all probability be quietly forgotten.

The last nine years have seen remarkable expansion in the numbers of Senegalese children studying at secondary level, but the results obtained by these children are in no way encouraging. Although there was an increase in 1967 of 10% over the 1966 figure for students in the second stage of secondary education,** the number of children studying mathematics and science had dropped by over 15% compared with the year before. Furthermore the results in the BEPC examination in 1967 were so poor that a general improvement in standards is not anticipated in the near future.*** Concerned about this situation the Third Plan recommends that the government should exercise greater control over the awarding of scholarships in boarding establishments, and should grant aid with a three to one bias in favour of children studying science subjects. This is a policy that was adopted for higher education in 1964 (without conspicuous success), and one which, if applied in a determined fashion could lead in

** Statistiques Scholaires: 1965-6 and 1966-7.

*** The results anticipated by the planners have been markedly different from actual results: The F.P. (p.114) anticipated a total of 1150

baccalaureat holders in the period 1960-5; the actual number was 364

(S.P.p.27).

a comparatively short space of time to a more balanced and productive type of secondary education.

Both the First and Second Plan recognised that the supply of Senegalese teachers to secondary schools was insufficient. In 1964-5 it was estimated that Senegal needed to supply about 65 teachers a year in secondary establishments, that is, about 55 a year to keep up with the planned expansion and another 10 to make good the vacancies created by retirements and to ensure an adequate supply of relief teachers. Training establishments could supply only 35 teachers a year at this level, so the planners could only hope that foreign aid would provide about 30 extra teachers a year*, and express the opinion that the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the University of Dakar should make every effort to train more people as teachers. As I showed in the chapter on Foreign Aid, continuing French support on an ever increasing scale is necessary to ensure an adequate supply of teachers, and there is no sign that this situation will improve for many years to come.

The need to develop technical education has already been described. The First Plan emphasised the aims of this branch of education. The prime purpose of technical education as seen by the planners was to intensify and regionalise professional, industrial and craft training at all levels**.

* "Il s'avérera donc nécessaire de maintenir le recours au personnel de l'Assistance Technique...Le recours à l'Assistance Technique pour l'enseignement secondaire conservera donc sensiblement son importance actuelle..!"

S.P. P 215.

** Issa Diop, op. cit.

"The programme of professional training, and in particular, the programmes for technical education have been endowed with an importance which is proportionate to the pressing needs for development. The efforts made concentrate... on the formation of middle-level technicians and managers, the lack of which is felt particularly keenly in Senegal."***

The aims of the plan were to be achieved in the following ways.

It was decided to establish rural centres to train agricultural specialists who would act as pioneers in the improvement of crop raising, cattle breeding, forest conservancy and so on. There were to be at least 400 qualified rural craftsmen a year trained by the four regional centres to be established in the course of the First Plan, and there were to be special centres to train Africans to exploit the fishing - grounds off the coast of Senegal.

What was projected for the rural areas was to have its counterpart in the towns in the "centres d'apprentissage" where students would have the opportunity of studying an academic programme for three or four years while carrying out the practical part of their studies in the workshops and factories to which they were apprenticed. The two big technical lycees in Dakar and Saint-Louis were to concentrate on producing the medium and higher level technicians, and the écoles nationales were to

*** "Les objectifs (de l'enseignement technique) sont de développer et régionaliser la formation professionnelle rurale, industrielle et artisanale, augmenter la formation de cadres techniques, susciter une élite féminine à tous les niveaux". F.P. p.115.

provide specialists in engineering, public works, economics and statistics.

Plans for the formation of women specialists were to concentrate on four main specialities. A centre was to be created to train "monitrices rurales" to advise countrywomen about child-care, hygiene and related family matters. In towns, there were to be "centres de formation ménagère", where townswomen were to receive training in running families. Formal preparation for diplomas in domestic science, and mother-craft was to be intensified in special centres to be devoted to these subjects. Purely technical formation of mid-wives, social workers and nurses was to be expanded by the construction of more technical schools for young girls.

It will be appreciated that the aims of the First Plan were over-ambitious. By the start of the Second Plan, it was apparent that technical education had in no way lived up to the hopes formed for it, as these charts show:-

No. of children in Technical Secondary Education.

Number planned in First Plan for 1964:	3250.
Actual number in 1964:	2461. A deficit of 25%.

In 1964 the Ecole Nationale des Travaux Publics was 50% short of the students planned, and the Ecole Nationale des Cadres Ruraux had only 33% of the students it was supposed to have.

There were more serious discrepancies in the numbers of children who successfully obtained diplomas and certificates in technical subjects:-

Qualification.	No. called for by	Actual results	Short.
	1964 in First Plan.	in 1964.	
CAP Industriels et Artisans:	200	98	50%
CAP Commerciaux:	260	140	50%
CAP Féminins:	110	18	80%
Dip. des Travaux Publics:	40	12	75%
Dip. des Cadres Ruraux:	70	30	55%

Average deficit in 1964: 60%.

When it was realised that results in technical education were falling so far short of the plans, it was decided to adopt a new policy for planning. Instead of planning for the number of qualified people required by the country, the Second Plan calculated the best production which could be expected from the system. This basis, more firmly rooted in reality than the wishful thinking of the First Plan, created a situation in which the qualified certificate holders produced by the system more nearly matched the expectations of the planners:-

Qualification.	No. called for by	Actual results	Proportion of results to plan.
	1966 in Second Plan.	in 1966	
CAP Industriels et Artisans:	169	161	-5%
CAP Commerciaux:	76	101	+33%
CAP Féminins:	23	55	+133%
Dip. des Travaux Publics:	17	28	+60%
Dip. des Cadres Ruraux:	18	11	-40%

Average over-production 1966: 36%.

It will be appreciated that although the expectations of the Second

Plan were more nearly fulfilled than those of its predecessor, the country is still not producing enough of the required type of technically qualified student. In the period of the First Plan, expansion of technical education was carried out mainly with the aid of foreign assistance and loans. About 49 million pounds was expected to be available for the expansion of technical education from foreign sources during the course of the First Plan, but in fact only about 39 million pounds materialised. The two areas most affected by this reduction were the training programmes for women, and the rural training centres. Most of the programmes achieved only 40% of what had been expected, and many schemes were abandoned altogether.*

Shortage of money was not the only difficulty preventing the realisation of the plans for the development of technical education. The planners were hampered in 1960, and still are hampered today, because they did not know how many students would be necessary in the different branches of technical education to ensure an adequate supply of technicians. One of the imponderables was how the economy of the country would be affected by various unforeseeable factors. It was revealed by the start of the Second Plan, that the planners had underestimated by nearly 100% the costs of educational administration, nor had they been able to allow for a drop of nearly 30% in the income from groundnuts over the period 1960-63.** (It will be remembered that

* "Des retards particulièrement sensibles ont été constatés en ce qui concerne la formation professionnelle rurale et la formation féminine. Ils sont dus en grande partie à la lenteur des financements extérieurs auxquels était subordonnée la réalisation des centres de formation..." S.P. p 27.

** The main reasons for the lamentable state of the country's economy in

groundnuts are the staple cash crop in Senegal). A further problem was that it was difficult, and occasionally impossible, in 1964 to reach an objective assessment of the results of the First Plan.

The only guide the planners were able to follow was to study the numbers of trained people it would be necessary to produce to retain the status quo in 1964 allowing for retirements and transfers, and then to plan as far as possible to train more students than this basic minimum. I have emphasised during the course of this study that results obtained have never matched up either to the requirements of the country or to the demands of the various plans.

One obstacle which was not anticipated by the planners, but which has received considerable comment over the last five years, is that many technical students try to find positions in industry or commerce or administration in other sectors than those for which they have been trained. Frequently they try to obtain scholarships for courses leading to other and different qualifications. A solution to this problem would be to increase favourable propaganda about technical education, to have better careers guidance programmes, to create closer communication between the technical institutions and those sections of the economy they are supposed to serve, and finally, perhaps, to adopt a measure which is already under discussion; namely, if a student does not accept work in the profession or branch of technology for

(Continued from previous page) 1964 were: Disputes within the African Market (ie the C.F.A.); the enormous traffic in contraband goods from across the Gambian frontier; the withdrawal of French Army personnel and their families; increasing competition from abroad in the groundnut market; three bad groundnut harvests in a row due to bad weather. (Second Plan pp 41 et seq.)

which he has been trained, or if he does not stay in this type of work for a reasonable period of time after his training, then he should be held liable to repay to the Government a certain proportion of the cost of his training. This form of guarantee or bond is demanded in several countries, and it has the advantage of making sure that there is some kind of return to the community for the expense incurred in the education of the student, and also it facilitates more accurate planning of future requirements in trained manpower.

The Third Plan has taken some of these difficulties into account. The Plan accords the same high degree of priority to technical education as did its forerunners. Great importance has been attached to the training of more Senegalese teachers, and in particular, it is proposed to devote twice as much money to the training of women teachers as to the training of men. It is planned to open at least five more regional agricultural centres, and to encourage students to stay in the rural areas.

In line with recent changes in France, the Brevet d'Etudes Industrielles will no longer be awarded after 1970; instead, the students will work for the new and more difficult Brevet de Technicien. Technical education is also to be "modernised" by the re-equipping of existing departments, and the installation of new laboratories and workshops in technical establishments throughout the country. It is hoped to expand technical education by building at least two more regional centres for the technical education of women (one near Dakar, one near Saint-Louis), and a further twenty-two smaller regional centres evenly distributed in the rural areas.

As I have suggested, there is need for a better careers' guidance programme, and the planners aim to establish three more "centres d'orient-

ation scolaire et professionnelle" in the large towns of Ziguinchor, Kaolack and Diourbel, in addition to the two centres already functioning in Dakar and Saint-Louis.*

The present proposals are encouraging, but once again they are firmly tied to foreign aid. Should this aid not be forthcoming in the amounts anticipated, then it is reasonable to suppose that the first items to feel the effect of the reduced resources will be the plans for expansion of technical education of women. Technical education has suffered in the past from having its budget cut because the money was needed more urgently elsewhere, and there is nothing in the advance projects for the Third Plan which allows one to think that the estimated income will be any more reliable in the period 1969-73 than it was in the previous nine years. My own opinion is that technical education will still be the Cinderella of the formal system of education at the start of the Fourth Plan, and probably for many years later than that.

* See Chapter VI.

Chapter XVII: Past and Present Development of Higher Education.

The University of Dakar is the best in "Black Africa." M. Senghor, the President of the Republic, is proud to call his country the cultural centre of "l'Afrique Noire", and this undeniable cultural leadership is in no small measure due to the presence of the University. To call the University "Senegalese", however, is to create a false impression.

France is responsible for the bulk of the running costs, and the University is largely staffed with French teachers. During the First Plan, France contributed about 83% of the total running costs of the University, and nearly 100% of the building costs involved in the erection of the new student "cité universitaire".*

Dependence on foreign aid was the key to the development of higher education in the Second Plan, although the Senegalese contribution was expected to increase progressively in the period 1964-9. It was hoped, for example, that Senegal would contribute about three million pounds to the costs of the University in 1968, and that this sum would almost double in 1969.** It was impossible for Senegal to meet these commitments, and France was obliged to maintain its assistance at the old level.

During the Third Plan, nearly all the expansion of higher education will again be provided from foreign aid. The boarding facilities at the University will be improved, a new faculty of veterinary studies will be

* Just how small was the Senegalese involvement financially in the University in the period 1960-4 can be gauged by the fact that "Higher Education" appears in the First Plan as a note "pour mémoire seulement".

** S.P. pp 223-4.

built, and a department of stomatology. In addition, the Canadian government has agreed to finance the construction and equipping of the military school in Thies, a project which was supposed to have been realised in the Second Plan, but which was abandoned because of shortage of money.

If I have emphasised the importance of foreign aid to the University of Dakar, it is to underline the fact that much of Senegalese planning for higher education is merely speculative, and will remain so until the country pays a larger contribution to the upkeep of its own university.

The system of higher education has never produced the numbers of Senegalese diploma and degree holders expected of it. There are many reasons for this, and the answer to this disquieting problem can only come from a reappraisal and a reform of the role played by the University.

Senegal is aware of the inadequacies in higher education. Not enough students possess the basic qualifications for entrance to the University under the present regulations. The distribution of students between the faculties is too haphazard and unbalanced to meet the needs of planned development. There are too many failures among African students. Too many students are pursuing studies which are not appropriate to the needs of the country.* The percentage of students holding overseas scholarships who do not return to Senegal is too high, and too many degree holders refuse to work where they will do most good.** There are too few African teachers, and

*"La répartition des étudiants dans les diverses branches doit tenir compte des aptitudes et goûts de chacun, certes, mais également et d'une façon accrue, des besoins du pays..." F.P. p 118.

** Etude sur les orientations d'un Plan Educationnel à long terme au Sénégal.

the method of teaching, and the contents of the programmes are European rather than African in outlook.*

A partial answer to some of these problems, in the view of some Senegalese and UNESCO observers, would be to change the functions of the faculties at the University so that they could recruit their students at a pre-baccalaureat level, giving them a course of preparatory training, and then an accelerated course leading to a recognised African qualification.

Studies at the University are almost exactly the same as those undertaken for the same degree in France. The undeniably high standards mean that a degree from Dakar has the same value as a degree from any French university. While this equivalence of qualification is a testimonial to the ability of those Senegalese who obtain their degree, it is doubtful whether the retention of these standards, with the accompanying high failure rate among Africans, to say nothing of the length of the courses, is of any real benefit to Senegal. The courses have no relevance in real terms to the requirements of the country, and the "through-put" of students is not rapid enough to satisfy the demand for trained graduates.

There are several means by which the Government could exert closer control over university students, and some of these means are under discussion at the present time. The most obvious step is to offer selective scholarships; that is, to give scholarships only in those subjects, and

*Conclusion taken from "Définition, rôle, et fonction de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique et à Madagascar", in Conférence des Ministres de l'Education Nationale, Abidjan, 1967.

in such numbers as are called for in the economic plan.*

The First Plan spoke about the desirability of exercising greater control over the distribution of scholarships, the Second Plan reiterated this in stronger terms, and the Third Plan repeats the same recommendation. This is one more case of the planners failing to co-operate with the administrators over a fundamental matter of policy.

It would be in the power of the government to control admission to the different faculties simply by imposing higher entrance standards in some faculties and lower standards in others. At the moment it is impractical to do this, because the supply of suitably qualified students is in any case too small. If, however, entrance to the University could be awarded to students who had not obtained the baccalaureat, then there would be sufficient candidates for admission to make the step outlined above both practicable and useful.**

Statistics show that when a student goes to study abroad he has a strong tendency to stay in the foreign country rather than to come back to Senegal. On the personal level this attitude is understandable, but from the Government's point of view such a tendency is disquieting for obvious reasons. The remedies the Government tries to apply include the careful selection of the scholarship holders, the signing by the student of a written undertaking to return, and the giving by the welcoming country

* In 1964 a law was passed which restricted the award of scholarships abroad to those students who were going to study engineering or who were going to the Grandes Ecoles in France. This law has not been applied firmly or uniformly.

** This proposal would put an end to the ridiculous situation whereby so many students are studying for law degrees, or for the Capacité en droit.

of a guarantee not to issue the student with a work permit after the end of his studies. Even with all these guarantees many students are lost to Senegal each year.*

The foreign-trained student presents a double problem. All too often the student so completely assimilates the background and culture of his host country that he becomes a stranger to the Senegalese way of life. Frequently the student returns and finds himself unhappy with his work and living conditions, to such an extent that his work suffers. The solution to this would be to have re-adaptation courses to help the students to re-familiarise themselves with Senegalese conditions.

The Government does not have anything like this type of course at the moment, but some effort is being made by UNESCO to give students and civil servants a knowledge of African problems as opposed to the merely academic and European based knowledge they acquire during their university training. One specific advantage of such courses would be to act as in-service and refresher courses, and they could have programmes flexible enough to answer a wide variety of requirements.

In view of the economic situation in Senegal, and the high cost of each student at the University, it is permissible to wonder whether it is essential for Senegal to have a university. It would be more economical to send all Senegalese students to follow university courses abroad provided that effective measures could be devised to ensure that they came back to Senegal.

* For a more ample treatment of this problem, consult the relevant sections in "L'Etude sur les orientations d'un plan éducationnel à long terme au Sénégal", already cited.

There was ample justification for a university in Dakar when Senegal was not responsible for paying any significant proportion of the costs, and when it was the only establishment of its kind in West Africa. Its original function was to cater for students from all over French-speaking Africa, but now that there are universities in the Cameroons, in Ivory Coast, and in Nigeria, the original role of Dakar's university has been modified. It is reasonable, for example, to expect that demand for places will not remain at its present high level. On the other hand, the University of Dakar, with its modern buildings and attractive grounds is a symbol of Senegalese development and a mark of prestige, and for this reason, if for no other, it is unlikely that Senegal would sacrifice its university. One thing is to be feared, and that is, that as long as the University remains financially dependent on foreign resources, it will be Senegalese in name only, and fundamental and essential reform of the system of higher education will be opposed, and the hopes of the educational planners will continue to be unsatisfied.

Chapter XVIII: Past and Present Development of Schemes outside the Formal System of Education.

When Senegal became independent, one of the most pressing problems was to create a nation out of the many enclaves and regions of the country. The policy in the first plan was to concentrate on efforts to ensure the maximum social and economic progress along the road to nationhood, and to bring about, by the education of the masses, an awareness of a sense of national unity. It was considered of prime importance that the people should speak a common language and should be made aware of a common cultural background*.

Particular importance was attached in the First Plan to the education of adults, and although attention was paid to the problems of basic elementary education and illiteracy, greater emphasis was placed on group teaching in towns and villages to widen the horizons of both men and women. It was essential to develop new attitudes, especially in the socially important group of the middle-aged - new attitudes towards work and progress. While the Plan recognised the beneficial effects of a certain amount of tradition, it was also convinced that some traditionally

* First Plan, p 20 "Désenclaver les régions, assurer la cohésion nationale par une action intensive visant à la formation culturelle de tous les Sénégalais...." I have already described the difficulties preventing the achievement of a common culture, and the First Plan showed that the Senegalese were well aware of the magnitude of the problem."...le nombre d'adultes analphabètes est de l'ordre de 95% dans le monde rural, 75% des hommes habitant Dakar et 97% des femmes...etc...FP p 8.

conservative attitudes would have to be discouraged, particularly in the rural communities.**

Numerous proposals were entertained about the extra-curricular education of young people and adults alike. These suggestions included the establishment of sports clubs, group activities, discussion groups, organised recreation and cultural centres, holiday camps and national competitions. Cultural and regional centres were to serve the educational, physical and cultural needs of the population both in the towns and in the country. The theory was admirable, but most of the schemes fell through because of lack of planning and finance.***

In spite of its ideals and intentions, the First Plan was not successful in carrying out the various projects for mass education outside the formal system, and although the Second Plan started with the same aims as the first it had to plan on a budget of nearly 50% less than its predecessor. The total sum in the First Plan to be devoted to schemes of mass education was 7000 million francs (although this sum was never

** See Chapters II, III, IX and XI.

*** The First Plan commented on the lack of facilities for young people: "Les organisations de jeunesse et les groupements sportifs souffrent d'une grave insuffisance de moyens...les centres importants sont les seuls à posséder quelques installations du reste mal équipées et la campagne en est complètement dépourvue". (FP 119). The Second Plan reiterated more or less the same words four years later (pp 227). For details of the various schemes read Chapters IX, XI, XII.

in fact made available). In the Second Plan the total allotment for this form of education was 400 million francs.

The Second Plan was determined to build on what had been achieved in the First Plan, and to improve on it regardless of the reduced budget. The two main spheres of activity selected were the creation of rural centres for the encouragement of agricultural education and craftsmanship, and the training of "monitrices rurales", who would be able to go out into the villages, and there teach the country women about family care, hygiene, and diet while attempting to give more formal instruction in such matters as reading and writing. It is hard to evaluate the success of schemes such as these, because so much depends on the skill, imagination, enthusiasm and dedication of the individual "monitrices". French social workers to whom I have spoken are not impressed by the results so far, largely because, in spite of the provisions of the Plan, the number of "monitrices" is severely limited. It seems to me that schemes such as this, sound in theory and not expensive in practice cannot fail to produce significant and beneficial results in the fullness of time.

In addition to the more formal side of education, it was planned to extend popular education by using the information services, films, books, lectures and broadcasts. This use of the information services is a recurring theme in all planning for the development of mass education in Senegal.*

* Cf First Plan: "Toute éducation de masse repose, pour être efficace, sur des moyens modernes: l'information par les techniques audio-visuelles en est un puissant, permettant ainsi à chacun de connaître sa communauté nationale et de...

Together with more intensive use to be made of modern methods went the plan to give extra support, especially in the rural areas, to physical education and sporting activities, to be organised and stimulated by the Ministry for Youth and Culture. The aim was to foster a national "team spirit", and to provide for everyone, but especially for young people, an opportunity for and an example of working and playing together for the good of the whole community.*

The Third Plan pursues the same line of policy as the other two plans. There are three main targets: the campaign against illiteracy; the general elementary education of adults; and the cultural development of the whole population, especially in the rural areas. The Ministry of Popular Education and Culture would like to open eight new regional cultural centres, and the Ministry of Sport is planning to expand the programme, begun in the Second Plan, but not successfully pursued, of providing at least each chef-lieu in the regions with its own general

(Cont'd from page 174)

communiquer avec la communauté internationale...des camions-cinéma, équipes de films éducatifs parcourront les différentes régions, afin d'éduquer par l'image les populations villageoises...enfin les centres d'information seront décentralisés au niveau des cercles, sinon des arrondissements, afin d'avoir une action directe d'information et d'éducation: ils seront pourvus de matériel technique pour leur permettre des tournées fréquentes d'information dans le milieu rural".

* Cf. "Il s'agit de créer de nouvelles attitudes devant le progrès, de former de meilleurs producteurs et des citoyens conscients de leur responsabilité individuelle et collective". (SP).

sports stadium, a youth club, and funds for equipment.

The general cultural development of the population will be promoted by support given to the National Theatre, Arts Centres, and by devoting about £700,000 from foreign aid to the establishment of a "Cité des Arts" in Dakar. (The United Nations has agreed in principle to provide the money for the restoration and preservation of historic national sites and monuments).

Two of the most interesting projects are for the extension of the urban "animation" movement, and for expansion of the corresponding scheme in the rural areas. It is planned to increase the twelve centres which already exist in and near Dakar, and which, at the moment, cater for about 1300 women. It is hoped to create at least another twenty centres in or about six other large towns. Co-ordination between these centres will be improved, as will be the supervision of what is being done in each centre. It is intended to provide training and instruction for all the wives of soldiers serving in the Senegalese army, so that these women can help in the general spread of education wherever their husbands are posted.

The Ministry of Rural Development plans to create seven more centres for the training of "animateurs ruraux", and also wants to establish training facilities adequate enough to increase the numbers of animateurs to nearly 20,000 by the end of the Third Plan.

It is hoped to establish small regional centres for local development and projects affecting relatively small regions. The Government has been asked by the planners to find the money for 28 of these centres, with another 28 to be constructed from funds provided by foreign aid. (It is likely that all the foreign financed centres will be built, but there

will probably be insufficient money to build the Government-financed ones).

Emphasis is placed once more in the Third Plan on the importance of research into new and more effective methods of teaching, and a scheme had been suggested whereby it will be possible to train and educate the chiefs of 7000 villages of more than 100 inhabitants before the end of 1973. The planners have requested a considerable sum from the Government to supply essential materials and advisory services to peasant farmers.

Finally, the Senegalese Radio Service intends to increase its coverage of the country by the installation of more powerful transmitters, and it also hopes to begin the preparations for a television service, now planned to start in 1975.

The attempts to promote popular education take once again in the Third Plan the aim: "Modifier le comportement de l'individu afin de le rendre réceptif au progrès...et compléter l'action scolaire...et la suppléer là où elle fait défaut". In the past, all proposals for the development of popular education have been hailed with enthusiasm as both desirable and necessary, only to be put to one side as more pressing demands are made on ministerial budgets. There is, unfortunately, no reason to suppose that the Third Plan will fare any better than its predecessors in this respect.

Chapter XIX: Beyond the Third Plan.

In this chapter I shall speculate about the probable course of Senegalese education beyond the Third Plan. I shall try to examine what the planners have in mind for the period 1975-2000. This examination is possible because of articles in the Dakar Matin, broadcasts on Radio Senegal, conversations with planners and the circulation from time to time within the Ministry of Education of pamphlets such as the "Communication Relative à une organisation nouvelle des enseignements primaire et moyen au Sénégal". Although the speculations in this chapter are based on first-hand material, they must, of necessity, remain speculations, and it must not be assumed that all or any of the plans will in fact materialise during the period under review, or that they will ever be accepted officially.

The reforms planned for education are based on the fact that Senegal must improve its system if it is to be ready to play a full and active part in world affairs by 2000 A D, and that it must develop its own resources if it is to be a fit member of the "Industrial Society" of that time.*

* Cf... "mettre en place les structures qui doivent permettre l'entrée du Sénégal dans la Société Industrielle vers l'an 2000... La volonté exprimée d'accroître le revenu national, d'élever le niveau culturel et technique des plus larges couches de la nation, d'abolir les inégalités léguées par la situation historique antérieure ainsi que l'aspiration clairement énoncée par nos plus hautes instances de promouvoir une plus riche con-

(Cont'd on page 179)

The planners want to see every Senegalese enjoying the right to education written into the Constitution and in addition they wish to raise the intellectual level of the country. All this must be brought about without demanding any significant increase in the budget for education which, as I have shown, is as generous now as the economic resources of the country will allow. It is clear that the first step must be an inexpensive expansion of the system, and the second must be a re-examination of educational practice in Senegal to see where the present system is falling down.**

The physical expansion of the present system cannot be continued for long because the money is not available. Therefore the system must be expanded by other than State funds. Certain charges could easily be assumed by the people themselves.*

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-tribution de la culture africaine à la civilisation universelle, voilà les données qui fondent en principe la réforme que nous proposons..."

Communication, relative à une organisation nouvelle des enseignements primaire et moyen au Sénégal.

**"Nous nous proposons de réélaborer le contenu de notre enseignement de manière à former des jeunes utiles à la Nation, préparés à s'insérer sans heurt dans les divers secteurs de la vie nationale, conscients des valeurs de civilisation africaine et susceptible de faire leur apport dans les domaines de la science et de la technique": Conférence : Regards sur la Jeunesse Sénégalaise: J. J. Mathiam, 1969.

* In Guinea and Mali and Haute Volta primary school construction is no longer a charge on the State, boarding schools are reduced (Cont'd 180)

Using local materials, villagers are capable of building service-able buildings and of maintaining them to the required standards of safety and hygiene. (It should be remembered that in tropical countries the only real protection needed against the elements is a roof to keep the rain off during the rainy season). The adoption of this plan would permit a rapid and inexpensive expansion of the educational system. The only extra expense to the Government would be in the cost of training extra teachers and in paying their salaries. Many villages are already used to the idea of village co-operative schemes to make possible the purchase of essential materials and machines which are too expensive to be bought by individuals. It would be a small step to convince villagers that they should be responsible for all or part of the salary of their own teacher. The extra training costs would be more than off-set by the saving to the Government affected by not having to pay for the construction of primary schools.

Assuming that the expansion of the present system can be carried out as outlined above, the planners would then turn their attention to the problem of re-organising the system. I have shown that, even when a child does not gain a place in a primary school, his chance of proceeding further with his education are slight. It is the finding of educational researchers that a basic education in reading and writing must be

(Cont'd from page 179)

to a minimum and some colleges d'enseignement secondaire have been built by village communities.

pursued continuously for a period of about four years if it is to be of lasting value to a child. In Senegal, primary school-children are leaving school just after this critical stage, and although no research has been done on this subject, it is reasonable to assume that a large percentage will forget what they learnt at school.

It is planned, therefore, to increase the period of education to a minimum of nine years.** If the present entry age is retained (that is, from about the age of six to the age of eight) then the pupils leaving the system of formal education would be about sixteen or seventeen years old. The advantages of this step are these: youngsters would be more likely to retain their basic education after leaving school; they would have been at school long enough to have learnt more than elementary reading and writing; they would be able to enter their careers straightaway, and there would no longer be masses of young children thrown on the streets at the end of their primary schooling with no real qualifications, and no hope of obtaining employment. A further advantage would be that by keeping the young men in their villages or localities for a longer period it would not be necessary to have so many boarding schools, and the young people would be less cut off from their roots, and consequently less likely to wander away from their own districts.

** "il conviendrait d'éviter une interruption brutale et prématurée en assurant à chaque enfant une formation d'une durée minima de neuf années. A la fin de cette longue préparation, l'adolescent à 17 ou 18 ans, pourrait embrasser une carrière, salariée ou non..." Communication Relative à une Organisation Nouvelle des Enseignements primaire et moyen au Sénégal.

Primary education would last for five years, and be followed for everyone by a stay in a "classe de transition" lasting one year. The programmes to be followed in primary education would be the object of special commissions to be set up to deal with question.* At the end of the five year period the children would be sent to one of two types of transitional classes. The first type would be the equivalent of the present "septième" (highest class in the present primary schools), whereas the second type would be a new form of terminal class for primary education designed to orientate the children towards some form of practical vocational training. Essentially, the children selected for the first type of transitional class would go on to the present lycee style of education, whereas the others would take a more practical course of training to make them qualified craftsmen and artisans.

Selection at the end of the primary cycle would be exercised on the basis of school reports and ternaly tests throughout the whole of a child's career in the primary school. The top ten per cent would go to the first type of transitional class, and the remainder would enter the second type. At the end of the year there would be an opportunity for about five per cent of the children in the second type of transitional class to move across the system and join with the original ten per cent, making a total of about 15% of all children in the system who would pursue the old-style academic

* The guide-lines to be followed are defined: "...cet enseignement considère comme un de ses objets majeurs, à part l'acquisition des données élémentaires du savoir, la restitution de leur valeur sécurisante aux fondements de la culture nationale et la réconciliation de l'école avec son environnement social." Communication already cited.

secondary studies.

After the transitional classes it is possible that the top 15% would all go to a collège d'enseignement secondaire for a period of three years, which would, in this length of time, round off the nine year period of education in the primary and intermediate stages. The other 85% would go into what would be called "classes de formation professionnelle et pré-professionnelle," for a similar period of three years to complete their period of basic education.

Since the first type of transitional class would lead to an intermediate education which differs but slightly from the present lycee system, little re-organisation of curricula would be necessary, except perhaps for an added emphasis which might be given to technical subjects. The other type of intermediate education, "l'enseignement moyen pratique" would pose various problems of organisation. It is recommended that the teaching should concentrate on agricultural education, and that the main efforts of this sort of education should necessarily be made in the rural areas, without, however, forgetting the different needs of town children.* The planners recognise the difficulty of implementing and elaborating this sort of programme, and suggest that the exact form of the instruction to be given should be made the object of research. The only thing the planners are clear about is that the style of the education would not rely on the classical methods and tools,

*The aim of this type of education would be to "donner une telle formation que les adolescents de 15 à 17 ans qui en sont issus, trouvent dans la vie active la place à partir de laquelle ils contribueront au développement de l'économie, à la transformation de la société, et à l'épanouissement de leur personnalité..." Communication already cited, p 10.

and would not take place in the classical type of schools.

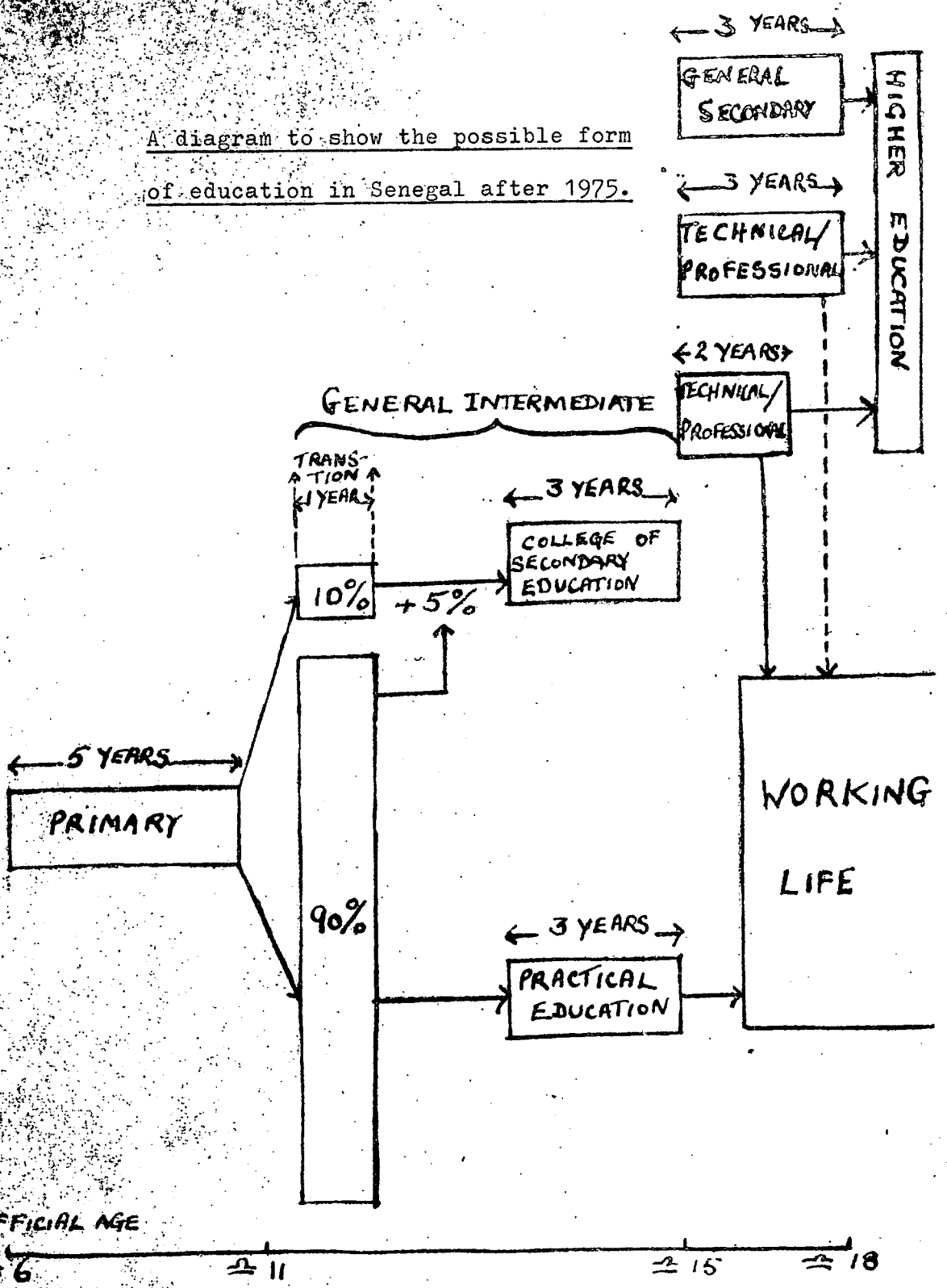
At the end of the suggested nine year period of primary and intermediate education, those pupils in the practical vocational courses would leave, theoretically to take up their life's work as modern peasant farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen, cattle-men and fishermen, trained domestic workers and so on. The students in the general intermediate form of education would have a choice at the end of their three years. They could either study advanced technical subjects, (a long course of three years, probably leading to the University; or a short course of two years leading to a brevet or a diploma), or they could follow the old-style general lycee course, leading to the baccalaureat and the University. For general and technical studies at this level of secondary education the teaching would have to be done in the existing lycees which would thus become a type of sixth form college.

The suggest^{ed} re-organisation would give this picture: General entrance to primary education for everyone (eventually) at the age of about six; this stage to be followed for ten per cent of the children by a year in a "classe de transition générale", and for the other ninety per cent by one year in a "classe de transition pratique". (Five per cent of this latter group would have the opportunity of moving across at the end of the transition year to join their more academic fellows.)

Three years of general intermediate education in a "collège d'enseignement secondaire" would be followed for the academic pupils by two or three more years in a lycee, either receiving general secondary education, or else technical and professional training. The children in practical education would have three years' of training at the intermediate level before leaving school to find work.

A plan of the suggested organisation would look like this

A diagram to show the possible form of education in Senegal after 1975.



The planners count among the benefits to be expected from this reform, if it were to be adopted, the amelioration "des conséquences économiques catastrophiques de l'analphabétisme des masses, de la scolarisation minoritaire, de la formation inadaptée et des déperditions de l'enseignement actuel..." The reform would lead to "une solution perfectible et progressive capable de fournir en l'an 2000 non seulement les cadres dont la Nation aura besoin, mais aussi les centaines et les centaines de milliers d'hommes et de femmes éclairés et conscients qui en dernière analyse seront les artisans de la société nouvelle..."

The problems inherent in such a re-organisation are serious. The whole programme depends on the willing collaboration of the people; the ability of the country to train sufficient teachers; the elaboration of new methods and curricula; the voluntary acceptance of reform by the teachers, pupils and parents; the efficiency of the projected selection at the age of eleven; the accuracy of the planners' estimate that 15% of children following the cycle of education leading to advanced qualifications is a percentage both adequate and feasible. In various earlier chapters of this study I have shown that these problems have raised their head before in the story of Senegalese education, and so far they have not been solved satisfactorily. Set this fact against the economic background to the proposed reform* and I am not optimistic about its chances of success. The really hopeful factor is that the planners have revealed that they are

* "Il s'agit de parvenir aux résultats envisagés sans compter, à court ou à moyen terme, sur un taux de croissance exceptionnel du budget des départements éducationnels, ni de l'aide extérieure dont on connaît la tendance régressive ou stationnaire actuelle..." Communication cited p 12.

thinking in concrete terms for the long-term future development of the educational system, that they are bringing more realism than idealism to their task, and that they have shown a willingness to contemplate change.

Any reform of the secondary system of education can be expected to lead to reform in higher education. Plans for higher education are not well formulated because most of the control of the University is outside Senegalese hands. It is possible, however, to suggest what course the reform of higher education might take once Senegal is in complete control of the University. These suggestions are based on ideas which have been published from time to time in the Dakar Matin and broadcast on Radio Senegal.

It is clear that far greater control will be exercised over University scholarships, and over the students' choice of subjects. There will inevitably be closer collaboration between the external authorities, the faculty members and the students to ensure the smoother running of the administration of the University and the better adaptation of the types of course offered to suit the requirements both of the students and of the country.

The function of the Faculty of Law will be modified, and the present "capacite en droit" courses will probably be abolished and replaced by some form of business management course. As the Faculty of Law is already amalgamated with the Faculty of Economic Sciences, the courses at this faculty will probably be more precisely orientated to give advanced vocational and professional training with a commercial bias. Such a step should be feasible and inexpensive.

It is to be hoped that, in spite of the official vow to "africanise" the teaching staff of the University*, this step will not be taken too

*Article in the Dakar Matin, 23 August, 1968.

hurriedly for fear that standards would suffer badly, and that the University would fall between two stools, neither fulfilling the old requirements of its traditional French academic past, nor yet answering the new needs of the developing State.

As was shown by the recent establishment of the Ecole de Médecine Militaire, it is most likely that students will be encouraged to take post-secondary studies without necessarily possessing the baccalaureat, and they will be allowed to follow useful courses of study more adapted to the needs of the country and at a lower level than is required for present degree courses. This is not to suggest that professional abilities will be any the less because of the different pass standards, merely that the students will have shorter courses of study, more specifically orientated towards the requirements of their society, less theoretical perhaps, but more practical and more immediately useful to the country.

There is no doubt in my mind that this sort of reform will come about eventually, but how long will be required before Senegal has sufficient control over university affairs to effect the reform lies in the realm of pure conjecture. My own estimate would be about ten years or longer. It would be desirable to effect the reform of the University at the latest in time to receive the first out-put of the proposed reform of the secondary system, that is to say, about 1988. In the next twenty years the economic situation in Senegal might be quite different from what it is today, but since there has been no appreciable change in the situation in the past nine years, I fear that there will be no change in the next two decades. If this is so, then Senegal will need all of twenty or thirty years to bring about any worthwhile reform of the system.

Chapter XX: General Conclusion.

The most important resource possessed by Senegal is its people. It is only by the most careful consideration of the education of these people that Senegal will be able to benefit from its rich human reserves.* It is clear that great attention is being paid in Senegal to trying to solve the problems of educating the people. It is hoped that future plans will be more rewarding than past attempts to resolve the difficulties.

Most of the population are peasant farmers who still work their land in inefficient ways, and who are still unaware of their vital role in the development of the economy of the country. If one makes generous allowance for the vagaries of the climate, the inaccessibility of many parts of the country, and the unreliability of State capital investment, it remains true that a mere fraction of the possibilities in agriculture, cattle rearing, fishing and forestry has been realised. Future successful development of the country will depend to a large extent on attempts to educate the mass of the

*The results already obtained, the experience which has been acquired, the fixed policies and projects which have been planned will allow new progress to be made in the training of the people, that is to say, in education... development is more rapid, if it is brought about by men who are more resolute in their actions and better prepared to undertake their functions. The programmes which have been worked out by the planners bear witness to the emphasis brought to bear by the State, and supported by important aid from overseas, on the formation of technicians, farmers, civil servants and clerks all endowed with greater technical ability. But this ability which will enable them to produce more..., would not be sufficient if it were not reinforced in each newly-trained citizen by a new determination and attitude of mind. S.P.

people in modern techniques. It is essential that the old traditional attitudes should be changed. Farmers should be taught to realise that they are not working for themselves alone, but for the whole nation; they must be encouraged to grow new crops; they must produce greater quantities for market both at home and abroad.

In the towns, only ten per cent of the working population are factory workers. Senegal does not have the mineral or economic resources to build up heavy industry, but it could make significant advances in the development of light industry. There are two main difficulties: the taxes levied on imported goods and machinery and raw materials are exceptionally heavy, and there is still not adequate provision for the training of industrial apprentices. It is certain that Senegal could encourage both the development of industry and the stimulation of apprentice training schemes, simply by making some trading and tax concessions to international companies prepared to guarantee to establish training schemes which would then cost Senegal nothing.

Efforts to convert the peasants to more modern practices must not lead the administration into the error of giving the rural areas a "second best" system of education. At the moment, youngsters in isolated districts feel that theirs is an inferior education. (Senegal is by no means the only country in which technical or agricultural education is considered inferior to more academic education.) To change this view would require a cultural revolution, and although this complete change of opinion would take a long time to bring about, the Government could be doing more now by training more agricultural specialists, equipping more rural centres at the expense, if need be, of the traditional lycees, and by maintaining an intensive propa-

ganda campaign to show the importance of agriculture in particular and of manual and technical work in general.

The failure rate of pupils during the various stages of the educational system is high. It is apparent that the old basis and justification of the system have gone, and as the country moves closer to mass education, and away from the idea of the formation of a small privileged elite, there must be some change in the quality of the education offered. Whenever education has ceased to be the prerogative of the few, the style of education has had to change to accommodate the many. Moreover, the type of education has to be modified to meet the changing circumstances of a country's economy and policies.*

* There has been no lack of experiment and ideas to determine how the quality of education in Senegal should be changed: Cf. Diop, Etude sur la Situation de la Jeunesse au Sénégal, pp 220-221: "Depuis l'accession à l'indépendance, des controverses se sont opposées sur...l'importance de réformes dans le domaine de la formation...de la jeunesse.

Le problème était, en effet, l'un des plus cruciaux pour la Nation, puisqu'il concerne ses forces vives, numériquement plus importantes que dans la plupart des autres pays; d'autre part, la prise de conscience de l'essor démographique devait conduire à rechercher des solutions dans un délai assez bref. Il ne fait pas de doute que le développement du Sénégal passera par la résolution de ces problèmes.

On avait pu croire...que l'adaptation - l'africanisation - des programmes...tout en conservant à l'enseignement des rapports étroits avec celui qui est prodigué en Europe, pouvait suffire. Mais on s'est rapidement

(Continued on next page../..)

Senegal has been hampered by having a form of education firmly tied to French academic traditions. The men responsible for the administration of the country are gradually beginning to realise that this form of education is not the most suitable for a country which is trying to develop quickly and in its own way. Greater efforts are now being made to examine the content and suitability of academic curricula in schools, with the aim of basing these programmes more on principles which have immediate relevance to the needs of the country. These efforts are encouraging, but they are only the initial stages of an educational revolution.

How could the system be adapted to make it more suitable to conditions in Senegal ? Attempts have been made to improve methods of teaching and to alter programmes of study, but this is no answer to some of the basic problems. Although shortage of money is a considerable difficulty, it is not necessarily the most crucial problem. Ultimately the essential barrier

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rendu compte qu'il en est de l'enseignement comme de la voie de développement: utiliser la méthode de l'Occident, c'est s'imposer une progression indubitable mais excessivement lente, ne parvenant pas à suivre celle des besoins et celle de la population. En ce domaine comme dans de nombreux autres, il importe que l'Afrique trouve une voie originale, qui s'attache à répondre à la spécificité de ses besoins.

Les expériences n'ont pas manqué...(mais) souvent, la voie recherchée l'a été dans les théories, qui n'ont cessé ces dernières années d'être opposées les unes aux autres. Aucune ne nie la nécessité de scolariser les jeunes et de former des paysans ouverts au progrès. Mais elles se distinguent, lorsqu'elles ne s'opposent pas, sur les moyens à mettre en oeuvre pour atteindre cet objectif."

to overcome is the unwillingness of most people to accept change and the lack of determination on the part of planners and administrators to impose necessary change.*

In Niger there is a successful large-scale experiment using television to teach primary school subjects to large numbers of children. The advantages are clear. The children can all be taught by experts employing the latest methods and equipment. The quality of the individual teacher in the classroom is no longer so important, although his presence is still necessary to serve as an incentive to the children and to guide them when they find difficulties.

Under this type of system the old-style, poorly-trained teacher would become a thing of the past. No longer would he be able to stunt the intellectual growth of a whole community for the period of his active service. This is not to suggest that television and radio are instant panaceas for all educational ills, but they could play a valuable role in the educational development of backward countries.

* Cf. "Je suis persuadé que... nous sommes capables de civisme, de mobilisation et d'effort. Rien ne nous condamne à la médiocrité, pas même notre prétendue pauvreté... En réalité, ce que l'on appelle la richesse n'est pas déterminant comme facteur de développement. On peut mourir dans la misère sur les océans de pétrole... ou au milieu d'une nature luxuriante. Les vieux économistes le disaient: "Il n'est de richesse que d'hommes". Ce qui est déterminant dans le développement, c'est la qualité des hommes. Leur volonté politique, et leur capacité administrative et technique de changer le cours des choses." Regard sur la Jeunesse Sénégalaise, une conférence de Joseph Mathiam, Part 3, reported in the Dakar Matin, 22 May 1969.

The traditional system of secondary education is both wasteful and expensive. I have shown that there is an enormous difference between the per capita costs of education in a lycee and in a collège d'enseignement général. While attempts and plans have been made to construct more CEG's, the lycees are still being heavily and unnecessarily subsidised by the State at the expense of other forms of education. In any programme to re-organise secondary education, to make it less expensive and more efficient, priority must be given to the fact that it would be preferable and profitable to establish sufficient collèges d'enseignement général to cater for the first cycle of secondary education throughout the country, leaving the lycees as sixth form colleges to deal with the second cycle.

The advantages of adopting a wide-spread system of CEG's are two-fold. There would be financial benefits, but more important still, the less expensive CEG's could be set up in minor towns throughout the country, in the heart of rural areas, thus allowing a greater proportion of the country's youth to be educated in their own districts - a measure which would surely encourage the youngsters to stay in the country regions rather than going to the towns.

Rural children must be given equal opportunities with town children. It is important, too, to give young men and women a reasonable share in the responsibility for the development of their own areas - both by the opportunities offered in the National Civic Service, and in local village affairs by making an earnest effort to convince the older, more conservative elements in the villages that the young are not always wrong, and that they are, in many ways, more qualified to judge and practise modern methods and techniques than are the older generation. Tradition must no longer be allowed to rule as an inviolable law, and the administration should be more de-central-

ised, to allow the outlying regions a greater say in their own local affairs.

A problem which seems impossible to solve by any short-term answer is that posed by the cultural gap which exists between the home background of the children and the schools. The parents of many children are unable to participate in or understand the strains and difficulties experienced by their children when they go to school. This lack of understanding is aggravated when the children go on to higher forms of education. Time will do much to heal this situation, but the difficulty could be minimised sooner by increased efforts to teach older people to read and write, and by social welfare campaigns.

In the schools themselves, more could be done to ease the initial strain on pupils by using curricula and methods which take greater account of the traditional and cultural background of the children. Most African children have a strong oral tradition - and it is not for nothing that Senegal is sometimes referred to as the "pays du dialogue". The academic programme, particularly in the primary schools, should take greater notice of the fact that the children love talking and discussions, have a deep knowledge of and regard for natural things, are enchanted by tales and myths with an African background.

Too often in the primary schools the classroom is oppressive in character because of over-rigid discipline. Subjects are taught in a dull and academic manner which quickly bores and confuses the children. The contents of the lessons are frequently based on the environment familiar to French children in France, but totally alien to the experience of an African child. With improved teacher-training, and greater encouragement both from the inspectorate and the Bureau Pédagogique, this situation is

changing for the better, but it is not changing rapidly enough. The waste of talent among the pupils who find the present system rebarbative and stultifying is appalling. Equally scandalous is the lavish expenditure of hard-earned and difficult to obtain funds on an outmoded system of education which is geared neither to the needs of the country, nor to the talents and abilities of the children it is supposed to educate.

It is not merely at the primary level that the programmes of instruction are ill-adapted to the needs of the country and the pupils. This is a problem which occurs at all levels throughout the whole system of education. There are signs that changes are taking place*, but these changes will not be effective, especially at the higher levels, until a break has been made with the academic traditions inherited by the Senegalese from France.

Attempts to retain the parity of Senegalese examinations with those

* Cf. these statements which indicate the trend of current Senegalese thought:

"L'Enseignant de l'école primaire ne serait plus offusqué d'aborder dès le Cours Élémentaire, quelques problèmes techniques simples et des notions élémentaires de vie civique; ces deux éléments à introduire dans l'enseignement primaire doivent être considérés comme d'une priorité équivalente à celle donnée à l'enseignement général, dès que les premières notions de calcul, d'orthographe et de grammaire ont été assimilées; ...L'Enseignement du secondaire ferait également une place plus importante à l'acquisition des connaissances technologiques, surtout au cours du premier cycle. Ce cycle, préparant autant au second cycle général qu'au second cycle technique, les programmes devront mettre en évidence l'intérêt des métiers présentant le plus de débouchés."

Diop, op.cit. pages 236 and 241.

OMISSION:Footnote to page 197.

* Now that Senegal, in addition to its already strong links with former French West Africa, is looking for political alliances further afield with other African countries, I should like to see drawn up a scale of recognised standards, to be adopted throughout the whole of French-speaking Africa, for examinations and diplomas which would be in greater accordance with the needs of those countries.

at the same level in France have no relevance to the needs of Senegal, where a shorter version of French education, with a more practical and technical bias, would be both more beneficial to the country, and less expensive, and at the same time would provide a relatively rapid solution to some of the more pressing problems. A system of education, revised in accordance with these principles, would increase the "through-put" of pupils, while still giving adequate training for the place the children will occupy in society after leaving school.*

It is important to consider the cost, in terms other than money, of those children who do not finish courses of primary and secondary education successfully. A high proportion of these children feel themselves to be second-class, under-privileged citizens; they have seen their opportunities recede, and are left feeling bitter, resentful and frustrated that they are forever precluded from enjoying the opportunities offered to their more fortunate brothers. In a socialist society which, in 1960, was determined to provide free universal primary education by 1975, such a high proportion of malcontents can only be dangerous for the regime, and harmful to the general development of the country.

Almost the only thing these rejects of the educational system have learned is a contempt for manual work. This attitude makes them unwilling to take the one type of work for which they are fitted, and often turns them into petty criminals or parasites living useless lives, depending on the charity of relatives and friends. Schemes such as the National Civic Service, greater concentration in the primary schools on teaching the children to acquire manual skills, and encouragement of practical work have all helped to change slightly the attitude of the younger generation towards manual

and agricultural work, but far more emphasis must be placed on educating young people to appreciate the dignity and practical value of such work if the problem of juvenile and adolescent dissent and unrest is to be overcome.*

A valuable first step in the process of convincing young people in Senegal of the dignity of manual work would be to convince the teachers themselves of this dignity. Writing about a pre-1960 experiment in rural schools, M. R. Dumont said**:"The teacher was generally incompetent in agricultural matters, and so was incapable of making any valid contribution towards technical progress. He often despised manual work, and work in the fields, and considered himself an intellectual whose prime task was to form other intellectuals like himself. For these reasons he sent pupils to work in the garden as a punishment; an action which was not calculated to make

* "Les dimensions de l'action à entreprendre imposent qu'il n'y ait pas de dispersion des moyens. C'est pourquoi on devra concentrer les disponibilités financières et humaines sur la formule qui nous semble la mieux adaptée au monde rural: les Chantiers de Service Civique...(Diop, op.cit. p 246)...On doit observer que les Maisons...de la Culture, qui se signalent...par leur rôle dans l'analphabétisation, doivent devenir de véritables Centres d'éducation populaire...(ibid. p 245)...Il importe d'introduire également le goût du travail manuel...en ville comme en brousse...en milieu rural l'école doit préparer les jeunes paysans aux tâches qui attendent la quasi-totalité d'entre eux. Le travail manuel sera appliqué non seulement dans le jardin scolaire entourant l'école, mais encore dans des champs d'expérimentation fournis par la collectivité villageoise lorsque celle-ci est quelque peu animée...les enfants seraient initiés à la gestion de cette petite production témoin, et pourraient devenir d'emblée des co-opérateurs actifs à la sortie de l'école." (ibid. p237). ** R.Dumont: "Tiers-Monde", Review No. 17.

them like this sort of work. Moreover, the garden was often adapted from a European model, with vegetables not normally grown in Senegal, the cultivation and exhibition of which were a matter of pride and nothing else."

A larger part of teacher-training courses must be devoted to teaching primary school teachers (and, for preference, secondary teachers, too) a liking for, and a knowledge of, agriculture, and also to giving them the ability to impart their knowledge and enthusiasm to the children they teach. Instruction of this type is being given to teachers, but insufficient importance is attached to this aspect of teacher-training. Gardens, financed by the FAO and UNESCO funds, have been flourishing in the schools for some years, but it is hard to evaluate the success of schemes like this when so much depends on the personality and ability of the individual teachers, with the result that what is successful in one school is an abysmal failure in another.

One can merely comment that such experiments represent a step in the right direction, and it is regrettable that they have not been carried further. Their real significance is that they mark an earnest attempt to adapt the system of education to the needs of the country and those of the pupils.

It is unprofitable for a teacher to attempt to produce only intellectuals when there is a desperate shortage of practical workers. Indeed, such a course is worse than unprofitable if the sole result is to produce children with a disdain for and no knowledge of manual work, likely to swell the ranks of the unemployed when they leave school, thus becoming a liability instead of an asset to the society which sacrificed so much to give them their education.

Should education be considered a right? In a former French colony it is not surprising that the automatic, instinctive answer to this question should be that all men are equal, and should have an equal right to education. It is, however, permissible to wonder about the validity of this answer, bearing in mind the economic circumstances prevailing in Senegal.

Senegal cannot keep pace with the planned expansion of the system of education. Already the percentage of the gross national budget devoted to education is considered inordinately high by the majority of foreign economists and Senegalese planners alike. It seems that the ideal of primary education which is both free and universal is a dream for the distant future. There will be no equality of opportunity in education, or in anything else, in Senegal for many years to come.* It seems that, since only the lucky few will enjoy not the right but the privilege of an education financed by the labours and sacrifices of the many, these few should be more carefully selected and even more carefully trained to develop them into the kind of men and women of whom the country has most need. So long as education remains a privilege and not a right no child should be allowed to squander his talents pursuing an unsuitable form of education.

An examination of the costs of education shows that the traditional lycee style of schooling is far more expensive than any other form of pre-

*In the international African conference on education in Kinshasa in January 1969, M. M'Bow, the Senegalese delegate, accepted the revised ideals for education in the emerging countries: a minimum of 50% in primary schools as soon as possible, and about 15% going on to formal academic secondary training. (Present figures in Senegal: about 40% in primary education, and, in 1968, about 18% of these going on to academic secondary studies.)

university training. Moreover, about 45% of lycee pupils fail to finish their courses satisfactorily. It seems reasonable to apply more rigid standards of selection at the level of entry into the lycee system, thus trying to ensure that the failure rate is cut to a more acceptable five or ten per cent. The money saved in the application of this measure could be used in the expansion of rural primary schools which, with a sensibly revised programme of studies would be profitable both to the nation and to the children. There is every justification, in my opinion, for such a revision of the educational system, both on egalitarian and utilitarian grounds.

The government must exercise greater control over the choice of careers made by students at the end of their training. Students should be allocated to those areas of the country, and to those posts where their presence is most necessary. If Senegal does not take steps to achieve this control, some of the best talent will be wasted as far as developing the country is concerned. Senegal must not sacrifice its chance of future successful development out of an exaggerated respect for the principle of equal opportunity and from too great regard for the liberty of the individual and freedom of individual choice.

It should be possible for the State to offer salary incentives and other inducements which would encourage students to take up more essential posts and make them less inclined to choose the less essential positions.* In this way the popularity of technical education could be ensured over general secondary education, and posts in industry and social services could be made more attractive than posts in the civil service. Propaganda efforts

* Such a step has already been recommended in the case of teachers:

could capture "la volonté consciente des hommes", which is essential if the country is to enjoy successful economic development.

There is little which can be done immediately about the shortage of teachers without lowering the standards required for entry to the profession. On the one hand, the State cannot afford to pay more for the training of teachers, and, on the other, one can scarcely justify a shortening of the length of training required since this would automatically lead to a reduction in the quality of teachers. Some measure of solution might be to persuade the villagers themselves to pay for their own teachers, forming "educational co-operatives" to pay for the training and eventually the salary of the community's own primary school teacher, while at the same time providing a suitable school, built out of local materials and constructed to government specifications.**

It is important that Senegal should reduce its dependence on assistance given by foreign aid, and particularly its dependence on a supply of secondary school teachers from this source. This must be a long-term policy, but it is not a step to be shirked if Senegal is not to be hampered in the future by too much foreign interference and influence. The acceptance of foreign aid automatically imposes conditions on the nation which accepts

** See Chapter XIX.

(../..Continued from footnote on page 201..) "Les enseignants seraient incités à demeurer dans le monde rural...par un niveau de traitement favorisant les instituteurs des villes de l'intérieur par rapport à ceux de Dakar, et les instituteurs des villages par rapport à ceux des villes."

(Diop, op.cit. p 239). This recommendation has not yet been adopted, and the teacher in Dakar still enjoys a cost of living bonus to compensate him for working in the capital.

that aid. A country's whole policy can be thrown to one side by the threat of a withdrawal or reduction of aid. A heavily subsidised nation will always find it difficult to carry out a programme of reforms if those reforms are not acceptable to the country or countries providing assistance. It follows that the more economically independent a country is, the greater chance it has of developing in its own way.

In the long run, the solutions to the problems in Senegal will only be found once the aims of the programme of development have been clearly defined. Everything which conflicts with the achievement of these aims must then be thrust to one side. If Senegal is quickly to become a modern country with a sound technology and with the agricultural development necessary to sustain the national economy, then more encouragement must be given to the priority formation of medium grade technicians and of trained peasant farmers rather than to the training of an intellectual and privileged elite. Senegal does not need to spend more money on education, but it must spend what money is available more wisely. Cuts must be made in those parts of the system which are more expensive or less productive than they should be.

The country should not make a desperate and financially crippling attempt to bring about universal formal education, even at the primary level. By training more travelling educators, social workers, advisers and consultants on all matters concerned with the life and work of the people, Senegal could achieve better and quicker results than by attempting to cram more children into already over-crowded classrooms. The form and organisation of such services would be hard to plan, but it is easy to envisage a body of people, organised as a technical and teaching army, controlled on a para-military basis, perhaps under the same conditions of service as national

servicemen in other countries. These trained young people would make every possible use of methods of mass communication, radio, films, press, and eventually television, and would establish centres and local headquarters in all the major towns and villages throughout the country.

Ultimately the development of Senegal will be determined by the Senegalese themselves. They will not be successful until they have thrown off the shackles of an outmoded system of education, and replaced this system by one more directly linked to the immediate needs of the nation. It is to be hoped that they will be more positive and practical in their future planning*, for only by so being will they achieve the success they are striving after.

At the end of the "Politics" of Aristotle are these words: "It is clear that we have three distinct features to look for in education - the happy mean, the possible, and the appropriate."** If this test is applied to the system of education in Senegal, it is apparent that neither students nor government are satisfied, the financial effort demanded by the present system is too great for the country to bear, and the failure rate of the students indicates that the education they receive is not appropriate to their needs.

Clearly, the system of education is unsuitable, and this is why the

* "Cette adaptation exigera, par conséquent, une modification des mentalités administratives, dont nous ne sous-estimons pas les difficultés de réalisation. En particulier, la réussite du système...nécessite une véritable coopération des Ministères concernés...qui cherchent plus souvent à s'affronter sur un partage de crédits marginaux qu'à collaborer efficacement." Diop, op.cit. p249

** Aristotle: The Politics. Trans. T.A. Sinclair.

Penguin. p316.

next decade is going to be so important for education in Senegal: either the country will follow the ideas of the more enlightened planners and make good progress towards developing as a modern nation in its own right; or the system will become so inappropriate to the needs of the nation that Senegal will enter on a new colonial era, as dependent on foreign assistance for its needs as it was in the old colonial days.

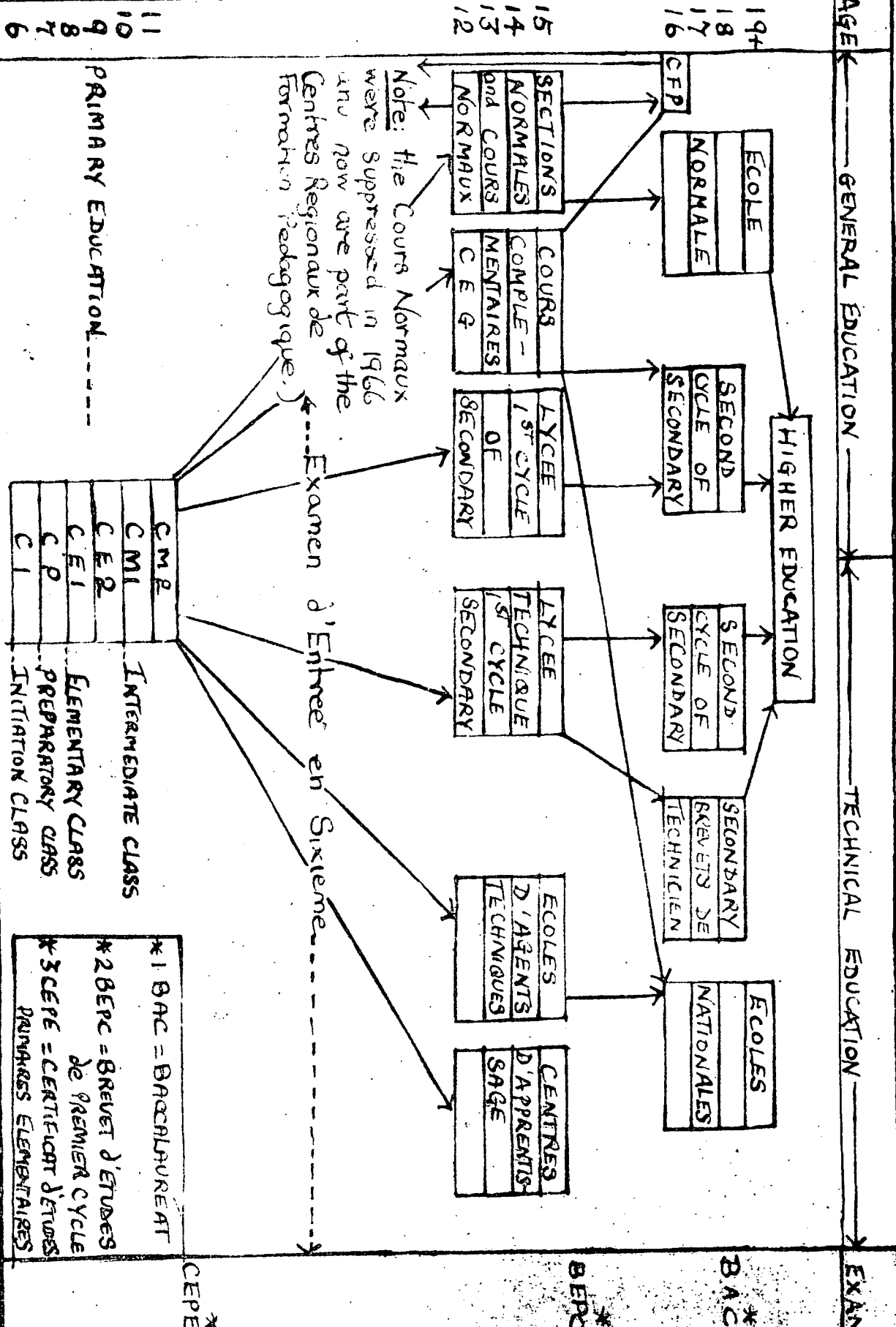
THE END.

Appendix 1: Table to show the development of education since 1955.

(The statistics are taken from those used at the "Conference on education and scientific and technical training with regard to their bearing on development in Africa", UNESCO, Nairobi, July, 1968.)

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Total teachers.</u>	<u>Women.</u>	<u>No. of pupils.</u>	<u>Girls.</u>	<u>% Girls.</u>
<u>Primary Education:</u>					
1955	1239	-	62,097	17,510	29
1959	3021	426	106,911	34,786	33
1965	5133	798	218,795	79,430	36
<u>General Secondary Education:</u>					
1955	212	-	4,822	1,272	26
1959	285	115	7,844	1,897	24
1965	885	211	25,574	6,656	26
<u>Secondary Technical Education:</u>					
1955	-	-	2,066	517	25
1959	-	-	2,867	-	-
1965	384	-	6,865	-	-
<u>Teacher Training:</u>					
1955	36	-	-	-	-
1959	36	13	692	193	28
1965	60	30	826	242	29
<u>Students at Post-Secondary Level:</u>					
1955	581.				
1960	1,391.				(of whom 240 were girls).
1965	2,312.				(of whom 445 were girls).

Appendix 2: Diagram to show the organisation of education in Senegal



Appendix 3: Map of Senegal (Administrative).

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NOTE:

This bibliography contains the books and articles which I have found most useful as a source of information. It is not intended to be a compendium of general literature about education in Senegal, nor is it an exhaustive list of all the works I have consulted. The bibliography is arranged in sections, but it has not always been possible to draw clear distinctions between the categories. In some cases a book has been placed in the section where I found it most useful, even if the book deals with other aspects of Senegalese education. Many of the books and articles are difficult to obtain outside Senegal. In Dakar, the most likely places to find the reference materials are:-

1. The National Archives: (Service des Archives): to be found in the basement of the main administrative building in Dakar; in the same building are most of the ministries of the Republic.
2. Conseil Economique et Social: Av. Pasteur, Dakar.
3. Groupe Régional de Planification de l'Education, Unesco. Boulevard de la Republique, Dakar.
4. Assemblée Nationale. Place Tascher, Dakar.
5. Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar. University of Dakar.
6. Bureau de Statistiques. University of Dakar.
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