

Policy Measures to Improve the Quality of Education in Burkina Faso¹

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1. Introduction

According to the EFA Monitoring report 2008 (UNESCO: 2008) many Sub-Saharan African countries will not reach the four main quantifiable EFA goals by the target year of 2015. Burkina Faso is one of the low achievers in terms of primary school enrollment rates (72.8% GRE in 2008). One may wonder, whether such countries should not focus on improving access to basic education for all and worry less about quality. Yet the Dakar framework for action stated clearly that EFA means quality education for all. This explains why Burkina Faso, while making headways in terms of access over the last decade thanks to its ten-year development plan (PDDEB), has been taking a certain number of policy measures to improve the quality and relevance of education. The second phase of PDDEB and the current general education reform both lay a special focus on quality

The present contribution does not aim at describing exhaustively these policy measures or evaluating their efficiency. We shall first summarize the current situation of education in Burkina Faso, take a cursory historical view of the key policy measures aiming at improving the quality of education and then veer into a theoretical orientation by proposing a framework for analyzing and understanding policy measures for quality improvement. The concrete measures will then be discussed briefly within the perspective of the model. We shall conclude by raising a few key issues arising from our review of the Burkinabe case. This paper is more an academic exercise than a comprehensive survey or a country report. We hope it will contribute to the debate on quality education.

Most of our discussion will focus on basic education to avoid spreading ourselves too thin.

2. The current Situation of formal Basic Education in Burkina Faso

According to the 2007 Education Orientation Law (Burkina Faso, 2007), basic education covers primary school (6 years) and lower secondary school (3 years).

Pre-school education is mostly limited to a few private kindergartens generally located in major cities. Formal education is subdivided into three levels: primary, secondary and higher

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education.

Primary school lasts six years and closes with a primary school leaving certificate (CEP). Secondary school is divided into two cycles: the first cycle (junior secondary school) lasts 4 years and leads to the BEPC degree. The second cycle lasts 3 years and ends with the secondary school leaving degree (Baccalauréat) that corresponds to the A levels.

Despite significant progress made these last few years, the country is still far from reaching Basic Education For All. The gross primary school enrolment rate was 6.4% in 1965, 19% in 1995, 27.5% in 2001 and 72.8% in 2008. This overall national rate varies according to gender and region. Some remote rural areas have no access to school and classes tend to be overcrowded in urban areas reaching sometimes 200 pupils per class. Twenty (20) out of the 45 provinces of the country have been declared priority provinces because of their particularly low school enrolment rates.

There is strong pressure for access to secondary and higher education. To enter public secondary school, pupils must, in addition to the CEP exam, pass a competitive test (*Concours d'entrée en 6^e*), the results of which depend more on the number of places available than on the candidate's competence. The passage from secondary school to university is less restricted but many material problems make it difficult for many high school graduates to complete higher education. The 2007 Education Orientation Law and the current educational reform make the passage from primary to junior secondary school automatic in principle but this measure is only effective in 45 experimental administrative departments.

The States General on Education (*Etats Généraux de l'Education*) held in 1994 and other forums and studies on education have identified a certain number of problems related to access, equity, quality and management which the government is trying to solve through a Ten Year Basic Education Development Plan (*Plan Décennal de Développement de l'Education de Base, PDDEB*). In terms of quality and relevance, primary education is still characterised by high repetition and drop-out rates and the curricula and teaching methods have no obvious link with the resolution of the daily problems of the community and the preparation for active life.

3. Recent Policies Related to Basic Education

3.1 A historical overview of educational policies

We can summarize the historical development of the Burkinabe educational system as follows:

During the colonial period (last decade of the 19th century to the independence of the country in 1960) the educational system and the curricula were a replica of the French educational system.

In 1962 the curriculum was slightly revised, but it was only between 1974 and 1984 that the country really launched a major reform of its educational system. Among other innovations we can mention the introduction of local languages, productive work and an emphasis on community involvement. The results of the experimentation seemed promising but it was abruptly ended in 1984 by a political decision of the then revolutionary regime of the country.

A reform project called *L'Ecole Révolutionnaire Burkinabè* [the Burkinabè revolutionary school system] was designed in 1986 and it was supposed to be implemented straight away without any form of experimentation. It included quite a few radical ideas such as introducing English as a foreign language alongside French as well as computer science in primary school and the elimination of diplomas. For some undisclosed reasons the project was quickly shelved.

In 1994, some seven years after the end of the revolution, the country called a huge national forum on education (*Les Etats Généraux de l'Education*) [States General of education] attended by representatives of all stakeholders to diagnose the problems of the educational system and propose new orientations. The recommendations of this forum were translated into an education orientation law (*Loi d'orientation de l'Education n° 013/ADP*) adopted in 1996. This law was further specified by an education policy letter in 2001. Another forum on education was held in 2002.

The most important development resulting from the States General was the ten year basic education development plan (PDDEB) (*Plan Décennal de Développement de l'Education 2001-2010*). The first phase of the plan ended in 2006 and the second phase is now being implemented alongside a general reform launched in 2007.

The 1996 Education Orientation Law (*Loi d'orientation de l'Education*) was replaced by a new law (*Loi n° 013/AN Portant Loi d'Orientation de l'Education*) adopted by the National Assembly on 30 July 2007 and promulgated on 5 September 2007.

The law clearly states that access to basic education is free and compulsory and must be provided to every child aged 6 to 16 living in Burkina Faso regardless of sex, race, creed, social origin, political opinions, nationality or physical condition. It specifies the goals and objectives of education in the country. It also describes the structure of the educational system, and it even takes a stance on some hot issues such as the languages of school (French and national languages). The law was further explained in the government letter on Education Policy (*Lettre de Politique Educative*).

3.2 PRSP and PDDEB

In 2000, Burkina Faso became one of the first developing countries to prepare a full Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which was updated for the 2004-2006 period. The Ten Year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB) (2001-2010) was designed to implement the PRSP in the education domain. PDDEB aims at solving the problems of access, quality and management of the educational system in order to reach the Millennium Development Goals and fight against poverty. PDDEB therefore has quantitative, qualitative and institutional objectives, among which we can mention:

- raising the primary school enrolment rate to 70% by 2010 with a particular effort to reduce gender and regional disparities;
- diversifying educational formulas through experiments such as Satellite proximity Schools, Non-formal basic education centres (CPAF and CEBNF), bilingual education using French and national languages, modern Franco-Arabic schools, etc;

- raising the country's literacy rate to 40% by 2010 by developing and diversifying adult literacy programmes;
- Improving the quality and relevance of basic education by improving the training of teachers and their pedagogic supervisors, improving learning/teaching conditions and setting up a permanent monitoring of education quality;
- Diversifying post-literacy programmes in national languages and in French for better training of and information for adult learners;
- Improving the control, management and evaluation of the educational system through capacity building, in-service training of the personnel, the development of information and applied research.

PDDEB has been operational since 2002 and despite a few administrative problems that have delayed the implementation of some of its programmes, its results are now being felt on the field: a significant number of new schools were built to improve access, and large-scale practical measures were taken to improve learning conditions (school canteens, free distribution of textbooks and school supplies, incentives to increase gender parity in schools, etc.).

3.3 The current educational reform project

Between 2003 and 2005 the government held several governmental seminars on education that paved the way for a major reform ("Refondation") of the educational system. Several thematic groups attended by top technicians, decision makers, and technical and financial partners (PTF) analysed various aspects of the system and produced reports. An inter-ministerial working party involving several ministries was set up in 2006 to draft the broad lines of the reform that are now under discussion within and outside the ministries in charge of education.

The educational reform tries to address the following key issues, the need:

- to adopt a holistic approach to the educational system. It is felt that focussing only on primary education (as it seems to be the case now) will amount to storing up problems for the higher levels of the system. The system must be reformed and developed as a whole;
- to revise the concept of basic education from the previous vision (6-13 year-olds) to a new vision, (6 to 16 year-olds), more in line with the Education Orientation Law and with the practice in most ECOWAS member states (West African countries);
- to take into account the pupils' mother tongue as the vehicle and a subject of teaching, particularly in the early years of formal education. At present, pupils are taught exclusively in French from the first day at school with disastrous consequences. However, the bilingual education experimented by the State and NGOs has demonstrated the clear advantage of using national languages. After just 5 years of schooling, pupils in bilingual schools often achieve better results at the CEP exam than their peers who have spent 6 years in classical French-only schools;
- to reform the curricula to incorporate pedagogically efficient approaches (e.g. the

Competency-based approach) and taking into account current local and universal concerns, the so called “emerging themes” about gender, human rights, the environment, values, the fight against modern plagues such as AIDS, and more generally, poverty reduction;

- to relate the acquisition of knowledge and skills to problem solving and pre-professionalisation;
- to establish bridges between formal and non-formal education, classical and technical training.

4. Defining “quality of education”

4.1 A tentative model of the factors affecting the quality of education

The complexity of how to improve educational quality is evidenced by recent works such as those reviewed by the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA, 2004 and 2006), UNESCO (2005), and the research scheme funded by USAID on Improving Educational Quality (IEQ). The summary of the main findings and recommendations of the ADEA 2006 biennale on education, notes that

“despite a remarkable progress in school enrolments, literacy rates, and political commitment, there remain important challenges to reach quality education and effective schools in Africa:

- generally low learning levels in primary education and declining reading results,
- overcrowded classrooms,
- perfunctory oversight of teaching,
- inadequate supply of teachers and textbooks,
- ineffective language of instruction policies and practices,
- continued use of ineffective teaching methods despite considerable investment in teacher development programs.”

Defining the quality of education is not an easy task. As Mooko et al (2009:9) put it,

“It is generally accepted in the literature that the concept of quality is a contested one, primarily because it is a relative (as opposed to absolute) concept. What might be considered as quality education today may not be quality education tomorrow.” They then list a series of indicators often used to refer to educational quality such as the percentage of trained teachers, pupil-textbook ratios, level of student achievements, standards of facilities and equipment, effectiveness of teaching, relevance of programmes to the needs of the students and the nation, etc.

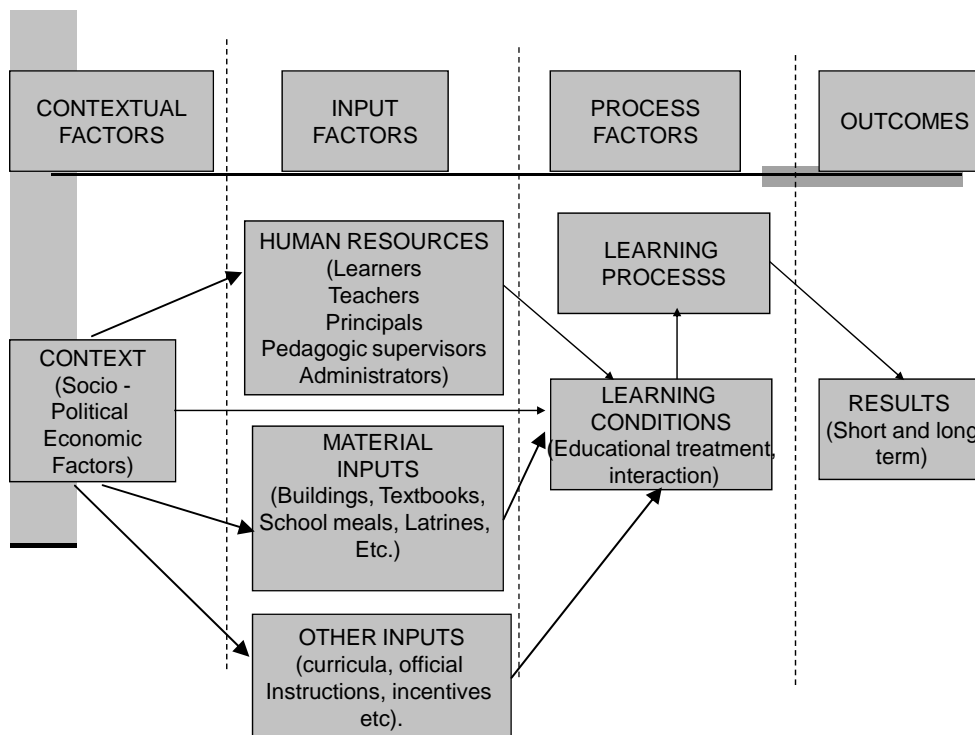
When we consider these indicators and many similar ones from the literature we are reinforced in our conviction that we need to sort them out and set them within the framework of a

model of the teaching learning encounter that shows their respective places, and the relative weights and interactions which lead to good or poor quality educational outcomes.

We propose the model below which can further be elaborated to accommodate more factors and variables. Some of the labels of the factors are already used in the literature with the meaning given in the notes.

The tentative model tries to visualize the various factors that impact on the quality of education. It recognizes that although contextual factors and inputs of various kinds do affect positively and negatively the quality of education outcomes, the most critical factors will be those related to school and classroom level processes. As the ADEA (2006) biennale concludes,

quality improvement depends on teachers and what happens in the classroom [.....]. However, existing pre- and in-service teacher training models do not show an influence on teaching practices and student learning (page number).



A TENTATIVE VIEW OF FACTORS AFFECTING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Notes:

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS: economic and social forces that have an effect on the education system, but are beyond the direct control of the system

INPUT FACTORS: resources that go into the system.

PROCESS FACTORS: activities resulting from the use and management of the input

indicators within the school

OUTPUT FACTORS: students' attitudes and achievement results

Source of these terms: The Education Quality Indicators Framework
http://www.eqao.com/EQI/EQI_Framework.aspx?Lang=E

4.2 Definition of the quality of education by Burkinabè inspectors, pedagogic advisors and teachers

A definition of “quality of education” in the Burkinabè context will have to go beyond input and outcome variables to also include process variables that are at the heart of the teaching-learning encounter. We can mention among other aspects that must be taken into account: teacher-learner interaction, implementation of pedagogic approaches, particularly the way in which the teacher adapts his methods to his class size and learners' characteristics and how s/he creates a lively and anxiety-free learning atmosphere.

Without rejecting the many definitions available in the literature, we side with Mooko et al (2009) to adopt a practical one that sees quality as “fit for the purpose”. It is difficult to imagine a fit-all definition that would take into account all local realities. The “purpose” can be determined by listening to the views of the various stakeholders of the educational system. We summarize below what teachers and their pedagogic advisers think of “quality education” (Kouraogo and Ouedraogo, 2009)

Definition of the quality of education by inspectors, pedagogic advisors and teachers

- A good educational system must
- implement curricular contents and methods taking into account the reality on the field;
 - have high internal efficiency (low drop-out and repetition rates, high retention and completion rates);
 - develop the desirable knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours;
 - allow learners to reinvest in practical life the knowledge and skills acquired at school;
 - promote learner autonomy and initiative;
 - reach the main external efficiency goals (making good hardworking well integrated citizens);
 - contribute to the development of the country by fighting against illiteracy, ignorance, disparities, and poverty;
 - promote positive values;
 - open pupils' minds to other cultures.

Some indicators that could be used to assess educational quality

- Availability of adequate infrastructure;
- School enrolment rates;
- Pass rates at national exams and competitive tests;
- Promotion and completion rates;
- Dropout and repetition rates;
- Literacy rates;
- Respect of gender and regional equity;
- Professional and social insertion of graduates;
- Teachers' qualifications.

What one can expect to observe in an ideal classroom

- Pupils actively participating in a variety of tasks (answering, asking questions, doing exercises);
- Well behaved children who organize themselves to work in the absence of their teacher;
- Punctual and assiduous pupils;
- Pupils expressing themselves freely and fluently;
- Neatly presented copy books;
- Solidarity and mutual help;
- Clean pupils who maintain a clean and healthy environment;
- Polite pupils who greet their teacher and other people, who say thanks and respect the national flag.

5. Policy measures aiming at improving the quality of education in Burkina Faso

5.1 Curricular reforms

1962 and 1974: Superficial revisions to try to adapt the French curricula to local realities

1984-89: The curricula were revised following the PPO (planning by objectives) approach

2007: Launching of the current reform which is in the process of revising the curricula within the framework of the competency based approach (APC). This curricular approach was recommended by CONFEMEN². As mentioned earlier, it is an approach grounded in socio-constructivism that aims among other things at:

- shifting from a teacher-centred and content-focused teaching to a more student-centred pedagogy;
- promoting learning contents and methods that have meaning for the pupil;
- integrating the knowledge and skills acquired in the various subjects and relating them to problem solving and pre-professionalisation.

5.2 Use of Burkinabè languages in formal education

Although it is now widely accepted that the use of the child's mother tongue will promote better learning and an integration of the school to the local community, most schools in Burkina Faso and other francophone countries still use French as the medium of instruction from day one at school.

The 1979-1984 educational reform introduced three local languages in a few experimental schools, but the reform was stopped by the revolutionary government in 1984, without any full evaluation.

Since 1998, a Swiss NGO (OSEO) has been experimenting with encouraging results a "bilingual education" approach in collaboration with the government. The current educational reform intends to generalise progressively this experiment to all primary schools.

5.3 Manual work and pre-professional education

In the 1970's the country experimented with "rural schools" that trained young adults in 3

² Conference of Education Ministers of Francophone Countries.

years to become modern farmers but the experiment was stopped after an evaluation found that it rather increased rural exodus.

The OSEO bilingual schools include productive work in their curricula and the on-going reform stresses pre-vocational education in the last cycle of basic education and more vocational education in secondary and higher education.

5.4 Other experiments

Many other IGOs, NGOs and associations have experimented with various innovations the results of which will inspire reforms in the State schools (environmental education, human rights, population issues, the fight against HIV-AIDS, traffic laws, integrative education, etc.). Some of these innovations are being inserted in the new curricula as “emerging themes”.

5.5 Incentives to motive teachers and learners

Since the late 90's, in an attempt to raise the motivation of teachers and pupils, the government has celebrated every year in each of the 13 provinces “*Excellence Days*” (*Journées d'Excellence*) to distinguish and reward the best schools, pupils and teachers. The criteria for such selections are however rather crude and focus on the results of the primary school leaving certificate (*CEP*) exam which are now viewed with some suspicion.

All these policy measures can be grouped under the input factors in our model as follows:

Material inputs

- Buildings, seats, faculty housing, water points, latrines
- Books and school supplies
- Health, nutrition, hygiene
- School means and foodstuff
- Etc.

Human resources

- Pre-service and in-service training of teachers and pedagogic supervisors
- Capacity development for the management and monitoring of the system
- Training of textbook writers and syllabus designers
- Etc.

Other inputs

- Curricular reforms
- Measures to increase teaching time
- Framework for fighting against the HIV-AIDS pandemic
- Decentralization
- Official guidelines and legal texts
- Incentives to motive teachers and pupils

6. Assessment of the outcomes of education

6.1 The achievements of PDDEB

The impact of PDDEB can now be felt on the field. Between 2001 and 2007 the GER has significantly improved, gender and regional disparities have been reduced thanks to large scale construction of schools and a massive recruitment of teachers, as the tables below show. PDDEB also provides for mechanisms, inputs and incentives to improve quality: free textbooks, meals, latrines, accommodation for teachers, computers for school administrations, in-service teacher training and other school-based improvement projects. These measures have resulted in a sharp decrease of repetition rates (from 30.3% to 23.8% (that is - 6.5 points between 2001 and 2007 in Grades 5 and 6), a slight reduction of drop-out rates, and an increase of the promotion and completion rates (respectively +3.1 and +10 percentage points in Grade 5).

Table 1. Evolution of the GER from 1997/98 to 2008/2009

Year	1997/8	1998/9	1999/0	2000/1	2001/2	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
B & G	43.2	44.1	44.7	45.9	46.5	48.7	53.3	57.7	61.4	67.0	71.8	72.4
Boys	51.9	52.5	52.9	53.9	54.1	56.3	60.5	64.9	68.4	73.8	77.9	77.1
Girls	34.5	35.6	36.5	37.9	38.9	41.1	46.1	50.5	54.3	60.1	65.7	67.7

Source: MEBA (2009)

Table 2. Evolution of the NER from 1997/98 to 2008/2009

Year	1997/8	1998/9	1999/0	2000/1	2001/2	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
B & G	34.9	35.3	36.1	36.9	36.3	38.2	40.7	45.3	48.2	53.5	58.8	57.9
Boys	42.0	42.2	42.8	43.4	42.3	44.2	46.5	51.1	53.8	59.1	63.8	61.3
Girls	27.8	28.4	29.3	30.3	30.2	32.1	34.9	39.5	42.6	47.9	53.7	54.5

Source: MEBA (2009b) Table 3. Evolution of the Completion rates from 1997/98 to 2008/2009

Year	1997/8	1998/9	1999/0	2000/1	2001/2	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
B & G	24.6	24.2	26.2	36.9	36.3	38.2	40.7	45.3	48.2	53.5	58.8	57.9
Boys	30.3	29.3	31.6	43.4	42.3	44.2	46.5	51.1	53.8	59.1	63.8	61.3
Girls	19.0	19.3	20.9	30.3	30.2	32.1	34.9	39.5	42.6	47.9	53.7	54.5

Source: MEBA (2009)

Table 4. Evolution of the number of teachers in class from 2000/01 to 2007/08

Type of school	Years								
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	
Public	15,091	15,779	17,053	18,760	20,636	22,374	24,277	26,565	
Private	2,203	2,397	2,687	3,124	3,714	4,184	4,609	4,955	

Source: MEBA (2009)

6.2 The annual assessment of pupils' scholastic achievements assessment (“*acquis scolaires*”)

The Ministry of basic education and literacy has set up an evaluation team to monitor and evaluate the internal efficiency of the educational system. It carries out surveys and tests every year in a statistically representative sample of schools. The first set of the *Acquis scolaire* evaluation took place between 2005 and 2007. A second set of evaluations started in 2008. As the table shows the results are rather weak to average.

Year	Level	Subject (scores out of 100)		
		French	Math	Sciences
2005	1st year	41,9 (21,2)	37,1 (22,3)	
	2nd year	40,1 (18,9)	38,2 (18,2)	
2006	3rd year	50,5 (23,4)	46,4 (23,7)	
	4th year	45,3 (17,6)	43,9 (18,5)	49,9 (19)
2007	5th year	46,1 (23)	46,8 (21,1)	
	6th year	53,7 (17,7)	49,8 (16,3)	60,1 (16,8)

Source : MEBA (2006)

6.3 PASEC evaluations

PASEC was created by the francophone ministers in charge of education to develop the member countries' evaluation capacities. It carries out periodical assessment of the quality of educational systems. It carried out an assessment in Burkina Faso in 1996 and in 2006. As the tables below show the scores of the pupils have decreased. However the PASEC team is cautious in their discussion of the results as the conditions under which the evaluations took place are not necessarily comparable.

Evolution of the PASEC evaluation test scores and contextual indicators 1996-2007

1st year pupils	1996	2007
	Value	Value
Score in French	58,2	43,1
Score in maths	53,2	34,0
Proportion of rural pupils	38,0%	75,1%
Proportion of girls	45,9%	43,6%
Wealth indicators	2,1	1,5

Source : PASEC (2009)

5th year	1996	2007
	Value	Value
Score in French	46,6	37,4
Score in maths	45,8	36,8
Proportion of rural pupils	33,2%	72,2%
Proportion of girls	47,9%	43,6%
Wealth indicators	2,3	1,5

Source : PASEC (2009)

7. Remaining issues

We shall close by raising a few issues in relation to the quality of education in Burkina Faso

- There is a need for a better understanding of the role of the various inputs in enhancing the quality of education. The first phase of PDDEB seems to have had a superficial definition of quality. In most of its six monthly reports for the joint government – PTF evaluation meetings (called *Missions Conjointes*), the section devoted to the quality axis dealt mostly with material inputs to improve the teaching and learning conditions such as free distribution of books, school meals, health and sanitation, teachers’ housing, latrines and the like. There is no doubt that no quality learning can take place when these basics are missing but they should not constitute the main indicators of the improvement in the quality of education. The reports do pay lip service to the reform of the curricula, but little is actually done to set off the renovation process on sound bases. We need to focus more on process inputs, hence the interest of studies like the exploratory one the Burkinabe team carried out within the AA-Dialogue network (see Kouraogo and Ouedraogo, 2009)
- *There is a need to focus more on the relevance of the educational system* to make it meet the following challenges:
 - How to reduce disparities and inequities in the provision of education in increasingly inequitable societies;
 - How to use education to prepare future generations to cope with an uncertain future (poverty, rising cost of living and food insecurity, unfair trade, natural and man-made disasters, political instability, social unrest, wars, insecurity, pandemics such as HIV-AIDS and malaria, youth unemployment, etc.);
 - The need to look inward to find endogenous solutions to local problems and to look outwards to try to benefit from or at least find a minimum protection against the effects of globalization;
 - Improving indigenous skills and creating better ties between education and local development initiatives: reducing food dependency through small-scale irrigated farming;
 - Improving the skills for participating in the global village: Service economy and outsourcing

- The various governments like most African governments have often shown a lack of political courage to implement deep reforms (See Sifuna, 2001). For instance the decision to use children's mother tongues in basic education is salutary and is likely to boost the quality of education, but some form of underground resistance of some intellectuals inhibit decision makers from generalising successful experiments.
- Many innovations seem to be introduced to follow suggestions from donors or to follow fashions and band-wagons. For instance the passage from PPO to APC curricular approaches may be relevant but does not seem to have been generated by local careful thinking. We just seem to be following decisions taken by CONFEMEN and other international agencies and interest groups.
- The yardstick by which quality is often measured, namely success rates at the national primary school leaving certificate (CEP) has been shown by several studies to lack validity and reliability and to encourage memorisation and restitution as a result of the backwash effect. It is about time that this exam was deeply revised to allow teachers to deploy more effective teaching techniques

8. Conclusion

We are aware that we have not been exhaustive enough in our brief discussion of policy measures taken by the Burkinabe government to improve education, but this was not the original objective of the paper. If the issues raised and the model proposed can lead to useful discussions of the concept of quality education and incite participants to ask more questions about the country, then we can be satisfied that we made a useful contribution to this experience sharing seminar.

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