Study on the effects of structural adjustment policies in Burkina Faso

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In order to gather additional information on the impact of structural adjustment on education, as well as to assist teachers' unions in the task of devising alternative strategies on education and structural adjustment and make member organisations more aware of the problems associated with structural adjustment, the global union Education International **(EI)** decided to undertake a number of case studies on the effects of structural adjustment policies on education.

A first study, conducted in Ghana in 1999, showed that even in that country, where Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have reportedly been a success, education has not been spared the adverse effects of such policies. Complementing the results of the case study on Ghana, EI's second study focuses on the situation in Burkina Faso, another "model pupil" of the Bretton Woods institutions.

The following report summarises the results of the Burkinese case study.

SAPs, mismanagement and increased poverty

Burkina Faso entered the "SAP era" in 1991. After implementing an initial three-year SAP (1991-1993), in 1994 the country embarked on a second three-year programme, which was completed at the end of 1996. This was followed by a third programme from 1997 to 1999. Since 2000, the term "Structural Adjustment Programme" has been replaced by "Cadre stratégique de lutte contre la pauvreté" (Strategic Anti-Poverty Framework – **CSLP**) in the country's official speeches and documents.

Education policies and SAPs in Burkina Faso

Before the advent of the structural reforms promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, schools in Burkina Faso were characterised by:

- Lack of touch with the country's economic, social and cultural realities;
- Ineffectiveness: In the 1991-1994 period, the average rate of school failure was 44% at CM2 level[1]; only 30% of pupils went on to secondary education, and only 54.8% obtained a certificate from a primary school ("Certificat d'Études Primaires");
- Low enrolment ratios: 0.7% at pre-school level, 30% in primary education, 7.8% in secondary education and less than 1% in higher education;
- Disparities between boys and girls, between towns and the countryside and between different provinces.

In order to achieve the desired "expansion / gender equality / geographical equality / quality and relevance of education", the Burkinese authorities and their partners, including the World Bank, have been concentrating their efforts, at primary school level, on what they call "educational innovations" and "alternative approaches" while, at higher levels, they have relied on privatisation.

[1] I.e. the second year of the intermediate level ("Cours Moyen 2ème année"). – Translator's note.

Educational innovations (double-flow classes [DFCs] in urban areas and multi-grade classes [MGCs] in rural areas) are especially aimed at broadening access to primary school. Introduced experimentally in 1992-93, they became generalised in 1994-95. Double-flow classes catered for 40% of students in urban areas, thus containing urban demographic pressure, while multi-grade classes made it possible to provide schooling for 25% of children living in rural areas with very low population densities.

However, the most innovative initiative has undoubtedly been the introduction of "bilingual education", which combines the traditional learning of French with the study of a national language as well as with productive work, also taking into account the socio-economic and cultural realities of the country.

"Thanks to the early learning centres already under experimentation at pre-school level, and building on the bilingual schools available at primary level as well as on Multilingual Specific Secondary Education ("secondaire multilingue spécifique*"* – SMS), bilingual education is set to become a coherent continuum which may gradually replace the traditional system…"
Bilingual education was introduced as part of a Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan ("Plan Décennal de Développement de l'Education de Base" – PDDEB) 2000-2009 which, on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the Jomtien and Dakar conferences, aims to lay the foundations of quality education for all (EFA) by the year 2015.

There were 21 bilingual schools in 2001, 40 in 2002, and 60 in 2003.

However, some actors of education, including many teachers, are far from enthusiastic about the educational innovations. DFCs and MGCs are regarded as a redistribution of the existing provision of education. In terms of schooling time – and certainly in terms of contents – DFCs and MGCs provide students with *half the schooling* they should normally receive.

Most people also find it hard to believe that the *entire* current syllabus – to which we must now add the study of a national language as well as "economically productive activities" and "activities to increase awareness of the positive cultural values of the local environment" – can be implemented more successfully through a course which is one-year shorter, even with the introduction of modular education and in spite of the annual number of learning hours rising from 600 to 800.

Another factor militating against French/mother tongue bilingual education is the existence, in the larger cities, of "bilingual schools" offering "French and English tuition". As long as all the key business activities are conducted in French and as long as the competitions to access the best-paid jobs are also held in that language, the rural French/mother tongue rural schools will be regarded as "French/Afrikaner" schools – a way of dissuading the children of poorer families from applying for those jobs and redirecting them towards employment in farming and the crafts, i.e. they will be seen merely as a new version of the traditional "école rurale" or rural school.

In order to fill these multi-task teaching posts in basic education (DFCs and MGCs) with massive syllabuses (bilingual education), the authorities are increasingly resorting to National Development Service[2] personnel, who very often have no teacher training, as well as to **teaching assistants**, i.e. staff who do not possess all the required professional qualifications.

In their strategies, the authorities and their partners seem to have been guided primarily by the need to reduce the costs of education – which are still, arguably, quite high – in order to make them more affordable for the "paying user".

[2] I.e. the "*Service national de développement" (* SND). – Translator's note.

We are thus witnessing a shift from national education to regional education, which involves "making local governments responsible for developing basic education, buying the required land, building primary schools and managing them".

It is this underlying cost-reduction strategy which also best explains the privatisation of education downstream of basic education. At the beginning of the 1999-2000 academic year, there were 212 state secondary educational establishments and 196 private ones. At the beginning of the 2000-2001 academic year, 60% of the 11,000 students in technical and vocational training were enrolled in private schools.

As for higher education, in 1994 the "Etats Généraux de l'éducation" (National Consultative Assembly on Education) listed one (1) state higher education establishment and three private establishments. The "Assises nationales sur l'Education" (National Education Conference) held in 2002 listed three and 11 respectively.

Privatisation is also proceeding in primary education. In 1994-95, four students in five (or 84.4%) were enrolled in state schools as against 15.6% in private establishments (including 9.25% non-denominational, 0.8% Catholic, 0.63% Protestant and 4.70% Medersa). At the beginning of the 1999-2000 academic year, there were 521 private schools in primary education, compared with only 146 in 1990-1991. From 1993 to 2004, in the space of 11 years, the number of private teachers in the jurisdiction of the "Ouaga 8" inspectorate increased eightfold, from 77 to 600, thus exceeding the number of teachers in the public sector.

Through its reforms, the government is entrusting education to decentralised structures (local and provincial authorities), the churches and NGOs, and shifting responsibility mainly to children's parents, who are also the "contributor base" which funds these structures.

However, in spite of the introduction of the "educational innovations", the quantitative targets that were set have not always been achieved. In 1996, the gross enrolment rate was 37.5%, compared with a target of 40%. In 2001, the enrolment rate was 42.70%, compared with a target of 48% set the previous year.

Of the three reasons mentioned most often in Burkina Faso for not enrolling children in school, parental opposition (36.6%) heads the list, followed at some distance by the lack of a local school (18.9%) and the cost of education, which is deemed to be too high (15%).

The 2002 "Assises Nationales sur l'Education" (National Education Conference) observed "disaffection toward the school in certain rural areas over the past few years" and noted that inequalities remained "significant between the genders as well as between regions, geographical areas and the socio-economic status of households".

This situation results from the perception that children who go to school are often *lost* to their parents in terms of human resources. Job opportunities are so scarce that in effect the school system "manufactures unemployed people". This lends credence to the view – put forward by distinguished professor Ki-Zerbo – that "it is perhaps poor schooling which leads to under-schooling".

Other, external factors, such as the media and the urban environment, contribute to poor schooling. To these we must add major challenges like the digital divide and the growing HIV/AIDS pandemic, which are also having a negative impact on education today.

However, a regulatory framework, management structures as well as specific competencies and skills have been deployed to meet these challenges and develop effective policies and strategies. The means put in place include:

- A framework law on education;

- Five ministries (including five ministers, as many general secretaries, a number of technical consultants, administrative and financial directors, research and planning directors, project managers, regional directors, provincial directors, etc.);
- Numerous experts and technical consultants of foreign partners and fund providers, who meet regularly in the course of missions or during seminars, workshops, symposiums, forums, national conferences, etc. to publicise and disseminate the results of the many studies carried out by national as well as foreign consultants and experts.

The question remains, however, whether their education policy – purportedly aimed at providing *general* education to the population as whole – will win the support of those who are directly concerned by under-schooling and poor schooling.

And what will be the fate of teachers, the key actors of education, given that the strategies implemented are also targeting their salaries?

The cost for education workers in Burkina Faso

In fact, the Terms of Reference of the study conducted on the employment of **contractual teachers at local community level**, provide for primary education teachers recruited under the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB) to receive between 30,000 and 50,000 CFA francs "upon completion of service". These pay levels are hardly above the Guaranteed Minimum Inter-professional Wage ("Salaire minimum interprofessionnel garanti" – SMIG) and do not today allow the average Burkinese family to live above the absolute poverty line.

With the introduction of the SAPs, even teachers employed under civil service pay scales have seen a reduction in their nominal salaries as a result of:

- The definitive adoption of a 50%-decrease in housing benefit;
- Pre-SAP career advancement measures have had no financial benefits attached to them since June 1990;
- Adjustments to pay rates in 1993 and the reduction of the index-linked rate from 2132 to 1919; and, above all,
- The new pay scales applicable to public employees under the general reform of public administration since January 1999.

Not only have nominal salaries dropped, but their value in real terms – i.e. their purchasing power – has also fallen owing to:
- Deregulation and the liberalisation of trade;
- The introduction of Value Added Tax in 1993 and its increase from 15 to 18 % in 1996;
- The introduction of an "informal sector tax" and a "beverages sector tax";
- The devaluation of the CFA franc on 14 January 1994;
- The withdrawal of State subsidies for certain products;
- The rise in transport costs (two-wheeled vehicles and petrol, in particular).

All these factors have led to a significant fall in workers' living standards.

Furthermore, the efforts to provide education for as many children as possible have resulted in overcrowded classes and long working hours for teachers in primary and secondary education and even in higher education establishments.
Widespread poverty and impunity for offences and violations have fuelled insecurity, especially in rural areas.

Employment relations and social protection have also been negatively affected by the new policies. The general reform of public administration, implemented in 1999, has led to job insecurity in the

public sector. But the real revolution in employment relations will be brought about by the draft "Statute" (or rather, the lack of a *clear legal status)* for the teachers recruited under the PDDEB. The Statute's provisions include:

- Fixed-term contracts and
- Recruitment at regional level.

Lastly, privatisation entails a new kind of employment relations in a sector where most workers have traditionally been public employees. In the private sector, very few education workers have social protection.

About 92% of the workers who responded to the PADEP[3] survey questionnaire between 1997 and 2001 stated that primary school teachers in Burkina Faso earned less than they should. Their sense of frustration is exacerbated by the fact that, in order to carry out the adjustments promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, the "powers that be" are asking workers "to tighten their belts to the last notch while they themselves are so gorged that their suspenders are snapping under the load of their fat bellies".

Not surprisingly, therefore, all unions have issued statements rejecting the educational innovations and the PDDEB, and are taking action to protect their members' established rights.

The unions' response

Faced with the deterioration of their living and working conditions, education workers have reacted not only by fighting back through their unions and confederations, but also by trying to cope at individual level.

To make ends meet, teachers work in private establishments and give private lessons. The PADEP survey showed that most of the education workers who responded to the questionnaire earned extra income from secondary activities other than teaching. Only 42% stated that they were not involved in farming or stockbreeding.

Education workers are also struggling against the perverse effects of the SAPs through their unions, which have been engaged in training activities, collective bargaining and strike action. Some unions have also tried to make the most of the participation opportunities offered by the government in order to try to influence decision-making to their members' advantage.

However, unions have mainly concentrated on recovering what their members have lost, and on protecting or improving the status of the teaching profession – with varying degrees of success. They have not – and are still not – putting forward alternatives to the sectoral policies decided by the various regimes or imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions.

At any rate, the results of trade union action are uneven.
Indeed, according to a number of PADEP studies, Burkinese trade unionism, which is generally "characterised by pluralism and extreme fragmentation into small unions that sometimes oppose each other", lacks effectiveness. This lack of effectiveness is also due to the implicit undermining of trade union rights and freedoms which is associated with such phenomena as:

- the politicisation of union leaderships, some of which have adopted malpractice as their basic management strategy, and
- corruption and/or the harassment of trade unionists at company level.

Though less important, the struggle between top union officials to secure a greater share of international and national aid should also be noted as an adverse factor.

[3] African Workers' Participation Development Programme – TN.

Education unions are no exception to this picture of the situation. There are no less than nine unions in the sector, including:

- The "Association nationale des étudiants Burkinabés" (Burkinese Students' National Association – ANEB), which organises students;
- The "Syndicat national des enseignants africains du Burkina" (Burkina National Union of African Teachers – SNEA-B);
- The "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (National Union of Basic Education Workers – SYNATEB);
- The "Syndicat autonome des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (Autonomous Union of Basic Education Workers – SATEB)
- The "Fédération syndicale de l'enseignement et de la recherche" (Teaching and Research Trade Union Federation – FSER)
- The "Syndicat du personnel administratif et de gestion de l'éducation et de la recherche" (Union of Administrative and Management Staff in Education and Research – SYNAPAGER).
- The "Syndicat national des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" (National Union of Secondary and Higher Education Teachers – SNESS)
- The "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'Education et de la recherche" (National Union of Education and Research Workers – SYNTER).

Furthermore, a union of secondary and higher education personnel and teachers ("Syndicat des personnels et des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" – SPESS) has recently been founded.

In spite of some common initiatives by SNESS and SYNTER, joint action between all these different unions has been limited during the period of the introduction and implementation of the SAPs. Sometimes it is rivalry, rather than cooperation, which prevails on the ground.

Among other causes of the ineffectiveness of unions in Burkina Faso, PADEP notes the following:

- The lack of management skills;
- Inadequate training of union officials, who lack a clear understanding of their role and responsibilities in the union structures as well as of the regulatory texts governing employment relations.

It should also be noted that, during the introduction of the SAPs, a number of "putsches" were carried out against trade union leaders who had openly rejected the reforms. These "putsches" were perceived in the trade union milieu as a clear indication that implementation of the SAPs would go ahead with or without the agreement of the unions and in spite of any opposition from them.

Repression and corruption, fragmentation, lack of unity in action and dysfunctions associated with the lack of internal democracy have prevented the Burkinese teachers' unions, which were once combative and successful, from effectively meeting the challenges resulting from the introduction and implementation of structural adjustment policies in the education sector and from countering them with alternative proposals.

Lastly, the government has often turned trade union struggles to its own advantage, portraying certain groups of workers as privileged in comparison with the "masses", i.e. the underprivileged social layers that lack even the "basics" of human dignity: food, health, housing and *education*.

The result is a crisis of confidence – a rift between teachers and the general population, a high proportion of which are reluctant to support teachers in their struggle.

Towards more effective participation of education unions in decision-making

In this context, unions must of course protect their members' interests, but they should also include, in their platforms, key demands that concern the community as a whole; they should take into account

the concerns of the majority of the population, who have little or no access to information and decision-making processes.

To achieve this, unions must build strong organisations and function democratically and must, additionally:

- Provide services that effectively and significantly improve their members' working and living conditions and protect workers against injustice and inequality, and
- Devise, implement and evaluate effective and efficient policies and strategies to promote the participation of their members and the population at large in decision-making processes in order to ensure that decisions always take into account the rights and interests of workers as well as of the beneficiaries and users of the education system.

In order to reverse the current trend towards fragmentation, mismanagement and resignedness among union members, and in order to promote a high degree of organisational autonomy and political and financial independence, unions must review their own structures and adapt them to the new context, starting from their very concept of trade unionism, including

- Its fundamental principles;
- Its structures (committee, branch, union, federation, confederation);
- Its objectives and areas for action in the context of a world that is becoming globalised and at the same time regionalised;
- Pluralism, which should be regarded as a competitive mechanism to provide members with better services, rather than as a "tripping-up contest" between trade unionists vying for power.

In order to be truly democratic, unions also require:

1- Leaders, i.e. efficient managers who are aware of their responsibilities and who:

- Place the principles of justice and ethics, and the values of purposeful work, integrity and dignity at the centre of their lives;
- Have a coherent outlook and are trained to analyse members' problems and to develop, implement and evaluate programmes and projects;
- Have "the ability to motivate others to achieve a common objective" and strive to involve all members in decision-making as much as possible;
- Are intellectually and materially equipped to hold their own in argument with the champions of globalisation and their local representatives: WTO, IMF, World Bank, subsidiaries of multinational companies, etc.

2- Members who are aware of their roles and responsibilities within the union and who, more specifically:

- Keep the leadership well informed of their wishes and aspirations;
- Strive to enable the union leaders to make more effective and better-informed decisions, and ensure that leaders do not abuse their powers;
- Take part in the union's life financially and materially.

An acceptable regulatory framework is in place. There are also training programmes to build the capacities of union leaders and activists and improve the skills of workers' representatives in the existing participation structures.

Once they have recovered their credibility, unions should launch broad-based awareness and education campaigns to turn sympathisers into full members, and members into activists, i.e. members who regularly pay their dues, take part in meetings and other events, assume responsibilities within the union and strive to overcome all obstacles to achieve the agreed demands.

The new climate characterising industrial and trade union relations also requires unions to review their instruments and work methods. Union leaders and activists should be well-informed, capable of benefiting from the results of research and able to access the knowledge available in universities and

on the Internet. The aim is for them to "know how to find the information truly relevant to their activities among the mass of available information".

With the globalisation of production and distribution, the limitations of traditional methods of struggle, including collective bargaining and strike action, are becoming increasingly apparent. Other methods, such as participation in civil society and the development of strategic campaigns, can sometimes prove more fruitful.

In order to campaign effectively, unions must broaden the scope of cooperation and seek new alliances (particularly with other civil society organisations), building coalitions and taking part in the alternative globalisation movement.

The history of the trade union movement, in which teachers' unions have often played a key role, shows that no government can afford to ignore an alternative set of proposals submitted by a coalition led by unions. It was such a coalition that repeatedly foiled the attempts – even on the part of military regimes – to impose a single union and a single party in upper volta.

AIMS OF THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In the mid-1980s, the **Bretton Woods** institutions (i.e. the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) imposed a set of budgetary, monetary and fiscal measures – known collectively as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) – on a number of African countries which had been experiencing serious economic difficulties for over a decade**.** The aim of the SAPs was to revive the ailing African economies, to lay the foundations for healthy economic growth and to re-establish macroeconomic balance.

However, the evaluations that have been carried out of the first SAPs show that, in spite of the congratulatory statements of their promoters, they have had unexpected negative effects. The SAPs have effectively resulted in a lowering of the living standards of African workers, including those in the "social sectors" (education and healthcare) which had been identified as the programmes' priority targets. In many countries, the unions have reacted forcefully against these negative effects.

But very little is known, in terms of systematic, in-depth research, about the impact of structural adjustment policies on living standards and working conditions. The unions themselves lack basic information on this key issue as a result of inadequate financial resources and/or the absence of an effective local management system (lack of trade union statistics). When they are invited to take part in bodies responsible for policymaking or for finding solutions to the problems associated with the policies that are being implemented, they submit few or no alternative proposals to uphold the interests of workers. The lessons that can be drawn from an individual union's successes (and failures) are not shared with other unions facing similar problems elsewhere in the region.

There is also a need to continue to exert well-targeted pressure on the **Bretton Woods** institutions, which are no doubt somewhat shaken in their belief in the effectiveness of the "therapy" recommended by them, but which nevertheless remain anchored to the logic of market forces and complete subordination to the "the economy".

It was therefore with the threefold aim of collecting additional information on the impact of structural adjustment on education, helping teachers' unions to develop alternative strategies for education in the context of structural adjustment, and increasing affiliates' awareness of the problems associated with structural adjustment, that the teachers and education workers' international federation, Education International (EI), undertook a series of case studies on the effects of SAPs on education.

The first study, carried out in Ghana in 1999, showed that even in countries where SAPs are considered a success, education has suffered from the adverse effects of these policies. In order to complement the results of the case study on Ghana, EI next targeted Burkina Faso, another "model pupil" of the Bretton Woods institutions.

The Burkinese study was conducted by Nazi Kaboré, who is a trade union educator and researcher, and Haoua Koné, a primary education inspector. It concerns mainly teachers in the public sector, who make up the vast

majority of the teaching profession (over 90%) and benefit from better living and working conditions than their colleagues in the private sector. The study covers the period 1990-2002.
In the case of Burkina Faso, the principal aim was to determine the extent to which "orthodox" structural adjustment has affected education policies as well as the living standards and employment relations of teachers and education workers.

The following, more specific questions were then identified as being particularly relevant:
Have unions in the education sector in Burkina Faso effectively put forward their objectives, priorities and views in order to influence the policies promoted by the government and the Bretton Woods institutions? What participation systems has the government made available to unions, and to what extent have the latter availed themselves of their right to participate so as to minimise the adverse effects of the SAPs and, more generally, influence decision-making in the sector? What is the balance sheet of trade union action in relation to the SAPs?

How can unions develop a more effective response?

The study is basically descriptive in nature. On the basis of the documents of the institutions responsible for education as well as union documents and press articles, it sets out to:

1- Analyse Burkina Faso's education policy under the SAPs;

2- Analyse the impact of the measures implemented under the **IMF/World Bank-sponsored SAPs** on:

- the remuneration of teachers (including salaries, bonuses and benefits)
- purchasing power
- teachers' workload
- the quality of the work environment
- social protection
- employment conditions and job security
- employment relations;

3- Analyse unions' response to the effects of the **IMF/World Bank-sponsored SAPs** on their members and organisations, as well as the structures, mechanisms and practices through which education workers' organisations participate in policy-making and implementation;

4- Put forward proposals aimed at achieving a more effective and more significant participation of education workers and their unions in Burkina Faso at national level;

The review of the available literature and press articles was carried out in bookshops and libraries as well as on the basis of documentation obtained from the two main ministries responsible for education (**MEBA** and **MESSRS**[4]), the unions, the University of Ouagadougou, the "Ecole nationale d'administration et de la magistrature" (National School of Administration and Magistrature – **ENAM**), the African Workers'

[4] I.e. the "Ministère de l'enseignement de base et de l'alphabétisation" (Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy) and the "Ministère des enseignements secondaire, supérieur et de la recherche scientifique" (Ministry for Secondary and Higher Education and Research).

Participation Development Programme (**PADEP**) and the Internet. No documents dealing specifically with the impact of the SAPs on education were found. This appears to be confirmed by the *National Review of Education Sector Analysis in Burkina Faso* of UNESCO's **WGESA**[5], which reviewed 227 studies on the sector between 1994 and 1997.

[5] I.e. the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis – Translator's note.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Purchasing power is defined in relation to the goods and services that can be bought with the money earned by a worker.

A family's **living standards** are defined in relation to the goods and services that the family in question can purchase with its total income.

The **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank** are two international financial institutions set up at Bretton Woods (a small American town) after the Second World War. The IMF *is entrusted with the task of stabilising and promoting international exchanges and lends funds on a short-term basis to countries experiencing temporary deficits in their balance of payments*. For its part, the World Bank provides long-term loans for public or publicly-guaranteed private investment projects.

Devaluation is a measure of the decrease in the value (i.e. the parity) of a currency in relation to others. The CFA franc was devalued by 50% on 12 January 1994.

The **poverty line** represents the minimum income required by a family to cover its basic needs, such as food, shelter and healthcare.

Social protection covers the following main areas: healthcare, unemployment benefit, retirement pensions, occupational accident insurance, family benefits, maternity benefits, disability benefits and survivors' pensions.

The **informal economy** *comprises any economic activity performed outside the registered public or private enterprises*. For example, street traders, home-based workers, domestic workers etc. work in the informal economy.

The terms **"check off"** or **"payroll deduction"** apply to a system for paying union membership fees. This means that employers deduct union fees from union members' wages and then transfer these to the union.

The **Consumer Prices Index (CPI)** reflects variations in the cost, for the average consumer, of an agreed "basket" of goods and services. The contents of this "basket" may be modified at pre-established intervals.

Inflation is characterised by an increase in prices, resulting in a decrease in the value of money. The annual inflation rate is the increase in prices over a one-year period, expressed as a percentage. If wages are not adjusted in line with inflation, workers' real income falls, given that the prices of goods and services are rising.

A **Structural Adjustment Programme** is a set of budgetary, monetary and fiscal measures aimed principally at reducing public expenditure by:

- Privatising public companies;
- Abolishing subsidies for basic goods and services (e.g. certain kinds of foodstuffs, farming inputs, education, healthcare, etc.);
- Reducing the total wage and salary bill, i.e. dismissing many workers in the public sector;
- Freezing wages and salaries;
- Devaluating the national currency;
- Reorganising the tax system (e.g. introducing Value Added Tax – VAT);
- Liberalising trade. This mainly involves removing barriers to imports and promoting free price formation;
- Reducing tax advantages for local companies so as to promote competition;
- Increasing interest rates in order to promote saving.

INTRODUCTION: SAPS, MISMANAGEMENT AND INCREASED POVERTY

According to the Burkenese Government, over the past ten years Burkina Faso has improved its macroeconomic performance very significantly, achieving an average real growth rate in the region of 5% in the 1994-1999 period, as compared with approximately 3% in the 1980-93 period. In spite of a serious deterioration of the terms of trade between 1997 and 1999, the growth rate remained at about 5.6% on average in this same period. This rise in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was achieved at the cost of adopting and implementing stabilisation and structural reform programmes supported by all development partners and aimed at improving the management of public finances, liberalising the national economy and benefiting from a greater openness to foreign investment and trade. (Our emphasis)

However, a European Union report from 2001 notes that "despite the progress made at macroeconomic level" (average growth of 5% in the 1996-1999 period) and despite considerable inflows of foreign aid on a regular basis, the results obtained in terms of improving people's living standards, combating poverty and meeting social needs remain very limited.

In 2003, therefore, Burkina Faso, the former Upper Volta (covering 274,000 km^2, with a population of 11 million), lying at the centre of West Africa, at the gates of the Sahara, is still a backward country in terms of human development. Its HDI value[6] is 0.330, and 47% of its population live below the poverty line (72,690 CFA francs per capita/year). Burkina Faso is ranked *173rd out of 175 by the UNDP in its 2003 World Report on Human Development*.

As happens in many other countries, political and economic power in Burkina Faso is in the hands of a small minority of individuals who among them control the constitutional institutions, trade and industry, the public administration, NGOs and the leading bodies of civil society organisations. The development association APVD[7] distinguishes the following social groups in Burkinese society:

1. The "business elite", including:
- Members of the government, MPs, the judiciary, high-ranking civil servants, the managing directors of public companies, financial officials;
- Workers in the structured public or private sectors, NGO employees and
2. The population at large (agricultural labourers, craftsmen, informal workers).

Without any effective participation of "those who truly know what poverty means", the business elite plans, implements and assesses the results of economic policies and development projects, including the Structural Adjustment Programmes and the current Strategic Anti-Poverty Framework. These privileged groups – some of them organised into "clubs", "circles", "orders" and "parties", others organised into unions, associations and NGOs, with the common aim of preserving their respective powers and furthering their respective interests – do not hesitate to wield their power in such a way as to effectively hold the population hostage.

As a result, the poor are becoming poorer, and the gap between rich and poor, between the elite and the general population, and between town and country is widening. This, in turn, is giving rise to a crisis of confidence between rulers and ruled, leaders and grassroots and, more generally, between the elite and the population at large. The latter, consequently, either resign themselves to being "mere spectators of political and economic life, victims doomed to poverty and hardship"[8]…or increasingly resort to unlawful methods in order to solve their problems or seek justice for themselves!

[6] Human Development Index – Translator's note.
[7] "Association pour la participation volontaire au développement" (Association for Voluntary Participation in Development), Sakda Naaba Good Governance Programme, Ouagadougou.
[8] Compaoré, Blaise, *Les voies de l'espérance*.

Burkina Faso entered the SAP "cycle" in 1991. Following the implementation of an initial three-year SAP (i.e. the 1991-1993 "Programme de facilité d'ajustement structurel renforcé" or Strengthened Structural Adjustment Facilitating Programme – FASR), in 1994 the country embarked on a second three-year programme, which was completed at the end of 1996 (1994-1996 FASR Programme). This was followed by a third programme from 1997 to 1999. Since 2000, the term "Structural Adjustment Programme" (**SAP**) has been replaced by "Cadre stratégique de lutte contre la pauvreté" (Strategic Anti-Poverty Framework – **CSLP**) in the country's official speeches and documents.

Burkina Faso has therefore attended the "Bretton Woods clinic" several times, in the footsteps of many other countries of sub-Saharan Africa. What's more, to paraphrase the Burkinese authorities, this country of upright men "was not carried there on a stretcher". Before starting negotiations with the **Bretton Woods** institutions, the government could even afford the luxury of consulting all stakeholders, including the unions, in the course of a national conference on the economy, held in May 1990. At this forum, the government promised the population a "soft" SAP and identified education and healthcare as the two sectors that should benefit from economic restructuring as a matter of priority. It also committed itself to implementing a project on the "social dimension of adjustment".

Furthermore, it should be noted that, in the guise of self-medication, the former Upper Volta had already swallowed an economic adjustment pill:

- The first time from 1966 to 1975 through an economic and financial restructuring programme implemented by the Provisional Military Government (known as "Ganrangose"[9]);
- A second time from 1984 to 1988 under the regime of the National Revolutionary Council (**NRC**).

Economist Pascal Zagré speaks of "self-adjustment" in discussing these two programmes and calls "orthodox adjustment" the programmes initiated by the International Monetary Fund (**IMF**) and the World Bank.

It is therefore probable that some of the shortcomings and adverse or negative effects experienced in the orthodox SAP-pioneering countries were avoided or mitigated by the "social dimension" of the Burkinese **SAP**. Such effects may even have been inconspicuous or practically non-existent as a result of "habituation" or owing to the "vaccine principle", particularly in education, which was designated by the authorities as one of the priority sectors due to benefit especially from the reallocation of resources under the Structural Adjustment Programmes.

[9] It is not altogether clear from the syntax of the original French text whether "Ganrangose" refers to the programme in question or to the Provisional Military Government. A search on the Internet to clarify this point proved unsuccessful. – TN.

1. EDUCATION POLICIES AND SAPS IN BURKINA FASO:

The first schools were created in Upper Volta in the 1900s by the missionaries who arrived in the country on the morrow of its colonial conquest by the French. However, the colonial education system very soon specialised in training auxiliary staff for the colonial administration. As a result, when the country became independent in 1960, the school enrolment rate was only 8%. The state was therefore faced with a twofold challenge: a very low rate of schooling and the inadequacy of the education system to the national socio-economic and cultural realities. The various regimes that have succeeded each other in power since independence have tried, each in its own way, to meet this challenge. Mamadou SISSOKO et al.[10] distinguish four different experiences, i.e. what were effectively four attempts to reform the education system.

1.1 Pre-SAP education policies: The endless transition to an education system geared to Burkina Faso's economic, social and cultural realities

The first phase was the "Africanisation of schooling" from 1960 to 1976, which consisted of a reform of the curricula inherited from the colonial system. While the contents and aims of education were not significantly changed by this reform, rural schools were set up to provide agricultural training for the children who were unable to access conventional schools.

The second phase was the "unfinished reform of curricula" from 1976 to 1984. This was an ambitious programme that was supposed to modernise education at all levels, but it was scrapped while still in the experimental stage as a result of the government's indecisiveness and the strong reservations expressed by the general population as to its usefulness.

The third phase consisted of "unsuccessful attempts at far-reaching reforms" from 1984 to 1988. The reform programme initiated by the revolutionary government provided for education to be divided into "cycles" or tiers, including a vocational training tier which was supposed to reflect the country's socio-economic needs. But – once again – the programme did not survive the overthrow of the regime in 1987. It is noteworthy that, during this "revolutionary" period, over 2,000 teachers (1,300, according to the authorities) were dismissed for going on strike. The recruitment of "revolutionary" teachers to replace those who had been sacked, and subsequently the use of National Development Service staff to palliate the lack of qualified teachers, had a negative effect on the quality of education.

After 1988, the government adopted a more cautious approach to reform, aiming to change the system through successive innovations.

Thus, thirty years after independence, owing to political instability, to the lack of trust between rulers and ruled, and also to the lack of conviction of some of the reformers, none of the policies implemented had succeeded in significantly reforming the system inherited from the colonial period. In 1990, i.e. just before the advent of the Structural Adjustment Programmes promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, the Burkinese education system was still characterised by:

- Its lack of adaptation to the country's economic, social and cultural realities;
- Its inherent ineffectiveness (the grade repeat-rate was 44% on average at CM2 level[11]; only 30% of students moved on to secondary education; only 54.8% of students obtained a primary education certificate in the 1991-1994 period);

[10] Sissoko, Mamadou et al.
[11] See footnote 1 above. – TN.

- Low enrolment rates: 0.7% at pre-school level, 30% at primary level, 7.8% at secondary level and less than 1% at higher education level.
- Considerable disparities between boys and girls as well as between the towns and the countryside and between different provinces (See Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.1 below gives an idea of the disparities between boys and girls, while Table 2.2 illustrates the disparities between the towns and rural areas.

Table 2.1: Disparities between girls and boys

Year	1990/91	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/94	1995/96
Gross enrolment rate	29.98	30.69	31.7	33.83	35.69	37.5
Girls' enrolment rate	23.55	24.31	25.2	26.96	28.57	30.07
Boys' enrolment rate	36.14	36.78	38	40.39	42.51	44.55
Percentage of girls	38	39	38.8	39	39.10	39
Percentage of boys	62	61	61.2	61	60.90	61

Source: Summary report on the evolution of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Burkina Faso, December 1997.

Table 2.2: Disparities between urban and rural areas

	1994			1998		
	Urban	**Rural**	**Total**	**Urban**	**Rural**	**Total**
Gross enrolment rate – Primary ed.	74.2	28.4	35.2	102.3	30.8	40.9
Boys	79.0	34.3	40.5	105.8	37.1	46.7
Girls	69.4	21.8	29.3	98.7	23.9	34.7
Gross enrolment rate – Secondary ed.	36.7	4.9	11.2	48.8	4.5	13.0
Boys	44.8	6.6	13.7	56.4	5.8	15.4
Girls	28.8	3.1	8.5	41.2	3.1	10.2
Gross enrolment rate – Higher ed.	6.1	0.0	1.4	4.9	0.0	1.3
Boys	8.6	0.0	2.1	7.9	0.1	2.3
Girls	3.4	0.0	0.7	1.9	0.0	0.4
Literacy rate	51.6	11.8	18.9	50.6	10.8	18.4
Men	61.7	18.8	27.1	59.9	15.6	24.8
Women	40.9	5.7	11.4	42.0	6.8	12.9

Source: Poverty Analysis Report - INSD-EP II - 1998

Even in the case of the social groups that had replaced the colonial administration staff in the modern, structured sector (accounting for 2% of the economically active population), the Burkinese education

system still catered for only one-third of school-age children[12]. The social underdogs who could not find a place in the rural economy (in which 90% of the working population was engaged) were left to fend for themselves in the informal economy (7%).

1.2 Educational innovations and alternative approaches

Since 1991, the education policies developed under the Structural Adjustment Programmes have been based on the principles of "expansion, gender equality, geographical equality, quality and relevance of education". The authorities and their partners, including the World Bank in particular, have centred their policies, at primary school level, on what they term "educational innovations" and "alternative approaches" while, at higher levels, they have relied on privatisation.

Educational innovations, such as so-called "double-flow" classes (DFCs) in urban zones and multigrade classes (MGCs) in rural zones, aim primarily to broaden access to primary education. They were introduced in the education system under the 1991-1996 Action Plan of the Ministry for Basic Education and Mass Literacy[13] in order to address the problem of the lack of school infrastructures and to boost enrolment rates. Following an experimental stage in 1992-93, the educational innovations became generalised starting in 1994-95.

According to the Summary report on the evolution of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Burkina Faso (December 1998), the introduction of double-flow classes made it possible to provide schooling for 40% of children in urban areas, thus containing the demographic pressure in towns, while the introduction of multigrade classes enabled the schooling of 25% of children in low-population-density rural areas.

One of the authorities' specific aims was to increase the proportion of MGCs and DFCs from 17% of all classes in 1996 to 33% in 1999.

In addition to DFCs and MGCs, educational innovations and alternative schemes include "satellite schools" (SSs) and Informal Basic Education Centres (IBECs)[14].

However, the most innovative alternative approach is undoubtedly bilingual education, which combines the traditional learning of French with productive work, taking into account the country's social, economic and cultural realities.

"Thanks to the early learning centres already under experimentation at pre-school level, and building on the bilingual schools available at primary level as well as on Multilingual Specific Secondary Education (SMS), bilingual education is set to become a coherent continuum which may gradually replace the traditional system…"[15]

Bilingual education was introduced as part of a Ten-Year Basic Education Development Plan 2000-2009 (PDDEB) which, on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the Jomtien and Dakar conferences, aims to lay the foundations of quality education for all by the year 2015.

The main objectives of the PDDEB are the following:

- To speed up the quantitative development of basic education provision and reduce inequality in all respects;

[12] The syntax of this period in the original French text is very obscure. I am uncertain whether this is the intended meaning. – Translator's note.
[13] I.e. the "Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation de Masse" (MEBAM). – TN.
[14] I.e. the "Centres d'Education de Base non Formelle" (CEBNF). – TN.
[15] No reference is given for this quotation in the original. – TN.

- To improve the quality, relevance and effectiveness of basic education and promote coherence and integration between the various levels and schemes in basic education;
- To promote literacy as well as new, alternative educational schemes;
- To develop and consolidate the ability of the structures responsible for education at both the central and decentralised levels to direct, manage and evaluate the education system as well as the ability to coordinate foreign aid more effectively.

There were 21 bilingual schools in 2001, 40 in 2002, and 60 in 2003.

A National Consultative Assembly on Education ("Etats Généraux de l'éducation") and a National Education Conference ("Assises nationales sur l'Education"), held in 1994 and 2002 respectively, brought together all stakeholders in education to disseminate the recommendations of the Jomtien (1990) and Dakar (2000) conferences and ratify the government's objectives and strategies to achieve Education For All by the year 2015.

The government's strategy – centred on basic education and a large-scale campaign to promote the enrolment of girls – has been actively supported by its foreign partners as well as by numerous associations and NGOs involved in the education sector.

1.3 Rural and urban bilingual schools

Nevertheless, local press reports and especially the documents produced by unions show that some actors of education, including many teachers, are far from enthusiastic about the educational innovations. DFCs and MGCs are regarded as a redistribution of the existing provision of education. In terms of schooling time – and certainly in terms of contents – DFCs and MGCs provide students with *half the schooling* they should normally receive.

Furthermore, judging from the aspects compared in Table 2.3 below, it is difficult to believe that the *entire* current syllabus – to which we must now add the study of a national language as well as "economically productive activities" and "activities to increase awareness of the positive cultural values of the local environment" – can be implemented more successfully in a course which is one-year shorter, even with the introduction of modular education and in spite of the annual number of learning hours rising from 600 to 800.

Table 2.3: **Some comparisons between bilingual schools and traditional schools**

Aspect compared	**Bilingual school**	**Traditional school**
Duration	5 years	6 years
Contents	The entire state curriculum for primary education in French Study and use of a national language: grammar, spelling, verb conjugation and use in other subjects (maths, history, science, etc.) Productive activities: vegetable gardening, stockbreeding, carpentry, batik making, weaving, etc. with the participation of parents and other local economic actors Activities to increase awareness of the positive cultural values of the local environment (story-telling, proverbs, singing, dancing, discussion of moral issues, etc.) with the participation of	The entire state curriculum for primary education in French * None * None * None

	parents	
Final exam	Elementary Primary Education Certificate (CEPE) (in 5 years).	Elementary Primary Education Certificate (CEPE) (in 6 years)
Success rate at CEPE level (in 2002)	85.02 %	61.82 % (national average)

Source: Directorate of Communication and Publications of the Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy [16]

In order to fill this multi-task teaching posts in basic education (DFCs and MGCs) with massive syllabuses (bilingual education), the authorities are increasingly resorting to National Development Service staff who very often have no teacher training, as well as to **teaching assistants**, i.e. staff who do not possess all the required professional qualifications.

The study by Mamadou SISSOKO et al. indicated that, out of some 14,000 teaching staff – including just under 3,500 women (25%) – working in primary schools in the 1996/1997 period, over 40% were underqualified.

Between 1991 and 1996, out of 9,440 new teachers, only 3,150 (i.e. one-third) had undergone teacher training at one of the National Schools for Primary Teachers (ENEP[17]) in Loumbila, close to Ouagadougou, in Bobo-Dioulasso in the western region, in Fada (east) or at Ouahigouya (north).

These schools made it possible to lower the ratio between Teaching Assistants/Qualified Teaching Assistants and Qualified Teachers/Head Teachers from 3 in 1991 to 1.5 in 2000 (See Table 2.4 below). However, the duration of the teacher training courses provided by these schools was reduced from two years to one year.

The use of underqualified teachers, combined with overcrowded curricula and the reorganisation of the provision of education, can negatively influence the quality of education and hence the effectiveness of the new schools.

Another factor negatively affecting the bilingual education system is the existence, in the larger cities, of "bilingual schools" offering tuition in French and English (in order to prepare students more adequately for the globalised economy) and, in the guise of practical training, basic computing skills, i.e. learning to use *Playstation*, *Game Cubes* and other Nintendo software. By 2000, there were already 15 French-English bilingual schools in Ouagadougou and 5 in Bobo-Dioulasso[18].

The fees charged by these urban bilingual schools are of the order of 130,000 CFA francs (including supplies, the school uniform and meals), i.e. roughly twice the annual income required to live above the poverty line.

Some unions are already of the opinion that bilingual education will deepen the existing gap between "education for the rich" and "education for the poor". The SNEAB[19] speaks of "stratification leading to different quality levels".

"The children of the wealthy are in private schools, equipped with materials conducive to successful teaching and learning…whereas the children from the most disadvantaged social groups find themselves in schools lacking the most basic equipment and are therefore condemned to failure."[20]

[16] In *Observateur Paalga* No. 5959 of Wednesday 20 August 2003.
[17] I.e. the "Ecoles Nationales des Enseignants du Primaire" – TN.
[18] Kone, Haoua, *L'initiation des élèves du primaire à l'anglais dans les écoles privées du Burkina Faso*, 1997.
[19] I.e. the "Syndicat National des Enseignants Africains du Burkina" (Burkina Faso National Union of African Teachers) – TN.

As long as all the key business activities – and the competitions for access to the best-paid jobs – are conducted in French, the rural bilingual schools based on "French and a national mother tongue" will necessarily be regarded as "French/Afrikaner" schools – a way of diverting the children of the poor from those jobs and channelling them towards agriculture, stockbreeding and the crafts. In other words, they will be seen as the old *rural schools* in a new wrapper.

1.3 The transition from national education to regional education

The strategies pursued by the authorities and their partners seem to have been largely dictated by the need to contain costs, which arguably are still quite high.

The Terms of Reference of the study on the use of **contractual teachers in local communities,** endorsed by the World Bank under the PDDED[21], stipulate that "the (29,000) primary school teachers to be recruited at decentralised level over the next ten years, will be recruited on terms comparable to those offered to community teachers in satellite schools, i.e. with salaries ranging from 3.5 to 5 times GDP per capita, depending on seniority. The implementation of this measure would result in an average cost equivalent to about 4.7 times the country's GDP per capita."

Therefore, the authorities are striving to reduce the average salary costs of education by resorting to **teaching assistants**. The World Bank believed that the initial training of teachers was absorbing an excessive proportion of available resources[22].

The World Bank successfully argued that resources could be put to better use by assigning them to the permanent in-service training of teachers. However, while it is true that training sessions are held regularly, the teachers' "guidance ratio" (i.e. the number of Travelling Educational Counsellors + Primary Education Inspectors divided by the total number of teachers) dropped from 1/39 in 1991 to 1/43 in 2000, and was as low as 1/58 in 1996 (see Table 2.4 below).

The fact remains that it is considerably cheaper to employ unqualified teachers, given that they will start their careers on a lower salary.

In the 1997 report on the SAPs, we read that "the creation of the satellite schools and the Informal Basic Education Centres flows from a policy aimed at finding new alternative schemes to ensure the education system is more efficient and more affordable for the State as well as for local authorities and families."

The ministerial press of the Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy (MEBA)[23] remarks that "bilingual schools are more economical in absolute terms than traditional schools and clearly surpass them because of their comparative advantages:

- In terms of duration and results, bilingual schools are more efficient than traditional schools;
- In terms of contents, bilingual education is richer than traditional education;
- In terms of adaptation to the socio-economic environment and effectiveness vis-à-vis the outside world, the traditional system, as opposed to bilingual schools, has little to offer to students;
- In purely economic terms, thanks to bilingual schools the State saves:

[20] Opening speech at the 32nd ordinary Congress, 29 August-2 September 2000.
[21] The author probably means the "Programme décennal de développement de l'éducation de base 2000-2009" (Ten-year Basic Education Development Programme – PDDE***B***). – Translator's note.
[22] ICFTU/AFRO /ONSL (National Organisation of Free Unions) Conference on "The social dimension of structural adjustment in Burkina Faso".
[23] In *Observateur Paalga* No. 5959 of Wednesday, 20 August 2003.

- One year of schooling
- One teacher's yearly salary per school
- One class and one classroom per school
- The equipment required for one class per school.

Through the new education policy, not only does the State carry out significant savings but we see a shift from national education to regional education since local authorities are entrusted with the task of developing basic education, purchasing the required land, building and managing primary schools…" (See box.)

Looking at the situation from a different angle, the costs of school infrastructures have almost doubled since 1994, following the devaluation of the CFA franc, given that most construction materials have to be imported. As a result, a larger contribution has been requested from students' parents, the local communities and associations to finance investment in schools and meet their running costs (contributions in kind, water duty and various fees, including a fee for the purchase of teaching materials and school supplies). A strategy to reduce building costs is currently being developed but an effort is also required to determine more accurately the breakdown of the expenditure and operating costs of schools and how the burden of these costs is to be shared among the various stakeholders. SAP Report, 1997.

Table 2.4: Evolution of personnel of the Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy, by category of worker and gender from 1990 to 2000.

	IA		**IAC**		**IC**		**IP**		**CPI**		**IEPD**		**CASU**		**CIU**		**AASU**		**AISU**	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
1990							32	68	68		66		6		5		9		10	
1991	583	1033	1141	3063	402	1306	100		105		92		5		5		10		10	
1992	M= 6425 W= 2122						300		115		121		7		7		4		2	
1993	2088		3946		2238		428		58		87		7		1		9		10	
1994	M= 8760		W=2899				36	162	143				2		5		7		15	
1995	M= 9405		W=3136				32	167	120		125		10		10		15		15	
1996	1348	3971	968	3552	1244	3028	73	312	118		130		30		30		20		20	
1997	5493*		4908*		4950*		480		121		157		20		20		20		20	
1998	4286		5947		5318		494		127		169		15		20		10		10	
1999	2927		7561		5682		519		140		166		10		10		20		30	
2000	1529		9274		5868		528		167		217		11		10		50		55	

* W+M **IA**: *"Instituteur Adjoint" (Teaching Assistant) Category C3*	***IAC:*** *"Instituteur Adjoint Certifié" (Qualified Teaching Assistant) Category C1*	***IC:*** *Instituteur Certifié (Qualified Teacher) Category B1*	***IP:*** *"Instituteur Principal" (Head Teacher) Category A3*	***CPI:*** *"Conseiller Pédagogique Itinérant" (Travelling Educational Counsellor) Category A2*
IEPD: *"Inspecteur de l'Enseignement du Premier Degré" (Primary Education Inspector) Category A1*	**CIU:** *"Conseiller d'intendance universitaire"(University Management Counsellor) Category A1*	**AASU:** *"Attaché d'administration scolaire et universitaire" (School and University Administrative Officer) Category B1*	**AISU:** *Attaché Intendance Scolaire et Universitaire (School and University Management Officer) Category B1*	**CASU:** *Conseiller d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire (School and University Administrative Counsellor) Category A1*

1.5 Privatisation

The adoption of a cost containment strategy is a key factor in explaining the privatisation of education at higher levels beyond basic education.

"As regards the disengagement of the State from the education sector in Burkina Faso, the World Bank has pronounced in favour of increased privatisation, particularly downstream of basic education, i.e. at the secondary, secondary-technical and higher education levels."[24]

As apparent from Table 2.5 below, at the start of the 1999/2000 academic year there were 212 public establishments (i.e. state schools) and 196 private ones in secondary education.

Table 2.5: Number of primary and secondary education establishments in Burkina Faso (1991-2000)

YEAR	Primary education		Secondary education	
	Public	Private	Public	Private
1990-1991	2,340	146	99	88
1991-1992	2,444	147	101	94
1992-1993	2,575	166	Not available	Not available
1993-1994	2,775	196	123	111
1994-1995	3,009	224	132	136
1995-1996	3,285	279	144	149
1996-1997	3,492	327	152	162
1997-1998	3,726	406	180	178
1998-1999	4,055	464	199	182
1999-2000	4,339	521	212	196

Sources: DEP[25] MEBA

At the start of the 2000/2001 academic year, 60% of the 11,000 students following technical and vocational courses were enrolled in private establishments (data from National Education Conference).

As for higher education, the 1994 National Consultative Assembly on Education listed one (1) public higher education establishment (the University of Ouagadougou) and three private establishments (specialising in information technology, office administration and equipment maintenance respectively). The 2002 National Education Conference listed three public establishments (the University of Ouagadougou, The Polytechnic of Bobo-Dioulasso and the "Ecole Normale" of Koudougou) and eleven private ones. It should be noted however that, in terms of capacity, the balance is in favour of public education.

It is apparent from Table 2.5, furthermore, that privatisation also affects primary education. At the beginning of the 1999/2000 academic, there were 521 private schools, compared with 146 in 1990-1991.

In 1994-95 four students in five were enrolled in public establishments, i.e. 84.4% compared with 15.6% in the private sector (including 9.25% non-denominational, 0.8% Catholic, 0.63% Protestant and 4.70% Medersa)[26].

Table 2.6 below shows that the number of private primary schools is increasing more rapidly in the towns and cities, such as Ouagadougou, where even some public sector teachers prefer to enrol their children in private schools[27].

[24] ICFTU/AFRO /ONSL Conference on "The social dimension of structural adjustment in Burkina Faso", 27-29 March 1995

[25] This is presumably the MEBA's Planning Department ("Département d'études et de planification"). – TN.

[26] Analysis of the INSD "Priority survey of household living standards", February 1996.

Table 2.6: Breakdown of personnel in the jurisdiction of the Ouaga 8 Inspectorate[28] from 1993 to 2004

Year	Employee status	IP[29]		IC		I		IAC		IA		TOTAL
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	Public	0	0	11	33	0	0	15	38	5	13	115
1993	Private	0	0	5	1	3	0	6	1	23	7	46
	Public											
1994	Private	2	2	15	32	0	0	18	54	1	8	132
	Public	0	2	20	39	0	0	8	39	2	12	122
1995	Private	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	55	14	77
	Public	0	0	24	54	0	0	7	33	0	12	130
1996	Private	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	70	19	97
	Public	2	8	28	67	0	0	3	27	0	12	147
1997	Private	0	0	9	1	0	0	30	3	118	36	197
	Public	2	6	29	73	0	0	2	29	2	19	162
1998	Private	0	0	12	4	0	0	37	6	128	40	227
	Public	1	7	34	80	0	0	2	26	2	20	172
1999	Private	0	0	4	0	0	0	40	9	128	28	209
	Public	4	7	37	89	0	0	6	42	1	26	212
2000	Private	0	0	6	1	0	0	33	17	134	35	226
	Public	5	7	37	89	0	0	9	62	3	19	231
2001	Private	0	0	6	1	0	0	45	18	123	26	219
	Public	12	6	57	88	0	0	8	67	3	11	252
2002	Private	0	0	9	3	0	0	50	19	115	44	240
	Public	11	9	9	147	0	0	9	59	0	0	244
2003	Private	1	0	63	7	0	0	60	42	92	33	298
	Public	15	8	60	139	12	55	1	0	88	202	580
2004	Private	0	0	16	5	45	25	147	61	91	210	600

In the space of 11 years, the number of private teachers within the jurisdiction of this inspectorate increased eightfold, from 77 to 600, thus exceeding the number of teachers in the public sector.

Strengthening the trend toward privatisation, Catholic primary schools – which had pioneered education in Burkina Faso and had subsequently been taken over by the State in the 1970s – were re-established in 2001.

Overall, through the reforms introduced under the SAPs, the government is increasingly entrusting education to decentralised structures (local and provincial authorities), the churches and NGOs, and shifting responsibility mainly to children's parents, who are also the "contributor base" which funds these structures.

"Should users not pay for the services they receive?"

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[27] The syntax of this paragraph is somewhat ambiguous. It is unclear whether the author is contrasting the towns with rural areas (as I have assumed) or referring to certain specific towns/cities (e.g. Ouagadougou) as opposed to others. The table in question (Table 2.6) does not appear to establish any comparison between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, it is unclear what "Ouaga 8" (in the title of the table) refers to. – TN.

[28] The inspectorate was opened in 1993.

[29] On the basis of Table 2.4 above, the meaning of the abbreviations in the first row of this table appear to be as follows: IP = Head Teacher, IC = Qualified Teacher, IAC = Qualified Teaching Assistant, IA = Teaching Assistant. The abbreviation "I" (which does not appear elsewhere in the document) probably stands for "Instituteur" and refers to the category of "unspecified teachers". – TN.

Arguably they should, but it is also important to note that, in spite of the introduction of the "educational innovations", the quantitative targets that had been set have not always been achieved. In 1996 the gross enrolment rate was 37.5%, compared with a target of 40%. In 2001 the enrolment rate was 42.70%, compared with a target of 48% set the previous year.

1.6 Under-schooling and poor schooling

The 2002 National Education Conference[30] observed "disaffection toward the school in certain rural areas over the past few years" and noted that inequalities remained "significant between the genders as well as between regions, geographical areas and the socio-economic status of households."

1.6.1 Disaffection in rural areas

This situation results from the perception that children who go to school are often *lost* to their parents in terms of human resources. "…Three years of schooling usually represent the point of no-return to farming activities," write Joseph Ki-Zerbo et al.[31] In the opinion of a small farmer, "Going to school makes children lazy."

Formerly, when the people most concerned by the lack of schools – i.e. agricultural labourers and the inhabitants of suburban slums – sent their children to school, they hoped to see them become teachers or nurses…who would one day help them financially, especially in old age. "Today, job opportunities are so scarce that in effect the school system *manufactures unemployed people*. Some higher education graduates make and sell clay bricks in order to survive."[32]

As the cost of living rises and materialism spreads, many of those who are "successful" no longer contribute significantly to the upkeep of the extended family. They will rarely bother to return to the village, not even to attend the funeral of a relative. As for those forced to work in the informal economy – which is anyway approaching saturation – they can hardly make ends meet, let alone send money to the village. The other "opening" for those "left behind" by the school system – i.e. working in the cocoa and coffee plantations in Ivory Coast – has become much more restricted as a result of the ongoing social and political crisis in that country since 1996.

Broad sections of the population – including small farmers and workers in the informal economy – regard schooling as an irreversible and pointless drain on their resources, not only in terms of "human resources" but also financially, given that it generates costs and deprives them of much-needed support in their old age, children being indeed the sole form of "social protection" available to these social groups.

Even if education costs were lowered so as to become affordable for those living under the poverty line (i.e. 47% of the population), it is likely that many parents would still make their children work as shepherds or send them to sell trinkets or fruit on the streets to "help out the family" – thus contributing to the expansion of child labour and, in some cases, child trafficking.

The above considerations lend credence to the view – put forward by distinguished professor Ki-Zerbo[33] – that "it is perhaps poor schooling which leads to under-schooling".

According to a survey carried out by the INSD[34] in 1996, of the three reasons mentioned most often in Burkina Faso for not enrolling children in school, parental opposition (36.6%) heads the list, followed

[30] Burkina Faso, *Assises Nationales sur l'Education*.
[31] No reference given. The passage is probably a quotation from the work mentioned in footnote 33 below. – TN.
[32] See previous footnote. – TN.
[33] Ki-Zerbo, Joseph et al., *Eduquer ou périr*, UNESCO, 1990.
[34] I.e. the "Institut national des statistiques et de la démographie" = National Institute of Statistics and Demography.

at some distance by the lack of a local school (18.9%) and the cost of education, which is deemed to be too high (15%). In addition to the above-mentioned 36.6% opposed to schooling, 9.42% of respondents stated that schools were unnecessary.

Be this as it may, the instruction issued by the Ministry for Basic Education to the effect that all school-age children should be admitted at the start of the 2003-2004 academic year, when everyone knows that the schools' existing capacity is insufficient to meet this goal, highlights the fact that the authorities responsible for education have clearly opted for quantity to the detriment of quality and efficiency.

The strategic document of the Burkina Faso-UNICEF Cooperation Programme for 2001-2005 states that "out of every 1,000 school-age children, only 400 are able to access the first year of primary school and only 320 reach the second year at intermediate level (i.e. the last year of the primary cycle). Out of those 320 pupils, only 80 can read, write and perform a simple calculation." How many of those 80 (who do not move on to secondary education) eventually relapse into near illiteracy?

The national daily *Le Pays* reports that "…a general lowering of the level of school achievement is increasingly noticeable."[35]

A preference for recruiting foreign executives to management positions is also apparent in some private companies.

1.6.2 New challenges

Another major challenge that has to be integrated into the EFA strategy is the growing digital divide. Against the background of the West's furious race to accumulate material wealth individualistically and egoistically, and in view of the exponential development of technology and knowledge in today's world, most schoolchildren have been cast into the role of "the illiterate of the year 2000", i.e. those who do not know how to use a computer.

If the provision of education continues to develop at its current rate, by the time every Burkinese school-age child will be able to attend a very basic school (which lacks electricity and running water), most schoolchildren in the northern countries will no longer be going to school with a schoolbag, a spelling book and a ruler, but will be using microcomputers.

Ki-Zerbo et al. also refer to the urban environment and the media as problematic factors. "The urban environment is successfully competing with schools. Through its immediate, practical messages, it effectively obliterates the lessons written on the blackboard… In addition to the city's giant screen, there is also the small screen of television, which has a huge educational impact inasmuch as TV addiction has become a massive and insidious social and cultural process."

Lastly, another factor in the equation is the HIV-AIDS pandemic. Schools must play a leading educational role in order to enable the new generations to become aware of this deadly threat and take preventive measures against it.

1.7 Top-heaviness and "consultationism"

A legal framework as well as management structures and plenty of skills and knowledge do, however, exist to meet all these challenges through effective policies and strategies.

Since 1996, education policies are governed by Law No. 013/96/ADP, which lays down a comprehensive set of guidelines for education, including its fundamental principles, aims, general objectives and strategies.

[35] *Le Pays* No. of [Reference missing – TN].

The goals of education policy can be summarised as follows:

The education system should enable children and young people in Burkina Faso to:

- Assimilate the spiritual, civic, ethical, cultural, intellectual and physical values of society as well as universal values;
- Ensure children and young people's harmonious development;
- Develop a spirit of solidarity, justice, tolerance and peace in them;
- Create and foster initiative and enterprise;
- Educate them to become useful members of society, capable of loving it and protecting it.

The Burkinese education system is managed by four ministerial departments:

1. The Ministry for Secondary and Higher Education and Research (MESSRS);
2. The Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy (MEBA);
3. The Ministry for Literacy and Informal Education (MDAENF[36]);
4. The Ministry for Social Action and National Solidarity (MASSN[37])

A fifth department, namely the Ministry for Technical and Vocational Training[38], was set up in January 2004.

While the creation of different departments to deal with different types of education – including, in particular, basic education – reflects the priority given to this sector which is so essential to the country's economic and social development, the excessive fragmentation of the existing management structures results in the need for a high degree of coordination. The decentralisation of these structures will further increase this need for coordination and synergy-building in implementing education policy.

Five ministries means five ministers and as many general secretaries, in addition to the technical counsellors, administrative directors, research and planning directors, project coordinators, regional directors, provincial directors, etc. working for each ministry.

To this national personnel must be added the experts and technical consultants of the country's foreign partners and fund-providers. It should be noted that Burkina Faso's efforts in the field of education are receiving strong support from the international community. For example, the first phase of the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (estimated cost: over 69 billion CFA francs, excluding salaries) is being funded as follows:

- 17% by the government budget;
- 9% of the resources of the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative;
- 34% by the World Bank;
- 12% by Canada;
- 11.4% by the Netherlands;
- 7.8% by Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland and France;
- 7.8% by UNICEF, the IDB, the AfDB and the EU.

This veritable army of national and international personnel is regularly engaged in missions, seminars, workshops, symposiums, forums, consultations, national conferences, etc. with the aim of reporting on, disseminating or popularising numerous studies commissioned from consultants and experts, both national and foreign.

[36] I.e. the "Ministère Délégué à l'Alphabétisation et à l'Education non formelle" – TN.
[37] I.e. the "Ministère de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarité Nationale" – TN.
[38] I.e. the "Ministère délégué à l'enseignement technique et professionnel" – TN.

In spite of the existence, since 1990, of fairly comprehensive studies, such as the seminal book "Educate or Perish" (quoted several times in this report), the Working Group on Education Sector Analysis (WGESA) for Burkina Faso indicates that 227 studies on education in the country were conducted between 1994 and 1997, i.e. an average of three studies per month.

In 2002, the daily *Le Pays* reported on 33 seminars and other meetings on education in Burkina Faso, i.e. more than one meeting every two weeks.

This kind of activity has ballooned to such a level that some observers are speaking of top-heaviness and "consultationism". "It almost seems that the structural crisis of education represents a lucrative business for experts in the sector."

In view of the above, we need to ask ourselves whether their policies – purportedly aimed at providing *general* education at a cost affordable by all – will actually meet with the approval and support of those directly concerned by under-schooling and poor schooling.

And what will be the fate of teachers, the main actors of education, given that those policies are also targeting their salaries?

2. THE COST FOR EDUCATION WORKERS IN BURKINA FASO

As mentioned in Section 1.3 above, the Terms of Reference of the study on the employment of **contractual teachers at local community level** stipulate that:
"The (29,000) primary school teachers to be recruited at decentralised level over the next ten years, will be recruited on terms comparable to those offered to community teachers in satellite schools, i.e. with salaries ranging from 3.5 to 5 times GDP per capita, depending on seniority."

2.1 Salaries and allowances

In other words, these teachers' pay ranges from 30,000 to 50,000 CFA francs…upon completion of service. We are speaking therefore of *salaries* at a comparable level to the allowances received by teaching assistants (45,000 CFA francs per month) in the early 1990s.

However, it is apparent from the results of the 1996 INSD[39] survey of households' living conditions that the 30,000-franc monthly allowance paid to teachers in satellite schools is just above the Guaranteed Minimum Inter-Professional Wage (SMIG) and does not today allow an average-sized Burkinese family to live above the absolute poverty line.

For comparison purposes, it should be noted that the SMIG in Burkina Faso is 29,776 CFA francs. The average pay of the 274 education workers who responded to the PADEP survey questionnaire was 86,066 CFA francs[40].

With the introduction of the SAPs, even teachers employed under civil service pay scales have seen a reduction in their nominal salaries as a result of:

- The definitive adoption of a 50%-decrease in housing benefit;
- Pre-SAP career advancement measures have had no financial benefits attached to them since June 1990;
- Adjustments to pay rates in 1993 and the reduction of the index-linked rate from 2132 to 1919; and, above all,
- The new pay scales applicable to public employees under the general reform of public administration since January 1999.

This situation has not substantially changed, in spite of:

- The upward adjustment of the index-linked rate in April 1994 following the devaluation of the CFA franc;
- A salary adjustment in October 1996, up from 3 to 6%, and
- The review of benefit scales in 2000.

Table 2.1 and Graph 2.1 below – taken from the study conducted by the Burkinese bimonthly *L'Evènement*[41] – reflect the fall in the nominal value of salaries following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Policies in 1991. Today, the starting salary of an A1-category teacher is 72,843 CFA francs compared with 87,945 CFA francs in 1991.

The above-mentioned study shows that, over a 40-year period, salaries have remained practically frozen despite annual inflation averaging 3% and despite the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994. According to the study, "since the late 1970s, the government has effectively frozen teachers' salaries.

[39] I.e. the National Institute of Statistics and Demography – TN.
[40] PADEP-Burkina Faso database, ENAM (National School of Administration and Magistrature).
[41] *L'Evènement*, No. 32 of 25 November 2003.

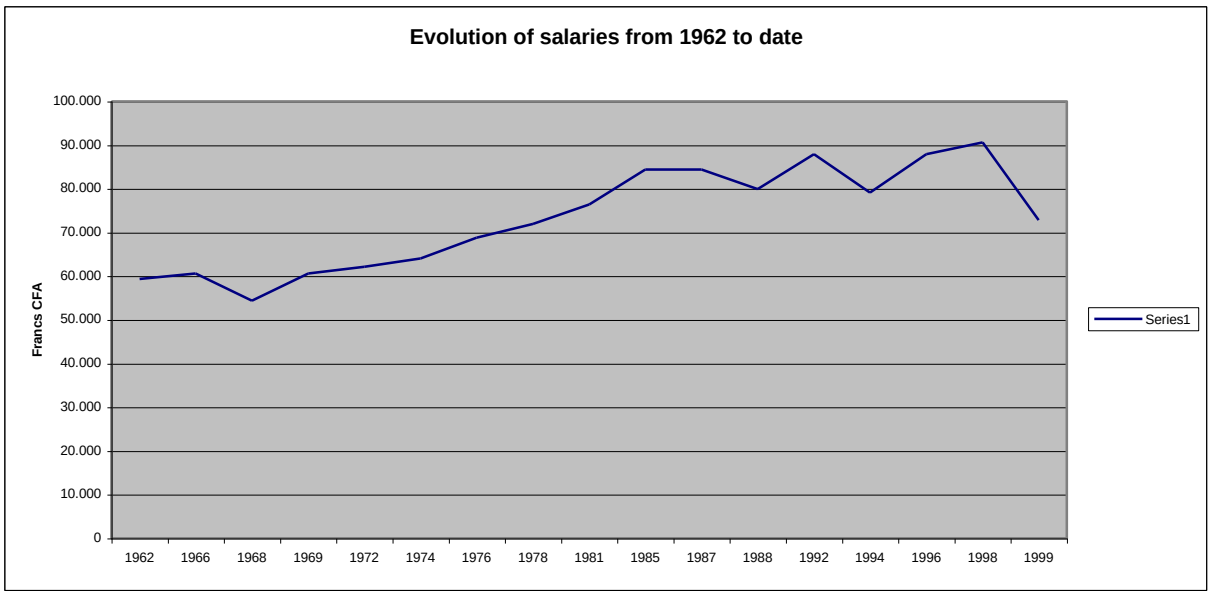
By manipulating the salary variables (index-linked rate and pay rates), the government has varied the value of salaries without actually raising them."

Table 2.1: Evolution of base index and index-linked rate from 1960 to 1999.

Period	Base index for Category A1 teachers	Index-linked rate	Annual salary	Monthly salary
From 01.01/60 to 31/12/62	375	1900	712 500	59 375
From 01/01/63 to 31/12/66	375	1940	727 500	60 625
From 01/01/67 to 31/12/68	375	1740	652 500	54 375
From 01/01/69 to 30/11/69	375	1940	727 500	60 625
From 01/01/69 to 30/11/72	375	1990	746 250	62187
From 01/12/72 to 31/03/74	375	2050	768 750	64 062
From 01/01/76 to 31/03/76	395	2091	825 945	68 828
From 01/04/76 to 31/12/78	405	2132	863 460	71 955
From 01/01/79 to 31/12/81	430	2132	916 760	76 396
From 01/01/82 to 30/12/87	475	2132	1012 700	84 391
From 01/01/85 to 01/01/87	475	2132	1012 700	84 391
From 01/01/87 to 01/01/88	450	2132	959 400	79 950
From 01/01/89 to 30/12/92	495	2132	1 055 340	87 945
From 01/01/93 to 31/03/94	495	1919	949 905	79 158
From 01/10/94 to 30/09/96	495	2132	1 055 340	87 945
From 01/10/96 to 31/12/98	510	2132	1 087 320	90 610
From 01/01/99 to date	410	2132	874 120	72 843

Source: L'Evènement No. 32 of 25 November 2003.

Graph 2.1 Evolution of monthly salaries of Category-A1 employees from 1962 to date.



According to Burkinese economic statistician Cyrille Goungounga, the main concern of any wage-earner is that his or her overall remuneration (S) should enable him/her to acquire certain goods and services in stable quantities (Q), that is: d**Q**/d**S** = 0

2.2 Fall in purchasing power

Not only have nominal salaries dropped, but their value in real terms, i.e. their purchasing power, has also decreased as a result of:
- Trade deregulation and liberalisation;
- The introduction of Value Added Tax in 1993 and its increase from 15% to 18% in 1996;

- The establishment of an “informal sector tax” and “beverages tax”;

- The devaluation of the CFA franc on 14 January 1994;

- The withdrawal of State subsidies for certain products;

- The rise in transport costs (two-wheeled vehicles and petrol, in particular).

Although the new taxes were coupled with a new customs tariff, they resulted in a significant increase in the prices of goods and services.

According to Pascal Zagré, the rate of profit-deregulation increased from 19.8% in August 1990 to 96.7% by the end of 1992. In the same period, however, inflation – as measured by the consumer price index – did not exceed 2.8%.

The prices of imported goods and services rocketed as a result of the devaluation of the CFA franc on 12 January 1994. Production costs were adjusted upwards to take into account the rise in the prices of production inputs. Distributors, shopkeepers and other retailers and distributors adjusted their prices accordingly, thus passing the price increase on to the consumers.

Price increases were particularly high in the following areas:

- F1-type rents, which almost trebled in the period from 1991 to 1995;
- The prices of small vehicles – e.g. between 1993 and 1998, the purchase price of a Yamaha V80 motorcycle and a Peugeot P50 scooter (two means of transport widely used by teachers) rose by 134% and 86% respectively.

Table 2.2 below gives an idea of the evolution of staple prices since the introduction of the SAP measures, while Table 2.3 shows the evolution of the consumer price index and inflation rate in the same period.

Looking at Graph 2.2 below, it should be noted that, following the devaluation of the CFA franc, it took five years to achieve price stability and bring inflation under control.

It is apparent that the virtual freeze on salaries since the late 1970s as well as salary cutbacks since the adoption of the SAPs, together with the devaluation of the CFA franc, successive tax increases and an inadequate control of inflation, have led to a significant fall in workers’ overall living standards.

In her address to the opening session of the 18th Congress of the SNESS (secondary and higher education teachers) on 28 March 2002, the union’s General Secretary stated that “since the 1990s the working and living conditions of teachers have worsened steadily… A rough estimate puts the proportion of teachers experiencing hardship at more than 82.2%.”

Table 2.2 Evolution of prices of staple products from 1990 to 2000

Item	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Peanut oil	407	440	440	440	564	628	603	675	732	728
Corn	76	101	80	71	65	94	129	130	141	119
Small millet	81	130	89	81	78	98	149	136	185	135
White rice	170	170	175	175	207	243	250	250	270	276
Soap No3 HSB (665g)	300	300	300	300	385	449	538	325	421	454
Sea salt	82	91	86	72	78	81	104	133	206	119
White sorghum	77	109	83	75	70	89	128	126	158	128
Sugar (1kg)	370	370	370	370	446	517	530	556	584	554
Engine fuel mixture		300	300	300	383	380	375	381	393	383
Rent		F1 3,000	F1 3,857	F1 5,000	F1 5,750	F1 10,000	F1 8,100 F2 19,639 F3 66,250	8,094 23,060 68,750	8,648 18,976 62,500	8 266 17 942 62 500
P50 scooter	215,000			235,000					438,000	
Yamaha 75	465,000			490,000					1,150,000	

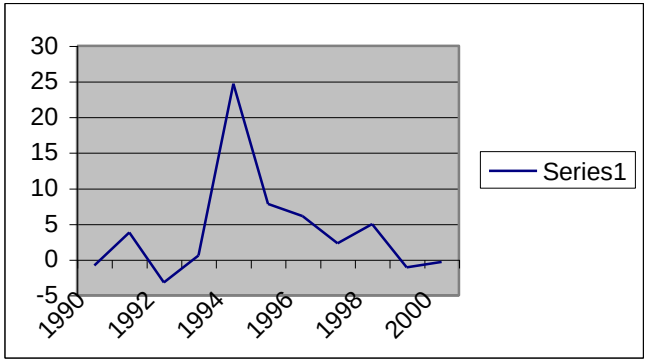
Source: INSD.

F1-type accommodation: plot of land; bedroom + living area built of adobe; water and electricity; no ceiling. F2-type accommodation: plot; bedroom + living area built of bricks; water and electricity; ceiling; outdoor shower and toilet. F3-type accommodation: residential area, F4-type cottage with kitchen, indoor toilet and garage.

Table 2.3: Consumer price index and inflation rate since 1990

Year	Index	Inflation
1990	122.9	-0.8
1991	127.5	3.8
1992	123.5	-3.2
1993	124.2	0.6
1994	154.9	24.7
1995	167	7.8
1996	177.2	6.1
1997	181.3	2.3
1998	108	5
1999	106.8	-1.1
2000	106.5	-0.3

Source: INSD. NB: For data from **1983** to **1997,** 100 = June 81-July 82; link coefficient: 4.26. From **1998 onwards**, 100 = 1996; link coefficient: 1.772



Graph 2.2: Evolution of inflation from 1990 to 2000

2.3 Increased workload, hardship and insecurity

Speaking of teachers' current working conditions, the "Groupe de réflexion pour la revalorisation de la fonction enseignante" (Think Tank on Enhancing the Status of the Teaching Profession – GIRFE) refers to "growing impoverishment and unprecedented demoralisation". (See also the letter reproduced in the box below).

The report of the ONSL[42]/ICFTU/AFRO Colloquium on the social dimension of structural adjustment in Burkina Faso (17-18 December 1998) notes that "the working conditions and heavy responsibilities in satellite schools are leading many teachers to give up their jobs."

As mentioned in Section 1.3 above, DFCs and MGCs are basically multi-task teaching posts which involve, in particular, a doubling of the class preparation and assessment workload.

As regards working conditions, the efforts to provide schooling for as many children as possible has resulted in overcrowded classes and long working hours not only at primary level but also in secondary and higher education. At secondary level, teachers in the CEGs[43] are required to teach 22 hours per week, while teachers in the lycées are required to teach 18 hours.

In its reports, the SNESS underlines that the rule which limits class size to 70 students per class in the first "cycle" and 60 students in the second "cycle" is generally disregarded, especially in the two largest cities, Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso. According to the SYNTER[44], class sizes are continually on the rise: over 130 pupils in primary education and 120 at secondary level are not uncommon. At the university, up to 1,000 students crowd into lecture halls with a seating capacity of 600.

As we shall see in Chapter 3, many teachers work as supply teachers in other establishments or give private lessons to make ends meet – which of course adds to their considerable workload.

It should also be noted that widespread poverty combined with impunity have led to increased insecurity, particularly in remote areas. In November 2003 a young teacher was murdered by highway robbers who stole his scooter. Teachers in rural areas are frequently attacked and robbed of their possessions, including their highly-coveted means of transport.

A letter originally published in the *Observateur Paalga* [45]

The events reported in this letter are a true story. They took place in the east of Burkina Faso.

The story I am going to tell may seem commonplace, in a sense. You might say this is just another news item, but I believe it raises some thorny issues and shows the extent of the problems confronting our country's education system.

Some time ago I was dumbstruck to learn that Ramata, the wife of the local teacher (who is in charge of the intermediate-level class) in the village of Momba, had been abducted by a young villager who was infatuated with her. Yet it is difficult to think of a man more committed to his job than this teacher, who worked very hard day and night so that his pupils would get the best CEP[46] results of all the Gulmancé people in eastern Burkina Faso and would be able to move on to the sixth grade.

Having unsuccessfully looked for his wife in the nearby villages, our teacher finally decided to go on strike.

Thus he, who was so hard-working and who applied himself so much to teaching children the rudiments of French, Maths, History, Geography and Science, called on the entire village to bear witness to his oath that he would continue on strike until his wife were returned to him.

At first the villagers thought our teacher was not serious about what he was saying. But after he had been on strike for ten days, they began to realise he was in earnest.

[42] National Organisation of Free Unions – TN.
[43] Presumably these are the "Collèges d'enseignement général" = General Education Schools – TN.
[44] "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'Education et de la recherche" = National Union of Education and Research Workers – TN.
[45] "Une lettre pour Laye", *Observateur Paalga* No. X of X May 2003.
[46] Primary education certificate – TN.

So the young people of Momba set out through the district, combing all the hamlets, villages and towns in Eastern Burkina Faso in search of the teacher's wife, who was finally found and brought back to her home.

And so the pupils were happily able to resume their studies and prepare for the CM2 exams, which were drawing close.

This story of the abduction of the teacher's wife raises a deeper issue, that is, the continual deterioration of the status of primary school teachers (and teachers in general).

According to my uncle Rasougou, in the good old times schoolteachers were not only respected but were actually revered by the whole village, for it was the best students in each promotion who were usually recruited as teachers. Schoolteachers were a role model and many young people dreamt of being able to become teachers.

It goes without saying that in those times it wouldn't have crossed the mind of anyone in the village to kidnap the wife of a teacher.

It is simply preposterous that today teachers are so disrespected that a villager believes he can get away with such a deed.

Teachers undoubtedly deserve the recognition they used to enjoy.

In fact, it is pointless to invest billions of CFA francs in education when its key actors are marginalised and humiliated.

Ah, what times we live in!

When I think, dear Wambi, that not so long ago the "karemsamba" was held in such high regard in the villages that he was showered with tubs of millet, chickens and other gifts generously offered by the parents of pupils, I realise just how much the situation needs to improve for teachers to regain their proper status. This is also an essential task if we want to raise the education levels.

* : "Karemsamba" = schoolteacher

2.4 Increased job insecurity in the public sector

Employment relations and social protection have also been affected by the new policies. As far public-sector workers are concerned, the legal texts on which the general reform of public administration is based were adopted by the National Assembly in April 1998. More specifically, three laws were passed concerning:

(i) Government action and the distribution of competencies between the State and other development actors;
(ii) Rules for setting up, organising and managing the government's administrative structures;
(iii) The legislation applicable to jobs and workers in the public sector.

According to the government, the new legislation "did not lead to any redundancies or cutbacks in pay, nor were any of the basic guaranteed rights of public-sector workers called into question as a result of its adoption"[47].

However, the new legal texts abolish individual "statutes" and establish a precise distinction between civil servants and public-sector "contractual workers". Above all, they enshrine contractualisation and job insecurity in the public sector. In laying down the grounds for the dismissal of workers, Article 162 of the new "Statut de la Fonction publique" (rules governing public employment), includes the need to reduce the workforce, i.e. redundancy on economic grounds.

The new "Statute" also enshrines the principle of promotion on merit.

But the real revolution in employment relations was brought about by the draft "Statute" (or rather, the lack of a *clear legal status)* for teachers recruited under the PDDEB. According to this document, they are to be given fixed-term (two-year) contracts which will be renewed depending on the available funding[48]. These teachers are to be recruited by each region, under a similar system to that used for provincial and municipal employees.

[47] Government's Reply to the Trade Unions' List of Grievances 2003.
[48] Syntax obscure in the original. – TN.

Teachers recruited with the funds generated through the debt relief accorded to heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) do not enjoy civil servant status or even the status of public-service contractual workers. Candidates recruited by individual regions are required to work in the region concerned.

The 3,746 teacher trainees recruited under the HIPC debt relief plan in 2003 were in fact recruited for 12 regions other than the central regions (Ouagadougou), which still had to organise to be able to implement the scheme at a later stage[49]. These teachers have no right to strike.

As previously noted, there has also been an increase in the number of private schools, and hence in the spread of new kinds of employment relations in a sector where most workers have traditionally been public employees.

2.5 Social welfare benefits denied to teachers in the private sector

In the public sector, the reform did not call into question the existing social welfare benefits enjoyed by teachers, such as healthcare insurance. For example, the children of public-service primary and secondary schoolteachers still benefit from free education in the establishments where their parents work.

But, as Sissoko et al. point out, teachers work in difficult conditions. "In a context of precarious living conditions in rural areas, relatively few of them are provided with service dwellings (6,167 dwellings for 12,743 teachers in 1994/1995); and they have no electricity nor running water."

In the PADEP survey questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they enjoyed any social welfare benefits and, if so, which. The table below shows the replies given by education workers.

Table 2.4. Social welfare benefits enjoyed by education workers in Burkina Faso

	Yes	No	Other
Housing	22	78	
Healthcare	4	96	
Social security	8	90	
Retirement pension	53	47	
Crèches	7	92	
Loans	8	92	
Travel allowance	2	98	
Other benefits	8	91	

It is noteworthy that close to half of the respondents said they did not have a pension scheme. In its report to the Congress of XXX[50], the SNESS notes that teachers in the private sector are subjected to various abuses, including the absence of contracts, lack of social protection, unfair dismissal, etc.

According to the records of the "Caisse nationale de sécurité sociale" (National Social Security Fund – CNSS), between 1990 and 2000 the 281 companies operating in the private education sector declared 3,023 employees overall. One hundred and forty-nine of these establishments declared fewer than six employees, and 46 declared only one, i.e. the minimum required for registration and to abide by the law[51]. This leads us to believe that, in the private sector, very few education workers benefit from social protection.

[49] Meaning unclear in the original. – TN.
[50] Blank space in original. – TN.
[51] Personnel statistics of teaching establishments registered from 1990 to 2000 with the "Caisse nationale de sécurité sociale".

It should also be noted that, according to several previous studies, structural adjustment policies have affected women (both in their capacity as workers and housekeepers) more than men. However, the documents available to us do not allow us to confirm or deny this point.

2.6 Teachers are dissatisfied with their working conditions.

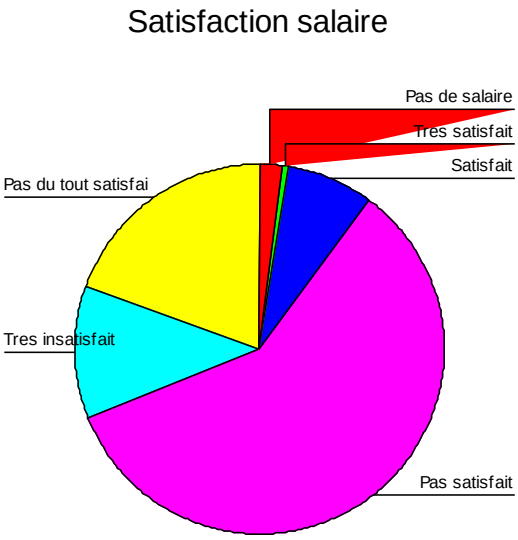
Respondents to the PADEP survey questionnaire were asked to assess their living and working conditions. The following table summarises their level of satisfaction with different aspects of their working conditions.

Table 2.5: Education workers' satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their working conditions.

	Satisfied (%)	Dissatisfied (%)	Other
The job itself	65	35	
Salary	8	90	
Promotions	25	74	
Career advancement system	8	89	
Training opportunities	18	80	
Equipment	19	79	
Health and safety	9	91	
Hygiene	28	72	
Security	24	76	
Sanitation	19	52	No toilets available 29
Transport	9	42	No transport 49
Canteen	14	23	No canteen 63

The results show that education workers are dissatisfied with:

- Pay levels (see pie chart opposite*);
- Working conditions;
- Transport facilities.



92% of respondents considered that teachers in Burkina Faso earned less than they should.

[*: Title of chart: "Pay satisfaction". Segments, clockwise from top: No salary / Very satisfied / Satisfied / Dissatisfied / Very dissatisfied / Not at all satisfied]

Their sense of frustration is exacerbated by the fact that, in order to carry out the adjustments promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions, the "powers that be" are asking workers "to tighten their belts to the last notch while they themselves are so gorged that their suspenders are snapping under the load of their fat bellies".

For comparison purposes, we may note here that while a teacher earns between 30,000 and 50,000 CFA francs per month and 47% of the population have an income of about 6,000 CFA francs/month, the monthly salary of an MP is **589,641 CFA francs**[52].

Table 2.6 below shows the evolution of the benefits and allowances accorded to government ministers.

Table 2.6: Benefits and allowances granted to government ministers

Period	*Housing allowance*	*Fuel*	*Water and electricity*	*Telephone*	*Domestic staff*
Under the "Garangose" regime	***7,000 f/month***	***None***	***15,000 f/month***	***8,000 f/month***	***2 servants (a cook and a gardener)***
Under the CNR[53]	***Accommodation provided directly by the State***	***60,000 f***	***45,000 f/month***	***FCFA 30,000 f/month***	***1 live-in servant***
Under the 4th Republic	***80,000 f/month***	***150,000 f/month***	***75,000 f/month***	**-**	***4 servants (1 housekeeper, 1 cook, 1 "boy" and 1 driver)***

Table 2.7 provides a comparison between the "self-adjustment measures" [carried out under the "Garangose" and CNR's regimes – TN] and the reforms implemented under the so-called "orthodox" SAPs. It should be noted that these measures did not concern only education workers.

The sense of frustration arising from the above-mentioned situation has made the hardship and poor working conditions more difficult to bear. This is why, in their statements, all unions have rejected the educational innovations and the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB), and have the taken action to protect their members' established rights.

[52] Space for reference left blank in original. – TN.

[53] This is the "Conseil national de la révolution" (National Revolutionary Council), which was in power from 1983 to 1987. – TN.

Table 2.7: Comparison between self-adjustment measures and the reforms implemented under the "orthodox" SAPs

"Garangose" regime: 1966-1972	Self-adjustment plans under CNR: 1983-1987	Orthodox SAPs since 1991
Personnel cuts - Dismissal of "parasitic" civil servants; - Freeze on recruitment (including any new recruits to fill existing vacancies); - Reduction of retirement age from 59 to 55 and compulsory retirement of all workers aged 55 and over;	**Personnel cuts** Reduction of retirement age from 55 to 53; compulsory retirement; dismissals; creation of "Agents Corps", etc.	**Personnel cuts/Human resources development.** - Recruitment of 950 teachers in 1992 and 1,300 in 1993; thereafter, 950 new teachers per year; public contest for admission to National Schools for Primary Teachers (ENEP); - General reform of public administration; - Compulsory retirement in 1991-95 (at age 52).
Pay and benefit cuts - Abolition of index-linking for public-sector employees (including embassy staff); - Adjustment of the index-linked rate, down from 1.940 to 1.746 between 1967 and 1968, then back to 1.940 in 1969; - Increase of index-linked rate 1.990, then to 2.050 in December 1972 (following devaluation of French franc).	**Pay and benefit cuts** - Freeze on promotions or promotions granted without pay increase; - Introduction of zero-rate single tax on wages and salaries ("impôt unique sur les traitements et salaires" – IUTS); - Accumulated benefits of public sector employees reduced [*sic* – TN] from 25 to 50% (this measure was subsequently extended to private-sector employees and the staff of international organisations).	**Pay and benefit cuts** - Promotions have no financial benefits attached to them since June 1990 - Upward adjustment of wages and salaries in October 1996. - Prohibition from accumulating benefits; - Adjustment of pay rates in 1993; - Reduction of index-linked rate from 2132 to 1919; - Housing benefit permanently reduced by 50%.
Fiscal reorganisation - Additional taxes introduced on rents, fish and insurance; - Introduction of "patriotic tax" equivalent to half a month's pay – applicable to all wage-earners; - The "voluntary" payment of 100 CFA francs per inhabitant in rural areas and 200 CFA francs per town dweller; - 50% increase of business license tax.	**Fiscal reorganisation** - Introduction of tax on built-on properties; - Payment of one year's full rent by real-estate owners to the State; - Adoption of exceptional tax equivalent to 1/12 of pay for employees in Categories A and B, and 1/24 for other categories; - Payment of "voluntary" contributions (deducted from wages) into a so-called "revolutionary solidarity fund".	**Fiscal reorganisation** - Introduction of VAT in January 1993 (replacing TCA[54]) and increase of VAT from 15 to 18% in 1996; - Introduction of an "informal sector tax" and a "beverages sector tax"; - Downward adjustment of customs tariffs; - Price liberalisation.

[54] This is presumably the "Taxe sur le Chiffre d'Affaires" = Turnover Tax. – TN.

Currency devaluation Devaluation of French franc in 1969.	**Currency devaluation**	**Currency devaluation** 50% devaluation of CFA franc in relation to foreign currencies as of 12 January 1994.
- Reduction [*sic*] from 50 to 75% of various benefits and allowances granted to the presidents of government institutions, ministers and high officials; - General abolition of free housing, even in the case of government ministers; restrictions introduced on gas, electricity, water and telephone consumption; - Reduction of domestic staff in the service of government ministers and high officials to strict minimum, i.e. a cook and a gardener; - Tourist class fares introduced for all civil servants with the exception of ministers and presidents of government institutions.	- Abolition of director and head of unit positions; - Abolition of private use of telex equipment in ministries and the Government's General Secretariat; restrictions on international telephone calls; - Restrictions on free fuel and various supplies and services (electricity, water, telephone, stationery, transport, etc.); - Tourist class fares extended to ministers and presidents of government institutions; - Abolition of subsidies to state-owned companies.	- Abolition of accommodation allowances for senior staff who were entitled to administrative accommodation but who preferred not to occupy it in order to collect the resulting financial benefits. - Abolition of various grants and exemptions.

3. THE UNIONS' RESPONSE

Faced with the deterioration of their living and working conditions, education workers have reacted not only by fighting back through their unions and confederations, but also by trying to cope at individual level.

3.1 Main "adaptation strategies"

At individual level, in addition to "fleeing" (i.e. resigning from their jobs, as mentioned above), education workers have adopted other strategies to adapt to the situation. For example, to make ends meet, some teachers work in private establishments and give private lessons. This additional employment is known – in the jargon of secondary school teachers – as *mercenariat* or "mercenariness".

3.1.1 "Mercenariness" and "peasantification"

Supply teaching and individual private lessons are paid at the following rates:

Table 3.1: Hourly rates for supply teaching and private lessons

	Primary	1st cycle of secondary ed.	2nd cycle of secondary ed.
Hourly rate for supply teaching in private sector		1,500	2,000
Private lessons	1,000	1,500	2,000

This additional employment can account for more than half of a teacher's income, especially in the case of Maths, Science and Physics/Chemistry teachers.
Secondary schoolteachers explain that the reason they do not wish to be assigned to schools in small towns is that, in such places, there are usually too few (private or public) establishments offering supply teaching opportunities.

The above-mentioned survey conducted by the PADEP from 1997 to 2001 showed that most of the education workers who responded to the questionnaire earned extra income from a wide range of secondary activities other than teaching. As evidenced by Table 3.2 below, taken from the survey, these activities include not only stockbreeding and farming but also, e.g., the sale of refreshments (water, ice-cream, *bissap*[55], ginger ale, monkey bread, etc.) as well as of fabrics and jewellery imported into the cities.

Table 3.2: Education workers engaged in secondary employment activities (crafts and/or farming)

Activity	No activity	Men	Women	Both
Crafts	83%	4%	9%	4%
Farming	62%	12%	4%	22%
Stockbreeding	50%	20%	6%	24%

Overall, only 42% of respondents stated that they were not involved in farming or stockbreeding.

[55] Juice extracted from local sorrel flowers.

One union points out that some teachers no longer hesitate to engage in shady "deals" such as the misappropriation of funds and foodstuffs intended for teaching establishments, the "sale" of school places, etc.

3.1.2 Union action in the face of the SAPs

Education workers are also struggling against the negative effects of the SAPs through their unions, which, to this end, have engaged in training activities, collective bargaining and strike action.

There are no fewer than nine unions in the Burkinese education sector:

- The "Association nationale des étudiants Burkinabés" (ANEB), which organises students;
- The "Syndicat national des enseignants africains du Burkina" (SNEAB);
- The "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (SYNATEB);
- The "Syndicat autonome des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (SATEB);
- The "Fédération syndicale de l'enseignement et de la recherche" (FSER);
- The "Syndicat du personnel administratif et de gestion de l'éducation et de la recherche" (SYNAPAGER);
- The "Syndicat national des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" (SNESS);
- The "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'Education et de la recherche" (SYNTER).

Furthermore, a union of secondary- and higher-education personnel and teachers ("Syndicat des personnels et des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" – SPESS) has recently been founded.

3.1.2.1 Education and training

During their congresses as well as in the course of seminars, these organisations have repeatedly discussed the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programmes on union members and, more generally, the situation of education in Burkina Faso. On at least two separate occasions, the theme of SYNTER's Congress concerned the SAPs and their consequences for workers' established democratic and social rights.

The 18th ordinary Congress of the SNESS, held on 28-29 March 2002, focused on the theme "The challenges confronting teachers' unions in a globalised society".

In its activities' report, the SNEAB refers to several collective bargaining rounds and mentions the following gains in particular:

a) The upward adjustment of pays rates in August 1994 and the re-establishment of the index-linked rate at 2132;
b) A 10-franc reduction in the respective prices of a kilo of rice and a litre of fuel;
c) Exemption from VAT on the first 50 m^3 of water and first 150 kWh of electricity;
d) A rise in examiners' per diems and allowances in respect of accommodation, extra duties and test marking.

However, the unions have not limited themselves to bargaining. Since 1991, the two unions of teachers in secondary and higher education (SNESS and SYNTER) have taken part in various forms of direct action. From 11 to 15 July, a strike threatened to disrupt the "baccalauréat" exams. Strike action was resumed from 4 May to 13 June 1993 and subsequently from February to May 1995. Teachers' demands concerned:

a) The benefits and allowances granted to examiners;
b) Housing allowance;

c) Salaries and job security in the private sector.

Most teachers' federations and unions also took part in the response organised at central level by the seven national confederations to protest against the anti-labour measures contained in the SAPs.

Furthermore, with the help of their international partners, these unions organised a number of seminars to gain a better insight into developments, understand the implications of the SAPs for workers and identify remedial measures.

3.1.2.2 Bargaining and strike action

When the unions were invited to participate in a National Economic Conference in May 1990, some of them, including the confederations CNTB, CSB and USTB, as well as several independent unions such as the SNEAB, took the opportunity to express their concerns and the mistrust of workers' organisations with regard to the promises of a "soft" Structural Adjustment Programme.

"Some, as in the case of the group of unions made up of the CSB, USTB and CNTB, expressed reservations. Others, for example the 'Syndicat autonome des magistrats du Burkina' (Independent Union of Burkinese Magistrates – SAMAB), rejected the SAP outright." (*Sidwaya* No. 1519 of 14 May) *1990.*

Still others, including the CGTB and ONSL, declined to take part in the conference.

From 15 to 17 November 1991, the Burkinese trade union movement as a whole held a General Trade Union Conference, centred on the theme "The SAP and the incipient establishment of the rule of law – What prospects for Burkinese workers?".

The General Trade Union Conference drew a balance sheet of the development of the trade union movement, analysed the economic, political and social situation in the country, and drew up a list of workers' concerns and demands. The principal of these were subsequently included in a Protocol of Understanding that was signed with the government on 12 December 1991 and which called into question most of the pre-SAP [*sic*] measures such as promotions without attendant financial benefits and the lowering of the retirement age to 53.

The CGTB and its grassroots organisations staged a number of strikes in an effort to ensure implementation of the Protocol of Understanding by the government. Leading on from this, early in 1993 the government invited the unions to take part in negotiations within a Tripartite Bargaining Commission ("Commission tripartite de concertation" – CTC). The CTC – which was presented as evidence of the government's good intentions – nevertheless resulted in the division of the trade union movement into two groups:

- The so-called "Group of 13" (five confederations and eight independent unions close to the government);
- The CGTB Group (aligned with opposition parties).

The Group of 13 limited its action to criticising the consequences of the SAP for workers. For its part the CGTB Group rejected the SAP outright and, with it, the entire set of economic and social policies of the Fourth Burkinese Republic.

Thus, wen the CFA franc was devalued in January 1994, the unions, which were divided in two camps, reacted in a fragmented fashion. Acting on their own, each of the two groups organised a number of strikes that had no real impact on the government's position. Nor was there any real unity of action in dealing with the general reform of the public administration system.

Some unions, however, tried to make the most of the participation opportunities offered by the government in order to try to influence decision-making to their members' advantage.

3.1.2.3 Upstream action

Since the beginning of the democratic process in June 1991, and even much earlier than that, governments and institutions missed no occasion to state their commitment to codetermination. According to the government, one of the guiding principles of the "renewal of economic and social policy" was "participation of the population and civil society (notably NGOs and other associations) in formulating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development policies and programmes"[56].

As previously mentioned, some unions, including those in the education sector, took part in the National Economic Conferences of 1990 and 1995.

At the opening of the SNESS Congress[57], the Minister for Secondary and Higher Education and Scientific Research stated that "the notion of education partners acquires its full significance in relation to the overall management of the education system… In this respect, it is particularly important for teachers to be closely involved in the debate on education. This was the case at the National Consultative Assembly on Education, and we shall pursue such a participatory approach. With this aim in mind, we shall place the emphasis on reactivating the Higher Council for Education in the course of the year."

In its report to the congress of XXX[58], the SNEAB confirmed that the unions were *always* invited to take part in the conferences organised by the various competent ministries, standing commissions and ad hoc committees – including the following:

- "Etats Généraux de l'Education" (National Consultative Assembly on Education)
- "Assises nationales sur l'Education" (National Education Conference)
- National Education Forum
- Literacy Forum
- "Conseils d'Administration des secteurs ministériels" (Boards of the Ministerial Sectors – CASEM)
- Boards of the "Ecoles Nationales des Enseignants du Primaire" (National Schools for Primary Teachers – ENEP)
- Equal-Representation Committees
- National Commission for Monitoring the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB)
- Official launch of the ES[59] and the "Centres d'Education de Base Non Formelle" (Informal Basic Education Centres – CEBNF)
- Commission for the validation of applications for employment contests
- Commission for amending the regulations governing technical education
- Commission for dealing with career management issues
- Committee for the management of financial benefits for rehabilitated persons
- "Fonds National pour l'Education et la recherche" (National Fund for Education and Research – FONER)
- Chamber of Representatives (dissolved in 2002)
- "Conférence Annuelle de l'Administration Publique" (Public Administration Annual Conference – CAAP)
- Civil Service Consultative Council

[56] "Lettre d'Intention de Politique de Développement Humain Durable" (Lettre of Intent on a Sustainable Human Development Policy – LIPDHD), 1995.
[57] [Reference missing in the original – TN].
[58] [Blank space and missing reference in the original – TN].
[59] These are presumably the "écoles satellites" or satellite schools. – TN.

- Workshop on the General Reform of Public Administration
- Workshop on decentralisation guidelines
- Tripartite round tables (unions/government/employers) on the problems confronting private education and teachers in the private sector, etc.

In particular, unions have been asked to contribute to the lengthy process of developing, publicising and launching the PDDEB.

The SNEAB has also indicated that it has had relations with the IMF and the World Bank since 1995.

3.2 An uneven picture

However, it is apparent from the platforms of demands and the other documents which we have consulted that education unions have always been critical of the education policies (or lack thereof) of successive governments. In his memoirs, a former President of the Republic, Sangoulé Lamizana, writes that "the SNEAHV was pushing for a reform of education already in the 1970s."[60]

However, as far as the period covered by this study is concerned (1990-2002), it can be said that unions have always concentrated on recovering what their members have lost, and on protecting or improving the status of the teaching profession – with varying degrees of success. They have not – and are still not – putting forward alternatives to the sectoral policies decided by the various regimes or imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions. They have attacked the symptoms rather than the disease itself.

3.2.1 Attacking the symptoms rather than the root cause

The SYNTER describes the SAP measures and reforms as "anti-educational". The SNESS refers to "an equitable, quality education system for all". For the FSER, "education is a crucial area, and it is not normal for the State to ignore its obligations to the point that education becomes a mere commodity – a sector where all kinds of adventurers seek to make a profit at the expense of our children's future."

For its part the SYNATEB, one of whose "primary objectives is to protect the education system and improve its quality for the benefit of Burkinese children", calls for a democratic school system which it defines as "…a system designed by our nation as a whole and accepted by all children because each finds a place in it. It should be free and available to all, and perceived as a social institution enabling all individuals, with no distinctions, to acquire the skills and knowledge required for their personal development and a successful life."

However, in their action plans and strategies to bring about a new type of school (to the extent that they have any such plans and strategies), the unions do not go beyond opposing the policies of the day and putting forward demands to improve the living standards of their members.

To achieve its objectives, the SYNATEB, for example, has adopted the following strategy:
- To put forward well thought-out, clear-cut positions on the PDDEB and educational innovations;
- To increase the awareness of all actors in education;
- To engage in united action with other unions[61].

The major challenges identified by the SNESS at its 18th Ordinary Congress, held on the theme "The challenges confronting teachers' unions in a globalised society" (28-29 March 2002) include:

- Improving teachers' precarious living conditions;

[60] Lamizana Sangoulé (Gl). *Sous la brèche 30 années durant*.
[61] [Reference missing in original – TN].

- Setting a ceiling to the recruitment of personnel in public as well as private establishments;
- Ensuring respect for the charters of schools and universities;
- Ensuring quality education for all;
- Putting an end to the privatisation of schools and ensuring they are fully funded by the State;
- Combating child labour;
- Preventing and combating STDs/AIDS in schools;
- Integrating ICTs in education.

It is obvious from the economic and social conditions described above that – just like other, more traditional means of struggle (collective bargaining, strikes) – participatory strategies have not enabled unions to achieve their objectives or to protect their members' established rights against the negative effects of the SAPs. Indeed, this is confirmed by the conclusions of the PADEP studies, according to which "in Burkina Faso, despite the existence of favourable structures, workers' participation is largely symbolic and hardly ever moves beyond the consultation stage."

3.2.2 Token participation

Workers' usually constitute a minority in the existing participatory structures. For example, out of the 500 delegates who attended the National Education Forum in September 1994, only about 20 (4%) were from education unions.
An analysis of various activities' reports shows that most unions have no specific policies or strategies for participation. As a result, union representatives are often complacent about the situation and there is no follow-up/evaluation of this means of trade union action. One particular report of activities showed that a general secretary represented his union on six different committees (out of 15). Clearly, this did not leave him much time to implement the congress resolutions, particularly when we consider that, in Burkina Faso, trade union leaders continue to hold a regular job.
A PADEP national training seminar for workers' representatives, held in September 2001 in Ouagadougou, showed that most representatives did not bother to report back in writing to their mandating organisations on the progress of their activities.

Delays in the issuing of documentation to workers' representatives (which sometimes takes place after the official opening of the meeting) often prevents them from making the most of the available information and effectively contributing to the debate.

Lastly, the changes proposed by the unions are only taken into account when they support the position of the government. In such circumstances, participation in the forums is arguably just a means of ratifying and legitimating the policies and decisions adopted by them.

In general, it can be said that the results of trade union action in relation to the SAPs and their negative effects on living and working conditions are uneven. Workers' purchasing power has not been significantly increased, and no doubt this is what has led some workers to take other kinds of initiatives, outside the established trade union movement.

In September 2003, teacher trainees under the HIPC scheme organised outside the existing unions to protest against recruitment conditions.

The Think Tank on Enhancing the Status of the Teaching Profession (GIRFE) was set up in 2004 to "put forward reliable and credible alternative solutions to the proposed reforms…". It aims to mobilise all teachers "whether or not they are members of traditional unions".

To some extent, these initiatives outside the established unions reflect a certain mistrust of them, in that they lack credibility and effectiveness in the eyes of many workers.

3.3 Trade union fragmentation and ineffectiveness

Indeed, a number of PADEP researchers have pointed out that, since the turning point of 1991, Burkinese trade unionism, which is generally "characterised by pluralism and extreme fragmentation into small unions that sometimes oppose each other", has lacked effectiveness[62].

This lack of effectiveness is also due to the implicit undermining of trade union rights and freedoms which is associated with such phenomena as:

- The politicisation of union leaderships, some of which have adopted malpractice as their basic management strategy, and
- Corruption and/or the harassment of trade unionists at company level.

"At national level, most federations and confederations have been hijacked by political parties – whether in power or in opposition – which prevent them from acting or, alternatively, make them act like 'party branches with the right to strike', to use an expression coined by Charles K. Muase[63]. Many union leaders appear to put their personal interests and those of their political mentors over those of the workforce."

Some trade union leaders tend to tow the line of their political mentors rather than implement the congress resolutions. Sometimes they have been placed at the head of the union thanks to the financial and human resources deployed by the party, which has instructed its members how to vote and has (generously) covered the expenses of voting delegates.

In this kind of context, a union leader may feel he is not accountable to the grassroots membership, but rather to his "masters", who continue to provide free petrol vouchers and other benefits during his mandate – that is to say, until he is denounced and "grilled" by union activists. If and when that happens, the political mentors take the initiative and replace him with another "pawn".

Apart from politicisation, another bane of Burkinese trade unionism is so-called *perdiemitis*[64]. This terms refers to the tendency of certain union leaders and officials to attach more importance to the material benefits and advantages they derive from the union's activities than to the aims and objectives of these activities. This includes, of course, the *per diems* granted to participants in seminars funded by external partners, as well as travel expenses, stays in expensive hotels, the illicit promotion of products, receptions in the company of ministers and business leaders, indirect advertising through media coverage of union activities, etc. In extreme cases, we find a penchant to accept or solicit gifts from company managers and politicians, a predisposition for corruption…and finally political alienation.

Though less important, the struggle between top union officials to secure a greater share of international and national aid should also be noted as an adverse factor.

Discouraged by the behaviour of union leaders and the ineffectiveness of the unions themselves, many members – who are unaware of their rightful role in preventing abuses of power by their leaders – become resigned and relinquish their organisations to the "hijackers". Some members might then set up a new union, which, however, also ends up being hijacked and which in any case, through its very existence, exacerbates the divisions within the trade union movement and contributes to weakening it as a whole.

All this has led to the fragmentation of Burkinese trade unionism into seven confederations and some 80 independent unions (i.e. unions not affiliated to any of the seven confederations) – and this for a

[62] PADEP-Burkina, "Syndicalisme et harcèlement politique: le cas du Burkina" (forthcoming publication).
[63] Muase, Charles K., "Syndicalisme et politique, l'exemple du Burkina-Faso".
[64] Final Evaluation Report on 1997-2001 PADEP projet in Burkina Faso, December 2001.

potential membership of fewer than 200,000 workers (comprising the "structured" public and private sectors)!

Again according to the PADEP, the influence exerted by political parties is an unavoidable consequence or, as it were, the other side of the coin of the political role that the unions played during the first two decades after the country achieved independence – a period during which they "did and undid" several regimes (notably on 3 January 1966, 17-18 December 1975 and October 1980).

Teachers' unions are no exception to these trends and indeed have often occupied centre stage in the political struggles.

3.3.1 Extreme fragmentation of the trade union movement

When the country became independent in 1960, there was only one union for all teachers, the "Syndicat national des enseignants africains de Haute-Volta" (Upper Volta National Union of African Teachers – SNEAHV), which had been founded in 1949.

In July 1972, secondary and higher education teachers left the SNEAHV to set up the "Syndicat unique voltaïque des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" (Single Union of Upper Volta Secondary and Higher Education Teachers – SUVESS), which eventually became today's "Syndicat national des enseignants du secondaire et du supérieur" (SNESS). In the same period, an attempt to create another primary education teachers' union (namely the "Organisation libre des enseignants africains de Haute-Volta" – Free Organisation of Upper Volta African Teachers – OLEAHV) ended in failure.

In 1980, at the beginning of the academic year, the SNEAHV organised a two-month strike which led to the downfall of the "Comité militaire pour le redressement et le progrès national" (Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress – CMRPN), which was then in power. In March 1984, following another strike, 2,600 teachers, including the leadership of SNEAHV (only 1,300 teachers, according to the authorities) were dismissed by the government of the National Revolutionary Council (CNR), which had fresh memories of the overthrow of the CMRPN.

To replace the terminally stricken SNEAHV, a new organisation – the "Syndicat national des enseignants du Burkina" (Burkina National Union of Teachers – SNEB) was set up by the teachers who were aligned with the revolutionary government. The sacked teachers were reinstated in 1987 following a change of regime, and in August 1990 the SNEAHV, which in the meantime had become the "Syndicat national des enseignants africains" (National Union of African Teachers – SNEA), and the SNEB merged to form the "Syndicat national des enseignants africains du Burkina" (Burkina National Union of African Teachers – SNEAB).

It should also be noted that another short-lived union, the "Syndicat national démocratique des enseignants de Haute-Volta" (Upper Volta National Democratic Teachers' Union – SYNDEHV), had been founded in Bobo-Dioulasso, in August 1983, by a group of SNEAHV dissidents.

Once again, in May 1995, a group of dissidents who criticised the SNEAB for its "collaboration trade unionism", set up the "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (National Union of Basic Education Workers – SYNATEB), thus causing an enduring split among teachers at this level. On 28 September 2000, after being forced to step down, the General Secretary of this union founded the "Syndicat autonome des travailleurs de l'éducation de base" (Autonomous Union of Basic Education Workers – SATEB).

In the secondary- and higher-education sector, the SUVESS also split in two, leading to the creation in December 1981 of the "Syndicat national des travailleurs de l'Education et de la recherche" (National Union of Education and Research Workers – SYNTER). One of the

reasons advanced for this new split was "the antidemocratic practices of the SUVESS leaders, who stopped at nothing to uphold a reformist stance subservient to the power politics of the MLN-UPV[65], which *hibernated* an *dehibernated* the union at will, depending on the changing political alliances formed by the party to control the neo-colonial power structures with complete disregard for the basic interests of education and research workers"[66].

3.3.2 Rivalry and antagonism between unions

As mentioned in Section 3.2.1 above, there also exist:

- A Teachers and Researchers' Federation (FSER) and
- A Union of Administrative and Management Staff in Education and Research (SYNAPAGER); as well as
- Several university and secondary-education students' unions, the most representative of which is the Burkinese Students' National Association (ANEB), affiliated to the "Union générale des étudiants Burkinabé" (Burkinese General Union of Students – UGEB).

The FSER originated from the stillborn Upper Volta National Democratic Teachers' Union (SYNDEHV). Up until now, it "has not taken any significant initiative". It is affiliated to the "Confédération nationale des travailleurs Burkinabé" (Burkina Faso National Confederation of Workers – CNTB), which in turn belongs to the Christian-inspired World Confederation of Labour (WCL). It aims to mobilise Franco-Arab teachers as well as those in the non-denominational private sector.

The SNEAB, which is "a progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist mass organisation", was originally affiliated to the "Union syndicale des travailleurs du Burkina" (Burkina Workers' Trade Union Confederation – USTB). However, in 1972 it disaffiliated from this organisation and, in 1974, set up the "Confédération syndicale Burkinabé" (Burkinese Trade Union Confederation – CSB) together with other unions, almost all of them originating from the USTB. In 1979, the SNEAB split from the CSB and became an autonomous union. Both the USTB and the CSB profess to belong to the revolutionary trade union movement.

The SNESS is affiliated to the CSB since the creation of this confederation.

The SYNTER is a founding member of the "Confédération Générale du travail du Burkina" (General Confederation of Labour of Burkina – CGTB), set up in 1988. The CGTB claims to be a revolutionary trade union engaged in the class struggle.

For its part, the SYNATEB is not affiliated to any confederation but, just as the CGTB, describes itself as a revolutionary trade union.

The polarisation of the Burkinese trade union movement – between 1994 and 1999 – into "the Group of 13" and "the CGTB Group" left some wounds in the education sector unions.

The SNEAB, the SNESS (both affiliated to EI) and the FSER belonged to the first of the two above-mentioned groups, whereas the SYNTER and SYNATEB, which cooperate with the Burkinese Students' National Association (ANEB), are members of the CGTB Group.

Despite the few joint SNESS-SYNTER initiatives mentioned in Section 3.2.1.2 above, united action between the unions of education workers remained limited in the period of the introduction and implementation of the SAPs. Sometimes, it is "one-upmanship" and rivalry that prevail on the ground. Members of the two groups clashed in certain provinces during the campaign waged by a broad-based

[65] Alliance between the two political parties "Mouvement de libération nationale" (National Liberation Movement – MLN) and the "Union progressiste voltaïque" (Upper Volta Progressive Union – UPV).
[66] *Le Travailleur de l'Education et de la Recherche*, No. 13, October 1998, p 6.

political alliance against impunity[67] and at the time of the "university crisis" in 2000. The SNESS denounced the "humiliating treatment…[and] various attacks inflicted on its members by their colleagues".

3.3.3 Trade union freedom called into question

To these divisions and absence of genuine united action should be added governmental repression, which has seriously undermined activists' combativeness. In its reports, the SYNTER refers to "the arbitrary transfer of teachers, practised systematically by the Ministry for Secondary and Higher Education and Scientific Research since the SNESS-SYNTER joint struggle of 1993". The SYNATEB delegates to the 9th Trade Union Conference (July 2001) reported, in addition to these arbitrary transfers, the use of intimidation and death threats against union leaders and activists; and, as highlighted by the PADEP report, teachers, particularly those in primary education, have not forgotten the blow they and their unions received from the CNR in March 1984. (See also box "The union or your career"[68]).

The union or your career

On the basis of the studies conducted by the PADEP and Charles K. Muasse, and judging also from the memoirs of General Sangoulé Lamizana, it can be said that freedom of association is not respected today in Burkina Faso. On the ground, Burkinese trade unionists are faced with two difficult dilemmas: they must choose between the union and their professional career, and between supporting the parties in opposition and those in power.

Given the political role played by the unions during the first two decades after independence (more specifically in 1966, 1975 and 1980) and by the CDRs[69] in the service sector (during the 1983-1987 period), today trade union freedoms are implicitly being called into question by the employers as well as by the political parties.

In those companies were trade unions are tolerated, their leaders and activists are subjected to moral harassment. Moral harassment can be defined as "a combination of interpersonal forms of violence developed in the workplace as part of a strategy aimed at subduing others, undermining their ability to act, diminishing their personality and forcing them to resign".

At national level, most federations and confederations have been hijacked by political parties whether in power or in opposition – which prevent them from acting or, alternatively, make them act like "party branches with the right to strike", to use an expression coined by Charles K. Muase. Many union leaders appear to put their personal interests and those of their political mentors over those of the workforce.

Following the dismissal of the trade union representatives at SOSUCO[70] (an event which recalled the sacking – still fresh in everyone's mind – of 1,300 teachers in 1984), many workers understood that they could no longer rely on the unions to protect their interests vis-à-vis the employers and the government. They therefore resigned themselves to "passive trade unionism", stopped paying their union dues or, as in the case of the former workers of Faso Fani, resorted to unorthodox methods to seek justice for themselves – all of which has ultimately made union leaders learn to excel in the art of prevarication.

When the unions were invited to take part in the National Conference on the Economy, held in May 1990, the trade union confederations CGTB, ONSL and CNTB openly opposed the SAPs. Shortly after the conferences, the general secretaries of both the ONSL and the CNTB were ousted by a "putsch". The leaders of the CGTB and its affiliates somehow managed to weather the storm, but in any case these events were perceived in the trade union world as a clear indication that implementation of the SAPs would go ahead with or without the agreement of the unions and in spite of any opposition from them.

Repression and corruption, fragmentation, lack of unity in action and dysfunctions associated with the lack of internal democracy have prevented the Burkinese teachers' unions, which were once combative and successful, from effectively meeting the challenges associated with the introduction

[67] The campaign brought together a "Collectif" or group of political parties and civil society organisations following the assassination of journalist Norbert Zongo in December 1998.

[68] "Final Evaluation Report on 1997-2001 PADEP four-year project in Burkina Faso", Bobo-Dioulasso, December 2001.

[69] These are presumably the "Comités de Défense de la Révolution" (Committees for the Defence of the Revolution) which constituted the organisational backbone of the CNR regime at all levels of public life. – TN.

[70] This is presumably the "Société Sucrière de la Comoé" (Comoe Sugar Company). – TN.

and implementation of structural adjustment policies in the education sector and from countering these policies with alternative proposals.

The unions emerged (?) from the struggles more weakened and more divided than before, but today they are aware that their ineffectiveness is caused by lack of unity.

Among other causes of the ineffectiveness of unions in Burkina Faso, the PADEP notes the following:

- The lack of management skills;
- Inadequate training of union officials, who lack a clear understanding of their role and responsibilities in the union structures as well as of the regulatory texts governing employment relations.

The PADEP questionnaire survey revealed that 68.8% of respondents, most of whom were workers' representatives in various participation bodies, had never undergone any trade union training.

At its Congress in January 1998, the SYNTER noted a 70% increase in membership, including many young workers for whom this was the first experience of trade unionism, apart from their participation in student organisations.

3.3.4 Despite everything, teachers are still a privileged social group.

Lastly, the government has often turned trade union struggles to its own advantage, portraying certain groups of workers as privileged in comparison with the "masses", i.e. the underprivileged social layers that lack even the "basics" of human dignity: food, health, housing and *education*.

As apparent from the following quotations, this sledgehammer argument was already used during the "structural self-adjustment" periods to justify pay cuts.

"We cannot accept that 1% of the population is allowed to absorb almost half of the budget, while farmers and agricultural workers, whose situation is far from enviable, are waiting for us to do something for them. Now, if we increase pay levels, we shall be able to do nothing for them. I believe that the government's position is very clear. We cannot afford to embark on a financial adventure to please a few." (M.T. GARANGO in *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens*, 18 October 1969).

"We are seeking to combat inequality. And what do we see? Out of a budget of 58 billion, no less than 30 billion are being monopolised by some 30,000 civil servants, so that hardly anything is left for the rest of the population. This is absurd. If we want more justice, each of us must acknowledge the difficult situation most people are experiencing and recognise that some sacrifices are required to bring about justice." (T. SANKARA, quoted by J. ZIEGLER and J.P. RAPP, 1986, p.64).

The inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the education system is also blamed on the disruption caused by trade union action. In 2000, the government did not hesitate to declare the university academic year "void" and to launch a mud-slinging campaign against the teachers' and students' unions.

Many students' parents are increasingly receptive to this kind of argument, given that at present the strikes usually only affect working-class children, while the children of the privileged elite study in private establishments were unions are hardly tolerated. What's worse, during the strikes some teachers (particularly in secondary education and including union officials) who are on strike in public-sector establishments, continue to work as supply teachers in private establishments.

The result is a crisis of confidence – a rift between teachers and the general population, a high proportion of whom are reluctant to support teachers in their struggle.

4. TOWARDS A MORE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF EDUCATION UNIONS IN DECISION-MAKING

In the prevailing neoliberal environment, characterised by the quest for "leaner" government and the subordination of everything to "the economy" and profit, unions must of course uphold their members' interests, but in addition to sector-specific demands, they should also include in their platforms important issues that concern the community as a whole, and should take into account the concerns of the majority of the population, which has little access to information and to the decision-making process.

No special research is needed to show that today the improvement of education workers' living and working conditions is linked to the improvement of the living standards of students' parents and, more generally, of the population that ultimately bears the cost of education – regardless of whether funding is carried out through central government, decentralised regional authorities or payments to private educational establishments.

According to the UNDP Associate Administrator, education plays a key role in development but "the economy can only be built by making clear choices, and the greatness of a country lies in its vision of the future, of what it wants to become and what it wants for its children".[71]

A genuine reform of education cannot be brought about solely by heeding the advice of international consultants and national experts. Often these consultants and experts have little knowledge of local realities and do not share the concerns of the common people, who are the first victims of the system's structural crisis. Sometimes, furthermore, they style themselves as saviours, believing that the common people are simply incompetent.

Therefore teachers' unions, which are present in practically every village (and hence in touch with the everyday life of the schools and populations on the ground), have an obligation to propose an alternative education system which not only reflects the social, cultural and economic realities in Burkina Faso, i.e. the needs and limitations of Burkinese society, but is also based on universally recognised ethical and spiritual values. Such a system must be capable, for example, of providing the basic training required to develop and make the most of Burkinese skilled labour, formerly very much appreciated in the entire sub-region, bearing in mind that skilled workers constitute the main "product" which the country can advantageously place on the regional and global markets.

To achieve these aims, unions must build strong organisations and function democratically and must, additionally:

- Provide services that effectively and significantly improve their members' working and living conditions and protect workers against injustice and inequality, and
- Devise, implement and evaluate effective and efficient policies and strategies to promote the participation of their members and the population at large in decision-making processes in order to ensure that decisions always take into account the rights and interests of workers as well as of the beneficiaries and users of the education system.

A prerequisite for this to happen is that unions regain their credibility.

4.1 Internal democratisation

As mentioned in Chapter 3, according to a PADEP study, the two main problems besetting Burkinese trade unionism are "extreme politicisation" and "*perdiemitis"*. As a result of these problems, the unions have undergone a process of gradual disintegration and have been hijacked by political parties.

[71] In *Observateur Paalga* No. 6095, 5-8 March 2004.

In order to reverse the current trend towards fragmentation, mismanagement and resignedness among union members, and in order to promote a high degree of organisational autonomy and political and financial independence, unions must review their own structures and adapt them to the new context, starting from their very concept of trade unionism, including:

- Its fundamental principles;
- Its structures (committee, branch, union, federation, confederation);
- Its objectives and areas for action in the context of a world that is becoming globalised and at the same time regionalised;
- Pluralism, which should be regarded as a competitive mechanism to provide members with better services, rather than as a "tripping-up contest" between trade unionists vying for power.

In the periods between congresses, the leading bodies of unions should function efficiently, as genuine executive bodies whose members and management structures, including the secretariats responsible for implementing the congress decisions, are truly accountable to the grassroots, i.e. to the beneficiaries of trade union action who have elected them and from whom they have received a mandate to implement certain policies.

In each union, the financial control body (usually reserved for unsuccessful candidates in the elections to the executive boards) should become a genuine audit committee that not only controls the union's finances but also monitors the overall functioning of the union and ensures that its leaders behave ethically.

Specialised committees (such as the women's committees of the SNEAB and SNESS) should be set up to deal with specific issues, including gender equality, recruitment, training and education, participation, etc.

Looking at the existing situation, we find that, in one particular union, the executive board includes only one woman (out of 11 members).

In order to achieve greater internal synergy, unions must improve internal communications and set up networks enabling activists to convey a message to their colleagues in the remotest hamlet of the country and receive feed back from them within 24 hours. Such a network can be based on the message services used by road transport companies as well as on other systems and the media, including fixed and mobile telephones, e-mail, the written press and the numerous existing radio stations.

In order to be truly democratic, unions also require:

1- Leaders, i.e. efficient managers who are aware of their responsibilities and who:

- Place the principles of justice and ethics, and the values of purposeful work, integrity and dignity at the centre of their lives;
- Have a coherent outlook and are trained to devise short-, medium- and long-term policies and strategies, analyse members' problems and develop, implement and evaluate programmes and projects which effectively and significantly improve workers' living standards and working conditions;
- Have "the ability to motivate others to achieve a common objective" and strive to involve all members in decision-making as much as possible;
- Are intellectually and materially equipped to hold their own in argument with the champions of globalisation and their local representatives: WTO, IMF, World Bank, subsidiaries of multinational companies, etc.

2- Members who are aware of their roles and responsibilities within the union and who, more specifically:

- Keep the leadership well informed of their wishes and aspirations;
- Strive to enable the union leaders to make more effective and better-informed decisions, and ensure that leaders do not abuse their powers;
- Take part in the union's life financially and materially.

During their mandates, high-ranking union leaders should be given leave from their professional duties in order to be able to concentrate fully on trade union work. This will protect them from any pressure exerted by private or public employers and will enable them to embark on a trade union career in which promotion is linked to results.

Of course, for this kind of reorganisation to be possible, unions would require more resources, especially financial ones, to be able to pay union leaders attractive salaries in addition to covering the union's operational and equipment costs.

In the case of teachers' unions, the long-standing problem of insufficient resources could be solved. The potential is there to do so. As shown by Table 2.4 above[72], the number of primary education teachers increased by 125% between 1991 and 2000. As for secondary- and higher-education teachers, their numbers increased by 188% and 99% respectively (see the above-mentioned table and Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1: Numbers of teachers in secondary and higher education between 1990 and 2000.

	90-91	**91-92**	**92-93**	**93-94**	**94-95**	**95-96**	**96-97**	**97-98**	**98-99**	**99-00**
No. of teachers in secondary ed.	2,269	2,956	3,279	3,985	4,000	4,323	5,580	5,657	6,215	6,541
No. of teachers in higher ed.	387	437	547	571	650	632	682	492	773	Year declared "void"

As mentioned previously, the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB) provided for the recruitment of 29,000 new teachers over the ten-year period. However, the poor working conditions established for these teachers – as described in Section 2.1 – make a fertile ground for trade union action. By tapping this potential, unions can easily broaden their membership base.

In the year 2000, there were 17,709 teachers in primary education, 6,541 in secondary education and 773 in higher education. Now, 25,000 members paying each 500 CFA francs per month in membership dues represent a potential of 150 million CFA francs.

An acceptable regulatory framework is in place. Burkina Faso has ratified ILO Conventions Nos. 87 and 98. The Constitution, the Labour Code and the rules governing public employment guarantee freedom of association and provide for structures and opportunities for participation. In 2003, within the framework of several seminars and research projects carried out that year, the Burkinese authorities (government and parliament) confirmed their willingness to promote the participation of civil society organisations in the management of public affairs.

There are also training programmes to build the capacities of union leaders and activists and improve the skills of workers' representatives in the existing participation structures, e.g.:

- The PANAF training project based on study circles;
- The African Workers' Participation Development Programme (PADEP).

More specifically, the PADEP provides for the following measures over the next three-year period:

- Training for the leaders of trade union confederations and autonomous unions;

[72] Presumably the author is referring to Table 2.4 in Part I of the report. – TN.

- Research activities and publications aimed at capacity building in the areas of trade union policymaking, workers' education and codetermination;
- A post-university training Programme in Employment Relations, the aim of which is to strengthen the ability of African trade unions – in their capacity as development partners – to effectively influence the social, economic and political environment in which people live and work.

Both programmes also offer training opportunities – based on study circles – for grassroots union members and elected officials.

4.2 Mobilising the unions and the workforce

If they want to be successful, unions should launch broad-based awareness and education campaigns to turn sympathisers into full members, and members into activists, i.e. members who regularly pay their dues, take part in meetings and other events, assume responsibilities within the union and strive to overcome all obstacles to achieve the agreed demands.

Training and awareness activities must emphasise the fact that freedom of association and the various rights enjoyed by workers today were not handed to them on a silver platter.

In order to preserve these established rights which economic globalisation and rampant neoliberalism are calling into question, workers must be prepared to sacrifice at least a small proportion of their free time and their wages (in the shape of payment of the union membership fee); they must be prepared to temporarily give up or forfeit certain advantages and benefits, including opportunities for promotion – and some may even have to be prepared to lose their jobs and their freedom if unions are to recover the power and influence they used to have.

A campaign targeting union members in the first place, and subsequently the employers and the government, should be undertaken to introduce a check-off system for the payment of membership fees.

The training of leaders and union members in general should enable unions to recover their efficiency and credibility. Effective participation of all members in the life of the union will counteract any degenerative tendencies in the leadership.

The unions will also have to develop and implement well thought-out policies and strategies to recruit new members. Special attention should be given to targeting and organising young workers who have just finished their training, although awareness activities can already begin at the training stage.

4.3 The modernisation of management systems and instruments

The new climate characterising industrial and trade union relations also requires unions to review their instruments and work methods. Union leaders and activists should be well-informed, capable of benefiting from the results of research and able to access the knowledge available in universities and on the Internet. The aim is for them to "know how to find the information truly relevant to their activities among the mass of available information".

Thanks to their international partners, some unions already have adequate offices and equipment. However, sometimes the equipment is not used to its full potential because of a lack of skills and knowledge on the part of union officials or because of time constraints on the part of union leaders.

With the globalisation of production and distribution, the limitations of traditional methods of struggle, including collective bargaining and strike action, are becoming increasingly apparent. Other methods, such as participation in civil society and the development of strategic campaigns, can

sometimes prove more fruitful. Properly planned participation and well-targeted campaigns can be a very effective means of improving workers' living standards and working conditions.

In the decision-making process, participation takes place upstream. A proposal or amendment is more likely to be taken into account at the planning stage than later on, when doing so might require reversing a decision.

A trade union campaign consists of a number of coherent actions aimed at exerting pressure on the employer in order to **obtain a significant improvement in living and working conditions** through interaction with:
- The workers and their unions;
- The workforce of other companies;
- Customers and users;
- Middle and upper management;
- Fund providers;
- Suppliers;
- Public opinion and civil society;
- Politicians;
- The media;
- The government and legislators.

4.4 Broadening the scope for cooperation and alliances

In order to develop effective strategies, union must broaden the scope for cooperation and alliances, particularly with other civil society organisations.

Keeping in mind that unions will only command respect if they can seriously disrupt or stop production, union leaders should overcome their ideological divisions and prejudices, and seek unity as much as possible[73]. Enabling mergers between unions with similar outlooks should be regarded as a priority task. Where a merger is not feasible, joint action can be built around a common minimum platform. The issue of representativeness, which is a concern shared by the Burkinese trade union movement as a whole, can become an effective basis for a rapprochement between unions in the education sector.

The problems addressed by unions over the past ten years – notably the negative effects of the SAPs – concern the country's entire workforce and indeed require the joint mobilisation of unions in all sectors of the economy. Such a mobilisation can be achieved through affiliation to – or structured cooperation with – the national-level trade union confederations.

There is also a need to strengthen bilateral cooperation with other education unions in the sub-region that are experiencing similar difficulties.

With regionalisation and globalisation, certain decisions that affect workers are taken by sub-regional and regional organisations (WAEMU, ECOWAS, AU[74]) or by the representations of international organisations (WTO, World Bank, IMF, UNESCO, UNICEF) or of multinational companies.

If we wish the voice of Burkinese education workers to be heard at this level, it is essential to regionalise and globalise trade union action. Lobbying is one of the most common methods applied by civil society organisations to influence policymaking.

Recent experience clearly shows that international action and pressure is an important (and sometimes decisive) factor enabling unions to achieve their objectives in a growing number of disputes.

[73] Syntax obscure in the original. – TN.
[74] I.e. respectively the West African Economic and Monetary Union, the Economic Community Of West African States and the African Union. – TN.

National unions can only benefit from participation in global union coalitions through the international federations and confederations as well as from participation in the alternative globalisation movement.

The organisations taking part in this global movement "are calling for a globalisation based on solidarity and justice, a globalisation with a human face, a globalisation where the development of trade and investments also means more justice and more opportunities, i.e. a globalisation which:

- Promotes workers' rights and job security;
- Promotes quality education and quality healthcare for all;
- Helps disadvantaged people rather than only serve the interests of the wealthy;
- Is open and democratic;
- Works to everyone's advantage, everywhere in the world;
- Ensures genuine justice and true equality worldwide."

However, coalitions can also be built at national level. In order to promote changes in national policies, trade unions must move beyond their traditional sphere of action and identify potential allies among:

- NGOs and associations in the education sector;
- Consumer associations;
- Human rights campaigns;
- Students' unions;
- Women's associations;
- Associations of workers in the informal economy;
- Political parties that are favourable to workers' interests.

It should also be noted here that unions may forge alliances with any other organisation – including political parties – whose activities promote workers' welfare. But, in this particular case, the alliance should be established officially, should be agreed upon by the union's decision-making structures and should be controllable by the grassroots membership of the union. "When it comes to political parties, history teaches us that any alliance with them should have a time frame. The objectives should be clearly defined and union leaders should remain highly vigilant to ensure they are not double-crossed."

Union leaders should in fact bear in mind that 72.9% of the education workers who responded to the PADEP survey questionnaire believed that the union should have no links with political parties, and 79.2% said that, similarly, union leaders should have no such links.

CONCLUSION

Putting all the above together, we reach the conclusion that the changes and alternative schemes prescribed for Burkina Faso by international consultants and national experts to achieve the desired "expansion / gender equality / geographical equality / quality and relevance of education" are unlikely to receive much support from:

- The population who is directly concerned by under-schooling and poor schooling and who – through the process of reform – is being offered an education system allegedly affordable by all but which in actual fact is debased;
- Teachers, who, as a result of the reforms, are expected to put up with difficult and unfair living and working conditions.

The government's strategy raises another question: how far can the quality of education be "pushed into the background" in order to achieve the aim of making education affordable for those who live under the poverty line, i.e. 47% of the population? Will the proposed reforms be effective in terms of

achieving this aim unless a close link is established between education, vocational training and the globalised labour market?[75]

Indeed, it seems to us that – quite apart from the introduction of national languages and "productive work" – the key question is *"**what** can Burkinese workers produce for a liberalised market which is already swamped with all kinds of goods and services, including goods and services produced with the help of computers and robots as well as GMOs, subsidised products and second-hand products, all of which stifle local entrepreneurship?"*

As far as teachers are concerned, they are the key actors in education, and their involvement in the planning, development, implementation and follow-up of education programmes is essential. If from the very start they are not treated as active participants or are not convinced of the relevance of the programmes, or if they feel that their interests have not been taken into account by planners, they may end up running against the grain of the reforms and compromise its objectives and investments.

But we should also ask ourselves whether, in essence, the education policies pursued under the auspices of the World Bank are not geared to containing and reorganising public expenditure over all other objectives, i.e. whether the aims of education are not actually subordinated to those of the SAPs.

The fact that the well-worn stick-and-carrot strategy is being used to push through the reforms is arguably an indication that the champions of these reforms are incapable of proving their well-foundedness and perhaps are even aware at the back of their minds that the reforms are unjust.

Whatever the efficacy of the proposed remedies, and regardless of the level of competence or the good faith of the "SAP shamans", the question arises as to the responsibility of the local "medicine men" who use coercion to administer the "potion" to their "patients", i.e. to the people who have elected them…as well as the responsibility of all the lesser healers who can "diagnose" the problem and, so to speak, read the instructions on the bottle.

This is why teachers and their unions have an obligation to move beyond their own sector-specific demands and build broad coalitions with all stakeholders in education in order to put forward and uphold alternative policies to those imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions. Unless this happens, "EFA by 2015" will remain a largely empty slogan and will go the same way as "healthcare for all by the year 2000" did before it.

The history of the trade union movement, in which teachers' unions have often played a key role, shows that no government can afford to ignore an alternative set of proposals submitted by a coalition led by unions. It was thanks to such coalitions that successive governments – including military regimes – were never able to impose a single union and a single party in Upper Volta.

[75] The syntax of the original is obscure here.

Notes on Part II of BF report

- Footnote 7: Blank spaces appear in the original where we would expect the number and date of this publication. The same problem is repeated elsewhere.
- Pie chart on page 8: I was unable to edit the chart. The translation is given in square brackets after the chart.
- Page 12 and elsewhere: I am uncertain about the term “cours de vacations” (only 12 hits on Google!). I have rendered it as “supply teaching” but it might conceivably refer to some sort of “holiday tuition” or “extra-curricular course”.
- Section entitled “References and other sources”. The list of references does not conform to any standard layout/formatting. In particular, a) no systematic distinction is drawn between books, articles in periodicals, conference papers, organisations used as sources, events, etc.; b) the information is not presented in a consistent order; c) the information is often fragmentary or incomplete. I have spent considerable time “tidying up” this section (eliminating repeated titles, standardising the presentation where possible, standardising the font type, distinguishing between different kinds of items, etc.) but bringing it in line with standard practice would require many hours of work and close consultation with the author.

List of abbreviations

1.	**AfDB**	African Development Bank
2.	**CEBNF**	Centre d'Education de Base Non Formelle" (Informal Basic Education Centre)
3.	**CEG**	"Collège d'Enseignement Général" (General Education School)
4.	**CFA franc**	Franc of the African Financial Community
5.	**CNR**	"Conseil National de la Révolution" (National Revolutionary Council)
6.	**CSLP**	"Cadre Stratégique de Lutte contre la Pauvreté" (Anti-Poverty Strategic Framework)
7.	**DFC**	Double-flow classes
8.	**EFA**	Education For All
9.	**EI**	Education International
10.	**ENAM**	"Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de la Magistrature" (National School of Administration and Magistrature)
11.	**ENEP**	"Ecole National des Enseignants du Primaire" (National School for Primary Teachers)
12.	**FAS**	"Facilités d'Ajustement Structurel" (Structural Adjustment Facilitating Programme)
13.	**FASR**	"Facilité d'Ajustement Structurel Renforcé" (Strengthened Structural Adjustment Facilitating Programme)
14.	**GDP**	Gross Domestic Product
15.	**GNP**	Gross National Product
16.	**HIPC**	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
17.	**IDB**	Islamic Development Bank
18.	**IMF**	International Monetary Fund
19.	**IUTS**	"Impôt Unique sur les Traitements et Salaires" (Single Tax on Wages and Salaries)
20.	**MASSN**	"Ministère de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarité Nationale" (Ministry for Social Action and National Solidarity)
21.	**MEBA**	"Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation" (Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy)
22.	**MESSRS**	"Ministère des Enseignements Secondaire, Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique" (Ministry for Secondary and Higher Education and Research)
23.	**MGC**	Multi-Grade Class
24.	**NA**	National Assembly
25.	**NGO**	Non-Governmental Organisation
26.	**PADEP**	"Programme africain pour le développement de la participation des travailleurs" (African Workers' Participation Development Programme)
27.	**PANAF**	ICFTU-AFRO/OATUU/LO-TCO Pan-African Education Project
28.	**PDDEB**	"Plan Décennal de Développement de l'Education de Base" (Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan)
29.	**SAP**	Structural Adjustment Programme
30.	**SATEB**	"Syndicat Autonome des Travailleurs de l'Education de Base" (Autonomous Union of Basic Education Workers)

31. SNEAB	"Syndicat National des Enseignants Africains du Burkina" (Burkina National Union of African Teachers)
32. SNESS	"Syndicat National des Enseignants du Secondaire et du Supérieur" (National Union of Secondary and Higher Education Teachers)
33. STD/HIV/AIDS	Sexually Transmissible Diseases / Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
34. SYNATEB	"Syndicat National des Travailleurs de l'Education de Base" (National Union of Basic Education Workers)
35. SYNTER	"Syndicat National des Travailleurs de l'Education et de la Recherche" (National Union of Education and Research Workers)
36. UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
37. UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
38. UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
39. WB	World Bank
40. WGESA	Working Group on Education Sector Analysis

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Annexe 1: Overview of the **Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB)**

The Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB) aims to lay the foundations for EFA by the year 2015. To this end, the plan sets out four main objectives and a number of targets.

The PDDEB is a sectoral policy to develop the basic education system over a ten-year period (2001-2010). It follows a programmatic approach with an emphasis on results. This approach is based on the following criteria/aims:

- The accountability of beneficiary countries in achieving the objectives;
- The effective participation of the target population in the implementation of the envisaged development actions (planning – implementation – follow-up/evaluation);
- Progressively strengthening local capabilities with a view to effectively transferring responsibilities;
- The development of leadership skills at all levels.

The PDDEB was drawn up on the basis of a participatory approach over a prolonged period of time. The Ministry for Basic Education and Literacy (MEBA) relied on contributions from several consultants and experts both locally and at international level.

The Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB) is consistent with several strategic guidelines. Its implementation will take place in 3 three-year phases. Special attention will be given to the education of girls, given that EFA necessarily implies providing quality education for women and girls, who account for more than 52% of the Burkinese population.

1. ***The main objectives of the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan are as follows***:

- Speed up the quantitative development of the provision of basic education and reduce any existing inequalities;
- Improve the quality, relevance and efficiency of basic education and strengthen coherence and integration between the various levels and schemes within basic education;
- Promote literacy and new, alternative approaches to education;
- Develop and consolidate the leadership, management and evaluation skills of the central and local structures responsible for education and achieve a better coordination of foreign aid.

2. ***The expected results***

- Increase the school enrolment rate to 70% by the year 2010, targeting, in particular, girls and children in the most disadvantaged rural areas;
- Increase the literacy rate to 40% by the year 2010;
- Improve the quality, relevance and efficiency of basic education and informal basic education.

3. ***PDDEB strategic guidelines***

Nine guidelines have been defined for the implementation of the PDDEB:

Strategic guideline 1: Increase the share of public expenditure earmarked for basic education to 20% by 2010 (from 12.38% in 1997 and 13% in 1999);

Strategic guideline 2: Increase the effectiveness of foreign aid in terms of its strategic aims and implementation as well as its coordination by the Ministry. Foreign aid is to be redirected towards a quantitative improvement of basic education.

Strategic guideline 3: Improve the decision-making process. This is particularly important in regard to the decisions concerning investments, aims and priority actions.

Strategic guideline 4: Improve the quality and efficiency of the basic education system. To this end, the following actions are planned:

- Bring school infrastructures geographically closer to schoolchildren's places of residence;
- Provide each child with a reading manual;
- Review existing syllabuses to make them more functional and strengthen the links between theoretical knowledge and practical skills.

Strategic guideline 5: Make the most of and/or improve the existing structures.

Strategic guideline 6: Increase efficiency by improving the management of teaching staff.

Strategic guideline 7: Continue the efforts to reduce the costs of building schools and of school equipment.

Strategic guideline 8: Introduce significant changes in schools in order to provide self-learning opportunities, particularly as regards:

- Making basic education more autonomous;
- Diversifying the existing educational schemes (modernised Franco-Arab schools, satellite schools, Informal Basic Education Centres, Permanent Literacy and Training Centres, children's literacy centres).

Strategic guideline 9: Promote the development of civil society and the ongoing decentralisation processes as factors favouring the management and ownership of education by local communities.

4. Strategies to implement the 3 three-year phases of the PDDEB

The PDDEB is to be implemented over a ten-year period (2001- 2010) comprising 3 successive three-year phases.

The first phase (covering the period from 2001 to 2005) concerns:

- Furthering the goals of the basic education expansion programme;
- Implementing the literacy campaign in support of primary education in areas with a low demand for education.

The second phase (2005-2008) will aim to:

- Pursue the efforts to expand formal education to achieve an overall gross enrolment rate of 58.52% (including 52.26% of the girl population);
- Develop informal basic education to achieve a literacy rate of 37.2%.

The third phase (2008-2010) will involve actions aimed at consolidating the expansion of the basic education system, improving its quality and relevance, and strengthening management capabilities in order to achieve a 70% school enrolment rate and a 40% literacy rate by 2010. The girls' enrolment rate should increase to 65% by the end of the plan.

5. Costs and funding of the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB)

The overall cost of the Ten-year Basic Education Development Plan is estimated at 235 billion CFA francs, which will be allocated to the plan's four main constituent programmes according to the following breakdown:

1. Expansion of basic education: approximately 198 billion, i.e. 82.97%;
2. Improving the quality and relevance of basic education: 17 billion, i.e. 7.23%;
3. Intensifying literacy campaigns: 16 billion, i.e. 6.80%;

Strengthening planning and management capabilities: 7 billion, i.e. 2.97%.

The cost of the first phase, which spans four years (2001- 2005) is estimated at more than 69 billion CFA francs, excluding salary costs. The funds will be provided by several agencies, according to the following breakdown:

- 17% by the Burkinese government budget;
- 9% under the HIPC programme;
- 34% by the World Bank;
- 12% by Canada;
- 11.4% by the Netherlands;
- 7.8% by Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland and the French Development Agency;
- 7.8% by UNICEF, IDB, AfDB and the EU.

The payments will be made on the basis of the results achieved.

The Ministry for Literacy and Informal Education ("Ministère Délégué à l'Alphabétisation et à l'Education non formelle" – MDAENF)

The MDAENF will be responsible for promoting literacy and informal education at primary level. It will operate under the guidance of the MEBA. More specifically it will be entrusted with:

- Implementing the government's literacy and informal education policies;
- Designing, planning and evaluating educational activities;
- Planning and managing the creation of the literacy and informal education centres;
- Monitoring and controlling the administrative and educational management of the literacy and informal education structures;
- Preparing and monitoring the documents, textbooks and other teaching materials used in the literacy and informal education programmes.

Annexe 2:

Table: Categories of teachers in the public sector.

Position	**Category**
"Instituteur Adjoint" (Teaching Assistant – IA)	C3
"Instituteur Adjoint Certifié" (Qualified Teaching Assistant – IAC)	C1
"Instituteur Certifié" (Qualified Teacher – IC)	B1
"Instituteur Principal" (Head Teacher)	A3
"Conseiller Pédagogique Itinérant" (Travelling Educational Counsellor – CPI)	A2
"Inspecteur de l'Enseignement du Premier Degré" (Primary Education Inspectors)	A1
"Attaché Intendance Scolaire et Universitaire" (School and University Management Officer – AISU)	B1
"Attaché d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire" (School and University Administrative Officer – AASU)	B1
"Conseiller d'Intendance Universitaire" (University Management Counsellor - CIU)	A1
"Conseiller d'Administration Scolaire et Universitaire" (School and University Administrative Counsellor – CASU)	A1
High School (*lycée*) Teachers	A1
Junior High School Teachers	A2
University Lecturers and Research Directors	
Senior Lecturers and Senior Research Directors	
Senior Research Assistants and Research Officers	

Annexe 3: Salary- and wage-indexing of civil service positions as of 01/01/99

CATEGORY																
Hierarchy			**A**			**B**			**C**			**D**			**E**	
Class	Grade	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
	1st grade	535	455	410	360	330	310	285	260	235	215	205	195		145	140
	2nd grade	570	495	450	385	350	330	300	275	250	225	215	205	160	155	150
	3rd grade	630	535	490	410	370	350	315	290	265	240	225	215	170	165	155
	4th grade	690	575	530	435	390	370	335	305	280	255	235	225	180	175	165
	5th grade	750	615	570	460	415	390	355	320	295	270	245	235	190	185	175
	6th grade	810	655	610	485	440	410	375	335	310	285	260	250	200	195	185
	7th grade	870	695	650	510	465	430	395	350	325	300	275	265	210	205	195
1st class	8th grade	930	735	690	535	490	450	415	365	340	315	290	280	220	215	205
	9th grade	990	775	730	560	515	470	435	380	355	330	305	295	230	225	215
	10th grade	1050	815	770	585	540	495	455	395	370	345	320	310	240	235	225
	11th grade	1110	855	815	610	565	520	475	415	385	360	335	325	250	245	235
	12th grade	1170	900	860	635	590	545	495	435	405	375	350	340	260	255	245
	13th grade	1230	945	905	665	615	570	515	455	425	390	365	355	270	265	255
	14th grade	1290	990	950	695	640	595	535	475	445	405	380	370	280	275	265
	15th grade				725	665	620	555	495	465	420	395	385	295	285	275
	16th grade							575	515	485	435	410	400	325	300	285
	1st grade	900	720	670	530	485	450	410	365	340	310	300	275		215	205
	2nd grade	980	780	720	565	515	475	435	390	360	325	310	290	230	230	220
	3rd grade	1060	840	770	600	545	500	460	415	380	340	325	305	245	245	235
	4th grade	1140	900	820	635	575	525	485	440	400	355	340	320	260	260	250
2nd class	5th grade	1220	960	870	670	605	550	510	465	420	370	355	335	275	275	265
	6th grade	1300	1020	920	705	635	575	535	490	440	385	370	350	290	290	280
	7th grade	1380	1080	970	740	665	600	560	515	460	400	385	365	305	305	295
	8th grade	1460	1140	1020	775	695	625	585	540	480	415	400	380	320	320	310
	9th grade	1540	1200	1070	810	725	650	610	565	500	430	415	395	335	335	325
	10th grade				845	755	675	635	590	520	445	430	410	350	350	340
	11th grade							660	615	540	460	445	425	380	365	355
	1st grade	1320	1040	950	730	655	595	555	510	455	395	385	360		300	290
	2nd grade	1420	1120	1010	775	690	625	585	540	480	415	405	380	315	320	305
	3rd grade	1520	1200	1070	820	725	655	615	570	505	435	425	400	335	360	335
3rd class	4th grade	1620	1280	1130	865	760	685	645	600	530	455	445	420	375	380	350
	5th grade	1720	1320	1190	910	795	715	675	630	555	475	465	440	395	400	365
	6th grade				955	830	745	705	660	580	495	485	460	415	420	380
	7th grade							735	690	605	515	505	480	435	420	380

Annexe 4: Academic staff and teachers' salaries and benefits as of January 2000.

BENEFICIARIES	Job	Accomm.	Water	Electr.	Teleph.	Extra duties
Rectors	35 000		10000	20000	30000	
Vice-Rectors	25 000					
Deans	20 000					
Vice-Deans of Training and Research Units (UFR) or faculties; Heads of institutes and university colleges	15 000					
University lecturers and research directors		50 000				
Senior lecturers and senior research directors		50 000				
Senior research assistants and research officers		50 000				
High school headmasters	10 000					
Heads of General Education Schools (CEG) and colleges of education (*écoles normales*); primary school district inspectors	7 000					
a) Secondary school inspectors		35 000				
b) Full-time assistant lecturers		35 000				
c) Research officers, research engineers		35 000				
d) Secondary school counsellors		25 000				U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
High-school and technical-school project leaders/ senior technicians	6 000					
Secondary school deputy headmasters	6 000					
e) Primary school inspectors and FJA* Head counsellors		25 000				U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
f) Travelling educational counsellors, FJA* counsellors		25 000				U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
g) Head teachers		25 000				
h) High school and technical school teachers (general, technical and category-A Physical Education)		25 000				U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
Secondary school superintendents	5 000					U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
Heads of primary schools and kindergartens (per class)	1 000					U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
Heads of Training Centres for Young Farmers (per class)	1 000					U 15000 SU 17500 R 20000
Category B secondary school teachers		20 000				U 13000 SU 15000 R 17500
Category B primary school teachers		14 000				U 13000 SU 15000 R 17500
Category C primary school teachers		8 500				U 12000 SU 12500 R 15000

U: Urban area
SU: Semi-urban area
R: Rural area
FJA: "Formation des Jeunes Agriculteurs" = Training of Young Farmers