Effective Literacy Programs

Parallel Session A-2
Effective and Promising Programs

Processes, Approaches and Pedagogies in Literacy Programs
Case study on the experience of the Institute for Popular Education (IEP) in Mali

by Mrs. María Diarra Keita – IEP, Mali
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1. ABSTRACT

1. This study presents the potential of the evolving process of the elimination of illiteracy in the democratization and decentralization context typical of the education reform movements in Africa since the 1990s. Taking the Mali’s experience and that of the Institute for Popular Education (IEP) as an example, the study develops the evolution in forms of education through a “language of possibility” that emerges when the guidelines of formal education and non-formal education are similar. This process creates paradigms that benefit reform movements concerning formal school curriculum and the valorization of non-formal programs.

2. We develop, in this study, an argument for the relevance of popular education as a policy and educational context of literacy for development. This argument is based on the principle and policy of the participation of populations as “the means and end” of development and as a fundamental right of self-determination. The argument develops a position-taking that acknowledges the inadequacy of the forms of education introduced until the present day and proposes “another form” that is popular and intergenerational that could be used, at the same time, to “revitalize” the existing forms. The role of the elimination of illiteracy in these forms is presented as a defining element. Starting with these arguments, the experience of the Institute for Popular Education in Mali is presented through a case study that develops a continuous spiral of “need”, “demand” and “action.” The argument concludes with an analysis of the challenges and results emerging from this spiral and recommendations for education reform contexts.

3. Recommendations

Making practice a battlefield for:
- Giving ourselves a field of application for our vision;
- Imagining the recognition of local knowledge, its links and its use in another way, for the benefit of development, in our case through education;
- Changing training approaches for trainers and literacy program designers;
- Revitalizing the training of trainers;
- Starting a new research period to generate new knowledge;
- Africanizing psycho-pedagogical theories instead of retaining those of the West.
2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

4. This study presents the potential of the evolving process of the elimination of illiteracy in the democratization and decentralization context typical of the education reform movements in Africa since the 1990s. Taking the Mali’s experience and that of the Institute for Popular Education (IEP) as an example, the study develops the evolution in forms of education through a “language of possibility” that emerges when the guidelines of formal education and non-formal education are similar. This process creates paradigms that benefit reform movements concerning formal school curriculum and the valorization of non-formal programs.

5. To negotiate this promising interface, there are grounds for incorporating the principles and practices of several educational traditions. Whether for non-formal or formal education, educators and program designers increasingly need to develop an organic capacity for organizing curricula and using cultural and local metaphors to create learning situations. Popular education offers a dynamic context in which these capacities may be developed.

6. Popular education presents an alternative to the non-formal education alternative to formal education. Popular education is a social project, most often put into operation through the elimination of illiteracy. The implications of the dynamics from the training, the production process and the sharing of knowledge and the training content for trainers/animators to the impact of community participation from the viewpoint of “genre” and “power” make this social project a context that allows another kind of reality to be imagined.

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8. The elimination of illiteracy in order to raise consciousness, “reading the words,” has imposed itself to make a paradigmatic leap and to be capitalized in a “popular education” with mobilization and participation phases permitting a reading of the world that is changing into a new society. As policies have changed and democracies have gradually made the demand in education change, non-formal education must take on a public and popular aspect to remain relevant. This aspect requires intergenerational and intercultural consciousness-raising. Its implementation process is by definition a “popular” education.

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15. After the large-scale development plans immediately following independence, a general consensus was done in favor of popular participation. The various phases of “doing” separate the development generations:

- **Doing on** (1960-1970), with macro-economic growth policies which should make the benefits flow from top to bottom with the state as the plenipotentiary actor;
- **Doing for** (1970-1984) whose mandate is to satisfy immediate survival needs, often in the form of emergency aid, i.e., doing for those who cannot do for themselves. The state is assisted by international aid;
- **Doing with** (1984-1995) is an approach that involves involving populations in actions concerning their development. Community development is a strategy for preventing emergencies through the institution of the dynamics of grassroots development. This development is managed by local organizations, NGOs in partnership with the populations. The state is in a certain manner at a distance and marginalized vis-à-vis civil society, given the inadequacies of state actions in solving grassroots development problems and its role limited by the imposition of structural adjustment;
- **Having done** (1995-present) witnesses the resurgence of the state through a hands-on approach that permits it to orchestrate the mobilization of development actors considering the inadequacy of civil society actions;
- **Doing through** (2000-present) is based on the hope of decentralization and local good governance.
17. The evolution of forms of education in Mali has gone through the following phases:
Formal mass education after independence; the 1962 reform whose goal was the “nationalization” of the education system and its program;
The literacy campaigns (in Mali, they began with a literacy policy in the country’s official language and were quickly perceived as inappropriate and were replaced by a policy of literacy in the national languages);
The introduction of national languages in the formal school, which only recently was replaced by a “convergence” pedagogy combining national languages and the official language;
The rise in “non-formal” education, which sought to instruct outside the formal system;
The proliferation of the “community school” concept, to bring the school closer to the populations and to make local management of education operational;
The Orientation on Education Law of 1999 that stipulates the transformation of the Malian education system.

18. In 1990, the representatives of African countries and civil society organizations met in Arusha, Tanzania, to debate the issue of participation in the development of the African continent. They ratified the a charter that establishes a policy of grassroots participation throughout all of Africa. They made a commitment in the African Charter of Popular Participation in Development and Social Transformation, familiarly known as the “Arusha Charter,” to work for a development based on the effective participation of peoples. This charter asserts the importance of popular participation as “the means and end”, as a driver of development and the fundamental right of peoples. It identifies participation as the “spearhead in the battle for economic and social justice for all.” Participation must therefore be promoted by governments, NGOs, village organizations and the international community.

19. For the Institute for Popular Education (IEP), this charter is a policy vision. It serves as the conceptual framework through which we can orient our interventions in education. This initiative belongs to African in terms of intellectual property. The strategic choice given to us is to valorize the Arusha Charter (1990).

4. POPULAR PARTICIPATION: “THE MEANS AND END” OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF PEOPLES

4.1. Macro-policies for the promotion of popular participation

16. After the large-scale development plans immediately following independence, a general consensus was done in favor of popular participation. The various phases of “doing” separate the development generations:
Doing on (1960-1970), with macro-economic growth policies which should make the benefits flow from top to bottom with the state as the plenipotentiary actor;
Doing for (1970-1984) whose mandate is to satisfy immediate survival needs, often in the form of emergency aid, i.e., doing for those who cannot do for themselves. The state is assisted by international aid;
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18. Through these phases, each of which has had evolving and specific stages, the rise of popular participation has been obvious and increasingly indispensable. Simultaneously, the Malian political context changed from centralized, state socialism to democracy and decentralization. Two macro-policy documents that are now emblematic have emerged from this evolution: 1) the Arusha Charter concerning the evolution of development strategies and 2) Education For All concerning the evolution of policies and practices in education.

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20 It was also at this same moment, in 1990, that the worldwide appeal for Education For All was sounded. The popular participation policy requires education for everyone: children, young people and adults, and notably women. It is clear that popular participation, like education, operates on the bases of access and quality. Wherever access to a quality education is absent or limited, grassroots participation cannot be effective.

21 How did popular participation become the fundamental theme of the two decades of development approaches? Who today has not faced the consequences of the challenge of participation be it at the grassroots or the intermediary level (actors in development programs, NGO personnel or the state)? How did the participation ideal become problematic and what were the consequences for us, the strategic actors involved in education and development programs?
For the Institute for Popular Education (IEP), this charter is a policy vision. It serves as the conceptual framework through which we can orient our interventions in education. This initiative belongs to African in terms of intellectual property. The strategic choice given to us is to valorize the Arusha Charter (1990).

4.2. Dancers, tom-tom drummers and clappers: The relevance of a popular education strategy in the context of democracy and decentralization

In order to promote popular participation in development, verifying the perception of grassroots communities is a key element that our interventions in development must not overlooked. During a study session in a rural area, we asked the women this research question: “What is development?” The women from the village of Kula gave us this answer: “Development is like a dance performance directed by the distant sounds of tom-toms whose drummers are not on the stage. They drum from far away, and you (speaking of us, the development agents), you clap your hands to the rhythm provided by these invisible drummers. And we (speaking of themselves), we are the dancers who dance to the rhythm of your hands.”

This is how the women of Kula communicated their perception to us and their own theory of development. They made us understand that those who play the tom-tom from afar and those who clap their hands in front of them are acting to make a rhythm that they think is necessary and useful for their community universal. This rhythm represents the macro-policies. The metaphor illustrates how grassroots communities comprehend the development system – the macro-policy frames and the role of the intermediaries between the macro- and micro-contexts. The women’s vision also shows the nature of the participation that each of the three actors – the policy decision-makers, the NGOs/civil society organizations and the grassroots communities - develops.

What is the intermediaries’ motivation in making them live to the rhythm of the tom-tom? And what factors make the intermediaries – the clappers who hear the rhythm of the distant drummers? For the women of Kula, these two actors have something official in common that allows them to undertake such an action and to be given such a position. The element in common is education. They made us understand that their participation gives them a role to play but that they perceive the difference between the roles if they have not had an education like the two other actors in the dance performance: those who play the tom-toms and those who clap their hands.

By informing us in this way, the women of Kula revealed to us the problem of participation and the necessity of education for the masses regardless of their gender or age. Education is an undeniable aspect of the development process. The apparent need in the metaphor to compare the actors involved in development led the women to formulate a demand that comes from groups marginalized within the communities.

Decision-makers and grassroots communities are unanimous in making the observation that the formal and non-formal education programs have still not been able to meet the social demand in quantity and quality. These programs do not promote a real balance between the different types of knowledge: official knowledge, conventional knowledge and local knowledge. The aim of eliminating illiteracy is to make it possible to use acquired knowledge for the benefit of their development. Which type of knowledge, therefore, is to be used if the populations are convinced that the forms of education offered to them do not meet their needs?

5. REALITY AND REFORM OF EDUCATION SYSTEMS: TOWARD A “POPULAR” EDUCATION FOR PARTICIPATION
5.1. The history of education: The first three types of education

28. During a meeting with the grassroots communities on the relevance of education, an old wise man from the Manden region (Kalasa Bagi, master hunter, during an interview with the IEP pedagogical team in 1994), presented his historical analysis of education in Mali in these words: “Birifini saba bq mandenkaw kan, nka alisa u k\"un\"bara bq k\qnqma” (“The people of Manden have three blankets on them but their belly is always uncovered”). In form and content, the wise man has dug into his cultural repertory to bring out an observation for us in the form of a riddle that he explained as follows: “The three birifini (woven blankets) represent three types of education and each type determines the nature of the specific role that its beneficiaries play in the community:

- The first is the one offered by religious education, the “Kitabu” (holy book), which permits its beneficiaries to play the role of headmaster of the Koranic school –or medersa, imam or preacher;
- The second is the one offered by the classic school, the “Liburu” (the book of reading), which permits its beneficiaries to play the role of village scholar, to write letters, read correspondence, become a school teacher, civil servant, project agent or manager, i.e., a professional;
- The third is the one offered by the “Kibaru” (information), which permits its beneficiaries to play the role of literacy teacher, auditor or secretary to the organization in an association; being a signatory at a savings bank; a member of a committee’s board; or being a leader in mobilizing and raising the consciousness of the village.

29. Despite a certain usefulness, of course, the persistent inadequacies of these three types of education present the challenge today of determining the nature of a fourth type. For the wise man, this fourth type of education would be training whose end result is to make the graduate “fully human.” This training would be focused on initiatives, the power of taking action, in other words, on the capacity of having a role to play.

30. The fourth type of education will place the human being at the center of his learning by making solving his problems a priority. It would recommend training in leadership defined as the capacity to “take action.” It would also become the framework for the involvement of the entire community, all generations included. This fourth type of education will have to build the participation capacity of the African peoples because the first three types have not been able to train the population. They have rather trained “the elite”, although the core of elitism has possibly moved from the chiefs’ sons to the masses. Elitism sees itself in terms of the promotion of individuals rather than that of the communities. The status of an individual is changed by his education but, in general, his community does not change a great deal. We should add to this the assistance to development approaches and the participation practices that accustom people to taking part in “of role-playing.”

5.2. The current realities: Participation and education

31. In our countries “in the process of” development, education must help individuals to acquire basic knowledge to improve their living conditions. The current cultural/policy choice that supports education is located in the framework of a village, a school and/or center of education for development (CED) or a functional literacy center. The first years of the millennium (2000) were witness to the political determination to decentralize the state’s structures. In this option, local administrations play a dominant role in the mobilization of funds, social mobilization, the analysis and implementation of education policies and the elaboration of communal development plans. Their low level of involvement in dialogue and cooperation frameworks due to their lack of education is one obstacle to the progress of democracy. Because of illiteracy, grassroots communities cannot participate effectively in the management of the school that they nevertheless finance through the taxes they pay.

5.2.1. Community schools: Popularizing formal education

32. In 1998, there were approximately 15,000 villages in Mali and 4,500 schools. For the 2002-2003 school year, the sedentary populations recorded a net enrollment rate (NER) of 69.5% for boys
against 47.3% for girls (Skiasso, Ségou); in Bamako this rate was 127.6% for boys against 125.2% for girls; in Gao, in the North region, the NER was 72.8%, 82.9% of which for boys against 63% for girls. Nationally, the NER was 46.4%, 48.2% of which for boys against 33.3% for girls. For the regions, the rate was 40.5%, 48.2% of which for boys against 33.1% for girls in primary school. Nationally, the repetition rates were 19.8%, 19.6% for boys and 20% for girls. The repetition rates are also higher for girls than for boys. The gross admission rate (GAR) of 7-year olds in primary school was 60.5% on the national level, 67.4% for boys and 53.8% for girls.

33. The large-scale investments in access to education in the 1990s resulted, in the 2001-2002 school year, in a general gross enrollment rate of 67.03%, 77.09% for boys against 56.04% for girls. This rate does not show the disparities existing between the regions, the urban and rural areas, the sedentary and nomadic populations and between boys and girls. The differences between these enrollment rates by gender and region in education stem from factors such as the conformism of the section of the active population (decision-makers, parents, traditional chiefs and religious leaders, the attitudes of certain teachers) and the content of academic programs that leave a poor perception of the school.

34. The call for “one village, one school” was met by the creation of a large number of community schools. Created on the demand of the communities, often supervised by international and national NGOs, managed thanks to training provided by these NGOs, Mali’s community schools represent almost half of all the schools in the country.

5.2.2. The CEDs: Formalizing non-formal education

35. Introduced as a school recovery strategy for children too old to enroll in primary school the centers of education for development (CEDs) in Mali are now in full development. They offer a functional literacy program comprised of four years of practical training. The first three years focus on the acquisition of basic functional literacy and the last year is devoted to learning a trade for insertion into active life.

36. The network of centers of education for development places non-formal education within the reach of children aged 9 to 15. The program comes from the Ministry of Education but is likely to be amended by the local school authorities. A pedagogical advisor at the center of pedagogical stimulation (CAP), a department devolved from the state, is responsible for the follow-up of public, community and private schools and medersas as well as the centers of education for development.

37. Literacy programs in Mali are carried out in a society that is heavily rural and young. Out of a population of 10,472,782, the majority (73.2%) live in a rural milieu. Young people under 15 comprise 65% of the population. There are more women than men: 50.5% women against 49.5% men. The vast majority of women from 15 to 49 years old (77%) as well as that of men (66%) have no education. The literacy rates for adults are 15% for women as opposed to 32% for men.

3.3. The transformation of education in Mali: Seeking the fourth type of education

38. The Orientation on Education Law, passed on December 28, 1999, stipulates Mali’s new education policy. With this law, Mali has embarked on the transformation of its education system from preschool to the university, including non-formal education. The change is based on a policy choice of training the “development actors,” the populations. The equality of opportunity for training as well as the objective of access to a quality education is expressed by the bilingualism that will henceforth characterize the Malian school and in the “unique block of 9 years old” that guarantees that the 46% of the Malian population represented by those under 15 has access to basic education as long as possible.

39. The general orientation framework (CGO) presents the principles and practices of the new “curriculum” following an “approach-by-skill.” The emphasis is on “knowing how to act,” the
mobilization of an ensemble of types of knowledge, know-how, “knowing how to be” observed and measured, permitting an individual to accomplish in an appropriate way a task or set of tasks. The orientation framework allows for this mobilization to be carried out by:

- The application of renovated pedagogical approaches;
- The change from a teaching logic to a training logic by means of learning activities;
- The use of problematic situations as a privileged means of learning;
- Integrated teaching involving the implementation of activities that make it possible to simultaneously aim at different objectives in several disciplines;
- The practice of formative evaluation throughout the learning process;
- The valorization of individual and group work.

40. The principles of the curriculum developed in the general orientation framework are the following:

- **Any child can succeed** if he is given the means and the time. The rhythm and the manner of learning varies from one child to the other. It is therefore important that the teacher adapt himself to his students who must be encouraged constantly according to the principle that there are no small successes. The school must do away with exclusion and reassert its determination to transmit common fundamental education, a culture and training to all the children.

- **The curriculum must favor the student’s autonomy** by taking into account the principle that knowledge is built in the learner who is an active agent in his training in order to sustain knowledge so that it leads to the development of skills. Starting from the principle that the school is a privileged place for the individual’s training, the teacher will promote the student’s active participation in his training by offering him appropriate learning activities.

- **The interdisciplinary approach** aims at the integration of different types of knowledge by applying acquisitions in one discipline to learning in another. This also, and especially, means developing the capacity to create links in a perspective of ongoing education and the development of skills.

- **The approach-by-skill principle** aims at elaborating the curriculum that is centered first and foremost on the definition of the expected skills that the student must acquire during a training sequence. It is necessary to have specific knowledge of the task to be carried out in order to define these skills. This means first of all paying attention to the clear description of the tasks the student will be able to carry out at the end of a training sequence, then formulating the skill required to carry out the task described (citation from the CGO document, pp. 16-17).

3.3.1. The impact of the policy on practices and the influence of non-formal education

41. The first change in this policy was that of language. Once again, changes in language brought formal and non-formal education closer to each other. This occurred to such a degree that it would be difficult to be unaware that non-formal education influenced formal education. To mention just a few examples: there are no longer inspections but there are now “pedagogical stimulation centers”; disciplines have become interdisciplinary and are known through five “training” sectors; the teacher’s role has gone from that of knowledge transmitter to that of facilitator; and the student is now called a “learner”. Besides the change in language, the policy seeks to “standardize” several key educational innovations by assimilating them into the new curriculum. Expansion of the curriculum will be used to disseminate the key innovations.

42. The transformation of the education system incorporates the lessons learned from the decades of educational innovations in Mali. The three most influential are convergent pedagogy, taken as the “base” of the new curriculum, training in environmental education and education in family life. These innovation add indispensable dimensions to “linking the school to life.” They present a range of themes, skills and information-education-communication (IEC) subjects that take their inspiration from non-formal education models and even andragogy (adult education).

43. Despite the numerous experiences mentioned above, access to quality education remains problematic. The decentralization of the sector, decided by the government in 2002, certainly offers new potential for the region but it remains largely theoretical as of this date while the quality of the education supply has raised many questions. Basic education is composed of two sub-sectors, formal and non-formal. The formal sector provides a clear orientation of its policy choice through law no. 48 of 1999 and a general orientation framework that the country is endeavoring, with great
difficulty to put into practice. As for the non-formal sector, the elaboration of its policy is currently underway.

44. In October 2005, five years after the law was passed, the first steps toward expansion have been taken. Expansion was launched through the training of teachers by 2,505 public and community schools. The weakest obstacles were removed with this launch. But apart from language and infrastructure, which are the most visible changes that have an impact on the environment, pedagogical practices seems to be the slowest to have an impact. Expansion is a strategy to fight against this possibility by bringing each actor up to the same information and expectation level.

5.4. Popular education

45. No education is neutral, whatever its form. Education is a transformation tool and the difference comes from the type of transformation carried out. Popular education is a process by which the people become aware of their social situation and organize themselves to build their capacities to carry out a social change. Its goal is to build a new, fairer and more human society.

46. The continuum presented here describes the visible processes in the three forms of education: formal, non-formal and popular. It uses a theoretical frame (Deborah Fredo, 1995, dissertation, Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts/Amhears) to study the practical case of IEP in running popular education. As an analytical tool, it is important to note that this frame comes not only from the literature but also from educational practices. The frame represents an example of “theory creation” based on practices, an example that the practitioners of popular education would like to see expanded.

The targets and phases of the process of the elimination of illiteracy through the different forms of education

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47. The forms of education are in constant evolution. Haven’t we seen a certain “globalization” in the positive sense of the word of the forms of education? In this age of travel and information, the forms are influenced vis-à-vis their evolution. If formal education had its roots in the education of the elite, certain movements have forced it to welcome the masses. These movements have resulted in an unbalanced situation: in certain countries, schooling has become universal and in others, it remains below 50% of the school-age population. It took a decade worldwide to promote Education For All. And further, it was necessary to particularly stress access to education for women and girls through literacy campaigns for the former and school enrollment for the latter.

48. The literacy campaigns that characterized the first formulations of non-formal education also had to follow an evolution according to the policy phase of the moment: literacy to be functional, to “produce,” followed by literacy to meet immediate needs and literacy to change behaviors. Initially, the literacy programs in Mali were conducted in the French language as they were intended for infantrymen to prepare them for war. Next they were offered to producers of raw material (cotton, peanuts) intended for France; non-formal education was used to satisfy immediate needs and subsequently took on the appearance of functionality in order to permit changes in behavior vis-à-vis production and the improvement of the quality of life.
49. With independence and the advent of national languages, the nature of functionality changed. In general, limited to reading, writing and counting for the application of development project requirements, non-formal education has a predominantly rural female clientele in Mali. Perceived as an offering for lack of formal education, non-formal education programs gave priority to literacy in rural areas for cotton producers and women’s groups to improve revenue-producing activities. The non-formal learning process was also organized in a hierarchical manner, in a progressive and complex integration level system. The learning programs were created to meet the demand for literacy tied to determined levels (alpha/post alpha and neo-literate/functional). They are oriented toward a goal, for the most part, the people’s experiences in the Malian context. This goal has remained economic and survival activities. Occasionally, through religious institutions, religious cultural centers give literacy courses that are connected to the life-styles of these religions (for Islam, in the Islamic cultural center, for Christianity, in the training centers of the various parishes). Political and civic learning activities such as programs to build grassroots organizations, civic groups and so on run by political parties and the NGOs with the purpose of influencing community participation, development projects or elections should also be mentioned.

50. The durability of non-formal education programs is not guaranteed in Mali. The Malian government has committed only 1% of its budget to them and the financing of development projects finalized through international aid to development treats the elimination of illiteracy as a sub-activity. Access to literacy programs is limited by the image given to learners in these programs and the lack of recognition of their skills in joining the conventional in terms of higher learning or job opportunities.

51. The elimination of illiteracy in order to raise consciousness, “reading the words,” has imposed itself to make a paradigmatic leap and to be capitalized in a “popular” education with mobilization and participation phases permitting a reading of the world that is changing into a new society. As policies have changed and democracies have gradually made the demand in education change, non-formal education must take on a public and popular aspect to remain relevant. This aspect requires intergenerational and intercultural consciousness-raising. Its implementation process is by definition a “popular” education.
52. In formal education, training dynamics descend, “experts-professors” in the science of education train teacher trainers, who train the teachers, who, in turn, train the “students”. Hierarchy of professionalism or rank in the hierarchical civil service: training dynamics are oriented in a single direction, from top to bottom.

53. What was wanted in non-formal education, its alternative, was to have training dynamics cross. If at the starting point the trainer is in a position of strength and the participants in a position of weakness, the scope of the trainer’s contribution decreases vis-à-vis the increase in scope of the participant’s contribution. In a process such as this, the participant is active in his own learning.

54. In popular education, the trainer negotiates a dialogue and exchange space in which the facilitators, closer to the participants, will look for the bases of their theories in practice. A facilitator who does not do so remains on the surface of the process and does not reach down into the depths of a true popular education. On the other hand, the “deep practitioner” is the intermediary between the two visions. He draws the language directly from the people, and to make them “participants” he brings them back up to the “training” places: a space negotiated for the exchange of knowledge, expressed in authentic language, through a “role played” as opposed to role-playing.

55. Official knowledge appears exclusively in written form using modern printed materials and requires reading and writing to be acquired. Local knowledge, since the question here is one of the African peoples who have an oral culture, is enriched with the knowledge of practices and societal values. This knowledge appears in an enigmatic form: proverbs, riddles and sayings of learned men illustrated in the metaphors and practical advice that come from experience. Its acquisition demanded a long period of learning through the analysis of experiences or events experienced by others and that make possible new practices and new societal values. Forms of writing (ideograms) were used to communicate knowledge (different from transmitting knowledge) and there have even been other attempts more recent than ideograms for transmitting the knowledge of certain ethnic groups. These modes of communicating and transmitting local knowledge were considered pagan because of their refusal to use Latin characters.

56. What are the relationships between the practice of eliminating illiteracy as carried out in the education programs in Mali and the two major types of knowledge? What are the integration possibilities? These questions are fundamental and will permit us to consider the aspects of ownership, the status of cultures and the possibilities of the education of communities and the language used in the different education programs.
57. In formal education, the program descends through the medium of the teacher to the student. In non-formal education, the trainers train the agents who receive information on theory in order to improve their knowledge through practice. The agents will need facilitators to occupy the space, which is often and especially a welcome area for them; they are not at home. There are those for whom “being at home” facilitates applying theory to practice. The agents supervise the process, correct it, direct it toward specific goals.

58. In popular education, authenticity comes from practitioners who identify with the actors. Their practice is to have the actors’ theories emerge, to compare this emerging theory with other theories, while democratizing the process and defending the right of “non-official” knowledge. This has some similarity to non-formal education, but the latter has become, quite often, an official alternative. As a result, a third option was necessary, not in opposition to the process but going deeper into the non-formal alternative. A term that is appropriate to defining this process is “popular.” This process enables popular knowledge to offer recognized theories in the action-reflection-action axiom.

### The content of trainers’ training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal education</th>
<th>Non-formal education</th>
<th>Popular education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psycho-pedagogy</td>
<td>Basic training:</td>
<td>Siting one’s practice (diagnosing a position-taking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects (disciplines to be taught)</td>
<td>• Andragogy principles</td>
<td>Confirming vision et approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum</td>
<td>• Facilitator vs. Teacher</td>
<td>Experiencing the consequences of the vision and approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodologies</td>
<td>• “Banking” approach vs. Dialogue</td>
<td>Practices in the practice: case studies (results and lessons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>• Stimulation techniques</td>
<td>The trends/genealogies and the strategies of change taken up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training session</td>
<td>• Training plan (identification of needs, expectations, objectives, etc.)</td>
<td>Experiencing the consequences of the strategies of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> </td>
<td>• Communication /responsiveness skills</td>
<td>Tools: creation according to the context (creation, use, reuse, recreations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> </td>
<td>• Group dynamics</td>
<td> </td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher training</td>
<td>• Psychological influences on the pedagogical approaches</td>
<td>A practice of facilitation (your attitudes and habits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td> </td>
<td>• History/evolution of choice of approach (where do these practices come from?)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td> </td>
<td>• Reasons for choice of approach (methodology and objectives)</td>
<td></td>
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<td> </td>
<td>• How to valorize the responses of the participants</td>
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</table>

59. This content is only a barometer to verify if the evolution of processes is moving toward the “popular”. In formal education, the content of the trainers’ training encompasses curriculum subjects, personal development theories, psycho-pedagogy, methodologies with their taxonomies and their material supports and training opportunities and places. In non-formal education, there is basic training for community educators that prepares them for differentiating themselves from the formal (andragogy as opposed to pedagogy; facilitator as opposed to teacher; dialogue approach as opposed to “banking” approach). The educator’s higher training level is increasingly official (psychological influences on pedagogical approaches; history and philosophy of the approaches).

### The language of “criticism”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal education</th>
<th>Non-formal education</th>
<th>Popular education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education for reproducing realities in place Socialization cycle (“banking” education)</td>
<td>Education for problem-solving</td>
<td>Education for problem-posing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60. In formal education, the criticism of “banking” education has ousted so-called “classic” methods. Formal education had everything to gain from the wager that the formal served to reproduce the
realities in place. The school was one of the key elements of the socialization cycle that was self-perpetuating. In non-formal education, the alternatives to the realities in place required a capacity to solve problems whereas in popular education, the most sought-after capacity should be to pose the problem, be able to interpret it and be able to act as a result.

The language of “possibility”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal education</th>
<th>Non-formal education</th>
<th>Popular education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diploma = Job</td>
<td>Theories leading to Practice</td>
<td>Social change strategies: practice leads to theory or new knowledge based on practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61. In formal education, the prospect of success is recognized by society in the form of a diploma or a job. In non-formal education, the possibilities are revealed in practice through the proper application (conscious or not) of the theories. In popular education, the movement is from practice to new knowledge. These languages of criticism and possibility mirror the various society projects. Formal education, apart from reforms, means reflecting society as it is. Non-formal education means criticizing social reality. Popular education is the deepening of the alternative demanded in order to imagine another reality.

Trends toward a society project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal education</th>
<th>Non-formal education</th>
<th>Popular education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformist: reflects social reality</td>
<td>Reformist: criticizes social reality</td>
<td>Transformist: imagines another social reality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62. The ambition of popular education is to imagine another reality with the person who has become literate as the cornerstone of this ambition. The practitioners are the moderators of the pedagogical process so that popular education does not become just an alternative in opposition to non-formal (which itself in opposition to the formal). This leads to a society project in which the three forms of education merge. The curriculum reform movement currently underway in Mali is a step toward this project. But we must go even farther to methodically incorporate local knowledge.
6. SOCIAL DEMAND AND ACTIONS IN POPULAR EDUCATION: CASE OF THE IEP

6.1. Case of the Institute for Popular Education (see diagram below)

6.1.1. The policy and the problem

63. We have discussed earlier on the context of the popular participation policy and the problem of education. We have also noted the current realities of the participation-education nexus in Mali. This concerns the dynamics of the change to decentralization and the transformation of education. This context is both dynamic and problematic: if the transformation of education does not succeed, popular participation runs the risk of failing as well. The context presents the current coexistence of three forms of education (formal, non-formal and popular): each form has some of the characteristics of the other forms.

64. The experience of the Institute for Popular Education (IEP) in Mali is evolving based on this participation-education nexus. Initially created to house a group for action research in alternatives in education, the IEP has now given itself the mission of supporting the success of the implementation of the education policy in order to build popular participation. This mission and the education policy underway make it possible for a strategy that the IEP calls “alter-streaming” to evolve. “Alter-streaming” means making alternatives “mainstream” (in the official principal trend). Legal, administrative and socio-cultural authorizations are given by the transformation of language, infrastructure and curriculum. The IEP is seeking to encourage the transformation of practices in keeping with this vision. Having evolved at the same time as the policies of change, its action research orientation has enabled the IEP to define its practice based on the social demand from the grassroots level, i.e., a dynamic spiral of events in terms of needs, demands and actions. As the principles of popular participation have raised the problem of education, they have also created the debate on the appropriate form of this education. Given the real necessity of supporting popular participation, the forms of education are merging in the new education policy that makes the actions undertaken by the IEP relevant and which sometimes serve as models.

65. The following diagram provides a few analytical points.
**Policy:** Without popular participation in Africa, there is no development. It is absolutely unacceptable that the people and the popular organizations be excluded from the decision-making process.

The Arusha Charter, 1990

**Problem:** Which participation? Being assigned a role to play or playing a role, the nature of grassroots participation is wedged between the value of these two roles.
6.1.2. Need, demand and action: An education program for the empowerment of women

66. The “popular participation” policy launches the challenge that there cannot be any development without the participation of the peoples. The challenge of extending this participation to the entire community and to make it authentic has prompted civil society organizations to seek an education program that is appropriate for the development project. This search has set off, in the case of the IEP, a process of consequently identifying needs and actions. The process was done in a “spiral,” i.e., each action triggered new needs that in turn created new demands and so on and so forth.

67. The triggering factor in this process was the literacy program for women based on two unchanging observations:
1) Women, who form over half of the population, are excluded from those involved in development programs. Encouraging their participation is one of the factors in promoting human rights;
2) The participation of women in development is a factor in generating new knowledge to be used in development strategies.

68. After criticism of the purely phonetic approaches currently being used, women expressed the desire to do “something else” in their literacy class. This “something else” was to talk about their lives. The content of the literacy program came from women’s concerns, from their lives in the actual language of their area (as opposed to the standard for each national language proposed by the designers of literacy books in Mali), and this content should serve them as a springboard for their effective participation in development projects. People became aware of the error made by the designers of literacy programs for women, who believe that the contents that introduce the learners to economic or hygiene activities better prepare them to undertake development actions. This approach of the curriculum designers is an imposition of their viewpoint and attachments to official knowledge and dominant theories that they themselves recognize. On the contrary, contents focused on their experiences and concerns have enabled the women who take part in these literacy courses to develop capacities for critical reflection to solve the problems they faced instead of enduring them. In other words, they acquired the capacity to influence the situations that arise in their lives and therefore to consider themselves actors in their development.

69. Speaking of their lives in the literacy class was accompanied by the first act of writing and freedom. After having more or less mastered writing their names, they then went on to writing the names of members of their family. This seems simple but proved to be complex when the women, despite their determination to know how to write the names of their family members were prohibited from speaking their husband’s name because of the beliefs of their milieu. It was a common belief that speaking the name of one’s husband in public would bring misfortunes down on the wife and that the husband who heard his wife speak his name would die. This led to a series of strategies to attain the learning objective which was knowing how to write the husband’s name without transgressing the laws. As writing had never been a factor of cultural consideration, it became a shelter for thought. There was no prescription against writing the husband’s name. So, learning the letters of the alphabet in the husband’s name opened not only the alphabetic code but also the common reflection code; without saying it aloud, one could write the husband’s name. This revelation meant that all the experience of these women was focused on this simple key word: the husband.

70. This was a first brush with the power of writing: a psychological and social power for the women who, without their husbands’ permission, were forced to “participate” in the literacy course through the classroom window or to urge a delegation of (women) learners to go and argue for their enrollment in the literacy course. If the husbands refused their wives permission to take part in the literacy courses thinking that the women might be accessible to other men in the evening, they realized that the wives’ subject was in fact their husbands. The class became a place in which to share experiences and a common dream. Suddenly, it was the husbands’ turn to participate in the evening literacy course, through the classroom window and at the door, those husbands who took their literacy courses following the “syllable” method, and who missed this possibility of a dialogue on the situations of life. This women’s-style forum attracted them. They therefore little by little
entered the women’s circle; expressed themselves in terms that surprised the women because they spoke about their sorrow, their fatigue, their inability to live beyond simple survival, their common underdevelopment. It had become a project of “individual” education and of the individual in the collective life of “society.” Individual lives, often dramatic experiences, flowed out of community solutions to warn against or prevent other problems. The space of the literacy classroom offered them a free zone for reflection or writing, an act that had been mystified for a long time could replace other mystified acts to allow dialogue and find human solutions.

71. Shortly thereafter, the first dream was expressed as a “social demand” by the women and was addressed to the moderators of the literacy program: “do with our children what you do with us.” Having served their need to talk, having opened a collective discussion bridge with the men of the community, having demonstrated that the learning method was as important as the goal, contrary to the expectations of the moderators, the community did not ask to access a higher level of “post-literacy.” It asked for an education program for children who were going to enter an intergenerational learning process, as the women intended to continue their participation in the education program. They did not want the emphasis to be only on them: for the moment, what was necessary was to take care of the future generations who could live in another way if informed and trained in time.

72. Many children came. Certain women became moderators, able to give basic literacy courses to children, a sort of preschool, whatever the age. As in the women’s literacy courses, the children talked about their experience and lives changed. Culture was the basis of education, and not a foreign language, the imposition of a standard. The moderators perfectly mastered this culture and the children were in a learning situation, like the women, free and involved in reflection and movement.

Finding human resources in the community

73. The experience was attempted elsewhere with the same result. The women who participated in the literacy program had influenced their learning process further by introducing the social demand for education for the future generation specifying “like what you did with us.”

74. The vision of EFA is not exclusively macro, the orientation or reorientation of the demand of the women who were no longer illiterate demonstrates their capacity to broaden the vision of education to early childhood and to education of the primary by stressing pedagogical choices. This expansion of the vision creates, however, new needs because the more the number of contacts with the community of learners who have undergone the experience of the transformative approach increased, the more the possibility of finding human resources capable of supporting such education programs decreased.

75. The literacy course permitted the situation of education in the community to be analyzed. The arithmetic courses were the opportunity to bring up the limited access of girls to school. Among the girls of our village, of our family, how many go to school? How far is it between our village and the closest school? The question was one of enumerating the obstacles to schooling for girls.

76. There was a phase during which the mothers could accompany their daughters in the literacy class. At the beginning, the role of these girls was to carry the babies on their backs and take them to the mothers to be breastfed. When the arithmetic course permitted the statistics on the number of girls and women who had access to the education programs to be analyzed, the situation led to the mothers keeping the girls in class, next to them, not as baby minders but to allow them to be instructed as well. The social demand permitted basic education for girls, and for the older ones, professional training.

77. The elimination of literacy in women contributes to:

   - The development of education programs for children;
   - The achievement of human rights for girls;
   - The improvement of the quality of life.
78. On the other hand, the popular education action has added non-formal training for adolescents. The program was called “Fèbese” (“who wants to can” in the Bamanankan language). This broadened literacy program combines development themes and creates opportunities for adolescents. The ideal of participation in development was also extended to young girls and boys and to young adults. Meanwhile, preschool children who are school-aged have created a new demand, that of “continuing in the fundamental school with the children in order not to create a break in their learning framework from preschool.”

79. This demand has created a different approach: henceforth, it will be a question of the “formal” to which the deep experiences of the practice of the elimination of illiteracy and the non-formal have led.

80. The moment coincided with the advent of campaigns for Education For All in Mali and the explosion of the community school option. As a part of civil society, the NGOs were massively involved and, without really being aware of it, contributed to the dominance of the formal over the non-formal while the community schools were a propitious field for instituting a continuum of the elimination of illiteracy in adults, the non-formal education of young people, the formal education of children. This could have resulted in a popular education for the entire community: Such a result necessitated links between the different forms of education at work in a community. Certain realities favored this:

- The lack of teachers trained in formal education demanded the training of human resources as teachers for the community schools;
- The grassroots communities took advantage of the occasion to build roofs over the classrooms that they had constructed in laterite mud;
- The parents organized themselves into parents associations so that they could have the experience of managing their “schools”. However, these opportunities were spoiled for the following reasons:
  - The participation of women was limited to two people, imposed by the NGOs, “facilitators” of this community participation process;
  - The parents organizations accepted the recommendations of the school authorities to take on part-time workers as teachers instead of training their own young people who had the moderator’s skills acquired through non-formal education;
  - The NGOs asked the parents in a succinct manner: In what language would you like your children to study? In French or in the national language? The parents replied that since their children already spoke the national language, they should study in French. This naive answer to this little question meant that the community school became an inferior replica of the formal system in which learning is done in a language that is not the children’s language of reflection. The community school is driven by an approach focused on the teacher’s power over the students and the students must assimilate a content that they often do not understand;
  - The parents associations built their classrooms in laterite mud on the outskirts of the village or near a main path between villages, very often far from the community’s precincts. From that time on, the parents only saw the classrooms on their way to the field. They no longer had the time to stop and see what was going on there. However, they suspected anomalies:
    - The children no longer spoke a comprehensible language;
    - They memorized texts in French without being able to share the content with members of their families;
    - At the learning evaluation sessions necessarily held at night due to lack of time, the parents became aware of whip marks on their children’s bodies.

Recruiting teachers capable of practicing the methodology and creating a curriculum that is adapted to the communities’ development objectives
81. The parents having become aware of the inadequacy of the community school, they demanded a change in the teachers’ attitude. Teachers were needed who could practice the same methodology as the one adopted for the parents during their training sessions as members of parents associations thanks to non-formal education.

82. This need coincided with the implementation of the education reform policy in Mali. This reform stipulated that the school would be bilingual, with the fundamental school using “convergent” pedagogy between the two languages. The teacher’s role would be transformed into that of a learning supervisor. The methods would be active. The goal of education was to prepare individuals to be development actors. By “actor” is meant someone capable of undertaking actions. The reform required a new curriculum based on a skills approach that was to favor anchoring in the milieu and an opening toward innovations. The school was to become a thing for everyone, a community affair, an occasion for popular participation, a leadership opportunity for men and women.

83. The communities, however, were poorly prepared to take on these responsibilities because they had little occasion to analyze the national policies, little training experience in empowerment approaches and a lack of an alternative education model. To support the communities, the IEP supervised actions on the search for a curriculum for the fundamental school and tested a study program for children. The IEP then created a “university without walls” to train teachers and young people in teaching while encouraging the participation of older people to inject local knowledge into these initiatives.

**Mobilizing parents and young people around the school program**

84. The need to mobilize parents and young people around the school program set off a social demand for training of the parents associations (PA) and young people by means of non-formal education. The IEP prepared community education modules on themes indispensable to the development actors: education and the reform of education; leadership in popular participation and gender equity; reproductive health and human rights.

**Working on the vision of the community and basic skills**

85. These actions in popular education focused on community schools revealed the vision of the community and basic skills. The social demand concerned employment for young people in connection with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP).

86. With Education for All and universal access to education as the objective for 2015, the number of school has increased more rapidly than the capacity to obtain teachers. In order to bring the methodology of the reform closer to the teacher training methodology and so that young people can be involved in accordance with the communities’ demand, a training and supervision action for young people was needed. The IEP therefore implemented a mobilization program focused on training young people in the communities to serve in community schools.

87. This ideal was not attained due to factors that are very relevant today:
   1) The basic skills of young people are weak and heavily damaged by the period spent in the formal school as it is difficult for them to use these skills in the short term to build a methodology;
   2) The methodology requires a period of time for learning and training;
   3) This methodology must be aligned with popular education, involving the entire community. The monopoly of the school authorities on the vision of formal education and on the initial training of teachers must therefore be broken;
   4) Parents associations, women who have become literate, technical services and individuals with local knowledge must be associated with the formulation of policies and the analysis and implementation of these policies.
Changing the vision of the community: equity is the factor in real participation and the school is its field of application

88. If the community becomes aware of its power as an actor, it is nonetheless often confronted with the resistance of school authorities or local elected officials. In a decentralized state, the school authorities and the elected official have the responsibility for representing the central power but also for transmitting this power to the people. The decentralized structures are authorized to make decisions that influence the quality of life of the people and their children.

6.2. The analysis of the experience

6.2.1. The actions that the social demand gives rise to

89. The upward evolution of community participation is due to three factors:

1) The impact of motivated “learners” who have become “actors”;

2) The recognition of knowledge and powers;

3) The popularization of the formal school.

1) The impact of motivated learners has set off the entire spiral of the IEP’s experience. The fact that the methodology has functioned for a group of learners in a given location, starting with an effort to eliminate illiteracy that revealed other needs and demands extended to other locations and other learning situations;

2) Popular participation creates social and political reactions. The fact that the communities were not able to offer human resources capable of being trained as teachers has been a visible sign for decades of the failure of non-formal education for adults. The fact that the added value of the children’s language of reflection is neglected in favor of the acceptance of a foreign language as a medium of instruction has ruled out any possibility of formal education being integrated by the populations. Only those who have been to school, and elsewhere, can claim to teach in such a system and, for the most part, these people are trying to leave the rural areas.

3) The formal school has become “popular” because any community that can access it does so. Resistance to the formal school when it was the property of the state greatly decreased when the school became the propriety of the community.

6.2.2. The gap between the demand and the state’s supply

90. Grassroots communities can formulate qualitative demands but the state’s supply has not evolved to meet them. The literacy programs are still conformist. They do not take into account the new needs of social change, thus demotivating grassroots communities whose aspiration is to rely on their own capacities to set their development in motion.

6.2.3. The impact of the “lack” of resources on the process

91. The gap between the state supply and the grassroots demand is the reason for the lack of resources for quality education programs. Civil society organizations alone cannot contribute a more durable solution. Human resources who are already trained in non-formal education programs do not receive any valorization of their education. As newly literate individuals, they are seeking to play an actor’s role in basic education in their community but they have neither the financial support nor the recognition necessary to do so.

6.3. The result of the experience

6.3.1. A reevaluation of the educational space: The intergenerational approach

92. The intergenerational approach to learning is a dynamic process that, starting with the needs of a given generation, creates a demand for learning that come from and/or goes to the community. This link is expressed through programs that enable the entire community to develop forms of participation in the education action. The necessity for an intergenerational approach is in keeping with the consideration of the emergence of a community’s demand for education. For over two decades, Africa has worked unceasingly at popularizing primary education. The intergenerational approach makes it possible to take an accelerated path to achieve education for all because it involves several generation at the same in real and useful learning. For example, once they have become literate, women demand the same education for their children. Education for children in
early childhood creates a demand for the fundamental school, which in turn requires the training of teachers.

6.3.2. The educators’ profile: The need to train “deep practitioners”

93. The contrasts between the three forms of education show the distinct profile of the educators. Today, with the flow between the forms, it has become important to be aware that the popular education form’s need is to train “deep practitioners.” We use the word “deep” because these practitioners will be the ones who will have to plunge into the deep cultural and social space of the participants to uncover the learning contents and the idioms of expression for analysis by the grassroots populations. Once visible, these analyses will make it possible to access a higher level of non-formal education. They will also provide the formal curriculum with local content and will represent emerging theories of popular education in the Malian context at the start of the twenty-first century. Without educators trained in the dynamics of the popular education process, these potentialities will not be made visible and therefore, will not serve the dynamic context of the transformation of practices and policies in governance and education.

94. We anticipate that these “deep practitioners” will become the new generation of “intermediaries”, trained in action-reflection-action and able to communicate between the micro and the macro. In popular education dynamics, education will have the potential of being “for everyone” and “by everyone” with a greater field of sharing knowledge transmitted not only from the top to the bottom but also from the bottom to the top. The pivotal role in these dynamics could be filled by these practitioners, with their capacities to interpret, analyze and disseminate popular education. The challenge could be to find the structures and resources to train these practitioners.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

95. To avoid duplicating the objectives of the standardized non-formal education programs, we have developed activities that generate reflection in place of activities that generate income to authorize the diagnostics of the learners’ socialization cycles and to create analytical capacities to renegotiate new cultures for new societies. Our literacy tools are tools for the analysis of cultures and practices in education. The needs in seeking information show the necessity of emphasizing literacy practices and programs that must train the learners in the skills of the leaders.

Conclusion

Popularizing formal education

96. After decades of promoting non-formal education, what lessons may we learn from the case study of the IEP’s experience? Oddly enough, it is not the perpetuation of two or three forms of education: formal education, non-formal education and so-called popular education. It is rather a matter for these systems that assign unequal powers to “graduates,” “actors” and “actor candidates” to be presented in an inclusive form. Democracy and decentralization favor such an education reform initiative. The necessity of improving the skills of young people to serve in education and the participation of parents to manage the schools will be added to the necessity of transforming the roles of the authorities (from the teacher to the inspector) to serve not the impersonal interests of an education system but rather the interests of the actors in development who can be none other than the populations themselves. An inclusive, “popular” school that promotes the advantages of formal education with the methodologies and openness of non-formal education will be, in the end, the true alternative to finally free the African school from its colonial yoke and assume the breadth necessary for democracies.

97. If the colonial school needed formal education to subjugate the populations, the school of democracy needs non-formal education and popular education to liberate and transform the mentalities of the peoples for a planetary collaboration and the globalization of well-being.
Recommendations

98. Making practice a battlefield for:
   o Giving ourselves a field of application for our vision;
   o Imagining the recognition of local knowledge, its links and its use in another way, for the benefit of development, in our case through education;
   o Changing training approaches for trainers and literacy program designers;
   o Revitalizing the training of trainers;
   o Starting a new research period to generate new knowledge;
   o Africanizing psycho-pedagogical theories instead of retaining those of the West.