



# Africa Network Campaign on Education For All

## THE CHALLENGE OF ACHIEVING EFA GOALS IN AFRICA:

ANCEFA Position Paper for GCE World Assembly; Joburg, December 1 - 4, 2004.

### 1.0 About ANCEFA

ANCEFA is a campaign network of civil society coalitions across Africa. ANCEFA has existed since its formation during the Dakar forum on Education for All in the year 2000 to promote, enable and build advocacy capacities of EFA coalitions in Africa for them to campaign effectively for equitable access to quality basic education for all Africans (children, youth and adults). ANCEFA further endeavors to encourage constructive policy dialogue and engagement between coalitions and ministries of education across the continent. ANCEFA is an umbrella network of up to 26 coalitions across Africa, with its headquarters in Dakar, Senegal and works through sub regional networks with focal points in each sub region: the current focal points are:

- Western Africa - National EFA Coalition in Burkina Faso
- Southern Africa - ZANEC in Zambia
- Eastern Africa - FENU in Uganda
- Central Africa - BAFASHEBIGUE coalition in Burundi
- Northern Africa - The network in Egypt

### 2.0 The Planning Process for EFA in Africa

Three years after firming up the Dakar Framework for Action (EFA Protocol, 2000), it is true that there has been a growth in the number of countries with credible plans, this is far below the numbers expected and it is unlikely that the new target date of December, 2004 for participatory plans will be achieved in many countries. While countries like Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Nigeria, Malawi, Ghana, Zambia, The Gambia and others have published their plans. However there is some confusion about whether these are separate EFA plans, chapters of national development plans, sector review reports, MDG action plans or sections of their Poverty Reduction Strategy papers.

A number of countries who claimed to have developed plans prior to the Dakar Forum have not reported any revision of their strategies in a participatory way. Other countries like Sierra Leone have prepared their plans without input of CSOs while others like South Africa have unprecedented arrogance towards EFA framework arguing the EFA focus on basic education is very minimal as their main interest is technical and higher education. To accelerate the planning process we propose that:

- Significant political commitment is required to put **participatory and credible** plans in place which will enable countries to strategically tackle the challenges which the Dakar Framework outlined and additional ones presented by the emerging socio-economic and political dispensations.
- In the planning process we must ensure that major obstacles or challenges are addressed; meeting the gender parity in education, mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS, resolving recurrent conflicts and promotion of girls' education in Africa.
- There must be genuine, structured and institutionalised mechanisms for civil society participation in development, implementation, review and monitoring of the EFA plans.

### 3.0 Making EFA goals and MDGs Indivisible

Barely six months after Dakar, the world's leaders gathered at the Millennium Summit and committed themselves to eight over-arching goals - the Millennium Development Goals. Two of these correspond directly to Dakar goals. However, in the process of implementing the Dakar framework, a new trend of emphasis on the MDGs has become the basis for action. Countries are focusing on access to primary schooling and girls' enrollment as the key indices of success. The international community, led by the World Bank, has aggressively adopted these two goals as the central basis for their support. The only two resource packages in sight since Dakar - The World Bank-led Fast Track Initiative and the Commonwealth Education Fund - focus their emphasis on these two goals. We note that MDGs are time bound, measurable, realistic and achievable development targets, making it easy to track change and hold governments to account. They further represent a global consensus to put poverty reduction at the core of development and offer a framework to

achieve most of the commitments of the global conferences of 1990s. The goals provide a strong case for renewed momentum on debt cancellation, for transforming trade policies/agreements to meet development goals. On the other hand it is also important to observe that MDGs are in many ways a weak and incomplete reflection of the spirit and substance of the millennium declaration as they fail to capture other pertinent issues as; arms trade, conflict, equity and 'marketization'. MDGs target much more on the least developed countries, isolating them from the solidarity with other developing/middle income countries and finally represent a reversal of hard won gains on rights and against SAPs. We therefore propose the following:

- Work around these two frameworks be informed by the principles and values of the culture of peace.
- Even though MDG framework provides a very minimum agenda, on one hand it provides an opportunity for us to work around and review structural causes of poverty. Be that as it may our emphasis must still remain on the comprehensive EFA goals.
- However EFA goals and MDGs should not be treated separately. It is upon African governments and civil society to look at both EFA goals and MDGs broadly as indivisible frameworks whose attainment relies on each and similar strategies.
- CSO networks/EFA coalitions must strategically position themselves to take leadership of the MDGs campaign; build synergy, harmony and concerted efforts towards accelerating achievement of both EFA and MDG goals.
- We need to use MDGs strategically to open new doors as an extra lever for ongoing campaigns and promote them within a wider context beyond the Millennium declaration.
- We need to expand & add more to the eight goals to address inequality, promote sovereignty in decision making and use them to interrogate and reform all donor driven development frameworks such as PRSPs.

#### **4.0 Achieving Basic Education as a Constitutional Right**

African nations need constitutional frameworks and political cultures oriented to towards rights and basic needs of citizens. We must ensure that in constitutions, there are express provisions on education as one of the statutory entitlements. All the documents, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, through the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter and CEDAW, as well as Jomtien and Dakar Frameworks reaffirm the understanding that education is a basic human right. However, an analysis of most constitutions shows that this has not been translated effectively into national legislations. With the exceptions of possibly Ghana, Kenya and Malawi, there is no constitutional guarantee to the right of every individual citizen to education – even elementary or basic education. As long as basic education remain 'a goodwill service' devoid of constitutional provisions as a fundamental right of access to education by citizens (be they children, youth and adults) will continue to suffer a great deal.

In order to achieve this feat we recommend that;

- While these conventions must be respected/domesticated governments should not sign away the rights of the African as it has happened through GATTs and other WTO mechanisms.
- The provisions must be made enforceable and expanded to include 12 years of basic learning with commensurate budget allocations every year.
- To unlock the potential of all boys and girls, basic education must be made not only accessible and compulsory but more importantly a constitutional entitlement.
- So all government policy documents should bestow elementary education as a fundamental right, allocate substantial funds to elementary education and reiterate commitment to close all gender and social equity gaps in accessing quality basic education for all citizens of the continent.

#### **5.0 Cost and Financing of Education for All**

Overall, financing & budget allocation to education continues to fall far short of the sums required to ensure access as set out in the Dakar Framework. Only very few countries like the Gambia and Senegal come close to the necessary budgetary allocations for achieving EFA – currently recommended at 26%. Most countries average between 5% and 10% with education often fairly low down on the list of national priorities – typically fifth or lower. Unless significant resources are mobilized into education, the MDG & EFA targets will not be met. On the other hand, the cost of education is disproportionately high for the poorest families as in most cases; poor households devote more than 50% of their non-food expenditure to schooling. When budgets are cut back so that the main ingredients of effective schools – teachers, books, and school facilities – can no longer be provided, education becomes inefficient.

It is also important to note that there has been too much focus on primary education in the continent and efforts must be made to make public education accessible at all levels – primary, secondary, tertiary and university. This can be achieved when;

- Our governments take responsibility for basic education, drop all user charges for primary education and initiate a scheme to provide requisite teaching and learning resources to all public schools, and give subsidies to secondary and higher education alongside support to adult education and vocational training.
- A proportion of national recurrent budget is devoted to supply and improvement of teaching and learning resources/materials.
- Local production of more relevant materials is encouraged to reduce cost of education since as a result of privatisation and liberalisation the cost of materials has sky-rocketed.
- Governments must focus on national level resource mobilization to support EFA plans and initiate special funding mechanisms and sponsorship schemes to support education for all.
- An accelerated programme for Africa's renewal must be initiated through revitalization of higher education and stop brain drain.

### **6.0 Donor Interest and Quality of Aid**

During the World Education Forum in Dakar in the year 2000, the international community, particularly donor groups made unequivocal commitment to support EFA, most importantly Universal Primary Education by saying that "no country with good plans on EFA shall fail for lack of funds". This was done in appreciation that more effective aid makes for more effective education systems.

Despite growing commitment, at least in rhetoric, to "country ownership", too many donors still succumb to the temptation to superimpose their own priorities, initiatives and projects on top of national plans in the name of improving quality. The proliferation of parallel and sometimes competing donor initiatives, together with the failure to deliver predictable and coordinated budgetary support for agreed plans, plays a significant part in the policy incoherence and implementation failure that plagues our struggling education programs.

- Dramatic increases in donor funding for both short-term and long-term recurrent costs towards EFA goals is therefore essential, as well as support for civil society groups to bring their perspectives on appropriate quality interventions into national EFA planning, implementation and monitoring processes.
- Civil society groups should strive to ensure that the EFA planning process respond to the interests and needs of all groups, particularly the marginalized and that donors are honest and promote education for holistic development.
- While abolishing fees and charges for education is crucial to enable poor children to stay in school, it is also essential that African governments should work round the clock to re-emerge as powerful people-driven and pro-poor states to provide overall leadership/direction in the education sector.
- Reform of donor 'technical assistance' strategies/policies and an end to tied aid, would significantly increase the impact of aid on quality improvement.
- The governments must develop a national pool to ensure that all donors interested in EFA, work together under a national strategy, instead of deciding what to do and where to do it. This will encourage national control and ownership.
- Ensure aid effectiveness and local ownership of education programmes and further aid should be devoted to innovations and strategies geared towards access, quality and completion.
- Creation of a Common Basket Strategy for all donor-support to basic education should be encouraged. This basket should then be controlled and directed by the government to priority areas (identified with participation of all stakeholders) in basic education alongside support from the exchequer.

### **7.0 Link Budget Support to Participation Indicators**

Access, retention, completion, transition and quality improvements should become top priorities in aid allocation decisions. Donor financing priorities need to demonstrate that commitment to participation and quality reaches beyond the pages of international documents. Donors have sometimes given mixed messages on what kinds of education strategy will be rewarded with new resources, adding pressure on governments for very rapid changes in curriculum, delivery approaches and policy with no attention to the associated needs of the local people or long-term plans of sitting governments. To improve on indicators and trends we wish to propose that;

- Donors should consistently stress that a good education strategy is one that improves both access and quality in parallel, and that they will fund all strategies that work towards this aim, in line with their Dakar commitment.
- Policy dialogue with governments must be encouraged to ensure that meaningful targets and timelines for increased enrolment and quality improvement are agreed by all stakeholders within the framework of National Education Plans.

- Funding and budget support to education must be based or pegged on improving education quality and outcomes.

### **8.0 Poverty and Learning achievement**

The situation is particularly bleak in rural areas, in urban slums and for children of communities who are at the bottom of the social ladder. The situation in these areas is fairly predictable - extreme poverty, low investment in primary education, low adult literacy, dysfunctional or poorly functioning schools, low learning achievements and high drop out rates. There are wide discrepancies between the percentage of boys and girls completing primary school. Moreover, for girls, socially disadvantaged groups, and those in rural areas, completion rates are lower. The real problem is that as we go down the social and economic pyramid, access and quality issues become far more pronounced. The vast numbers of the very poor in rural and urban Africa have to rely on government schools of different types. It is indeed the best time to make a decisive shift in the way education is envisioned - the demand side has never looked more promising.

The overwhelming evidence emanating from studies done in the last 10 years clearly demonstrates that there is a tremendous demand for education - across the board and among all social groups. Wherever the government has ensured a well-functioning school within reach, enrolment has been high.

- The challenge for governments is to make public education relevant and of high quality so that parents and poor communities can reclaim their lost confidence in public and community education.
- Poverty reduction in Africa will depend largely on education, particularly that of girls and women. Relevant Education will increase access to services and resources, encourage participation in governance, reduce inequality, improve health, lead to sustainable environment and help in securing livelihoods.
- The most reliable long-term strategy for poverty alleviation is to ensure that all citizens of our countries have access to & completion of quality basic education.

### **9.0 Teacher Development & Motivation**

The greatest challenge facing Ministries of Education today is to ensure that every classroom has a trained teacher who turns up every day to teach. This challenge becomes bigger in the face of HIV/AIDS onslaught on the sector and renewed pressure by Brettonwoods and International Finance Institutions on African governments to cut down their wage bill. We wish to note that, the World Bank is wrong by insisting that the problem we are facing now is not that of teacher deficit but that of balancing and staff rationalization of the teaching force. It is difficult to believe the WB on this after the recent experience in Zambia where the IMF through tailor-made studies misled the Zambian authorities not to recruit more teachers on the basis of bloated wage bills, concentration of teachers in urban schools and need to enhance fiscal discipline. The Zambian government later realized that they actually needed more teachers than the Fund had made them to believe.

To meet the challenges posed by EFA on the quality of education in Africa, there is a very urgent need to rationalize the recruitment and deployment of teachers, especially between urban and rural areas and the narrowing of regional, national, provincial and district Pupil Teacher Ratios. Other measures would include;

- Working out new staffing norms or criteria at the school level and agree on maximum and minimum pupil teacher ratios at the classroom level.
- Rationalizing the deployment of teachers, such that there is a more equitable distribution, with more female teachers in rural schools so that more girls in the rural areas are encouraged to enroll and continue attending primary schools.
- Laying more emphasis on teacher training, recruitment and development: UPE, revitalized technical training, expanded secondary education and all other efforts will come a cropper unless we give very clear and serious attention to training, welfare and professional development of teachers.

### **10.0 The Crippling Debt Burden**

Genuine and structured policy dialogue between governments, donors and civil society to ensure that meaningful and achievable targets are agreed on by all stakeholders within the framework of national EFA plans is key to the successful implementation of EFA plans. Donors must resist the temptation to superimpose their own priorities, initiatives and projects, but pool resources into a single basket supporting national plans. We must get a way of pushing donors to deliver on their commitments around Dakar goals. For example, Technical assistance should be used to strengthen state capacity, through central ministries, to deliver quality education by implementing national priorities – but not to siphon donor support back home. The debt burden is immoral since countries in Africa continue to overpay loans and interests on

them. In terms of debt servicing African countries spend between 10 to 12% of their GDP. To solve the debt problem we call for;

- Efforts towards debt forgiveness must double. However, up to 60% of the accumulations accruing from debt relief must be channeled to finance delivery of basic education and primary health care.
- Fundamental review of the debt situation to ensure debt swaps or rescheduling in the minimum and a framework for reallocation of debt accruals to education.
- Accelerated Debt cancellation which must by necessity be pegged on costed poverty reduction outcomes & provision of basic social services.
- Civil society networks must increase their capacity and visibility in monitoring use of resources accruing from debt along side others meant for education and other social sectors.
- Any new loans must be publicly negotiated with participation of civil society and ratified by Parliament.

### **11.0 Policy and Curriculum Reforms**

Policy and curriculum reforms must focus on holistic approach to development and encourage education for liberation of societies – with emphasis on individual and collective responsibility. Reforms are further necessary to make education more responsive to local needs, particularly to the needs of majority poor who are often marginalized. Reforms must target specifically recognition of prior learning at all levels, local-in-country programmes for distance education, strong linkages between curriculum and life skills/world of work, promotion of sustainable livelihoods.

For such reforms to work we propose;

- Strengthening decentralization of expertise and budgets, close supervision or inspection of learning approaches, visionary leadership and stronger accountability and end wastage caused by corruption.
- Enhancing capacities of communities and children to hold schools to account for quality.
- Reforming curricular to include issues of citizenship, democracy, governance, values and life skills.
- Ensuring that children are taught in a language they understand, particular focus be given on use of mother tongue in early years of schooling.
- Focusing on new technologies; African nations must move fast enough to bridge the digital divide. It is elusive to talk of encouraging EFA through ICTs, by getting computers to schools without fast addressing the problem of energy and power and tackling the question of tele-density. To start with we propose that Internet facilities and other ICTs must be made available to all institutions of higher learning and then to secondary and later to primary schools.

### **12.0. Governance and Civil Society Participation**

Management of education and or governance of schools today pose one of the greatest challenges facing education sector; ranging from stakeholder involvement, community participation and accountability. Prudent and proper management of resources allocated to education is equally important for the attainment of EFA goals. These resources must however be spent on priorities spelt out in national EFA Plans. In order to improve governance and enhance genuine contribution and or participation of CSOs/CBOs, PTAs and SMCs we propose thus;

- Putting communities, parents and children at the heart of processes to monitor the effectiveness of education is key to achieving EFA.
- District and or local authorities need to take responsibility for the facilitation of communities' involvement in education management and support of quality learning.
- Involving communities, parents and children in holding schools to account for quality can encourage rapid improvements at very low cost. We must move to strengthen capacity to make decentralization work.
- Corruption and wastage must be brought to the bare minimum and public expenditure management reformed to include communities, civil society and other non-state actors.
- Governments must move to institutionalize participation of civil society, mainly NGOs, ROs, CBOs and Teacher Unions in all EFA processes, from planning and implementation to monitoring.
- The participation/involvement must remain structured, institutionalized, genuine and proactive. What we need as CSOs is recognition, space, information and capacity to engage effectively.

### **13.0 Quality, Diversity and Life Skills**

Improving the quality of public education is one of the fundamental actions – along with expanding access and abolishing fees and charges - needed to achieve the 2015 goal of universal access & completion of primary education. Quality education can be achieved when all teachers are properly trained, supported and paid well; when every classroom has enough textbooks, desks and learning materials; when schools provide a safe and welcoming environment; and

communities have a say in decision-making. Above all, it can be achieved when governments, donors and civil society build a strong political commitment to the ideal of good public education for everyone, and take specific steps to improve school conditions in the poorest communities and for girls and disadvantaged children.

Children who complete primary, lower/middle or even high school are left with almost no opportunity for continuing their education or acquiring employment skills that could enable them to eke out a livelihood. Worse, there is no comprehensive policy to address the educational and training needs of 'educated youth'. Basic, ordinary middle and high school education is not enough, particularly in the phase of massive unemployment which brings to question relevance of education. Parents across Africa want to send their children - girls and boys - to school, but are at a loss in a situation where schools are becoming increasingly dysfunctional.

Yes, more and more children are definitely coming to school and yes the teachers are also present, but one is left wondering how many children will actually complete the primary cycle with requisite skills. The tragedy is not that there is no demand for education or that people do not recognize the value of education in the overall growth and development of their children. Rather most of those children who do enroll are pushed from one grade to the next, thanks to the no - detention policy, that is if they are not pushed out of the system all together. School attendance varies across countries in the continent. Attendance rates too vary across different age groups - they decline as we move towards higher ages. This is more marked for girls in rural areas, where they decline by more than 50% for 10-17 year olds. Against this backdrop we wish to observe/propose that;

- Given the changing scenario in the continent - especially with respect to the educational aspirations of our people - we have to seriously think about and plan for post-basic and or post-secondary education and training opportunities.
- Equally, linking education to empowerment (self-esteem/self-confidence), survival (for employment/self-employment), awareness of social, political and community issues and rights as citizens can yield handsome results for a continent that is experiencing unprecedented social as well as economic transformation.
- Teachers must be made accountable for learning outcomes of children, especially in the primary and middle-level schools where there are no agreed and child friendly evaluation benchmarks or systems.

#### **14.0 Child Labour and Child Trafficking**

Child labour is a major problem in Africa and yet policy makers, civil society and the public at large are not fully aware of the magnitude of the problem. ILO estimates that about 250 million children worldwide are engaged in child labour and about half of the said children are working full-time without any slightest chance to attend school. The children work in difficult conditions and circumstances that are harmful to their physiological, social, psychological and intellectual growth. This happens in total disregard of the numerous global conventions that prohibit employment and trafficking of children. Indeed, the ILO conventions do not allow children under 18 to be subjected to hard and hazardous work that threatens their growth and schooling. Child trafficking on the other hand has reached alarming levels across the world with most victims being African children. Related to these two issues is the problem of sexual abuse and child prostitution.

- Efforts must be doubled towards mitigation and redress of poverty, HIV/AIDS, conflict and illegal trade in children which are largely responsible for increase in child labour & trafficking.
- Governments must institute mass awareness drives and mobilize community action for legislation, policy and programme change in regard to child labour & trafficking.
- CSOs and governments should develop strategic skills and competencies among communicators, educators and other actors to campaign and advocate for policy reforms and improve public communication on child labour and trafficking issues.
- Teachers being the main custodians of children under their care they need to adhere to some basic principles and values – we therefore need to promote the EI code of conduct for teachers across Africa.

#### **15.0 HIV/AIDS Pandemic**

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is causing unprecedented strain on education resources in Africa. It has led to serious erosion of parents' commitment to support education, teachers' availability and regular commitment to attend school, as well as children participation. Resources that would have been otherwise devoted to education currently go to treating teachers, parents and children. The AIDS pandemic is generating shortage and absenteeism on the part of both teachers and pupils never witnessed before. To mitigate the problem of HIV/AIDS we propose that;

- Support must be given to all infected and affected children, teachers and parents. In particular, African governments must provide unhindered access to ARVs – life prolonging drugs.

- Schools should be used as the basis for sensitization, awareness creation and waging the fight against HIV/AIDS.
- Community and school based HIV AIDS education should be mounted to promote prevention, behaviour change and life skills. Such education calls for review of the curriculum to cover such areas as child rights, peace and Civic Education.
- Education reforms must address the issues and questions of HIV/AIDS and emerging trends brought about by globalization.

### **16.0 Conflict and Problem of Refugees**

The problems and issues around conflict, refugee and xenophobia have had serious effects on schools and other educational programmes. Militarization and arms trafficking going on in Africa must be arrested because of the magnitude of the problem these pose to education at all levels. These in most cases have resulted to cases of genocide and landmines leading to runaway problem of refugees in Africa. We therefore propose;

- Rehabilitation programmes for victims of conflict and refugees.
- Rapid response by AU to avert conflicts and wars.
- Early warnings and preventive mechanisms to address causes of conflict and war.
- Stopping use of schools as refugee camps and holding grounds for victims of war.
- Promotion of peace education in schools.

### **17.0 Monitoring and Evaluation**

Regular monitoring and evaluation of education to ensure quality is assured, plans are implemented, expectations are met and outcomes achieved is fundamental to the success of EFA process. Monitoring and evaluation should not only be targeted at public education plans and programmes but also private sector activities as well as civil society initiatives. Without clear and effective monitoring of trends, indicators and participation it becomes extremely difficult to map out progress. The incapacity of civil society, local community groups and education authorities to exercise control and oversight over education plans and budgets continues to mar our efforts towards attainment of quality education goals. Building the requisite capacity for monitoring quality and tracking expenditure remains one of the most significant challenges of our times, facing both Ministries of Education and CSO coalitions.

We call for effective M&E so as to;

- Strengthening M&E techniques in order for teachers, parents, children, education officials, community leaders and CSOs to play an effective role in jointly monitoring the implementation of education sector-policy frameworks is key to the attainment of EFA goals.
- Monitoring education plans and initiatives aim to ensure that the government, civil society and local communities, prioritize the educational needs and rights of poor people.
- Public debate and citizen action will be catalyzed and poor people will be empowered to articulate their own demands towards schools, local councils and district education officials, elected representatives, provincial and national authorities.
- Participatory M&E strategies should give sufficient room for continued assessment and feedback as to how far education policies are being implemented, and how far schools are meeting concerns of parents and local communities.
- If the implementation of education and school budgets is adequately monitored, then this will give a mutual advantage to education authorities and civil society groups to assess performance of policies and programmes of the central government, district boards, local authorities and schools. This will enhance monitoring delivery of educational services at the district and school levels.
- Revitalizing inspection by giving support to local officials will make education more responsive to local needs of the local people, ensure quality and accountability in order to end the wastage caused by corruption/pilferage.
- Training of CSOs for effective engagement at all levels of policy development, planning, management; monitoring and evaluation will ensure successful advocacy for quality outcomes at all levels of education delivery.

### **18.0 Some Conclusions**

Access without quality is meaningless and quality is the essence of equity. There is little point in pushing children into schools and youths/adults to learning centers if we cannot simultaneously gear the systems to ensure children, youth and adults acquire reading, writing, functional and cognitive skills appropriate for each level of education. This necessitates a multi-pronged strategy of bringing about changes in policy, management, curriculum, classroom transactions or

environment, teacher training, teacher attitudes and school-community linkages. Working on any one of these without addressing related issues does not lead to significant improvement in the learning outcomes of children, youth and adults.

Creating multiple exit points, from post-primary onwards whereby learners can access a wide range of technical/vocational skills (including agriculture, public/maternal health, nursing, social development, civic education and so on) is significant. Careful context specific planning has to be based on rigorous exploration of employment or self-employment opportunities and the resource base in the region. This is essential if we are to link education and training to life skills, governance, productive work and self consciousness. Africa cannot hope to make a breakthrough unless the entire chain that binds education is addressed in totality. Piecemeal approaches have not worked in the past and are unlikely to do so in the future. This calls therefore for new approaches and comprehensive and broader sectoral reforms not only in education but in politics, economics and social development regimes.

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