Journal of International and Area Studies Vol. 30 No. 1 (2023): 107-127
doi: https://doi.org/10.23071/jias.2023.30.1.107

Community Participation in Nonformal Education Systems in Senegal and Tanzania: A Comparative Analysis Based on Social Capital Theory

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This paper examines the role of nonformal education in sub-Saharan African countries with a focus on community participation and social capital in Senegal and Tanzania. Nonformal education initiatives are categorized into community school systems, NGO-led projects, and religion-based organization-led initiatives. The concept of social capital, as described by Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman, is used to explain the relationship between diverse partnerships in education development. The community school system and NGO-led projects promote the generation and positive use of social capital by incentivizing voluntary participation and providing ownership to local community members. However, despite certain advantages of religion-based organizations, their contribution may pose problems due to their lack of structure and adherence to outdated customs, potentially leading to a lack of progress and violation of basic human rights. This case aligns more with Bourdieu's view on social capital, which stratifies the status quo and hinders positive change.

Keywords Community Participation, Community School, NGO, Nonformal Education, Social Capital, Sub-Saharan Africa

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This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea's Brain Korea 21 FOUR Program "Cultivating the Next Generation of Academic Leaders in Interdisciplinary Studies of International Area and Development Cooperation for A New National Strategy" at the Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University.

Article Received: 13-05-2023 Revised: 13-06-2023 Accepted: 22-06-2023

INTRODUCTION

In addition to the formal education system primarily led by the government, it is important to recognize the significant role of nonformal education. Nonformal education has garnered recognition as a potent and effective educational approach in various regions across the globe. Particularly in countries and regions with limited central government support and policies, nonformal education assumes a prominent role and relies heavily on local participation. The main objective of nonformal education revolves around addressing practical problems, primarily focusing on providing practical knowledge and skills that meet the needs of the public (Vermaak 1985).

With this idea in mind, this paper mainly focuses on explaining specific cases of nonformal education utilizing the concept of social capital theory. Based on different ideas on social capital, cases will be identified with a better-suited perspective from a specific group of scholars. Two exemplary cases of sub-Saharan African countries, which are Senegal and Tanzania, will be observed. By closely reading the examples in both countries, this paper intends to shed light on the relationship between community participation, which generates and accumulates social capital, and the improvement of education development.

This paper is organized in the following manner: Section 2 presents a comprehensive literature review on the social capital theory and its relevance to the concept of community participation in education development. In addition, the section explores and elucidates the different definitions and interpretations of community participation, education development, and nonformal education. Section 3 outlines the research methodologies employed in this study, including an overview of the social capital theory and the background information concerning the education situation of the selected countries, Senegal and Tanzania. Section 4 presents three categories of examples of community participation in nonformal education systems in Senegal and Tanzania: community schools, NGO-led initiatives, and religion-based organizations. Section 5 presents an analysis and findings of the study. Finally, Section 6 offers policy implications and outlines the limitations of the study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Capital Theory

The definition of social capital has been the subject of scholarly debate owing to its inherently vague nature. Unlike physical and human capital, social capital is intangible in nature. Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman are considered the leading figures in conceptualizing social capital since the 1980s. Bourdieu (1986, 248) defines social capital as "the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." On the other hand, James S. Coleman (1988, S98) defines social capital as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they

facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure."

While both Bourdieu and Coleman acknowledge social capital as a resource within society, their focus and use of social capital differ. Dika and Singh (2003) differentiate the concept of social capital into two groups based on Bourdieu and Coleman. The first perspective, attributed to Bourdieu, associates social capital with normative characteristics. Social capital is highly engaged with the social norms, customs, and networks present within a community. The importance of social structure and power relations in determining access to social capital is emphasized. In this regard, particular attention is paid to how social capital reinforces pre-existing social inequalities and perpetuates social stratification. Although social capital is considered a resource, the dominant class of society is likely to use it for their own benefit (Dika and Singh 2003).

On the other hand, the second perspective, predominantly espoused by Coleman, regards social capital as a collection of resources that individuals and groups possess, which can be utilized to attain specific objectives. This viewpoint places emphasis on the role of individual agencies and voluntary associations in producing and sustaining social capital. It centers on the means by which social capital can be mobilized to achieve individual and collective goals. "Bourdieu sees social capital as a tool of reproduction for the dominant class, whereas Coleman sees social capital as (positive) social control" (Dika and Singh 2003, 34).

Many researchers have attempted to locate social capital in the realm of education development and identify its role and effect on outcomes, such as academic success. Acar (2011, 459) argues that "social capital among different groups and organizations promotes benefits for overall education including academic success." Furthermore, Liou and Chang (2008, 109) also utilize Dika and Singh's distinction of social capital and review "how educational programs function as vehicles to bridge accesses for students with disadvantaged background." Additionally, Pryor (2010) examines the relations between social capital and community participation regarding education in Ghana, emphasizing the context-specific nature of social capital. According to Pryor (2010, 195), "[s]ocial capital is … not a universalized good, but a resource to be deployed or accumulated in a specific context."

Community Participation, Education Development, and Nonformal Education

The concept of community participation can vary significantly depending on the individual who employs it and the context in which it is used. In the World Conference on Education for All by UNESCO, the importance of partnership among multiple agents has been emphasized. "[P]artnership among all sub-sectors…, partnership between education and other government departments…, partnership between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups and families" (UNESCO 1990, 6). 10 years later, UNESCO (2000, 27) further elaborates that "it shall be the collective responsibility of government, civil society and development partners at all levels to create dynamic learning organizations with a clear mission for social, economic and cultural development," reiterating the participation of all engaged stakeholders to improve education. Therefore, this paper posits that

community participation is an interplay among the above-mentioned stakeholders.

Secondly, the concept of education development must be articulated. Sen (1999, 3) defines it as "the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy." The ultimate goal of education development is to enhance human well-being and promote social progress. Therefore, this paper will also regard education development as a means of promoting human capabilities, expanding opportunities, and empowering individuals to participate fully in society, consistent with Sen's definition (Sen 1999).

Numerous scholars have conducted research on community participation in education development, focusing on the roles played by parents, teachers, and local government (Prew 2004; Kendall 2007; Essuman 2019; Miningou 2021). For instance, Kendall (2007) investigates the impact of decentralization policies and empowered communities on education. Kendall contends that local participation enables individuals and communities to achieve sustainable and relevant development (Kendall 2007).

Lastly, this paper will focus only on nonformal education, which is distinct from formal and informal education. Formal education is characterized as "the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded, and hierarchically structured 'education system' spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university" (Coombs and Ahmed 1974, 8). Thus, nonformal and informal education can be viewed as two opposite sides of formal education, but they cannot be used interchangeably. Nonformal education can be defined as "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population, adults as well as children" (Coombs and Ahmed 1974, 8). On the other hand, informal education can be viewed as "the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" (Coombs and Ahmed 1974, 8). Therefore, the primary contrast between these two modes lies in the intentionality and purposeful instructional and programmatic emphases that are inherent in nonformal education but not found in informal education (La Belle 1982). In this context, this paper exclusively explores nonformal education, which is delineated by systematic program design and intentionality of one or more initiators.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Analytical Framework and Methodology

Social Capital Theory

In Section 2, the concept of social capital and the debates surrounding it were introduced. Numerous researchers have attempted to elucidate the relationship between community participation and education development through their interpretation of social capital. This paper is intent on utilizing the distinction of social capital made by Dika and Singh (2003). The categorization is summarized in Table 1.

What Dika and Singh suggest concerning social capital is not a definitive binary division and should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. Additionally, the two perspectives on social capital represent different facets of a broader concept, which

Table 1. Bourdieu and Coleman's Perspective on Social Capital

	Pierre Bourdieu	James S. Coleman
View	Resource engaged with a set of norms and values	Intangible resource
Definition	Refers to the resources concerning social norms, customs, and networks that exist within a community	Refers to the resources that individuals and groups possess that can be used to achieve goals
Emphasis	Emphasizes the role of social structure and power relations in determining access to social capital	Emphasizes the role of individual agency and voluntary associations in creating and maintaining social capital
Focus	Focuses on how social capital reinforces existing social inequalities and perpetuates social stratification by the dominant class	Focuses on how social capital can be mobilized to achieve individual and collective goals

Source: Based on Data from Dika and Singh (2003)

should be considered in a comprehensive context. The table presented above provides a simplified representation of Bourdieu and Coleman's concept of social capital, which is intended to facilitate the analysis of the case study in the subsequent section.

Furthermore, in addition to the two perspectives presented in Table 1, it is important to consider the relationship between the main actor and the local community in each case. The community's role as both a recipient and a contributing party necessitates a close connection between community participation and the generation of social capital in the respective context.

Keeping this in mind and building upon this notion, this study examines the case of Senegal and Tanzania to identify the social capital inherent in each context, utilizing the above table as a framework for analysis. The aim is to determine which perspective of social capital offers a more comprehensive and plausible explanation for the impact of community participation on education development.

Data Selection and Methodology

To begin with, the selection of Senegal and Tanzania as representative countries is influenced by the technical paper from USAID, edited by Evans (1994). Senegal and Tanzania are good examples to represent different education systems of Francophone and Anglophone African countries. Moreover, both countries were included in the comparative analysis conducted by Evans, providing a useful starting point for this research.

This study will examine three categories as illustrative cases: community school systems, NGO-led initiatives, and faith-based organizations. Hoppers (2005) highlights the intricate dynamics inherent in community school systems, emphasizing the involvement of the government, NGOs, and local communities. Furthermore, community schools are considered viable alternatives within the educational landscape (Hoppers 2005). On the other hand, in the context of evaluating health-related matters in sub-Saharan Africa, Lipsky (2011, 26) draws a comparison between NGOs and faith-

based organizations (FBOs), asserting that FBOs possess a comparative advantage due to their "moral and ethical standing." While Lipsky's analysis primarily focuses on healthcare, Wodon (2014, 21) extends this comparison to the field of education, claiming that it can "be attributed to similar organizations involved in education services." Hence, this research will explore nonformal education initiatives undertaken by these three actors.

To assess the various partnerships in education development, especially in nonformal education, in two target countries, the main sources of this paper will be qualitative, mostly reports, documents, and articles published by international organizations, such as UNESCO, delineating specific policies, projects, and programs. Related articles and reports published by international organizations and NGOs will also be explored. Furthermore, this study will draw upon relevant academic literature pertaining to distinct forms of nonformal community education, such as the Senegalese daaras, a Muslim-based community education system, and Tanzania's diverse faith-based organizations in order to broaden the scope of observation.

Overview of the Education Situation in Selected Countries

The colonial presence is still strong in the African education system (Evans 1994). African countries colonized by British Empire adopted an English-style education system, while countries that were colonized either by French Empire or Belgium adopted a French-style education system after decolonization. Anglophone African countries, in general, have independent National Education Commissions "to review education goals and policies" which shows a comparatively more decentralized characteristic (Evans 1994, 7). Meanwhile, in Francophone African countries, the education system is more government-centered and less institutionalized. In this setting, "[n]ational dialogue on education policy seems to be less frequent and more likely to occur in response to a political or economic crisis" (Evans 1994, 8).

However, formal education in both types of countries has its shortcomings and limitations. For instance, in Senegal, the opportunity of being educated and using it as a social ladder is confined to a few selected people. Also, another problem of formal education in Francophone Africa is the language barrier. While the primary language of national education is French, many local children do not speak French as their mother tongue. This hinders the effectiveness of formal education and demoralizes students, resulting in academic failure. In Tanzania, local involvement is more visible in education development than in Senegal. It has been observed that "[t]eachers, students, and communities actually have the final say about what is taught, learned and valued" (Evans 1994, 29). However, Tanzanian formal education also faces difficulties. For example, "the excessive expansion of primary education with limited resources greatly decreased the quality of education" (Evans 1994, 92). Furthermore, the adoption of free school fees and nationalization of private primary schools to lessen the gap among poor and rich regions did not work out due to the realistic distribution issue.

The formal education systems in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, face a multitude of issues, as evidenced by the case of Senegal and Tanzania. These issues comprise high rates of student dropout and grade repetition, a severe

shortage of resources including trained educators, and increasing educational costs. Moreover, Vermaak (1985, 413) points out "the unsuitability of the school leavers for jobs and the inertia and insufficiency in general of formal education in adapting to a country's developmental needs."

Therefore, it is necessary that government should "not equate education with formal education, but allow other types of education, especially non-formal education, the right to be supplementary and complementary to formal education" (Vermaak 1985, 413-414). Many experts involved in planning education for developing countries recognize that simply expanding existing formal education systems is insufficient to meet the demands of people who have not benefited from formal education. As a result, nonformal out-of-school education programs have been developed since the 1960s (Vermaak 1985).

According to Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman (2001), the development of nonformal education in Senegal has been influenced by various factors. Until the late 1980s, educational experiences outside the formal system were limited. However, the rigidity and cost of the formal system made it unable to meet all educational demands, leading to a need for alternative approaches. The socio-political context in Senegal, including political alternation and decentralization in 2000, facilitated the development of nonformal initiatives. Additionally, education-related reforms took place, such as the formation of a national coalition for Education For All (EFA) and the development of a National Action Plan for EFA in 2001. This complex historical evolution of education systems in Senegal has led to diverse nonformal education experiences, involving various stakeholders. The nonformal education structures in Senegal vary in size and organizational level, encompassing local structures, national and regional NGOs, international NGOs, cooperation agencies, and administrative and technical authorities under the Ministry of National Education (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001).

Meanwhile, Macpherson (2008) presents the case of nonformal education in Tanzania, with a focus on the government's perspective. The Tanzanian government defines nonformal education as targeting "out-of-school children and youth" (as cited in GoT 2001). The policy framework known as "the Adult and Non Formal Education Strategy (AE/NFES)" specifically addresses individuals who are currently out-of-school (Macpherson 2008, 4). AF/NFES identifies "three target groups: 11-13 year old children and disadvantaged children aged 7-13 from Nomadic Communities, street children, disabled orphans and out of reach; 14-18 year old youth; and 19+ year old adults" (Macpherson 2008, 4). Tanzanian nonformal education is categorized based on these target groups, and the subsequent nonformal programs are constructed accordingly.

While there are distinctions in the central governmental education policies regarding formal education in Francophone and Anglophone African countries, the nonformal education cases in Senegal and Tanzania exhibit similarities. Both countries recognize the value of nonformal education as a supplementary and alternative approach to enhance educational development. This suggests that differences in governmental education policies concerning formal education do not necessarily translate to divergent nonformal educational practices. Moreover, these cases highlight the significance of nonformal education in addressing educational challenges and promoting social and economic development. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the potential of nonformal

education as a complementary approach to advance education outcomes in both countries. The following section will provide an in-depth examination of the nonformal education situations in Senegal and Tanzania, delving into their respective contexts.

CASE STUDIES

This section presents an assessment of actual cases of nonformal education in each country. As previously stated in the introduction, partnerships and nonformal education are crucial in their respective examples. Therefore, the first focus will be on the community school system, where the multilateral relationship among the government, local community, non-governmental organizations, and civil society is strongly manifested. The second part will take a closer look at a particular NGO and its contribution to local involvement and education development. Lastly, the partnership between religious organizations and local community education will be explored. Given that both Senegal and Tanzania are heavily influenced by Islam, it is meaningful to examine the role that religious groups play in this dynamic.

Examples in Senegal

The Community School System

In sub-Saharan African countries, community schools are considered an effective alternative to formal education, which is also the case in Senegal (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001, 4). The system is targeted towards out-of-school children aged 9 to 14, offering them a 4-year course. The main objective of this community school system is to support 5% of this marginalized population annually (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001).

One of the characteristics of Senegal's *école communautaire de base* (ECB) is that it allows students to transition to public schools after graduation, making this type of education complementary, rather than competing with the formal education (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, vi; Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001, 4). In addition to its compatibility with formal education, some other strengths of community schools include "[a] high level of community involvement" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, 4), cost-effectiveness, and productivity (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001). In other words, the community school system allows for more local involvement and expands opportunities for education development instead of limiting it.

Furthermore, in the Senegalese community school program, the local language is used until the third year out of the four-year program. Children are able to receive basic education in their mother tongue (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001). This approach mitigates the issue of language in the Francophone African education system, as discussed in Section 3, making education more accessible for students whose mother tongue is not French. Additionally, community schools also provide practical vocational skills training (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002; Hoppers 2005, 122). It has been reported that "[e]ach village has income-generating activities put in place under the management committee" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-10), highlighting the

productive nature of ECBs, which provide means for their operation in addition to pedagogical considerations (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001). Hoppers (2005, 129) further states that the programs provided by Senegalese ECBs engage in "more open dialogue" and "communities participate in … the actual implementation of the practical skills components."

As evidenced by the ECB case, community school programs are the result of collaboration between the government and NGOs. The Senegalese government is "proactive and supportive" in the community school program (Hoppers 2005, 122), but the participation of NGOs such as ADEF-Afrique, Aide et Action, and Plan International, Tostan, and World Vision is also an integral factor (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001, 4) especially regarding funding. In a situation where government funding is limited and scarce, outside funding from NGOs and international organizations is "seen as key to the overall success of community school programs" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, 11). Other programs primarily led by NGOs, rather than involving a balanced interplay with the government and local community, will be discussed in detail in the following part.

Another notable aspect of community schools in Senegal is that they are sometimes preferred over formal primary schools. This preference may stem from concerns about the secularization of the official education system, as some "parents are very concerned about Muslim education (and the ECBs have added religious studies)" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-11). This specific need reflects the community atmosphere in certain regions of Senegal, making the community school program more competitive and attractive.

Furthermore, another noteworthy feature of Senegal's community school program is that NGOs "[retire] at the end of the fourth year if the system is operational" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-11). The aim of the partnership between the government and NGOs for community schools is to become self-sustaining, with the local community taking over operations once NGOs have retired from the program (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002). This approach reflects a desire for long-term sustainability and community ownership of education initiatives.

NGO-led Projects: Tostan

In Senegal, NGOs are also involved in providing education, and there are instances where they assume a more prominent role. One such example is Tostan, which was also mentioned earlier in the context of the community school system. Since its establishment in 1991, Tostan has been operating in West Africa, primarily in Senegal, aiming "to provide participants with the knowledge and skills they need to become empowered individuals, able to take charge of their economic development and bring about social change within their community" (Amat 2007, 10). The program consists of "six modules, each of which represents a thematic area such as problem solving, health, leadership or financial management" (Kuenzi 2005, 231).

Education is a central focus for Tostan, delivered in local languages like Wolof or Pulaar instead of French (Kuenzi 2005, 230). Unlike the ECB program, which is nonformal but linked to further formal education, Tostan's programs are more informal and grassroots in nature. The target audience for education extends beyond young

people to those who have never had formal education. Moreover, to ensure a more culturally homogenous learning environment, the program staff consists of volunteers who share the same ethnicity as the students in the program.

Tostan's efforts have been evaluated as "globally beneficial to all populations in the zones where the NGO" (as cited in UNICEF 2008). Reports highlight how the organization "demonstrates how people who have received no formal education, coming from villages with minimal resources, can improve their environments and their lives, thanks to a well-designed programme that opens the way to greater self-determination" (Amat 2007, 11). Additional articles emphasize Tostan program's focus on human rights and community empowerment (Weber et al. 2021) and its "learner-centered, nonprescriptive" and culturally rooted educational approach (Gillespie and Melching 2010, 481).

Furthermore, Kuenzi's survey (2005), which targeted individuals who participated in one of the four nonformal education programs, including Tostan's program, demonstrates that "[n]onformal education works much the same as formal education in instilling democratic attitudes" (240) and increasing self-esteem in conservative, Islam-dominated rural villages in Senegal. Weber et al. (2021) "maintain that the Tostan model of encouraging community members to openly debate their shared values and goals, while learning practical skills and scientific evidence about ECD [Early Childhood Development], is a commendable example" (4). Additionally, participants in Tostan classes learn "about human rights and democratic processes" which "reinforced the importance of a cohesive community, an underlying African value" (Gillespie and Melching 2010, 493).

Religion-based: Daaras

Community participation in education development can also involve religious groups, particularly in a country like Senegal where Islam is the primary religion. Koranic schools, known as daaras, have existed since before French colonialism, focusing on religious practices and studies (D'Aiglepierre and Bauer 2018). Given the secular nature of the current Senegalese formal education system, some parents prefer that their children receive a more traditional Muslim education. For instance, some ECBs offer religious studies to address this need, while others choose to send their children to daaras. By sending their children to daara's teacher, marabout, parents "demonstrate their membership in an emerging Islam" (as cited in Perry 2004, 59).

Cochrane (2021, 137) states that daaras "create a sense of community through practicing and talking about two shared values: labor and religious tolerance." Each community's daara functions in its own way, and the focus is not necessarily on primary education. Teaching children is part of the way daaras manifest the community's religious beliefs. The program includes Koranic education, communal projects, labor in service of God, to name a few. (Cochrane 2021, 139). Moreover, mentoring children is added to the list based on each community's perspective and needs. (Cochrane 2021).

André and Demonsant (2012) also explores Senegalese Koranic school with the focus on children's education. They argue that the "curricula, organization and density of Koranic schools are highly endogenous to the local context" (André and Demonsant 2012, 5). Daara offers informal networks and traditional religious values such as

humility, respect, and diligence, to their students, who are called talibés. In theory, Koranic schools are compatible with formal primary education because of their flexible time schedules and curriculum. However, in practice, the system hinders children from accessing formal education, as it "decreases the demand for formal education" (André and Demonsant 2012, 25). Another problem the system faces is the heavy influence of religious politicians who favor Muslim education over secularized formal education, which deters future educational reform (André and Demonsant 2012).

In addition to these shortcomings, the most grave and imminent problem that the daara system confronts is forced child begging (Carr 2012; Zoumanigui 2016). In some cases, teachers in the Koranic schools force their students, the talibés, to beg on the street for money, which is a direct violation of human rights and even the Senegalese penal code. The issue, however, has not been adequately addressed. In 2010, then-Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade acknowledged the problem but said that "his experience as a talibé in his youth was not one marred by abuse and that certainly 'didn't prevent him from becoming President'" (Carr 2012, 24). He attempted to attribute the cause of the issue to social factors rather than religion. Carr elaborates on the seriousness of the forced child begging issue in daaras and urges the Senegalese government to take further action (Carr 2012). Zoumanigui (2016) also points out the insufficient communication between the government and religious leaders as one of the contributing factors to this issue.

Examples in Tanzania

The Community School System

The Tanzanian government's decentralization policy in education has promoted the emergence of many community schools, along with private schools since formal education alone cannot cover all the children in need (Koissaba 2019). The Tanzanian government encouraged individuals and private groups to build "community and private schools" since 1945 (Chediel, Sekwao, and Kirumba 2000, 62). Koissaba (2019, 84) provides an example of a community school in the Dodoma region, where many children have been orphaned due to the pandemic. The community school, called Legacy Academy, has core commitment which "was to focus exclusively on desperate children in need of education, food, and affection" (Koissaba 2019, 84).

While the decentralization of Tanzanian education is still in progress, facing multiple problems such as lack of resources and funding, Koissaba (2019, 83) emphasizes the importance and effectiveness of collaboration between local communities with small international non-governmental organizations (INGO) on community school project. It has been reported that "small donor partnerships enable more control of resources and curriculum design than they would have if they were to be accountable for larger sums of funding" (Koissaba 2019, 93). The small and manageable size of the project benefits both the community school system and the stakeholders involved.

Furthermore, another case of community school projects was implemented by World Bank to "[raise] enrollment and quality/learning outcomes of primary education, working with existing schools" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-43). In this case, the roles of three different agents—community, NGO, and government—are

distinguished. Interestingly, the role of community includes intriguing points, such as:

- Decide by majority vote whether or not to participate in Education Fund program
- Establish School funding priorities
- Village council clears plan and meets with parents to review it and have them vote on their acceptance
- Parents make half the contributions and put in school's bank account
- Village council reviews implementation periodically. (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-43)

Although this list of community roles is not exhaustive, this still demonstrates how the Tanzanian community school project aims to be decentralized, involving parents and village councils in decision-making and program review. The support from NGOs and the government, on the other hand, is more technical and limited to administrative processes. For instance, NGO support mainly pertains to funding and soliciting plans, while the government's support is to "[review] implementation periodically" and "[develop] MOU with parents" (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002, A-43).

Another noteworthy aspect is that in this Tanzanian community school project, the government was responsible for providing the curriculum, teacher training, teacher support, supervision, textbooks, and teaching materials. The local community and the World Bank provided school maintenance. It seems that there was more of a two-way dynamic between the community and the government than between the three participating agents. While the World Bank provided funding, most of the roles such as collecting feedback, financial involvement, and reviewing were given to the community members.

Additionally, the fact that the government was involved in reviewing the program's implementation and developing a memorandum of understanding with relevant parents indicates that regular communication took place between the government and the community to evaluate and enhance the program (Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002). This also reflects the active local involvement and the creation of a sense of ownership. Furthermore, the government has specific requirements for individuals and groups that wish to open a new community school to ensure a guaranteed learning environment for the students (Chediel, Sekwao, and Kirumba 2000, 54-56).

NGO-led Projects: HakiElimu

Among the various education-related NGOs in Tanzania, this paper will focus on the case of HakiElimu, an NGO and also a civil society organization (CSO) founded in 2001. It is dedicated to promoting equitable access to quality education for all children in Tanzania, particularly those from marginalized communities (Carlitz and McGee 2003; Phillips 2011). HakiElimu achieved this by conducting research and analysis on education policies and budgets, raising awareness of education-related issues, and engaging in public debates and consultations with government officials, education experts, and other stakeholders to influence policy and budgetary decisions related to education. Phillips (2011) further explains that the approach was twofold; first,

effectively utilizing the media and advertisement to address the education issue, and second, releasing a summary report discussing the Tanzanian government's assessment on "Primary Education Plan (PEDP), a key component of Tanzania's EFA policy" (Phillips 2011, 235-236).

One of the dominant features of HakiElimu's effort is the alignment with the people. According to HakiElimu, the role of the citizen in the interplay is stated as:

1. Facilitating and growing the *Friends of Education* movement
2. Enabling *Friends* and other citizens to monitor, debate, and communicate about policy and budget issues
3. Channeling and communicating information provided by *Friends* and other citizens to relevant audiences. (Carlitz and McGee 2003, 11)

Furthermore, some of the changes that HakiElimu made are as follows:

- HakiElimu and other CSOs are participating more significantly in policy processes through producing research and local-level monitoring perspectives that are heeded by donors and acted on in their policy dialogue with government, even if government does not heed them directly.
- The building of informal institutional capacity in the form of Tanzanian citizens grouped as *Friends of Education*, exemplified by its apparently successful action in local-level monitoring of the capitation grant. It is unclear to us whether this capacity has increased, decreased, or stayed same in case study period, but HakiElimu is purposefully supporting and nurturing the tendency.
- Citizens not only claiming rights but also consciously shouldering responsibilities in respect of education, in "self-help" mode. (Carlitz and McGee 2003, 23-25)

In contrast to Tostan's direct and grassroot program targeted directly to individuals lacking formal education in Senegal, HakiElimu's actions are primarily more systemic and focused on policy and budgeting. However, community involvement remains a key element in their efforts. For instance, the monitoring from the community level, and the conversation with donors and governments are clearly emphasized. The organization has also established a voluntary citizen group known as *Friends of Education*, which aims to encourage community participation in education development (Carlitz and McGee 2003; Phillips 2011).

Religion-based: Madrasas and Mission Schools

In Tanzania, the influence of the Muslim Sufi brotherhood and mosques can be seen in activities related to welfare, particularly in the field of madrasa education. It is crucial to note that madrasas are implemented by various religious organizations known as faith-based organizations (FBOs). One such FBO is The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), which is involved in multiple sectors regarding culture, health, education, and development, and has worked with the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. "The Foundation has also helped communities in Zanzibar to establish and manage a total of 84 madrasa schools, benefitting more than 5,000 children, over half of them girls" (Leurs and Mvungi 2011, 69).

Other religious organizations such as the Zanzibar Imams Association (JUMAZA), The Africa Muslim Agency (AMA)'s Zanzibar office, and The Istiqama Muslim Community's Zanzibar and Pemba Southern branches have also contributed to the opening and management of madrasas in Tanzania. It is worth noting that organizations like AMA and The Istiqama Muslim Community are not entirely based in Tanzania; rather, their headquarters are respectively located in Kuwait and Oman, which illustrates the Eastern African Muslim effort to propagate their faith through various means, including madrasas (Leurs and Mvungi 2011). The Madrasa Resource Centre (MRC) in East Africa, including Tanzania, is known for its preschool education program. (Mwaura, Sylva, and Malmberg 2008). Studies have shown that preschool experiences at MRC positively affect children's cognitive and learning skills, and "[a]ttendance at the Madrasa Resource Centre schools has a stronger impact on children's development than attendance at a non-MRC preschool" (Mwaura, Sylva, and Malmberg 2008, 252). Additionally, "individuals in Tanzanian madrasas positively perceive ICT usage for their madrasa education activities" (Abubakari and Priyanto 2021, 143).

Tanzania's religious community education is distinctive due to the significant role of Christianity, in contrast to Senegal. Christian churches' engagement in education and healthcare dates back to the colonial era and continues to this day. According to Leurs and Mvungi (2011, 28), "the overall scale of Muslim provision was perceived ... to be significantly less than Christian provision, particularly in health." Consequently, the Tanzanian government continues to rely on religious organizations' intervention in these two crucial developmental sectors.

While there are multiple actors involved in religion-based community education, success is not necessarily guaranteed. Various factors can contribute to failure, including inter-religious competition between Christianity and Islam, as well as intra-religious competition among different factions, which can lead to a decrease in the overall quality of education. Additionally, financial issues such as inadequate funding and dependence on international donors can further hinder progress. Finally, a lack of system, organization, review, and sharing of experiences in operating the project can also contribute to challenges in achieving successful outcomes (Leurs and Mvungi 2011). Nevertheless, the interview conducted by Leurs and Mvungi (2011, 45) reveals that the public felt that the "government should support and involve FBOs more often," believing that the government is underestimating the capability of the religious organizations.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In the previous section, examples of education development initiatives in Senegal and Tanzania were observed. These examples of nonformal education can be categorized into three groups: community schools led by government, NGOs, and local communities; NGO-led projects; and religion-based organizations-led initiatives. In this section, based on Dika and Singh's distinction of social capital by Bourdieu and Coleman, social capital in each case will be explained. Although both Bourdieu and Coleman consider social capital as a resource, they emphasize different aspects of it. Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of norms and values that surround social capital, while Coleman emphasizes

its function as a means to achieve goals. Moreover, Bourdieu sees social capital as a tool for the dominant class to secure their position, while Coleman highlights its potential for positive social control. This section aims to closely examine the dynamics of the case studies presented earlier and identify which researcher's conceptualization of social capital provides a more comprehensive and accurate explanation for each respective circumstance.

The Community School System

In both Senegal and Tanzania, the community school system is a collaboration among three agents: the government, NGOs, and the local community. Two key aspects of this system are worth highlighting: the development of a social network based on public needs and the empowerment of local communities. In both countries, the community school system addresses the educational needs of the public, particularly in areas where formal education is inaccessible. It also offers classes that teach traditional values, such as religious studies, which parents want to pass on to their children. Moreover, in Senegal, vocational training provided in community schools encourages community members with income-generating skills, creating social bonds and fostering the development of social capital (Diouf, Mbaye, and Nachtman 2001; Hoppers 2005).

Another significant aspect of the community school system is the empowerment of the community, which is closely linked to the social ties generated by the conditions offered in the community school system. In Senegal, the plan is for community schools to be self-sufficient with NGOs gradually withdrawing from the management, leaving the government and local communities in charge. In Tanzania, the village council and parents play a crucial role in the school system, demonstrating their strong commitment to the project. Ownership and a degree of autonomy also contribute to social capital generation and accumulation. Furthermore, Koissaba's (2019) example of Legacy Academy "became not only a school but a family in the lives of the pupils who attended" (84). The psychosocial advantages that benefit the recipient can also be linked with social capital. It is further mentioned that the students have enormous respect for the teacher and refrain from any activities to disappoint them, which diminishes the need for corporal punishment in education (Koissaba 2019, 88). The reciprocal trust generated from the system ultimately benefits the parties involved.

Coleman's theory of social capital provides a more comprehensive and accurate explanation of the community school system. Although its impact extends from individuals to larger networks, such as governments and NGOs, social capital can be seen as a resource that promotes positive social changes, rather than maintaining the status quo. The system does not only benefit the students but also the surrounding community, often encouraging their participation and meeting their demands. In summary, it encourages voluntary participation, as demonstrated by the origins of the community school system, which arose from public demand.

Non-Governmental Organizations

The second case, in which NGOs play a leading role, is perceived as having a closer

relationship with local community members. The approaches made by NGOs generally encompass a broader audience than the community school system. The Senegalese example of Tostan illustrates how it contributed to the formation of inter-member bonds and social capital. Kuenzi's survey (2005) is a great example that nonformal education program conducted by NGOs has a positive impact on individuals. By educating individuals with democratic values and human rights, eventually elevating their self-esteem, Tostan prepares each member to actively participate to the progress of the community (Kuenzi 2005). To generate social capital naturally, Tostan adopted a sensitive and on-target approach. For instance, program staff were voluntary and shared the same ethnicity as community members, allowing for a smoother and more long-lasting accumulation of social capital within the society. These efforts fortify the social capital in local community, endowing the members with a sense of ownership.

On the other hand, the Tanzanian example of HakiElimu approached the issue from a somewhat different angle. Unlike its counterpart, HakiElimu's approach is more policy-based and also linked with government-level agents. As Phillips (2011) contends, the initiative of HakiElimu fills the gap between the government and the local communities, enabling a more effective conversation. Above all, the formation of *Friends for Education* involves multitudes of citizens interested in education. The prowess gained from their participation in media channels and the fact that they also get to participate in monitoring, policy, and budget-related issues should not be overlooked.

The social capital generated and accumulated in both cases can also be better explained by Coleman's theory. Tostan and HakiElimu focused on direct cooperation with the local community and its members. The participants of Tostan's program in Malicounda Bambara "researched the health conditions of their community and found that certain practices were harmful" (Gillespie and Melching 2010, 479). Then they contribute to ending the brutal custom of female genital cutting (FGC) practices (Gillespie and Melching 2010, 479). This case shows how social capital generated through education affects the recipients and the way they transform customs and practices. It is also noteworthy that the curriculum also reflects "the community interest, engagement, and social action" (Gillespie and Melching 2010, 479). The revision of the program illustrates constant and reciprocal exchange between stakeholders and the engagement of individual members of the community.

The *Friends of Education* in Tanzania also demonstrates how social capital can be mobilized by citizens and groups towards the common goal, resulting in deeper involvement of the locals and improvements in education. HakiElimu's twofold approach mentioned by Phillips (2011) well explains its position as a supporting intermediary, generating social capital in two directions. The use of media to bring public attention towards the education and the reporting on the government's assessment on educational policy attract both the government and the individuals to the same issue and eventually lead them to have a conversation.

Religion-based Organizations

The contribution of religion-based organizations, also known as faith-based

organizations (FBOs) in education development demonstrates somewhat different aspects from the previous examples. In Senegal, the traditional Muslim education system, known as daara, has been plagued with problems that undermine the potential benefits of such organizations. Despite the fact that daaras provide traditional education based on religion and generate a collective project for community (Cochrane 2021), the lack of a formal system and anachronistic customs have resulted in serious human rights violations, such as forced child begging (Carr 2012; Zoumanigui 2016). The issue, widely acknowledged even by the former Senegalese President, endangers children's basic human rights and opportunities to access education.

In Tanzania, FBOs have had a more positive impact on education compared to their Senegalese counterpart. Muslim FBOs provide education through madrasas, while Christian organizations offer mission schools. These institutions cover a wide range of students and are recognized by the government and the public for their capacity to improve crucial social sectors such as education and health. Above all, the study on Madrasa Resource Center (MRC)'s preschool education shows its positive impact on children's development (Mwaura, Sylva, and Malmberg 2008). Additionally, Abubakari and Priyanto (2021) contend that Tanzanian madrasas support individuals to be better acquainted with ICT usage. These examples can be explained by Coleman's notion of social capital because the social capital generated by FBOs program effectively functions as a resource to improve individual's and community's lifestyle.

However, FBOs in Tanzania face challenges such as inter-and intra-religious conflicts that undermine the quality of their education programs. The "organizational challenge," including lack of formality, administrative structure, and system, is also a hindrance to the positive impact of FBOs' initiatives (Leurs and Mvungi 2011, 43).

Consequently, despite the fact that certain initiatives of FBOs can align with Coleman's notion of social capital, the general trend of social capital concerning religion-based organizations' actions is better aligned with Bourdieu's notion of social capital as a resource that engages a set of norms and values that stratify the status quo rather than a resource aimed at positive control of change. The deeply entrenched religion in both countries, despite diverse FBOs' attempts to engage locals with their traditional values and historical community ties, appears to exacerbate the current social structure, rather than contribute to the development of education. Although Tanzanian FBOs' efforts in education and health through various projects should be recognized for potentially positive control, it is often overshadowed by intra- and inter-religious disputes and lack of formality. In the case of Senegalese daaras, the situation is worse. The children are denied the opportunity to access basic primary education while the teachers benefit from the forced child begging. It shows that the social ties generated and accumulated work in favor of the existing network and system, contributing more to the sustaining of the status quo, rather than providing individuals with the resource to change and improve the situation and voluntarily take part.

CONCLUSION

Both Bourdieu's and Coleman's perspectives on social capital offer valuable insight for

explaining the significance of local engagement in education development, particularly in nonformal education. Although there may be apparent differences in their opinions, it is important to consider social capital, along with physical and human capital, when evaluating and deciphering the effectiveness of various partnerships in individual cases. As discussed in previous sections, social capital is typically viewed as a resource, but it must always be applied within a specific context. Moreover, the basic similarity of the two researchers' social capital concept adds to the challenge of unconditionally employing two perspectives on every case.

According to the analysis, empowering local members and involving them in policy, budget, and monitoring processes leads to a more positive effect of social capital. It allows community members to bond over incentives and autonomy, voluntarily participating in the process with a sense of ownership. Additionally, the necessity of the process also counts in the observed cases. For the system to work and be positively affected by social capital, the process must be systemized, monitored, and assessed by either the central government, society's members, or both parties. The lack of formality and system in the case of FBOs overshadows the advantages and limits the ability of social capital to function as a positive resource, as contended by Coleman. Vermaak (1985, 419) argues that in order to effectively implement a nonformal education program, the government, "especially each department of education, should have a special section for non-formal education." This serves to underscore the crucial role of the government in devising a comprehensive and strategic plan for education.

HakiElimu states that community participation in the education sector can only improve through the initiative and involvement of all stakeholders, including the government, parents, communities, and CSOs. Above all, "the coordination of responsibilities among each actor is critical" (HakiElimu 2017, 9). To work more efficiently, "clear supervision" and "guidelines and roles for each actors [sic] in improving education" are needed (HakiElimu 2017, 9). If the project is run without accountability and transparency, it only fosters the pre-existing social network to harden, contributing to the continuation of the rigidity. Again, for social capital to work positively, the central government should create a condition for local and nonformal education and related stakeholders to engage more and acquire a sense of ownership in education. Although HakiElimu's report focuses on education in Tanzania in 2017, it is possible to extend its scope to a broader context, highlighting the triad among social capital, community engagement, and education development not only in Tanzania but also in Senegal.

In an ideal scenario, the development of nonformal education systems should involve a partnership among the government, NGOs, and local communities. Firstly, the government should take the responsibility of creating a clear and comprehensive education plan, which monitors the participation of NGOs and local communities, and provides incentives to participants. Secondly, NGOs should act as intermediaries, linking the government with the community members, and working to bridge the gap among all participants, with the added benefit of having more freedom in funding and a more personal and direct approach. This includes acquiring additional budgets for the project. Finally, community members should actively participate in the nonformal education system to develop a sense of ownership and commitment. Through this triad, social capital can be generated and accumulated, which can then be used as a resource

to improve education development as Coleman contends.

To integrate religion-based organizations into the ideal triad and ensure their successful functioning, it is suggested that they implement the transparency and accountability systems employed by existing NGOs. This means that their participation should be structured and subject to regular monitoring by various entities, including the government, community members, and self-regulation, to mitigate issues such as corruption and internal disputes. The advantages of religion-based organizations are significant, and if harnessed effectively, their attributes, such as strong community ties, historical roots, and personalized engagement with local community members, can greatly contribute to the positive utilization of social capital as an adequate resource for achieving a goal.

Regarding the limitations of this study, it is important to note that the analysis of the cases with regard to social capital focuses on the function of social capital, rather than the evaluation of the actual outcomes of each case. For example, the vocational training provided by the Senegalese community school system was explained in terms of social capital's function to incentivize its members, but it does not provide a thorough explanation as to why the program did not succeed in reality. Additionally, it should be noted that the selected cases do not represent the entirety of community participation in education development in Senegal and Tanzania. Despite the effort to assess each case in multiple angles with various sources, the limitations cannot be easily overcome. As qualitative case studies, they only offer a limited view of reality and cannot be generalized to the entire population.

Furthermore, for the purpose of this analysis, the nonformal education programs were broadly categorized into three types: community school system, NGO-led projects, and religion-based organizations. As such, the scope of this research can be considered relatively wide-ranging, but at the same time, might not cover all related actors. To further investigate the positive impact of local involvement in nonformal education development employing the framework of social capital, future studies would need to subdivide the agents involved and focus on specific cases, regions, and time periods. In such cases, a more quantitative approach may be necessary. As Miningou (2021) emphasizes, a data system that supports the logistics of school resources is crucial for assessing learning outcomes. Additionally, Hoppers (2005) points out the unavailability of the data on African community schools due to the lack of systematic collection. This can also be extended to the cases of other nonformal education programs in Africa. Therefore, securing the availability of credible data and sources over a longer timeframe should be prioritized if future studies aim to adopt a quantitative approach.

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