

Learning, Marginalization, and Improving the Quality of Education in Low-income Countries

EDITED BY
DANIEL A. WAGNER,
NATHAN M. CASTILLO AND
SUZANNE GRANT LEWIS



Second volume in the series
Learning at the Bottom of the Pyramid



<https://www.openbookpublishers.com>

© 2022 Daniel A. Wagner, Nathan M. Castillo and Suzanne Grant Lewis. Copyright of individual chapters is maintained by the chapter's author.



This work is licensed under an Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0). This license allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the text; to adapt the text for non-commercial purposes providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Daniel A. Wagner, Nathan M. Castillo and Suzanne Grant Lewis, *Learning, Marginalization, and Improving the Quality of Education in Low-income Countries*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0256>

Copyright and permissions for the reuse of many of the images included in this publication differ from the above. This information is provided in the captions and in the list of illustrations.

In order to access detailed and updated information on the license, please visit <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0256#copyright>

Further details about Creative Commons licenses are available at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

All external links were active at the time of publication unless otherwise stated and have been archived via the Internet Archive Wayback Machine at <https://archive.org/web>

Digital material and resources associated with this volume are available at <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0256#copyright>

Every effort has been made to identify and contact copyright holders and any omission or error will be corrected if notification is made to the publisher.

ISBN Paperback: 9781800642003

ISBN Hardback: 9781800642010

ISBN Digital (PDF): 9781800642027

ISBN Digital ebook (epub): 9781800642034

ISBN Digital ebook (mobi): 9781800642041

ISBN Digital ebook (XML): 9781800642058

DOI: 10.11647/OBP.0256

Cover design by Anna Gatti.

12. Ivory Coast

Children at the Bottom of the Pyramid and Government Policies

*François Joseph Azoh
and Zamblé Théodore Goin Bi*

Introduction

The main goal of the initiative “learning at the bottom of the pyramid” (Wagner et al., 2018) is to broaden the debate on educational inequality and improve the quality of learning among poor and marginalized populations in low-income countries. The initiative aims to draw more attention to learning inequalities in these countries, identify the populations who face the most barriers to education and learning, examine the socioeconomic conditions of vulnerable populations, and propose suggestions for policies and further research.

This contribution focuses on the specific case of Ivory Coast, and aims to:

- identify the populations at the bottom of the pyramid;
- describe the current state of schooling; and
- present government education policies that curb inequalities in access to quality education.

Who are the children at the bottom of the pyramid in Ivory Coast?

Children from economically disadvantaged families

Ivory Coast's economy has improved in recent years. As a matter of fact, the growth rate went from 4.4 percent in 2011 to 7.4 percent in 2019. However, according to the Human Development Index (HDI), Ivory Coast was among the countries with the lowest overall HDI values, ranking 165th out of 189. And, despite solid economic growth, poverty is still significant. In 2016, nearly 46 percent of Ivorians lived on less than \$1.30 per day and were in a multidimensional poverty situation. Rural areas had a higher concentration of poor people (56.8 percent), and children from poor families were mostly out of school or failing to achieve expected learning benchmarks (UNDP, 2019).

The State Report on the National Education System (RESEN, by its French acronym, 2016) shows that financial problems are the primary reason cited by families for not enrolling children in school. Moreover, many children from poor families who attend school repeat grades, thus increasing the risk of dropping out before completing the cycle. This suggests that being poor and living in a rural area increases the probability of both not attending school and dropping out.

Girls

The net primary-school intake and enrollment rates show that girls have less access to school than boys. In terms of access to primary school, intake rates for girls went from 67.80 percent to 71.90 percent between 2013 and 2019, which indicates that around one-third of school-aged girls still do not have access to primary school.

Completion rates for primary and lower-secondary school show progress over the period 2013-2019. However, 20 percent of girls do not complete their primary school education and almost half of girls do not complete their lower-secondary-school education.

In Ivory Coast, pregnancy during the school years is another barrier to girls' education. Over the past five years, an average of 311 pregnancies have been recorded in primary school compared to 4,190 in secondary

Table 1. Girl's completion rates in primary and lower-secondary school in Ivory Coast from 2013 to 2019.

School year	Primary school	Lower-secondary school
2013–2014	54.20%	29.0%
2014–2015	58.80%	30.5%
2015–2016	64.70%	35.4%
2016–2017	71.60%	42.7%
2017–2018	75.00%	49.2%
2018–2019	79.80%	52.8%

Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019).

school (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training, 2016). In 2016, the Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training reported that students who become pregnant during their school years usually come from a disadvantaged social background. Very often, these girls come from rural areas and their arrival in the cities to undertake secondary studies becomes a daily struggle to ensure the minimum subsistence (food, body care products, etc.). To support themselves, girls are sometimes forced to carry out transactions of a sexual nature, ending in pregnancies during the school years and associated with a high risk of dropout.

Data collection of pregnancy cases during the school years appears in the statistical yearbooks of the Ministry since 2014. This information has not yet been analyzed in depth to know more about these girls' dropout from and reintegration into the system.

Children living with a disability

In Ivory Coast, 65 percent of people with disabilities are illiterate and 71 percent of them live in rural areas (Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training, 2017). Of children aged 3 to 18, about 48,200 are diagnosed with a disability, representing 11 percent of school-aged children from pre-primary to high school. Children with disabilities are mostly out of school. Of these children, 44 percent have never attended school, and this rate is higher in rural

areas, where it reaches 60 percent. Among children with disabilities, the primary school dropout rate is 95 percent.

Economically disadvantaged parents often believe that sending children with disabilities to school is a waste of time and money (Azoh & Goin Bi, 2019). Parents doubt the learning abilities of their children and the system’s ability to integrate them into the socioeconomic fabric. From the start, any financial commitment is seen as a waste.

The structures required for these children to achieve their full potential are not in place. Public schools were not designed to accommodate children with disabilities and do not have adequate human and material resources.

Children without a birth certificate

Birth registration in Ivory Coast is not systematic. The registration rate in 2018 was 72 percent compared to 74.8 percent in 2014. The rate of timely registration regressed from 2014 to 2018, i.e., it went down from 70 percent to 55.4 percent throughout the country. One-third of children do not have a birth certificate, and as a result will face difficulties in enrolling in primary school.

Table 2. Overall birth registration rate.

Year	Registrations (%)	Timely registration of births
2014	74.8	70
2015	72.8	60.5
2016	74.8	59
2017	70.8	54
2018	72.2	55.4

Source: Ministry of the Interior and Security, 2019, p. 27–28.

Other children outside the school system

Sika and Kacou (2018) observed that in 2015, school exclusion in Côte d’Ivoire affected more girls (3,289,400) than boys (2,771,800) and that

children in rural areas (3,845,800) are more affected than those in urban areas (2,215,400).

Regarding 12–15-year-olds—i.e., the age group corresponding to Secondary 1—there were about 797,100 total, of which rural areas accounted for 533,000 (66.9 percent). The same study showed that 706,000 children with schooling had not yet entered secondary school and risked never reaching that level.

According to the same authors, children with no schooling generally live in large households with an average size of seven people. The parents or guardians of these Children Outside the School System (COSS) are mostly employed in agriculture (38.5 percent), service activities (28.9 percent) and trade (7.9 percent).

The *Rapport d'Etat sur le Système de l'Education* report (RESEN; 2016) comes to similar conclusions, analyzing data from the DHS-MICS 2012 survey. COSS are most often girls living in rural areas with poor parents. In the first quintile, representing the poorest 20 percent of the population, the prevalence rate of children who are not in school is 43.9 percent. The majority (28.8 percent) of children who are not in school belong to this category of the population.

Table 3. Characteristics of COSS aged between 6 and 11 years old in 2012.

	Prevalence rate of COSS	Distribution of COSS
Gender		
Girls	34.1%	53.9%
Boys	28.4%	46.1%
Area of residence		
Rural	36.6%	72.3%
Urban	22.5%	27.7%
Income quintiles		
Q1 (Poor)	43.9%	28.8%
Q2	31.2%	22.6%
Q3	36.7%	24.0%
Q4	27.7%	17.6%
Q5 (Rich)	13.1%	7.1%

Source: RESEN (IMF, 2016).

Schooling in Ivory Coast

School statistics for Ivory Coast indicate that many children either do not enter school (Figure 1) or else drop out very early (Figure 2). The net intake rates to CP1 are between 70 percent and 74 percent for the periods between 2014/2015 and 2019–2020, showing that about a quarter of applicants fail to enroll. However, the net enrollment rate has increased over the past five years from 78.9 percent to 91.5 percent. Despite everything, nine percent of children still do not receive achieve age-appropriate schooling or progress through the school system (UNICEF, 2014).

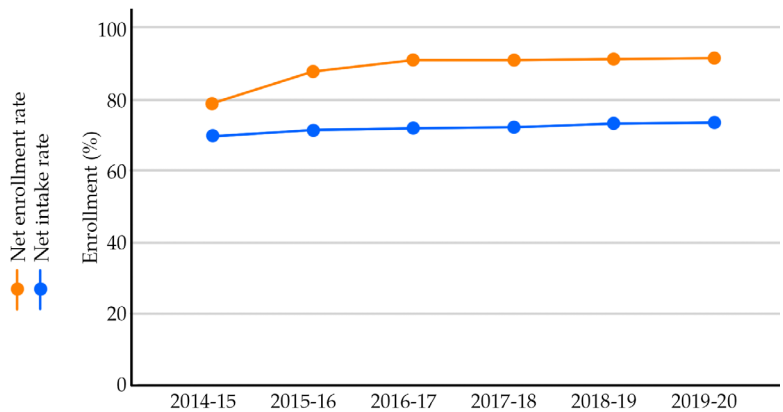


Fig. 1. Net intake and enrollment rates in Ivory Coast from 2014/15 to 2019/20.
Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020).

Primary school dropouts have been around 5 percent during the last five years and repeaters represented 10 percent (see Figure 2).

Children denied access to CPI

The Statistical Analysis Report 2018–2019 revealed that between 2015 and 2019, the proportion of children who were denied enrollment in primary school varied between 9.8 percent and 7.4 percent. One of the causes was the lack of national coverage of the school infrastructure, which decreased from 43.5 percent to 31.5 percent during the same period.

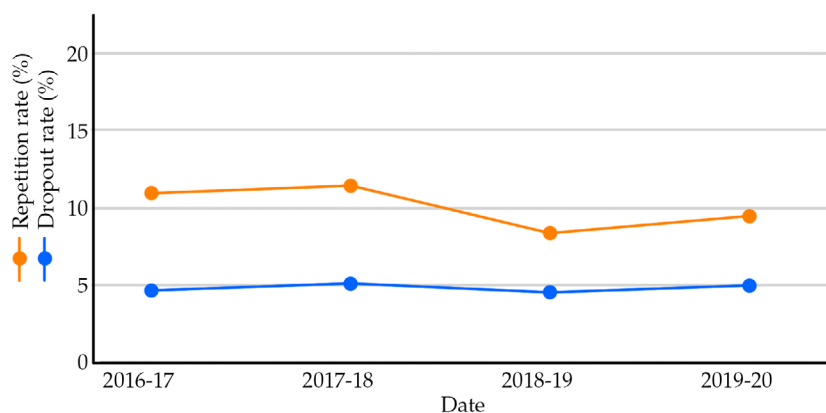


Fig. 2. Repetition and dropout rates in Ivory Coast from 2016/17 to 2019/20.
Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020).

Table 4. Children denied enrollment in CP1 in Ivory Coast from 2015–2019.

		2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19
Number of children who applied to CP1		793,848	764,488	759,362	783,638
Number of children not admitted to CP1		77,915	72,695	54,630	58,241
Proportion of not-admitted children		9.8%	9.5%	7.2%	7.4%
Number of children not admitted to CP1 by reason	Number of children not admitted because of insufficient accommodation capacity	33,865	27,027	19,666	18,325
	Number of children not admitted because of their young age	40,634	42,372	32,776	37,587
	Over-aged children	3,416	3,296	2,188	2,329
Proportion of children not admitted to CP1 by reason	Accommodation capacity	43.5%	37.2%	36.0%	31.5%
	Under-aged children	52.2%	58.3%	60.0%	64.5%
	Over-aged children	4.4%	4.5%	4.0%	4.0%

Source: Ministry of National Education, Statistical Analysis Report 2018–2019, p. 22.

Alternative educational offers for children at the bottom of the pyramid

Low-cost private schools

Goin Bi and Koutou (2019) showed that low-cost private schools often did not meet the necessary conditions to operate. Most of them operated without authorization—i.e., illegally—and ran dilapidated and unhealthy infrastructures. In these schools, teachers started the job without any pedagogical training or experience and worked with insufficient and poor-quality didactic and pedagogical materials. Parents' interest in such schools was directly related to their limited financial resources.

Islamic schools

During the 2019–2020 school year, Ivory Coast had 2,536 Islamic schools with 8,573 classrooms attended by 512,811 students, out of which 161,052 were girls (31.4 percent).

These schools were strongly established in the north and northeast of Ivory Coast, which were areas of under-enrollment in government schools. There were 112 schools and 7,807 students, out of which 5,464 (70 percent) were boys and 2,343 girls (Guiré, 2010, cited by Silué and Ndjore, 2016). Silué and Ndjore (2016) described the difficult educational conditions in Islamic schools, where didactic material and infrastructure was very limited. Learning takes place on the ground—i.e., on mats or animal skins. Students used ink, a pen, a small board or *walaga*, the Koran, and related books. The majority of these schools did not provide the skills and content level expected in the national curriculum. Furthermore, teachers in these schools received lower remuneration than teachers in formal schools (Kanvaly, 2009). Children enrolled in Islamic schools came from socially and economically disadvantaged families. Interpeace (2019) reported that children went to Islamic schools for two main reasons: financial and geographical constraints, as they are usually tuition-free (though require additional expenses during the school year), and the fact that they are sometimes the only viable schooling option in remote rural areas.

Community schools

Community schools have emerged recently as a form of resilience in rural areas without school infrastructure (public and private). For the 2018–2019 academic year, 888 community schools were inventoried; they had 2,287 classrooms and 69,301 enrolled students, including 31,488 girls (45 percent). Community schools represent two percent of all educational offerings, but five percent of primary-school enrollment.

However, the quality of the education provided in these schools is typically poor because of a lack of qualified teachers, pedagogical supervision, and resources. In fact, teachers are often out-of-school high-school students who have no pedagogical training and who teach in an approximate manner, which rarely meets the standards of public education. Ouattara and Aya (2016) found that teachers are “volunteers”¹ who serve the community. Their remuneration is not fixed and is based on the number of students enrolled and other arrangements with the community, such as in-kind donations (food).

Institutional framework of educational policy

The educational policy in Ivory Coast is based on the Constitution, which states that “school attendance is compulsory for children of both sexes, under the conditions determined by law”, and two specific acts: Law No. 95696 of September 7, 1995 and Law No. 2015635 of September 17, 2015.

The 1995 law

Law No. 95696 of September 7, 1995, outlines the fundamental principles governing the public service of education in Ivory Coast, as follows:

- Enable each citizen to acquire knowledge, develop her/his personality, raise her/his level of education, integrate into social, cultural, and professional life and exercise citizenship;

1 This is the name chosen by the Ministry of National Education for this category of teachers.

- Promote the neutral, free, and equal nature of the public service of education, where neutrality is defined in relation to any political, philosophical, or religious current of thought;
- Ensure free education in public institutions, with the exception of enrollment fees, social benefits, and the cost of textbooks and other school supplies;
- Enable the acquisition of knowledge, soft skills, and a critical mind, as well as the development of sensitivity and curiosity.

Article 2 of this law reaffirms the right to education and equal treatment of all citizens (regardless of their race, sex, political, philosophical, or religious convictions, or their social, cultural, or geographical origin), particularly in public education. It also emphasizes the need for increased participation of all stakeholders, especially the community, in the management of institutions.

The 2015 law

To curb inequalities among children in school, the State of Ivory Coast initiated a series of additional educational measures. In 2015, the policy of compulsory schooling came into force through Law No. 2015–635. Article 2.2 states that “the State is obliged to keep children between the ages of six and sixteen in the school system, including those with special needs, and to set up a mechanism to integrate or reintegrate children between the ages of nine and sixteen who are outside the system; in particular by means of crossover classes for the nine-to-thirteen age group, as well as vocational training for the fourteen-to-sixteen age group”.

According to this policy, all children are required to be enrolled in school and complete 10 years of education—i.e., have a minimum education level equivalent to third grade, regardless of their identity or ability. During this period, all children should acquire a common base of knowledge, skills, and culture. Additionally, this base must enable children to pursue further studies, build a personal and professional future, and prepare them for civic life. This policy is inclusive of all children, regardless of their vulnerable situation. The 2016/2025 Education and Training Sector Plan emphasizes this mandate by

defining the following objectives: access, equity, respect for the right to education, and inclusive education.

Government responses to children at the bottom of the pyramid

Integration of Islamic and community schools

In Ivory Coast, UNICEF has made a major contribution to the process of integration of Islamic schools. Silué and Ndjoré (2016) note that, starting in 2004, UNICEF, supported by local NGOs, invested in a program to equip Islamic faith-based schools and train teachers. The formal integration, as of 2012, of Islamic and community schools into the formal education system helps to offer children at the bottom of the pyramid opportunities similar to those of other children. The recognition of these schools by the state assures that they meet the key standards, including having training programs for teachers, pedagogical supervision, and status as civil servants.

In 2018, the state established the National Commission for the Support of Islamic Educational Institutions (CNAESI, by its French acronym), which is in charge of the integration of Islamic structures into the formal education system following a two-level compliance analysis (see Table 5).

In 2019–2020, there were 385 integrated Islamic schools with 98,291 enrolled students, compared to 54,298 students in non-integrated Islamic schools, out of a total of 373,300 students in all Islamic education structures, which means that the rate of integration of students into the formal system was 26.3 percent (see Figure 3).

The state recognizes community schools that meet integration standards by charting them on the school map. The Statistical Analysis Report 2018–2019 shows that, from 2014/15 to 2018/19, the number of community schools, classrooms, and students declined. As a matter of fact, the number of community schools decreased from 1,084 to 888 (an 18 percent regression), classrooms from 2,592 to 2,287 (a 12 percent regression) and students from 81,539 to 69,301 (a 15 percent regression). This downward trend could be explained by the fact that some community schools that meet school mapping standards are being converted into traditional public elementary schools.

Table 5. Levels of the compliance analysis for Islamic faith-based schools.

First level	Second level
Analysis of the minimum criteria	In-depth analysis of official standards
Assesses whether the school... has clean facilities. has buildings made of permanent or semi-permanent materials. has administrative staff. has permanent teaching staff. has tables and benches. has a wall board per classroom. teaches the basic disciplines. uses French as the language of instruction.	This level has three stages: A more exhaustive analysis of the components in terms of infrastructure, equipment, human resources, and pedagogy. Ranking of the different categories (infrastructure, equipment, human resources, and pedagogy) along the scale (very satisfactory, satisfactory, or not satisfactory). The summary of the rankings, leading to the classification of schools.
Result 1	Result 2
First classification in two groups: Category C school (non-compliant). School eligible for an in-depth analysis (Level 2).	Second classification in two groups: Category A school = integrated. Category B school = standby.

Source: Ministry of National Education, 2012, p. 8.

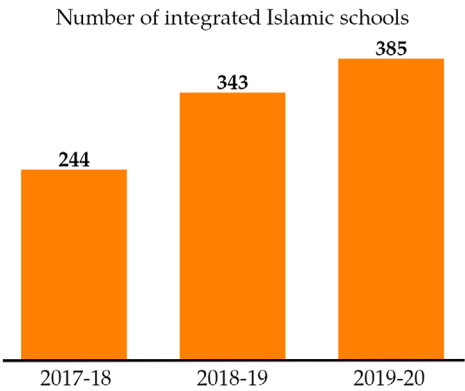


Fig. 3. Evolution of the number of Islamic schools integrated in Ivory Coast's public system from 2017 to 2020. Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2018; 2019; 2020).

School canteens

To help keep vulnerable children in school, the state of Ivory Coast committed in 1989 to the implementation of a school canteen development program with the support of the World Food Program (WFP). A targeting policy has been implemented to define priority areas for intervention. Selection criteria are based on the level of food insecurity, the prevalence of chronic malnutrition, the poverty rate, the enrollment rate, and the primary education completion rate.

The WFP, which supported the supply of food and equipment to school canteens from 1989 to 1999, withdrew to make way for the “Integrated Program for the Continued Existence of School Canteens” (PIP/CS, by its French acronym) which was initiated by the government in 1998. In 2000, with the support of the WFP and UNDP, the government launched the pilot phase of the PIP/CS project, but the program was suspended as a result of the sociopolitical crisis of 2002–2010.

The percentage of schools without a canteen has increased every year, moving from 55 percent in 2017 to 69 percent in 2020. Additionally, due to limited supply, school canteens only provide meals on 18 of the 128 days of the school year. This state policy is clearly insufficient, and does not currently do enough to impact or improve the academic performance of learners from disadvantaged families.

Distribution of school kits

In 2000, Ivory Coast opted for free public primary schooling. Two major actions support this choice: free CP1 enrollment, and the distribution of school kits and textbooks. School kits consist of notebooks, pens, plastic notebook covers, pencils, and textbooks. They are assembled according to the level of study. The state allocates an average of 3 billion CFA francs for school kits, an amount that represents less than 1 percent of spending on education (UNICEF, 2014). The coverage rate has been over 80 percent except for the 2018–2019 school year.

Table 6. Number of school kits distributed to primary school students from 2016 to 2020.

School year	Total students	Number of kits delivered	Coverage ratio
2016–2017	3,169,641	2,731,423	86%
2017–2018	3,255,797	3,159,004	97%
2018–2019	3,308,667	2,257,796	68.2%
2019–2020	3,336,678	3,256,248	98%

Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2017; 2018; 2019; 2020).

Reform of lower-secondary school

Prior to the implementation of the lower-secondary-school reform, the transition from primary to lower-secondary school was the cause of many grade repetitions and dropouts. The CM2 class with the sixth-grade competitive examination was a major obstacle to learners’ progress. The abolition of the sixth-grade competitive examination (2012) has made this transition easier in recent years. Since 2012, a grade of 10 out of 20 is required for admission to the sixth grade (85 points out of 170, or an average of 10). Before 2012–2013, the transition rate from primary to lower-secondary school was around 50 percent. With the new provision, this rate reached 75 percent in 2019–2020. For girls, the gross intake ratio to lower-secondary school has increased over the past five years, from 55.30 percent in 2015–2016 to 74.30 percent in 2019–2020.

To accommodate the large influx of students entering lower-secondary school, the state started to build “outreach schools”, which are public secondary schools with two classrooms per level of study. Outreach schools are built in rural areas to keep learners in their usual living environment and, in particular, to reduce the number of pregnancies during schooling.

The catchment area of outreach schools covers two to three elementary schools (i.e., two to three villages), with a total of at least 90 students in the CM2 class. To reduce gender disparities, outreach schools target primarily the most disadvantaged districts, with a focus on rural areas. The construction of outreach schools began in 2012 with two schools and, in 2019, there were already 152 open throughout the country, with

an almost equal distribution between urban and rural areas. Statistical data on student numbers and characteristics are not available.

Table 7. Evolution of the number of open outreach schools from 2012 to 2019.

Year	Rural area	Urban area	Number of open outreach schools
2012	1	1	2
2013	1	0	1
2014	2	3	5
2015	23	20	43
2016	17	23	40
2017	5	10	15
2018	17	14	31
2019	9	6	15
Total	75	77	152
%	49%	51%	100%
2019–2020	3,336,678	3,256,248	98%

Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2017; 2018; 2019).

At the national level, outreach schools represent 6.5 percent of the lower-secondary educational offering and serve 2.11 percent of the students. Girls represent 43 percent of the enrollment compared to 44 percent nationally. In the 2018/2019 school year, outreach schools enrolled 36,729 students, including 14,995 girls who represented 41 percent of the enrollment. In 2019–2020, there were 52,866 students enrolled, which means a 44 percent increase in enrollment within one school year. The proportion of girls was 41 percent in 2018/2019, but it reached 43 percent in 2019–2020. Trends are similar in rural areas.

Integration of children with disabilities

In accordance with the law of 2015, the government started to develop inclusive education by enrolling children with disabilities in regular schools; this policy is consistent with the right to education recognized for every individual in Ivory Coast. The integration of children with

disabilities into regular public schools increased between 2016 and 2020. The number of children who were integrated went up from 9,569 in 2016 to 13,716 in 2020, a 43 percent growth. This development highlights the willingness of the state to make inclusive schooling a reality for all children.

Inclusive education currently targets motor (reduced mobility) and sensory (deaf, blind, mute) disabilities, and the school system has succeeded in integrating 12 percent of children with disabilities between the ages of 0 and 15. Mentally handicapped children have not been integrated into this system yet because for these severe disabilities, regular schools have neither the human resources capable of ensuring their care, nor the equipment and infrastructure to accommodate them.

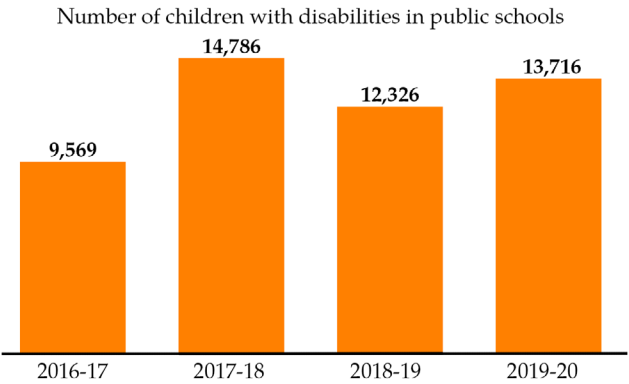


Fig. 4. Evolution of the integration of children with disabilities in public schools from 2016 to 2020. Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020).

Authorization to enroll without a birth certificate

Adopted in 2012, a national measure to allow children to enroll without a birth certificate has enabled many children to enter school. Over the past five years, more than a million children per year were able to access school who previously could not. Children who benefit from this initiative come largely from disadvantaged rural backgrounds.

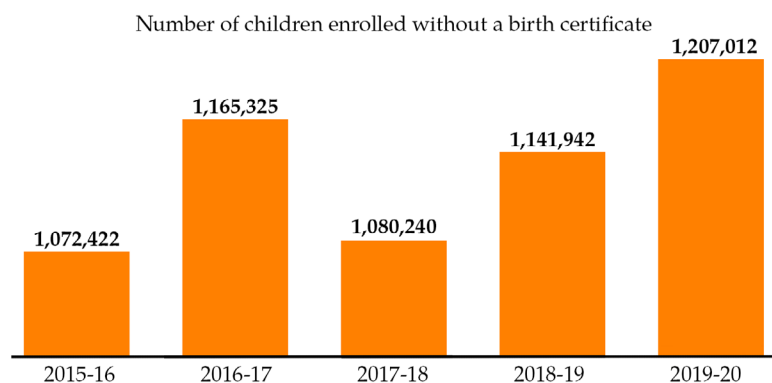


Fig. 5. Number of children allowed to enroll without a birth certificate from 2015 to 2020. Source: Ministry of National Education, Technical Education and Vocational Training (2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020).

Retention and reintegration of pregnant girls

In 2010, the Ministry of National Education adopted an administrative provision allowing the retention in school of pregnant girls who want to continue their education as well as the reintegration of those who interrupted their schooling. To date, there are no statistical data on pregnant girls who postpone their schooling.

Conclusion

Children at the bottom of the learning pyramid in Ivory Coast struggle to access quality schooling. This group of children includes motor and sensory handicapped disabled children, as well as those who are considered “socially handicapped” by virtue of family poverty, rural context, and gender discrimination. The literature shows that based on the length of the time spent in the school system, boys in Ivory Coast consume 20 percent more resources than girls, urban children consume almost twice as many resources as rural children, and children in the richest quintile consume 3.7 times more resources than children in the poorest quintile.

As reviewed above, multiple important state educational policies have been implemented to reach out to and support children at the bottom of the pyramid. These policies have improved children’s access

to education and honored their right to education. At present, the data indicate that these policies need to be significantly reinforced in order to reduce the large gaps that remain between children at the bottom of the pyramid and those at higher levels. Only through ensuring quality education for all will every child be able to make independent choices for her or his future.

References

- Azoh, F. J., & Goin Bi, Z. T. (Eds.). (2019). *Tous les enfants ont le droit d'aller à l'école* (Film documentary). <http://www.aire.ci>
- Goin Bi, Z. T., & Koutou, N. C. (2019). De la privation à la marchandisation de l'éducation en Côte d'Ivoire, *Revue Internationale d'Éducation Sèvres*, 82, 85–92.
- Gouvernement de Côte d'Ivoire. (2016). *Rapport d'État du système éducatif national de la Côte d'Ivoire: Pour une politique éducative plus inclusive et plus efficace*.
- IMF (International Monetary Fund) (2016). Economic Development Plan (2016–20). Country Report No. 16. Washington, DC: IMF. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2016/cr16388.pdf>
- Interpeace. (2019). *Enfants talibés et écoles coraniques en Côte d'Ivoire: Enjeux et perspectives*. www.interpeace.org
- Kanvaly, K. (2009). *Pourquoi peu d'agrément et la marginalisation des écoles islamiques*. Unpublished.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. (2012). *Processus d'intégration des écoles confessionnelles islamiques dans le système d'enseignement officiel en Côte d'Ivoire* (Évaluation de la conformité de 43 écoles confessionnelles islamiques aux normes officielles d'enseignement, rapport final, Abidjan, p. 144).
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. (2016). *Statistiques Scolaires de poche 2015–2016*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle. (2016). *Les grossesses en milieu scolaire en Côte d'Ivoire* (rapport final).
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle. (2020). *Annuaire statistique de l'enseignement primaire 2019–2020*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle. (2019). *Statistiques scolaires de poche 2018–2019*.

- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2018). *Statistiques Scolaires de poche 2017–2018*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2017). *Statistiques Scolaires de poche 2016–2017*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle, (2019), *Rapport d'Analyse Statistique 2018–2019*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2018). *Rapport d'Analyse Statistique 2017 – 2018*
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2017). *Rapport d'Analyse Statistique 2016–2017*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2016). *Rapport d'Analyse Statistique 2015–2016*.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation professionnelle. (2017). *Étude nationale sur les enfants et adolescents de 3 – 18 ans en situation de handicap hors du système scolaire en Côte d'Ivoire: l'éducation inclusive, solution à l'insertion des enfants handicapés* (Rapport d'Étude).
- Ouattara K. I., & Aya, A. (2016). Réalité et défis des écoles communautaires de Côte d'Ivoire. In J. F. Azoh & Z. T. Goin Bi (Eds.), *Nouveaux défis de l'éducation en Côte d'Ivoire: Mutation et Résiliences* (pp. 91–120). Éditions Eburnie.
- PNUD. (2020). *Rapport sur le développement humain 2019: Les inégalités de développement humain au XXI^e siècle* (Note d'information à l'intention des pays concernant le Rapport sur le développement humain 2019). Côte d'Ivoire.
- Sika, G. L., & Kacou, A. E. (2018). La Scolarisation des enfants en dehors du système scolaire en Côte d'Ivoire. *European Scientific Journal*, 14(31), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2018.v14n31pl>
- Silué, O., & Ndjoré, Y. A. B. (2016). Intégration des écoles confessionnelles islamiques dans le système éducatif officiel. In J. F. & Z. T. Goin Bi (Eds.), *Nouveaux défis de l'éducation en Côte d'Ivoire: Mutation et Résiliences* (pp. 35–90). Éditions Eburnie.
- UNICEF. (2014). *Pour une société plus équitable dans un pays émergent: La situation de l'enfant en Côte d'Ivoire*.
- Wagner, D. A., Wolf, S., & Boruch, R. F. (Eds.) (2018). *Learning at the bottom of the pyramid: Science, measurement, and policy in low-income countries*. Paris: UNESCO-IIEP.

