Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century

Post-Millennium Development Goals

Edward Shizha and Ngoni Makuvaza (Eds.)

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PREFACE

Twenty-fifteen (2015), the year targeted by the United Nations (UN) for the fulfilment of its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including equitable and sustainable educational goals and programmes, has come and gone. Specifically, this resonates with countries in sub-Saharan Africa that are members of the UN and were required to provide educational programmes within the framework of the MDGs. However, 2015 ended with most countries having not yet fulfilled these goals. In the meantime, a new framework, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will run until 2030, has been presented by the United Nations to replace the MDGs. However, these UN frameworks are globally and internationally embedded without regards to the political, economic and socio-cultural particularities and differences that exist between and within nation-states. African nations' political and economic realities cannot be compared to those of the developed countries of the North. Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in particular, has a colonial legacy it has to struggle with. Sub-Saharan Africa is, geographically, the area of the continent of Africa that lies south of the Sahara desert and consists of all African countries that are fully or partially located south of the Sahara. Its colonial heritage impacts upon African governments' programmes on social development, including the provision of education at all levels. As a result, we believe that a framework-gap-filler, different from the MDGs or SDGs, is required, not from somewhere else, but from African governments and educational policy makers.

Whilst we admit and submit to the dynamics as well as exigencies of the global village and furthermore admit that sub-Saharan Africa cannot do it alone, at least the best we can do in the interim is to actively think and re-think about education. This book, *Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century: Post-Millennium Development Goals* is an attempt to face this challenge head-on. As the title suggests, this volume is a serious re-thinking of as well as re-engagement with pertinent educational issues in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century. Essentially, this book seeks to re-examine as well as re-evaluate postcolonial education in SSA and argue for a meaningful and sustainable African-grown framework to provide a vision to development discourses and programmes that advance educational agendas on the sub-region as well as on the continent. It tries to provide an African home-grown framework for sustainable educational provision in Africa beyond 2015 notwithstanding the colonial education legacy that African education has to contend with. Fundamentally, this book posits that, there is now a need to assess the progress that was made, to draw lessons from perceived successes and shortcomings in tackling educational programmes in the postcolonial and post-MDGs era, and to formulate the next approach to improving education in Sub-Saharan African countries. Furthermore, this book is an attempt to demonstrate

that SSA has come of age and has the potential and capability to provide solutions to challenges facing the region, especially in the educational arena. To that end, the contributors to this book are academics with an African vision attempting to come up with African home-grown perspectives and perceptions to fill the gap created by colonialism and the MDGs framework as the guiding vision and framework for educational provision in SSA. The book seeks to articulate and address African issues from an informed as well as objective African perspective. The book is also intended to provide basic information to scholars who are interested in studying education in the Sub-Saharan African region. To enable users understand and appreciate developments, trends and changes that have taken place in the education systems, the book deliberately adopts a historical and futuristic approach as well as a postcolonial philosophy to re-thinking postcolonial education in the SSA region in the 21st Century.

The purpose of the book is to come up with African home-grown perspectives and perceptions to fill the gap created by the lapse of the MDGs as the guiding vision and framework for educational provision in Africa. Thus, the pertinent questions for the contributors were: What kinds of educational development targets are most appropriate now? Which targets have been achieved over the past 15 years – and, of specific concern for us, how has (and how will) education fit into this picture? Essentially, the contributors to this book were informed and driven by the following theses;

- Sub-Saharan African problems and challenges need African solutions as a basis for understanding and addressing them,
- Sub-Saharan Africans have the potential and capability to address African challenges,
- African academics should consider interrogating and developing discourses on African issues as a noble academic pursuit not for paedeutic reasons but to address as well as enhance historical and concrete existential conditions and needs of African peoples,
- Education is strategically positioned to see the Sub-Saharan African region beyond 2015, and
- Sub-Saharan Africa has a critical role to play towards contributing to the global discourse on education.

Given the objectives and themes of this book, this volume is geared towards academic scholars, undergraduate and graduate students, human rights scholars and groups, curriculum developers, college and university lecturers and professors, teachers in primary and secondary schools, international organizations, governments, Ministries of Education, education policy makers and local and international non-governmental organizations that are interested in African education policies and programmes. The book can be used in the social sciences in the fields of sociology and sociology of education, higher education, philosophy of education, history of education, curriculum theory, development studies, political science, children

studies, social psychology, comparative and international education, postcolonial studies, Africa Studies, interdisciplinary studies, etc. Its multidisciplinary approach will be of significant value to readers, as it will give expert accounts on the multidimensional complexities of African education in the past and in contemporary times as well as provide insights into future prospects in the development of African formal and informal education. Overall, it will foster amicable dialogue and discourses on re-thinking and re-evaluating current and previous educational policies and programmes aimed at promoting equitable educational provision in Africa. The fact that the contributors are from different sub-Saharan African countries makes the volume appeal to a wide and diverse audience internationally and on the African continent in general. Globally, the book is also likely to be used in institutions of higher education in Asia, Europe, North and South America and the Caribbean for courses on comparative and international education.

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INTRODUCTION

Re-thinking Education in Postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa – Post-Millennium Development Goals

The major concern of this book, as the title indicates, is *re-thinking* as opposed to merely *rethinking* over education in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Such re-thinking is premised on the realisation and acknowledgement that education is and has always been considered critical in shaping the lives as well as developmental agendas of people in Africa and beyond. This is well documented in the just expired 2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the recently introduced Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will run until 2030. Despite progress made in improving access to basic education in SSA, most of the countries failed to meet the MDG on achieving universal primary education by 2015. The MDGs were supposed to bridge the gap in inequalities that were created by colonialism and its colonial development agendas that included unequal access to education. However, the gap in inequality appears to be increasing because government policies that are influenced by neoliberal anti-people approach. The SDGs, which have replaced the MDGs, seem to be the same version of the MDGs and echo the same frameworks and targets to be achieved. SDGs clearly recognise that the gap in inequalities should be closed, including where the MDGs failed, as the international community seeks to address the challenges of quality and equity in the provision of social services. For example, Sustainable Development Goal 4 that focuses on ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all has the following targets:

- By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.
- By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education.
- By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.
- By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 1–11.

- By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development. (Report of the Secretary-General, 2016, pp. 28–29)

In light of these targets, re-thinking over education is considered and presented in this book, not as an option, but as an exigency especially in postcolonial SSA. However, having said that, we think it is prudent at the onset to unpack the terms *re-thinking* and *postcolonialism* as understood within the context of the present volume. These two terms need to be examined because they are considered critical to this book as they have provided the direction taken by the different contributors to this volume. Also, such an exercise is vital as it forms the backbone for the claims and theses being presented and defended by the various voices who have contributed in this publication. Furthermore, this ensures that a reasonably shared meaning is arrived at especially for the benefit of communicating with the prospective reader. This is in line with Christian's (2011) pertinent observation that "successful communication depends not upon the speaker, but upon the hearer" (p. 275).

To begin with, it should be mentioned that the fact that the term *re-thinking* was hyphenated was not accidental but deliberate and well-considered. This was in order to make a clear distinction between the ordinary unhyphenated rethinking from the hyphenated re-thinking. So, whilst both terms, that is, re-thinking and rethinking involve the idea of thinking, and ordinarily the two terms can be considered as containing the same proposition, as a matter of fact, the two terms are presented as different and should be considered as such. What differentiates them is the level as well as object of the thinking enterprise, or the object of thought and cognition. *Rethinking* in this chapter is considered to refer to merely thinking which is considered as low-order or reflexive in nature. Also, it is taken as involving merely recalling, refreshing, reminiscing or reminding oneself of past events or about a state of affairs in the present, future or in the past. Thus, one can engage in this exercise without a particular motive or objective.

Re-thinking, on the other hand, which has informed all the thirteen chapters of this volume, is presented as high-order thinking which is conscious, focussed and deliberate. Thus, we hazard to say that while everyone can rethink not everybody can re-think. This is on account of the fact that re-thinking involves serious, conscious and critical reflection as opposed to reflexion over issues. Instructively, re-thinking as opposed to mere rethinking is viewed as having a clear and articulated object as well as objective of the thinking process.

Turning to our book, it should be submitted that, the object as well as objective of the re-thinking exercise in this volume is on the role of postcolonial education in SSA before and after the implementation of the MDGs. Thus, we propose to situate and interrogate this re-thinking engagement of education from two interrelated

positionalities, namely; colonialism and postcolonialism in the context of access to and opportunities for education as experienced realities of SSA in the 21st century. Thus, apart from the current political and geographical boundaries associated with the African countries which are a consequence of conquest and colonisation by some European nations, these countries are united in their shared experience: firstly; of conquest and colonisation and secondly, postcolonialism (Veintie, 2013). We are cognisant of the problematic associated with term '*postcolonialism*', in most postcolonial discourses, but wish to suspend debate on that for the moment. However, we would like to point out that, any re-thinking of education in postcolonial Africa to be meaningful and wholesome, we cannot ignore firstly the colonial and secondly the postcolonial realities of the different peoples of SSA. Still, such an engagement should not even attempt to ignore the pre-colonial experience of the postcolonial Africa because it is a necessary and valuable part of its history. We, therefore, consider these three experiences as vital in shaping and defining the current postcolonial African space and even beyond in more ways than one. What needs re-emphasising is that in each of the three distinct socio-political dispensations education played and still continues to play a pivotal role in the lives of the African people.

Arguably, what needs to be specifically mentioned about education is that education was critical in bringing about the postcolonial dispensation to most once-colonised African countries in general, and SSA, in particular. Also, it has been the view of most studies on postcolonial Africa that formal education or Western education was key in laying the springboard for colonialism in SSA and elsewhere in the periphery (Luthuli, 1982; Rodney, 1972; Makuvaza & Gatsi, 2014). The same studies also argue that even within the current so-called postcolonial dispensation, Western education is still clandestinely at the forefront of promoting as well as reinforcing neo-colonialism. In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neo-colonialism whereby the independent nation state proclaims international sovereignty but its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside, particularly from former colonisers. Furthermore, we argue that Western education, as a tool for perpetuating neo-colonisation, is still inadvertently at the forefront of undermining the postcolonial realities in SSA. This observation was aptly captured by Abdi (2012, p. 1) when he argues that:

> For starters, colonialism in its psychological, educational, cultural, technological, economic and political dimensions has not been cleansed from all of its former colonies and colonised spaces. So much so that in schooling and attached social development platforms, the way of the colonial is not only still intact, it actually assumes the point of prominence in almost all transactions that affect the lives of people.

The above views were also noted by Higgs (2008, p. 447) when he avowed that:

> The overall character of much of educational theory and practice in Africa is overwhelmingly either European or Eurocentric. In other words, it is argued

> that much of what is taken for education in Africa is in fact not African, but rather a reflection of Europe in Africa.

We consider Abdi's and Higgs's observations and similarly minded scholars pertinent for two reasons. Firstly, if the above remarks are cogent as indeed they are; then they make the current re-thinking exercise an exigency as it has been long overdue. Secondly, if such observations are acceptable and sustainable, then it can be inferred that education still has a critical role to play in achieving the SDGs in the postcolonial dispensation in SSA and Africa in general. The United Nations' SDGs, adopted in 2015 in New York embrace the need for economic development that leaves no one behind and gives everyone a fair chance of leading a decent life. Universal education can play a vital role including eradicating extreme poverty, eliminating avoidable child deaths, more inclusive growth and gender equity.

Thus, we conjecture that, in as much as education was central to the colonisation of SSA, both physically and mentally, it still can play the same role but this time, in developing and de-colonising African people (Makuvaza & Gatsi, 2014; Shizha & Abdi, 2013). Thus, notwithstanding the fact that SSA is currently in a 'pseudo' postcolonial state, we still believe education has a role in further economically emancipating and empowering SSA. This claim is premised on the view by most postcolonial voices that what Africa has attained up to this stage is mere political independence (Higgs, 2008; Teffo, 2000; Vilakazi, 2000) which can be considered as an event. The same voices argue that, meaningful and genuine independence and sovereignty is, firstly not a mere event but is processual as well as developmental and secondly, it is more than political. In fact, it can be argued that, political independence is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the realisation of genuine independence. Thus, de-colonising the African mind is considered as a prerequisite for sustainable independence and sustainable development in the SSA postcolonial space and further suggests that education has a critical role in this regard. This is grounded on the notion that, from a postcolonial perspective, while political independence is perceived as the anchor of all other forms of independences, in fact mental independence is the womb from which all other forms of independences including even the political germinate, sprout and are nurtured. This, therefore, becomes the basis as well as thesis of re-thinking of postcolonial education in SSA in this book. In other words, postcolonial Africa, and SSA in particular, needs to seriously re-think about its education in close relation to its postcolonial existentialities and experiences.

Equally significant, on account of the fact that "much of what is taken for education in Africa is in fact not African, but rather a reflection of Europe in Africa" Higgs (2008, p. 447), we think there is real need to engage as well as interrogate and thus re-think the term 'postcolonial' in so far as it relates to the African experiences ordinarily presented as a past event. In other words, the term 'postcolonial' implies in ordinary parlance a state after the colonial experience. However, in view of the preceding, the question which begs an answer is: In view of the above, is Africa

indeed in a postcolonial era? Ironically, the evidence on the ground shows something completely to the contrary. It is on this basis that we think the term postcolonial is a misnomer and is a misrepresentation of the African concrete existentiality in the so-called postcolonial space. Abdi's (2012) observations, in this regard, are pertinent as he postulates that:

> The temporal representations of the 'post' must be corrected as not indicating the end of colonialism, especially in its more powerful deformations of the mind, but as providing a critical space for re-evaluating the continuities of colonialism in contexts and themes that are more stealth, and therefore, even occasionally more dangerous than what has happened previously. (p. 2)

Veintie's (2013) observations, although in a different but similar context, are relevant to this discussion. While writing about the postcolonial state of Latin America, he noted that "the early 19th century, when the Latin American states became independent, meant the end of the colonial period, but not the end of coloniality" (p. 47) ("coloniality of power" is an expression coined by Anibal Quijano (2000) to name the structures of power, control, and hegemony that have emerged during the modernist era, the era of colonialism, which stretches from the conquest of the Americas to the present). Veintie goes further to support this claim by arguing that "the colonial structures of power remained, and the indigenous populations continue to be marginalised" (p. 47). This view is corroborated by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995) who observe that, colonialism which brought with it "new values, new beliefs, foreign languages, alien traditions cannot be shed like the skin of a snake and then tossed away and forgotten" (p. 2). The substance of the above remarks is that, while SSA might have attained political independence from their erstwhile colonisers, however, their coloniality still remains and thus requires interrogation. This, therefore, becomes the role of education in postcolonial SSA to address this coloniality in a supposedly postcolonial state.

Also, re-thinking of education is urgent now more than ever before against the backdrop of the inevitable influence and impact of globalisation on postcolonial SSA. The thinking is that, whilst globalisation is being presented as having the potential to bring benefits to postcolonial nations, it is conjectured that if it is taken uncritically, it has the potential of compromising as well as undermining the gains of independence. In this regard, it is hypothesised that education has the potential to address the possible adverse effects of globalisation on the periphery. However, it has to be cautioned that, it should not be any education but a particular education with a specific agenda. So, for this education to be specific and particular, it has to be anchored on a specific and particular philosophy. This, therefore, becomes yet another justification for the present re-thinking of education in postcolonial SSA. In particular, it is argued that, there is urgent need not only to re-think about education, but more importantly, the philosophy undergirding that education in SSA. This admission is anchored on the claim that there is a close almost quasi-dialectical relationship between education and philosophy (Makuvaza, 2008). Consequently,

any re-thinking of education in SSA is incomplete without a corresponding re-thinking of the philosophy upon which the education is anchored. To that end, we argue that SSA requires first and foremost a decolonising philosophy (Abdi, 2012) as well as a decolonising education. The exigency of such a philosophy helps to reinforce political as well as mental decolonisation. This is based on the claim made by Mamdani (2004, p. 6) that:

> We have learnt through experience that political decolonisation cannot be complete without an intellectual paradigm shift, which is what I mean by intellectual decolonisation. By 'intellectual decolonisation', what I have in mind is thinking the present in the context of a past. Unlike radical political economy, though, the past needs to be thought through deeper than simply the colonial period.

Ciaffa (2008, p. 121) corroborates the above remarks by Mamdani when he also admits, "Having achieved political independence, postcolonial Africans must now pursue a more decisive liberation, a 'decolonisation' of African minds and societies." The need for decolonising the African minds and societies was aptly captured by Forbes (1998) who admitted that "enslaved minds won't operate effectively" (p. 14).

A decolonising philosophy of education takes its point of departure from the acknowledgment that decolonisation has to go beyond a handover of power to a re-evaluation of fundamental societal processes and mechanisms (Veintie, 2013). It should be reflective (Garcia, 1986), reflecting on human experience as opposed to a reflexive activity. A decolonising philosophy evolves from African experience and should articulate and address the same. Essentially, such a philosophy seeks to address peoples' historical and concrete existential conditions, circumstances, needs and aspirations. Furthermore, such a philosophy should be emotionally and 'empathetically' as well as existentially committed and involved to the 'African situation'. Principally, it should seek to engage with and deconstruct the African situation. It should write to the centre as well as to Africa articulating and addressing the educational, developmental, epistemological, axiological as well as metaphysical misrepresentations and myths about the African.

Furthermore, a decolonising philosophy is critical as it empowers the African with epistemological and axiological skills necessary to exist and participate meaningfully in the global village grounded on globalisation sensibilities and ethos. Specifically, we make this claim being cautious of the potential of being 'swallowed' in the global village. We are fearsome of the possibility of being swallowed up in view of the threats of the on-going cultural uprootedness concomitant with existential vacuity or existential vacuum (Christian, 2011) of the postcolonial SSA within the global village. Christian (2011, p. 7) elaborates on the idea of existential vacuum by noting that:

> We are struck with total meaninglessness in our lives. Increasingly, we find nothing worth living for. There is an inner emptiness within us all. Modern

> man is therefore lost, for no instincts tells him what to do, and no tradition tells him what he ought to do; soon he will not know what he wants to do.

We agree with Christian's ideas above but we wish to add that existential vacuity is consistent with a people who have no articulated and appropriate philosophy to anchor their education on. Essentially, existential vacuity is concomitant with cultural uprootedness. To address this malady which is evident in SSA especially among the youths, a decolonising education grounded on a decolonising philosophy, are considered as imperatives for SSA.

It is, therefore, in the spirit of decolonising SSA that this book has been compiled. Thus, the various topics which form this book are an attempt to de-colonise SSA education and hopefully to check the advances of especially mental or psychological colonisation of the African. Thus, these chapters are an attempt to make the postcolonial space a reality to the postcolonial SSA in the 21st century. Essentially, this book is an attempt to re-think the nature of postcolonial education which is a legacy of colonial education and its purpose in SSA before and after the implementation of the United Nations' MDGs which ended in 2015. Consequently, all the thirteen chapters in this book, based on the authors' vast experiences in the academe, are an attempt to address the critical questions: What role did colonial legacy in postcolonial education in SSA play in promoting or frustrating the achievement of the MDG targets on education? How best can education be made to address the concrete and existential needs of SSA in a postcolonial space considered within the broad challenges of the 21st century and the dictates of the United Nations' programmes such as the previous MDGs of education and the now proposed SDGs on education?

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book represents the different voices of academics and educationists from SSA with a wide array of unique passion for as well as interest, expertise and experience in education. These authors bring their varied educational backgrounds and experience to produce this inimitable volume which is concerned with addressing the role of education in the 21st century especially after the MDGs. These authors use postcolonial lenses to unpack and suggest solutions where possible on pertinent issues in education in SSA. The book comprises well-argued and integrated chapters seeking to unravel and address a wide assortment of complex issues and topics related to education in postcolonial SSA. The book is organised into five sections, each with chapters that revolve around similar themes.

Section I: Post-Millennium Development Goals and New Paradigm comprises two chapters. In Chapter 1, Chouaib el Bouhali and Grace John Rwiza present a critique of the MDGs especially as they relate to SSA. They argue that the Western projects of development, as stated in the MDGs, are hegemonic and irrelevant to the situations of the African countries as they embody a real continuation of the legacy of colonialism. The authors argue that the challenges for education and

development in SSA call for evidence-based decisions and for setting agreed-upon African-centred projects that promote human rights, social justice and substantive citizenship. In Chapter 2, Charles Kivunja argues that the education system in SSA, whereby primary schooling children are organised as one grade (monograde) to be taught in one class by one teacher, is a legacy of colonial education that fails to meet the expectations of the MDGs on equality of education and education for all (EFA), thus it is not suited to the current supply and demand conditions for primary education in Africa. The author concludes by recommending multigrade teaching as a new paradigm – a model whereby children of different ages can be taught in one class by one teacher – to provide for education that would be sustainable over time to meet the expectations of the previously enunciated MDGs on EFA.

Section II, Relevance of Postcolonial Education, has four chapters that examine postcolonial education problematics and how current educational programmes are questionable in terms of their relevance to African socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts. Ngoni Makuvaza and Oswell Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, in Chapter 3, attempt to 'unpack' the relevance/irrelevance of education in Zimbabwe in line with the country's failure to meet the MDG target on provision of EFA. Their major claim is that what constitutes a relevant education is generally problematic. So, to address the alleged conundrum, the authors argue that, firstly; previous discourses and narratives pertaining to the issue have been 'barking the wrong tree', hence the alleged controversy. Secondly they posit that, notwithstanding the said controversy, it is plausible to conceive a common understanding of what comprises a relevant education and quality education not only within postcolonial spaces but also beyond the declaration of the MDGs on education. In Chapter 4, Francis Muchenje makes a case for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) into the mainstream school curriculum at both primary and secondary school levels. He argues that African countries can fulfil the SDG on education as a tool to bring about equality and development if African governments reconsider the relevance of incorporating IKSs into the school across the curriculum and at both primary and secondary school level. The author concludes that contextualising education using IKSs enhances cognitive justice in the classroom.

Re-thinking education in postcolonial Africa is a theme that runs through Oswell Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and Ngoni Makuvaza's Chapter 5. In this chapter, the authors present and defend two claims. Firstly, they observe that, education in most African countries is in a crisis as it seems to be failing to produce authentic individuals whose existence is not mimetic. Secondly, they posit that as long as African education is communicated in a foreign language and imbibes curricular rooted in Western epistemological paradigms it will continue to fail to speak to *munhu/umuntu*. To address this challenge, the authors conclude that *munhu/umuntu* will only find self-definition through indigenous means of instruction as well as through curricular that are rooted in indigenous epistemological paradigms. In Chapter 6, Tawanda Runhare and Christopher Muvirimi, seek to illustrate how the ideological paradigm shift in education policy and practice after 2000 in Zimbabwe was harnessed to prop up

political support for the ruling class, through civic education in both the schools and teachers' college curricular. The authors give a detailed analysis of how education in Zimbabwe has been exclusively crafted and used to achieve political ends. They conclude that the education system in Zimbabwe and the successful attainment of the MDGs were compromised by partisan curricular changes in the form of the new 'patriotic' History, Civic Education and the National and Strategic Studies curricular. Furthermore, they claim that radical educational transformation in Zimbabwe, since 2000, was aimed at creating a new generation of youths who would conform to the ruling class political ideology.

Two chapters in Section III, Languages in Education, focus on the importance of recognising and utilising linguistic plurality in African educational landscape. Desmond Ikenna Odugu's Chapter 7, re-examines the disjuncture between multilingual education discourse and educational policy and practice in the African context as a manifestation of a broader epistemic and political hegemony of global norms about education and development. The author reviews briefly the paradigmatic shift from deficit to affirmative views of multilingualism and mother language-based education in Africa. The chapter situates this discussion within the contested political histories of education and development in contemporary SSA, borne out of the polemics of Europe's imperialist and colonial hegemony. Furthermore, Chapter 8 written by Ruth Babra Gora makes a case for the re-integration of indigenous languages into the Zimbabwean school curriculum. The author demonstrates how indigenous languages have been and are still being peripherised even in the current postcolonial era. She concludes by arguing that postcolonial education in Zimbabwe should afford indigenous languages their rightful place in the curriculum in order to enhance personal, economic, social and national development.

There are two chapters in Section IV, Funding Education in the Neoliberal Context, which describe state funding policies, patterns and challenges in light of economic hardships and neoliberal policies. In Chapter 9, Rajkumar Mestry, Pierre du Plessis and Ololade Kazeem Shonubi present a detailed comparative analysis of state funding in education in three countries in SSA namely; South Africa, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. However, they go further to demonstrate the constraints individual states face in their endeavour to provide education to the majority of their citizens. The chapter concludes by observing that, while the post-colonial governments of all three countries have made great strides in addressing equity and social justice in funding public education, these governments have still a long way to go before they can provide quality education. Touorizou Hervé Somé, in Chapter 10, examines challenges presented by neoliberalism in the provision of education in Burkina Faso. Hervé Somé further argues that education is increasingly becoming an instrument of intergenerational transmission of privileges, drifting away from its pristine function as the engine for economic growth, a stronger civil society, and a more tolerant polity. To address this challenge, the author recommends that local communities, in Burkina Faso, must genuinely own the curriculum and avoid falling into the pitfall of cloning the classic schooling system.

Finally, Section V, Developments in Higher Education features three chapters that focus on higher education in SSA and presents issues on higher education policy, management and governance as well as higher education reforms. Clemente Abrokwaa's Chapter 11 traces historical developments in higher education in SSA and the main argument of the chapter is that the development of higher education in British colonial Africa was not equitable and this was adopted by postcolonial SSA, which then failed to meet the targets of the 2015 MDGs and the desired development necessary for the 21st century global connectivity. Abrokwaa argues that British colonial education policies did not only create dependent higher education institutions, but the policies also failed to make these institutions relevant to their societies and peoples. Furthermore, no attempts were made to establish any meaningful and effective working relations between higher education and industry for national development and economic growth. The issue of 'un-guided' reforms in Nigerian higher education sector is tackled by Isioma Uregu Ile in Chapter 12. In this chapter, Ile presents a synopsis of the Nigerian state and a historical account of the nature of higher education reforms, especially after the reintroduction of democratic rule in 1999. The chapter proceeds to identify and review key reforms in the last few decades and argues that it appears as though the reforms have achieved the expected results, however, with graduates ill prepared for the job market. The author recommends a result-based evaluation of higher education and that policy makers should ensure that higher education is well placed to serve Nigeria to achieve its developmental vision and the SDGs. The book concludes, in Chapter 13, by discussing the challenges concomitant with what Edward Shizha refers to as 'neoliberal managerialism' in higher education. In this chapter, Shizha argues that, like other universities worldwide, African universities are experiencing unprecedented financial inadequacy due to neoliberal globalisation and associated marketisation and privatisation policies affecting governance and management of universities. Neoliberal policies have meant poor remunerations and working conditions for university academics, thus causing dissatisfaction and disaffection that have led to the brain drain from universities in SSA. The chapter recommends that political and financial support should be given to research and innovations that will dissuade experienced academics from leaving so that they can contribute to human capital development which is essential to the economic growth and human development of SSA. To unravel the financial and human capital challenges facing universities, we need to explore neoliberal managerialism as the disabling factor to the social and economic development nexus.

Finally, we hope that the arguments raised and presented in this book will excite further scholarly debate and research, provide deeper levels of knowledge and awareness of challenges facing postcolonial education in SSA, and, in some meaningful ways, contribute to a deeper understanding of reasons why SSA was not able to achieve the 2015 MDGs and may also fail to accomplish the targets set for education in the 2030 SDGs.

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SECTION I

POST-MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND NEW PARADIGMS FOR EDUCATION FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CHOUAIB EL BOUHALI AND GRACE JOHN RWIZA

1. POST-MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Reflections on Education and Development for All

INTRODUCTION

International development has the purpose to improve the living conditions of many people around the world. However, it challenges its architects to act within a framework that is non-colonial, non-technocratic, collaborative and inclusive. Otherwise, international development projects remain futile and a waste of resources, particularly as witnessed in the failure to fulfil the 2015 Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) targets on education. This chapter highlights some gaps in the process and design of the MDGs in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). It challenges the hallmarks of the MDGs that were crafted with the intention to help achieve the goal of universal primary education (UPE). The attainment of this goal was supposed to have been by 2015, the targeted year declared by the United Nations, but this did not happen. Data of the MDGs reports of 2014 and 2015 reflect some crises in the way they are collected and analysed. The chapter argues that the Western projects of development, as stated in the MDGs, are hegemonic and irrelevant to the situations of the countries in SSA as they embody a real continuation of the legacy of colonialism in Africa. In fact, the SSA is a rich region with its abundant natural resources and the local populations have the agency to design their own development and systems of education that are pertinent to their context and specificities. Additionally, the authors raise the issues of corruption and absence of good governance in these countries as other major barriers for meaningful education and development. In SSA, the challenges for education and development call for evidence-based decisions for setting African-centred projects that promote human rights, social justice and substantive citizenship.

DEVELOPMENT AS A HEGEMONIC PROJECT

Development is not a new construct; it goes back to the early years of human existence where every society dealt with it in its cultural ways and understanding. People were able to prioritise their needs and make plans for their social and economic well-being. Whatever their level of wealth and education, they were able to cooperate with their neighbouring communities and nations for their common good and mutual

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interest. In this sense, Abdi and Guo (2008) state, "Development should have been a feature of people's lives since the early formations of the first communities" (p. 7). As a result, these people and nations, throughout history, have acquired and coined multiple skills of survival, self-sufficiency and coexistence with their environment. However, in recent times, development in the world takes other formats and significances such as international development, sustainable development, human development and other terms. Usually, development refers to a positive change in societies (Abdi & Guo, 2008; McCowan & Unterhalter, 2015), and it is framed within various contrasting theories and paradigms that are evident or implicit in every practice in the landscape of development work (McCowan, 2015). In the colonial era, there were unequal developmental relationships between countries in which the profits of their economies used to go to the colonisers who also determined the distribution of land as well as the nature of production (Ake, 1996). There were unequal developmental relationships between the North (former colonisers) and the South (formerly colonised) countries in which the profits of economies used to go to the coloniser. Understandably, Kapoor (2009) argues that European capitalist colonialism "restructured the economies of the colonised, producing the requisite economic imbalance necessary for the growth of European industry and capitalism" (p. 1); the colonised, therefore, were culturally and physically "quasi-de-humanised" (Abdi, 2009, p. 47).

In the current postcolonial era, development is a key element in international relationships and between the North and the South. Unfortunately, it usually manifests a one-dimensional view that misrepresents the improvement of human lives, as being "limited to the exportations of ways and means of achieving better livelihood possibilities from the so-called developed parts" (Abdi & Guo, 2008, p. 7) to the rest of the world. The so-called developed countries feel they have the duty to 'develop' *Others* who lead a different style of life. In other words, the concept of development has been ideologised and stuffed with multiple connotations and discourses that reflect world hierarchies and divisions in which some nations are developed and others are undeveloped. Development becomes, according to Tucker, "the process whereby other people are dominated and their destinies are shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world" (cited in Adjei & Dei, 2008, p. 175). Thus, development is a form of Westernisation to other societies (Peters, 2008) and Western cultural homogenisation (Harber, 2014) to others who should embrace the same Western ways of life, thinking and behaviours. In this meaning, the Western powers have adopted a 'therapy' approach in which they keep 'helping' others until they get them assimilated and changed to the way they want them to be. They consider other nations, especially in SSA, as laboratories where they test their models of development (Adjei & Dei, 2008). With this colonial domination, development is an oppressive process that seeks the erasure of the social and the cultural richness of many world nations that make them, accordingly, unqualified for their socio-economic milieu. In brief, colonialism has played a major role that of coercively modifying non-Western populations to

frameworks of modernity, Enlightenment and scientific knowledge that depreciate local epistemologies and modes of development (Abdi, 2009; Abdi & Guo, 2008; Shizha, 2008).

The Eurocentric attempts of developing the non-Western world are doomed to failure as long as they are coated with arrogance and ignorance. In this regard, Abdi and Richardson (2008) contend:

> What colonial powers did not understand or were not willing to understand was the fact that different peoples who reside in diverse zones of our world would generally design and develop their unique platforms and relationships of learning, which will always be responding to their own understandings of survival, sustainability and intergenerational growth. (p. 6)

Colonial and capitalist powers cannot survive without subjugating others and converting them into consumers and markets for their products. Peters (2008) informs us that development is related to "theories of capitalism and grand narratives of 'progress' that demanded the adoption of capitalist relations of production" (p. 15). This reality highlights the exploitive symbiotic relationship between the colonial powers and their ex-colonies in which the former cannot exist without controlling the latter or *Others*, consequently, rendering them consumers of their commodities through mechanisms of development and foreign aid. Incidentally, Ayittey (2015) has concluded that:

> The general consensus among African development analysts is that foreign aid programmes and multilateral lending to Africa have failed to spur economic growth, arrest Africa's economic atrophy, or promote democracy. (p. 388)

Taking the above into consideration, economic and financial aid, as well as charity, becomes a tool of suppression and dependency instead of empowerment to SSA nations. International aid, which even failed to help SSA achieve education for all (EFA) by 2015, has increased the risk of dependency.

In fact, local populations of developing countries have the agency to design their own development and systems of education that are in full harmony with their settings. In this vein, Abdi (2009) contends that "development cannot be imposed, despite any good intentions, from outside; it must take place within the consciousness of people" (p. 51). In the African context, Adjei and Dei (2008) proclaim, "Africa should be the pioneer for its development paradigm. Fortunately, there are 5000 years of rich knowledge, tradition, culture, and values to serve as a guide" (p. 178). This vision requires practices of self-decolonisation from the Western self-imposed 'supremacy' that has been internalised by the governments and policy makers of previous colonies who are in constant competition to borrow the best foreign practices that are totally incompatible with the aspirations of their people. In addition, the corruption in local governance, in SSA, is a barrier to self-actualisation and self-assertion, as explained by Asongu (2013) who observes that corruption in SSA is a major obstacle to economic

growth, social well-being and service delivery. In a similar context, Abdi and Shultz (2008) make this assertion:

> There are billions who are still alive but whose fundamental citizenship rights to education, health, and a viable standard of living have been taken away by those who control access to either state or market resources. (pp. 2–3)

This asserts the relationship between citizenship rights and governance in the amelioration of human living conditions. In an answer to the interesting question, why does Africa remain poor? Ayittey (2015) claims:

> Today, most Africans would affirm that bad, corrupt leadership has been the major cause of Africa's woes. The postcolonial leadership, with few exceptions, established defective political and economic systems in which enormous power was concentrated in the hands of the state and ultimately one individual. The political systems were characterised by 'one-man dictatorship' (or sultanism) and the economic systems by 'statism' or dirigisme, heavy state participation or direction of economic activity. (p. 399)

The non-democratic leadership and the malfunctioning governance enrich the elite and impoverish the mass of African countries that lose their self-worth and the ownership of their country. With this meaning, human and social development entails implications of citizenship, human rights and social justice.

Good local and global governance should be the main engine that generates the well-being and development of all citizens. This development, as defined by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), is where "each individual should also have the opportunity to participate fully in community decisions, and to enjoy human, economic and political freedoms" (cited in Abdi & Guo, 2008, p. 6). The assumption is that the meanings of substantive development are synchronised with values of democracy and human rights. Thus there is no need to promote the eight targets of MDGs in the absence of good governance, social justice and human dignity. Human rights claim is an inclusive approach where all citizens are empowered to change their miserable lives and have their share of the national wealth. As argued by Abdi and Shultz (2008), "universal human rights create a vision of a world of diversity where all humans have an equitable claim to the rewards and privileges of their social, economic, political, and cultural context" (p. 3). In short, local populations have the right to resist the Western project of development, as represented in the MDGs that diminish their agency and increase their marginalisation and backwardness. However, local populations are challenged to come up with their own strategies for their social and economic well-being that benefit all individuals and groups. This happens when they enhance their critical awareness and praxis that enable them to be liberated from the internalised inferiority towards the ex-colonisers. They also have to end local corruption and establish tools of good governance that are equitable and fair for all. Any local development cannot be successful unless it considers participatory democracy and

substantive citizenship as main values and structures in addition to the services of education, health, housing and employment.

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Development has connections to wealth, health and education, and access to these services has a positive impact on individuals and groups. Following this nexus, UNDP (2014) declares, "Universal access to basic social services—education, health care, water supply and sanitation, and public safety—enhances resilience" and "can be a powerful force to equalize opportunities and outcomes—and a powerful enabler of societal empowerment" (p. 85). Arguably, education cannot be without economic resources, and development cannot be without human capital, which shows the complex relationship between education and development (Marope, 1994). Education plays a major role in processes of development and economic growth (Heyneman & Stern, 2015). It is a viable social foundation that makes a positive change in the way people act and develop and it helps in the political democratisation (Harber, 2014). However, some critics have argued that in some contexts formal education contributes to the continuation of reliance by some countries on their former colonisers and the expansion of the Western hegemony (D'Oyley, Blunt, & Barnhardt, 1994) in addition to the reproduction of the society's inequalities (Harber, 2014). The question here is what kind of education do people need to achieve development? In response to this question, Freire (1970) proposes that "one cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action programme that fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people" (p. 84). That is, education and development need to reflect the local knowledges, cultures and worldviews in order to be in full agreement with the aspirations and needs of the local peoples.

THE MDGS AFTER THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF THE 1980S AND 1990S

Most of the African countries achieved their independence in the 1960s, when many of their education systems were "based on foreign models imported by missionaries and colonial administrations" (Faller, 2008, p. 39). These countries tried to establish schools with improved standards, but the new schools catered for very few indigenous populations and had externally oriented curricular. By the 1970s, the education systems of these newly independent states had expanded their enrolments. However, the 1980s economic crisis seriously affected this achievement. Take the example of Tanzania, as explained in the following:

> During the 1980's Tanzania saw its national debt rise to over 3.4 billion U.S. dollars, its credit exhausted with the world's oil-producing nations, and its reliance on foreign aid sharply increased. Import income declined by 50 percent between 1977 and 1982. By 1985 Tanzania was the third largest recipient in

> sub-Saharan Africa of bilateral aid from Western countries; and close to 15 percent of its Gross National Product was supported by outside funding. (Urch, 1991, p. 211)

In addition, the resulting high oil import cost and debt servicing destabilised the African countries' public expenditures. As Faller (2008) explains, in this region, the share of the gross national product allotted to education decreased from 3.8% to 3.1%. This decrease hurt the education sector, since it was no longer a priority sector for public expenditures. For example, one of the outcomes was professionals' exit from the sector and thus, a decrease in the amount of time and care given to pupils. Following the economic instability, the World Bank (WB) used what it referred to as "dialogue" to convince countries to implement structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) (Hayter, 2005, p. 101).

Other setbacks also aggravated the decline of basic education, notably mounting debt burdens, economic decline and rapid population growth. In the 1990s, according to Reimers (1994) and Faller (2008), more than 100 million children had no access to primary education, and many children in SSA enrolled but failed to graduate, particularly girls, who comprised about 60% of this population. The SAPs were the main cause of challenges, notably for enrolment and completion of primary education, because the reforms overlooked issues of education and human resource development (Faller, 2008; Reimers, 1994). Reduced expenditures on public education and the potential inability of households to contribute to education were some of the overlooked issues (Reimers, 1994).

In response to the SSA's economic problems, global organisations implemented several measures such as debt-relief programmes under the programme for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) (International Monetary Fund [IMF], 2016), whereby some developing countries with high levels of poverty and debt qualified for special assistance from the IMF and the WB. Similarly, the MDGs initiative was aimed at bringing relief to different areas of life. Some scholars see the MDGs as the yardstick and framework for gauging progress in development among nations, or as "the rescue ship for the sinking Africa's development boat" (Nwonwu, 2008, p. 1). Others assess the MDGs as a global commitment within the framework of accountability (Fakuda- Farr, 2004). Likewise, Bourguignon et al. (2010) perceive the MDGs as the global community's commitment to universal development. However, the MDGs call for all boys and girls to complete the full programme of primary education by 2015 faced a number of challenges in SSA that should be lessons for those planning for education and development for all in the future.

CHALLENGES TO ACHIEVING UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

The SSA countries face two main types of challenges in achieving the goal for universal primary education (UPE). Some challenges relate to these countries'

contexts and others to the design of the MDGs and their operationalisation. SSA, by its nature, is characterised by rich resources in favourable climates. Given such resources, one would expect a strong social, political, and economic base. However, as Nwonwu (2008) observes, Africa remains underdeveloped and poor. Poverty in SSA is associated with factors such as some countries' inability to mobilise and utilise resources effectively due to corruption and the poor distribution of resources, leading to a wide gap between the rich and poor. For example, because of these difficulties, some parents are unable to send their children to school and maintain their attendance, regardless of free compulsory education, which has indirect costs. In Kenya, Glennester, Kremer, Mbiti and Takavarasha (2011) reveal how in 2003 out-of-pocket costs impeded access to education. They mention that "school uniforms cost about 480 Kshs (approximately 2% of per capita GDP) which was excessive for many families" (p. 11). In some places, given the level of poverty, children were their family's breadwinners (Faller, 2008). Thus, poverty did not favour the implementation and achievement of the MDGs' target of EFA. Because of poverty, the SSA countries rely on aid from international organisations or from bilateral agreements that, in most cases, come with conditions and fail to eliminate poverty. A good example is the WB and the IMF's SAPs, and the HIPC. For instance, about 90% of the potential beneficiaries of HIPC debt relief, such as Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal and Zambia, come from SSA. However, the gain from this relief has not significantly increased economic development (Faller, 2008; Nwonwu, 2008). This failure has led many observers to suggest that the programmes for HIPC serve the interest of the foreign creditors rather than the debt-relief recipients.

Other challenges include political instability, civil wars, and natural disasters such as drought, diseases, famine, and demographic issues, which have all contributed to the failure to achieve the MDGs. For example, civil wars have destabilised the education system in Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Sierra Leon and Liberia. These wars have been increasing the number of displaced children, a process that also affects the affected countries in terms of the human, financial and material resources (ADEA, 2000). The genocide in Rwanda in 1994, Liberia from 1999 to 2003 and Angola from 1998 to 2002 are cases in point. A war's outcome may determine whether a child survives and manages to re-enter a school in a neighbouring country, misses the chance forever, or loses his or her life in the process of seeking safety. All these possibilities and challenges affected the achievement MDGs on universal EFA.

On the other hand, diseases, notably HIV and AIDS, have changed from being a health problem to a threat to SSA's economy and development. This disease has been draining human, financial, and material economic resources. The SSA countries have lost parts of their workforces, notably teachers, who are fundamental to achieving UPE. HIV and AIDS have killed many parents and orphaned many students. An estimated 90% of the orphaned students are in the SSA region (Faller, 2008). These students have high levels of absenteeism and truancy. Faller (2008)

adds that HIV and AIDS have created "huge numbers of AIDS orphans and others who are forced to abandon schools to practise the role of family care-givers and bread winners" (p. 40). Moreover, Africa is one of the world's regions most affected by HIV and AIDS. The data indicate over 67% of the world's HIV and AIDS-infected population lives in SSA. Thus, HIV and AIDS may significantly limit the efforts of SSA countries to prepare the kind of educated and skilled personnel needed to improve educational development (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001). Poor health has impeded educational access, attainment and achievement for students. In Kenya, however, school deworming programmes "have been proven to boost the schooling participation of Kenyan primary school students" (Glennerster et al., 2011, p. 8). School-based health services could be one of the strategies for improving students' educational outcomes, but not all countries are able to undertake such projects due to lack of health personnel and financial resources.

Other issues are partly associated with population growth. Data indicate that the proportion of the population that is the target group for UPE is higher in SSA than in other developing regions. This factor creates high demands on education systems in terms of teachers, infrastructure, teaching and learning materials, and thus requires allocating a higher percentage of public expenditures to primary education (Nwonwu, 2008; United Republic of Tanzania, 2001). However, the experiences in most countries show that, while the government is the main funder of education, the amount allocated depends mainly on the collection of public revenues. After servicing their debts, the SSA countries differ in the proportion of public expenditures allocated to the education sector. For instance, in 1999, as a proportion of public expenditure allocated to education, six of these countries spent as follows: Burundi (30%), Kenya (16%), Uganda (15%), Rwanda (26%), Tanzania (12.8%) and Zimbabwe (20%), (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001). Given the argument that primary education has high social returns (Carnoy, 1995), one would expect a high level of commitment to primary education by the governments of these countries, but the data contradict this expectation. Their allocation of substantial amounts to the education sector is as "much the result of policy, political commitment, and effective implementation of the human resource development strategies as of national earning capacity" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2001, p. 9). Given the variations of context and public expenditures on education, one has to expect that the MDGs had different outcomes in different countries. Overall, both economic problems, HIV and AIDS limited the ability of the SSA countries to achieve the MDGs on UPE and EFA.

DEFINITION AND OPERATIONALISATION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

The SSA countries have had different conceptions of the meaning and practice of primary education. Bruns et al. (as cited in Faller, 2008) acknowledge the lack of uniformity in the duration of a complete primary education programme. Two reasons for this situation are the differences in the eligible age for beginning primary education and variations in the age bracket for compulsory primary education.

Whereas the common eligible age for beginning school is either six or seven years, variations exist in the completion age. In several countries, the full course of primary education ranges between 6 and 10 years. In Tanzania, the eligible age for Grade 1 is seven years, and the primary education programme takes seven years (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). In Kenya, since 1985, the public primary education has been an 8-year programme for children from 6 years to fourteen years old. Progression here is ability-based rather than age-restricted, leading to a varied age range in classes (Chalkboard Kenya Ltd, 2012) that has implications for pedagogy. However, a valid and reliable primary education assessment needs to consider the curriculum content, achievement level and access (Faller, 2008). In some cases, it is true that SSA countries have made remarkable improvements in the provision of education, but much less in addressing quality issues (Clemens, 2004).

Statistics help to explain the situation in Kenya and Tanzania. During the first five years of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) (2002–2006) in Tanzania, the focus was mainly on "enrolment expansion with little attention to quality aspects" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2006, p. 8), partly because of the inadequate in-services for teacher training and the shortage of teachers. The teacher to pupil ratio was 1:52 instead of 1:40, regardless of the mass training of teachers (United Republic of Tanzania, 2006). Explaining the challenges facing the providers of quality education in Kenya's free education programme, Glennerster et al. (2011) comment that "FPE [Free Primary Education] has increased enrolment but many students' learning remains inadequate" (p. 28). These authors use the nation-wide survey findings by Uwezo (2010), which revealed that among "100,000 students aged between 3 and 16 in over 2,000 schools … only 33% of children in class 2 [could] read a paragraph at their level. … 25% of class 5 students [could not] read a class 2 paragraph" (p. 28). These poor performances and learning indicators are associated with increased pressure on available inputs. For example, although EFA attracted huge enrolments, these enrolments represented a wide–ranging level of unpreparedness. For this reason, the resulting large and heterogeneous classes were likely to challenge the schools' ability to address the students' need. In early 1985, in some areas of the Western Province in Kenya, the average First-Grade class had 83 students, whereas 28% of the classes had more than 100 students (Glennerster et al., 2011). This situation created an urgent need to establish agreed-upon standards and assessment mechanisms for quality education that would include local and global considerations.

CHALLENGES IN MEASURING THE MDG #2

Measuring progress in achieving the MDG #2, UPE, is important in order to identify successes, failures, and areas for improvement. However, different measurements may contribute to different results. Given the different contexts, capacities, and political will among nations, a trade-off might exist between achieving one MDG and another. For instance, with the limited resources among countries, "it is likely

that often progress on one MDG will have to be at the expense or postponement of another" (Bourguignon et al., 2010, p. 31). In some cases, quantitative assessment tends to ignore quality issues. However, with the pressure to increase student enrolment, some countries may use their scarce resources either to increase enrolment or to improve the quality of education. Clemens (2004) observes:

> The very few poor countries that have raised enrolment figures at the rate envisioned by the goals have done so in many cases by accepting dramatic declines in schooling quality, failing large numbers of students, or other practices that cast doubt on the sustainability. (p. 1)

This situation compromised the achievement of the MDGs. A country's decision to choose student enrolment over quality of education depends on the context or, rather, the political will, and this trade-off creates challenges for the assessment process. In order to be fair in assessing how a country was progressing towards achieving a MDG, the assessors need to have considered both qualitative and quantitative aspects focusing on "the number of children with access to educational services and the value of this education in their lives" (Faller, 2008, p. 38). Thus, the SSA countries must focus on increasing not only student enrolment, but also the quality of education and relevance of the curriculum. Moreover, Bourguignon et al. (2010) suggest that a universal trade-off determined internationally would be meaningful only if "aid allocation [were] tied to the MDGs, which would be the case if aid were more results-based" (p. 31). The provision of result-based aid, in turn, would lead to accountability issues in the achievement of the MDGs.

Easterly (2009), in *How Millennium Development Goals are unfair to Africa*, cites reports from the UN organisations involved in the efforts to achieve the MDGs. These reports all indicate that, "Sub-Saharan Africa stands out in that it will not meet ANY of the [MDGs]" (p. 26), a situation that has prevailed since the end of the MDGs' era in 2015. Moreover, the World Bank and IMF Global Monitoring Report (2005) had stated that SSA, at that time, would fall short of all the goals. Although Easterly (2009) is not arguing that the performance of SSA was satisfactory in all areas, he suggests that comparatively, the African performance appears to have been worse than it actually was due to how the MDGs targets were set. The set targets' framework may have led to better or worse performance in some environments, depending on the number of alternatives that any target-setting exercise permitted. For instance, three options, "absolute changes versus percentage change, change targets versus level targets, [and] positive versus negative indicators" (p. 27), could have resulted in five options for each indicator: absolute change in a positive indicator, percentage change in a positive indicator, absolute change in a negative indicator, percentage change in a negative indicator, and level change. This wide range of performance is likely to have caused difficulties in assessment unless the measurement process was carefully designed. The concern about how the MDGs were set is justified by the MDG #2, which was aimed at enrolling all boys and girls and ensuring their completion of the primary programme by 2015. This goal

required 100% achievement no matter what the starting point was. In this regard, Easterly (2009) argues:

> No matter how fast the progress of African countries or how remarkable the increases relative to Western historical norms or contemporary developing country experience, Africa will fail to meet the second MDG if it fails to pass this finish line (as it will likely fail to do because it started much further away). (p. 30)

Similarly, Clemens (2004) notes that many SSA countries had not raised enrolments fast enough to satisfy the requirement of the goal. However, they may "have in fact raised enrolments extraordinarily rapidly by historical standards and deserve celebration rather than condemnation" (p. 1). Tanzania's experience of PEDP (2002–2006) shows impressive achievements in education. Following the abolition of school fees and the implementation of some other changes, enrolments rapidly increased, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) and net enrolment ratio (NER) improved from 84% and 65.5% in 2001 to 112.7% and 96.1% in 2006 respectively; the number of primary schools increased from 11,873 in 2001 to 14,700 in 2006 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2006, p. i). In 2000, or prior to the establishment of free primary education in Kenya and the year when the MDGs were introduced, the GER in primary schools was 87%. The introduction of free primary education led to an increase in enrolment, pushing the GER to just over 100% (World Bank, as cited in Glennerster et al., 2011). However, regardless of the gains in enrolment, other barriers to access among some groups still included low enrolments and irregular school attendance by pupils. This issue calls for an assessment criterion that considers either a country's specific situation or groups of countries with similar characteristics. Regardless of the previous reports, the UN MDGs 2015 Report acknowledges SSA's achievement in terms of net enrolment rate:

> Sub-Saharan Africa has had the best record of improvement in primary education of any region since the MDGs were established. The region achieved a 20 percent point increase in the net enrolment rate from 2000 to 2015, compared to a gain of 8 percent points between 1990 and 2000. (UNDP, 2015, p. 4)

This report of improvements raises questions on its silence regarding specific cohort enrolment, its progress, the dropouts and completion rates. One concern is that although the MDGs are broad enough to have some sub-components, some sub-goals are missing, including accountability, equity, and voice as independent goals of development. Bourguignon et al. (2010) suggest that giving people, particularly the poor, a voice and emphasising accountability would have enabled the achievement of other goals. However, questions arise about whether indicators that are defined uniformly and used across countries and contexts are appropriate, and whether the MDGs, which were set at the global level, should explicitly consider regional

and country heterogeneity. Clemens (2004) suggests the need to set goals that are country-specific and grounded in history.

ISSUES IN DATA OF THE MDGS

Data are essential to inform decision-making and to monitor and evaluate development plans. The MDGs Report of 2015 indicates that "strengthening data production and the use of better data in policymaking and monitoring are becoming increasingly recognised as fundamental means for development" (UNDP, 2015a, p. 10). The planners of the MDGs were aware of the importance of data to monitor the progress of their projects and to assess the effectiveness of their work as well. Data, whether quantitative or qualitative, help in the critical understanding and interpretation of the domains that the MDGs wanted to target, in addition to the evaluation of the MDGs. Data are key to the success of development as it is described in the MDGs report of 2014, which states that "we need sustainable data to support sustainable development" (p. 7). However, the report itself recognises that "large data gaps remain in several development areas" (MDGs Report, 2015, p. 11). Poor data quality, lack of timely data and unavailability of disaggregated data on important dimensions are among the major challenges. This fact raises critical questions on the measurement and the effectiveness of the MDGs, and who benefits from this project, bearing in mind that "the new global development agenda cost trillions of dollars, not billions" (UNDP, 2015), while some populations are excluded from databases and statistics and therefore from this huge amount of money. For instance, many people in SSA remain invisible and off the network of the MDGs plan because of the poor data systems. As stated in the MDGs Report of 2015, "In sub-Saharan Africa, where poverty is most severe, 61% of countries have no adequate data to monitor poverty trends" (UNDP, 2015a, p. 11).

The MDGs Report of 2014 highlights the difficulties of reporting and registering births and deaths in some SSA countries and other less developing nations, as they do not have complete civil registration systems (UNDP, 2015b). Nearly 230 million children worldwide under age five have never been registered. These nonregistered children do not have access to health, education and other social support services as they lack official documents. Tracking data for cases of malaria is another issue as the MDGs Report of 2014 implies that:

> In 41 countries where 85 percent of the estimated number of cases [of malaria] have occurred, the data generated by national health information systems has continued to be incomplete or inconsistent, making it difficult to assess trends in malaria occurrence over time. (UNDP, 2015b, p. 7)

Accordingly, data for the MDGs in developing countries remain unavailable, inaccessible, timeless or unreliable. Therefore, any analysis or discussion of the achievements of the MGDs is illusionary as long as numbers and statistics do not reflect the realities of those targeted populations. This absence and incompleteness of

data in the spaces covered by the MDGs extends the discussion to the gaps between rhetoric and reality in the provision of UPE in SSA.

The engineers of the MDGs may not find it easy to claim success or effectiveness in the targets they put for the MDGs project or for the post-2015 agenda. There are important factors that obscured the success of the MDGs in SSA and complicate its measurement. Civil unrest, wars and diseases engender significant humanitarian crises and are forcing many people to leave their homes, for example, the ongoing conflicts in Burundi, Sudan, South Sudan, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in addition to the constant fear of the Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia. In this vein, The MDGs Report (2015) states that "by the end of 2014, almost 60 million people had been forcibly displaced worldwide, the highest level recorded since the Second World War" (p. 23). The stateless situation of these displaced people make them non-documented and non-registered; and they are, accordingly, unapproachable with any project of 'development.'

Despite the fact that the MDGs Report (2015) itself acknowledges the difficulties and the absence of data in some regions of developing countries, the promoters of this project try to highlight their success in achieving the expected targets. It is reported for instance that "the MDG target of reducing by half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty was achieved five years ago, ahead of the 2015 deadline" (p. 15). The report also states, "sub-Saharan Africa has made the greatest progress in primary school enrolment among all developing regions. Its enrolment rate grew from 52 percent in 1990 to 78 percent in 2012" (p. 25). These quantitative data prove that there is a contradiction in the discourse the MDGs want to convey and that they are making progress, and that they have to continue in their *mission civilisatrice* of developing nations. However, in the 2014 and 2015 reports, the designers of the MDGs admit that there are difficulties to collect data from these countries. We think it is time to recognise bravely the serious challenges that the MDGs project faced and its limitations to initiate a positive change in societies as the goals were fabricated on a non-cooperative and non-deliberative approach with the local populations. There is a need to terminate arrogant colonial legacies that are intentionally ignoring the voices from engaged scholars and activists in the North and South who are in favour of the autonomy and sovereignty of nations and people.

HOMEGROWN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS

While the question of African development and SSA development in particular, is a primary concern, an urgent need exists to set agreed-upon African-centred development options because in the final analysis, we need to implement collective actions to achieve our collective goals. As Dei (2014) states, Africa cannot be made to reflect other places no matter how good they are in the eyes of the observers. He goes further to urge that:

> Africa has to find solutions to its own problems and we must accept the responsibilities and challenge. This does not mean there is no room for allies, assistance and partnerships, [but] forms of assistance must be on Africa's own terms not the dictates and interpretations of the capitalists and global powerful. (p. 16)

Dei (2014) raises the issue of appropriate partnerships and the position of Africa in the whole process of collaborating. The Millennium Declaration, which established the MDGs, called for a new partnership between the developed and developing countries in order to "create an environment, at national and global levels alike, which is conducive for development and the elimination of poverty" (Millennium Declaration, 2000, pp. 18–19). The process required the developed countries to improve market access, channel financial resources, and provide development assistance to developing countries, including the reduction of their debt burdens, while the developing countries are required to improve governance and develop effective development policies (Bourguignon et al., 2010). Although this arrangement called for strategies fully owned by the developing countries and goals that were set by these countries, it raised more questions than answers. It was not clear whether the terms would be reached through consensus in which all the participating countries had equal status. The old dictates appear to prevail in how relationships are determined, for some partners are subordinates and must follow directives from their 'superiors'. Experience indicates that, for example, debt-burden relief for the HIPC has not had the expected benefits for recipients. In order to realise the MDGs, new partnerships were needed to create a dialogue among equal partners who were conscious of the challenges to achieving the MDGs in SSA. Furthermore, the main contributors to education expenditures have been the governments. Following the governments' failure, through liberal or neoliberal policies, parents and communities are continuously being asked to meet all the educational funding requirements of their children. It might be worthwhile to re-think education expenditures as basically determined by economic and demographic developments and not driven by goals, pledges or huge international aid (Clemens, 2004), which, if not forthcoming or if affected by other challenges in the process, prevented the MDGs from being achieved. Poverty and the absence of adequate interventions are creating social stratifications. Therefore, multi-sectoral collaboration by key stakeholders such as regional and local authorities, commerce and industry, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), teachers' unions, communities, and parents in supporting basic education is essential for achieving the EFA beyond the MDGs. Such collaboration will lead to sustainable support for education.

The challenges in education development in SSA call for evidence-based decisions. For example, education planning needs to consider the demographic realities regarding the rapid growth of the target group for primary education, which "increased 86 percent between 1990 and 2015" (UNDP, 2015, p. 25). This challenge requires collaboration in finding sustainable solutions. For instance, we

need regional and international cooperation in sharing research and strategic options in order to produce the most beneficial and cost-effective utilisation of limited resources. Context-based evidence will facilitate the setting of realistic strategies and goals and ownership of the process. We also need to close the gap between policy makers and practitioners by strengthening the link between them in order to improve policy development and implementation.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we explored the gaps in the Millennium Development Goals in SSA and the difficulty of achieving the goal of universal primary education. In this region, contextual and systemic factors, for example, political instability, ineffective governance, poverty, and problems in data collection and dissemination prevented SSA countries from achieving the MDGs on UPE and EFA. The chapter argued that meanings of development are connected to the legacy of colonialism and the Westernisation of the SSA region. Help and aid from Western nations to the 'developing' world become mechanisms for subordination and control. We have asserted that the local populations in Africa and developing countries have the agency needed to plan their own development, to establish global relationships based on mutual collaboration, and to satisfy the expectations and ambitions of their citizens. For educational programmes on UPE and EFA to be of significance in SSA, governments and other stakeholders have to look beyond the just ended 2015 MDGs and craft policies that are long-term and collaboratively designed and implemented. These should be home-grown policies which are not externally conditioned.

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2. A NEW PARADIGM FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA'S SUSTAINABLE EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The central premise of this chapter is that the education system in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) whereby primary schooling children are organised as one grade to be taught in one class by one teacher is a legacy of colonial education that failed to meet the expectations of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on education for all (EFA) and not suited to the current supply and demand conditions for primary education in Africa. This system is what is commonly referred to as monograde teaching (Little, 2007) and was introduced in SSA by the Western missionaries. The monograde strategy of teaching groups children according to chronological age into different learning stages and each stage is taught by one teacher in a class of its own. This has proved a problem in SSA where the education structures and policies adopted were borrowed from western countries such as England, France, Portugal and Italy. Such approaches to structure and policies in education have tended to exhibit a propensity to be contradictory, and have not achieved the desired results, particularly with regard to achieving MDG # 2, of providing universal primary EFA by 2015 as was expected.

It is my contention that monograde teaching is unsuited to most educational contexts in SSA, especially in the rural and remote areas where it is simply not possible to provide a teacher for every thirty students or so in one classroom, either because there is a shortage of teachers, or insufficient classrooms, or not enough students of one age bracket to comprise a class of their own. For this reason, it would appear that reliance on monograde teaching cannot provide a long term solution to the provision of EFA for primary schooling in SSA. Therefore, it is not a sustainable model, particularly when you consider the globalisation effects of colonialism. The chapter presents a historical review of the nature of education and globalisation in Africa through three epochs identified as the colonial globalisation epoch, followed by the postcolonial globalisation epoch and then the digital age colonial globalisation epoch. Current supply and demand problems in African education are then discussed leading to the conclusion that a new paradigm is needed to afford SSA a better chance to provide EFA for primary schooling. The chapter concludes that SSA school systems need a type of African education that focuses on a deliberate effort to perpetuate and reinforce social solidarity and homogeneity that engenders critical thinking and problem solving, collaboration, creativity and innovation, and

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 33–50.

communication. These are the foundational skills needed for sustainable education in the 21st century. The chapter recommends multigrade teaching – the model whereby children of different ages can be taught in one class by one teacher (Berry, 2000) – be the new paradigm, which could provide for education that would be sustainable in that over time, it would meet the demand for the previously enunciated MDGs on EFA in SSA.

THE NATURE OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

To understand the problems that currently confront the development and provision of a sustainable EFA in SSA, and why a new paradigm is needed, it is helpful to take a brief look at the real root causes of those problems. The term 'sustainable education' is used here to refer to an education system that could be relied upon to deliver education to all children of schooling age, in the long run. It is a system that would supply enough educational opportunities to meet the previously missed MDGs on EFA and the demand for access to education by all children in SSA. It would meet this demand by providing structures, processes and curricular that do not suffer from "incongruity with African realities" (Dipholo & Biao, 2013, p. 31). This section outlines the colonial factors that have hindered the development of such an education system. Following Abdi (2015), the colonial factors are grouped into three categories, the colonial globalisation epoch (18th–19th century), the postcolonial globalisation epoch (20th century) and the current digital age colonisation epoch (starting in the late 20th century into the present). Globalisation is used here to refer to the "interactive human connections and exchanges… that multi-directionally affected different people's intentions and existentialities, national, continental and intercontinental connections [which take place across national and international borders])" (Abdi, 2015, p. 17). As noted by Shizha (2014, p. 1), "globalisation is not something new to Africa. The process can be traced back to both slavery and colonialism when Africans were shipped to new hostile lands while on the continent, itself, there were incursions from European colonial predators."

Education During the Colonial Globalisation Epoch

Africa's colonial past is key to understanding present day difficulties in SSA's education systems and development (Cogneau, Dupraz, & Mesple′-Somps, 2015), and the failure to achieve the educational MDGs. It is a historical fact that the current state of backwardness in Africa's education is to a great extent the relic of its colonial, capitalist, and imperial exploitation that happened in the 18th and 19th century (Rodney, 1972). When African countries were subdued by the colonialist, imperialist powers, their resources (including humans) were freely extracted by the respective powers and used to increase the exportable surplus (including humans), from the colonies to the colonial countries. Mimiko (2010) so well articulates the phenomenon of colonial globalisation:

> The social fabric was completely devastated and a new culture of violence was implanted. Traditional African systems of conflict resolution were destroyed and, in their places, nothing was given. The democratic process, rudimentary though it was, but with great potential as it accompanies every human institution, was brutally uprooted and replaced by the authoritarianism of colonialism. A new crop of elites was created, nurtured, and weaned on the altar of violence and colonialism armed with the structures of the modern state to continue to carry out the art and act of subjugation of the mass of the people in the service of colonialism. (p. 644)

In consideration of Mimiko's (2010) observation, it is not surprising that incongruity exists between the education systems in SSA and what SSA really needs to supply education access to its children. This is because "education tends to serve the society that gave birth to it" (Dipholo & Biao, 2013, p. 29), and as these systems were born by the colonisers, it is no wonder that they were intended to serve the imperialist rather than the African.

The education system that was provided during colonialism was an instrument of imperialism, and the foundation of the structural and cultural incongruences that survive even in today's African education. For example, in Upper Guinea, one of the so called francophone countries, the French made sure that they taught French to the Africans so that the African French speakers would identify more with France than Britain, Spain, German, Portugal or some other European rivals. There is little doubt that mission schools helped to entrench the British and other European nations to garner support and expand their influence in SSA. This helped to secure African compliance with the policies introduced by the British administrators in the colonies and to lay the foundation for a smooth colonial rule. This extract from 1899 French Ordinance on the purpose of education in Madagascar, helps to articulate how education during the colonial globalisation epoch was used by the colonial imperialists, primarily for the entrenchment of the coloniser (Rodney, 1972, p. 408). The aim was:

> To make the young Malagasy faithful and obedient subjects of France and to offer an education which would be industrial, agricultural and commercial, so as to ensure that the settlers and various public services of the colony can meet their personnel requirements.

The Governor General of French West Africa, William Ponty, was quoted as calling for using education to help create "an elite of young people that would aid the attainment of French goals" (Rodney, 1972, p. 408). Clearly, education was intended to aid the colonial imperialist, not the African subject. The French Colonial Minister was even more explicit when he advocated secondary education which would "turn indigenous Africans into complete Frenchmen" (Rodney, 1972, p. 408). In explaining the global colonisation phase of Africa's globalisation, Farah, Kiamba and Mazongo (2011, p. 1) assert, "The economic effects of colonialism can be

viewed as a progressive integration of Africa into the world capitalist system within which Africa functioned primarily as a source of raw materials for Western industrial production." This deprived Africa of the benefits from these resources and that is why the history of Africa's colonisation is so crucial to our understanding of how to use education to avoid the colonial yoke that has left African countries enslaved to Europe and North America.

When the Europeans introduced education in SSA during the colonial globalisation epoch, they promoted skills that would serve Western interests, with no interest or regard to how these would impact the needs of Africans. The curriculum they taught did not complement what the indigenous people knew but sought to teach them new knowledge that would serve colonial interests. As a consequence, colonial education had the effect of disempowering the already disadvantaged Africans (Dipholo & Biao, 2013). As Shizha (2013, p. 4) explains:

> Colonisation brought with it Western education, which brainwashed the African elite who received that education into denigrating indigenous knowledge systems as unscientific, untried and untested for education and social development…. African politicians, academics, policy makers and administrators, because of the Western education they attained, developed a colonised mind that still exists and persists today.

To understand more deeply the damage done by the colonialists during the colonial globalisation epoch, it helps to take a look at the education systems that existed in Africa before the Europeans came. If we go back to the pre-colonial days in Africa, we see an education system that was informal, part of social life, collectively available, and aligned with the developmental stages of the African child as they experienced growth physically, emotionally, and mentally (Rodney, 1972). As a result, the African youth grew up educated as a well-rounded individual to play a productive role in their society. This, after all, is the moral purpose of education (Fullan, 2001). All this changed when colonial globalisation introduced education for the sole purpose of educating Africans to serve in the lowest ranks of the colonial administration and to work in the capitalist firms owned by the Europeans, so as to generate exportable surpluses for the colonisers. This way, education was used to globalise African labour and resources for the benefit of the colonial powers and not for the African.

During the colonial globalisation epoch, education that contributed to knowledge was defined in colonial terms. As Shizha (2013) explains:

> Colonial knowledge in Sub-Saharan Africa was based on subjugating and silencing African voices. The missionaries and their compatriots (the colonial governments) viewed African ways of knowing, their cosmology, spirituality and ontological existence as 'barbaric', 'backward', traditional and 'unscientific' … definitions of what counted as valid knowledge and how it was produced and distributed was intentionally towards establishing hegemonic social, economic and political interests and relations. (p. 7)

The effect of such approaches to colonial education was to completely change the education systems that had existed before colonial globalisation. Dipholo and Biao (2013) claim that this approach to education altered what they called Traditional African Education (TAE) "so deeply that it became as good as having been abolished and annihilated. TAE got supplanted by Western education" (p. 31). Ngara (2007) puts it very succinctly when he adds, "indigenous knowledge systems were denigrated and relegated to the dustbins of curriculum planning in Africa. The cultural hegemony of colonialism systematically destroyed indigenous systems of survival" (pp. 7–8).

Where technical skills were required, as in the case of mining, colonial globalisation involved the importation of Europeans to work in the colonial private companies. This way, colonial globalisation again served to benefit the colonisers at the expense of local Africans, who were denied the training in skilled jobs. This is how colonial globalisation sowed the seeds for the imbalances that exist today between structure and culture in SSA's education. These seeds of structural-cultural imbalances became even much more evident when colonial globalisation used missionaries to set up schools that would educate Africans to serve the colonialists more effectively. The predominant model of teaching that colonial globalisation introduced was what is known as monograde. As explained by Little (2007), monograde teaching is where children are grouped according to chronological age at different learning stages and each stage is taught by one teacher in a class of its own. This model contrasts with multigrade teaching which is where children of different ages and learning stages are grouped into a single class and taught by one teacher (Berry, 2000). The monograde model with its trilogy of one classroom, one grade and one teacher, worked well for Western education in the West where the principle of capitalism was the basis for how the West thrives. However, it is our view that this model is the basis of fundamental incongruences between the demand and supply of primary education in SSA. It is a model that is far too individualistic, unnecessarily competitive, capitalistic, elitist and formalistic – attributes all of which make it impossible for this model to supply the education system needed to meet the demand for universal primary education (UPE) in SSA. In Tanzania, for instance, it was found that this model "alienated learners, encouraged inequality and class structure" (Shizha, 2013, p. 10).

It may seem that colonial exploitation during the colonial globalisation epoch was left to commerce and politics. However, even in religion, there is evidence to suggest that European missionaries acted in the best interest of their colonial motherland rather than for the African. As asserted by Edwardo Mondlane (1920–1969), the founding president of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) way back in 1964, in colonial society, it was only normal that education would also serve the colonialist. Thus, during the colonial globalisation epoch, whether the education was provided to the page boys of the Sultan of Sokoto, the Asantehene of Asanti, or the Kabaka of Buganda, the colonial aim was to secure these traditional rulers' compliance to what the colonisers wanted, thereby neutralising the traditional ruler's political power. While educating the page boys for these rulers appeased

the African rulers, its globalisation effect was to make the educated boys sub-imperialists who helped colonialists implement their exploitative agenda. A good example of this is reflected in Sir Henry Johnston's declaration that "each mission is an exercise in colonisation" (Rodney, 1972, p. 399). Also, if one considers what was taught in the missionary schools, we begin to understand the value of religion as an instrument of colonial globalisation. For example, the education provided by the European missionaries taught children not only equality before God but also humility, docility, obedience and acceptance (Rodney, 1972). Education during the colonial globalisation epoch taught the boys not to resist exploitation but to turn the other cheek instead, and in any case, to look forward to the brighter days in the next life.

Another example of how religion was used to enhance the colonial agenda was how the educated African was forced to abandon their identity by taking on European names like Washington, Edward, Richard, Charles, or George. The British and European missionaries found in East and West Africa, strong ancestral beliefs among the natives (Constantine, 1984). However, they dismissed those beliefs as superstition, witchcraft and magic associated with the devil (symbolised by blackness). This denigrated the traditional institutions of the Africans and helped colonialism to impute the understanding that Africans were evil and inferior to the Europeans. In Ghana, for example, MacBeath (2010) noted that:

> When the British colonised Ghana (then the Gold Coast), they used school to educate intermediaries for colonisation essential to their policy, so as to impose superiority of knowledge, language and culture, cutting off pupils from their families in order to create new breeds of indigenous elites who aligned themselves with the culture, values and worldview of the coloniser. (pp. 4–5)

Traditionally, the African had lived a communal way of life. However, Western education, during the colonial globalisation epoch, championed the cause of capitalist development which advocated individual ownership of property leading to the exploitation of the majority of peasant masses by a few who were given individual property rights. The few individuals that owned large cocoa bean plantations in West Africa, and cotton and coffee shambas in East Africa, for example, killed the communal spirit and social solidarity that had existed for years (Rodney, 1972). This education, which taught people individualism without social responsibility, created incongruences, which served to destroy the very fabric of African society. Such approaches to structure and policies in education have tended to exhibit a propensity for contradiction, and have not achieved the desired results, particularly with regard to achieving the MDG #2, of providing UPE and EFA, which was supposed to be attained by 2015. The gap between educational structure, policy formulation, implementation and context has resulted in resource waste, duplication and inefficiencies. This situation appears to have been worsened by increased globalisation, in the postcolonial globalisation epoch, which we turn to in the next section.

Education in the Postcolonial Globalisation Epoch

The post-scramble for Africa phase ended in the 20th century as one by one, African countries (e.g.; Libya, 1951; Sudan, 1956; Ghana, 1957; Cameroon, 1961; Nigeria, 1961; Tanganyika, 1961; Uganda, 1962; Kenya, 1963, and Zambia, 1964) freed themselves from the colonial yoke and gained political independence. However, the former colonial powers did not want to let go of their former colonial dominance easily, and so, they returned in the late 20th century with new colonial ties tantamount to neo-colonialism, the new imperialism (Goucher, LeGuin, & Walton, 1998). The economic consequences of this new imperialism included, an accelerated globalisation "of Africa into the world capitalist system within which Africa functioned primarily as a source of raw materials for western industrial production" (Farah et al., 2011, p. 3). As a result, African agriculture was diverted towards the production of primary products and cash crops, which the neo-colonialist wanted. This "situation contributed to hunger and starvation in Africa" (Farah et al., 2011, p. 3). This neo-colonialism also had social consequences in that it "led to many challenges that included individualism of families in otherwise close knit-family structures, fragmentation of family/social relations and rapid urbanisation that resulted into rural exodus and displacement of large segments of the population" (Farah et al., 2011, p. 4).

Under new imperialism, many European countries and North America, once again scrambled to exert influence on Africa so as to benefit economically through trade with these countries. Hence, the "expansion fuelled by capitalist industrialism and nationalism brought previously unsubjugated lands under European control" (Goucher et al., 1998, p. 1). One of the major forces that spurred the return of the former colonial masters was Japanese entry when it quickly moved into the African countries to fill the void left by the exit of the colonial masters, not for political administration but for commercial gain. So as not to be outdone by the Japanese, the former colonial masters returned with aggressive education and investment policies that promised partnerships and financial aid in the form of educational scholarships and loans with the newly formed African governments. However, the honeymoon was short-lived, as one by one many of the African economies disintegrated into political and economic chaos. For example:

> Rwanda, Sudan, Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Uganda, Mozambique, Angola, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Benin, Togo, Chad, Malawi, Cameroun, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, endured disastrous armed conflicts and civil unrest which caused catastrophic breakdown of law and order and opened the floodgate of carnage, social dislocation, hunger and famine. (King & Lawrence, 2005, p. 2)

The many military coup d'états, followed by decades of political instability fuelled by corruption, resulted in general macroeconomic turmoil, economic collapse,

and mismanagement of many of the public assets and services across Africa. For example, King and Lawrence (2005), report that:

> A total of 26 armed conflicts erupted in Africa between 1963 and 1998, affecting 474 million people, or 61 percent of the population. Some 79 percent were affected in Eastern Africa; 73 percent in Central Africa; 64 percent in Western Africa; 51 percent in Northern Africa; and 29 percent in Southern Africa. (p. 13)

Such turmoil led to accelerated exits of the 'new colonisers'. However, the seeds for Africa's educational system structured on the Western monograde education model had by then truly germinated and taken root in all African educational jurisdictions. Thus, unfortunately, in the postcolonial globalisation epoch, the Western monograde model continued to be the dominant system of education supply in SSA up to the present day. Regrettably, as well articulated by Dipholo and Biao (2013, p. 31), "it has been found that while Western education served to globalise Africa, its processes and contents suffer from partial incongruity with African realities." Similarly, Kivunja and Sims (2015a) argue that the use of "monograde teaching as the gold standard of instruction in schools is a myth based both on misperceptions and misrepresentations of the realities in African educational contexts" (p. 203). This argument is supported by "current thinking [which] suggests that there are rich intellectual and social benefits of grouping children in mixed age [i.e. multigrade] rather than single age cohorts" (Groundwater-Smith, Ewing, & Le Cornu, 2003, p. 93).

Education in the Digital Age Colonial Globalisation Epoch

As the 20th century closed and African countries entered the 21st century, most of their governments had begun to stabilise politically. This opened the doors to new fortune seekers to move in, this time neither from the former colonisers, and nor the Japanese, but by the Chinese (Johnston, 2016). For example, bilateral trade between Africa and China grew from US$10bn in 2000 to US$202.7bn in 2014 (Johnston, 2016). As a result, whereas the Chinese have set up 'China Town' in Nairobi, Kampala, Accra, Lagos and Dar es Salam, to conduct conventional commerce, the former colonisers appear to once again be engaged in a new scramble to 'globalise' Africa in their own interests. This new wave is driven by the digital revolution. According to GSMA (2014):

> Sub-Saharan Africa has been the fastest growing region over the last five years in terms of both unique subscribers and connection [of mobile phones]… Consumers, governments and businesses across SSA are rapidly adopting mobile, not only as a basic communication tool, but also to access information and a growing range of new applications. (p. 4)

The new technology has transformed the face of education in SSA. The use of the mobile phone and computers, as basic tools of communication in SSA, is not

delivering education through formal teaching via the orthodoxy classroom settings. Rather, it involves a new way of informal learning in the digital age from person to person. As a result, we now find that from Cape Town to Cape Verde, from Johannesburg to Alexandria, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Horn of Africa, some 608 million Africans have mobile connections (GSMA, 2014, p. 4). For example, MTN, Safaricom, Orange, Sony, Galaxy, Samsung, etc., are ensuring that most of these smart phones are Internet enabled. To ensure that this succeeds, these multinational neo-colonisers are providing services at a tiny fraction of what they charge users in North America, Europe, and Australia. All this is done in the renewed scramble to win African markets, not only for their mobile phones, e-tablets and other digital gadgets, but also for surplus goods and services produced by their home industries. This new scramble by the invigorated postcolonial imperialists is the digital age colonial globalisation epoch in Africa.

During this digital age, colonial globalisation epoch, the globalisation strategies being applied in SSA by the West are not primarily intended to benefit the Africans but to maximise economic gain for the digital age colonialists. The strategies are not necessarily effective in educating African children or producing economic development and improving the living conditions of people in SSA. Many of the mobile phone users in SSA still walk bare footed while speaking on the mobile phone. This author is inclined to propose that such digital age globalisation represents a misdirection of developmental resources, away from investment in productive human capital (Brown, 2000) and into conspicuous consumption of non-productive services, which will not improve the material welfare of SSA. There is the real danger that during this digital age colonial globalisation epoch these bare-footed high tech communicators in SSA, frustrated by walking for miles and unable to find a job, will resort to lawlessness, unrest and political awakening, leading to revolts and riots, which could be very costly to manage or to repress, as was the case with the so-called 'Arab Spring.' If African governments fail to provide sustainable education, which will lead to improvement in the social relations between the haves and have-nots, SSA runs the real risk of entrenching class consciousness which could result into revolutions as masses of those deprived of real education and subjected to poverty, hunger, misery and disease, seek to bridge the gap between their desperate way of life and that of the new bourgeoisies – the black white man! The questions that need to be addressed are: Is this digital age of colonial globalisation what SSA needs for its development? Or is it an intensification of capitalist exploitation of Africa by the West during the current digital revolution? Is it sustainable in the long run? Will this serve the needs of Africa as a whole and meet the expectations of its peoples individually? As the answers to these rather rhetorical questions are all negative, this chapter proposes that the way to provide positive responses to such questions is to re-think, restructure and re-culture SSA's education system through providing what we call the New Paradigm for Africa's sustainable education in the 21st century, which will provide indigenous use of multigrade pedagogy.

NEW PARADIGM FOR AFRICA'S EDUCATION

That the monograde education system which colonial globalisation education bequeathed to Africa has not (achieved the MDG #2) served the needs of SSA is well evidenced by United Nations data, which show that some 50% of African children of primary schooling age have no access to primary education (UNESCO, 2011). This is supported further by Dipholo and Biao (2013) who assert that although "Western education has been around Africa for about two centuries, it has not been able to deliver the desired level of development" (p. 32). The monograde education system of one classroom, one grade and one teacher is incapable of supplying education on a sustainable level that meets existent demand. This model has made it impossible for half of African children to access schooling. It has instead led to alienation of children, promoted inequality and enabled a few privileged children to access education provided by one teacher, while the majority remain uneducated due to lack of classrooms or teachers or both. Issues of sustainable education in Africa need to address not just pedagogical issues but other issues fundamental to well-being of its people. For example, the Central Intelligence Authority (CIA, 2016) estimates that of every 1000 live births every year 102 die in Mali, 73 in Nigeria, 65 in Zambia and 59 in Uganda. These data contrast sharply with those for the West, where the corresponding data are 6 for the United States of America (USA), 5 for Canada, 4 for United Kingdom (UK) and Australia. Similarly, the numbers of medical doctors per 1000 of the population also help to illustrate the need for sustained educational development in Africa. Whereas there are 3.3/1000 in Australia, 2.8/1000 in the UK; 2.5/1000 in the USA, there is less that 1/1000 in Mali, Nigeria, Zambia, and Uganda (NationMaster, 2016). The situation is not significantly better for engineers, technicians, lawyers and other professionals needed to drive the globalisation agenda. Moreover, the increased flow of information brought by the digital revolution means that the propensity for human capital flight from Africa to Europe and North America is much greater (see Shizha, 2015). Couple this with the push factors of political unrest, corruption, war and famine, and one is looking at a brain drain of very large proportions from Africa to North America, Europe and UK. This process is bound to slow education in SSA and its role in globalisation.

The questions that need to be addressed by educationists are: How can Africa attract foreign investment and trade without repeating the exploitative mistakes of the global colonisation epoch? How can Africa ensure that the wealth created in Africa remains in Africa for its growth? Also, how can Africa attract foreign investments and maintain control of investments so as to maximise the productive capacity of its resource endowment? How can Africa engage in partnerships with the West, which does not mean that Africa will remain in new bondage to the West? Collaboration has a high premium in the 21st century, but a key question for Africa is: How can the continent maximise equal partnership collaborations with the West without compromising its economic independence? Indigenous education (Shizha, 2013)

is needed to avoid the vicious circle of dependence, which characterised the colonial globalisation era.

Digital age globalisation has seen digital technologies penetrate all walks of life in SSA, even in many of the non-metropolitan areas. This is amazing, considering that African technologies such as handicraft industries, cloth, salt, soap, pottery and manufacture, were decimated by massive imports by the colonial governments (Rodney, 1972). Africans never had a chance to develop new technological skills in education because they were mostly designated to simple hoe-culture and manual labour which was tantamount to exploitation of human muscle rather than utilisation of ingenuity or scientific discovery. Moreover, Africans were given no access to machinery and skills in the colonies; for fear that they would compete with industrial producers in the European industry. Education is needed for Africans to identify new technologies in which they have comparative advantage, which should enable them to trade profitably with the west, using technology of the global age. Mass production of handicrafts and marketing them online could be one example. But indigenous education is needed, so Africans do not repeat mistakes of the colonial era. For example, technologies of the Digital Age have made it easy for local musicians to produce video clips and put them on YouTube. African music is now freely available to the West and everywhere. But, is this not a new form of exploitation? Are the African musicians whose music is currently available on the WWW benefiting from the invasion of the digital technologies? The clips are made in Kirinyaga on the outer skirts of Nairobi, Katwe on outer skirts of Kampala, Abidjan, Ibadan, Accra and other African towns. However, the music is downloaded from servers in London, New York and Los Angeles. Are our African musicians benefitting from this digital exposure or being exploited, as Africa's wealth is once again being usurped by capitalists in the West? What education do they need to enable them to realise the benefits from their God-given talent? This question is answered in the recommendation provided in the following section.

As digital age globalisation takes root in SSA, even with decades of independence, SSA has not yet come anywhere closer to making its natural resources benefit its people. Most of the wealth now being produced in SSA by Africans is not widely distributed but polarised among a relatively small number. This globalisation has led to polarisation, not only of wealth but also of education, resulting into the entrenchment of privileged groups with connections to those in power, accessing employment, commerce, education and services. The Trickle-Down Hypothesis that postulates that if a privileged few get wealthy their wealth will slowly pass down to every one in the country (Aghion & Bolton, 1997) simply does not hold true. Moreover, much of what is being produced in SSA by Africans is not being retained within SSA for the benefit of Africans. For example, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo produce vast quantities of copper, but that is for the benefit of Europe, North America and Japan. As these countries produce and export raw materials and import manufactured goods at unequal trading and exchange rates, they are disadvantaged and continue to be exploited. For African countries to

liquidate present privileged groups and share wealth, political power and education more equitably, education needs to be universally accessible to all citizens on a sustainable and equitable basis.

Globalisation, uncharted to the ideals of SSA's education and development, has resulted into a new form of capitalism and exploitation of the majority of Africans by a few bourgeoisies who stand in the path of needed social and economic change. For example, as one walks the streets of Kampala, Lagos, Abuja, Nairobi, Accra or any other African capital city, one cannot fail to notice the incredible disparity between the haves and have-nots and the irrational waste of labour, and goods including food. Globalisation has accentuated economic dualism (Afangideh, 2012), whereby the new capitalist modern sector lives side by side with the traditional subsistent poor. Sadly, "the outstanding feature is that the two sectors have little relationship and interdependence" (Afangideh, 2012, p. 3). This has tended to make the poor, urban fringe dwellers feel the pain of poverty even more deeply, as the gaps between their livelihoods and those of the more successful business men and women become more transparent. The indigenous education needed here is for self-determination and an end to servitude and exploitation of the poor by the rich. When people have lived for many years, under subjugation and exploitation, they need education to convince them that the oppression and dependency are simply not acceptable (Freire, 1972). Such education is needed to help reduce dependency, exploitation, and oppression of the poor by the privileged, urban rich. The poor need to be educated so as to be able to release their energies towards rejection of perpetual unemployment, dependency on state handout for survival, permanent traffic jams, and living as second-rate citizens in their own countries, with one set of laws for the rich and another for the pauper, who survive without social, political, legal or economic equality.

If digital age globalisation is to bear benefits for SSA, the people need to be educated to the fact that its present state of underdevelopment is to a large degree the legacy of capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist exploitation (Rodney, 1972). Only education will alert Africans that their own development was interrupted by the invasion of colonialism, which exploited their resources, exported the surplus and deprived their countries of the benefits of their own resources and hard work. If Africans are to cure their underdevelopment disease, they need to know the root cause. This is the start of any curative diagnosis. This is why it is important for us to understand the phenomenon of the new imperialism of the 19th and 20th century if we are to avoid its cousin in the 21st century. Sustained education is needed to convince the African scholar and citizens on the street that if the elite are allowed to continue the exploitation that originated from the colonial globalisation epoch and the postcolonial globalisation era, and to perpetuate the brutality suffered from the imperial regimes, people's standards of living will go from bad to worse. The apparent independence pronounced for African countries many decades ago, will count for nothing, in terms of improving peoples' welfare and humanitarian progress, if the exploitation of the urban poor by the rich metropoles is allowed to continue. Africans must be educated and empowered to reject this.

Education is needed to make the African aware that globalisation in the digital age does not necessarily mean the same phenomenon for the West as for SSA. For the West, globalisation can be seen as mainly the result of the digital revolution that took deep roots in those countries starting from the 1980s (Prensky, 2001). Hence, for the West, the Industrial Age was replaced by the Information Age, fuelled by information and driven by digital technologies (Tapscott, 1997). However, for SSA, where the Industrial Age is still premature, the introduction of the Digital Age represents a jump in their social and economic development – one that needs to be studied and understood if SSA is to prevent being exploited in the Digital Age as it was in the pre-Industrial and Industrial eras in the colonial globalisation epoch. Again, education is the key. For example, the Industrial Age in the highly developed Western countries witnessed high levels of productivity and low unemployment. With the advent of globalisation, work sharing arrangements were made possible through networked arrangements which enable the corporations to operate their businesses around the clock, 24/7/365 utilising Digital Age technologies (Kelly, McCain, & Jukes, 2009). For instance, as the Sydney siders finish work at 5pm, at the click of a button their file is opened by another worker in Johannesburg where they are just opening offices at 9am (McCain, 2007). While this globalised networking might be great for those countries that had matured during the Industrial Age, it might be a recipe for disastrous unemployment, where jobs that could have been done by Africans now end up in North America, Europe, Australia and Japan due to the digital technologies. The current networked arrangements whereby a Ugandan in Kampala wishing to speak to Johannesburg to book a flight on South African Airlines to Sydney, Australia, ends up being connected to Manilla in the Philippines, or Mumbai in India, to be connected to Johannesburg to have their flight scheduled, might represent a return to the neo-colonial integration of economies which benefits the colonisers at the expense of the Africans (Farah et al., 2011). Education is, therefore, needed to help Africans understand how they can use digital technologies to industrialise their economies, diversify their exportable surplus and improve their material welfare.

MULTIGRADE EDUCATION AS THE NEW PARADIGM

This author proposes that the way to provide education in a sustainable manner so it reaches all African children of primary schooling age is to adopt the multigrade model of education (Mulryan-Kyne, 2007) as the main system of primary schooling in SSA and replace the failed monograde model. This shift in how to deliver primary education is the new paradigm advocated in this chapter. The new paradigm involves powerful structural and cultural dynamics (Kivunja & Power, 2006) and is supported by evidence which shows that even among the most highly developed countries of the West, including the USA and Europe, a lot of teaching is carried on using multigrade pedagogy (Little, 2007). The literature abounds with examples of successful use of multigrade primary education. Since the mid-1980s, the number of students in

multigrade contexts increased and "in 2005 some 30 percent of children worldwide went to school in multigrade schools" (Kivunja & Sims, 2015a, p. 206). King and Young (1996) found that 34% of schools in Australia operated effective multigrade classes. In Norway this figure was 42% and in Greece 31% (Kyne, 2005). In a study that covered many countries, Brown (2010) found that multigrade schooling had resulted in improved educational outcomes and retention rates in many countries including North America, Europe, Latin America and Asia. Moreover, in the remote, isolated and scattered small communities in Bhutan, – a situation very similar to many contexts in SSA – multigrade was found to be a very popular and effective model for education delivery (Kivunja, Kucita, Maxwell, & Kuyini, 2013).

In the very few cases where multigrade education was being delivered in SSA by properly trained teachers, research found "that the children in the multigrade class were doing very well… the multigrade class had actually performed better than those in monograde classes for three successive years" (Kivunja & Sims, 2015a, p. 210). The examples highlighted here provide research-based evidence that the proposed new paradigm for delivery of education in SSA has potential to supply education that will be sustainable in that, with time, it will reach all children of primary schooling age in SSA. However, for this to happen, structural and cultural changes would need to be introduced as proposed in the following recommendations.

STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THE NEW PARADIGM

There is no doubt that if countries in SSA are to lift themselves from the colonial legacies, education that can be sustainably delivered to all children of schooling age will be a critical engine for success. This proposition is based on well-grounded assumptions. The first, derived from human capital theory (Coleman, 1988) is "that an educated population contributes to the socio-economic development of society as a whole" (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989, p. 3). The second, from social capital theory (Gittell & Vidal, 1998) is "that education contributes to the well-being of individuals within society" (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989, p. 3). It is for these reasons that "respectable international organisations like the World Bank and the United Nations recommend education as a tool for poverty alleviation and for the promotion of social development" (Dipholo & Biao, 2013, p. 28). Education is the key, not just to economic growth but also to improvements in health, material welfare, society and culture. For education to play these roles, this author proposes that the foundational premise is that it should be informed by an African worldview (Ngara, 2007) which contextualises an education model that suits the people it is meant to serve and taking into consideration the circumstances those people are in. In consideration of this premise, we recommend that Africa's educational system for the 21st century should have the following attributes, which characterise it as the new paradigm for sustainable education for SSA.

First, there is need for what Shizha (2013) calls "educational deconstruction and reconstruction" using the multigrade model. The problem as Shizha (2013, p. 13)

explains is "in Africa, most decisions on education for development originate from central governments, which have maintained former colonial administrative structures. As a result, educational policies end up being copycats of Western models." Those copycats gave us monograde as the gold standard for education in SSA. This model has proven a recipe for elitism, alienation, individualism, competitive learning and condemnation to illiteracy for the majority of African children. It now needs to be replaced by the multigrade system of education because the latter is best suited to the African contexts. This replacement will not be easy because as Shizha (2013) explains, to deconstruct colonial school curricular involves replacing them by "rupturing the hegemonic structures of Western defined knowledge" (p. 10). The way to provide such rupture is to replace monograde with multigrade system of education, first by training teachers, second by educating parents, and third by building more and larger classrooms (Kivunja & Sims, 2015a). The multigrade system of education will deliver sustainable education because it will be planned with the interest of SSA in clear perspective and will make education accessible to all children of primary school age because it can be delivered even in rural and remote areas where there are typically only a few schools and teachers.

In the 21st century, such education needs to harness the advances made in technology and use them for the common good of their societies. In harnessing the power of technology, it is important to be selective as to which technological tools serve Africa the best. As said earlier, the formal education introduced in the colonies was purposely tailored to serve the interests of the colonisers, not of Africans. Accordingly, it trained low skills workers to provide cheap labour for the local administration and to work in the factories owned by Europeans (Rodney, 1972). What is needed is education that equips Africans with the skills they need to succeed in the information age. This is the new paradigm that will provide sustainable education. Around SSA, many teachers teach multigrade classes without having been trained in multigrade pedagogy. Such teachers say they are put in "a swim or sink situation" (Kivunja & Sims, 2015b, p. 19). It is recommended that all teacher training universities and colleges include the teaching of multigrade pedagogy in their pre-service curriculum. This will ensure that graduates from these institutions will be more effective teachers in the multigrade classrooms they find themselves in. This recommendation is supported further by the understanding that UNESCO (2013) estimated that the demand for primary teachers will exceed supply by 2.1 million by 2030 when the newly introduced Sustainable Development Goals expire. There appears to be no way this gap will be filled if SSA continues to provide primary schooling in monograde rather than multigrade structures and continues to overlook the need to train multigrade teachers.

Given that some people believe that multigrade teaching is a pedagogically inferior model of education provision than monograde (Mathot, 1998), it is strongly recommended that governments in SSA launch campaigns to teach parents and other stakeholders about the virtues of multigrade teaching and its potential to narrow the gap between the supply and demand for primary teachers. Most

multigrade schools in SSA are located in rural areas that lack basic infrastructure and amenities compared to urban areas. This practice tends to make multigrade contexts unpopular for teachers, and needs to be stopped. Accordingly, multigrade schools should be established in urban areas where it is easy to attract good teachers. Much greater attention should be given to ministerial planning and government support for the building of multigrade classrooms and multigrade teacher training. In many schools multigrade classes are set up only as a fall-back position due to lack of teachers, or not enough numbers of students especially in remote areas to form a monograde class. This practice should be abandoned and instead multigrade teaching should be deliberately planned and implemented across all classes, and not just a select few.

CONCLUSION

What schooling systems in SSA need is a system that cannot only promote improvement in early numeracy and literacy, but also encourage more children to attend school as was advocated by MDG #2. Research data cited earlier (King & Young, 1996; Kivunja & Sims, 2015b; Kyne, 2005; Little, 2007; Mulryan-Kyne, 2007), suggest that the new paradigm proposed in this chapter has great potential to improve numeracy and literacy, while at the same time attracting higher retention rates, because the children, teachers and parents will find the model better suited to their needs than monograde teaching. This new paradigm should encourage parents to send children to school where they can access quality and equitable education. Such education should give the children access to technology and encourage the children to remain at school to complete their primary schooling years. This type of education will be sustainable and relevant to the societal needs of the locales of the schools. The multigrade model could be made very versatile so as to provide linkages between general knowledge and practical life skills. The education delivered could be linked to production, social life, and culture across all grades of children in each multigrade class. This kind of teaching is pedagogically student-centred. It is centred on the quality of life of the children, treasures and stimulates the children's feelings and encourages children to be creative at an early age.

As the children share the resources across the ages in one class, they learn life skills that the monograde model does not provide for. When the resources supply conditions in SSA are taken into consideration, it becomes more evident that the new paradigm advocated here is much more functional and relevant to the individual and society in the digital age. Education in SSA should be, not just learning for the sake of learning, and certainly not learning to serve the West, but a deliberate effort to perpetuate and reinforce social solidarity and homogeneity, that engenders critical thinking and problem solving, collaboration, creativity and innovation, and communication. These are the foundational skills needed for SSA's sustainable education in the 21st century, and multigrade teaching promotes these skills (Little, 2007). In the digital age, what is needed is an education that will "jumpstart the

African intellect and imagination towards giftedness for technological development" (Ngara, 2007, p. 17). The multigrade model discussed and recommended in this chapter appears to be well-suited to this ideal.

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SECTION II

RELEVANCE OF POSTCOLONIAL EDUCATION

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3. UNPACKING THE *RELEVANCE/IRRELEVANCE* PROBLEMATIC OF EDUATION IN ZIMBABWE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. Principally, it seeks to contribute towards the current conversations on *re-thinking* education in postcolonial Sub-Saharan African (SSA) spaces and in the post-2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This is premised on the exigency to ensure that education in SSA is relevant. Secondly, this chapter is anchored on unpacking the relevance or irrelevance of education problematic. Such a problematic is grounded on the claim by most scholars that any attempt at providing a common understanding of what constitutes a relevant education across cultures is an exercise in futility (Makuvaza & Shizha, 2013; Mudzamba, 1982; Mungazi, 1982; UNESCO, 2004).Thus, if this alleged problematic is not addressed, then it stands to reason that even this current *re-thinking* of education in postcolonial SSA risks being ineffectual. More specifically, we argue that on the basis of this challenge, even the nature of the outcome of MDGs on education for all (EFA) and quality education and curriculum reviews exercise in SSA risks being compromised (which is already the case in 2017, post-2015 MDGs). Principally the purpose of this chapter is to 'unpack' the *relevance/irrelevance* of education problematic in Zimbabwe in line with the country's failure to meet the MDGs targeted at the development and provision of education. In education, the term relevance typically refers to learning experiences that are either directly applicable to the personal aspirations, interests, or cultural experiences of students (personal relevance) or that are connected in some way to real-world issues, problems, and contexts (life relevance) (Abbott, 2014). This is considered vital in the context of the on-going Ministry of Secondary and Primary Education curriculum review exercise in Zimbabwe. Such an exercise is premised upon the exigency of ensuring that current education is relevant to the needs and aspirations of the postcolonial dispensation in Zimbabwe.

So, to address the alleged conundrum, the chapter posits that, firstly; previous discourses and narratives pertaining to the issue have been 'barking the wrong tree', hence the alleged controversy. Secondly, we argue that, it is feasible to conceive of a common understanding of what comprises a relevant education and quality education not only within postcolonial spaces but also beyond the declaration of the MDGs of education. Essentially, this therefore constitutes the basis of the conversation in this chapter. It is also prudent to mention at the onset that, in interrogating this alleged

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 53–68.

problematic, our own positionality as indigenous Africans within a Zimbabwean postcolonial space forms the basis as well as lenses through which the alleged problematic claims presented in this chapter are defended. Also, to augment the defence of the claims presented, insights are drawn from Plato`s theory of forms (Mapkc, 1969; Tucker, 1978; Vezina, 2007).

THE PROBLEMATIC

The main question informing this chapter which is also the basis of the alleged problematic is: What is a relevant or quality education or what constitutes a relevant or quality education that was proposed in the MDGs Declaration? More pertinently to this chapter: What is a relevant or quality education for SSA? Further related to the question is: Relevant to whom? On the basis of these questions the alleged problematic, therefore, is on the feasibility or otherwise of conceptualising a common grounding of what can constitute a relevant education. Turning to the stated questions, we consider them critical to any discourse on education for the following reasons. To start with, such discourses are premised upon the pivotal role that education in general and formal education in particular plays in the livelihoods of peoples (Bamgbose, 1991; Majawa, 2014; UNESCO, 2012). Relating to this critical role, UNESCO's Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura (2012) notes that education in all its forms and at all levels is not only an end in itself but is also one of the most powerful instruments we have for bringing about the changes required to achieve sustainable development. So, on this understanding, it becomes imperative for any education to be relevant and of quality, if it is to effectively bring about sustainable development (Shizha, 2013). Whilst such an observation is incontestable, what has been a perennial challenge to such conversations has been the challenge of conceptualising a common grounding on what constitutes a relevant education.

Instructively, this topical question which has been haunting past educational philosophers is still a thorn in the flesh even to the 21st century postcolonial academics (Kanu, 2007; Nyerere, 1967). That this has been the case, should not be surprising given the nature of the end-goal of education, namely; to address the concrete existential needs and circumstances of particular peoples within a particular time and space (Makuvaza, 2015). Thus, it should be acknowledged and appreciated that as the needs of people are always changing (as they ordinarily should), it therefore seems to reason that what is then considered as a relevant education should also change if it is to retain its relevance. This is premised on the claim that, any education to be considered relevant should always evolve and move with the changing needs, demands and aspirations of any society (Makuvaza, 2015). Generally, it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that, the challenge of providing a comprehensive definition of a relevant education can be traced to this over-sight. If such an observation is cogent, then it corroborates the claim that any attempt at presenting a common grounding for a relevant education is an exercise

in futility (Mudzamba, 1982). We therefore consider this as the basis of the alleged problematic.

It is also important to point out that, in this chapter the terms relevant and quality education shall be used interchangeably. Thus, a relevant education is considered synonymous with quality education. We make this claim on the basis that, notwithstanding the fact that both terms are problematic, what is critical to note is that both terms carry the same educational proposition namely that, the education provided should be desirable and worthwhile (Hirst & Peters, 1970). In fact, whether one is referring to quality education or relevant education, the fundamental factor is that the education being so considered should lead to "the development of desirable qualities in people" (Hirst & Peters, 1970, p. 19). So, either a relevant education or quality education, should invariably lead to the development of 'worthwhile or desirable qualities' in learners. Having said this, one should hasten to mention that, still there is no common grounding for what constitutes 'desirable qualities' in people. Further discussion on this is suspended, but for the moment we think it is valid to mention that debate on what constitutes 'desirable qualities' of a relevant/quality education can best be appreciated within the context of the problematic currently under discussion in this chapter.

Turning to the alleged problematic nature of the discourse on relevant/quality education, Mudzamba's (1982) views are relevant to this discussion. Accordingly, he attempts to provide a common grounding for a relevant/quality education that he finds vexing. Mudzamba acknowledges this problematic in trying to conceptualise a relevant education for postcolonial Zimbabwe. Thus, he concedes that "the argument about the validity (or lack of it) of educational packages is between mortals, the question always being who organises, selects, evaluates, transmits what packages and to whom and with what vested interests" (Mudzamba, 1982, p. 6). To further demonstrate the 'slippery' nature of a supposedly relevant education, Kerr's remarks are considered apposite and states:

> Education takes many forms in many places. It is not one but many things. One errs in talking about the contribution of education to national development without specifying what kind of education, for whom, at what stage of development and where. Some kinds of education, for certain kinds of people, under one set of circumstances, may be very helpful and the same kind of education for different people under other circumstances may be equally harmful. Western models of education do not work equally well in Africa and Asia. (cited in Mudzamba, 1982, p. 7)

What is critical to infer from Kerr is that, no system of education can be generalised and thus considered relevant to every people because, as he rightly admits, "some kinds of education, for certain kinds of people, under one set of circumstances, may be very helpful and the same kind of education for different people under other circumstances may be equally harmful" (cited in Mudzamba, 1982, p. 7). We take Kerr to be making a very significant observation related to the present discussion

notably that, systems or models of education are only relevant and appropriate to specific sets of people they are initially designed for and not to everyone. Thus, on account of this reasoning, one can argue that no system of education qualifies to be universalised. Kerr further augments his argument by pointing out that, "Western models of education do not work equally well in Africa and Asia" (Mudzamba, 1982, p. 7). Indeed, Western models do not and cannot work equally well in Africa and Asia because they were/are never intended for Africa and Asia in the first instance but for Europe.

The question begging an answer is: Why should a Western model of education, considered relevant to the West not to be considered as such for SSA? In other words, why should a model of education work well in the West, but not so well in SSA? Whilst many reasons can be proffered as why this is the case, this chapter posits that; they do not 'work equally well' in SSA because they are irrelevant to these particular contexts and yet are considered relevant to other situations and contexts such as Europe. Thus, the fact that one education system works well in one context but not in another is, indeed problematic, as it means we can never come up with a consensus on the issue of the relevance of education or what constitutes a relevant or quality education per se. For this reason, Shizha (2013, p. 198) arguing from a slightly different context aptly observes that:

> We should understand that the notion of quality in education is fluid and we should not reify the practice of education and reduce it to a technical activity that is static and unaffected by contextual and contingent circumstances.

Furthermore, Sayed (1997) cited in Shizha (2013, p. 199), further highlights the challenge of this concept by admitting that "the concept of quality in education is fluid and frequently used but never defined. Sayed points out that there are multiple meanings that reflect different ideological and social values." Indeed, we concur with Shizha and Sayed above that the idea of a quality/relevant education is fluid and frequently used but never defined. It cannot be defined because of its inherent fluidity. Furthermore, it cannot be defined since to claim to define something is to claim to know all there is about it. In other words, it is to attempt to contain or control it. The challenge of a definition for a common understanding of a quality/relevant education is also acknowledged by the UNESCO Commission on Quality Education and HIV and AIDS (2004) when it observes that:

> There is no one definition, list of criteria, a definitive curriculum, or list of topics for a quality education. Quality education is a dynamic concept that changes and evolves with time and changes in the social, economic, and environmental contexts of place. Because quality education must be locally relevant and culturally appropriate, quality education will take many forms around the world.

We find the UNESCO Commission as well as the rest of the sentiments expressed by the scholars above pertinent to this discussion. Collectively, they are urging that,

there is no one definition, a definitive curriculum or list of topics for a quality/relevant education. This is on account of the fact that, quality/relevant education is a dynamic concept that changes and evolves with time. Thus, quality/relevant education is as relative and subjective as it is problematic. We consider these admissions critical to this chapter as they are the axis upon which the alleged problematic revolves.

Whilst we agree to some extent with the foregoing observations as this has become part of the popular narrative, we have some reservations. To begin with, we argue that the above discourses have offered a rather partial as well as superficial interrogation of the issue under consideration. Furthermore, we have serious reservations where the UNESCO Commission suggests that 'there is no list of criteria' for a quality/relevant education. We think that the Commission is being too prescriptive and therefore precluding any space for the possibility that such a criterion can be found. To come to such a conclusion is to commit both the fallacy of *argumentum ad ignorantiam* (argument from ignorance) as well as the fallacy of false cause (Copi, 1986). In respect of the fallacy of *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, this is committed "whenever it is argued that a proposition is true simply because it has not been proved false, or that it is false because it has not been proved true" (Copi, 1986, p. 95).

On the other hand, the fallacy of false cause is committed when one "mistakes what is not the cause of a given effect for the real cause" (Copi, 1986, p. 96). Thus whichever way, it is surmised, the Commission seems to be making an erroneous suggestion that because it has failed to find a 'list of criteria' for a quality/relevant education therefore it is impossible to have one. Furthermore, it can be argued that the claim is presented by most studies associated with the relevant/irrelevant of education discourse, due to a misdirected focus or 'barking the wrong tree'. These remarks are premised on the claim that, it is plausible to conceive of a criteria against which any education can be evaluated to establish its relevance or otherwise. Consequently, the discussion turns to an explication of the proposed criteria which any education system can be measured against to establish its relevance or otherwise.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNPACKING THE EDUCATION PROBLEMATIC

In this section, we articulate a conceptual framework for which any education system should fit into if it is to pass as relevant/quality. Principally, this framework is presented in the context, firstly; to 'explode' the 'myth' that it is an exercise in senselessness to endeavour to conceive of a common understanding of what can constitute a relevant education and secondly; to unpack the *relevance* or *irrelevance* of education problematic. So, on the basis of this framework, it is conceivable to have a common grounding for what can constitute a relevant education in postcolonial SSA. To this end, we present this structure within the context of what we refer to as the *framework-contents* relationship. To further shed light on this particular structure, we situate it within the Platonic *Idea – idea* or Aristotelian *Form – matter* dichotomies (Mapkc, 1969; Plato & Aristotle cited in Vezina, 2007; Tucker, 1978).

It should be mentioned at the onset that these dichotomies draw from the theses of two generic dichotomous philosophies, namely; idealism and materialism (Tucker, 1978). While the chapter acknowledges the divergence of these two philosophies in their perceptions and interpretations of reality, it does not intend to embroil itself in this particular debate. However, we are going to adopt both perspectives in interrogating the issue under discussion. In the Platonic and Aristotelian dichotomies, the *Idea* represents the abstraction, the non-material or the *Form*, and has potential for objectification and universalizability. In this discussion, the *Idea* or *Form* can be conceptualised as the 'framework.'

The *idea* represents relativisation, or concretisation of the *Form*. The *idea* takes after being concretised. In other words, the *idea* can be understood as the 'contents' of the framework. When the *Idea* has been concretised, it loses its universal properties or objective property. These properties are lost because it now takes the form of the concrete or the particular context. Accordingly, we argue that the general perception that all concepts are relative is a feature of low-order thinking, a feature of exclusively operating at the concrete level of discoursing issues. It can, therefore, be argued that ordinarily most ideas or issues are always discoursed at this low-order level yet they should be interrogated at the *Idea* level. Consequently, this leads to the general misconception that concepts or ideas are inherently subjective, relative and thus, 'vexing' (Mudzamba, 1982). It is also important to observe as a matter of philosophical and logical necessity that at times in interrogating issues, it is advisable to make intellectual or conceptual leaps into the other realm of *Ideas, Universals* or *Forms.* This is in order for one to attain an encyclopaedic understanding and appreciation of the ideas under consideration. Against this reasoning, we therefore argue that, it is conceivable that all ideas as well as concepts can be meaningfully interrogated and understood at both levels, that is, as *Forms, Ideas, Universals* as well as *ideas* and *particulars.*

Turning to our discussion on the concept of quality/relevant education, we propose to situate their interrogation within the stated *Forms/universals* or *Idea-idea/particular* dialectics. Thus, we intend to make a conceptual leap into the realm of *Ideas or Universals.* On this basis, it is feasible to conceptualise these terms from these two perspectives. It is hypothesised that the *relevance/irrelevance* problematic concomitant with the inherent relativity of the idea of a relevant/quality education can be resolved. On the basis of such reasoning, we therefore, argue that it is conceivable to generalise or universalise the notion of the *relevance* of anything but more specifically that of a relevant education. This is viewed as possible if such consideration is positioned within the context of *Ideas, Forms* or *Universals.* More importantly, it is also plausible to argue for a paradigm or conceptual framework of such issues because theoretical frameworks do not necessarily depend on contexts for their meaning and thus relevance. Conceptual frameworks can thus be located and conceptualised within the realm of *Ideas, Forms* or *Universals.* If this proposition is acceptable, then it is also feasible to universalise them. However, for the paradigm or structure to have sense and meaning and not to remain 'hollow' or empty, it should

be filled in with specific *content* which should invariably be conceptualised from a specific concrete situatedness. This specific content which fills up the 'hollow' structure or framework corresponds to the *idea* or the *particular* (Althusser, 1969; Mapkc, 1954, 1969; Tucker, 1978). It is from this perspective that the *Idea-idea* dialectics become evident as well as pertinent.

Essentially, the quality and relevance of education conceptualised in the context of particulars, therefore, should always be alert to and articulative of its target and thus, relative to the state or nature of the concerned society which is the target. Thus, to the extent that the education has to articulate and address the concrete existential needs of particular people, it necessarily has to be relative. This is because the view of relevance we are adopting, especially as it relates to education, cannot be interrogated exclusively in the abstract or as part of the *Universal* or the *Idea.* The quality and relevance of education evolves in line with the evolution of society. However, what could and indeed should be considered contestable and relative is the *content* of the framework or the structure. Against this background, we therefore, reiterate that to meaningfully debate on the idea of a relevant or quality education, it is inadequate to only focus on the content or the *particular*, as it seems to be the case in most discourses. In contrast, one should also consider the *framework.* This is based on the reasoning that, in this context the *content*, which corresponds to the *idea/particular*, which cannot be universalised, yet we think that, the *structure* or framework, which corresponds with the *Idea/Form/Universal* can be universalised. Essentially, we put it that, what is considered relative/subjective and thus contestable and problematic is the content and not the framework or the structure. This is premised on the claim that the content of the particular framework must necessarily articulate and seek to speak to the specific concrete existential needs of particular people (Makuvaza, 2008). On the other hand, the structure or framework is considered universal. If this reasoning is cogent, then it can be suggested that that the problematic under discussion has been reasonably addressed.

It is, therefore, vital to reiterate that what seemed to have been the cause of the problematic all along was that people have been trying to interrogate the discourse of a relevant and/or quality education from the perspective of the *contents* of the education. Whilst such a perspective is sound, it has become the basis of the claim that the *relevance/irrelevance* of education debate was highly controversial and thus futile. Having said this, we consider it prudent that we should provide the constitutive elements of this framework or structure, lest it risks being 'hollow' as well. Thus, five benchmarks are presented which constitute the framework against which any education package can be evaluated and should fulfil if it is to be considered as relevant as well as quality.

BENCHMARKS FOR A RELEVANT/QUALITY EDUCATION

This section examines five benchmarks constituting a framework against which any education is evaluated to establish its relevance or otherwise. So it is urged that,

for any education system to be universally regarded as relevant, it should: (i) be anchored on a relevant philosophy, (ii) be applicable, useful, and purposeful or (iii) have an aim, (iv) complete and lastly, (v) be literacy and ICT driven.

A Relevant Philosophy

To begin with, the first fundamental, which any education should meet if it is to be considered relevant, is that it should be grounded on a specific and appropriate philosophy. This is based on the claim that for any education to be deemed relevant and meaningful it must evolve from the particular people's philosophy of life, and must seek to articulate and address the concrete existential conditions and needs of the particular people. The failure of the MDGs in SSA was caused by a lack of African philosophy that was embedded in African people's socio-cultural existential realities. MDGs were externally conditioned and dictated from above without the input of the communities and grassroots. In the absence of a well-defined philosophy of education, to inform both theory and practice, African education has unfortunately remained apparently haphazard and mere activism as well as education for education's sake (Makuvaza, 2015, p. 96). Luthuli (1982, p. 7) concurs with the above position when he also admits that "properly considered, education should be rooted in a philosophy of life of the concerned people." He goes further to expatiate on this submission by asserting that:

> What we do, what we see, how we interpret (and) what we intimately come to judge as good or bad, merely reflect our particular philosophies of life which are acquired from the societies in which we mature. (Luthuli, 1982, p. 35)

Indeed, 'what people do, see, interpret and intimately come to judge as good or bad,' is partly a product of a people's particular educational experiences but more so the particular people's philosophy of life on which their particular education is anchored on.

Ndofirepi and Ndofirepi (2012, p. 15) echo Luthuli's observations when they note that "it is all unmistakably clear that all systems of education, formal or informal, are rooted in the worldview of a people that practices it." They go on to cite Vlach (n.d.) who defines a world-view or philosophy as "the overall perspective from which a person or group both consciously and unconsciously understand and interpret the world" (Ndofirepi & Ndofirepi, 2012, p. 16). On the basis of the foregoing, we can infer that, what a particular people do and see, as well as how they interpreted what they ultimately come to judge as good or bad, is a product of their particular educational experiences anchored on their indigenous philosophy. Ndofirepi and Ndofirepi (2012, p. 16) support this assertion when they admit that:

> Studies by some philosophers on Africa have revealed that African ways of life, beliefs and values were rooted in some philosophy just like the Indians,

> Americans and the British had philosophies relevant to their existential circumstances.

Whilst Ndofirepi and Ndofirepi only refer to 'some philosophy,' Luthuli goes further to qualify it by referring to it as a philosophy of life. Thus, the Africans, Indians, Americans and the British, ordinarily have a 'philosophy of life' which is the anchor of their life, beliefs and values which address their concrete and existential circumstances. By philosophy of life, Luthuli meant the enduring truths which are a product of the people's worldview and which must always guide as well as direct and regulate people's activities and ultimately their education. Thus, it could be conjectured that it is a people's philosophy of life and the associated enduring truths that determine and influence how people interrogate, interpret and give meaning to reality and phenomena in general but, more so, education.

The enduring truths or principles should be conceptualised not only as a heritage from the past, but also as that which people of today have made theirs by living and practising them. We argue that education should, therefore, be drawing from principles emanating from the enduring truths constituting a people's heritage as held by the particular people if it is to be relevant and genuine to the people concerned. The centrality of philosophy and its people is being emphasised here as the foundation of any education to be called relevant and genuine. This is based on the claim that it is people's rootedness in concrete experience and culture which determines and defines their philosophy of life, consciousness and sensibilities as well as their education. In that context, philosophy is critical as it provides and defines the aim, goals as well as vision of any educational package. Therefore, if the MGDs were to succeed in SSA, they should have been pegged on the relevant philosophical foundation that is typically African and indigenous to African people. What is important to note is that, philosophy performs this universal and critical function anywhere where there are people and an education system to be implemented.

The Aim/s of Education

The second benchmark to be fulfilled by any education if it is to be considered relevant is that education should have *an aim* as opposed to *aims.* It should be mentioned at the onset that, it is feasible for an education system to have no explicit aim, especially if it lacks a sound philosophical grounding. In such cases, then it becomes *mere* education or education for education's sake (Makuvaza, 2015). Perhaps, we can speculatively argue that the MDGs lacked aims that were explicitly in tandem with African needs and expectations. Also, it is conceivable for an education system to have an improper or inappropriate aim. Was this the case with the aims of the MDGs on education when applied to the African socio-cultural conditions? This is when the education was never intended to articulate and address the *real needs* of the learners and the society in which it is being provided for. This was typical of the colonial era, and neo-colonial MDGs by extension, where the type

of education provided by the colonialists in SSA was never intended to address the existential needs and aspirations of the indigenous peoples in the various colonised spaces in Africa (Majeke, 1986; Zvobgo, 1990). We reiterate that, the *aim* as well as *the aims* should necessarily be grounded in and defined by the philosophy of the people concerned if they are to be relevant and sustainable.

At this juncture, it is vital to make a distinction between *the aim* and *the aims* of any education. However, before we do that it is important that we make the following remark regarding education, as a basis for the discussion on the distinction between *the aim* and *the aims* of education. In this chapter, education is presented as a 'process' and a 'product' (Schoeffield, 1972). By process is meant all the learning experiences, whether formal, informal or non-formal, the learner is exposed to consciously or otherwise. By product is meant the learner who has been so exposed to these learning experiences. Thus, the learner, as a result of such an exposure is supposedly considered an *educated person,* who in this context is the product. Accordingly, the aim of the process of any education is presented as the educated person or educatedness (Peters, 1973). If the preceding analysis is sound, then it means it may not be apposite to conceive 'aims' of education as most studies do (Brubacher, 1969; Gribble, 1974; Ocitti, 1994; Sifuna, 1994; Whitehead, 1959). Rather, one should talk of *the aim* of education in which case it is considered universalizable, since *the aim* of any education system is the production of an educated person.

Furthermore, regarding the distinction between *the aim* and *the aims* of education, Brubacher's (1969) detailed discussion on this issue is significant. In his examination, he categorised aims into two, namely; "proximate or intermediate and ultimate aims" (Brubacher, 1969, p. 102). According to Brubacher, proximate aims are subsidiary to or consummate into ultimate aims. His interrogation can be situated and appreciated within the *means-ends* dialectics (Raphael, 1981). This is whereby proximate or intermediate aims are the means to ultimate aims and ultimate aims are the *ends* in themselves (Raphael, 1981). In this sense, Brubacher (1969) notes that:

> The object of education is not to produce a soldier, magistrate or priest, but to make a man. If such an education results in his becoming a better citizen or worker, such an outcome is to be considered a by-product of aiming at the improvement of his inner worth as an end itself. (p. 102)

From Brubacher's observations, two vital inferences can be made. Firstly, *the aim* of education should not be to produce particular skills in learners, for example; doctors, lawyers, engineers, pilots and so forth. This is notwithstanding the fact these particular skills are considered critical for the survival of a particular society. Rather, *the aim* of education is to produce a '*human being*'. For purposes of gender sensitivity, *the aim* of education is to produce a *person*. Secondly, being a teacher, doctor or lawyer should be considered as 'approximations' to being or becoming a *person.* In other words, these are proximate aims or by–products and these should be considered within the context of the ultimate aim or *the aim* of education, which is the production of a *person*. Within the means-ends dialectic referred above, it is

instructive that being a lawyer, teacher or doctor should be considered not, as an end itself, but rather as a means to an end. The *end* in this context is to be a good person or an ideal person or a *munhu kwaye* in Shona (Gelfand, 1973; Makuvaza, 2015).

It is worth noting, though, that public opinion seems to have an inverted view regarding the *aim/aims* problematic of education. Public opinion seems to put more stress on the *means* (the aims)*,* in complete disregard of *the end* or ultimate aim of education, which is to become a person. In other words, people are concerned more with the doctor (idea promoted by MDGs) than with the person they should ultimately become after becoming a doctor. This view can also be further enhanced by observing Brubacher's (1969) remarks when he conceded that "the ultimate goal of education has suggested the importance of 'becoming'. That everything is in process, seems an unmistakable characteristic of mortal life" (Brubacher, 1969, p. 107). Brubacher's views on the aims of education debate seem to sit well within our *Idea – idea* framework as discussed earlier on, though we have some reservations. We agree with his categorisation of aims into proximate and ultimate aims. We also concur with his observation that the ultimate goal of education is the production of a person who is in the process of 'becoming'. In other words, being educated should not be considered as a one-off event or a destination, but a process of 'becoming'. We, however disagree with him where he says that there are many 'ultimate aims' of education. We argue that to conceive of 'ultimate aims' of education is to reduce them to proximate aims and thus relegate them to the realm of *ideas* and *particulars.* We put it that his proximate aims should better be considered as objectives of an education system, whereby objectives necessarily support or point to an aim or the aim. In this chapter, we conceptualise an objective in the context of a short-term goal whilst *the aim* is the long term goal of the education system, respectively. If this observation is considered cogent, we put it further that it is feasible to conceive of *the aim* or the *ultimate aim* and not aims of education as suggested by most studies.

Furthermore, we argue that, to talk of *aims* of education is to commit the fallacy of composition thereby confusing parts for the whole (Newton-Smith, 1985). Admittedly, there are sub-aims or 'proximate' aims (Brubacher, 1969) but these, as seems to have been the tendency, should not be misconstrued for *the aim* or *the ultimate aim* of any education package which is the *educated person* or the *man [human]* according to Brubacher above. These should be understood and interpreted in the context of the ultimate aim, which is the production of an educated person. In other words, these should be viewed as working towards the consummation of the ultimate aim, notably; the educated person. From the above discussion we make the following remarks. Firstly, we argue that it is improper to talk of *the aims* of any education. Rather one should talk of *the aim* of education. This is because as has been stated every education system anywhere has one aim, namely; the realisation or production of an *educated person.* Accordingly, it is considered feasible that *the aim* of education can be universal. Secondly, whilst the educated person or educatedness differs from one society and culture to the other, however, what is important to note

is that, the *Idea* is the same. Thus, while societies require certain and specific skills in their citizens, attainment of such skills should not be mistaken as the attainment of *the aim/ultimate aim* of education. Having attained the skills should be conceived within the context of the means-ends relationship, that is, as a means to become *munhu kwaye* (an ideal/good person). *Munhu kwaye* is hereby being presented as *the aim* or *the ultimate aim* of education in SSA. Education is an instrument for the inculcation and promotion of the epistemic and ontological principles enshrined in the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*/*unhu* (humanity, good behavior, respectful to others, pleasant and honest) (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru & Shizha, 2012). So, education should serve the purpose of building up *Ubuntu/unhu* (Shizha, 2009). It is important to point out that this examination of aims of education in general has resulted in what can be referred to as the *Aim–aim* dialectic. This dialectic is being located within the context of Plato's *Theory of Forms* whereby *the aim* of education is considered in the context of *Forms or Universals* whilst *aims* are located within the realm of *ideas or particulars.* Principally, what is being suggested is that, it is therefore plausible to conceive of a universal aim of education, namely; the educated person.

Completeness

Another prerequisite for an education to be considered as relevant is based on the criterion of *completeness*, an element of education that was not stated in the MDGs on education. According to this particular fundamental, an education provided to learners and society at large is considered relevant if it is *complete* and *total* in itself and not as *a mere means* to another level supposedly considered relevant. The MDGs on education focused primarily on equality and equity issues without regards to the completeness in moulding the total social human being. At this point, it is important to re-state Nyerere's (1967) views on education, even though from a different context. Whilst Nyerere was specifically referring to primary education in postcolonial Tanzania, we take his remarks as pertinent to this discussion. Thus, Nyerere (1967, p. 67) asserted that:

> The education given in primary schools must be a complete education in itself and must not continue to be simply a preparation for secondary education. The kind of primary education to be provided should be relevant for whom it will be terminal as well as for those to whom it will be preparatory.

From Nyerere's remarks above, primary education can be conceptualised from two dimensions, namely, as an *end in itself* and *as a means* to an end and not *merely* as a means (Nyerere, 1967; Raphael, 1981). We reiterate that primary education should be relevant for whom it will be terminal as well as for those it will be preparatory and not being *simply preparatory*. It is vital to underline that even though primary education is ordinarily a *preparation* for secondary education in SSA and beyond, it should be treated as if it is *an end in itself* and not *just*

or *merely* a means to secondary education. This is considered necessary because ordinarily many pupils in SSA stop at the primary stage without proceeding to high school. Similarly, secondary education in SSA should equally be treated as *complete* in itself and not just as a *mere means* to college and university for the same reasons as above.

In further augmenting the vital dimension of completeness of any education in this discussion, Obemeata's (1976) views cited in Ayodele (1996) regarding the Nigerian education become very germane to this discussion. In elaborating on the potential of traditional or indigenous education (as advocated in the MDGs on indigenous people and knowledges) in producing a complete person in Nigeria, Obemeata states that:

> It has been shown that African traditional education places great emphasis on character formation and the acquisition of attitudes and values which make the learner a complete man. The Nigerian education system will be better able to produce a complete man if traditional education is incorporated into formal education. (cited in Ayodele, 1996, p. 18)

Scholosser (1976) makes similar remarks when he aptly observes that:

> Education worthy of the name is essentially education of character. For the genuine educator does not merely consider individual functions of his pupil, as one intending to teach him only to know or be capable of certain definite things, but his concern is always the person as a whole, both in the actuality in which he lives before now and in his possibilities, what he can become. (p. 97)

We find the observations by Scholloser and Obemeata relevant as they affirm that traditional education was a complete and wholesome education. Sarumi (2007) encouraged the promotion of traditional African education if SSA were to achieve the MDGs. However, most African governments do not seriously have indigenous knowledge systems and traditional educational practices in their educational policies and plans (Shizha, 2009). In particular, traditional education, because of its emphasis on character formation and acquisition of appropriate attitudes, is capable of producing a complete person. Notwithstanding other competencies that traditional education provides, it is particularly its emphasis on character formation that makes it a worthwhile and relevant education capable of producing a *complete person*. From this, we note that, every stage in the educational continuum should be appropriate and thus *complete* in itself. Accordingly, it should be treated as *an end in itself* and not simply *a mere means.* Thus, on the basis of the above it can be urged that any education provided to the learners at whatever level should necessarily be complete, appropriate and not merely preparatory.

Literacy and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) competency

Lastly, we argue and advise that literacy and ICT competencies should be considered as fundamentals for an educational package that should have received more focus to

be deemed relevant in the African education space to reduce poverty as suggested in the MDGs. This is on account of the fact that the contemporary world makes literacy in general, and ICT literacy in particular, an exigency. *The Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines 'literate' as being "able to read and write" (np.) and literacy, which is an adjective of the latter as "the condition of being literate" (np.). Accordingly, literacy in this discussion is taken to mean 'the ability to read and write.' So, we argue that, any education to be viewed as relevant should impart the skill of literacy as well as numeracy in the learner.

Turning to Information and Communication Technology/Technologies (ICTs), we also argue that if education is to be relevant and thus quality, learners should be reasonably competent or literate in ICTs. By ICTs is meant the diverse set of technological tools and resources used to communicate, disseminate, store and manage information. Initially, especially in developing countries, the main technology for this function was the radio and printed materials (Makuvaza & Shizha, 2013). However, with the development of other gadgets and technologies, ICT now includes; computers and their network hardware and software, the Internet, broadcasting technologies (radio and television) and telephone and satellite systems. ICTs have also been incorporated into education due to the rapid global and economic developments that have placed greater demands on education systems. The need to inculcate among students the importance of lifelong learning, that is, to constantly seek new information, to think critically and to take initiative, has become ever more pressing in our fast growing world (UNESCO, World Education Report, 1998). Studies carried so far on the justification of the incorporation of ICTs in education have provided justification for why schools should provide some measure of awareness of ICTs to learners (Hawkridge, 1990; Trucarno, 2005). While several reasons can be advanced which are beyond the scope of this chapter, the observation by the World Bank (1998) in respect of the relevance of ICTs in education is worth mentioning. Thus, the World Bank (1998), (cited in Tinio, 2002) notes that:

> ICTs greatly facilitate the acquisition and absorption of knowledge, offering developing countries unprecedented opportunities to enhance educational systems, improve policy formulation and execution, and widen the range of opportunities for business and the poor. One of the greatest hardships endured by the poor, and by many others, who live in the poorest countries, is their sense of isolation, and ICTs can open access to knowledge in ways unimaginable not long ago. (p. 6)

It seems apparent that ICTs have the potential to increase access and improve relevance and quality of education and thus narrow the digital divide. Although ICTs are desirable in any educational provision, we are aware of the disparities and challenges especially in developing countries, where accessing ICT equipment and running such initiatives is a hurdle. Nevertheless, we emphasise that, learners should have access to some basic form of ICT competencies and literacy and secondly; their teaching and learning should be reasonably ICT driven.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this chapter was to argue for a philosophical discourse on unpacking the *relevancy/irrelevancy* of education problematic in SSA despite the failure of the MDGs on education. This was premised on the generalised but popular view that any attempt at conceptualising a common grounding for what can constitute a relevant education was an exercise in futility. However, in this chapter that claim was refuted as it was considered as 'barking the wrong tree'. Accordingly, we argued that it was conceivable and feasible to come up with a common grounding for what constitutes a relevant education not only in SSA spaces but even also beyond. To that end, we presented a conceptual framework comprising five fundamentals against which any education system can be evaluated to establish its relevance or otherwise. So, for education in SSA to be relevant or to have quality, and more importantly, if the curriculum reviews are to be relevant and meaningful, it is imperative that they should be grounded in these stated fundamentals. Furthermore, whereas this framework does not claim to have exhaustively addressed the *relevance/irrelevance* problematic of education in SSA, we anticipate that it has opened other avenues of contributing to this philosophical discourse as well as further research on the nature and purpose of education in SSA beyond the old MDGs' expectations and the newly promoted and targeted 2030 Sustainable Development Goals.

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4. COGNITIVE JUSTICE AND INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS IN THE POSTCOLONIAL CLASSROOM

INTRODUCTION

The question of the relevance of the school curriculum has been a subject of contentious debate in a number of Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries, and was even included in the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were supposed to be fulfilled by 2015. Critics have maintained that Africa is unable to benefit meaningfully from the investment made in education in the absence of a school curriculum that accommodates learners' cultural backgrounds in the form of indigeneous knowledge systems (IKSs). This is a cause of concern in the context of the United Nations unfulfilled MDGs on education. At the end of the last century, world leaders identified key goals and targets in the Millennium Declaration adopted in September 2000 and the declaration reaffirmed the universal values of human rights, equality, mutual respect and shared responsibility for the conditions of all peoples (UN Chronicle, 2007). The inclusion of indigenous knowledge systems in the school curriculum or formal education was deemed a human rights and equality issue. It can be argued that some of these goals were rather difficult to accomplish in the absence of a mutual respect for IKSs in SSA and acceptance of their relevance in the school curriculum. Post-2015 MDGs formal schooling in SSA should reflect on the inclusion of IKSs in the curriculum to provide cognitive justice to learners from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Cognitive justice celebrates the diversity of knowledges and equality of all learners. According to Visvanathan (1999) cited in Birkbeck (2013), cognitive justice recognises the different forms of knowledge that coexist and this plurality needs to go beyond tolerance or liberalism to an active recognition of the need for diversity. These views emphasise the role that the inclusion of IKSs in the curriculum play in enhancing cognitive justice for learners drawn from diverse cultural backgrounds, a conclusion that was adopted by the MDGs on education. Zazu (2008) cited in Meyiwa, Letsekha and Wiebesiek (2013) states that the role of IKSs in improving and contextualising education was recognised by UNESCO at a meeting of one of the United Nations (UN) agencies, the World Intellectual Property Organisation in 1978. Postcolonial discourse on education has demonstrated that the content of the school curriculum during the colonial era was, to a large extent, Eurocentric.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 69–83.

As such, the curriculum did not adequately and effectively incorporate IKSs in a positive light, a point that was raised in the adoption of MDGs, which recognised that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices, contributes to sustainable and equitable development (UN Chronicle, 2007). Implementation of the MDGs declaration on indigenous knowledges was meant to decolonise the education system for indigenous people since colonial curriculum was seen as a form of cultural imperialism. Shizha (2013) argues that the school curriculum in postcolonial Africa experiences challenges that are a legacy of colonial education that remained in place decades after political decolonisation. Cognitive justice in the curriculum was conspicuous by its absence as the learner was subjected to an alien school curriculum, where the learner was faced with a myriad of alien issues that presented difficulties in terms of conceptualisation.

It is my contention in this chapter that in SSA, with the post-MDGs Declarations, there is need to revisit the relevance of incorporating IKSs into the school curriculum across all subjects at primary and secondary school level as a way of contextualising education and enhancing cognitive justice in the classroom. In this way, learners will be able to interact with concepts that are familiar to them in their diverse cultural contexts. It should be emphasised that the need to incorporate IKSs in the school curriculum is not an attempt to eliminate western knowledge forms. Echoing this idea, Kraak (2009) is of the view that cognitive justice does not imply that all Western forms of knowledge are of no use and that all indigenous forms of science need privileging. On the contrary, dialogic standard must continue to judge between what is beneficial and what is irrelevant in both western and indigenous knowledges. The ideal situation is one where these two forms exist side by side or even blending them so as to create hybrid technologies for the benefit of all humanity. Olatokum and Ayanbode (2008) observe that less developed countries have depended on the more developed world for aid and assistance for too long after independence and this has made it difficult to achieve viable alternatives to development, such as achieving the previously much acclaimed 2015 MDGs. The 'North' enjoys and monopolises a disproportionate share of the world's technology which is not readily transferred to the 'South', thus promoting underdevelopment and dependency in the process. This becomes imperative when one considers that research and experience have made it abundantly clear that SSA cannot fully develop on the basis of borrowed intellectual, technological and financial resources (Chiwome, Nguni, & Furusa, 2000), but needs some form of critical pedagogy. The emphasis on the incorporation of IKSs into the content of the school curriculum is related to Africanisation of knowledge and critical pedagogy. Kincheloe (2008) argues that critical pedagogy is a perspective towards education that is concerned with questions of justice, democracy and ethical issues.

THE CONCEPT OF COGNITIVE JUSTICE

The concept of cognitive justice has its roots in the works of Visvanathan (1977), an Indian anthropologist and human rights researcher. According to Makoelle (2014),

Visvanathan coined this term to encourage positively the acceptance of different forms of knowledge. The concept arose as a reaction to the dominance of western knowledge forms, which have tended to establish hegemony in terms of ways of knowing. Makoelle (2014) explains that the concept came about as a result of a concern that western forms of knowledge and the way knowledge is acquired and validated seemed to perpetuate the dominant hegemonic discourses of the western cultures. Hart (2010) concurs and posits that Eurocentric thought has come to mediate the entire world to the point where worldviews that differ from Eurocentric thought are relegated to the periphery, if they are acknowledged at all. For most countries in SSA, the hegemonic domination of epistemology, has its roots in colonialism as well as neo-colonialism. Therefore, in the postcolonial state, there is need for curriculum re-thinking and reform in order to make the curriculum relevant as well as revitalise the use of IKSs.

Cognitive justice is based on the following principles:

- All forms of knowledge are valid and should co exist in a dialogic relationship to each other;
- Cognitive justice implies the strengthening of the 'voice' of the defeated and marginalised;
- Traditional knowledges and technologies should not be 'museumised';
- Science should help the common man/woman;
- All competing sciences should be brought together and
- Every citizen is a scientist; each lay person is an expert (Kraak, 2009, p. 3).

These principles of cognitive justice provide the rationale for the inclusion of IKSs in the school curriculum. This inclusion is of immense benefit to learners as it widens their intellectual horizons. Proponents of cognitive justice posit that it has the potential to result in equitable learning (Makoelle, 2014).

POSTMODERNIST THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This discourse is informed by the postmodernist theoretical perspective, which has been selected because its principles tend to dovetail with the focus of cognitive justice. As a theoretical perspective postmodernism places emphasis on difference and diversity that is found in society. Ritzer and Stepnisky (2013) observe that postmodernists argue that it is difference that lies at the heart of the world; and that the goal becomes the study of differences rather than the search for unity. Ballantine and Hammack (2012) concur and state that postmodernism honours human diversity, including the variations and ambiguity in the way different people learn and see the world. In the practice of education, the major concern becomes the celebration of the diversity inherent in society, which should be reflected in the content of the school curriculum at both primary and secondary school levels. Along the same line of thought, Bauman (2007) argues that in postmodernism there is emphasis on multiple pathways and plurality, on diversity and difference; and on

partiality of all knowledge. Ballantine and Hammack (2012) posit a similar view and argue that postmodernists call for respect and understanding of human differences. These views are in harmony with the principles of cognitive justice alluded to. The recognition and acknowledgement of differences as advocated for by postmodernist theorists should permeate the entire practice of education particularly the content of the school curriculum. It is imperative that the content of the curriculum incorporates IKSs as a way of acknowledging difference that is inherent in society for the benefit of all learners who come from diverse cultural backgrounds. It is a way of promoting cognitive justice in the school and classroom environment. The emphasis on difference in society made by postmodernists reinforces the rationale for the incorporation of IKSs in the school curriculum.

Postmodernism is characterised by poly-vocality. According to Bakhtin cited in Agger (2006), this suggests that everything can be said differently, indeed in multiple ways that are not inherently superior or inferior to one another. This observation dovetails with concerns of incorporating IKSs in the school curriculum and is consistent with concerns of cognitive justice that seems to lack in African schools. Classroom pedagogy should highlight the relevance and importance of IKSs by bringing different forms of IKSs to the fore in the teaching and learning process. Learners' diverse cultural backgrounds should, therefore, be seen as a source of enriching the learning process. Teachers face the challenge of accommodating diverse learner backgrounds in the classroom in terms of pedagogy. This has implications for curriculum content. In order to emphasise poly-vocality, curricular should be interdisciplinary, and represent diverse interests, apply critical theory so that individual children could reach a common goal by different paths (Ballantine & Hammack, 2012). In this way, learners stand to experience cognitive justice as well as provision of opportunities in which they thrive academically.

Slattery (2006) points out that whether critics like it or not, society has become a global plurality of competing subcultures and movements where no one ideology and *episteme* (understanding of knowledge) dominates. This observation reinforces the importance of incorporating IKSs in curriculum content. It follows then that classroom pedagogy has to meet the demands of a plural society by way of accommodating learners from diverse cultural backgrounds more meaningfully. Postmodernist views of knowledge provide further insights into the relevance of incorporating IKSs into the curriculum. From the perspective of postmodernism, knowledge is partial, it is not absolute. Hence, Lyotard cited in Kirby et al. (1997) argues that all knowledge is relative and as good as any other. In this context, the incorporation of IKSs into the school curriculum affirms the plural character of knowledge. Kincheloe (1993), cited in McGovern (1999), posits that a foundational principle of postmodern theory states that there is no universal knowledge beyond that which is developed within political, ideological and economic frames of particular social and cultural formations. IKSs as localised forms of knowledge have relevance in a reformed school curriculum. Postmodern scholars argue that there is a relationship between knowledge and power. Those with power (political

and economic) have the ability to impose and legitimate their knowledge forms on subordinate groups. This is the situation that prevailed during the colonial era and possibly to some extent today, in the postcolonial era in some postcolonial African states, despite the declaration of MDGs on the role of indigenous knowledge systems in education. In Focault's view, knowledge is never separate from power but is a means of exercising power by constituting people as subjects and then governing the subjects with the knowledge (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2013). Kincheloe (2008) concurs and states that one of the central dimensions of western colonial domination has involved the production of 'universally valid' knowledge that worked to invalidate the ways of knowing that had been developed by all peoples around the world. This strategy created relationships of dependency between the core (North) and periphery (South) nations which are still problematic to this very day. At the same time, this has resulted in the marginalisation of IKSs. A re-thinking and paradigm shift is called for by way of ensuring that in post-2015 MDGs Declaration, whatever new framework is proposed, IKSs should feature predominantly in the school curriculum.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

In order to put the concept of IKSs into proper perspective, it is imperative to analyse the concept of culture. This is important considering that knowledge is circumscribed within a particular cultural context. Fabiyi and Oloukoi (2013) argue that in SSA, traditional or local knowledge is strongly linked to local culture and past experiences. Ndura (2006, p. 2) defines culture as "the acquired complex knowledge that individuals and communities use to affirm and interpret the values, beliefs, customs and practices that distinguish them from other people and groups in society." Manning and Baruth (2008) are of the understanding that culture refers to peoples' values, language, religion, ideals, and artistic expressions, patterns of social and interpersonal relationships, and ways of perceiving, behaving and thinking. Finally, Ngugi wa Thiongo summarises the concept of culture by stating that:

> A people's culture is the carrier of values evolved by the community in the course of their economic and political life. The values they hold are the basis of their world outlook, the basis of their collective and individual image of self, their identity as a people who look at themselves and to their relationship to the universe in a certain way. (cited in Vandeyer, 2003, p. 193)

A common theme that runs through all these definitions is that culture can be seen as the total way of life of a given community. It spells out the lifestyle of a group and is unique to a particular social group. It provides a blueprint that governs human interaction in society with both the physical and the social environment. Culture is an important determinant of learner achievement. Therefore, learners' diverse cultural backgrounds have to be taken on board in the practice of education. To this end, Galtung (1996) mentioned in Vandeyer (2003), argues that the imposition of one's cultural code onto another people's culture is a debilitating experience that leads

to gross alienation or 'culturocide'. This is the situation that prevailed to a greater extent during the colonial era in SSA where Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism were dominant leading to the marginalisation of indigenous cultures and consequently their IKSs. It can be argued that the same situation could be present in varying degrees in some postcolonial states in the post-MDGs era. There is, therefore, a compelling need to take into consideration learners' diverse cultural backgrounds, which include IKSs. Mazrui (1990) quoted in Nyoni and Nyoni (2010) identifies seven functions of culture. Mazrui states that culture provides people with lenses of perception and cognition; motives of behaviour; criteria for evaluation; a basis of identity; a mode of communication; a basis of stratification and a system of production and consumption. These functions of culture highlight the importance of incorporating IKSs in the school curriculum. Such an effort should be seen as a way of upholding cognitive justice among learners from diverse cultural backgrounds which influences academic achievement.

It is important to note that culture, in SSA, is not homogeneous, even for members of the same society. Rather, it is heterogeneous. This heterogeneity arises as a result of the presence of different social or ethnic groups who, although subscribing to the dominant or mainstream culture, retain certain norms and values that are peculiar to their social or ethnic group. This leads to their identification as a distinct social group. These groups form society's subcultural categories. The presence of numerous subcultural groups, in the same society, gives rise to multicultural societies. Most contemporary societies, the world over, are viewed as multicultural. It follows that the practice of education has to accommodate the multicultural character of society. The presence of numerous subcultures in the same society also implies that IKSs have a plural character which should all be accommodated in the practice of education. Battiste (2002) argues that indigenous knowledge and indigenous ways of knowing are not monolithic and vary between indigenous communities. The process and practice of education has to take cognisance of the multicultural character of society through the incorporation of diverse IKSs in the curriculum. Lemmer, Meier and van Wyk (2006) contend that multiculturalism recognises and accepts the rightful existence of different cultural groups and views cultural diversity as an asset and a source of social enrichment rather than as a disability or a social problem. In the classroom, multiculturalism should be valued as an asset where the presence of numerous IKSs assists to widen the cognitive horizons of all learners. Learners are, therefore, presented with opportunities to engage in multiple perspectives of viewing and understanding knowledge.

The classroom should be viewed as an environment, not only characterised by cultural diversity, but also as a culturally saturated environment. It is the responsibility of educators to ensure that cultural differences in the classroom are viewed in an egalitarian mode rather than a superior-inferior binary. Language used for classroom instruction and interaction should not marginalise learners coming from other cultural backgrounds. In this set up, the teacher has to focus on accommodating diverse learners' cultures in a positive and enriching manner. In this

context, Campbell (1996) suggests that from a multicultural perspective, the task of the teacher is to respect the culture the child brings from home, to guide the students' learning of the basic skills and attitudes of the dominant culture, and to nourish the students' self-esteem. In order to become effective educators, teachers need to gain in depth knowledge of diverse learner cultures present in the community. This becomes a way of validating learners' home cultures positively. Classrooms that value students and their culture foster feelings of self-worth, a sense of belonging and higher academic performance (Heath, 1983; Ndura, 2006; Nieto, 1999; Thomas, 1998).

Culture, from the above discussion, plays an important part in the education of the child. The rights of children to education in a cultural context familiar to them are also found in the Conventions on the Rights of Indigenous People and Preservation of Indigenous Knowledge (United Nations 2005 cited in Shizha, 2007) as well as the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. This can also be seen as a way of upholding cognitive justice in the learning situation. The importance of cultural diversity is also expressed in the UNESCO (2005) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions. Some of the objectives of this convention are: to foster inter-culturality in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among people and to promote respect for the diversity of cultural expressions and raise awareness of its value at the local, national and international levels. Education through the exposure of learners to diverse IKSs goes a long way in the achievement of these objectives that emphasise the need to uphold cultural diversity in society.

The concept of indigenous knowledge systems has been defined in numerous ways. Masoga (2001) is of the view that IKSs refer to knowledge and technologies around communities indigenous to a particular space and context. Greenie referred to in Kunnie (2000) states that indigenous knowledge refers to unique, traditional knowledge existing within and developed around the special conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographical area. Melchias (2001) cited in Fabiyi and Oloukoi (2013) argues that indigenous knowledge relates to what indigeneous people know and do, and what they have known and done for generations, practices that evolved through trial and error and proved flexible enough to cope with change. In light of these definitions, IKSs refer to localised forms of knowledge that are peculiar to a given society or community. All communities have valuable stocks of knowledge which have proved useful in the interaction with the physical and social environment. These require retrieval and incorporation into the school curriculum in an attempt to make the content of education relevant and applicable in everyday interaction. Kibuka-Sebitosi (2008) posits that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention Number 169 (1991) defines indigenous knowledge as that knowledge that is held by a people who identify themselves as indigenous to a place based on a combination of cultural distinctiveness, and prior territorial occupancy relative to a more recently arrived population that has its own distinctive culture. These knowledge systems are located within the context of a given cultural milieu.

Indigenous knowledge systems represent society's accumulated knowledge and are passed on orally from generation to generation. Hence indigenous knowledge is a knowledge system in its own right with its own internal consistency and ways of knowing (Battiste, 2002). In many instances, IKSs are not documented which makes them highly vulnerable to loss. They have provided and continue to provide a useful guide in the way people have interacted with the environment. Some scholars have pointed out that IKSs are environmentally friendly and as such they can be harnessed to promote sustainable development. We should emphasise that IKSs do not remain static, rather they are adapted and transformed on an incremental basis to suit the changing social and economic needs of a local community (Emmanuel, Mangetane, & Melakun, 2000). Indigenous knowledge systems should be viewed as a cultural heritage and natural resource and should be combined with western knowledge forms. There is great potential and value in applying indigenous knowledge in combination with modern techniques to enhance the sustainable management of natural resources (Ndey-Isatou & Muir-Leresene, 2000).

Teachers have a role to play in the incorporation of IKSs into the school curriculum. The successful implementation of IKSs into the school curriculum requires culturally responsive pedagogy on the part of teachers. Culturally responsive pedagogy should be viewed as a component of multicultural education, which also facilitates cognitive justice in the classroom. At a very basic level, it refers to teaching methods that draw examples from the learners' diverse cultural backgrounds. Gay (2002) quoted in Herrera, Holmes and Kavimandan (2012) states that at the most basic level culturally responsive teaching refers to the use of cultural characteristics, experiences and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively. The goal of culturally responsive teaching can be seen as the provision of a conducive classroom environment in which learners from diverse cultural backgrounds will have an opportunity to achieve. Incorporating IKSs is one condition that has a direct impact on learner achievements. The essence of culturally responsive teaching is the accommodation of learner diversity which should be viewed as strength by teachers. This tends to produce a classroom environment that promotes multicultural learning. The teacher has an important role to play. Nkomo, Vandeyer, Malada, Phatlane, Thabane, and Phurutse (2009, p. 43) are of the view that:

> Cultural responsive pedagogies begin with the premise that teachers have faith in the human dignity and intellectual capacity of their students and will build bridges between the curriculum content and the cultural experiences of ethnically and racially diverse students in an attempt to make education accessible to all students.

The effective incorporation of IKSs into the school curriculum hinges on the way teachers perceive differences in society. Teachers' perceptions of difference become very important as this influences the way and manner in which IKSs can be incorporated into the school curriculum. It needs to be emphasised that IKSs should

be infused into all subjects across the curriculum. Manning and Baruth (2008) have identified three models of teacher perceptions of differences. These models are: the cultural deficit model, the cultural mismatch model and the culturally different model.

The Cultural Deficit Model

In the cultural deficit model, learners who are culturally different are thought of as 'deprived', 'disadvantaged' and 'socially deprived' because their behaviour, language and customs are different from those of middle class values (Manning & Baruth, 2008). Diversity is not acknowledged and assimilation may be the end result. Domnwachukwu (2010) argues that in this model teachers may see themselves as agents of assimilation. Assimilation fails to take cognisance of learners' cultural diversity. In this case, diverse IKSs inherent in the student body may suffer neglect in the classroom. This is the situation that was prevalent in most countries in colonial SSA. The indigenous learners' cultural backgrounds were dismissed as backward, uncivilised and informed by superstition. Shiva cited in McGovern (1999) argues that local knowledge systems have been described as primitive, unscientific and backwards while the western system is assumed to be uniquely scientific and universal and superior to local forms of knowledge. This model was driven by Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism which is not conducive for the practice of cognitive justice in education. Consequently, indigenous learners' cultural backgrounds were deliberately and systematically ignored. It can also be argued that this state of affairs may also be prevalent in the postcolonial state hence the need for revitalisation of IKSs in the education system. Walker (2004) cited in Hart (2010) is of the view that the marginalisation of indigenous worldviews has been and continues to be one of the major tools of colonisation.

The Cultural Mismatch Model

The cultural mismatch perspective assumes that cultures are inherently different but not necessarily superior or inferior to one another. It assumes that people from culturally different backgrounds fail to achieve academically because their cultural traits do not meet those of the dominant culture in the school (Manning & Baruth, 2008). De Souza (2010) argues that in the cultural mismatch model some of the skills acquired in the home culture may be transferable to the new culture while other home-based skills may be neither expected nor valued by members of the target culture. This is a model that appeals to the incorporation of IKSs in the curriculum. It provides a culturally appropriate conducive environment for cognitive justice.

The 'Culturally Different' Model

The 'culturally different' model recognises differences as strengths that are valuable and enriching to schools and society as a whole. Its merits are similar to those

discussed under the cultural mismatch perspective. This forms the basis of cognitive justice. In this model society's cultural diversity is acknowledged. Educators, who subscribe to this model, tend to incorporate IKSs in teaching and learning situations. Incorporating IKSs has benefits for SSA in a number of ways. Firstly, it enables learners to devise solutions to some problems they encounter in their day to day interaction with the social environment in their diverse communities hence making education relevant. Secondly, it enhances the academic achievement of learners as they make reference to concepts and issues they are familiar with. Thirdly, and most importantly, this leads to the creation of an appropriate technology base which SSA desperately needs in order to exploit the abundant natural resources for the benefit of the continent.

COGNITIVE JUSTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Banks's (2009) dimensions of multicultural education provide the rationale for the incorporation of IKSs in the school curriculum. These dimensions also incorporate the ideals of cognitive justice. Multicultural education should be seen as an approach that seeks to positively enhance learning opportunities for all learners despite their differences. Implied in this observation is the view that cognitive justice is crucial in enhancing learner achievement through the incorporation of IKSs. Enhancement of cognitive justice among learners should be seen as a way of ensuring that all learners are afforded an equal opportunity to achieve despite their diverse cultural backgrounds. These dimensions of a multicultural curriculum are: content integration; knowledge construction; prejudice reduction; equity pedagogy and an empowering school culture and social structure (Banks, 2009). Content integration refers to the use of examples and topics from different cultures and ethnic groups to illustrate concepts and theories in a subject area. It deals with the infusion of various cultures, ethnicities and other identities to be represented in the curriculum (Bode, 2010). All countries in SSA are multicultural. In terms of content integration, classroom examples used should be drawn from the diverse IKSs inherent in society. This becomes pertinent when analysed in the context of the seven functions of culture outlined by Mazrui (1990) cited in Nyoni and Nyoni (2010). For example, in the Zimbabwean context, classroom pedagogy should draw examples from the different ethnic and racial groups that constitute Zimbabwean society such as the Tonga, Kalanga, Venda and Nambya among many others (Muchenje, 2010). In South Africa, for example, content integration should focus on IKSs from different groups that make up the 'rainbow' nation such as the Xhosa, Zulu, Venda and others.

Knowledge construction focuses on the way knowledge is created in various subject areas and how cultural assumptions, experiences and perspectives influence the knowledge constructed (Banks, 2009). The main thrust is to show learners that knowledge is socially constructed. The incorporation of diverse IKSs in the curriculum goes a long way in demonstrating that knowledge is a social product.

McGovern (1999) is of the opinion that postmodernism addresses issues of power relations such as 'Who has the authority to create knowledge, from what sites or places is knowledge created and how is knowledge legitimated and circulated? When IKSs are incorporated into the school curriculum, learners should be able to realise that knowledge is socially constructed and that they have a role in creating knowledge and that knowledge is embedded within a particular cultural context. Hence cognitive justice in the classroom should place emphasis on IKSs found in the different African communities. In terms of postmodernism, emphasis should be on the plurality of knowledge forms and social constructivism. The plural character of knowledge demands the use of learning material and examples from different subcultures and, in this regard, IKSs assume major importance.

Prejudice reduction seeks to help learners examine their preconceptions about other people, especially minority groups and develop positive attitudes towards all human beings (Banks, 2009). It also refers to the way in which teachers help learners develop positive and anti-biased attitudes about people of different backgrounds (Nieto, 2009). Prejudice reduction can be enhanced through the incorporation of IKSs in curriculum content. It can be argued that through the incorporation of IKSs learners will be able to appreciate the experiences and contributions of different social groups that make up society in terms of the creation of knowledge. If this happens in a plural nation, then there is room for the reduction of prejudice in the school environment and society at large.

Equitable pedagogy is achieved when the teacher is able to match teaching strategies with student learning styles (Banks, 2009; Yao, Buchanan, Chang, Powell-Brown, & Pecina 2009). The effectiveness of such teaching strategies appears to be enhanced with the effective incorporation of IKSs in the curriculum. This ensures the academic success of all learners. At the same time, the use of examples familiar with learners is an effective strategy. Educators have to accommodate these diverse styles in terms of classroom pedagogy in order to enhance equitable pedagogy. An empowering school culture and social structure requires the culture and organisation of the school to be structured in a way that ensures equality and empowerment for students from all groups (Banks, 2009). School cultures should accommodate students from diverse cultural background and the incorporation of diverse IKSs is one way of promoting the celebration of diversity in all spheres of school life.

UTILITY OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

Indigenous knowledge systems have been found to inform practice in a number of areas that range from anatomy to zoology. The works of Gata (1995); Greenier quoted in Kunnie (2000); Matowanyika (1995); Odora Hoppers (2002) cited in Muchenje and Goronga (2013) show that the following fields have been influenced by IKSs: folk lore, music, jewellery, pottery, agriculture, health, botany, sports, zoology, metallurgy, nutrition, education, governance and land reform among many others. The fields cited above are also part of the school curriculum in

almost all schools in SSA. Zimbabwe's primary school curriculum comprises ten subjects which include: languages, Mathematics, Social Studies, Environmental Science, Agriculture, Religious and Moral Education, Home Economics, HIV and AIDS Education, Art and Physical Education. In terms of co-curricular activities, traditional dance and music are some of the activities offered. This wide range in terms of curriculum subjects, which should be similar to what is offered in other countries in SSA, presents a healthy opportunity for the incorporation of IKSs across the curriculum as a way of enhancing cognitive justice. Furthermore, a research study conducted by Makoelle (2014) in South Africa with the Basotho has shown the utility of IKSs in the teaching of Mathematics, History, Literature and Life Skills as well as Citizenship Education. This creates an environment in which all learners from diverse cultural backgrounds experience success.

Bhebhe (2000) argues that before the European conquest of Africa, Africans had built up a pool of knowledge and technology which they used to sustain agriculture, human and animal health, timber seasoning, and fermentation of beverages, mining and architectural engineering. These technologies need to be revisited, resuscitated and utilised in conjunction with western knowledge forms. The education system both formal and non-formal, at all levels, should incorporate indigenous knowledge systems. This is a way of ensuring that students acquire essential skills that have immediate application to their diverse environments.

RE-THINKING CURRICULUM REFORM IN EDUCATION

Education has an important role to play in highlighting the importance of IKSs. There is need to re-think and revisit the content of the school curriculum in order to ensure that IKSs feature prominently across all the subjects in the curriculum. This requires broad consultation amongst all the relevant stakeholders in education regarding the infusion of IKSs into the curriculum. Dubbelddam cited in Ooijens (1995) argues that education is the transfer of knowledge, skills and ideas as well as the stimulation and development of social capability and attitudes that enable people to lead a life worthy of human beings and to improve the quality of life. Nyerere (1982) holds a similar opinion as he argues that the purpose of education in any society is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development. A question can be posed at this juncture: To what extent does the content of the school curriculum, as presently constituted, meet the criteria outlined by Nyerere? It is my contention that the content of education in a number of countries in SSA is unable to meet these criteria and does not accommodate the challenges raised in this chapter so far. This has a negative impact on the external efficiency of the education system. In a number of countries, IKSs have not been incorporated in the education system and where this has been done, the approach has been superficial and casual and not in line with the MDGs declaration on indigenous knowledge in the education system. In order to

meet these challenges, particularly beyond the MDGs, the school curriculum needs to be reformed and reconstituted.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown the rationale for the incorporation of IKSs into the school curriculum and that incorporation has not been done as was suggested in the MDGs declaration on education and equity and the importance of indigenous knowledge systems in the formal school curriculum. I further argued that the incorporation of IKSs into the school curriculum tends to address the need for cognitive justice in multicultural classroom settings. Cognitive justice should be an enduring feature across the curriculum in the SSA schools. At the same time, such an approach goes a long way in addressing the just ended MDGs and Africa's development needs by not only enhancing the external efficiency of the education system but also by creating an appropriate technology base that is embedded in the demands of the local environment. Teachers have an important role to play in the incorporation of IKSs as I outlined in this chapter. Although curriculum reform is a process that cannot be completed overnight, teachers cannot turn a blind eye to the compelling need to include IKSs across all subjects in the school curriculum. Therefore, as I argued in this chapter, their perception of difference goes a long way in the successful incorporation of IKSs into the curriculum and school culture.

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5. RE-THINKING EDUCATION IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA

Educating Munhu/Umuntu in Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION

Education, in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), is in crisis. It seems as though its purpose is misdirected. The intention of postcolonial education in Africa should be to produce authentic individuals whose existence is not mimetic. Our argument in this chapter is that as long as SSA education is communicated in a foreign language and imbibes curricular that are rooted in Western epistemological paradigms, it will continue to be Eurocentric and fail to speak to *munhu/umuntu*. The term *munhu/umuntu* is intended to refer to the cultural and social individuals in their wholeness, complete social beings educated in all aspects of their humanness and humanity, that is morally, spiritually, intellectually, physically, and emotionally dignified so that they can appreciate their position and role in a collective African society. *Munhu/umuntu* struggles to find self-identity and self-confidence through the current education system, which is individualistic and does not function as a collective unit. *Munhu/umuntu* cannot find their 'self' as long as the values espoused by the education systems are foreign and alien, and as long as the space occupied is defined from an alien perspective. *Munhu/umuntu* will only find 'self' in communication through indigenous media and through curricular rooted in indigenous epistemological paradigms that engage Africa's triple heritage, that is, the heritage from indigenous traditions, Euro-Christian traditions and Islamic traditions. This chapter, therefore, engages the problem of postcolonial education as the attempt to be authentic and responsive to challenges that are germane to SSA. However, our chapter and discussion are not intended to explore these issues in all African countries but we focuses on Zimbabwe as a case study representing the situation in these postcolonial states. Indeed, situations will differ in all states to the extent that their historical circumstances are not similar as they emanate from different indigenous, colonial and postcolonial experiences.

POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

Our discussion of *munhu/umuntu* and education in Zimbabwe is rooted in postcolonial theory. Postcoloniality defines present realities in most countries in SSA.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 85–103.

This necessitates an engagement with postcolonial theory in any discussion that seeks to grapple with the present realities of SSA. Postcolonial studies is attributed to Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism*. In this text Said observes that western discourse on coloniality and the 'Other' is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 2). By the term 'the Orient', Said meant the East, particularly the Middle East, while by 'Occident' he meant the countries of the West, especially Europe and the Americas. Said (1978) argues that western representation of the 'Other' as exotic, deviant, and different was embedded in attempts to dominate, restructure and impose authority over the 'Other'. Consequently, postcolonial theory probes the impact of cultural, economic, political, psychological and military dominance of the West in Africa and other former colonies. Preoccupation with postcolonial theory in discussions on SSA is justified on the grounds that colonialism gave birth to neo-colonialism – the reincarnation of colonial relations among the colonised and their former colonisers (Goodpaster & Heldke, 2009). While colonialism is no longer policy, the neo-colonial is characterised by the continuation of old habits, structures, and attitudes of colonialism. Among these are education systems inherited from the colonial regimes that continued after independence as evidence of neo-colonialism.

If, as argued by Mann (2012, p. 1), postcolonialism reflects "relations between nations and areas they colonised and once ruled," it is crucial to engage postcolonial theory in Africa as colonialism went beyond territorial conquest to encompass metaphysical orientations, epistemological paradigms, worldviews and perceptions. However, as we do so, we take note that the term postcolonial is a contested term. In this discussion, we use the term postcolonial to indicate the continued presence of colonial conditions and how it affects the realities in the former colonies and relations between the centre (former colonisers) and the periphery (formerly colonised). Indeed, Bhabha (1994) cited in Subedi and Daza (2008, p. 2) clarifies this relationship by explaining that postcolonial "is a salutary reminder of the persistent 'neocolonial' relations within the 'new' world order and the multinational division of labour." Along similar lines, Kayira (2013) has shown how colonialism remains present in education systems in SSA even after the official end of colonialism. Because of this deep seated impact colonialism continues to influence existing realities in SSA albeit to varying degrees from state to state. Certainly, neo-colonialism is quite evident in education where indigenous epistemologies have been relegated to oblivion while western knowledge systems constitute the bodies of knowledge embodied in curricular in schools in SSA. More importantly as argued by Kayira (2013, p. 106):

> Postcolonial theory provides a platform to challenge the dominant truths espoused by Western thought. In doing so, it paves the way for other truths to have space in the knowledge discourses, including the sub-Saharan African worldview of *Ubuntu/uMuntu*.

Following Ngugi wa Thiongo (1991), Kayira (2013) says that postcolonial theory provides a framework that de-centres dominant discourses to allow the emergence of a multiplicity of centres. This creates space for the marginalised to bloom and create alternative discourses to dominant ones. Postcolonial theory repudiates absolutism, stable identities, origins and paradigms. It presents power dynamics as contingent, unstable, contradictory and always processual. Within the context of SSA, it calls for the 'unlearning' of the European privilege.

Postcolonial theory informs this interrogation of the education of *munhu/umuntu* in Zimbabwe as it deals largely with the question of identity and identity crises after the experience of colonial subjugation and alienation. Postcolonial theory deals with people's experiences during and after colonialism in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia. The theory engages the problem of identity precisely because colonialism was characterised by the denial of the humanity of the colonised, the exploitation of their physical, spiritual, economic and psychological spaces. This exploitation was informed by ethnocentric and racist thinking that considered the conquered 'Other' as undeserving of their God given resources while arrogating to the colonisers the right to grab land and other natural and human resources in the colonised spaces.

Subedi and Daza (2008) argue that postcolonial theory is crucial to education in the postcolony for a number of reasons. Firstly, it seeks to decolonise knowledge and "the production of transformative knowledge" (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 2). Postcolonial theory challenges claims to universal notions of history, experiences, and culture that subsumes differences. It demystifies the unnecessary dichotomies of local/global, citizen/foreigner or civilised/uncivilised. Secondly, postcoloniality interrogates the way national identity and citizenship have been conceptualised "within racialised and hetero-normative frameworks" (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 2). These have been used as weapons of exclusion. Extended to race, religion and other identities, indigenous epistemologies and ontologies were denied. The result has been narrow interpretation of such concepts as democracy and freedom as these are defined by the former colonisers. Thus, Subedi and Daza (2008, pp. 2–3) argue, "The question of imperialism is clearly significant in the field of postcolonial studies in education since it helps educators understand the historical context of knowledge production and how the past colonial practices … are interconnected to present neo-colonialism." Thirdly, Subedi and Daza (2008) further contend that:

> Postcolonial theory is concerned with questions of agency and how marginalised subjects are capable of interrupting or resisting dominant discourses. The topic of agency is significant in educational research since agency is connected to the ability of student-subjects to contest dominant educational practices that often place them in marginalised positions. (p. 3)

It becomes clear that the colonised repackage what the colonial system provides as they make an effort to survive. In other words, they are not passive victims of the colonial system. Furthermore, there are contradictions in how the conquered and the conquerors relate. These need to be engaged. There is need to reach out and educate

people across differences in status, race, ethnicity, social class, gender etc. The postcolonial critique therefore makes relevant engagement of indigenous Africans' epistemological paradigms thereby reclaiming epistemological space for indigenous ways of knowing, metaphysical dispositions and axiological directions. It further locates education in SSA in its proper historical context exposing its weaknesses and possible remedies. Postcolonial theory, therefore, empowers the Africans to assume a crucial determinant role in their education and its decisive orientation. In the process, it exposes contradictions within the inherited education systems and points to possible resolution of these contradictions.

Noting the limitations of the current education system, postcolonial theorists informed by Afrocentric paradigm call for the Africanisation of school curricula in Zimbabwe. They argue that:

> Indeed, postcolonial perspectives provide a platform to challenge the dominant truths espoused by Western thought, and by doing so, pave the way for other truths to have space in the knowledge discourses. In addition, through the lens of postcolonial theory, it is possible to challenge hegemonic discourses in the language of the coloniser: to speak back. (Kayira, 2013, p. 10)

The advantage of postcolonial theory to African scholars is that postcolonial theory is self-reflexive and always questions its assumptions to prevent it from becoming a master narrative. *Munhu* (the African), therefore, has the opportunity to self-introspect as they seek an education that speaks to their existential settings. Undeniably, *munhu* can better understand their experiences through postcolonial theory as it involves the deconstruction of colonialism and domination with a focus towards reconstruction and liberation from colonial impositions. It is going back to the source, re-finding oneself. This, therefore, reorients *munhu* towards a new education rooted in indigenous knowledge. Explaining Twi concept of Sankofa, Kayira (2013, p. 9) says it requires that "we should reach back and gather the best of what our past has to teach us so that we can achieve our full potential as we move forward. Whatever we have lost, forgotten, forgone or been stripped of can be reclaimed, revived, preserved and perpetuated" with a view to transformative pedagogy.

Postcolonial theory raises questions on how educational knowledge produced by scholars at the centre and the intellectual elite in the periphery reinforces "colonial notions of culture power and difference" (Subedi & Daza, 2007, p. 4). It, therefore, calls for the unlearning of Eurocentric dominance of knowledge. It questions how race and cultural differences have been framed within the field of education. From the foregoing discussion, fundamental to postcolonial theory is its problematisation of how knowledge is created or produced. For postcolonial theory to be relevant to countries in SSA, the 'post-' in postcolonial must mean "the historical moment of the theorised introduction of new tricontinental forms and strategies of critical analysis and practice" (Viruru, 2005, p. 9). Subedi and Daza (2008, p. 3) postulate that postcolonial theory has been criticised and questioned for its convoluted "language,

inter-disciplinarity and for its attempt to address multiple contexts and audiences." Its convoluted language can exclude other scholars wishing to contribute to the critique of hegemonic Eurocentrism. However, postcolonial scholars point to the non-innocence of language in writing culture. Indeed, postcolonial theory is essential to education in SSA as most of the concepts that the education systems engage are colonised concepts that require interrogation. Thus, Viruru (2005, p. 9) argues that despite criticism, postcolonial theory "still offers a way to seek new possibilities and to resist forms of control, no matter how hidden or subtle they might be." Indeed, Viruru (2005, p. 8) maintains that whatever descriptor we give to postcolonial theory its purpose and intentions are the same, that is, "addressing the legacy of colonialism imposed by western attempts to dominate the globe over hundreds of years."

BACKGROUND TO THE COLONIAL LEGACY

For a clear understanding of the present predicament in African education systems, one has to interrogate the colonial legacy whose umbilical code with SSA has remained intact. On encountering *munhu* in SSA, imperialists portrayed African epistemologies, metaphysics and axiological practices as barbaric, uncivilised and inferior. *Munhu* was described as brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious (Kayira, 2013). The aim was to deny *munhu*, their being as humans and cast them as an inferior entity that could be exploited in the name of civilisation. Thus, imperialists could replace African epistemologies with Western knowledge systems, African metaphysics with Western metaphysics and African value systems with Western value systems. The imperialistic agenda in SSA was the exploitation of the natural resources of the sub-continent and region, thereby disempowering *munhu*.

According to Kayira (2013), the settlers in SSA made *munhu* to believe that African indigenous metaphysical outlook, epistemological paradigms, and axiological orientations were inferior to those of the Europeans. This thinking was hammered into the mind of *munhu* through the law, government, agriculture, religion, culture and education. As a result, even after political independence, most SSA education systems have continued to be grounded in western epistemologies propagating western value systems while ignoring indigenous ways of knowing, thereby alienating *munhu* from indigenous beingness or identity. Missionary education in Zimbabwe, for instance, neglected *munhu*'s culture and history. This resulted in the rejection of indigenous culture and history by *munhu*. Consequently, the learned *vanhu* (plural for *munhu* – African people) lacked self-respect and pride in being indigenous Africans. Indeed, as argued by Uchendu (1979, p. 3), the education missionaries and colonial governments gave to Africans was not "metropolitan transplants but … adaptations which served to perpetuate colonial domination." Thus, colonisation was "an attempt to remove the colonised people from their indigenous learning structures and draw them toward the structures of the colonisers" (Mart, 2011, p. 190). It also meant that, on the other end, it immersed them in western education structures whose focus

is individualistic, the 'I', as opposed to the collective, the 'We', which traditional African education systems emphasised. It reflects the alienation of *munhu* from indigenous philosophy and culture, thanks to the colonial project and experience.

We might want to ask ourselves what education is and what its purpose is. Education can be defined as the transmission of culture. It is the initiation of the learners into bodies of knowledge and skills that are regarded as the most desirable in the culture of those who are offering the education system. Thus, education can be viewed as "the transmission of knowledge" (Harris, 1979, p. 1). However, this transmission can be either formal or informal. In formal contexts, education transmits selected knowledge on what is regarded as worthwhile. It further engages the right methodologies of transmitting that which is worth knowing. But this is not to say the knowledge being transmitted is fixed or unchanging. With regards to the purpose of education, Mhango (2008, p. 2) argues that "education is a tool to solve one's problems as [s]he becomes more human than anything else." In other words, education should equip *munhu* to confront life free of neo-colonial mindset. What needs to be pointed out is that knowledge is not neutral. Consequently, as argued by Kanu (2007), education in colonial SSA was the arsenal of colonial exploitation of Africa. During the colonial project, schools in SSA were "primarily designed to meet the conceptions and needs of the colonisers rather than the colonised, and this influenced the amount, type and availability of education" (Goodpaster & Heldke, 2009, p. 6). In other words, the education systems of the colonised world were designed in the desired image of the education systems of their colonisers. This resulted in the displacement of local cultures and discourses and their replacement with those of the colonisers. As indigenous cultures were neglected, the African's creative and intellectual powers were ignored. Indigenous education became devalued because it did not lead to gainful employment in the new economy imposed by the colonisers and, therefore, it was not recognised as education by the colonisers. The African people became physically, spiritually, mentally and emotionally subservient to the colonisers. They viewed themselves as inferior to their colonisers to the extent that they lost a sense of pride in their own languages and culture, in general.

THE NATURE OF POSTCOLONIAL EDUCATION

In this section, we start with Frantz Fanon's observation quoted in Serequeberhan (2010, p. 12) that "in the colonial context, the coloniser does not stop the work of breaking in (*d'ereintement*) the colonised until the latter admits loudly and clearly the supremacy of white values." In the process, education was the tool used for breaking in the African. Thus, Aime Cesaire (2000) cited in Mart (2011) states, in relation to colonial education, that:

> I see force, brutality, cruelty, sadism, conflict, and, in a parody of education, the hasty manufacture of a few thousand subordinate functionaries, "boys", artisans, office clerks, and interpreters necessary for the smooth operation of

> business … between coloniser and colonised there is room only for forced labour, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses. (p. 192)

Goodpaster and Heldke (2009) argue that education in SSA leads to continued loss of culture, loss of identity, disconnection between school and society, and claims on knowledge. It suppresses creativity, innovation and creative thinking among the learners. This is a result of the fact that the education system was meant to produce "a cohort of stooges to be used to entrench colonialism even after the exit of the colonisers" (Mhango, 2008, p. 2). Mrarandi and Shadpour (2012) claim that education in colonial states was an ideological weapon to train Africans to accept colonial rule and European supremacy willingly. They use an analysis of Chinua Achede's *No Longer at Ease* to show how he attempted to show the relationship between the European education systems implanted in SSA and the corruption of the Africans through this education system. They contend that education was part of western ideological instruments because ideologies have the power to influence people's lives for better or for worse. Nyamnjoh (2012) argues that in SSA, the colonial conquest of Africans, body, mind and soul, led to real or attempted epistemicide – the decimation or near complete killing and replacement of endogenous epistemologies with the epistemological paradigm of the conqueror. While education can lead to freedom, it can equally lead to servitude. This is because colonial conquest was not just physical conquest; it was spiritual, epistemic and axiological conquest. It was spiritual because the religion of the conquered was suppressed, and epistemic, because indigenous knowledge systems (IKSs) were supplanted and marginalised. Consequently, there is need for spiritual, epistemic, ontological and axiological liberation.

As a result of western imperialism, the epistemological space remains occupied by western knowledge systems in SSA. This is because Western education lacked "cultural and epistemological sensitivity" (Kayira, 2013, p. 13) since the colonial education system was meant to maintain the colonial social order. To this day, it continues to promote neo-colonial dependency in SSA. For instance, in Zimbabwe, it created shortcomings in the postcolonial education system, which include:

- Failing to prepare learners for the present and the future realities in Africa. The graduates cannot cope with the challenges of life, for example fending for themselves;
- The education system produces job seekers rather than job creators. They are taught to prepare for and aspire for higher paying white collar jobs; and
- It produces people who despise blue collar jobs and life in the rural areas whose focus is to move to, or stay in urban areas searching for jobs.

Yet, education by its very nature is meant to be the key to national development. Mart (2011) suggests that colonialists realised that they could have strong control

over the colonised not only through physical control but also mental control. This mental control was carried out through education. Furthermore, the colonisers used education as a tool to achieve social control over the indigenous people.

Postcolonial education is symbolic and intellectual violence whereby *munhu* is being compelled to imbibe alien values and norms, while exposed to unfamiliar worldviews and philosophies that alienate learners from their culture and values. This, as Goodpaster and Heldke (2009) argue, is because the values that are in postcolonial schools reflect the culture of the previously dominating cultures rather than the culture of the learners. The curriculum that is taught in African schools is more in sync with the former colonisers' culture than with the local people. Goodpaster and Heldke (2009) maintain that education systems in SSA are cases of persistent structures that were put in place during the colonial era and thus serve as a good example of neocolonialism. African teachers, therefore, need to interrogate the curriculum, the methodologies they use and the values they are passing on to the learners. By colonial design, schools in SSA have remained the holding grounds for the unemployed.

After going through the current education system, most learners find themselves with nothing to do. They have no skills to fall back on. Furthermore, the education systems straight jacket the learners as they are forced to study what they may not like. In that process schools breed conformity and domesticated individuals. The system is set up to create a mass of 'failures'. These are the people who cannot cope with the system, yet the system is configured in such a way that only a few people succeed. In other words, these people have been failed by the system. Yet, the system instills it into their minds that they are failures. As a result, these 'failures' develop inferiority complexes that continue to hamper authentic development as they lack self-confidence. This is mainly because colonial education was intended to be an education for subservience that focused on making the colonial machinery function smoothly while for the missionaries, the idea was to enable Africans to read the Bible and convert to Christianity at the same time providing a pool from which to select potential African preachers. Mart (2011, p. 192) observes that:

> Too many students leave our schools with just enough knowledge to alienate them from the soil and make them contemptuous of their brothers who have remained in the villages, but they are incapable of using this semblance of education, of which they are so proud, to earn a living. They are too often the declassed, the malcontents, the parasites of the working community.

In a similar fashion, wa Thiongo (1987) argues:

> The process annihilates people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves. (p. 3)

Indeed, the educated indigenous Africans became misfits in their own community after graduating from colonial schools. At the same time their parents did not expect their educated children to continue living with them, tending the cattle or cultivating the land (Woolman, 2001).

On attainment of political independence in Zimbabwe in 1980, school curricular grounded in Western epistemology, metaphysics and axiology were extended to a larger population of Zimbabweans more than before the colonial era. It embodied the values, norms, interests and preferences of the former colonisers. The focus then was making education available to 'all' in line with the later Millennium Development Goal # 2 on providing universal education to the country's school going age children. The policy planners became blind to the need to ground the education system in indigenous philosophies of education rendering it relevant to the cultural contexts of the learners. The curricular failed to speak to the cultural experiences of the indigenous African people. This can only be understood within the context of *hunhu/Ubuntu*, that is, the behavioral traits moulding *munhu*.

The main thrust of reforms in education, in Zimbabwe, was on quantitative increase of school infrastructure and school enrolments. While many pupils now had access to education, the national education systems retained colonial ideologies as well as methods of teaching and learning. Very little effort has been expended in indigenising the education systems in Zimbabwe in terms of both quality and content. Indeed Shizha (2005, p. 71) argues:

> Since independence, there has been very little significant shift from Eurocentric definitions of official knowledge and school pedagogy … The content of school curriculum, and the language of instruction … continue to mirror those of the metropolitan powers of the West or North. It still perpetuates psychological colonisation by making Africans emulate Europeans.

The above view had been earlier on reiterated by Ntuli (2002) who posits:

> Our education system seems to move farther and farther away from indigenous knowledge. There is no attempt at any level to examine the indigenous knowledge systems awareness of the essential interrelatedness of all phenomena – physical, biological, psychological, social and cultural. (pp. 64–65)

Many countries in SSA have put in place plans to indigenise education (Kayira, 2013). However, the steps taken and the knowledge incorporated into the curricular are cosmetic. Kayira cites the case of Malawi, in which when incorporating IKSs, included drums as communication technology, bows and arrows as technological innovations. The result was ignoring all other IKSs related to science. What this means is that any African government intent on serious incorporation of IKSs has to undertake serious research to identify scientific IKSs. There is need for wide and in-depth research in the field of medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, mathematics, etc. In other words, there is need to go beyond technology related knowledge. What the Malawian experience shows is that the curriculum developers are ignorant of

what is or what to include under IKSs. In the Malawian example, which is similar to the Zimbabwean experiences, the teachers perpetuate negative perceptions of IKSs by focusing on the negative aspects of taboos instead of engaging their positive aspects such as why they were in place in the first place. Kayira (2013, p. 7) criticises the privileged position of western knowledge in Malawian schools pointing out that "presently, Eurocentric science has the power and influence in the school science curriculum but is largely irrelevant to most Malawian villagers." The sciences and mathematics are decontextualised as they are not addressed to the challenges being experienced by the African people in Malawi. The same argument can be replicated in the Zimbabwean situation. According to Kayira (2013), while attempts have been made to infuse indigenous knowledge into social and environmental studies, the curriculum focuses on initiation ceremonies, traditional dances, and marriage systems. However, indigenous knowledge is absent in topics such as environment, forestry, farming and soil erosion. This handicaps the curriculum in terms of addressing the needs of the community. Consequently, Kayira concludes that the inclusion of some forms of indigenous knowledge is only token and unauthentic. Thus African indigenous knowledge remains on the fringes of curriculum policy, design and implementation while western knowledge remains entrenched at the centre. This develops disdain for indigenous knowledge in the learners and embracing of western forms of knowledge.

After independence in 1980, Zimbabwe invested heavily in quantitative expansion of the education system. Many educational facilities were constructed, enrolments of learners sky-rocketed. While in 1980 the enrolment levels at primary and secondary school levels were 1.2 million and 74 321 pupils (CIET, 1999, p. 37) respectively, they had increased to 2.7 million and 936 734 pupils in 2012 respectively (ZimStat, 2014, p. 28). Literacy levels increased dramatically to a point where Zimbabwe attained the highest literacy rate in Africa at 90.7% (The African Economist, 2013). However, the education systems continued to be characterised by "irrelevant curricula, antiquated methods, high drop-out and repetition rates" (Woolman, 2001, p. 30). Furthermore, the education system produces graduates who are largely docile, dependent, low on initiative and immoral as well as egocentric and materialistic. Western education undermined African societies through introducing western individualistic value systems in contrast to African communalistic value systems. The boarding school system was effective in isolating young Africans from their societies to which they had difficulties to reconcile after initiation into western value systems, perspectives and attitudes. Indeed, western education resulted in economic inequalities, "social stratification, cultural and intellectual servitude, devaluation of traditional culture" (Woolman, 2001, p. 29) and the development of curriculum that was not responsive to the needs of African communities. Indeed, as argued by Mazrui (1978), the educated Africans became misfits in their own communities. Education alienated Africans from their mode of existence and from the very community that had educated them (Woolman, 2001). Even today, Goodpaster and Heldke (2009) claim that we still live in a Euro-American-centric world while Jansen (1991, p. 77) argues that today,

in almost every postcolonial nation, there is evidence of greater continuity with the colonial curriculum than the radical change envisaged by official policy.

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

The language through which *munhu* is educated is crucial to the development of indigenous Africans' outlook on life as it is through it that they express and define themselves, in short, present themselves to the world. The language through which *munhu* is taught and the mastery of that language determines the level of comprehension and engagement of the content to be interacted with in the learning situations. That is why the language question is central to any discussion of the education of *munhu* as noted in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which state that:

> Language is the key to inclusion. Language is at the centre of human activity, self-expression and identity. Recognising the primary importance that people place on their own language fosters the kind of true participation in development that achieves lasting results. (UNESCO, 2012, p. 1)

In addition to UNESCO's observation, Goodpaster and Heldke (2009) claim that:

> A potential vehicle for oppressive pedagogy is the language in which lessons are taught. Language is an aspect of pedagogy that touches all the others … The language in which a teacher teaches affects how material is presented and how students can and do participate. (p. 14)

Goodpaster and Heldke (2009, p. 14) further posit that "if the language being used to teach is that of the former coloniser, it makes the oppressor the voice of authority and knowledge." The result is that it affects *munhu*'s ability to relate to what is learned from school to the home cultural settings and inhibits the participation of parents, who are not conversant with the language, in the education of their children. According to Goodpaster and Heldke (2009), teachers communicate culture through their teaching. They either promote or stunt the development of the learners' cultural identity. Thus, as they teach, they need to appreciate the local culture to avoid thwarting the development of the cultural identity of the learners. In other words, *munhu*'s culture and language need to be engaged to benefit from the teaching-learning processes. UNESCO has taken a critical view of pedagogy admitting that fulfillment of the Millenium Development Goals for education "may fail because of the colonialist systems of education that remain" (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007, p. 285).

wa Thiongo (1986) argues that linguistic colonialism leads to mental control through a combination of two aspects of the same process, the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature, and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. Culture has a dialectical nature in that it produces and shapes individuals who in turn produce and shape it in the process of interaction with

other human beings. Consequently, culture "is communicated and transmitted in the educator's approach to teaching, and can contribute either positively or negatively to culture, cultural identity, education, and society" (Goodpaster & Heldke, 2009, p. 2). Thus, the negation of *munhu*'s language while elevating the language of the colonisers results in *munhu* identifying with the language of the coloniser. What the above means is that the language policy has implications for cultural preservation, intercultural understanding and African national identity. According to Woolman (2001, p. 38), the use of foreign languages in learning in Mozambique was "identified as a major factor underlying primary level learning difficulties, grade repetition and high dropout rates." These learning difficulties can justifiably be extended to other postcolonial African states, including Zimbabwe.

During the colonial era, in Zimbabwe as was the case in Kenya, "English alone was seen as the essential language for empowerment and advancement" (Woolman, 2001, p. 38). English was not only the language of instruction, but it was also taught as a subject. Unfortunately, even today, English is the language that depicts academic excellence in many countries in SSA. In that regard, Kayira (2013) concludes:

> Such privileging is seen by many critical scholars as a form of colonial discrimination… as well as a way of establishing claims of superiority over local languages … Privileging English robs students of their cultural heritage and renews contact with colonial practices and ideologies, making efforts of recovering self-identity and national unity self-defeating endeavours. (p. 15)

According to Kayira (2013), education systems in SSA are characterised by the prevalence and hegemony of English, French and Portuguese as the exclusive languages of learning and teaching. The dominance of these languages as medium of instruction in education in SSA suppresses deep knowledge about the natural environment, traditional cultural resources and past social phenomena, and has replaced these with Western narratives about ownership, conservation and animals. Neo-colonialism has resulted in the marginalisation of indigenous languages, and the devaluation of indigenous knowledge. Consequently, postcolonial SSA is characterised by the neglect and marginalisation of indigenous ways of knowing in their education systems. wa Thiongo (1986) argues that, colonial education annihilates Africans' belief in their names, languages, environment, heritage of struggle, unity, capacities and ultimately, themselves. This implies that colonial education was at tangent with African reality and postcolonial education is reinforcing this negativity. wa Thiongo further contends that:

> Education, far from giving people the confidence in their realities and capacities to overcome obstacles … tends to make them feel their inadequacies, their weakness and their capacities in the face of reality: and their inability to do anything about the conditions governing their lives. (1986, p. 56)

In other words, the language policies as reflected in the education system, disempower *munhu* and leave Africans with an inferiority complex.

If all societies are epistemic societies, the challenge is how can *munhu* maintain the language of the coloniser without confirming that the coloniser is superior? It appears that as long as *munhu* uses the colonial language, indigenous Africans will be seen as confirming the superiority of the colonial language, colonial culture and colonial values. Woolman (2001, p. 41) maintains that cultivating "oral and written fluency in local languages is important in building self-esteem, preserving culture, and advancing the literary output and identity of African people." He further argues that historical evidence suggests that early nation-building in Europe was closely linked to the cultivation of vernacular languages and literature. What this points to, as already explained by wa Thiongo (1987), is to decolonise *munhu*'s mind in terms of the cultural and language landscape, that is, there is need to liberate the mind of the African from mental colonisation.

EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

The questions we need to ask ourselves as indigenous educators within the postcolonial space contemplating the education of *munhu* are: Whose hat are we wearing? Does the hat fit well onto our heads even after distortions through colonial experiences? We need hats that we make for ourselves, hats that fit and can give us protection from the vagaries of the weather. As noted in the foregoing discussion colonial education was characterised by the exclusion of African traditions from education. This points to the need to re-think the type of education suitable for SSA, and for a reconstructive approach to education that would, "identify the common values within diverse traditions and integrate these with modern content and skills" (Woolman, 2001, p. 27). This will result in respect for cultural differences and diversity and a holistic education for *munhu*. According to Kayira (2013), in SSA, the mind and the related embodied and institutional practices require decolonisation. Once the mind is decolonised, we will have succeeded in exorcising the ghost of neo-colonialism. Indeed, wa Thiongo (1986) challenged the continued use of the colonial languages in the supposedly liberated African countries. To that effect, Kayira (2013) then maintains that for progressive and lasting change to be achieved, we all need to refuse the dominant languages and practices of power that have divided us into superior and inferior, ruler and ruled, developed and developing. The original language of *munhu* needs to reclaim its space in politics, education, economics, religion, law et cetera, if this presumed liberation process is to be complete.

To liberate *munhu*, there is need to come up with an education system that develops students into lifelong learners capable of learning and relearning, and unlearning colonial negativities. This would be an education that enables them to unlearn the colonial baggage of inferiority complexes that clog and weigh their mind and manifests itself in the way they approach life's challenges, attitudes and values as well as practices. The colonial baggage makes African learners look to the former colonisers for solutions to their social, economic and political problems. Their minds require authentic freedom that liberates their minds and opens it to new possibilities.

Once they understand what they learn, they can then act as required. But learners cannot act without an understanding of knowledge based on *hunhu* as *hunhu* helps them interrogate the oppressive colonial heritage. The current thrust towards Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in Zimbabwe reflects the view that education should and can play a crucial role in the modernisation and national development of the country. This also shows that the results of the education systems have not matched the national expectations in meeting the employment and developmental needs of the learners. In the education of *munhu*, there is therefore, the need for a critical engagement of STEM so that *munhu* experiences a holistic education. But for a holistic education to be a reality, STEM needs the humanities as well so that it becomes Science, Technology, Humanities, Engineering and Mathematics (STHEM), thus enabling the development of all of *munhu*'s faculties.

STHEM then becomes a critique of economism in education, that is the reduction of the role of education to equipping learners with technical skills for survival and material acquisition or to provide workers for industry and commerce. In this respect, education is driven by economic considerations. This is essential since quite often economism has been the driving force of national educational policy. Woolman (2001, p. 28) argues that this is contrary to abundant evidence that "such growth usually results from complex relationships between many variables rather than any simple one-to-one interaction between schools and the jobs." Such factors include peace, natural resources endowments, the presence of manufacturing and service industries, absence of corruption and a focus on the welfare of the community. On the justification for the reassertion of African culture and identity, Woolman (2001) claims that the history of colonialism in SSA resulted in a peculiar type of psychological dependency that has made the reassertion of African culture and identity an important part of African nation-building. It is, therefore, clear that the colonial experience necessitates the reassertion of African identity and culture as crucial aspects of nation-building within the postcolonial space. This process should involve the reclamation of indigenous cultures, languages, and natural environments and a full renaissance of the artistic, literary and spiritual potential of African peoples. In any movement of this kind, schools should play a key role.

Indigenous ways of knowing can be used as a critique of colonial education. This occurs when indigenous ways of knowing are approached as "a process of knowledge decolonisation that gives contextual and epistemic relevance to … education and development processes" (Kayira, 2013, p. 15). What this means is that there is need to reposition indigenous knowledge in formal education in SSA. In other words, there is need to create space for the inclusion of indigenous ways of knowing in the formal education systems in SSA so that *munhu* can identify with the education system and does not feel alienated from school culture. This is essential as it is local culture that provides meaning and identity to members of a community. The goal of learning should be to enable the learners to reconstruct their beliefs and experiences. Kayira says, indigenous knowledge is best described as 'indigenous ways of knowing' to reflect that knowledge is neither universal nor an objective

commodity. Indigenous ways of knowing are constantly changing as people make meaning of their experiences (Kayira, 2013). What it means is that the education of *munhu* should be informed by the context in which *munhu* exists, the values that make *munhu munhu ane hunhu* (a complete, fully developed, humane, moral, responsible, hard working person). *Munhu* can only become a complete person through a critical engagement of the existential circumstances of being.

As noted previously, colonial education undermined African communities by introducing Western individualistic value systems which were contrary to African communalistic, collective and humanistic value systems. Traditional African *hunhu* was/is rooted in "lived experiences and traditional values" of mutual respect for other human beings. In SSA, indigenous lived experiences are embedded in the philosophy of *Hunhu/Ubuntu*. *Hunhu* is characterised by humaneness, care, understanding, empathy and respect for human life. Informed by the belief in the interconnectedness among human beings, there is therefore recognition of the need for reciprocity and responsibility in human relations and between human beings and nature (Murove, 2009; Ramose, 2009). The African universe is characterised by interconnectedness and networks of relations of the different aspects of being. Consequently, Sindima (1995) explains that nature plays an important role in the process of human growth by providing all that is necessary, food, air, sunlight, and other things. This means that nature and persons are one, woven by creation into one texture or fabric of life. We would go even further to surmise that, when westerners viewed Africans as nature worshippers, they failed to appreciate the holistic nature of African life where everything is intricately linked and impact on each other as the cosmos is one whole. Thus, *hunhu* also focuses on relationships amongst human beings as well as with nature. *Hunhu* is holistic in its orientation. Thus, while in the Western world, human relations revolve around the 'I', hence the emphasis on 'I think, therefore I am', in Africa, human relations revolve around the 'We', hence, emphasis on 'I am because we are, since we are, therefore I am' (Shutte, 1994). Hence the saying: *Munhu munhu nekuda kwevamwe vanhu* (A person is a person through other people, that is, a person is a social being). Thus, by focusing on the 'I', Western education had and continues to have an alienating effect on *munhu*.

We believe that education based on *hunhu* integrates the values and strengths of indigenous education systems and the knowledge and skills of the current education systems to make the education systems responsive to the multifaceted needs of countries in SSA. It makes the education system holistic as it encourages the development of all aspects of the being of *munhu*. Hence, indigenous education based on *hunhu* emphasises "language development, environmental awareness, number work, music, movement, art, crafts, physical development, religious and moral education, general health, nutrition and child care" (Woolman, 2001, p. 36). In indigenous education, learners were prepared for agriculture, family life and welfare, community well-being, national unity, economic growth, individual development, and social equity. In other words, its emphasis was on holistic development of the learner as a complete *munhu*. This is what current education should do to make it relevant.

While western education was characterised by exclusion through tests, *hunhu* ensured that indigenous education was inclusive as the focus was social integration and participation in the community. African education encouraged understanding of the natural environment and beneficial symbiosis between human beings and nature while western education alienated man from nature (Woolman, 2001). Furthermore, indigenous education was practical and relevant to the needs of indigenous communities. Thus, Fafunwa (1982) notes that indigenous education focused on "social responsibility, political participation, work orientation, morality and spiritual values" (cited in Woolman, 2001, p. 30); it was holistic. Learning was largely participatory. It was learning-in-community; it was a social activity or process. According to Mungazi (1996), in indigenous education the place of the individual in society was determined by his contribution to its well-being. The individual had to be trained to remain sensitive to the needs of the community as a whole and others as individuals. African indigenous education focused on socially-centred human development developed through "immersion in traditions through dance, song, and story, involvement with learning groups, exposure to cooperative work …" (Woolman, 2001, p. 30).

Any new curricular in Zimbabwe should respond to the cultural and national needs of the country. By incorporating those aspects of indigenous education discussed above, it will enrich the educational experience of *munhu*. In doing so, the education system must respond to the:

> Challenge of creating multi-purpose systems that preserve the multi-cultural social fabric of each country in a context of national inclusion and unity. Schools also need to build the capacity for economic growth, improvement of living standards and constructive political life that benefits all people. The future stability of most African countries will likely depend on how effectively these needs are met. (Woolman, 2001, p. 43)

There is need for serious consideration of harnessing those IKSs that can lead to the development of countries in SSA. There is need to sift and select those knowledge types and skills that have the potential to respond to the challenges facing countries in SSA. Indeed, Kayira (2013) proposes that IKSs are not static and boxed in the past; rather they are dynamic, contextual in nature and dependent on the culture, place, tradition, history and geographic position of a given community of peoples. Knowledge is not objectified. It is not something that exists waiting to be discovered but something that is lived and evolve from the experiences and practices of the people. Thus, O'Donoghue and Neluvhalani (2002) prefer to use the term 'indigenous knowing' to indigenous knowledge to avoid objectifying knowledge or taking it out of context.

From the foregoing discussion, the focus of the Zimbabwean education system should be on the 'acquisition of life skills' needed for survival. Such life skills would include: critical and reflective thinking, tolerance of contrary and diverse views, being able to communicate with diverse peoples, ability to adapt to changing

circumstances, the preservation of human life and other skills that edify society. The Zimbabwean education system should foster "national development and unity along with individual service to the nation" the "preservation of cultural heritage, social justice, human dignity, political equality and multicultural education" (Woolman, 2001, p. 33). It is imperative that the education system should build patriotism, national unity, mutual social responsibility, morality and ethical standards. The system cannot ignore the need for industrialisation, gender equity, and environmental awareness. This has been acknowledged by the new Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education, 2015–2022 in line with the post-2015 United Nation's MDGs, which have been transformed to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Education as captured in SDG #4 aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all (Report of the Secretary-General, 2016) beyond the classroom and the passing of examinations. Zimbabwe can learn from Mozambique on the need to replace competition, test centred education systems with "cooperative, less rigid, non-authoritarian" education system (Woolman, 2001, p. 40). Zimbabwe is proposing basing its certification on continuous assessment. This is laudable as teaching for examinations results in "memorisation for examinations more than acquisition of applied skills, critical thinking or creativity" (Woolman, 2001, p. 40). The competition based examination contradicts the philosophy of *hunhu* which encourages togetherness, communalism as opposed to competition and individualism. In terms of teaching and learning methods indigenous education relied on field experience, active discovery, and close observation. These methods promote understanding rather than memorisation. The new thrust therefore has the potential to see the realisation of the goals of STHEM in the country. However, we should note that the English language issue in education has serious implications for cultural reconstruction and learning efficiencies. This is because colonialism left a legacy of alien languages in Zimbabwe. As a result, literacy and proficiency in the alien official languages is one criterion for indigenous elite class formation that reproduces the caste system created by colonialism. In Zimbabwe, English provides the basis of conformity with the colonial political foundations. It is the uncut umbilical code with the colonisers.

CONCLUSION

To go back to the questions initially raised, the hat that Zimbabwe is currently wearing is an alien one. It does not fit on the head of *munhu*. It is an education system that alienates *munhu* from African epistemological paradigms and axiological values. It benefits the former colonisers at the expense of the indigenous. It was this realisation that led to the constitution of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in 1999 (Nziramasanga, 1999). It was against this backdrop that led to the curriculum review process that culminated in the Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015–2020. If the hat is to fit on *munhu*,

the indigenisation of the curriculum together with the adoption of the language of *munhu*, as the medium of instruction, are prerequisites. As long as this is not done, the education system will remain inauthentic and mimetic. Indeed, both the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training Report of 1999 and Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education 2015–2020 recognise the need to ground the education system in the philosophy of *hunhu*. But a lot needs to be done to explicate its values and infuse these into the different stages of education and the different school subjects.

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6. PARTISAN POLITICS IN CIVIC EDUCATION

Reflections on the Civic Education Landscape in Zimbabwe

INTRODUCTION

In an ideal situation, the education system should be a microcosm of society's culture, yet in modern class societies, it largely represents the interests of the dominant and elite socio-cultural subgroups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Marginson, 2009). In Zimbabwe, after nine decades of colonial repression in which African culture and history were largely excluded from the school curriculum, the postcolonial education aimed to represent the values and ideals of *'hunhu/ubuntu'*, and reclaim national identity and pride which had been lost during decades of colonial rule (Nziramasanga, 1999; Ramose, 1999; Zvobgo, 1997). Consequently, between 1980 and 1990 the postcolonial Zimbabwean education policies were formulated towards quantitative educational expansion for equitable educational access (an ideal that was later in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on education in 2000) and new disciplines like Political Economy and Education with Production were introduced to empower the masses politically and economically. This was geared to enforce the ruling Zimbabwe African National Unity (Patriotic Front) [ZANU (PF)] party's socialist ideology (Runhare & Hwami, 2009; ZANU-PF, 1980; Zvobgo, 1997).

Due to the economic challenges that followed the depletion of the international donor funds after the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, the 1990s saw the government instituting cost-recovery measures on social service provision through the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) from 1991. As a result, public expenditure on education and health services was severely reduced, as the ESAP market-oriented policies meant minimal government interference in the education sector (Chisvo, 1993; Gordon, 1997; Machinga, 2000; Shizha, 1998). This period, therefore, saw the establishment of several independent schools in the country, most of which were elitist and exclusionary to the detriment of education for all (EFA) and universal primary education (UPE) a later requirement of the 2000 formulated 15-year Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on education.

ESAP was, however, officially abandoned in 2001 after it failed to achieve the main objective of national economic recovery as the ZANU (PF) government blamed Western foreign interference through ESAP (Raftopoulos, 2003). Therefore, from 2000 onwards, the Zimbabwean government made a radical departure from

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ESAP's decade of neo-liberal economic policies. For example, the ruling party was patron to the invasion of the largely white owned commercial farms, a detrimental move, which was spearheaded by the Zimbabwe National War Veterans Association (ZNWVA) from 2000. Ending foreign influence and indigenising the economy were given as the reasons for invading the privately owned farms, which resulted in economic woes that Zimbabwe has been experiencing since 2000. After the farm invasions, the government turned on the education sector in order to use it as an instrument of raising 'nationalist' feelings against the West, non-governmental and human rights organisations which were accused of sponsoring anti-government projects through the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party (Mashingaidze, 2009; Runhare & Hwami, 2009).

The view that the country's economic meltdown, which was characterised by hyperinflation, shortage of basic commodities and decline in the quality of education, was caused by Western sanctions became the ZANU (PF) government's rhetoric to try and shift blame from its unproductive economic policies. During the peak of Zimbabwe's economic meltdown, the justification of the government's re-orientation of education to its radical nationalism and the anti-Western discourses received support from those who claimed that "typical African culture … abhors such practices as greed, selfishness and corruption in general which the education system seems to be promoting through emphasis of Western capitalist values" (Mavhunga, 2006, p. 448). Thus, from 2000 onwards, the government found civic education as one ideological instrument for justifying its radical land tenure system and its antagonism with the West, especially Britain and the United States of America (USA). Civic education was extensively utilised in popularising the ruling party's new political ideology among the youths (Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This chapter seeks to illustrate how the ideological paradigm shift in education policy and practice, after 2000, was harnessed to prop up political support for the ZANU (PF) party, through civic education in both the schools and teachers' college curricular. Civic education is essential for sustained poverty reduction and could have made a substantial contribution towards the achievement of the MDGs in Zimbabwe. The important role civic education could have had in contributing to the achievement of the MDGs in Zimbabwe and the view that it is a fundamental pillar of efforts to reduce poverty and promote democratic governance cannot be overemphasised.

THE LANDSCAPE AND DEBATE ON CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic education (CE), which is also referred to as citizenship education or education for democracy aims to predispose and develop in students skills, attitudes, beliefs and values that will empower them to participate, remain engaged and involved in their society's culture, politics, governance and general democracy (Finkel, 2000; Goldberg, Golston, Yell, Thieman, & Altoff, 2011; Nieuweinhuis, 2007). Illustrating the role of CE in England, Kerr (1999, p. 3) observes that "citizenship or civics education in England is construed broadly to encompass the preparation

of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens." Generally, CE is mainly studied in disciplines of social sciences such as social studies, world studies, studies of society, life skills and moral education, history, geography, literacy and social skills, a respect for and preservation of the natural environment and an understanding of the interrelationship of nations (Goldberg et al., 2011; Kerr, 1999; Munikwa & Pedzisai, 2013; Sigauke, 2013). Literature on CE, therefore, indicates that although its scope is broad, the discipline is in most countries imbedded with, applied to or infused into social science subjects (Sigauke, 2013). Hence, based on the observation and an analysis of CE teacher education curriculum in Australia, Sigauke (2013) recommends that CE should not be limited to social sciences since all teachers are obliged to have the capacity to teach citizenship and civic education.

Benefits and Challenges of Implementing Civic Education in the Curriculum

The benefits of CE are alluded to in the aforementioned key objective of the discipline, namely to initiate the young generation into the democracy and governance of their society. In this regard, Goldberg et al. (2011, p. 126) insist that "children in the early grades need to be made more aware of the world in which they live so that they will be able to assume major decision making roles as well as be informed citizens." With regards to its implementation in the curriculum, CE has generally been treated alongside or within other subjects. Although many scholars suggest that CE has a democratic inclination, it is also noted that the discipline is open to abuse by sitting governments to entrench their ideologies. In other words, almost all the existing socio-political regimes in the developed, developing, capitalist and socialist states, and even despotic systems could utilise the study of civics to perpetuate their grip on power. For example, in the USA, there is a strong assertion that the unique function of the school is 'Americanising' the children of diverse cultural groups by positioning strong emphasis on the history of America (Goldberg et al., 2011). Likewise, in Canada, CE is viewed as a means of encouraging a sense of national identity (McKenzie, 1993). In the UK, the objective of CE is for young people to leave school with some confidence in their ability to participate in their society, to resolve conflict and, if they oppose a course of action, to express that opposition fairly, effectively and peacefully (Kerr, 1999). Although Australia is also part of the pioneering nations on CE, there is concern that the discipline is largely divorced from real life situations and that teachers are not confident enough to effectively handle its content and pedagogy (Sigauke, 2013; Tudball & Forsyth, 2009). In South Africa, Finkel (2000) reports that a USAID funded adult community civic education project was found very successful in raising the political awareness and involvement of communities that were previously marginalised.

The significance of civic education in Zimbabwe is alluded to by the main guiding document on the postcolonial education, the Report of the Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Education and Training, which raised the concern that important elements of civic and citizenship education were lacking in

the country's education system (Nziramasanga, 1999). Contributing to this observation, Mangena (2006) adds that there has been growing moral decadence in contemporary society due to failure by schools and universities and other social institutions to teach moral values. In support of introducing CE in the curriculum, it is posited that the teaching of morals requires a paradigm shift from the traditional curriculum to one that encourages the cultivation of a whole and virtuous person (Mangena, 2006). This could be achieved by incorporating Afrocentric values of togetherness, communalism and collectiveness, collectively referred to as *unhu/ubuntu* (Mangena, 2006; Mavhunga, 2006). Mavhunga (2006) argues that lack of *unhu/ubuntu* in the education system in Zimbabwe was due to the foreign orientation of the curriculum. Thus, just like the call for 'Americanisation' of the USA through CE (Goldberg et al., 2011), Mavhunga (2006), likewise, advocates for the 'Africanisation' of the curriculum in Zimbabwe. Like elsewhere, CE in Zimbabwe school curriculum has been implicitly implemented through subjects like social studies, history, geography, religious and literature studies, while at tertiary institutions, civic education is taught in the National and Strategic Studies and National Youth Services programme (Magudu, 2012; Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, 2002; Munikwa & Pedzisai, 2013; Nyakudya, 2007; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). However, of late the Zimbabwe government took the initiative to formally implement CE in schools by producing and engaging educators on draft syllabi for the junior and senior secondary school curricular (Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2011a, 2011b).

While the relevance of CE is globally acknowledged (Goldberg et al., 2011; Magudu, 2012; Nieuweinhuis, 2007; Nziramasanga, 1999; Sigauke, 2013), not much has been achieved in terms of effective and qualitative implementation. The main reasons for the ineffective curriculum implementation of CE range from lack of political-will to inadequate human and material resources (Magudu, 2012; Munikwa & Pedzisai, 2013; Nieuweinhuis, 2007; Nyakudya, 2007; Sigauke, 2013). In Australia, for example, research indicates that over a third of the teachers were found not confident to teach CE because few teacher-training institutions prioritise pre-training in the area (Sigauke, 2013). Sigauke (2013) adds that the integration of citizenship and civic education into the subjects offered in the Australian teacher education curriculum did not produce well informed teachers in CE. With reference to challenges inhibiting implementation of CE in Canada, McKenzie (1993) noted that CE is interpreted and presented differently from the diverse perspectives of teachers. Since the very essence of CE is to promote democracy, some teachers feel constrained to teach and nurture a type of democracy they may not believe in. Thus, the challenge in multi-democratic states is that teachers may teach CE from their own socio-political background. With regards to Zimbabwe, which is the focus of this chapter, cited setbacks to the effective teaching and learning of balanced CE include political intolerance, dissenting teacher and students political affiliations, restrictive teaching approaches, and lack of non-partisan literature (Magudu, 2012; Munikwa & Pedzisai, 2013).

EDUCATION AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS

The study reported in this chapter uses the neo-Marxist theory of social reproduction, which posits that in capitalist class societies, the dominant ruling class can employ education as an ideological state apparatus (ISA) to perpetuate its socio-economic and political domination (Althusser, 1971; Freire, 2005; Marginson, 2009; Wolff, 2004). To Bowles and Gintis (1976), capitalist schooling reflects and reproduces social relations that are characterised by domination and subordination. Another neo-Marxist view understands capitalist exploitation as not limited to private enterprises. It can also take the form of state capitalism since "in modern capitalist corporations, the capitalists are either private individuals comprising a board of directors elected by share-holders or they are state officials assigned to that position" (Wolff, 2004, p. 10). In the context of Zimbabwe, which claimed to follow a socialist state controlled economic orientation between 1980 and 1990, the monopoly and hegemony of state politics under ZANU (PF) could be viewed as a form of nationalist state capitalism. In the words of Althusser (1971, p. 139), "no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over the State Ideological Apparatuses."

Although the propositions that education is an ideological state apparatus and uses pedagogies that perpetuate oppression and subordination of the poor working classes have been popularised by the neo-Marxist critics of the capitalist systems in Europe and America, in the African context, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) equates this to the emergence of a new postcolonial bourgeoisie of a small African ruling elite which is founded on hegemonic African nationalism or 'nativism'. This mono-nationalism is a threat to multi-political, multi-cultural and multi-racial diversity in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Based on the opposition to neo-liberalism, this narrow reconfiguration of African nationalist identity has turned into 'nativism', whereby the postcolonial ruling elite use the masses to fight European capitalist competition, for their personal embourgeousiement (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

In Zimbabwe, loyal citizenry and national patriotism have tended to be measured in terms of one's loyalty to the ruling party, which in the post-2000 Zimbabwean era has been termed 'Mugabeism' (Mashingaidze, 2009; Ranger, 2004). The changes made to the principal Education Act in 2006 and the school and tertiary civic education syllabi after the ZANU (PF) radical land tenure system illustrates how the education system can be a partisan political and ideological instrument of those in control of the state (Mashingaidze, 2009; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This chapter uses civic education to illustrate how education in Zimbabwe was infused with partisan politics for the benefit of ZANU (PF)'s political hegemony.

THE PARTISAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN ZIMBABWE

Since 2000, the demand for civil and political rights in Zimbabwe has been depicted by the Zimbabwe government as foreign-driven aimed at reversing the gains of

national independence and sovereignty (Mashingaidze, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2003; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). Through the 2000 farm invasions, the government has inundated the country with a radical political and economic discourse informed by the need to reverse the colonial land tenure system. This enabled the ruling party to portray itself as a nationalist party with patriotic ideals working against the threat of Western neo-imperialism (Ranger, 2004; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). Ranger (2004) argues that any political party that offers an alternative view to the ruling ZANU (PF) party, such as the MDC, is labelled traitors or sell-outs working for Western neo-imperialists organs such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the foreign media.

The government's post-2000 fast-track agrarian reforms, which were depicted by the ruling party as a nationalist project for empowering the landless, cost the country enormously. Zimbabwe became a pariah state as it got negatively portrayed in international media. This eventually led to targeted travel bans against prominent members of ZANU (PF) and their sympathisers. As a counter measure, the government organised a strong internal support base through educational programmes such as the national youth service training, 'patriotic' history, civic education and the National and Strategic Studies and a firm control of private educational institutions (Mashingaidze, 2009; Ranger, 2004; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). The approach fits in with what the neo-Marxists oppose, because oppressive regimes use education as an ISA to serve the interests of the small dominant group (Marginson, 2009). To this end, it could be asserted that since 2000, the government calculatedly introduced changes in the education sector to produce a graduate who is expected to become 'patriotic' to the ruling party rather than to the nation (Mashingaidze, 2009; Ranger, 2004; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This chapter illustrates how education, among other superstructures was harnessed by ZANU (PF) in the fight against internal and international opposition to its political hegemony.

CIVIC EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

Two discrete but complementary qualitative research approaches were used to gather data for this chapter. A desk review and analysis of changes made to curriculum policy and content of civic education for the high school and teacher training syllabi were undertaken. Documentary analysis included:

- The Ordinary Level History Syllabus 2167, which was introduced and made compulsory from 2003.
- The Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC – a 2-year junior high school course) and Ordinary Level ('O' Level – a 4-year middle high school course) Civic Education Syllabi, which were finalised but had not yet been introduced in schools by the time this chapter was written.
- The National and Strategic Studies (NASS) which was also introduced and made compulsory for all teacher-trainees from 2003.

Apart from the desk review and analysis of the above documents, the chapter also reports on the narrative data gathered through interviewing 40 teachers and 10 lecturers who were purposively selected because they taught subjects related to civic education. The teachers had attended a Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) of the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture (MoESC) workshop on the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (Junior High School) and Ordinary level (Middle High School) civic education draft syllabi. Therefore, to corroborate the documentary analysis, the views of 40 high school teachers and 10 lecturers of NASS on civic education in Zimbabwean were gathered through focus group interviews.

Nature of Partisan Civic Education in Zimbabwe

By its qualitative nature, the study results which are reported in this chapter generated narrative data which explored the meanings that the researcher and the 50 informants gave to the objectives and content which guide the teaching of civic education to Zimbabweans. The narrative data are therefore presented in the form of verbatim accounts to capture the socio-political meanings from the perceptions and experiences of teachers and lecturers to the teaching of CE in Zimbabwe (Lemmer & Van Wyk, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Content, hermeneutic, discourse analysis and interpretation were the tools for data analysis which were employed to give contextual meanings to the documentary study, gathered views and experiences of the sampled educators (Merriam et al., 2006). The following themes were generated from both the documentary analysis and gathered views.

Centralised control of education. During ESAP, 1991 to 1999, there was liberalisation of education in Zimbabwe (Hwami, 2013; Machinga, 2000; Runhare, 2013; Shizha, 1998), which saw the sprouting of many independent schools, colleges and universities. However, after abandoning the ESAP's neo-liberal economic policies, the government of Zimbabwe interfered into the operations and conduct of private schools, because they were suspected of being foreign owned and therefore 'reactionary' in their political orientation (Runhare & Hwami, 2009; The Sunday Mail Reporter, 2004). Therefore, in 2006, amendments were made to the Education Act of 1987 that were aimed at ensuring that government controlled the levies, fees and staff structures of private schools, because of their so-called 'misplaced' ideology (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). Through the Education Amendment Bill of 2006, it became mandatory for all the levy and fee structures, as well as the recruitment of staff for all schools to be inspected and approved by the permanent secretary of Ministry of Education Sport and Culture (MoESC). The new education bill was passed by the ZANU (PF) dominated parliament in 2006 to empower the MoESC permanent secretary to make regulations on the qualifications and conduct of all teachers in independent schools who may choose not to be members of the government controlled Public Service Commission.

Through this new amendment, the government got the authority to monitor the operations of private schools, which were suspected of hiring expatriate teachers with Western political orientation (Mavhunga, 2006). This move was justified by *The Sunday Mail*, a state controlled weekly newspaper, which voiced a concern that "we cannot safeguard Zimbabwe's future by allowing Brits and their colonial allies to push British, European, Australian or American educational content through our own education system" (The Sunday Mail Reporter, 2004, p. 9). In the same vein, Mavhunga (2006, p. 449) supported the government's move to 'Africanise' the school curriculum because Zimbabwean children at private schools were "initiated into Western culture through orchestrated 'hidden curriculum' to the extent that … what is African about them is only their skin while the rest is European." To effectively implement such government thinking through the school curriculum, the MoESC issued the Secretary Policy Circular 3 of 2002, to invoke Section 63 of the Education Act, which makes it mandatory for all school syllabi to be developed and approved by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. According to this policy statement, no school may teach and/or examine any subjects other than those prescribed by the Permanent Secretary of Education (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006; Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2002).

Loss of academic freedom in tertiary education. The common practice, the world over, is that university communities maintain their academic freedom from state manipulation through choice of their own governing boards or councils, chancellors and vice chancellors. Contrary to this, in Zimbabwe, President Mugabe, who is also the ruling party president and the commander-in-chief of all the state security organs, is the chancellor of all state universities. Consequently, for security reasons, state security agents have been found to be infiltrating and planting their staff in tertiary colleges and universities as students and lecturers. This has caused fear, uncertainty, suspicion and insecurity among staff and students at all tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe. According to one concerned statesman, the state interference in tertiary education manifests itself through "the undemocratic expulsion of student leaders and loss of employment for outspoken junior lecturers and academic/non-academic staff" (Zhangazha, 2013, p. 1).

The presidential chancellorship of all state universities implies that since 1980, the hierarchy of authority at the state universities, such as university councils and their vice chancellors have been pro-ZANU (PF) since their appointment is recommended by the Minister of Higher Education for approval by the president. Through such a politically inclined hierarchical order, the ruling party has continued to entrench its political despotism even in education. This has caused instability and loss of credibility to the once respected university education in the country and concerned individuals blame this on political fingers. In this regard, Zhangazha (2013, p. 1) is of the view that "the root cause of the problems affecting the country's largest university is the lack of academic freedom."

History as a partisan political agent within the school curriculum. Soon after independence, a socialist oriented new History syllabus 2166, which had a thrust on the then socialist ideology of the ruling party, was implemented in the school curriculum (Taruvinga, 1997; ZANU-PF, 1980). However, the new syllabus, together with earlier attempts to introduce Education with Production and Political Economy as substantive subjects in the curriculum, was thwarted by the introduction of the neo-liberal economic policies of ESAP between 1991 and 1999. Consequently, commenting on the deterioration of History in the school curriculum during ESAP, Taruvinga (1997, p. 36) observes that "History was now one of the options."

After the 2000 elections, which revealed ZANU (PF) party's declining political popularity, the government restored History as one of the core-subjects in the school curriculum, basing the move from the recommendations of the Presidential Commission into Education and Training (Nziramasanga, 1999). The subject was viewed by the ruling party leadership as one key instrument for repelling the destructive forces that spread unAfricaness or lack of *hunhu/ubuntu* among the country's education institutions (Mavhunga, 2006; The Sunday Mail Reporter, 2004). Thus, new policy statements were issued by the MoESC to make the learning of national history compulsory at all secondary schools (Herald Reporter, 2012; Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2001, 2002). The political logic for making History compulsory nation-wide was that there was need to "reassert the sovereignty of our state in absolute rejection of imperialist machinations of divide and rule, exploitative globalisation, marginalisation, manipulation and control of our political projections in pursuit of both our national and continental unity" (Muzeza, 2006, p. 7). The subject of History was therefore presented as an instrument through which the ruling class ideology was projected and protected among the young generation or 'born free' Zimbabweans, who are at the danger of losing the country's national heritage (Mavhunga, 2006; Muzeza, 2006). Mavhunga (2006, p. 448) supports this 'nationalising' role of History in the school curriculum because of the concern that "the teachers of the new History are, themselves, products of the old History that portrayed the European as the hero and the African as the villain."

Due to the cynicism associated with the treatment of the new History, teachers who participated in focus group discussions generally expressed fear and insecurity to teach the subject. The popular opinion was that there was political manipulation behind the subject as illustrated by the following narratives:

> On Zimbabwe history, all teachers know that they are monitored by their students and cannot afford to be careless with comments on the ruling party or government [History teacher participant # 3].

> If a teacher says something which is seen as opposing the government, students can report him/her to the party leaders [History teacher participant # 7]

The above statements are an indication that Zimbabwean history teachers taught their subject within an atmosphere of fear and suspicion of the ruling party leadership, especially in the rural and urban low income group settlements where

ZANU (PF) commands majority support. Reports of teachers being harassed in rural communities in the 2000 and 2008 parliamentary and presidential elections were widespread to the extent that some teachers left their work stations for safety in towns (Runhare & Hwami, 2009).

A critical review of the aims, objectives and content of the compulsory 'O' Level History 2167 syllabus introduced in 2003 reveals that it is one of the ideological apparatus of the ruling party in Zimbabwe. The History syllabus's long term objective is for students to "acquire an informed and critical understanding of social, economic and political issues facing them as builders of a developing nation" (Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council, 2002, p. 2). To this end, Zimbabwe's three stages of the liberation struggles, namely the 1896–1897 and 1966–1980 armed struggles and the 2000 agrarian reform are points of emphasis in the syllabus. To some, this could be one way in which history is tailor-made to reify the role of the ruling party in these historical epochs of the sovereign nation-state and the land dispossession from the former colonial settlers. This partisan role of history was reiterated by the ZANU (PF) and country's former vice president, Joyce Mujuru who implored, "Schools should teach pupils the country's political history to uphold the vision of liberation heroes" (Herald Reporter, 2012, p. 2).

Due to the radical post-2000 government policies and amendments to laws that threatened the political status of ZANU (PF), the emphasis on party as the liberator in the new 'patriotic history', and the concept of 'positive national identity' were approved by the ruling party. A case in point, in this regard, is the conferment of hero status, which is defined by the ruling party's criteria at all levels. Alluding to the introduction of the new 'patriotic' form of History in Zimbabwe which undermined national historiography in Zimbabwe after 2000, Ranger (2004, p. 7) observes that "education in Zimbabwe is under pressure to teach what has recently come to be called Mugabeism." As a direct response to the political threat of ZANU (PF) by the opposition the MDC party, Zimbabwean 'patriotic history' was fine-tuned to emphasise the division of the nation into 'patriots' and 'sell-outs', as represented by ZANU (PF) and the MDC, respectively (Ranger, 2004). Thus, instead of teaching progressive nationalist history of anti-colonial struggle, education in Zimbabwe teaches a partisan history that fosters division or partisan nationalism, that has no space for questions and alternatives to nation building which is defined by ZANU (PF) (Mashingaidze, 2009; Ranger, 2004). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) views such narrowly defined postcolonial African hegemonic nationalism as 'nativism', which is a threat to multi-political, multicultural and multi-racial diversity in the African political landscape. This politicisation of the History school curriculum in Zimbabwe has proved to be a challenge to most subject teachers because it compromised teacher professionalism through its subjective assessment of historical events. The dilemma faced by history teachers in handling the 'new patriotic' history is illustrated by the widely expressed concern by interviewed teachers who expressed the following concerns:

> Since 1980, I have noted that history supports the ruling party. One time history of Russia and China was emphasised because the government wanted socialism. Now it is about the programme of taking land from whites [History teacher participant #5].

Making reference to the period of inter-political party violence another History teacher added that:

> You cannot separate history from the country's politics. One has to be very careful on how to teach current affairs like elections, land political parties in the country [History teacher participant # 8].

These examples in the treatment of the content of Zimbabwean history point to the political manipulation by the ruling party to use education as an ideological instrument to protect and maintain its political domination which negatively impacts on History teachers' instructional professionalism.

Partisan civic education school curriculum in Zimbabwe. Apart from History, the government sought to introduce CE as a substantive subject in the secondary school curriculum at both the ZJC and Ordinary Level in order to "foster patriotism and national identity among learners" (Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2011a, 2011b). From the proposed syllabi content for both ZJC and O Level CE, this aim is reflected through the inclusion of themes such as National History, Nationhood and Constitutionalism, which are broken down into topics such as the country's pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial history in order to portray the negative impact of European imperialism and the successful resistance to it, the land reform and unity accord under the ZANU (PF) government, postcolonial national symbols, national events/celebrations and the country's constitution.

Given the radicalisation of the land tenure system by ZANU (PF) after 2000, it is not surprising that the issue of land reform is emphasised in the proposed ZJC and O Level CE syllabi, (Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2011a, 2011b). This was confirmed by most of the interviewed teachers, who indicated that the land issue is at the centre of both the History and proposed CE syllabi because ZANU (PF) aimed to justify and seek support for its post-2000 land invasion which was legally contested. The following sentiments serve to illustrate how most of the interviewed teachers perceived the motives for the repeated inclusion of the land question in the school curriculum:

> Land is a political issue in Zimbabwe, … every teacher knows the danger of teaching against government policy [History teacher participant # 6].

Another teacher who taught both History and participated in the proposed CE syllabi workshops illustrated the relationship between topics on the country's struggle for independence and the land issue:

> The Zimbabwe History emphasises that the liberation war was to take back the land from the colonisers… It is the same with the new CE syllabus in which the fight for land is taught as the third war of liberating the country [ZJC CE teacher participant].

The other major aim of the proposed CE Syllabi is stated as the creation of awareness of personal, national and global identity among learners, which is explored through topics like personal identity, relationships, religion, arts, language, Zimbabwean cultural norms and values as well as study of national, regional, continental and international organisations. Most of the interviewed teachers indicated that they understood that they were required to teach about Zimbabwe as an independent and sovereign state so that Zimbabwean youths develop a spirit of pride, and responsibility in order to jealously guard the gains of independence from the former colonial masters and Western neo-colonialists:

> With such a new subject, teachers will have to rely on state newspapers and the radio to understand how to protect the country's national pride against the West [History teacher and CE syllabi workshop participant # 3].

To illustrate the general problem of lack of teaching and learning resources which CE teachers encountered, one of the participants indicated that since the CE teachers were not trained, they were left in the deep end and this is why it was first taught by those who were thought to be politically correct on government policies:

> One has to first attend the national youth service course… There are no books and so those who have passed through national youth service before college might have the correct knowledge [History teacher and CE syllabi workshop participant # 5]

On a different by related note, some of the teachers who had completed their teaching qualification after the introduction of the National and Strategic Studies as a compulsory discipline in tertiary education indicated that NASS empowered teachers to handle the proposed CE syllabus:

> It's better now because at college, there is now National and Strategic Studies which is similar to the new CE syllabus. The topics in NASS and CE are not different at all [History teacher and CE syllabi workshop participant # 7].

Although there was a general agreement among the interviewed teachers that the aims and content of the proposed ZJC and O Level civic education syllabi on paper seem noble in addressing socio-economic and political challenges of Zimbabwe, there were some mixed feelings and scepticism on the actual motives for introducing the subject at a time when the country faced serious political and economic challenges:

> CE is good if you look at most of the topics, but the way the subject was introduced will never make teachers comfortable to teach it because it was introduced by force and at a time when there was serious violence against

> teachers who were suspected to support MDC [Religious Education teacher and CE syllabi workshop participant # 1].

Another teacher concurred that if there were no political connotations, the proposed CE syllabi for secondary schooling could be progressive:

> The problem with CE is not about its content, but how the topics should be taught. Although there is a unity government now, teachers know that the subject should be taught with a bias against the prime minister's MDC party [Geography teacher and CE syllabi workshop participant # 3].

Added to these concerns is the observation that the National Civic Education Panel excluded teachers' professional and labour associations such as Zimbabwe Teachers' Association (ZIMTA), Progressive Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), National Association of Secondary Heads (NASH), National Association of Primary Heads (NAPH) and the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) and representatives from non-state actors. Instead, the so-called panel was comprised of the arms of government such as Ministries of Parliamentary and Constitutional Affairs, Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, and Higher and Tertiary Education, the Curriculum Unit, the Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and the state instituted Anti-Corruption Commission (Ministry of Education Sport and Culture, 2011a, 2011b). It is on the basis of such an observation that political motives were imbedded in the introduction of the civic education curriculum in Zimbabwean schools and teacher education colleges. This is further reflected by the objective that, as Zimbabwe faced many economic and political challenges in the post-2000 era, education was assigned the function of playing "a meaningful role in nation building and project a positive national identity" (Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council, 2002, p. 4) in which "the concept of 'positive national identity' [is] defined in terms of what is approved by the ruling party" (Runhare & Hwami, 2009, p. 103).

Political role of national and strategic studies (NASS) in teacher education. The threat of ZANU (PF)'s grip on power since 2000 resulted in educators being strongly suspected of supporting the MDC opposition party (Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This was no surprise since the MDC party has a large following among workers and urban dwellers due to its close links with trade unionism in the country (Human Rights Forum, 2002; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). After the 2002 presidential elections in which the MDC made strong gains, the government saw an urgent need to reclaim what it defined to be a true Zimbabwean identity with a sense of patriotism among all teacher-trainees in the country. Like in the case of the proposed CE in schools, teachers' college lecturers who participated in this study concurred that the introduction of NASS was politically motivated because all colleges were directed to promptly introduce NASS as a compulsory aspect of their Professional Studies course from 2003 (Mapetere et al., 2012; Mashingaidze, 2009; Nyakudya, 2007;

Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This was confirmed by most participants in this study as illustrated by the following two extracts:

> I was just recruited without any training to teach the subject and had to use my common sense judging from the objectives of the syllabus [College lecturer participant # 3].

> Each college had to come up with a syllabus as a matter of urgency and have it approved by the University. There were some who were lucky to attend a day or so workshop [College lecturer participant # 5].

Through a ministerial directive, teachers' were instructed to design their NASS syllabi for endorsement and accreditation by the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Teacher Education (DTE) which accredits all teacher education programmes in the country (Mapetere et al., 2012; Mashingaidze, 2009; Nyakudya, 2007; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). This is contrary to the formal procedure that "teacher education in Zimbabwe falls under the DTE in terms of syllabus development, examination and certification" (Runhare & Hwami, 2009:106). However, in the case of introducing NASS, the subject was fully initiated, developed and examined by the arms of government, and DTE was only used to rubber stamp it (Runhare & Hwami, 2009). Initially, DTE tried to resist the infusion of NASS into its partnership with teacher education colleges due to inadequate justification on the contribution of NASS to the teaching profession (Mashingaidze, 2009; Nyakudya, 2007; Runhare & Hwami, 2009) but there was coercive pressure from the Ministry of Higher Education for it at all tertiary institutions in the country. Reflecting on first-hand experience, as one of the first recruitees to teach NASS, Nyakudya (2007, p. 117) evokes that "the ministry simply produced a statutory instrument making it mandatory… to introduce the new subject that would be compulsory for every student going through the institution."

The objectives and content of the NASS syllabus correspond with and complement the compulsory 'O' Level History 2167 and CE, which were introduced during the period characterised by economic and political problems and the loss of the ruling party's popularity. There was no national representation in the panel that came up with the NASS syllabi since colleges were hastily required to recruit staff and come up with a draft syllabus for consideration (Nyakudya, 2007). Even those who are supportive of NASS, do not indicate the participation of representatives of organisations for students, teachers, college and university lecturers and non-state stakeholders in business and human rights sectors. In fact, what Mapetere et al. (2012) claim to be:

> consultation of "a wide array of stakeholders … prior to the introduction of the subject in teachers' colleges" only comprised government representatives such as "officials from Ministries of Education Sport and Culture, Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation, College principals, officials from National Museums and Monuments, the book publishing

> industry and the University of Zimbabwe (Teacher Education Department). (p. 1582)

The parties either represented interests of the ruling party or did not have courage to present any alternative to government thinking. The inclusion of the Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation is no surprise given the widely held view that the ministry had taken over the selection of candidates for all public tertiary education institutions through the requirement for national youth service training for all school graduates which was introduced at National Youth Training camps by the late ZANU (PF) national commissar, Border Gezi (Mashingaidze, 2009; Nyakudya, 2007; Ranger, 2004; Runhare & Hwami, 2009). Indeed, a report by a state controlled newspaper, *The Herald*, confirmed that national youth service training was conducted "by an array of fundis in various fields who included war veterans from both ZANU and ZAPU" (Nelson Chenga cited in Ranger, 2004, p. 12). Of the two non-state panellists, it is observed that the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Teacher Education was represented to fulfil a requirement by the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education that University of Zimbabwe should rubber stamp the subject, while book publishers would by obligation produce 'relevant' literature on the subject, in line with government expectations. These observations cast doubt on the extent to which NASS aimed to improve teacher professionalism.

Added to the denigration of the education system through the national youth service training was the lucrative presidential scholarship. On paper, this scholarship is meant to benefit children from poor backgrounds, yet in practice it is only accessed by children of ZANU (PF) cadres, mostly those of the top party officials whose children ended up in top overseas universities when Zimbabwe's education declined due to the economic meltdown between 2000 and 2008. ZANU (PF) dangles the presidential scholarship as a carrot to lure support from the youths. Although the NASS syllabus is on paper a broad representation of content on national and international civic education issues (Mapetere et al., 2012), most lecturers of the discipline indicated that one had to select topics and teach 'accordingly', in view of the background and government's objectives for introducing NASS:

> No one has courage to criticise government policy on things like land reform, elections, media or sanctions. There is no choice, unless one chooses to be picked up by the C10[1] (College lecturer participant # 5).

> The problem with NASS is that there is no clear qualification for teaching the subject. Some lecturers think it's taught by C10. To be safe, most choose topics like Gender, HIV/AIDS, MDGs which are not political at all (College lecturer participant # 3).

What is viewed as teaching 'accordingly' is depicted by examinations which are developed by the Higher Education Examinations Council (HEXCO) which put more emphasis on ZANU (PF)'s political hegemony, especially before the MDC and

ZANU (PF) coalition government of 2008. Before then, it was not uncommon to get questions that asked students to identify political parties that are patriotic and those that serve the interests of imperialists. The following extracts of questions from the HEXCO 2011 NASS Paper No. 401/S01 illustrate the bias with which NASS was handled. Section A had the following questions:

1. Demonstrate the need to use the term LAND REFORM rather than any of the following terms: land grab, farm occupations and land seizures.
2. Does the Western Media create a positive or a negative perception about Zimbabwe's land reform?
3. Demonstrate the problems of people who suffer from colonial hangover.
4. In what ways is land reform a fundamental human right in your home area?

In addition to the above, Section B had these questions:

a. Show how terms like 'land grab', 'farm seizures', 'farm occupations' etc. distorted the Land Reform that commenced in 2000. (20 marks)
b. Demonstrate the extent to which some non-governmental organisations have created a dependency syndrome among some of our African brothers and sisters. In what way can you avoid the dependency syndrome in your community? (20 marks)

A scrutiny of the NASS examination papers that were availed for this study revealed the following:

- Most questions set before the inclusive government of ZANU (PF) and the two MDC formations in 2008 praised ZANU (PF) for its radical land seizure and attacked the MDC party as sell-outs used by the West and non-governmental organisations.
- During the ZANU (PF) and MDC inclusive government, while students were asked questions that referred to the president (ZANU PF president) as commander-in-chief of the security services, there were no questions that made reference to the prime minister's office (MDC president).
- Question papers set for technical colleges by HEXCO were found to be more radical in attacking opposition parties and the West, as the source of Zimbabwe's economic and political problems. On the other hand, teachers' colleges, especially those in the Western provinces where ZANU (PF) has no majority support since attainment of independence, set question that were politically mild, more balanced and objective on socio-political events and conditions in the country.

These observations provide further evidence on how the teaching and learning of NASS, not only lacked adequate objectivity and instructional professionalism, but was meant to engender a partisan educational discourse that favoured the ruling party. NASS was clearly introduced as a teacher education discipline to further create the dichotomy between the ruling party and the opposition MDC. ZANU (PF) was depicted as the vanguard of nationalist struggle and MDC members were

portrayed as sell-outs of the nationalist programmes (Sithole & Makumbe, 1997; Zvayi, 2013).

CONCLUSION

According to the MDGs of 2000, education the world over is expected to be responsive to socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political developments occurring around it. However, education can also be manipulated to popularise sectarian or partisan ideologies, which affected the attainment of MDGs on both education and development in Zimbabwe. As illustrated in this chapter, through the radical amendments to the school and teacher education curricular that followed the 2000 radical land tenure policy, postcolonial education in Zimbabwe was used by the ruling elite to promote 'nativist' or partisan nationalism among the youth. This chapter has demonstrated that there was a concerted effort by the ruling party, through its government organs, to deploy education to protect its radical political discourse on the controversial agrarian reform programme and to sustain its political support which was under threat due to economic challenges that emerged from the introduction of ESAP.

Zimbabwe's postcolonial education system and successful attainment of the MDGs were compromised by partisan curricular changes in the form of the new 'patriotic' History, the National and Strategic Studies and the attempt to introduce partisan ZJC and 'O' Level Civic Education as a compulsory high school subject. Evidence from this study and related literature indicates that radical educational transformation in Zimbabwe since 2000 aimed to create a new generation of youths who would conform to ZANU (PF)'s political history and ideology. Through partisan civic education which is infused in History and NASS, the Zimbabwean youths are 'protected from being contaminated' by Western ideas which are allegedly channelled through opposition parties, non-governmental organisations, human rights organisations and independent educational institutions (Mavhunga, 2006). Therefore, based on the analysis of the syllabi documents, views and experiences of educators on the curriculum objectives, content, the nature of examinations of the civic education disciplines that were selected for this study, we conclude that partisan politics in Zimbabwe's education was one obstacle to quality education since 2000 and the timely attainment of MDG targets on equality and equity in education.

NOTE

[1] The term C10 is the pseudo name used by Zimbabweans to refer to the feared presidential Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO).

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SECTION III

LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

DESMOND IKENNA ODUGU

7. LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION

From Incremental Reform to Radical Social Change

INTRODUCTION

It is almost unthinkable for new students of language and education that barely half a century ago, the official wisdom, based on then cutting-edge research, considered multilingualism bad for individuals and society. Today, the far-reaching benefits of linguistic diversity has become so well established in scholarly circles that language planning stakeholders have, gradually but assuredly, shifted from research to policy advocacy and grassroots multilingual education (MLE) programming. Language was identified in the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as an important tool for learning and development. In 2010, this insight brought together hundreds of educators, development workers, linguists, government workers and civil society delegates at a conference in Bangkok (Asia Multilingual Education Working Group, 2010). Convinced that language is a vital tool for the achievement of the MDGs, they reported on the many ways in which initiatives that promote local languages are making a real difference to people's lives across Asia and beyond (UNESCO, 2012). Educators working in linguistically and culturally diverse settings, who are aware of key ideas around intercultural communications and cultural competence, are better equipped to foster participatory development. Skills involved in the work of bridging different cultures include knowing the language, listening, finding ways to match and align key concepts where appropriate, and communicating respectfully and effectively. This dramatic volte-face, which rebranded linguistic diversity and multilingualism in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) as an advantage, resulted from half a century of research demonstrating the cognitive, psycholinguistic, pedagogical, social and political benefits of multilingualism (Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009). So compelling is the evidence that the African sociologist and anthropologist Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2009) argues provocatively that it is now "little more than a waste of resources to continue to research to prove that early mother-tongue education is useful…" (p. 95); MLE research must implicatively refocus on extracting educational policies and practices correspondent with scholarly consensuses on multilingualism. As the prevailing education language policy (ELP) climate across SSA attests, resolving current research evidence into actionable MLE policies and practices across relevant localised contexts remains frustratingly elusive.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 127–140.

Education in SSA, since the precolonial era of missionary propagandism, has been endemically exoglossic, characterised by widespread denigration and near total abandonment of Africa's linguistic diversity due in part to lingering myths about language in general and particularly African languages (Wolff, 2016). The exoglossic nature of language, as opposed to endoglossic tendencies, denotes or relates to a foreign language that is used as an official or second language in a particular country or community (Kobenko & Sharapova, 2015). The endoglossic relates to an indigenous language that is community-centred and used as the first or official language in a country (Makoni, Makoni, & Rosenberg, 2010). Projections by various endangered languages indices suggest that, without concerted intervention, 50–90 percent of the world's 6,800 odd languages today, a third of which are in SSA, will disappear this century (May, 2012; UNESCO, 2016). Across the continent, ELPs ambulate between a concatenation of transitional multilingualism models, stylised after the continuum of full immersion—early-exit—late-exit bilingual strategies in western nations, while leaving intact the fundamentally normative monolingual habitus of schooling (Benson & Kosonen, 2013). What makes this situation most perplexing is not merely that majority of African children encounter schooling in a European language they hardly understand, ignoring their own plurilingual and endoglossic cultural competency, but the fact that the exoglossia is now the accepted norm, against research evidence and common sense. It is equally bewildering that non-governmental organisations and the international development communities remain reticent or pharisaic about this entrenched anomaly. Thus, the political history of ELPs leaves unanswered thorny questions regarding the transmutation of research into action. For instance, multilingualism varies by context; its origins and dynamics are subject to widely ranging socio-political contingencies. How then could sociolinguistic phenomena so vast and various like multilingualism adjust neatly to any set of disciplined policy strategies consistent with the universalistic benefits of linguistic diversity, especially when such universalist agenda (e.g., the previous 2015 Millennium Development Goal and targets on Education For All) in which MLE is nested remain farfetched if not altogether misguided (Brock-Utne, 2000)?

Indeed, how does resolving the varieties of multilingualism and the universalism of its benefits fit the linguistic and semiotic fluidity of language as an evolving phenomenon, especially since current findings on multilingualism evoke notions of language as fixed and isolated socio-cognitive entities (see Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007)? These issues are knotty even if we set aside (and we should not) the political paradox of resorting to a postcolonial state, often controlled by elitist governments, to fairly resolve complicated realities of language discrimination and extinction, which occur primarily on account of the very existence of the same state (see Petrovic, 2015; Stroud, 2010). This chapter, therefore, re-examines the disjuncture between MLE discourse and educational policy and practice in the African contexts as shambolic manifestations of broader epistemic and political fabrications of global norms about education and development. It reviews briefly the paradigmatic shift from deficit to affirmative views of multilingualism

and mother language-based multilingual education (MLB-MLE) in SSA. Here, the paper contends that orthodox ELP recommendation following aforementioned research evidence disincentivises MLB-MLE by implicitly reinforcing language hierarchies. Next, it situates this discussion within contested political histories of education and development in contemporary SSA, borne out of the polemics of Europe's era of empire building.

PARADIGM SHIFT: LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION ADVOCACY

Up through the mid-twentieth century, scholars and language planners approached linguistic diversity as an impediment to the socioeconomic and socio-political development direly needed by newly independent African countries (Fishman, 1996; Karam, 1974; Neustupny, 1970). The era's legacy language policy paradigm, the stylised normative monolingualism, idealised the one nation/individual – one language norm of post-Renaissance Europe, and set the exoglossic tone for what can be characterised today as language crises of post-independence SSA. So widespread was this deficit orientation that in 1966, the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Sociolinguistics sponsored a conference on Language Problems of Developing Nations at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, resulting ultimately in Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta's (1968) seminal publication, *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. The spate of research following the invitation at this conference for experts to address these 'language problems', guided as they were by the conviction that linguistic homogeneity was necessary for modernisation (read as westernisation), produced a battery of conceptual typologies aimed at guiding language planning in multilingual contexts (Ricento, 2006).

Critics soon began to challenge the political agenda of monolingualism, the modernisation-as-westernisation vision or version of development, and underlying positivist epistemology, as imbricated recolonisation apparatuses (see Ricento, 2006). Concurrently, other researchers began accumulating compelling evidence, which categorically demonstrates that MLB-MLE confers on the individual cognitive and psychological dispositions the pedagogical appropriation of which conduces to society-level political, economic and cultural advantages (Cook, 1992; MacSwan, 2000; Rodriguez-Fornells, Balaguer, & Münte, 2006). In a language in education experiment that was conducted in Nigerian schools, researchers found that students taught in their native Nigerian Yoruba (while learning English as a subject) consistently outperformed their English-only counterparts in cognitive and affective measures (Fafunwa, Macauley, & Sokoya, 1989). This dramatic shift in scholarly circles corresponded with the broader political and intellectual shifts from the pragmatic structuralism of modernisation-driven social sciences during the decolonisation era (the failures of which birthed critical sociolinguistics) to more contemporary postmodernist critiques and concerns with linguistic human rights in a globalising world (Ricento, 2000).

Certainly, there remains a minority dissenting opinion on the value and political viability of linguistic pluralism and multilingualism, as exemplified in the polemics over linguistic domination and imperialism. On this note, neoliberal commentators view language discrimination, endangerment and extinction as inevitable consequences of natural and politically neutral processes of language competition that demand no public policy remedy (Donskoi, 2006; Waters, 2009). The historical short-sightedness, lousy logic, and social malignity of this position are sufficiently highlighted elsewhere (see Odugu, 2015). Suffice it here that even MLE advocates disagree on terminologies and orientations; every orientation to language planning (e.g., linguistic imperialism, language-as-right/resource, linguistic ecology) tendentiously spark both plaudit and eristic responses within scholarly communities (see Petrovic, 2005; Sayers, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, & Rannut, 1995; Wee, 2011). The intellectual recriminations notwithstanding, there is now near consensus that MLB-MLE is inherently beneficial to individuals and societies.

Importantly, this paradigmatic shift results not only from decades of multidisciplinary scholarship but also efforts by international organisations, such as the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and grassroots political activists troubled by lingering language-related social asymmetries. Their goal was to proffer policy models to guide MLE practices. This applies to popular international initiatives like UNESCO's expert meetings and conferences, normative instruments, and programmes (e.g., International Mother Language Day), most dating to UNESCO's formative years (see UNESCO, 1953; 2003) as well as less-known grassroots project, such as the bi/multilingual education programmes in Mali and Burkina Faso (UNESCO/UIL/ADEA, 2010). There now exists an intricate network of international, grassroots and individual MLE advocates who coalesce around the unflagging disjuncture between scholarly consensus on MLB-MLE in SSA and the lethargic response of public policy and educational practitioners, all working to discern appropriate policy strategies for safeguarding linguistic and cultural diversity.

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY TENSION: TRANSITIONALITY AND LANGUAGE HIERARCHY

The difficulty of deducing effective MLB-MLE policy models is indicative of stubborn philosophical and cultural assumptions that paradoxically promote and undermine SSA's linguistic diversity by perpetuating the same myths responsible for widespread linguistic discrimination and development concerns. Besides neoliberal apologists who consider language discrimination a marker of healthy macro-level economic competition (Donskoi, 2006), MLE advocacy can be forked into two distinct policy perspectives pertinent to these philosophical and cultural tensions. The dominant perspective features multiple models of transitional multilingualism, ranging from early- to very late-exit MLE, with preference for late-exit transition to dominant languages as well as additive models that maintain both the native

and foreign languages. What is denoted by first or second languages (so-called L_1, $L_2 \ldots_n$), and native/indigenous languages, are historically ambiguous because not all L_1s are native to a child's community, nor L_2s, foreign. Operationalising these and similar terms like International Language of Wider Communication (ILWC) (UNESCO/UIL/ADEA, 2010), dominant versus non-dominant languages (Benson & Kosonen, 2013) in context must contend with the ever-changing and variegated nature of multilingual phenomena. Barring few marginal cases, the prevailing ELP and practices across SSA is either early-exit or complete monolingual education in European languages. A less popularised perspective envisions the use of African languages throughout all levels of schooling, either requiring simultaneous use of the colonial language as a subject and/or language of instruction (LoI), or making colonial languages optional (Ouane & Glanz, 2011). These two perspectives are often lumped together in a continuum of options (see Ouane & Glanz, 2011), partly as an unwitting attempt to evade broader epistemic and political issues incumbent on using local African languages at all levels of schooling.

The first (transitional) models are grounded on the logic of instrumentality; proficiency in African languages is worthwhile pedagogical investment because it facilitates transfer to European languages. Many African MLE scholars now believe that native LoI serves primarily to facilitate the transition between home and school (especially at higher levels), since post-primary LoI is *de facto* English, French, Portuguese and Spanish (Ndungo & Mwangi, 2014). Echoes of deficit attributions to African indigenous languages as inadequate and insufficient for advanced learning are argued through the ideology of instrumentalism. The adamancy of language hierarchy beliefs, even within scholarly circles, illustrates the subliminality of language attitudes that perforce reinforces mythic appropriations of anything indigenously African as *ipso facto* inferior.

Transitional multilingualism has well-established scholarly anchorage and support in Cummins' interdependency hypothesis that proposes that the acquisition of any language is accompanied by metalinguistic and cognitive proficiencies common across languages and that individuals who master their native languages transfer these common underlying proficiencies (CUP), such as literacy, content learning, abstract thinking and problem solving, to subsequent languages (Cummins, Baker, & Hornberger, 2001, pp. 107–108). MLE advocates rely on Cummins' work to encourage MLB-MLE as a strategy for foreign language acquisition, an argument that paradoxically reinforces the prevailing grades 1–3 early-exit ELP models across SSA. Even the most vaunted MLE initiatives (e.g., Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali) adopt this transitional strategy (UNESCO/UIL /ADEA, 2010). Countries like Ghana have altogether reverted from the early-exit transitional models to English-only monolingual education (Albaugh, 2014). Even the early-exit strategy remains grossly under-implemented.

As noted earlier, transitional multilingualism is no novelty; the provenance of its political and epistemological legitimacy dates to the ideological prototype of early European missionary and subsequent colonial education policies (Odugu, 2016).

Post-independence nation-building policymaking left intact these policies as half-hearted compromises intended to safeguard the fragility of emerging state politics (Austin, 2009). It is remarkable that given this grim policy climate, MLE advocacy has yet to draw a sharp distinction between the instrumentality and social hierarchy of transitional models and the prospect of using African languages at all levels of schooling. Rationalising the inherent flaws of transitional multilingualism and lumping it in with MLB-MLE regrettably, forces even thoroughgoing advocates to devalue African languages. In a comprehensive review of MLE theories, policies and practices, Heugh (2011) argues that for over a century, various commissions and reports on education in SSA recommended L1 as both LoI and school subject, but virtually in none of these reports "has there ever been a suggestion…that the first language/mother tongue is *sufficient* or that children should be *limited* only to the first language" (p. 107, emphasis added). By characterising African languages as insufficient, and to use LoI as a limitation, Heugh's eloquent defense of MLB-MLE inadvertently concedes the mythic inferiority of African languages. Little wonder MLE advocacy continues to be treated with calculated suspicion or outright rejection among parents, educators and policymakers.

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION, CULTURAL DEFICIT AND DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

While the epistemological flaws of transitional multilingualism is, *malum in se*, sufficient justification for decoupling MLB-MLE from transitional models, the more serious cultural, political and socioeconomic corollaries signal the urgency of revising not only MLE advocacy but also the overarching historiography of development in which it is embedded. Language embodies culture and meaning, and instrumentalising endoglossic African languages institutionalises and legitimises the historic denigration of African knowledge systems, cultural expressions, and worldviews. To consign African languages to lower levels of schooling signifies that the cultural knowledge systems they embody deserve no more than rudimentary inquiry; advanced learning must focus on externally-oriented official knowledge codified in and accessible only through the official exoglossic language. Accordingly, even ELPs that endorse African languages as LoI at all levels, but fail to challenge the structure, content and epistemological assumptions of present-day schooling, is correspondingly implicated.

To elaborate, what is the cultural denouement of an education that uses a student's native language(s) to inculcate ideas, values, and dispositions that distance students from their own cultural experiences? The instrumentalist appropriation of language (as a tool) reconstitutes this question as a matter of choice about culture (i.e., students can choose to adopt any language and culture, endoglossic or exoglossic), a strategy that herald erasure of the very ontological nature of cultural development as semiotic linguistic phenomena. Such problematic depiction of choice underlies neoliberal apologetics, which reduced linguistic imperialism to the calculus of macro-economic

competition, an issue more adequately addressed by critics of language-as-resource (Petrovic, 2005). Indeed, the act of choosing that is central to instrumentalism, and the conduits through which cultural systems become viable options, are all linguistically and culturally mediated. That is, language is by nature culture bound, but culture semiotically and recursively transmits itself through language (Kövecses, 2006). Indeed, language is both the medium and product of historicised meaning-making phenomena through which culture symbolically embodies and transmutes human experiences. The constitutivist appropriations, contrary to instrumentalism, abjures any fast boundaries between language, culture and meaning necessary for instumentalising – thus, "inferiorising" – one or the other. For constitutivists, language is bound not only to culture but also to identity and the very nature of selfhood. One can further distinguish instrumentalism from intrinsicism, which highlights the non-relational valuation of language. That is, African languages are inherently valuable without reference to those (instrumental or constitutive) values assigned by the speakers (De Schutter, 2007).

Undoubtedly, transitional multilingualism is outwardly pragmatic, and proponents of current exoglossic models can dismiss concerns about protecting African cultural and intellectual systems as idealistic romanticism with an irretrievable idyllic past, a claim accorded more detailed thematic critiques in fields like philosophy (Ikuenobe, 2006), literature (Gikandi, 2003), and theology (Nyengele, 2004). That is, political and economic capitals remain largely consolidated in state institutions that privilege western knowledge systems; to productively participate in economic, civic and political life requires mastery of official knowledge in its privileged language. Students who lack requisite familiarity with this official knowledge and official (European) language do so to their socioeconomic and political peril, the rigour and depth of their African cultural insights notwithstanding. The apparently common-sense sentiment here, often couched with innocuous banality, holds that English and French (so-called ILWC) are "key to accessing international resources…and communication at the national levels" (Ouane & Glanz, 2011, p. 25).

The key is to recognise that the premium on 'international resources', a metonym for western cultural and intellectual products, is redolent of the stubborn epistemic hangovers of modernisation theory and its visions of development as westernisation (Mehmet, 1999). Researchers, generally, agree that the curricular, structure and philosophical foundations of education in SSA are legacies of European (pre) colonial adventures devoid of meaningful cultural adaptations (Wolff, 2016). School subjects, such as mathematics, natural sciences and geography remain mechanical and heavily textbook-driven, often ignoring the diverse ecosystems inhabited by indigenous African students (Asabere-Ameyaw, Dei, & Raheem, 2012). Teaching African history continues to have a checkered history. Studies of history are either optional or, as with Nigeria, totally eliminated. Those students who study African history encounter pre-packaged ideological narratives of European adventures in Africa, all codified in colonial languages. The same applies to studies of politics, religion, philosophy and the arts. Not long ago, African thinkers devoted the

better of three decades debating the existence of African philosophy and whether Africans were truly capable of developing and having original philosophic insight, a debate conducted in the languages and forms of western philosophy (see Masolo, 1994; Wiredu, 2004). There is no better affirmation of earlier claims by Europeans that traditional SSA had no history, culture, or religion (see Odugu, 2016, pp. 243–244), than the total pedagogical abandonment of African appropriations of human experiences.

This deculturalising educational norm is aptly illustrated in objections to African communalism as viable cultural philosophy for development studies. The African philosopher, Peter Boudunrin (1981) once argued, "Certainly not everything about our past was glorious… A way of life which made it possible for our ancestors to be subjugated by a handful of Europeans cannot be described as totally glorious" (p. 167). The classic *pars pro toto* fallacy here discredits contemporary appropriations of any African traditional norm because not everything was glorious in Africa's traditional past. Obviously, *not everything* was *glorious* in western traditions. Yet, those who reject as anachronistic Nyerere's attempt barely 60 years ago to recapture African socialist traditions enthusiastically, instruct African students on western ideas, including Platonic (3rd Century BC) idealism, the rationalism of Hegel and Kant, which espoused racist ideologies against Africans in the 18th century, and industrial capitalism and its perversions of democracy.

Other objection to "romanticising" Africa's past further illustrates the broader contested epistemic and historiographic dimensionalities of this exoglossic development vista. With increased participation of women, Christian theologians in African theological discourse accused advocates of enculturation (especially proponents of traditional communal life) with using theology as camouflage for evils against women, including in traditional societies, in the name of culture or religion (Sakuba, 2011). Gender discrimination is, unquestionably, a historical fact not only in SSA but elsewhere (see Kessler-Harris, 2001). Yet, as Nwando Achebe's work in Nigeria's Igboland demonstrates, discrimination against women was a legacy of European missionary and colonial influences. Unlike the genderless Igbo God (Chukwu) that superintended over an economic culture where men and women alike pursued careers as traders, warriors, farmers, kings and priest(esses), the Christian God preached by European missionaries was male, and clerical offices were men's exclusive prerogative (Achebe, 2011, 2005).

Overall, deficit characterisations of African traditions require careful reconsideration using a wider range of culturally relevant evidence beyond the customary fragmentary colonial archives that is the hallmark of mainstream positivist historiography of development. Furthermore, the enormous task of exploring African traditions, not for any idealised reconstruction of the past *qua tale*, but for clearly understanding present conditions and envisioning the future, remains urgent. Many African scholars hesitate to undertake this historical inquiry at a time ample archaeological evidence confirm the existence of empirical sources for studying SSA's past. For instance, historians generally ignore the history of

mathematics in SSA as either non-existent or unknowable. Yet, some of the oldest mathematical objects found by anthropologists come from the Ishango region on the Uganda-Democratic Republic of Congo borders and the Lebombo Mountains of Swaziland (Darling, 2004). SSA has unquestionably learned much about/ from western traditions but the colossal disregard of Africa's scientific, cultural, and institutional accomplishments in contemporary education reinforce Europe's empire politics, a phenomenon systemically entrenched through and in transitional multilingual education policies.

NEW PARADIGM FOR LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

So far, in this chapter I have argued that the prevalent ELPs in SSA is ineffective because it reinforces *démodé* education paradigm and development discourse that tendentiously dismisses African intellectual and cultural accomplishments as viable subjects for advanced learning and models for social change. Constructing new vistas for social change beyond current narrow visions of development requires grappling with the historical polarisation between incremental reforms and radical change through revolution, which are both contrasted with maintaining the status quo (Goldstone, 1998). MLE advocates generally contend that SSA's development indices are dismal, and that language has much to do with it (Ouane & Glanz, 2011; Rassool, 2007; Wolff, 2016). The consensus notwithstanding, strategies for transforming African societies remain elusive for a variety of reasons. First, MLE advocacy lacks a vision of society correspondent with the principles of linguistic diversity. As such, dominant recommendations for educational change uncritically adopt an outmoded modernisation paradigm. The result is an overreliance on state institutions as the primary agent of social change, a strategy that results in the dilemma of expecting the state self-censure, curtail or abrogate its violations of language rights. Second, since MLE advocacy has been unable to articulate a roadmap through which current educational policies and practices can produce nouveaux social conditions, the "west-save-the-rest" ideology of modernisation (Sachs, 2005) conveniently fills this gap with narrow visions of education and society modelled after western societies. The meliorist objective of westernising the so-called "third world" strategically extends to the prevalent transitional ELPs and aligns perfectly with a gradualist approach to social change.

The third reason for the absence of clearly articulated social change strategy in line with linguistic diversity therefore, is that any insinuation about radical change is evocative of revolution and war, carrying with it pejoratively attribution to insurrection, state repression, massive death tolls, population displacement, possible international intervention and catastrophic results. The social pogrom and civil wars in today's Syria, Libya and Yemen following the Arab Spring, are convenient instantiations. It is no surprise therefore, that post-independence politics viewed radical changes to colonial language policies as volatile and fraught with internecine outcomes, thus resorting to the tentative compromises of transitional multilingualism

(Austin, 2009). Ever since, generations of African leaders and civil society have avoided radical changes to the colonial ELP in defense of the fragile stability of present-day institutions, despite the demonstrable debilities. However, radical social change need not entail or result in violence, nor resort to maintaining the status quo although it could constitute the only viable alternative to a violent revolutionary change. Intellectual and cultural revolution occur 'silently' as outcomes of changing demographics or material conditions (see Inglehart, 1977). Unlike the materialist basis of Inglehart's analysis of changes in western values, there is a profound opportunity to tap the non-material (spiritual) holistic dimension of African cultural traditions to widen the scope and purposes of contemporary education in ways that extend beyond the epistemic fixities of transitional multilingualism. Such a historically- and culturally-sensitive modelling of social change capable of retooling the collective epistemic agency of Africans requires an intellectual and cultural revolution with a commitment to adaptive social changes.

The inadequacy of gradual reform as it has been enacted in the African educational consciousness is not about the impossibility of incremental reform to generate culturally-responsive social change. It is that the specific terms of incrementalism and the structures of reform addresses itself to governments and their organs whereas an intellectual and cultural revolution focuses on the people as the legitimate source of political and economic authority embodied by governments. Incremental reform makes formal schooling a necessity and assigns governments the prerogative of providing basic education as requisites for productive economic and political participation. An intellectual and cultural revolution views formal schooling as an important (but not necessary) option for individuals and families in their quest for economic mobility and also for negotiating the tensions and confluences of forces consequent upon and incidental to colonialism.

Indeed, incremental reform and revolution manifestly value the inherent diversity of African cultures and worldviews. Yet, strategic incrementalism fails to question the longstanding vision of development aimed at bringing Africans out of allegedly primitive proto-scientific cultures into 'sophisticated' modern scientific Western cultures. Herein, therefore, lies the justification for extending beyond specific MLE research findings, which take current development paradigm as fixed, to a widened vista that resists the metonymic symbolisation of African cultural traditions as primitive. Rather than hierarchical rankings of societies based on shifting western ethnocentric traditions, with SSA always on the rear-side of a one-track development race, Africans need to recognise that African realities represent unique and legitimate modern conditions indicative of adaptive responses to their respective checkered histories.

An intellectual and cultural revolution opposed to transitional multilingualism restores the holistic nature of learning as experientially multidimensional and integrative in outcome by altering the mechanical and disciplinary atomisation of experiences in current materialist (mis)appropriations of education from its etymological meaning as *educare* (to bring up/cultivate) and *educere* (to bring

forth or lead/draw out) (Nola & Irzik, 2005). A key motivation for transitional multilingualism is the notion that foreign languages and western knowledge systems offer individuals and society necessary material benefits unattainable otherwise. As the driver of public policies in modern capitalist African states, the materialist econometric views of development are largely discrepant with both the humanistic African traditional worldviews and western metaphysics.

The Roman polymath Marcus Terentius Varro, once noted poignantly, "*educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister*" (nurses and midwives educate, pedagogical institutes instruct, the master teaches) (Lewis & Short, 1897). To Varro's point, while *educo* (root for *educare* and *educere*) focuses primarily on the material aspects of child rearing concerned with providing information, true teaching and the impartment of knowledge extends to the spiritual (i.e., non-material) dimensionalities of reality. As Waterfield (2002) notes, "[o]ther knowledge there is, and this must be acquired; but it only makes sense and can only be purposefully used when it is related to the underlying spiritual knowledge" (p. 117). This spiritual dimensionality to reality, not synonymous with superficial religiosity or spirituality, encapsulates the culturally reflexive deanthropocentric displacement of humans as the centre of reality upon which the teleology of other beings hang. The value of this holistic attitude to reality and the relative insignificance of humans are only being recognised recently by the ecological sustainability movement, one that is now being appropriated and exported as part of reified western development agenda (see Clarke, 2012).

CONCLUSION

Contemporary MLE advocacy, while manifestly supportive of linguistic diversity in SSA, remains arguably complicit in the continued subjugation of African intellectual, cultural and social systems. But this is unnecessary, as this complicity is the direct result of lumping MLB-MLE together with transitional multilingualism in a bid to avert oppositions to the radical changes invited by recent MLE research. The fundamental logic of transitional multilingualism reinforces the linguistic hierarchy and instrumental views of African languages largely responsible for language discrimination and extinction. MLE advocates have already taken the bold step of integrating grassroots MLB-MLE programming, instead of earlier purely state-centric approaches. A crucial next step is for MLE advocates to offer bold support to the radical changes, including to current colonial models of schooling, which research evidence imports. This task remains counterproductive until MLE advocacy commits itself to challenging the broader epistemic and historiographic paradigms of education and development undergirding linguistic behaviours in contemporary SSA. This chapter concludes that ignoring MLE has worked against the MDG on equality and education for all since many children struggle at school when they are forced to learn in languages that are not their mother tongue (UNESCO, 2012). School systems that do not use learners' own languages or respect their cultures

make it extremely difficult for children to stay in school and learn, thus contributing to perpetuating cycles of marginalisation and discrimination, particularly for children who come from ethnic minorities.

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8. (RE-)INTEGRATING AFRICAN LANGUAGES INTO THE ZIMBABWEAN SCHOOL CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION

Africa has always been a continent with a plethora of languages and dialects. Like most African countries, Zimbabwe is a multilingual nation hosting sixteen officially recognised languages (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 20, 2013) namely; Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa. In addition, there are other foreign languages like French, Portuguese and Chinese languages. The major indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe are Shona and Ndebele. Shona accounts for 75%, Ndebele for 16%, other indigenous languages and foreign languages account for nearly 1% of the population (Magwa, 2006 cited in Gora, 2014). During colonial rule, English was positioned at the apex of the multilingual scenario while indigenous languages occupied an inferior position. English was the language of instruction and all forms of administration, and was also given primacy in social, economic and educational spheres at the expense of indigenous languages. Being competent in English was synonymous to being educated and so was a source of pride to many. As such the local people had no choice but to accept English and its functions.

It is a cause for concern that thirty-six years after attaining political independence, the Government of Zimbabwe has not yielded any matching linguistic independence. In practice, English remains the defining language in major sectors of national, economic, educational, political and social discourse. Despite some language policy initiatives after attainment of independence, Zimbabwe has not yet significantly resuscitated the status of indigenous languages especially in the education sector. It is the intention of this chapter to show that African languages have a very important role in enabling Zimbabwe to achieve the global vision of development. This was one of the targets stipulated in the Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] on using the best language in which to engage with marginalised communities including school children to achieve the other MDGs including MDG # 2 on universal basic education and educational equity (UNESCO, 2012). In light of that, the postcolonial education system should afford indigenous languages their rightful place in the curriculum in order to enhance personal, economic, social and national development, as well as give equal language opportunities for learners whose home language is neglected by the school system. National education policies that prioritise learning in the mother

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 141–158.

tongue within a strategy to improve educational quality and access are in the political and economic interests of countries with high levels of linguistic diversity (Pinnock & Vijayakumar, 2009).

SOME POST INDEPENDENCE LANGUAGE POLICY INITIATIVES IN ZIMBABWE

The first attempt to align political and linguistic independence in Zimbabwe was through the Education Act of 1987, seven years into political independence.

The Education Act of 1987

In section 62, the Act proposed to raise the status of Shona and Ndebele by ascribing them national language status and use as media of instruction up to Grade Three as shown below:

1. Subject to this section, the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely, Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows—
   a. Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona; or
   b. Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.
2. Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (*a*) or (*b*) of subsection (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
3. From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction: provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time-allocation basis as the English language.
4. In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in subsections (1), (2) and (3).

As the National Language Policy Advisory Panel notes in the 1999 Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training Report (Nziramasanga, 1999), interpretation and implementation of the Education Act's provisions in schools was confused and half-hearted in respect of both national and minority languages. Thus, English language continued to enjoy more educational space at the expense of local languages just as it was during the colonial era.

Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (CIET) Report of 1999

As part of its mandate, the Commission was instructed to study and recommend policy initiatives on indigenous languages in view of widening their use generally

and more specifically in the education and training systems in Zimbabwe. The Commission strongly endorsed the use of local languages in education to reform African education for sustainable development by recommending the use of Shona and Ndebele as media of instruction up to the Grade 7 level and that the status of local languages is enshrined in the country's constitution. It was only seven years later, in 2006, that the government bought into the Commission's recommendation by amending the Education Act (1987).

Amended Education Act of 2006

In light of the CIET's recommendations, the government of Zimbabwe went on to amend the Education Act (1987) and repealed Section 62 of the principal Act and substituted it with the following:

1. Subject to this section, all the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught on an equal-time basis in all schools up to form two level.
2. In areas where indigenous languages other than those mentioned in subsection (1) are spoken, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in schools in addition to those specified in subsection (1).
3. The Minister may authorise the teaching of foreign languages in schools.
4. Prior to form one, any one of the languages referred to in subsection (1) and (2) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
5. Sign language shall be the priority medium of instruction for the deaf and hard of hearing.

The position of the other indigenous languages was still not clearly espoused in the amended Act. Escape clauses, as observed by Bamgbose (1991) in most language policies of African nations, such as 'minority languages, could be used subject to availability of manpower' or 'with the approval of the minister', show lack of will power on policy implementation. That gave room for the amendment's pronouncements to remain on paper without matching practice.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 20, Act of 2013

Regarding language, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act (2013, p. 17) states:

1. The following languages, namely Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe.
2. An Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognised languages and may prescribe languages of record.

3. The State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must
   a. ensure that all officially recognised languages are treated equitably; and
   b. take into account the language preferences of people affected by governmental measures and communications.
4. The State must promote and advance the use of all languages used in Zimbabwe, including sign language, and must create conditions for the development of those languages.

Parts 1 and 2 are not so convincing that one is persuaded to assume that African languages are given due recognition. The phrase "… are officially recognised languages of Zimbabwe" puts it rather woolly; no one would be held accountable for not officially recognising the languages. In addition, the word '… may …' in (2) also leaves room for choice by the parliament to either prescribe or not prescribe languages as officially recognised. The Constitution, being the supreme document of the country, ought to have categorically pronounced the status of African languages in particular. There is a difference between a language being an official language and being officially recognised, the former being more enforcing than the latter. Once the Constitution has such loop holes, the place of African languages in the school system curriculum is left to chance.

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

Of the local languages, Shona and Ndebele have been given precedence in the Zimbabwean education system. Teaching and learning of these two languages dates back to colonial rule. In African schools the languages were introduced as subjects at 'O' level (fourth year of high school) in 1957 and 1967 respectively and at 'A' level (sixth year of high school), Shona was introduced in 1964, while Ndebele was introduced as Zulu in 1979 (Chiwome, 1996). Examining Ndebele and Shona at Grade 7 level only started in 1990 (Nziramasanga, 1999). Although the two languages are still being studied at present, it has been observed that:

- Compared to other subjects, few candidates register to write 'O' and 'A' level examinations in either Ndebele or Shona languages (ZIMSEC Reports);
- Those candidates who choose to do either Shona or Ndebele at 'A' level do so as a last and desperate option (Gora, 2014);
- By the country's standards, an 'O' level certificate should have 5 Cs or better including English and not an indigenous language (Nziramasanga, 1999).
- The study of African languages at 'O' level and beyond is not compulsory (Nziramasanga, 1999);
- University students who pursue studies in African Languages opt to engage in professional fields that are not related to their specialist study areas (Gora, 2014);
- The teaching of African languages is being done by personnel either totally unqualified or qualified in other subjects (Gora, 2014).

Numerous Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture circulars have pronounced some guidelines on promotion of the teaching of local languages. For instance, Director's Circular Minute No. 69 of 2008 pronounced that:

> The Ministry had adopted the policy of teaching Shona and Ndebele in all our schools from Grade 4 to Form 2, with effect from January 2007, in accordance with the Education Act Chapter 25:04 as amended and the recommendations of the 1999 Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training. The Education Act states that 'all the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught on an equal time basis in all schools up to form two level'.

To that effect, in the same minute, the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture outlines the current position in terms of use of local languages as media of instruction up to Grade 7, development of teaching materials, introducing the teaching of Shona in Matabeleland Province schools and Ndebele in Mashonaland Province schools on a pilot scale nationwide and working with the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education in training teachers for Shona and Ndebele subjects. Results of a survey carried out by Mutomba (2008) show that the piloting suffered a miscarriage; the intended outcome was not achieved and one primary school in Harare was effectively offering Ndebele as L2 (Gora, 2014).

The last six years have also seen Tonga, a minority language, being taught in primary school and examined at Grade 7 level and plans are underway to have it taught and examined at secondary school level. The only setback is, teachers assigned to teach Tonga language are not qualified to do so, which is not pedagogically sound and at the same time showing lack of seriousness in integrating African languages in the school curriculum. Despite one primary school teachers' college being given mandate to train Tonga language teachers in the late 1990s, parents, teachers and school heads professed ignorance of information on such a golden opportunity (Gora, Mavunga, Muringani, & Waniwa, 2010). That again reflects lack of adequate and effective dissemination strategies of language related policy issues to the intended beneficiaries. In the same vein, one university in the country has pioneered the offering of courses in Venda, Kalanga, Tonga and Shangani languages at degree level. The only drawback is that the graduates flock to neighbouring South Africa, for greener pastures, where the languages are overtly offered as subjects in the school curriculum. On the contrary, the Zimbabwean curriculum has not effectively offered these indigenous languages as subjects of study in the education system.

The brief background to the linguistic landscape in Zimbabwe above brings to the fore issues of the place of mother tongue in postcolonial education in general and African education in particular. The inclusion of one's first language in any curriculum is of undoubted importance because the mother tongue, among other functions, links the school and the community. School systems that do not use learners' own languages or respect their cultures make it extremely difficult for children to stay in school and learn (UNESCO, 2012). Woolman (2001) sets out goals that link school

and community to reflect objectives for an ideal African education. These include: character development, respect for elders and established authority, positive attitude toward work, acquisition of a vocation, cultivation of a sense of belonging, active participation in community and family life, and appreciation and understanding of local cultural heritage. All these are major tenets of African Traditional Education and are transmitted by African languages therefore; inclusion of one's mother language at any level of education need not be left to either choice or chance.

THE PLACE OF MOTHER TONGUE IN EDUCATION

In Zimbabwe, indigenous languages, as school subjects, are not regarded as determinants of one's academic, professional or socio-economic future yet the mother tongue is extensively used in enhancing understanding between interlocutors, be it in the educational, administrative or economic circles, especially where they share the mother tongue. This chapter argues that the study of local languages is as paramount as that of any other subject held in high esteem in the African education system; hence the language issue has to be part and parcel of serious post-independence discourse.

Literary corpus has emerged on African languages in general and Zimbabwean indigenous languages, in particular. Chiwome (1996) highlights the negative attitude towards Shona and Ndebele as subjects of the curriculum as the two were taught by unqualified personnel during colonial days. Ngara (1982) concurs while making reference to the then University of Rhodesia (now the University of Zimbabwe) students who regarded an English Honours degree as more prestigious than one in either Shona or Ndebele. Researching on use of English language in the teaching of Shona and Ndebele at high school and university levels, Chiwome and Thondhlana (1992) conclude that use of English as medium of instruction to teach indigenous languages put non-English speaking students at a disadvantage (cited in Gora, 2014). Sure and Webb (2000) also note with concern that Africans shun their mother tongue, while Setati (2005) observes that Africans still resist mother tongue education in favour of English, even years after independence. In short, Mkanganwi (1993) concludes that English has maintained its 'superior' status over the local languages over the years.

Scholars like Gudhlanga (2005) blame colonial language policies for denigrating local languages to the extent of preventing their preservation and promotion but one would expect to see such thinking being reversed in post-independence Zimbabwe. However, other scholars blame the diglossic relationship between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages. Ogutu cited in Mutasa (2006) laments the prejudiced assignment of language roles in multilingual landscapes like Kenya where elevation of English language to a privileged position marginalises indigenous languages. Sometimes governments fear that mother tongue-based education may have negative socio-political effects, while parents fear that mother tongue-based education may exclude their child from learning the dominant languages in their country, which are often pathways to jobs and wider opportunities (Pinnock & Vijayakumar, 2009; UNESCO, 2012). However, decades of independence ought to

see indigenous languages being given their rightful place in the curriculum for them to contribute towards personal, economic, social and national development. The education system should function as an agency of cultural transmission as well as change. Education has to reassert African culture and identity as an important part of nation building on the continent, despite the obvious challenges of multilingualism.

MULTILINGUALISM AND STATUS OF LANGUAGES

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon throughout the whole world (UNESCO, 2003). Such a situation crafts classification of languages into minority and majority statuses and that presents challenges for education systems in adapting to such complex realities. Nonetheless, language pluralism can provide quality and fair education which takes cognisance of the learner's needs whilst balancing these with economic, social, cultural and political demands or expectations. The notion of multilingualism is important in this chapter because Zimbabwe lies at the interface of English and other foreign languages on one hand and African languages on the other and this creates the challenge of language choice for administration, communication and education.

Language is closely intertwined with power, social pride and culture and as such multilingualism always presents language problems (Bamgbose, 1991) since the three issues are at play in choosing a language for education. Colonial rule in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) meant the imposition of foreign languages as languages of education and it entailed bringing different linguistic groupings under one political group. In the case of Zimbabwe, nearly four decades into independence, that language disparity has to change and so should the status of different languages and their functions by embracing multilingualism in education.

FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY

There is specialisation of language in a society as languages tend to enjoy different statuses in different situations. The choice of which language to prioritise in education becomes directly linked to language status and the specialised functions of that language in society. A language that offers opportunities in life after schooling becomes important and studying it becomes worthwhile. That alone automatically disqualifies African languages as part of the core curriculum. Language functions and statuses are better explained by Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1972) who observe that some language/varieties are used for formal and public occasions by an elite as opposed to ordinary language (cited in Wardhaugh, 1998). To Ferguson,

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which … there is a very divergent, highly codified …superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature … which learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but it is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (cited in Wardhaugh, 1998, p. 87)

Diglossia ascribes 'High' and 'Low' variety tags on languages depending on; prestige/ status, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, phonology and lexicon. These nine rubrics determine the importance of language/varieties and that has an indirect bearing on the education curriculum. Benson (2004) reckons that a language with many functions gains prestige as either formal or informal. Even in the face of political independence, foreign languages continue to ride the crest while African governments take time to uplift the status of indigenous languages. Simply 'raising' indigenous languages to the status of national languages renders them purposeless areas of study. In Zimbabwe, for instance, Shona and Ndebele have been 'raised' to national languages status while the rest of the other indigenous languages have been unfortunately tagged as 'minority' or 'marginalised' languages. This has effects on languages in the curriculum. The 'minority' or 'marginalised' or 'minoritised' labels attached to languages like Venda, Changana and Nambya tend to denigrate and relegate them to inferiority status. These languages continue to be treated as unimportant and pejorative despite also having a grammar; phonetic and morphophonemic structure and syntax like any other language. It is, therefore, overdue to re-invigorate these languages in the curriculum to dispel unfounded myths.

MYTHS ON LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Education is the seedbed for mass participation, social mobility, manpower training and development of human potential, among other goals (Bamgbose, 1991). The issue of language always crops up when dealing with schooling because it is mainly through language that knowledge is transmitted. The part played by language in education can be aptly questioned as: What language is to be learnt or taught, for which purpose and at which level? Ngugi wa Thiongo contends that the language used in education is the language of power and Skutnabb-Kangas laments that one of the most successful means of destroying or retarding languages has been, and is, education (Ouane, 2003). The educational curriculum decides the importance of a language. The importance of a mother tongue, also known as the 'primary' or 'first language', cannot be overemphasised. Researchers who focused on the importance of language for sustainable development in communities in Ivory Coast, Namibia and Indonesia have pointed out that failure to engage with the indigenous languages only increases other peoples' exclusion (Lagsus Report, 2008). UNESCO (2003) underscores that mother tongue may refer to several situations such as the language(s) that one learns first, identifies with, knows best and uses most. Education through the mother tongue opens doors for mass participation and underlines the importance of the community's cultural heritage and seeks to instil pride in local culture.

Countries have many options when it comes to choosing language in education. However, there are some factors that determine the choices namely: historical, sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, economic, theoretical, pedagogic and political. Most nations in SSA have a language policy in education but in most cases these are just

an extension of colonial policies. History continues to endorse past colonial language policies in education. The language of education in former British colonies is English, former French and Belgian colonies use French, while Portuguese is used in former Portuguese colonies and Spanish is used in the former Spanish colony, and countries which have been under Arabic influence have Arabic as a medium of instruction or as an official language. The glaring absence of African languages in the education system is best viewed as a colonial linguistic inheritance (Bamgbose, 1991).

In colonial times, mother-tongue education was basically limited to initial literacy, a medium of instruction at lower primary level and a subject from primary to higher levels. That has not changed and it is high time African countries break away from such perspective by affording a greater status to indigenous languages. There are nations that have planned and/or experimented with this move. Some have expanded in the use of African languages as media of instruction to the entire primary school course and even beyond. For instance, Somali has been used as medium of instruction up to secondary level and Swahili has also been used as a medium of instruction throughout primary education. It should however, be noted that when Swahili became a medium of instruction at primary level in Tanzania, in 1967, the original plan was to extend to secondary education but that did not materialise (Bamgbose, 1991). What is of concern is that such moves to expand the use of African languages are not backed up by the necessary policy. Alongside that, Benson (2004, p. 65) describes some myths that are regularly used to challenge use of mother tongue in education. These include:

- *The one nation – one language myth* which believes that use of a colonial language in education unifies a nation. On the contrary, countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have suffered destabilisation due to failure to recognise linguistic diversity.
- *Local languages cannot express modern concepts myth* is also a colonial concept. All human languages are equally able to express their speaker's thoughts and can develop new terms and structures needed.
- *The either – or myth* says that bilingualism causes confusion. In actual fact the opposite is true because, according to the Common Underlying Hypothesis, the more highly the first language skills are, the better the results in the second language (Nyawaranda, 2000). Plurality should be seen as an asset.
- *The L2 as global language myth* is a planned promotion of foreign languages. In practice, many people in Africa have very little use of L2 in real life.

In the same vein, Kembo-Sure cited in Mutasa (2006, p. 13) also identifies folk theories on language in education which are:

- Everyone needs to learn English;
- English is the world language and there is an international variety of English for all to learn;
- International English is culture-free.

These are just myths to downplay the importance of mother – tongue education.

Another constraint to mother-tongue education is political will by governments. While educationists may know what to do, they need to be empowered to implement policies (Mnkandla, 2000). Generally in some cases, there is the attitude by governments that language policy matters are sensitive and that could be why African governments are hesitant to alter existing language policies and practices. Despite facilitating debates about emphasising mother – tongue education, the governments conveniently carry on with a 'language of wider communication' education policy. At an African Ministers of Education meeting in 1976, it was agreed that, "… national languages must be restored as languages of instruction and as vehicles of scientific and technical progress" (Bamgbose, 1991, p. 80). Surprisingly, the education language practice all over Africa, particularly SSA, has remained unchanged in that respect. Contrary to the situation in secondary schools, it is surprising that African language study is increasingly being taken more seriously in institutions of higher learning. There is a lot of research and innovation with African languages at tertiary level. Much is being done at these institutions with the aim of improving mother-tongue education at lower levels. In the same vein, most teachers' colleges and universities in Zimbabwe are also advocating for and researching into mother-tongue education (Chapanga & Makamani, 2006). It is high time the current governments actively and fully support the effective inclusion of African languages in education.

DEVELOPING MOTHER-TONGUE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

In many countries in SSA, the developments in mother-tongue education are not a result of deliberate government policy decisions but because of efforts made by post-secondary institutions, especially universities. The teaching and learning of the following languages owe their successful implementation to initiatives of Departments of Linguistics and/or Education in the relevant universities:

- Use of Wolof in primary education in Senegal;
- Use of Limba, Mende and Temne as media of instruction at primary school level in Sierra Leone;
- Use of Cameroonian languages in initial literacy;
- Teaching of Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo at secondary school level in Nigeria (Bamgbose cited in Gora, 2014, p. 54).

Bamgbose (1991, pp. 92–93) acknowledges that research and teaching of African languages at university have covered the following essentials:

- phonetics, phonology, orthography, syntax, lexis, semantics and pragmatics;
- studying the languages for their own sake;
- introducing courses in language and literature at first and higher degree levels;
- collaboration between Departments of Linguistics and African Languages and Departments of Education so as to link content and methodology.

Bamgbose goes further to identify development of the appropriate meta-language as a needy area in mother-tongue education. For successful and practical mother-tongue education, African languages specialists must come up with an agreed set of terms for the description of the language(s), literature, methodology and technical jargon for various disciplines. Gora (2014) concurs with Bamgbose (1991) advice that in language planning there should be a distinction between 'policy' and 'implementation'. Decisions on language status are policy issues because such decisions generally have political and/or socioeconomic implications. They require that the government or its agents be involved in the decision-making process. On the other hand, implementation targets corpus activities, those language planning interventions aimed at the orthography, grammar, phonology and vocabulary of a language. However, that is not a main concern of this chapter.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FEASIBLE AFRICAN LANGUAGE POLICIES

Batibo (2005, pp. 117–120) and Mutasa (2006, p. 119) raise some of the following strategies as remedies to non-functional policies.

- There should be clear implementation procedures. It is important to specify what has to be done by whom and when.
- To set up some mechanism for implementation as; Language Commissions, creation of official posts for promoter of African Languages, provision of required resources, setting clear-cut guidelines for policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation and, time-framing proposed activities.
- Political will is an undoubted ingredient.
- Mobilisation of the general populace.

Each country is unique, thus, on one hand, one policy may work in one country, while on the other fail hopelessly, in another. The revolutionary language policy of using Somali and Swahili in Somalia and Tanzania, respectively, worked out so well yet, the declaration of Swahili and Wolof as national languages in Kenya and Senegal, respectively, did not succeed because of different situations in the respective countries (Bamgbose, 1991, p. 121).

Language policies should make a nation's choices about language issues in as rational, comprehensive, just and balanced way as possible. The absence of explicit statements of principles and choices should not occur. No language policy is the same as an 'anti-minority-languages policy.' In other words, African states are doing themselves disfavour by not coming up with meaningful language education policies. As has been hinted in earlier sections of this chapter, it seems language planning in SSA is basically hinged on language status, the selection of a language for certain domains, that is. CIET Report (1999) argues that the use of indigenous languages in education is part of the struggle towards reform of African education systems for sustainable development. Only the school, through an Africanised curriculum, can emancipate Africa in totality (Mavhunga, 2006). The answer lies in reconstructing

the curriculum, and that can effectively happen with meaningful support from the relevant government ministries.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTIONISM

Educational Reconstructionism, like any other contemporary educational theory, leads to programmes of reform in educational matters. Reconstructionism owes tremendous debt to Theodore Brameld, John Dewey, George Counts, Paulo Freire and Harold (Cohen, 1999 cited in Gora, 2014). Reconstructionism is simply defined, by Gora (2014, p. 84), as an attempt to change societal values and behaviours by using schools as the vehicle of change. The theory draws its strength in the truth that society is not static and schools are there to pioneer change. It promotes scientific problem-solving methods, naturalism and humanism by syncretising the past and the present in a harmonious way through education. Reconstructionism is a social theory, which is concerned with the social and cultural and how these can be adapted for human participation. It is premised on the need of constant reconstruction or change by society which entails and involves both reconstruction of education and the use of education in reconstructing society.

The debate on language policy and language planning has been dogging African governments since attainment of independence and up to now the debate is still raging on (Magwa, 2008). African governments are busy re-colonising themselves in the name of globalisation and modernisation in the wrong sense as they focus more on foreign languages at the expense of indigenous languages. This chapter argues that mother-tongue education is the missing link in all efforts towards sustainable development of the African continent, particularly SSA. Re-thinking and reconstruction of the curriculum to reflect indigenous traditions, social change and empowerment has been advocated by African critical theorists from the nineteenth century to the present. Through educational reforms the attempt is to try and integrate traditional culture with the demands of modernisation for a better society. Unless African languages are regarded with pride by those who use them, they continue to have a low status.

The relationship between education and national development is of critical concern in Africa and particularly in Zimbabwe. Education should function as an agency of cultural transmission as well as change and not building what is continually modified by new conditions. Under colonialism, cultural diversity was submerged by the exclusion of most African traditions from education. Reconstruction approach would thus identify the common values within diverse traditions and integrate these with modern content and skills. Educational reconstruction in Africa aims to build a common civic culture based on mutual respect for cultural differences and acceptance of social compact based on global standards for human rights (Woolman, 2001). Colonialism in Africa resulted in a peculiar type of psychological dependency which has made the reassertion of African culture and identity an important part of African nation-building. Thus educational revival should involve "… the study and

presentation of indigenous cultures, languages, and natural environments and a full renaissance of African peoples" (Woolman, 2001, p. 28). In any movement of this kind, schools should play a key role, which implies re-engineering of the curriculum to have such issues aboard. Thus, reconstruction becomes necessary in the African school curriculum.

Since independence, the role of African education has been closely interwoven with the quest for national development and modernisation. Inherited colonial systems were expanded and modified to serve new economic and social needs identified by new African governments (Woolman, 2001). The kind of education developed, in turn, created new problems for nation building. African intellectuals have critically evaluated goals and practice of education after independence and their thought seems to share many ideas/views with the reconstruction perspective. Reconstruction regards contemporary education as most effective when it integrates the values and strengths of traditional culture with the knowledge and skills required by new conditions of modern life. This is in line with the rediscovery of the roots of African identity in the pre-colonial past.

EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES FOR AN AUTHENTIC AFRICAN IDENTITY

The chapter submits that it is quite imminent that the educational systems in SSA revert to providing the type of education that is similar to African Traditional Education (ATE) for it to be authentic. Education should help establish the role played by African languages in instilling values and mores previously imparted by ATE. Mandatory inclusion of indigenous African languages in the school curriculum up to tertiary level promotes African identity and cultural values that are badly needed for the survival of the society in the face of globalisation and modernisation today. Authentic African identity is embedded in the indigenous languages if only the languages are viewed as both a right and resource (Mutasa, 2006). Besides being a mirror of the culture and knowledge of the African people, indigenous languages also contribute economically through production of human capital which is honest, reliable and hard working. African education should therefore move out of the modernisation mentality and borrow from the Chinese and Iranians who have fought to use their own linguistic resources and human power instead of replicating western education (Makanda, 2009 quoted in Gora, 2014). In that way, African education becomes authentic.

The government, through schools, should therefore, participate radically but meaningfully in regulating language policy and planning. Linguistic battles are better fought under education policies the world over because education policy reflects political options, its values, traditions and conceptions of the future. The school provides the appropriate environment for any meaningful change in language policy because it is easy to implement policy when dealing with schools as part of the grassroots. Woolman (2001) emphasises that formal education is viewed as a means of claiming potential African identity but this can only be possible through

implementation of some meaningful reform. Mazrui (1978) cited in Woolman (2001) points out that there is need for the African child to conquer the spirit of 'self-contempt' which arose from Western type of education. It is, therefore, pertinent to empower the African people through social reconstruction. After independence, as has already been noted, most African nations concentrated on rapid industrialisation and modernisation more than on nation building. Alternative strategies need to be sought in order to rectify the imbalance and that is where educational reconstruction comes in.

RECONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE SCHOOL

The school provides the necessary platform for action where the educationist can search for values and an end to those aspects of society that are degrading and harmful. That way the society can be brought more in line with values that are appropriate for the survival of the society. Reconstruction links intellect and activism and, it is only the school that can provide such space as it moulds the youth for a better future. It is the Zimbabwean education system that can change its society by bringing positive change in society such as reduction in poverty levels, advancement in technology and, most importantly, improved attitudes toward indigenous languages. Through language, people communicate, share meaning and experience their sense of individual and community identity. Loss of language and culture is frequently accompanied by large human and social costs, including poverty, poor health, alcohol abuse, family violence and suicide (Romaine, 2010). In the same vein, we also argue that transmission and modification of culture is best done through teaching and learning of the mother tongue, which in the Zimbabwean case, is the African languages. Education without clear-cut and meaningful aims is like a ship without a driver. Post-independence Zimbabwean education needs to produce ideal citizens for the society. So far, education has generally followed a rather narrow aim of preparing individuals for livelihood. The general trend has been for educational products to get educational credentials and earn money but this has to be complemented by long but overdue consideration of ethical values and national spirit enshrined in local languages. Language education should strive to aim at the development of the individual in society first and the consequent development of the society in which they are found.

The core of African life is the *ubuntu/unhu* philosophy, whose main tenets include being human through one's people, bonding with others, being human and having acceptable behaviour. In view of that philosophy, the emphasis of African languages in the curriculum is an unavoidable avenue in developing both the individual as well as the society for sustainability. Education is expected to discharge its natural function but should also be re-structured to have corresponding goals and content in the interest of national and social progress. Products of education should be aware of their social and national responsibilities. The focus is that Africanness should be emphasised when talking about modernisation. The school curriculum should

modernise society while preserving what is authentically Zimbabwean cultural and spiritual heritage for it to be essential and purposeful. A product of the education system has to be economically, culturally and socially sound. What does all this mean to a curriculum developer? It is suggested that the current Zimbabwean curriculum should be re-focused in terms of intensifying integration of indigenous languages in the curriculum so as to churn out products who can appropriately deal with challenges of the time. Curriculum development that is guided by educational reconstruction considers current and future needs of a society.

WAY FORWARD FOR ZIMBABWE

Some of the concerns and problems affecting schools in SSA provide insight about the need for educational reconstruction. Woolman (2001) categorises the insights into five: policy reform, access, materials and facilities, methodology and relevance. This chapter argues that relevance has been watered down by minimal or no inclusion of African languages in the curriculum. Shizha and Kariwo (2011, p. 11) also argue that projects to alleviate the country's developmental problems have failed because models "do not take into account the indigenous epistemologies and philosophies related to conceptualising development." Thus, the compulsory inclusion of indigenous languages in the Zimbabwean curriculum should not be underestimated. Therefore, the chapter proposes that political will be upped on making the languages part of the core curriculum just as has been done with other programmes like vocationalisation and 'stemitisation' of curriculum, among others. UNESCO (1984) cited in Nherera (1994, p. 29) defines vocational education as "a kind of education that involves, in addition to the general, the study of technology and science to acquire practical skills and knowledge related to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life." Vocationalisation has been used to respond to unemployment of school graduates in Zimbabwe and other countries soon after independence. However, for Zimbabwe, Shizha and Kariwo (2011) observe that vocational education failed because the project did not account for the economic needs of students after schooling. Similarly, in 2016, the Zimbabwean government incentivised Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics Advanced level students at public schools by providing full tuition and boarding fees. That is code-named 'stemitisation' and has been driven by the need for science and technology skills in an attempt to match the rapid growth in technology. The success or failure of 'stemitisation' is still to be evaluated since it is still in its infancy.

Aids Education and Environment Education have also been employed to deal with the HIV and AIDS pandemic and resource depletion respectively. Zimbabwe has been hit by the heavy toll on the productive age range of the population by the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011) and environmental degradation, and that is the reason why the government had to put in place AIDS Education and Greening the curriculum programmes, respectively, for schools and colleges. Although both began on a very high note, just like the other seemingly promising

and progressive programmes they seem to be losing steam too. Shizha and Kariwo (2011) lament that other projects like Education with Production, developed to equip learners to acquire skills for the type of society politicians envisioned, failed because of lack of clear policy. In the same vein, a practical language of education policy will have considerable influence on educational reconstruction in curriculum content. Mavhunga (2008) maintains that the cultivation of oral and written fluency in local African languages is important in building self-esteem, preserving culture, and advancing the literacy output and identity of African peoples. Africa must understand that early nation-building in Europe was closely attached to the cultivation of local languages and literature. Similarly, Zimbabwean education should "… define and balance the equation of cultural transmission" (Woolman, 2001, p. 42).

From another standpoint, due to a breakdown in family and community life today in the West, the education system is heavily concerned about teaching human relations, team-work and interpersonal skills (Gora, 2014). This is exactly what Zimbabwe also needs to realise. Modernisation has ushered in a new wave of individuality which needs to be balanced with bonds that preserve family and community, and this can only be done through compulsory inclusion of African languages in the curriculum. Schools should incorporate ATE content and processes by teaching students to value and honour both tradition and modernity of which local languages are very rich carriers.

CONCLUSION

Post-independence Zimbabwean education system has faced the challenge of meaningfully integrating African languages into the curriculum. Reform of an inherited language-in-education policy that largely functioned to maintain the colonial order by placing English language at the apex of the linguistic landscape in economic, social and educational circles has been on the agenda for some time yet there is no matching practice. The minds of Zimbabwean citizenry have largely remained fossilised to value English, a foreign language at the expense of local indigenous languages yet promotion of African languages in the education curriculum is viewed as important for nation building and linguistic rights. The preservation of linguistic and cultural heritage of a people belongs to the realm of language planning and language policy. As such, the government needs to enforce, monitor and evaluate implementation of pronouncements like the Education Act and the Constitution so as to promote the value of African languages in the curriculum. The government should aim at promoting and empowering the study of African languages through initiatives such as; financial injection targeted at the teaching and learning of African languages, declaring local languages, as languages of the work place and instituting vigorous career guidance in high schools with a bias towards those languages. Such a stance would help prop up the status of local languages, a thing that should have happened long before Zimbabwe attained thirty-six years of political independence. Many African students in Zimbabwe attend school in complex language situations

and if the government had implemented the use of indigenous or mother-tongue languages as languages of instruction, it would have contributed to achieving the remaining MDGs on education and development.

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SECTION IV

FUNDING EDUCATION IN THE NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT

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9. STATE FUNDING IN SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Implications for Access to Public Education

INTRODUCTION

Transforming education systems has been given top priority in many southern African regions (such as Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa) after being liberated from colonialism. This transformation agenda also extended to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) like Burkino Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania. The governments of these postcolonial African countries are concentrating on providing children access to education, irrespective of race, gender and class. Education is undoubtedly a basic human right that is enshrined in international and national laws. Access to education denotes that every child should be able to acquire the necessary knowledge to live in, and adapt to a rapidly changing world. Education for all was featured in the 2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly goal # 2, which espoused the need for countries to promote universal primary education (UPE) and education for all (EFA) in their countries. Through the MDGs, the United Nations encouraged all nations to work towards removing obstacles that created social inequalities. Hence, eliminating the inequalities that prevent children from going to and staying in school should form part of any government's programme. In this regard, postcolonial governments were supposed to and should thus pay special attention to inequities caused by gender, socioeconomic status, or other type of marginalisation that emanated during the European colonialisation of these countries. This chapter provides an understanding of how the postcolonial governments of three countries in SSA attempted to achieve the MDG on UPE and EFA through funding public schools from their National Treasury, and what implications this funding had/has for students' access to school education. In the ensuing sections, we discuss how the state provides funding to South African public schooling, followed by a discussion of Zimbabwe, then finally, Nigeria.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 161–181.

FINANCING PUBLIC EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Historical Perspective from Colonialism to Postcolonialism

In the late 17th century, earliest European schools were established in the Cape Colony by the Dutch Reformed Church elders committed to biblical instruction and itinerant teachers taught basic literacy and math skills in English. British mission schools flourished after 1799. Throughout the nineteenth century, Afrikaners resisted government policies aimed at the spread of the English language and British values and many educated their children at home or in churches (Abdi, 2002). Through large scale emigration, British presence in the Cape Colony was established. After their arrival, African parents placed high priority on education. Throughout this time, most religious schools in the Eastern Cape accepted Xhosa children who applied for admission. In Natal, many other Nguni-speaking groups sent their children to mission schools. According to (Abdi, 2002), by 1877 some 60% of 'white' children in Natal enrolled in schools, as were 49% in the Cape Colony. Enrolments in the various republics or provinces (Natal, Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Transvaal) increased after the government of the Union agreed to the use of Afrikaans in schools and allowed Afrikaner parents greater control over primary and secondary education. By the late 19th century, three types of schools were receiving government assistance – ward or small rural schools, district schools providing primary-level education to several towns in the area, and a few secondary schools in larger cities. During the last decades of that century, all four provinces virtually abolished African enrolment in government schools. African children attended mission schools, for the most part, and were taught by clergy or by lay teachers, sometimes with government assistance.

During the period 1900 to 1948, following the British victory in the Anglo-Boer war, thousands of teachers were brought to the country from Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to instil the English language and British cultural values, especially in the two former Afrikaner republics. To counter the British influence, some Afrikaner churches proposed the Christian National Education programme, to serve as the core of the school curriculum. The government initially refused to fund schools adopting Christian National Education, but Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, convinced them to fund these schools. He was committed to reconciliation between English and Afrikaans' speakers; and favoured control by government over many aspects of education. Provincial autonomy in education was strengthened in the early twentieth century, and all four republics (provincial governments) used government funds primarily to educate 'whites'. English and Afrikaans as languages of instruction became compulsory for all high school learners and the Christian National Education was introduced as the guiding philosophy of education.

'White' South Africa received its independence from colonial Britain in May 1961. 'Postcolonial' South Africa culminated in two different regimes: Apartheid South Africa governed by 'whites'; and democratic South Africa governed by the African National Congress. The 'white' government entrenched the policies of apartheid and separatism. Enacted laws positioned 'whites' (especially Afrikaners) in a privileged

position, politicaly, economically and socially. Indigenous Africans were denied the most basic citizenship rights and overt racial discrimination was legal. For example, in 1974, the government issued the 'Afrikaans medium decree' where Afrikaans, as a language of learning and teaching, became compulsory in African secondary schools. The African children, who could not speak Afrikaans, opposed this decree vehemently, and violence in many African townships erupted over this issue in June 1976. The township schools suffered serious damage as schools were destroyed.

In educational provision, in terms of per capita grants from the state, 'white' learners received the highest funding, while African learners received the lowest. To illustrate this anomaly, in 1994 the state's annual per capita expenditure for learners from the most advantaged schools was R5,403 (about US$400), compared to R1,053 (about US$78) for learners from the most disadvantaged schools in Transkei (Patel, 2002). The teacher: learner ratios in primary schools averaged 1:18 in 'white' schools and 1:39 in African schools. Very few African teachers were certified (15%) whereas 96% of all teachers in 'white' schools had a teachers' qualification. The disparity in school provisioning between 'whites' and Africans was massive, and this resulted in Africans receiving inferior education. However, the post-apartheid period brought hope to the many African children.

The South African post-apartheid government (apartheid ended in 1994) has made great strides in providing many learners access to basic education in line with the previous targets of MDG # 2 on UPE and EFA. The Constitution (South Africa, 1996a) and the South African Schools Act (SASA) (South Africa, 1996b) have paved a way for a democratic approach to education (Bloch, 2009) resulting in more children gaining access to basic education. Section 29(1) of SASA stipulates that everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must progressively make available and accessible. Section 3(1)) makes it compulsory for all children to attend school from the age of seven until they reach the age of 15 or the end of Grade 9, whichever comes first. The Bill of Rights as entrenched in the Constitution specifies that everyone has the right to a basic education, an attempt by South Africa to achieve the MDG on UPE and EFA. However, the cost involved in educating its nation is astronomically high. The legacy of apartheid and an ailing economy hampers the South African government from providing free education to all, which has led to its failure to attain the MDG # 2, which stipulated the achievement of universal education (United Nations, 2011). As in most countries, the lack of funds for education undermines UPE and EFA as well as the delivery of quality education in South Africa. Schools are forced to make changes to ensure that the decrease in financial resources does not lower the overall education standards. Undoubtedly, there have been great strides made by the government to improve the overall quality of education in the country: providing learners' access to schools; ensuring equity in school funding; improving the post provisioning norms and introducing no fee schools. Parents in South Africa must bear the brunt of the limited state funds by contributing more and more to the education of their children. This places a significant responsibility on the shoulders

of the principal and the school governing board (SGB) to use all monies effectively so as to ensure that education remains affordable.

Financing Education at National and Provincial Level in Post-Apartheid South Africa

In South Africa, the Minister of Finance is obligated to present the country's annual budget in parliament during February, each year. The Ministry of Education is allocated a substantial amount, which is higher than any other sector. The money is meant to increase access to schooling and improve infrastructure in schools, which serve nearly nine million South African children. Access to free education in South Africa increased sharply since the government introduced no-fee schools in 2007. In 2016, 60% of schools did not charge fees – up from 40% five years before. According to the Budget Review, five million children had access to free education in 2007, while in 2014 a sharp increase in the number of children who attend Grade R (Reception year) was noted, while the national school nutrition programme now feeds 8.7 million children (South Africa Info, 2014).

The South African Schools Act of 1996 (South Africa, 1996) and the Norms and Standards of School Funding Norms (NNSSF) policy (South Africa, 1998) are two important pieces of legislation that prescribe state funding to public schools. The South African Schools Act is aimed at the creation and management of a new national system of education. This system must provide an equal opportunity to all to develop their talents. A further basic aim of the Act is to give learners access and the quality of education for all learners must be improved by way of better facilities, better trained educators, and better methods of teaching and better school conditions. While South Africa might not have fully attained the targets prescribed by the United Nation's MDGs, it made great strides and effort towards accomplishing this goal. To comply with the South African Schools Act, the government provides funding in the categories discussed below:

Personnel expenditure. Provincial Education Departments (PEDs) allocate as much as 90% of their budget to pay the salaries of educators, non-educators and department officials based on the post provisioning norms determined by these departments. Salaries of teachers and non-teaching staff appointed by schools through governing bodies are paid from school funds. The Ministry of Education's personnel for schools embodies the following key principles (Mestry & Bisschoff, 2009):

- Schools must be supplied with an adequate number of educator and non-educator personnel;
- Such staff members must be equally distributed according to the pedagogical requirements of the school; and
- The cost of personnel establishments must also be sustainable within provincial budgets.

Within the total personnel allocation in PEDs, teaching personnel costs should be targeted at 85% to allow for the appointment of proper distribution of administrative and support staff in provincial education departments (Mestry & Bisschoff, 2009). The Minister of Education determines national policy in respect of educator post provisioning in terms of the National Education Policy Act of 1996. The educator post establishment in each province is determined by the Member of the Executive Council (MEC), subject to the national norms prescribed for the provisioning of posts (See Employment for Educators Act of 1998).

Capital expenditure. The state builds schools or additional classrooms in existing schools and undertakes to maintain all buildings. New classroom and other construction allocations include; provision for water, electricity, sewage and telephone services on site, and connections to main services where these are provided to the school site (South Africa, 1996c). Schools are not given a fixed allocation but provincial government undertakes any major renovations or extensions depending on the needs and urgency of such requests. Despite the current shortage of funds for capital development, as an aid to planning and decision-making, each provincial education department must:

- maintain an accurate, prioritised, annually updated database of school construction needs; and
- undertake annually updated long-term projections of new school construction targets and funding requirements, based on these norms (Mestry & Bisschoff, 2009, p. 44).

The construction of new schools or additional classrooms and learning facilities should be targeted to the neediest population. This refers only to the lack of current schools or overcrowding of existing ones.

Resource allocation. It is in this category that the provincial departments of education address the issue of equity and social justice in public education. The amended NNSSF policy (South Africa, 2006) endeavours to fund public schools on an equitable basis in order to create greater access to quality education (in line with the previous MDGs and tragets on education), and to improve the provision of educational resources in many impoverished schools. The policy unequivocally states that schools serving poorer communities should receive much more funding for resources than schools serving better-off communities.The school resource allocation is intended to finance key inputs other than personnel and buildings. These include textbooks, stationery and non-educational items such as cleaning materials and electricity. Effecting redress and equity in school funding, with a view of progressively improving the quality of school education, within a framework of greater efficiency in organising and providing education services are matters of urgent priority for the Ministry of Education. To achieve these objectives in a systematic manner requires new systems of budgeting and spending for schools

(South Africa, 2006). In terms of the Constitution and the government's budgeting procedure, the Ministry of Education does not decide on the amounts to be allocated annually by the provincial education departments. This is the responsibility of the provincial governments and legislatures, which must make appropriations to their education departments from the total revenue resources available to their provinces.

The pro-poor funding policy is embedded in the NNSSF. The national department of education declares all quintiles 1 and 2 schools and more recently, quintile 3 schools as no-fee schools and provide them substantial funding for resources. The no-fee school policy prohibits schools from taxing parents' mandatory school (user) fees. Current policy determines that a ratio of 1:7 must apply to the amounts per learner paid to schools in the two outer quintiles, where quintile 1 represents poor schools and quintile 5, affluent schools (South Africa, 1998). The NNSSF policy states that schools ranked quintile 1 and 2 (poor schools) should receive at least seven times more funding for resources than quintile 4 and 5 (well-resourced) schools. Thus, no-fee schools receive a bigger slice of the provincial education budget than their affluent counterparts (Mestry, 2006). The middle quintile, referred to as the 'adequacy benchmark', receives a specified amount per learner which is determined annually at national level. Quintiles 1 and 2 schools will receive more than the 'adequacy benchmark' amount and quintiles 4 and 5 schools receive less. Thus, the richest 20% of the schools will receive five percent of the resources whilst the poorest 20% will receive 35% of the resources. The other three quintiles will receive 15%, 20%, and 25% of the resources respectively (South Africa, 1998; Mestry & Bisschoff, 2009).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The no-fee school policy has indeed provided access to many poor children whose parents have found great difficulty in bearing the high cost of educating their children. Poverty and poor nutrition, which provoke erratic attendance and cognitive deficits, are the everyday realities with which all education policy and practice must contend (Sayed & Motala, 2009). The direct costs of education are being addressed through 'no fee' schools, but the indirect costs – of transport and uniforms in particular – are still a huge burden for poor households. However, the introduction of no-fee schools has provided access to all children, rich and poor, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The model used in funding public education does to some extent promote equity and is sustainable. To some extent, South Africa might be regarded as one of the countries in SSA that nearly succeeded in accomplishing the MDGs on UPE and EFA. According to United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] (2012), South Africa achieved the goal of UPE before the year 2015, and its education system can now be recognised as having attained near universal access. However, if this achievement is to be translated into educational transformation in a meaningful way, serious interventions are needed to improve the quality and functionality of education. Unfortunately, colonialism and more specifically, the apartheid legacy,

still perpetuates inequalities. South Africa is a country made up of two worlds – the affluent and the very poor. Even though the government has made attempts to ensure equity in legislation, it would appear that the rich get richer, and the poor, poorer. In the next section, we look at state financing public schools in Zimbabwe.

FINANCING PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

Soon after independence most governments of developing countries, especially in SSA, reformed their educational systems to align them with new national goals. Zimbabwe is one such country that embarked on massive reforms of its education system after 1980. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited an education system that favoured mainly 'white' Zimbabwean students. Education for African learners was provided mainly by missionaries rather than by the government. Over the first decade of independence, the reforms on the education system focussed on the principle of EFA that was adopted at independence. The government expanded the education system by building schools in marginalised areas and disadvantaged urban centres, accelerating the training of teachers providing teaching and learning materials to schools (Abdi, 2005). According to the Zimbabwean Education Act, all children have the right to education. This right is in sync with the just ended 2015 MDG on UPE and EFA. However, education is not free since learners are required to pay tuition fees as well as development levies.

Impact of Colonialism on Education

Every society has a history that will shape the present and future circumstances of its people and development. The problems that Zimbabwe is facing in restructuring its education system are partly embedded in the colonial legacy. For nearly a hundred years when Zimbabwe was under colonial rule, the majority of indigenous people had no voice or influence on government policies and political decisions that affected the education system (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). Since indigenous people were oppressed and not empowered to make fundamental decisions affecting their education, it was easy to blame racism and imperialism as the main reason for the indigenous people's problems. Only a few private schools owned by the church would enrol a few African children every year.

Colonialism and Indigenous Education

After the arrival of the European settlers in 1890, missionaries found it easier to spread their influence among the indigenous people. Mission schools were the source of formal education for Africans, with the government providing education primarily to 'white' children. As demand for more education for Africans was on the increase, the colonial government stepped in to control the provision of education and ensured that missionaries would not over educate them (Nherera, 2000). Formal

education, in colonial Zimbabwe, was a creation and product of a foreign culture (Abdi, 2005; Shizha, 2006). It was formulated and structured around the 19th century British middle-class education system. Without doubt, colonial education was a larger component of the colonial project to dehumanise Africans by imposing both inner and outer colonisation (Shizha, 2006). According to colonial mentality, indigenous people were expected to gain civility and enlightenment through social, religious and cultural assimilation. To that extent, the greatest challenges that the indigenous Zimbabweans faced due to colonisation and the civilisation project were the violations of their human rights, knowledges of survival, their rights to land, cultures and traditions, and the maintenance of a connection to the spiritual as well as to contemporary material realms of life (Dei, 2002).

Missionaries and Colonial Education

The colonial administrators were critical and suspicious of the type of education that the missionaries provided the Africans. However, the partnership between the church and the colonial State provided the local people with formal education that was inundated with inequalities between racial groups (Shizha & Abdi, 2005). Missionary education supported imperialism and colonialism, and its evolution was concomitant with the imposition of colonial rule. The school served as the centre for Christian conversion, thus its main aim was to bring "morality and civility to 'barbaric' communities," according to Shizha and Abdi, (2005, p. 243). Both the missionaries and the colonial administrators introduced an educational system for Africans that was developed to overtly and explicitly marginalise Africans and strengthen and sustain African domination (Zvobgo, 1996). According to Dei (2002), colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.

Postcolonial Education

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited an education system that favoured mainly 'white' Zimbabwean learners. Prior to 1980, very few African learners had access to education. African children who had access to education found themselves in schools that were poorly funded, with very few educational resources and a separate curriculum from that offered in all-'white' schools. It had been observed that the inherited colonial education system placed undue emphasis and value on paid employment and white-collar jobs. It failed to instil good work habits and ethics to prepare school leavers for the world of work (Nherera, 2000). Over the first decade of independence, the reforms in the education system focused on making them suitable for Zimbabwe in line with the principle of EFA adopted at independence. From 1990–2001 the reforms focused more on the relevance and quality of education and training through new approaches to content, technologies, and teaching methodologies. Education, in Zimbabwe today, aims at promoting national unity to

contribute to national development particularly, economic development through the supply of trained and skilled teachers. Next we will focus on the legal framework of education and funding in Zimbabwe.

Postcolonial Education Legal Framework

Section 75(1) of the Zimbabwean Constitution provides for the right to State-funded basic education (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013). The Constitution is read together with the Education Act, which was enacted before the Constitution and provides that primary education is compulsory in Zimbabwe, but it is not free although schools are encouraged to charge the lowest possible fees. The fact that it is not free, defeats the previous framework of the MDGs on UPE and EFA. In Zimbabwe, the management of school finances (Chikoko, 2008) is governed by Statutory Instrument 87 of 1992, which stipulates the role of key players in the schools and the involvement of parents through school development committees (SDC) for non-governmental schools, and school development associations (SDA) for government schools. The managing of school fees is one of the key duties of the school head (principal) who is expected to work with the school development committees.

According to Ndlovu (2013), the management of finances in many rural schools has been poor and this has significantly affected the quality of education provided by these schools. Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000 states that a head who fails to account for school funds faces discharge from service and imminent arrest (Ndlovu, 2013). Financial management in Zimbabwean schools remains a challenge because most heads of schools lack proper training (Chivore, 1995; Thenga, 2012) and yet Karlson (2002) argues that heads/principals still play a dominant role in meetings and decision-making during school development committee meetings.

Government Investment into Education

Basic education assistance module (BEAM). The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) is a demand side response to the cost barriers affecting the ability of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) to access education due to the increasing poverty levels in the country (Thenga, 2012). For a student to qualify for BEAM, an evaluation has to be conducted. The purpose of the evaluation is to identify implementation gaps and inform future BEAM programmes, which must be aligned with the National Action Plan (NAP). During the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), the Zimbabwean government put in place the Social Dimensions Fund (a social safety net) to help primary and secondary school children from disadvantaged families against the negative effects of the programme by paying for their school fees and levies to keep them in school (Karlson, 2002). In 2001, the Zimbabwean government took action to refine it into a more exclusive fund known as BEAM. The new fund added the dimension of paying for examination fees for secondary school students. Grade seven (7) learners do not pay examination

fees to write their exams. Until the end of 2008, BEAM was wholly funded by the Government of Zimbabwe. However, with the advent of hyperinflation, BEAM resources became negligible and failed to reach the intended objective of supporting access to education by the poor and most vulnerable (Smith, Chiroro, & Musker, 2012). When it was reintroduced during the period 2009–2011, BEAM disbursed US$60.2 million directly to schools to cover tuition fees and levies in primary and secondary schools and examination fees in secondary schools; 45% of this amount was provided by donors with the government committing US$16 million for 2012 for secondary school students (Smith, Chiroro, & Musker, 2012).

Education transition fund (ETF). The Education Transition Fund (EFT) was introduced in 2009 to improve the quality of education by distributing education materials. The ETF partnered with UNICEF and encouraged private donations. The accumulation and distributing of textbooks has been the focus of ETF. According to David Coltart, former Minister of Education in the 2009–2013 Government of National Unity, ETF was an initiative to provide every primary school child in the country with a full set of core textbooks, while the cost saving measures allowed this initiative to then be expanded in November 2010 to include textbooks for six core subjects in all secondary schools, including satellite schools (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011).

The Zimbabwean Ministry took the initiative to provide resources in schools, especially text books and stationery starting with Primary schools because of the economic challenges that were facing the country and forced parents to be unable to meet the costs of educating their children. The initiative took place in two phases. The first phase was that every Primary school learner would get text books in the four core subjects namely, Shona/Ndebele, English, Mathematics and Environmental Science and they also received basic stationery. The second phase witnessed all secondary school learners receiving text books for the six core subjects namely; English, Shona/Ndebele, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography as well as stationery (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). This was made possible through engagement of key stakeholders like UNICEF, European Union and many other funders.

Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP). The government of Zimbabwe has put in place a Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP) that ensures that children learn in a conducive environment (Coltart, 2011). All capital expenditures for government ministries and agencies fall under the PSIP, including donor-funded projects and programmes. Government, through this programme, provides funds for the construction of Government schools. Non-Government schools benefit from the building grant-in-aid in their construction efforts (Coltart, 2011). Through its 2011–2015 Strategic Plan, the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture allocated one million US dollars (US$1 million) for school construction, and the Government set aside three million US dollars (US$3 million) for the refurbishment of targeted

schools (Coltart, 2011). The success of the PSIP lies in the close alignment with national priorities, impact on people and communities, the reduction of development programme expenditures that have become characterised as annual requests, and a shift in emphasis from isolated projects to long-term investment activities.

Per Capita and Tuition Grants. In Zimbabwe, all schools receive per capita and tuition grants according to their enrolments so that every child is supported by Government to access quality education. Schools in low density suburbs (high-income residential areas) receive 25% while those in the high density suburbs (low-income residential areas) receive 30% and the rural schools receive 45% of the vote (Coltart, 2011). This is also in fulfilment of the previous Millennium Development Goal #2, which encouraged governments to provide adequate services to learners so that they have access to UPE by 2015.

Budgeting

In 1991, faced with a different socio-economic climate from the one existing in 1980, the government amended the Education Act of 1987 (No. 5/1987) to bring it in line with the new socio-economic environment caused by the introduction of the ESAP. The 1991 Act (No. 26/1991) introduced fees at the primary school level that had been tuition-free since independence, a reversal of the first decade of independence (1980–1990) principle of free and compulsory primary education. It is of note to point out that ever after this Act, rural primary education continued to be mainly free, but parents still contribute to a building fund and buying of uniforms and statinery.

The management of school finances is governed by Statutory Instrument 87 of (1992) which stipulates the role of key players in the school set-up and the involvement of parents through the SDCs for non-governmental schools and SDAs for government schools. Ndlovu (2013) states that the budgeting and management of finances in many rural schools has been poor and this has impacted on the quality of the education provided by rural schools. The number of cases of embezzlement of funds by school heads/principals and misappropriation are quite concerning (Thenga, 2012). According to the Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000, a head who fails to account for school funds faces discharge from service. Many heads/principals of schools fail to account for finances due to a lack of their experience in the process of managing school funds. Ndlovu (2013) asserts that the heads/principals are responsible for budgeting, accounting and auditing functions of financial management. Heads serve as ex-officio members of the SDC and may not chair the meetings of this body.

The school head/principal and finance committee make the projection for the coming year from assumptions based on reliable data of expected income, which form the basis for the projected expenditure. School budgets serve as guides to financial planning and programme management to permit orderly operation for a stated period of time and therefore, the basic function of a budget is to serve as an

instrument for planning (Jordan et al., 2008). Davies (2009), states that financial control includes drawing up criteria to ensure that the school's resources are mobilised effectively. Carter and Narissimhan (2006) postulate that monitoring a school's budget is a continuous process that goes on throughout the year. School principals and their governing bodies must work continuously in partnership to take responsibility for the school finances. Principals need to involve the school financial committee in the administration of finances and in the maintenance of the school. Districts and education departments must help principals to acquire skills in financial management to keep abreast with changes in school management processes.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Free education is an urgent obligation and therefore, the government of Zimbabwe must also improve access to basic education by amending their education laws to ensure they align with Constitutional and International obligations which make primary education free as was required by the MDG on UPE and EFA. Without donor funds for building schools, improving infrastructure and other resources, education will deteriorate. Dependency on donor funding, poor government funding of education and user-fee/tuition fees have prevented Zimbabwe from achieving the MDG on UPE and EFA. More structured engagement of communities and development partners from the corporate world, UN agencies in general education programmes to compliment government efforts must be developed. Further there must be an increased involvement of stakeholders' participation, including public private partnerships in the provision of teaching and learning material and other services. Postcolonial Zimbabwe will not progress if a large percentage of its population is left behind educationally. Weakening the education system will weaken Zimbabwe's future. The next section examines the educational situation in Nigeria.

FINANCING PUBLIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

The increasing enrolment, high cost, and financial availability to cater for education in Nigeria is of interest. Recently, the gains in enrolment has been short-changed in countries like, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Sudan, Sudan and the United Republic of Tanzania (United Nations [UN], 2015). Reports indicate that despite growing enrolment in education, inadequate funding has marred government's ability to provide basic and adequate educational experiences. Hence, it is common to read about cases of 100 pupils or students per teacher, sitting under trees to receive/deliver instructions respectively, because of inadequate classrooms (Agbowuro, Oriade, & Shuaibu, 2015).

The report above corresponds with the revelation of Sulaiman (2012) which highlights similarity in the funding of education in the present times and the colonial era in Nigeria; when the British awarded paltry sums of financial grants – £30 in 1872 to each of the renowned missionary schools: the Wesleyans, Methodist and

Catholic schools in Lagos Colony. In essence, such amount of money only enabled the colonial government to fund aspects such as school buildings and teachers' salaries until 1861, when the British formally and officially took control of Nigeria's administration (Abari & Shonubi, 2003; Sulaiman, 2012). However, financial grants were not awarded to Northern schools, because the inhabitants of the Northern region of Nigeria basically believe in the Q'uranic form of education; hence rejected the missionaries' form of western education (Imam, 2012). Furthermore, Adeyemi (2011) explains that education grants-in-aid were awarded to only those with higher enrolment numbers and better management of schools, and so on. Between 1952 and 1953, the investment rate in education sector in Nigeria rose sharply to almost £1.8 million. The amount of funds expended on secondary education only rose after experiencing a general decline (Abari & Shonubi, 2003). However, it increased sharply after independence, to £2.3 million in 1960/61 and £2.6 million in 1961/62, after which it dropped to £2.0 million in the following year (Callaway & Musone, 1968, p. 29).

As it was during the colonial era, post-independent education in Nigeria equally indicates an increase and subsequent decrease in government's pattern of funding compared to the colonial era pattern of formal educational funding. Imam (2012) reports that in 1976, improved oil revenue due to oil boom resulted in substantial amount of government's funding of education. Currently, downward fluctuations in governments' revenue from oil has affected the amount of budgetary allocations to education (Ogungbenle & Edogiawerie, 2016), as indicated in Table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1. Budgetary allocation of funding to education in Nigeria (2010–2014)

Year	*Allocation*	*% Difference*
2010	170.80	24.50
2011	335.80	99.66
2012	348.40	14.47
2013	390.42	12.06
2014	311.12	–20.31

Source: CBN Statistical Bulletin (2014) cited in Ogungbenle and Edogiawerie (2016)

Funding Model of Education

In Nigeria, education is viewed as an instrument per excellence towards national development. Therefore, the Nigerian constitution provides that education should be the responsibilities of the three tiers of government namely; Federal, State and Local governments. Thus, the Federal government usually allocates educational expenditure, based on recurrent and capital expenditure for each fiscal year

(Michael, 2012) through a revenue sharing formula of 56% Federal, 24% State and 20% Local Government (Akujuru, 2015, p. 3; Lukpata, 2013, p. 36). However, private and domestic funding of education is welcomed and appreciated. Part of the money earned from allocations to education through the Federal government by each tier of government is expected to be utilised for staff, educational equipment, and maintenance of educational institutions at the primary, secondary or tertiary levels of education in the county. This is because the financing of education is a very vital aspect of public finance (Adeyemi, 2011). Individual States and the Federal government exclusively own and fund secondary and university education. Subvention funding, a form of direct investment into education by the government, amounting to 71% is allocated to tertiary institutions owned and controlled by the Federal and State governments for salaries and administration (Onuka, 2012).

Education funding (primary and secondary education). School fees are not paid at public primary schools, because public primary education is free for all eligible children in Nigeria (Afolayan, 2014; Amaghionyeodiwe & Osinubi, 2006). The funding of public primary schools nationwide is through the Universal Basic Education (UBE) scheme and it derives its funding solely from the Federal government. At inception in 1999, the proposed budget to fund UBE amounted to US$3 million over a three-year period. Additionally, UNESCO provided US$70 million to implement phase One from regular programme funds. The government of Nigeria also provided US$80 million, while UNESCO mobilised for the balance of US$1.5 million towards financing the UBE project (Anibueze & Okwo, 2013, p. 3). Secondary education is managed and financed by the state governments apart from the 96 Federal Government Colleges (unity schools and federal technical colleges, which are spread across the country). Additionally, an average of 19% of total expenditure accruing to States from the Federal government is spent on secondary and State owned tertiary education (Hinchliffe, 2002). Nwoko (2015) concludes that State governments spend very little on secondary education, compared to expectations. For example, data reveals that four States average spending on basic education was only 0.6, which only caters for junior secondary overhead cost. This points to the fact that, State governments do not prioritise and emphasise the provision of secondary education at the junior level, therefore, States tend to spend less on secondary education (Nwoko, 2015).

State governments rather prefer to spend more on tertiary education for reason of social-capital development. The share of financial allocation from the federal Government does not comfortably fund education at the local governments' level, because their income generating capacities are sometimes insufficient to fund primary education. Thus, they highly rely on federal Government allocations (George, Olayiwola, Adewole, & Osabuohien, 2013). Nevertheless, local government officials work collaboratively with state education officials in aspects such as maintenance of building and infrastructures (see Table 9.2), instructional materials provision (see Table 9.3), payment of teachers' salaries, distribution of Early Childhood Centres (ECE), and so on (Nnamani, 2015).

Table 9.2. Infrastructure and percentage of financial responsibilities of the 3 tier government in Nigeria

Level	*Federal*	*State*	*Local*
Primary school	75%	25%	0%
Junior secondary school	50%	50%	0%
Adult literacy	25%	50%	25%
Nomadic	100%	0%	0%

Table 9.3. Instructional, learning material and percentage of financial responsibilities of the 3 tier government in Nigeria

Level	*Federal*	*State*	*Local*
Primary school	100%	0%	0%
Junior secondary school	50%	50%	0%
Adult literacy	25%	50%	25%
Nomadic	80%	20%	0%

Source: FME (2000, p. 56, cited in Hincliffe, 2002, p. 15)

Evidently, official data also indicates that States fund secondary education better compared to primary education (Nwoko, 2015). This is why Hinchliffe (2002) concludes that the Nigerian government's spending level on primary education is below the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) recommendation of 26%.

Other Sources of Funding

Individual funding. Education funding is sometimes borne by individuals who pay the cost of education, in the form of fees from their private earnings at primary, secondary (for those attending private schools) and tertiary levels of education. The fees may vary from hostel fees, equipment fees, library fees, etc. However, the amount of money paid as school fees is usually meant for the maintenance of facilities and equipment, as individuals may not afford to pay for the actual cost of education (Nwoko, 2015). This means that parents have to bear other costs such as, cost of textbooks and stationery, private lessons and excursions, Parents Teachers' Association (PTA) levies, end of year party, development levy, games fee, caution fee, etc. Other levies, like accommodation in halls of residence, sport levies, water and electricity and science laboratory consumables, are used to generate and fund students' education (Olubor, 2009).

Philanthropic funding. Other forms of funding are categorised under philanthropic funding. These are external sources of funding received from philanthropists, non-governmental or private organisations; and donations from communities. Sometimes, schools embark on fund raising activities to generate funds for projects like; erection of new blocks of classrooms, purchasing of teaching/learning equipment, etc., which are provided by philanthropic individuals, politicians or organisations. For example, from 2002 to 2013, Kuwait donated US$80 million to the Safe Schools Initiative Fund (SSIF) launched by the United Nations. The United Kingdom, however, donated the highest fund with an average annual amount of US$24.60 million during the period. Additionally, the United States donated US$7.66 million, Germany (US$5.37 million), France (US$3.17 million), and Japan (US$2.77 million) (Nwoko, 2015, p. 16).

Other sources of funding education are through Mac Arthur Foundations, Carnegie, Ford Foundations, and World Health Organisations. For example, Mac Arthur Foundations recently helped universities in ICT infrastructural development and staff training (Bamiro, 2012). Adequate funding of education in Nigeria may indicate differences in postcolonial era, compared to the colonial era. At the same time, further financing of education in this era has been having implications on social justice, and subsequent improvement of infrastructural development to enable teaching and learning at every level of education (pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary) in Nigeria as discussed below.

Adequate funding of education in Nigeria will enable equity, which is

> the operational building blocks for the realisation of social justice in education. This is as, social justice extends beyond socially just school practices, but includes lessons and activities specifically designed to help students consider some causes of; and solutions for, persistent social, economic and political inequities. (Mestry & Ndhlovu, 2014, p. 2)

Further, social justice is the creation of opportunities to respect the fundamental human rights of citizens to education. To that extent, student rights to human dignity, equality and freedom, inclusion, may be achieved as the school's funds are provided to provide infrastructure that will eliminate marginalisation in schools. Adequate education funding will assist numerous federal and state governments' initiatives to widen access (the educational targets proposed in the just ended MDG on UPE and EFA) and improve the quality of education delivery. The consequence of increased education funding may be a general increase in gross enrolment ratio (GER) of girls; thus, attracting and retaining them, particularly in the sensitive Northern part of Nigeria where enrolment is remarkably low (Akunga, 2010).

Olaniyan and Anthony (2013) found that most Nigerian public schools have had to grapple with the problem of limited classrooms, open space, library, laboratory etc. More so, those that are available are not well maintained, because of funds shortage, despite the fact that school infrastructural facilities are known to enable teaching and learning. By extension, infrastructural facilities help in producing

desirable results, evident through students' positive academic performance, which cascades into realistic attainment of quality graduates at all levels of schooling, resulting in quality manpower in the nation's economy (Afolayan, 2014).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In comparison to many developing countries worldwide, Nigeria's education system seems to be unprepared for the 21st century and post 2015 MDGs particularly if funding challenges and insecurity caused by Boko Haram have to be taken into account. However, with respect to primary education completion rate, the trend and end-point status show strong and significant progress in achieving EFA. A close examination of many developing countries world-wide indicates that they are not yet ready to prepare students for the contemporary global world (Moja, 2000). This may be attributed to the ideals and legacy of education financing, handed down by the colonial governments to Nigeria in 1960; as the idea of education during colonial-Nigeria was tailored towards training people as clerks to assist British trading companies; and also provide interpreters of English Language to the native languages in courts and offices. This contradicts the ethos of egalitarianism, which is about an ideology, principle or doctrine referring to equal rights, benefits and opportunities or equal treatment for all citizens of a society (Ejieh, 2004).

The colonial pattern of financing education does not exceptionally differ from what obtains these days, which might have been a drawback to achieving the MDG on UPE and EFA. The British colonial government only funded aspects, such as school buildings and teachers' salaries (Sulaiman, 2012), which may also be compared to occurrences in education these days. Educational data on infrastructural provision in Nigerian schools show that the government could not sufficiently provide instructional materials, science laboratories and equipment, ICT facilities, technical and vocational equipment, libraries, physical infrastructure and pay salaries. By implication, it presupposes that the Nigerian government may not achieve quality and standard expected of world-class education (Ayeni & Adelabu, 2012). For instance, at the geopolitical level, Nigeria's inequality is pronounced, as the 2009 UNDP human development report reveals that different geo-political zones per capita income differs, probably due to the quality of education recorded in those regions. The South-South, US$3,617; North-West, US$1,898; North-Central, US$1,320; South-West (US$1,309); North-East, US$343; and South-East, US$292 per person (UNDP, 2012). Even after comparison, it may be concluded that education quality in these regions may have been consequences of poorly performing education and lack of economic opportunities, due to inadequate funding.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the postcolonial governments of all three African countries have made great strides in providing education to all its people, especially the poor.

However, due to the declining economic climate and budgetary constraints in these countries, the provision of free education is unattainable. While South Africa is perceived as having managed to achieve the MDG on UPE and EFA, Zimbabwe and Nigeria have experienced challenges in this area due to inadequate funding of education. All the three countries have a colonial history that affects their postcolonial funding of education. During the colonial period the British government (mostly through missionaries) funded schools to teach people how to read and write. After the independence of these countries from British rule, the governments were mandated by legislation to fund public schools. Since funding to public schools was limited, parents had to supplement state funds by contributing from their personal income. This trend still continues in all three African counties. In South Africa schools are classified into quintiles where quintile 1 and 2 (poor) schools receive more funding than quintiles 4 and 5 (affluent). For schools to provide quality education, parents in quintile 4 and 5 are required to pay exorbitant school fees. In Zimbabwe, public schools are funded based on categorisation of schools into low-income residential areas, high-income residential areas in urban areas and rural areas. In Nigeria, schools are funded according to the availability of funds at the different tiers of Local, State and Federal/National government. While it is observed that the postcolonial governments of all three countries have made great strides in addressing equity and social justice in funding public education, there is still a long way for these governments to provide quality education. It is our fervent expectation that these postcolonial/ post-apartheid governments extend the UPE agenda and give urgent attention to the provision of EFA.

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10. COMMUNITY-DRIVEN ALTERNATIVES TO EDUCATION IN THE NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT OF BURKINA FASO

INTRODUCTION

In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), education is viewed as a *sine qua non* for African economic advancement and social well-being. The conundrum, yet, is: "What kind of education should be provided? What policies should govern its provision? What means are available for its finance?" (Court & Kinyanjui, 1986, p. 361). These questions among others swirling around education in SSA raise the nagging issue of the relevance, the quantity and even more to the point, the quality of education, given the pervasive neoliberal development in African countries. Suffice it to say, the all-out-market vision of the world marked by the commodification of life is structuring education in Africa in ways that are troubling. These, to some extent worked against the path to accomplishing the 2015 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) # 2 on universal primary education (UPE) and education for all (EFA), which were supposed to be achieved by 2015. Education may no longer hold its promise of equity, thus, forfeiting its original promise to be the great equaliser. It is increasingly becoming an instrument of intergenerational transmission of privileges, drifting away from its pristine function as the engine for economic growth, a stronger civil society, and a more tolerant polity.

In plain terms, educational provision in SSA is far from satisfactory and this directs the citizens' attention to the abiding questions of whose education it still is (Brocke-Utne, 2000). The structural adjustment policies (SAPs) required by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) actually make it more difficult for African nation-states to provide EFA to their citizens as was required by the MDGs and now advocated for by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which are to run until 2030. Such programmes, which are included as conditions for obtaining loans, limit the amount of government expenditure on human and social services such as health and education. The different modalities through which education is delivered and with what effects must be addressed urgently. In this regard, civil society can play a vital role in creating awareness on educational inequalities that exist within countries. Civil societies are "organised groups or associations that 'are separate from the state, enjoy some autonomy in relations from the state, and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 183–200.

or extend their interests, values or identities'" (Mundy, Cherry, Haggerty, Maclure, & Sivasubramaniam, 2008, p. 2). Mundy and colleagues point out that several civil societies that operate in education include non-governmental organisations (NGOs), parents' associations, teachers' unions, student unions, faith-based organisations and networks of coalitions. Out of a sense that the current classic educational system is far from satisfactory, alternative thinking about education has made its way into the debate. This chapter takes a critical look at some NGOs and community-based organisations that represent alternatives to the neoliberal deliberations in transforming the educational system in Burkina Faso. The chapter argues that as education in its current structure is clearly undemocratic in terms of access (a situation that does not augur well with the United Nations' declaration on the former 2015 MDGs on UPE and EFA), curriculum, funding, and opportunity to learn, it has to be transformed and reconstructed to provide a generalisation of education. According to Bouya (1994):

> A generalisation will allow all social classes and all genres to have access to education in order to break away from ignorance that is public enemy number one of any social group. The generalisation of education means, not only learning institutions sufficient in number but the search for other educational alternatives capable of meeting the demand of the population and the exigencies of nations in terms of education. (p. 23)

Given the omnipresence of neoliberalism, UPE and EFA are threatened to the core (Some, 2011). In this chapter, I argue that part of the solution rests on local communities that must genuinely own the curriculum and avoid falling into the pitfall of cloning the classic schooling system.

NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION AND EDUCATION IN BURKINA FASO

It might be useful to clarify the context of the debate by quickly reviewing the state of education in Burkina Faso. The government has considerably retreated from education, leaving the field almost in the hands of private investors, thus working against the attainment of the MDG # 2 on UPE and EFA. The commercial ordering of life has sucked education into its vortex, labouring on the dubious assumption that an invisible hand will bring buyers and suppliers of the educational commodity together for the happiness of all. It is the case that the government has uncritically accepted the notion that education is no different from ordinary consumer goods. In this view, competition seen as the panacea to the woes that plague education, will overhaul the whole system. So, the less state there is, the better it is for parents, students and community at large that are perceived more as economic agents than citizens to be served. For years, no public school, elementary or secondary, has been built in the capital city, Ouagadougou, and Bobo-Dioulasso, the second largest city. On the contrary, several private primary and secondary schools have mushroomed. Unfortunately, when the sticker price is out of reach

for the impoverished common citizen, schooling children becomes no longer a priority.

Because the government is neck-deep in SAPs, its margin of manoeuver with regard to its capacity to invest in the public sphere is severely diminished. The world financiers advocate privatisation and public cost containment. Burkina is hardly alone in the quasi-worldwide influence exerted by the international institutions with regard to social policies that heavily draw on the Washington Consensus. The pillars of the Washington Consensus are privatisation, reduction of public spending in education and other social sectors. The restructuring of the economy in this sense has caused the privatisation of several corporations among the few that exist in the country, including thriving ones, all in the name of efficiency. It follows that thousands of workers have lost their jobs and in most cases, compensation has virtually been contentious, at best, and simply denied, at worst. This has aggravated an already delicate social balance, with growing misery and social suffering. The social decay that impacts education dates back to the 1990s with the first tide of layoffs. Jean François Bayart (2010) rightly argues that:

> In Africa, as elsewhere, the state is a major manufacturer of inequality. The 'development' which it glibly promises to deliver, and on which is premised the ban on political competition and social protest, plays a part in the process. (p. 60)

Not only is the government not expanding the number of schools in the face of a ballooning population, but it does not seem to be particularly enthusiastic about bringing to book private providers who exclusively abide by the commercial ethos of profit over people; education is a profitable niche, indeed. What is worse is that the narrow public system is semi-privatised with the introduction of tuition fees. This is no accident. Hill and Rosskam (2009) warn that "with many governments increasingly unable to govern effectively since the late 1980s, the private market for essential services such as education becomes a free-for-all, with little control, regulation or enforcement by the state" (p. 5l).

Although the government is careful not to call the tuition fee in the public system by its name, thus resorting to such euphemisms as parental contributions, the fact remains that many children are left by the wayside simply for incapacity to pay. There is no way impoverished parents can afford tuition that masquerades as just a contribution. Thus:

> During demonstrations of former workers whose severance pay has not been paid, it is usual to read words emblazoned on a banner illustrating the fate of thousands of anonymous ex-workers whose children go hungry at night in bed and who cannot afford to go to school nor benefit from healthcare. (Some, 2009, p. 136)

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country in West Africa and as a former colony of France, its education system exhibits most of the traits of economies dependent on

foreign aid and that undergo the backlash of neoliberalism in this era of globalisation. The link between neoliberalism and globalisation is functional. As Friedman (1999) puts it:

> Globalisation means the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world. Therefore, globalisation also has its own set of economic rules that revolve around opening, deregulating and privatising your economy, in order to make it more competitive and attractive to foreign investment. (p. 9)

The effects of neoliberalism on education have been abundantly documented. Although education has expanded in all countries in SSA, the school enrolment rates are the lowest in the world, hence the emphasis that was placed on the need to promote UPE and EFA in the United Nations' MDGs. This is a challenging threat to the development and to the consolidation of nationhood in SSA. Bouya (1994) contends that ignorance is the enemy number one of any human group and that it takes the generalisation of education to dispel its nefarious effects. However, little is known about the action of communities organised for economic, political, and social rebirth in promoting the generalisation of education. This means that all the social classes in the rural areas, as well as in the cities, must have equal and equitable access to education. The conditions for such a robust social engineering may rest on "[t]he generalisation in sufficient number, but also the search of other educational alternatives likely to meet the population demand and the exigencies of nations in terms of education" (Bouya, 1994, p. 23).

It goes without saying that the neoliberal state is not qualified to pursue this gigantic task and even could not succeed in promoting the MDG # 2. It cannot place these values at the forefront of the stage. Yet, they are foundational to our humanity such as the sense of community, the preference of people over profit maximisation. That is why, at the same time, as much as progressive forces are chipping away at the neoliberal behemoth through multifarious social movements, they can ill-afford to by-pass the agency of local communities. The most certain response to the education challenges will come from the capacity of people to develop solutions pertinent to the 'here and now' situation of every community. SAPs are part and parcel of the neoliberal project. Introduced in many countries in SSA (Angola, Ghana, Zambia, Zimbabwe among others), the consequences have been detrimental to social well-being, prompting some analysts to hold the view that the medicine is worse than the disease.

Dimitriadis (2008) makes no bones of the deleterious effects of neoliberalism on the African society. What he powerfully says about neoliberalism speaks even more stridently to fragile societies where the dismantlement of the state has caused more damage on the most vulnerable sections of the population. He clearly maps the ultimate function of the neoliberal project and states that:

> It is not about creating conditions of equity, but rather about maintaining internal conflict and finger pointing within disadvantaged groups… The

> question of institutional responsibility in creating conditions for students' success is hardly ever addressed, and what becomes addressed is a critique of the learner, blaming the victim and individual responsibility. (Dimitriadis, 2008, p. 207)

It follows that the status quo is perpetuated as the systems and institutions are not made accountable for the failures that they manufacture. But, it would not be fair to make it sound as if neoliberalism was the only culprit in the educational predicament of Burkina Faso. What remains a challenge is the use of the French language, or at least, which local language to adopt for instruction in the midst of sixty plus national languages remains a curriculum conundrum.

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE BATTLE FOR EDUCATION

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) has described the situation in which students who are taught in the language other than the one they speak as submersion. Using a foreign language contradicts the ethos of UNESCO's MDG # 2 which points out that languages are essential to achieving UPE and that safeguarding local indigenous knowledge and know-how with a view to ensuring environmental sustainability (MDG # 7) is intrinsically linked to local and indigenous languages (UNESCO, 2016). I call the use of a foreign language a form of 'waterboarding', a form of torture of the mind. While the victim's brain is traumatised as water permeates the head, the victim is expected to make coherent depositions. In the same way, while learners' minds have to come to terms with the 'arcane' language for them, they are expected to address content questions using the very language that they are still struggling with. If this is not torture, at least of the mind, what is it? Unfortunately, in many countries in SSA, Burkina Faso included, the colonial language has not been discontinued as the medium of instruction as noted by Kouraogo (2010):

> Although it is now widely accepted that the use of the child's mother tongue will promote better learning and an integration of the school to the local community, most schools in Burkina Faso and other francophone countries still use French as the medium of instruction from day one at school. (p. 20)

In Burkina Faso, French continues to be the language of instruction in a country where 85% of the population does not speak French.

The language paradox led Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) to conclude that it is colonial business as usual. The only difference is that the brutal bullet and sword have been substituted for a softer ploy, the language. In a country where the constitution is written in French, and where the official language of the court is also French, this is a mockery of democracy and sheer denial of justice, no matter what political leaders and government may say (Brock- Utne, 2002; Somé, 2009). It follows that the endogenous development model advocated by Ki-Zerbo (2004) is in jeopardy as the uprooted, those students who have been the by-product of the colonial school

system, are misfits in their own communities. This is not to say that the question of French language and national languages should be envisaged in exclusive terms, but as Ilboudo (2003) posits:

> To keep on, forty years after independence, nurturing the hope that children could be educated directly in French is the deadliest mistake of former African French colonies. The question for us is not about raising the issue of the relation of African languages and French in mutually exclusive terms, as is the custom in the classic school, but to envision the relation in terms of complementarity. (p. 24)

The success rate at the primary school certificate exam of bilingual schools points to the necessity of this original alternative form of education. Table 10.1, below, shows that bilingual schools (using French and an indigenous language as media of instruction) overwhelmingly outperform classic schools and national performance averages (using only French as a medium of instruction) as measured by the success at the national exam marking completion of primary school.

Table 10.1 goes a long way towards showing that gone is the time of the language war. This war of attrition, where there is no winner, only casualties, should be replaced by a genuine peaceful cohabitation of languages (Sawadogo, 2004). Sawadogo contends that the use of national languages as languages of instruction can only foster the fulfillment of the child who is thus insulated from the linguistic violence experienced through the use of French that is not spoken by many students in their homes. Of course, this linguistic violence further leads to the symbolic violence theorised by Bourdieu (1972) to account for the inequality in school outcomes. Sawadogo (2004) bemoans the hegemony of the French that has been detrimental to the affective and cognitive faculties of the learner:

> Generally born into a family that is illiterate, and moreover, unfamiliar to French and the Western culture, the latter experiences confusion in the first contact with school, namely the 'classical' one responsible for most of the cultural, pedagogic, political, ideological and economic problems of our states. (p. 254)

Table 10.1. Primary school certificate success rate of bilingual schools

Year	*National Average (%)*	*Bilingual Schools Average (%)*
2002	61.81	85.02
2003	70.03	68.21
2004	73.73	94.59
2005	69.01	91.14

Source: Taux de Réussite Des Écoles Bilingues au Certificat d'Études Primaires, Swiss Organisation for Workers' Solidarity [OSEO] (2005, p. 134)

Not long ago, teachers used to ridicule students who were caught speaking their mother-tongue in the school precincts. If they were not beaten hollow, they were made to wear a disgracing necklace, actually, a donkey's jaw to which was attached a piece of cord. This debasing sign was called '*le symbole*' and was just meant to show how dumb the carriers were – for speaking their home language instead of French. As can be seen, this 'incentive' to improve the command of spoken French had devastating psychological effects, apart from the fact that it developed in the students a tell-tale mentality. It sent the message that the indigenous languages were for people who had not risen above their communities (seen as inferior), thus, introducing a false hierarchy and dichotomy between French and African languages.

TOWARDS REDEEMING THE COMMONS

One may be tempted to ask the question of what the teachers' associations and other unions are doing to resist the French hegemony and classical schooling in Burkina Faso. They are not passive and are not content with sitting down while Rome is burning, so to speak. But, by and large, the resistance of the unions has its objective limits. Sagging under years of sacrifices and repression, from the crudest to the most subtle, scarred in their physique and their souls by material deprivation, unions launch out sporadic skirmishes. Yet, it seems that their actions that proceed from fits and starts are limited to damage control and will do little to substantively curb the power of the neoliberal state. Also, one has the feeling that the resistance hinges on material conditions at a time when workers must not lose sight of the immensity of the battlefield. For example, taking a hard look at the situation of governance as a whole in the country will reveal widespread corruption in the social fabric. This is in no way an attempt to diminish the importance of improving the material conditions, but education workers must not forget that keeping an eye on their moral conditions, too, can advance the well-being of the profession as a whole. The subconscious dichotomisation of material aspirations and moral dimensions of the struggle can prove to be a heavy blow dealt to the educational system.

Meanwhile, if unions fight, they fight within the parameters of the existing system, which is little transformative. In their defense, unions are doing so against great odds. Honour must be given where it is due. Only, it is hard not to echo the reflection made by Luke (2006) and which applies to many countries in the developing world:

> But at the same time, the response of many teachers' unions, professional organisations, and teacher educators has often been a critical defense of these self-same systems and practices that themselves are trying to identify, name, and contend with new material conditions and discourses. Although they are crucial and necessary matters, better pay, smaller class size, improved per capita state funding of teacher education, and better funded professional development in and of themselves will not prepare teachers sufficiently for

> what are fundamental educational challenges posed by difficult economic conditions, new formations of youth, and new forms of work… (p. 119)

The dissatisfaction with classical schooling, whether in the public or private system, has given pause to concerned citizens and communities, and donors who have come to realise that society should go about educating its young ones in a different way. Many of the alternatives to current educational systems, especially those more or less fully owned by communities, did not come through a clear-sighted roadmap, but rather tentatively, by trial and error, and in a serendipitous fashion. These communities have become 'refuseniks' of the current educational system (Prakash & Esteva, 1998). They are ambivalent about learning not situated within the wisdom of their elders and they are putting up some kind of resistance, but are also painfully aware of the price to pay if they totally turn their backs to it. The point is that the classic school system is the royal path to joining the social élite. Yet, this pedagogy of localisation (Some, 2009) speaks better to their realities and to the idiom of everyday life of their children. The current educational system, a direct artifact of the colonial experience, was little equipped to adapt to the evolution of the African society. Typically, formal education was modeled on the metropolitan system to suit the needs and interests of the colonial bureaucracy and the private European companies (Some & Gueye, 2008). This necessitated an original innovative education system in Burkina Faso.

COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION IN BURKINA FASO

Community involvement is fundamental in the generalisation education system and innovative narrative. In Burkina Faso, the Bi-Songo is one community project that places communities in the education space and process.

The Bi-Songo: The Development of the Village from within

The Bi-Songo (which means 'wise child') is an early childhood care centre that was established in 1998 and caters to children aged between 3 and 6 years. Spearheaded by the Ministry of Social Action and National Solidarity, it has the clear support of UNICEF, although much of the organisational leadership rests on the community. The idea is to instill the integrated development of the village from within. It is strongly related to equity in education along the lines of gender. It is reminiscent of the American Head Start programme that is a compensatory programme aiming at assisting children from fragile socio-cultural environments so that they can have a healthy start in life. Interventions are most often carried out late when the scars of poverty and neglect have wrought too much havoc on the child that little can be done to reverse the situation. As one observer notes:

> The Bi-Songo offers integrated packet of early childhood care and development services including health care, nutrition, hygiene, cognitive and psycho-motor

> development that are aimed at increasing young children's survival, growth and development. The programme is child-centred, and focuses on children's rights, … protection and basic needs. (Back, Coulibaly, & Hickson, 2003, p. 24)

Indeed, the Bi-Songo is an illustration of an integrated intervention that embraces children's rights, early learning activities likely to strengthen their language skills; the empowerment of families with respect to their parenting skills and the understanding of how to navigate the bureaucracy for child services; the trust that is accumulated through the involvement of the *petites mamans* (little mothers), those women that take care of the children.

Since 2003, twenty-five (25) Bi-Songo have been operating nationwide. Efforts have been made to enforce a kind of affirmative action whereby the number of girls is always higher that the number of boys. This is consistent with the spirit and the letter of Bi-Songo. Not only does the Bi-Songo foregrounds gender parity, but it also frees up mothers to allow them to devote their time and energy to other activities, including literacy programmes, thus "supporting a progressive education continuum and placing emphasis on gender parity" (Back et al., 2003, p. 24). Initiators of the Bi-Songo are careful to install these childcare centres close to a formal or informal school so that girls who cannot usually go to school because they babysit their younger siblings can drop them off at the centre and go to their school. That is why Bi-Songo is seen as killing at least three birds with one stone notably; getting the little ones ready for school, allowing girls to attend school, and their mothers to devote their time to other daily chores crucial to the well-being of the whole family. In these rural areas, women are the pillars of the household, even more so than in the cities. In a positive sense, they take on the role of Mother Courage in a dogged pursuit of the well-being of the family, the first to wake up, often even before the cock crows, and usually the last to go to bed.

If the Bi-Songo has become a success story of sorts, it is thanks to the relentless effort of the community. Two key players in the community are the management committee members and the *petites mamans* (Back et al., 2003). The *petites mamans* are reported to take on their role seriously. More than a role in fact, it is a mission that they carry out beyond the call of duty. It is arguably the case that they play for love as they keep on taking care of 'their' children even when the cash-strapped Bi-Songo fails to pay them the small stipend that is owed them. The mere fact that these women are given responsibility in their community is valourising beyond the monetary reward. They are a true added value to the community, illustrating the case that these often impoverished areas should never be looked at as deficient. They are replete with potential that can only be captured if government, development actors, and donors steer clear of the self-fulfilling prophecy, the incapacitating deficit model of looking at communities. As for the management committee, they are tasked with raising the money that is used to pay for the *petites mamans*, in keeping with the idea that the Bi-Songo is their 'venture'. They have to make it self-sustaining by infusing local efforts. This local investment starts with the construction of the Bi-Songo.

They are responsible for bringing local materials, labour, and the community also takes care of the buildings they use.

Satellite Schools (ES) and Centres of Basic Non-formal Education (CEBNFs)

Although education is recognised by the Burkina Faso constitution as an inalienable human right, access is a serious problem. This is not an isolated issue, as most countries in SSA have not succeeded in democratising schooling beyond any disingenuous political rhetoric. Because the government is outflanked by a huge demand, there is a need for new thinking in terms of the education provision. The neoliberal ethos according to which even education has to follow the laws of the market does not hold the promise of viable social progress in a country where people survive on barely a dollar a day. Satellite Schools (ES) and the Centres d' Éducation de Base Non Formelle (Non Formal Basic Education Centres [CEBNFs]) have been set up with the assistance of UNICEF to enhance the education supply. The creation of ES and CEBNFs is the result of a political will power in the quest for new alternative forms that would make the education system more efficient, less of a burden for the budgets of the state, the collectivities and the families (Tankono, 2000). These two systems (the ES and the CEBNFs) aim at the integration of the school with its environment as they meet the needs of the populations. Here, too, community participation is paramount. Before the building of ES in an area, there is a vertical and transversal mobilisation of the people from the community. The nobilities, parents, teachers, teacher supervisors, and students participate widely in public debates. They discuss all relevant issues concerning the innovation, to maximise the chances that the project will be appropriated by the villagers. The latter actually own their school, and all stakeholders are represented within the management committees set up in each village. These committees take care of the day-to-day administration of the school.

The curriculum and the teaching methodologies derive from the classic school system. While French is the language of instruction in the ES, in the same way that French is in the classical schools, local languages are used in the first year. They are replaced with French in the second year when the children have familiarised themselves with some French. The CEBNFs, not unlike the ES, were launched in 1995. They offer a second chance to children between the ages of 9 and 15 who have dropped out of school or who simply did not go to school, either because the educational provision was not available, or for some other reason. It is a culturally-responsive structure and:

> The CEBNF curriculum covering a four-year training programme (with 4 hour days during a six-month school year) focuses on indigenous language literacy, numeracy, and life skills, including trade skills, such as sewing, agriculture, animal husbandry, masonry, etc. It aims at making the learning culturally relevant so that students will be more likely to remain in their home and pursue

> productive activities based on their CEBNF experience. (Back et al., 2003, pp. 20–21)

In the case of the CEBNFs, too, the language of instruction is the local language of the village. The perspective of the CBNF is functional literacy that aims at disseminating literacy so that young adults can grow up to be productive contributors in the community. It emphasises trade skills that will be utilised by the graduates in their own community milieu. It, thus, undercuts the need for migration to urban centres and abroad. The role of the community is also central. The project manager in the construction of the buildings is the management committee. They hire contract teachers who are native to the community and who speak the local language. They also raise the money that serves to pay for contract teachers and that is used for the school maintenance.

Tin Tua and the Concept of Endogenous Development

A brief conceptualisation of endogenous development, as it is used in this chapter is in order here. Endogenous development posits that development needs to capture local knowledge, practices, experiences and lessons learned, and the world outlook from within (Millar, 2014). While not closing the door to the knowledge and experience from outside, endogenous development valourises complex local epistemologies, past and present, avoiding being spoonfed by others' ways of knowledge and of know-how (Millar, 2014). In a nutshell, the onus of development is placed upon the very people who will reap the benefit of development, especially in a postcolonial context. The Tin Tua Association was established in the Eastern region of Burkina Faso. It encapsulates this capacity model of development. Its *raison d'être* is firmly grounded in the community since community participation is one of the hallmarks of the programme which started in 1986 (UNESCO, 2009). Tin Tua, in Gulmacema, the vernacular language most spoken in the region, means 'let us take our development into our own hands.' Education was perceived right from the beginning, as the road to development. Tin Tua exemplifies the model of how literacy could be developed and how the bridge could be built between formal and non-formal education. The Centres Banmaa Nuara [CBN] (Knowledge is power) have been the living laboratory of this social engineering. Tin Tua has waged an all-out war against illiteracy, taking into account all ages. Thus, CBN1 recruits students of regular school age; CBN2 (Youth) is interested in people between the age of 10 and 15 who, for some reason, did not get formal education, while CBN2 (Adults) caters for people aged 18 and 30. The training for CBN1 lasts for five years. During the first two years, Gulmacema, the national language of the region, serves as the language of instruction. In the third year, French becomes the language of instruction, and all the disciplines taught in Grade 3 and 4 in the classical schools constitute the curriculum. A pragmatic and constructive bilingualism thus takes place. It is interesting to note that, already in their fourth year, students in CBN 1 are exposed to all subjects on the programme in

Grade 5. This allows students to catch up with their peers in Grade 6 of the classical schools, once they are in Grade 5 (Association Tin Tua, n.d).

As for the CBN2 (for the youth and adults), schooling takes place during five months from January to May and takes four years. Tin Tua is in full swing, as evidenced by the proliferation of the centres whose goal it is to touch the lives of as many students as possible, students who might otherwise be left out by the classic system, too elitist and exclusionary. During the academic Year 2003–2004, Tin Tua opened nine CBN1 with twenty classes, seven CBN2 (Young) and twenty CBN2 for adults. Students in the CBNs are doing far better than their peers in the classical school, at least, using the primary leaving certificate as a benchmark. In 2003, the top students nationwide were the products of CBNs. Anecdotal evidence reports the CBN1 and CBN2 graduates as excelling regular students. Tin Tua is impacting its community in clear ways. Its internal efficiency has been largely proven. In terms of external efficiency, Tin Tua employs many of the graduates from CBN2 who are too old to move on to the middle school in the village cooperatives. Others find employment as secretaries, book-keepers, tailors, auto mechanic, carpenters, cosmeticians, and even project managers. The agricultural centre, which opened in 2004 allows CBN2 graduates to learn best animal farming practices and craftsmanship. This undercuts the drive for these young people to migrate to town where they just complicate an otherwise difficult life of crime and unemployment in the slums. Tin Tua contributes to the formation of a useful youth whose cumulative contributions go a long way towards giving life to a community that would be otherwise depressed for lack of enlightening prospects.

The community is instrumental in the life of the centres that are built. Based on needs identified by the villagers themselves, Tin Tua has developed a curriculum in five local languages covering basic literacy and numeracy skills along with practical knowledge about health, hygiene, human rights, gender and farming (Tin Tua-Burkina Faso, 2009). This is crucial as it allows women, who are crucial to the survival of families in the countryside, to keep their books about their petty trade. Tin Tua is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful products of the concept of development from within. Started as a simple idea, it proved itself on the field before third party donors could chime in. The literacy centres are virtually the backbone of this organisation. Among others, the community is active in the recruitment of students and does not refrain from door to door lobbying with parents so that they can allow their children to join in the efforts and process to eradicate illiteracy, the construction of the centres, the development of the curriculum (the association uses materials developed by themselves, and also official materials in use in the public school system in the third year), the management and monitoring of the centres through management committees, volunteering into the classes to teach courses related to the culture (traditional dances, songs, stories) and the history of the region and more. Communities can share the success story of the CBNs. Their life stories mesh with those of the centres that are no longer perceived as foreign cysts (Ki-Zerbo cited in Some, 2009) superimposed upon them by benevolent helpers all

too willing to bestow on them some charitable social progress arrogantly defined in their own terms. It is hard to bring happiness to people as can be done with a turnkey factory, if a turnkey factory ever performed such a feat. The communities need to take part in the definitional terms and the operating mode of their happiness.

The genuine implication of the villagers shows that the CBNs are theirs and they feel compelled to invest fully their local metis (Scott, 1994), that is, their experiences, in them. The adoption and appropriation of the concept has reduced the dissonance habitually observed between villagers and the classic schools perceived as unfamiliar places, and therefore, daunting to the very constituents they set out to serve. As the habitus of the centres and their schools coalesce seamlessly, peasants feel welcome to attend these places without fearing alienation. This is testimony that when ordinary people are given the chance to express themselves, the result is empowerment as they begin to trust their own epistemologies, their ways of knowing.

It starts with the setting of the agenda by themselves for themselves, in the terms that they understand. This kind of empowerment leads to the honing of their skills by dint of trial and error. With good reason, Tin Tua is becoming a beacon of community-based organisation. Its members are requested to share their expertise with other regions in the country and even abroad (AFASA of Togo, PADIC Matéry of Benin, Potalmen of Benin, the Catholic Mission of Makalondi, Niger, and RAFIA of Togo, etc.). This popularity is well-deserved with regard to its versatility and engagement on many social fronts. Every year, Tin Tua that remains active in the field, touches the lives of 40,000 learners of all ages. Its great work has caught the eye of UNESCO who rewarded good practices by awarding one of the 2009 UNESCO King Sejong Literacy Prizes to the association (UNESCO, 2009).

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION: LIMITS OF INITIATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE.

Alternative initiatives to education have given rise to hopes. Yet, they are not universally accepted in Burkina Faso. Although recommended by Basic Education Development Plan (PDDEB), “the promotion of these alternative initiatives indeed all present different characteristics that blur the debates on the use of local languages and knowledge…” (Lewandowski, 2006, p. 6). The PDDEB was launched in 2002 with the aim at achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015 and it is entirely based on a managing for development results approach (Josselin, Thiais, Zouré-Sawadogo, & Darou, 2014). To achieve their results in keeping with PDDEB objectives, satellite schools have lowered the standards of recruiting teachers who are less qualified than those in the regular public system. They are also paid lower salaries, sometimes cut by half. Teachers hired at the satellite schools are paid 35,000cfa (about US$56) and those in the CEBNFs, 30,000 cfa (about US$48) (Tankono, 2000). The salary is paid partially by the community, which raises the issue of solvency with regard to the pervasive poverty in the land. Whether with the CEBNFs or the ESs, there is a huge turnover of teachers who come to these schools for lack of better options.

The teachers have no status in the civil service and this impacts their performance in detrimental ways. The vocational instructors, too, because they are not trained formally, certainly deliver a low quality teaching performance. With the instructors also being mostly men, there is the danger of disassociation of girls to the scheme, or simply, they may not be getting their fair share of training based on gender stereotyping (Back et al., 2003), especially in the absence of clear evidence of intentional gender-sensitive relations in the classroom. Also, students coming out of the CEBFs that purport to be vocational schools are not endowed with the skills that would prepare them to embrace a trade. This has something to do with the dubious quality of CEBNFS. These graduates lack the equipment, or see no prospects in an ailing economy, which leads many to drop out of the programme. The teachers' status in the ESs and CEBNFs is cause for concern to union leaders who take a dim view of the fact that these teachers are barely paid above the minimum wage. The way the new breed of teachers is treated reflects badly on these alternative schools. The general public may view these alternative ways as the poor cousins to the classic system. They may be construed as a simple ploy that conveniently speaks about promoting local knowledge to keep the underserved populations in the same social situation. In this case, they could be ultimately serving reactionary motives.

There are also sociological impediments that are real. Lewandowski (2006) has elaborated on issues related to the inclusion of local knowledge in the schools. She points out the difficulty in carrying out productive activities in the school, noting that:

> Market gardening, for example, often lacks water or wire netting; in the earlier years of primary school, pupils are too small to carry buckets, and by the end of primary school, they are too busy preparing for the certificate (CEP). (p. 6)

Often, impoverished teachers lack the motivation to undertake painstaking work, especially in the absence of any bonus. Villagers who intervene in the classes to bring their local expertise also expect some kind of monetary incentive, convinced that money is earmarked for this activity, but that only the greed of teachers prevents them from receiving their fair share. While this kind of behaviour does not stem from *ex nihilo* (out of nothing), the lingering mentality that pushes people to fall back on foreign assistance needs to be challenged. For example, in the case of the Bi-Songo, the all-out mobilisation of the community is questionable. The Bi-Songo seems to have been left to take care of itself by "the *petites mamans*, and the families of children attending the Bi-Songo" as "the broader community has limited or no participation in the child care centre aside from being asked to make a contribution for construction, infrastructure maintenance, and payment of the *petites mamans*' salaries" (Back et al., 2003, p. 26). At a more systemic level, childhood care remains entrenched as a priority nationwide, not as an educational frill for affluent townspeople.

Teachers can also be at loggerheads with the overall aims of the literacy centres or the satellite schools. Concerned about rejecting everything that reminds them of

their village status, they are not prepared to assume the role of the "transcultural militants that educationalists think of assigning to them" (Lewandowski, 2006, p. 8). Here is the place to revisit the role of the colonial French school system that was transplanted into francophone Africa. The modern school has never really severed itself from the assimilation model whereby the objective of going to school is not for living a full life, but for leaving one's community, if not physically, at least symbolically. For example, a good number of intellectuals do take it to be a mark of 'progress' not to fluently speak their mother-tongue. The more you know about your culture, the more, it seems, you are remote from the French viewed as the model to emulate.

On a totally different note, most of these alternative schools take place within the same institutional framework. Even Tin Tua that has introduced some glimmer of social critique in its documents needs to be more intentional about critiquing the broader society. There are also problems trying to stay close to the formal system, namely in terms of instructional method and school time organisation. For example, the instruction method needs to be revisited so that the authoritarian method of schooling in most francophone countries is not replicated. The world of school has not been delinked with the world of work. In many countries in SSA, not only did efforts to link the world of education with that of work not bear fruits, but the spectrum of unemployment is also assuming ever greater proportions encountered by many despite the impressive rates of return on aggregate level (Wolhuter, 2007).

Also lacking in the curricular and practices of these schools is education for citizenship and democracy, even if here again, Tin Tua is doing better than others, although not enough. Abdi, Shizha, and Ellis (2010) recognise the need for citizenship education in Zambia. This can be fairly extrapolated to all nations in SSA. The authors suggest that citizenship education can be accomplished by:

> enhancing citizenship learning programmes in public schools and universities, using media to enhance the situation, making literacy less mechanical and more inclusive in terms of people's current situations and problems and how these could be changed. (p. 7)

It seems to be one of the best ways to empower students to be citizens that learn how to read the word in order to read the world (Freire & Macedo, 1987), interpret it, and arm themselves with the requisite consciousness, transform it, and avoid the indiscriminate consumption of unfiltered ideas and commodities.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how the government of Burkina Faso is not providing education in quantity and quality to all children of the country. This is mainly because the neoliberal ideology, which has worked against the fulfilment of the MDG on UPE and EFA, has permeated the education arena and has put a sticker price on the classic education provision. It has also eroded the living

conditions of education workers. While developed nations have declared that the K-12 education level will be paid by the public dollars, surprisingly, education at any level in Burkina carries a price tag, a costly one at that, considering the high level of poverty in the country. When people who are fighting against great odds and are put in a position where they have to decide between their daily pittance and paying tuition fees for their children, the choice seems obvious. The neoliberal momentum has also brought in an educational provision that is questionable as it presents a low internal and external efficiency. When taken into account the fact that schooling in its current form is a perpetuation of the French culture, as curricular have not succeeded in breaking free from the French educational mould, it is clear that the classic educational system is a one-size-fits-all or worse still, a straightjacket suppressing the expression of multiple cultures in the country.

I have also argued that a healthy way to bring education to take care of the global as well as the local is to allow communities, and the civil society, more broadly speaking, to take back their commons, to snatch the schools from the diktat of the market forces and from the government that continues to implement a curriculum that is French in outlook, in spite of the many top-down school reforms introduced in the education system. They have followed each other fervently without departing from the French educational archetype. It has been, indeed, thoughtful of communities that came up with alternative schools, the curricular of which have the potential to reflect the lore of the land, its language, and tap into the active forces of the community. This indicates a more sustainable direction and a healthy awakening of ordinary citizens. The awareness undercuts the lingering mentality of the virtuous foreign assistance. Ki-Zerbo (1992), who valued the principle of endogenous development, made the clarion call for action by Africans themselves through his Delphic cry: 'Nobody has ever developed anybody. Everyone is responsible for his or her own development.'

As encouraging as the attempts of communities to appropriate the education of their children are, one still has to lament that several of these alternative initiatives are like new wine in old bottles as they imitate classic school system. There is a need to subvert the classical schools/alternative schools binary, wherein the latter term perpetually looks towards the former seen as better, in a bid to earn some legitimacy. Alternative schools in Burkina Faso need to carve out a clear personality for themselves, by for example, preparing students for a life of active citizenship and critical thinking, rather than being riveted on preparing students for the job market, as often is the case, which does not mark a full departure from the paradigm of the traditional school.

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SECTION V

DEVELOPMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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11. COLONIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Policy Impact on Postcolonial Sub-Saharan African Universities

INTRODUCTION

European colonisation of the African continent beginning in the late 19th century, also introduced a new way of life into the African society. The African milieu was transformed by Western influences, creating the need to fit African peoples into the new conditions (Nwauwa, 1997). The introduction of Western education as a whole, therefore, became a necessity in the colonies of the European powers, as it was needed for communication with their colonised Africans. It also provided the means of recruiting Africans into the roles of interpreters and mediators, which helped to adapt African societies and their institutions into the colonial mould. The introduction of Western education in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) thus, was not aimed at developing the Africans and their environment but to serve and adapt Africans to the colonial interests of the European powers. African adaptation to the colonial goals was required in three main areas. First, adaptation was needed in the colonial administration and services, including tax collection, law courts, public works, agriculture, and health. Second, it also occurred in the mining, finance, commercial enterprises including farming establishments, production of raw materials, produce collection, distributive trade, and importation and exportation. Finally, adaptation was required in the missionary activities of evangelisation and the provision of Western education itself (Ajayi, Goma, & Johnson, 1996).

This chapter traces the history of the development of higher education in British colonial Africa, well before the framing and adoption of the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the 21st century. The term higher education, as used in this chapter, refers primarily to university and college-level education. It argues that British colonial education policies not only created dependent higher education institutions in the final days of colonial rule in the British territories (Altbach, 2003), but the policies also failed to make these institutions relevant to their societies and peoples. Furthermore, no attempts were made to establish any meaningful and effective working relations between higher education and industry for national development and economic growth. To a large extent, therefore, African higher education institutions have continued to remain alien forms of centres of higher learning and almost removed from the realities and the needs of postcolonial

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African societies and their peoples. The chapter focuses on the higher education policies within the British colonial territories, simply because the British colonial political strategy which utilised the indirect rule system of governance, not only allowed it (Britain) to make more significant policies on education for its colonies than the other European colonial powers, but it also allowed a few western-educated Africans to participate in the newly-established political system to serve as clerks, messengers, teachers and interpreters. Conversely, under the direct rule system adopted by France, Belgium and Portugal, Africans were excluded from any form of participation at all levels of the colonies involved thus western education was not considered necessary for the colonised Africans in these territories.

BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICIES BEFORE 1920

British colonial policy on education in SSA began in 1882 (Ajayi et al., 1996), that is, two years before the Berlin Conference which partitioned the African continent into smaller territories to be occupied by the European powers. In 1882, the British colonial government established government subvention to missionary schools in West Africa. However, there was no formal educational policy for the colonies in SSA until the 1920s. For example, the first investigations into education in the British colonies of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone and Gambia was conducted through the agency of Dr. Richard R. Madden, sent to West Africa as the royal commissioner, broadly charged with a survey of the political economic, and cultural institutions in these settlements (Barnes, 2002). Madden's report, published in 1841, preposterously indicated on the basis of the flimsiest evidence that while the Africans exhibited learning capability in their childhood comparable to that of the European, by the time they reached adulthood, this capability had atrophied, significantly to the point where the African was now intellectually inferior (Lulat, 2003). He blamed this development on SSA's tropical climate as was then perceived by the pseudo-scientific thinking of his day. Consequently, he recommended that Africans should be schooled in non-intellectual pursuits, specifically vocational training. This, therefore, became the somewhat educational policy for British colonial territories until the 1920s.

The import of Madden's educational report and philosophy was that Africans should be trained as labourers to serve Europeans. The policy of teaching vocational education to Africans was based on the 19th century European view which held that Africans were uneducable, because of their inferiority in nature. The 19th century British Empire, and Europe as a whole, had become lively centres for research for publications on race issues. It was at this time when Dr. Robert Knox, a Scottish Anatomist, and Arthur de Gobineau, a French Sociologist, had advanced the theory of the inferiority of the African, which theory several European scientists attempted to prove correct or confirm – in part, to justify European colonisation of Africa and its peoples. In 1863, the search for misguided confirmations of African inferiority led to the formation of the Anthropological Society of London, with Richard Burton,

the dishonourably discharged British soldier, as its vice president. The goal of this Society was to collect data to confirm the African inferiority theory. This theory, therefore, was a deliberate European design to justify its colonising activities in Africa, following its abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the latter part of the 18th century. Consequently, British colonial government involvement in education in the colonies was very minimal before the 1920s, with the larger participation involving missionaries. As stated earlier, government involvement at this time was limited to providing subventions to the missionary schools. It must be understood that the government subventions to the missionary efforts at educating Africans was not to support their evangelisation efforts, but it was an attempt to utilise the psychological effects of religion in creating obedient and submissive minds required in Africans to help facilitate the political and economic goals of the colonisation process. That is, Africans filled with religion and the fear of heaven and hell would not rebel against colonisation, with its accompanying exploitation practices.

Another reason explaining the limited government involvement in colonial education at this time was due to the stiff resistance from colonial officials in the colonies, who did not wish to lose their jobs to competing educated African rivals (Teferra, 2003). This concern proved the 19th century theory of African inferiority wrong, for it showed to Europeans that Africans were capable of receiving and excelling in Western education, and this ability allowed these educated Africans to apply and compete for jobs with the Europeans in the colonies thus undermining the job security of the European colonial officials. It also indicated that colonialism was used to provide needed employment for Europeans helping to reduce high unemployment rates in Europe. Finally, Britain refused to formulate any formal educational policy in its African colonies at this time because of its concerns with the cost involved in expenditures (Nwauwa, 1996). It should to be kept in mind that this concern was of great importance based on the fact that the main goal of colonialism was to accumulate profit and not to improve African lives and societies hence any large scale involvement in colonial education was bound to deplete any accrued profits. Educational provision, therefore, was mainly the undertaking of the various missionaries, which included the Wesleyan Methodists, Anglicans, the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics.

It appears, therefore, that Western education had begun to force Africans away from their traditional and indigenous practices and institutions to embrace imported ones from Europe. Education also commenced to reshape the African social structure, by introducing the educated elite and their interests and goals. Social stratification based on foreign values and knowledge thus became the new structure of the African society. While Africans wanted the type of education which would make them equal to their British counterparts, the British desired the kind of training which would fit Africans into subordinate positions in the colonial administration thus explaining, in part, the late introduction of higher education in SSA (Nwauwa, 1996). This policy subsequently, laid the foundation for the inferior type of education introduced into SSA by the European colonialists, and which

would later result in unwarranted educational and economic dependency and neo-colonialism in contemporary Africa. This was because Africans would later come to need qualified human capital as well as scientific and technological innovations for their development, following independence. Therefore, Western education became the most sought after important agent of social change within the different colonies. Consequently, educational policies became the most effective instruments for the European colonial administrations to control the pace and direction of social change in SSA. Western education became the index of development as well as the tool for measuring national and human growth – a condition which forever transformed and destabilised the self-sustaining pre-colonial African society into one of dependency, since it did not have enough of this type of education.

In terms of higher education, until 1945, the British colonial pre-occupation had been with the keeping of law and order, without much concern for establishing and offering even secondary education. The missionaries were interested in elementary and vocational education and the occasional teacher and evangelist training institute. Furthermore, most of the courses offered in the vocational training classes were mere duplications of the skills already possessed by the pupils, including carving, weaving, farming and cooking. But vocational education was also geared towards increasing agricultural production of raw materials for colonial exports. However, African demand for secondary education was already so strong that whichever mission refused to establish one "risked losing ground to its rivals" (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 42). This condition indicated that the provision of secondary education to Africans by the missions was not based on true conviction of concern for African intellectual and academic growth, but based on rivalry among the missionaries themselves in their efforts to win more souls for their respective denominations. This rivalry thus failed to actually consider the real needs of African societies and their peoples in the utilisation of education as agent of social transformation. To speed up the provision of secondary education, the few educated elite took the initiative to get African congregations and communities to build secondary schools, and the missionaries to adopt them and help with the recruitment of staff and obtaining government approval (Nwauwa, 1996). Later the British colonial administrators established few government elementary and secondary schools to act as models and thus help to raise standards.

BRITISH COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICIES IN THE 1920S

The British colonial government became more active in the provision of colonial education in its African territories beginning in the early 1920s. This sudden policy change, however, was due to the pressure exerted on it by the increasing role of the missionaries in educational provision, the publication of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's Reports, the increasing African demand for Western education, and the British recognition of the eventual African independence from colonial rule (Brown, 1964). The Phelps-Stokes Fund, a $1 million donation established by an American donor of the same name, was for the purpose of advancing the education

of African Americans and Africans. In the early 1920s, it appointed a Commission to conduct investigations into African education and published its Report in 1922. The focus of the Report was the need for adaptation of education to African conditions through vocational and technical training. The Phelps-Stokes Report not only caused educational policy changes in the British colonies but it also led to the creation of the British government's Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa in 1923. This Committee later initiated the government's active role in African colonial education but at the same time, it sought the expressed interests of the colonial government at the expense of Africans thus, its conclusions had to reflect the interests of the colonial government.

The Advisory Committee suggested that the government extends the benefits of basic literacy to as many Africans as resources permitted, as well as provide training for the development of a category of low-level government officials, including messengers, clerks, interpreters, and housekeepers. More importantly, the government was required to provide vocational education opportunities to the pupils and permit the development of some level of further education, especially in areas such as agricultural, veterinary, and paramedical training (Brown, 1964; Altbach & Kelly, 1984). These recommendations became the first formally adopted policy on education by the British, largely based on the Phelps-Stokes ideology of adapting Western education to African circumstances, stressing on vocational skills at the expense of academic education. Despite the fact that the Advisory Committee's recommendations became a landmark in the educational policy of the British colonial government, still the Committee failed to define clearly the function of Western education in their African colonies. It was not made clear whether education was being offered to function as a change–agent to Africans and their societies, or as a colonial tool purposely geared towards assisting with achieving colonial goals.

The vague decision of the Committee reflected the government's own colonial interests in Africa, particularly tropical Africa, and how it also perceived African development as an unimportant part of the colonisation process. That is, a decision to offer education as a change-agent, would hasten the end of colonisation and its intended goals, because Africans would be able to read, analyse and understand their socio-economic and political conditions as a result of the exploitative nature of colonialism and begin to resist its continued existence on the continent. In addition, it would have also created true independence of African societies since they would have demanded knowledge and skills in science and technology for their own development. The Committee, therefore, was divided on the question of the function of education: was it to be conceived as a change-agent or as a tool of exploitation? The compromise arrived at was that:

> Education should render the individual more efficient in his/her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 44)

The compromise failed to specify fully the functions of education as a change-agent. The development of native industries not only duplicated the skills of the people but they also eliminated any possibilities of the industrialisation of the African economy. The compromise only sought to perpetuate the traditional lifestyles of the people while their services and usefulness to the colonial cause were emphasised. On the question of higher education, the Committee concluded that "as resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education" (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 44). The rationale behind this conclusion not to offer higher education in the colonies indicated that the colonial officials and the government were in no hurry to do so. They had assumed that Europeans, assisted by traditional rulers, would, for the foreseeable future, determine policy in the colonies (Nwauwa, 1996). In other words, since indirect rule had no place for highly educated Africans within the colonial administration, the demand for higher education or universities naturally faced stiff opposition from British colonial officials. It was generally believed that Africans required, in the colonial administration, would function as clerks, messengers, interpreters, craftsmen, tradesmen, agricultural and veterinary assistants, and technicians. It was these cadres that the schools needed to produce. These assumptions and conclusions indicated that intentions of the British colonial officials regarding African education were not aimed at benefiting African development. Colonialism only needed the cheap labour supply and a few literate Africans who could help with assisting the Europeans to conduct business in Africa. It did not need highly educated scholars capable of challenging the goals and objectives of Europeans in Africa at the time. Provision of higher education thus, became a policy left out of the discussion of the Committee until the 1940s when they were forced to resurrect and initiate it due to increased African demands for self-rule.

In terms of educational provision in the colonies, the Advisory Committee's recommendations produced several results. First, the Committee inspired the series of ordinances in each colony setting up Departments of Education and Inspectorates, and regulating the conditions for operating different levels of education and attracting government subsidies. Indeed almost all the former British colonies in SSA continue to have these education departments that oversee all their national education programmes. Most importantly, education began to receive special attention within the British colonial system for the first time. Second, the regulations offered by the Committee also succeeded in raising the standards of the schools, especially the secondary schools and teacher training colleges. The raising of standards also indicated that the colonial officials had come to realise that they could no longer continue to deny their African 'subjects' the type of education required for the pursuit of higher education in the future, because of African independence at some point in time. Finally, the Committee's suggestions encouraged the opening of secular government schools in Muslim areas and other places inadequately served by church missions. These included the Sudan and Nigeria, thus for the first time,

Islamic Quranic schools faced the Christian challenge regarding education in such communities. This challenge would later be interpreted by Muslims as a serious threat to Islam in the form of a Christian ploy to take over the former. This realisation thus developed the spirit of nationalism and fostered the struggle for independence in the 1950s and 1960s.

The major obstacle to the implementation of the Committee's recommendations, however, was that the new educational policy was ineffective in settler colonies including Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and South Africa. As an example, the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia established its first Junior Secondary School at Munali in Lusaka in 1939 – at the beginning of WWII. This indicated the serious predicament of most of the colonies at independence in terms of highly educated personnel required to lead their countries. As noted by Teferra (2003), Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo – DRC) attained independence in 1960 "without a single national engineer, doctor or lawyer" (Teferra, 2003, p. 128). On this issue, Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of Zambia observed:

> As far as education is concerned, Britain's colonial record in Zambia is most criminal. This country has been left by her as the most uneducated and most unprepared of Britain's dependencies in Africa. This record is even treasonable to mankind when it is recalled that in the seventy years of British occupation, Zambia has never lacked money … However, financial exploitation was preferred to human development. (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 45)

The demand for higher education by the few educated Africans, however, had continued unabated since the 1860s, even before the Berlin Conference and as evidenced in the requests of Horton and Blyden.

By the 1920s, African demands for higher education had then been ignored for over half a century. Between 1860 and 1911, the demands by Africanus Horton of Sierra Leone, Edward Blyden of Liberia, and Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast (Ghana) for a West African University had been persistently frustrated by both British colonial officials and the missionaries. The colonial government opposed the idea of an African University not only because of the problem of funding but also, to secure the positions of British officials against African competition in the colonies. According to Nwauwa (1996), the educational advancement attained by the Creoles of Sierra Leone had placed them in direct rivalry with the British officials, traders and missionaries alike. The missionary agencies, on the other hand, resisted the notion of an African University on the grounds that the proponents called for secular institution under government control. This demand thus, was perceived to undermine the religion-oriented curriculum of the missions geared at the conversion of Africans to Christianity. Before the 1940s, therefore, the impetus for a university ensued almost exclusively from Africans. For example, Horton saw it as absurd that the colonial government of Sierra Leone should spend £400 on education while it committed £14,000 per year on police (Nwauwa, 1996, p. 10). This indicated that the government was more interested in subjugating Africans through strict law and

order observance than educating the people due to the fact that achieving the express colonial goals of profit and natural resources formed the fundamental aim of the colonial government.

Since the educated African elite, especially in West Africa, saw themselves as socially above their illiterate brethren – both the chiefs and the masses – they felt slighted under indirect rule, which assigned them no roles under the colonial administration. Furthermore, they were quite displeased with the pay differentials that existed between them and their European counterparts that held the same academic qualifications and experience. Consequently, they became antagonistic to their African rulers and the British colonial officials, and as a class began to constitute a formidable destabilising force against the colonial establishment. However, the fact that the educated elite saw themselves as socially above their fellow citizens, including their traditional leaders also illustrated the type and nature of education provided by the European colonialists to Africans. This attitude, which was found in all the European colonies across the continent, showed the alienating nature of the education offered in the schools: the worship of European culture and the acceptance of the myth of European superiority over African inferiority. The Western educated Africans began to disown their socio-cultural background perceiving it as inferior compared to the European way of life and taste. The question that begs for an answer, therefore, is whether or not the educated African elite would have ever opposed the colonial establishment as an unwanted foreign domination, had they been offered positions of power and better salaries by the colonial government. It showed that even from the start, the African elite, like the colonial rulers, sought their own self-interest at the expense of the African masses – a desire which has come to characterise contemporary African politics and leadership in postcolonial SSA.

The lack of opportunities for higher education and public roles within the colonial establishment raised the suspicions of the few educated African elite against the philosophy of the adaptation of Eurocentric education to African circumstances, if the local administrators did not even recognise the certificates and diplomas awarded by the local colonial educational institutions, as equivalent to European degrees for purposes of seeking employment (Agbodeka, 1998). The graduates of the schools were not economically useful or relevant to their societies in terms of development, nor did the schools and their curricular reflect the needs of the people, with the graduates as problem-solvers. Thus, the entire African education system has since not completely focused on solving the social and economic problems of African societies through research and curricular reforms and diversification. It has focused instead on awarding degrees that have virtually no use in the local economy. In particular, African universities have thus been unable to – and not used to – relate to industry and business in seeking practical answers for national development through curriculum change and scientific and technological innovations. But, African demands for higher education increased well enough to command the attention of the British colonial officials beginning in the late 1920s. Thus adaptation, which

formed the core of the Advisory Committee's suggestions for African education, became the subject of debate by the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE'S RESPONSE TO AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION DEMANDS

In response to the increased demands of Africans for higher education, the Advisory Committee which had previously rejected such demands became obligated and selected a number of central government institutions and tried to develop them into higher education of some kind. Among those selected were the Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, the Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda, the Prince of Wales College (Achimota) in the Gold Coast, and in 1929 the Yaba High School was established in Ibadan, Nigeria to offer 2-year courses in Arts or Science, followed by professional courses of 3-year teacher training, 2-years engineering, or agriculture or surveying, and 5-year medical and veterinary courses. At Makerere, students were trained in carpentry, mechanics and later paramedical, veterinary, surveying, agricultural and teacher training and clerical courses were added. Established in 1924 as a model comprehensive school, Achimota offered classes in kindergarten through secondary, as well as first year university college affiliation to the University of London. It emphasised the study of local languages and cultural heritage but later focused on secondary adding courses leading up to the London University Matriculation and Intermediate in the 1930s (Agbodeka, 1998).

Despite the fact that the new colleges attracted the cream of the students at the time, a systematic mechanism was duly put in place to frustrate the academic endeavours of many of the students through massive failure at the examinations conducted by the college officials (Ajayi et al., 1996; Agbodeka, 1998). It was a strategy designed not only to limit the number of college-educated Africans, but also as a mechanism to undermine the very higher education established by the colonial government for its African 'subjects'. Success in examinations was tied more to vacancies and character evaluation than to performance. First, the control over vacancies meant that the colonial officials strictly dictated the pace and numbers of students admitted into the colleges, which indicated an attempt to limit the potential number of educated Africans who were most likely to question colonial rule, as well as compete with Europeans for high paying jobs within the colonial establishment. Second, the use of character evaluation as an indicator or measurement of success in examinations clearly showed the kind and type of graduates preferred by the colonial administration: the docile and obedient educated African ready to agree and assist the colonial administration in exploiting Africans. It was also an opportunity to use such obedient Africans as loyal comprador elites capable of assisting in furthering the colonial ambitions of the British, following independence. To ensure that those deemed unacceptable for college education did not skirt around the restrictions, colonial officials discouraged registration for overseas examinations, while courses essential for such examinations were often eliminated from the curriculum.

This policy ensured that college diplomas earned by Africans remained strictly of local significance.

However, beginning in the 1930s, the colonial government acting on the recommendations of the advisory committee, began to allow the university colleges to affiliate with British universities, particularly, Cambridge University and the University of London. Initially, the committee had been concerned about the fact that such affiliation would undermine the policy of educational adaptation to African circumstances, as contained in the Phelps-Stokes Report of 1922. This ideology subsequently helped to design the local African diplomas earned by the African graduates. The new affiliations included Achimota to the University of London, Fourah Bay to Durham University, and Fort Hare and University of South Africa (UNISA) to Pius XII College. But it soon became obvious that the growing affiliations also meant greater scrutiny of the quality and credibility of degrees offered by the university colleges. That is, the Cambridge and London External Examinations became a double-edged sword: the examinations undermined adaptation since the external universities offered degrees and diplomas equal to British university degrees. They also did much to raise the standard of secondary education in the colonies, by offering a uniform standard and external measurement, which provided objective criteria for evaluating performance in the secondary schools. According to Lulat (2003), the French would later introduce this style of affiliation and degree granting requirements with its international baccalaureate.

As discussed above, once again, the failure rate was very high especially at the Matriculation level as an effort to limit the expansion of higher education in SSA. Psychologically, this high rate of failure also indirectly established the dominance of European education and degrees over African education and qualifications into the postcolonial era. Philip Altbach (2003), correctly points out that one of the colonial legacies of African universities has been the relegation of such institutions to the periphery of the international university system. That is, although affiliation was progressive in terms of higher education development in Africa, it also indirectly set the universities of the metropole over African universities from the start, and even today, Africans – and their governments – prefer degrees earned from European and other Western universities to the local degrees offered by African universities. Most Africans consider degrees earned from overseas universities, particularly from their former colonial rulers as higher and of better ‘quality’ than the same ones offered by their country’s universities – a display of lingering colonial influence. This means that most Anglophone Africans would rate higher degrees earned from British Universities than those earned from their local universities in Africa, while the same goes for francophone Africans who also, to a large extent, rate French University degrees higher than their own. To this end, most British and other European universities do not recognise degrees from African universities thus make those graduates take further ‘intensive’ diploma courses before entering into their originally intended programmes or degrees. But the high failure rate in the university colleges, however, failed to deter most Africans from pursuing further

attempts through correspondence courses, such as the Rapid Results Tutorial System of London. Some individual African businessmen/women were able to sponsor their children to study in European and American universities.

The British policy of affiliation of African University Colleges to British universities, combined with the opportunities for overseas studies by those Africans able to afford, though welcome, still left serious devastating effects on African higher education. First, affiliation obviously laid the foundation for the alienation of both African education and the educated African from the local African socio-economic and cultural realities. This was due to the fact that African education was completely based on foreign or European dictates and values, which were quite alien to the contextual problems and application of the African society. Higher education, in particular, was geared towards satisfying foreign requirements rather than meeting local demands and needs, since it was all focused on passing foreign examinations conducted by British universities and based on their needs and expectations. Second, affiliation also established the psychological training and belief within and of the African to accept that educational quality lay with the universities of the metropole, thus laying foundations for the periphery and dependent status of African higher education. Third, the knowledge and skills acquired by the educated African elite were never considered for local usage and application: African graduates returned to their communities not as social change-agents, but as academics who were ready to just 'write and talk' (Hargreaves, 1973) without tackling the problems faced by the people and their communities. They simply became 'office' people who shunned performing practical and 'dirty' work as was required of them – especially as engineers or agricultural scientists. However, affiliation and the progress made in the development of higher education began to change colonial policies on African education as a whole.

BRITISH COLONIAL HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY CHANGES – 1930S AND 1940S

The importance of higher education graduates to the future of the colonies – and to the British in their post-independence associations with their soon –to-be former colonies, became evident to the colonial government beginning in the 1930s. This sudden realisation thus turned the demand for higher education in SSA into a top priority of the government. Consequently, in 1932 the Advisory Committee appointed James Currie to head a sub-committee tasked to review anew the issue of higher education in British colonies in SSA. The Currie subcommittee later published its report in which it warned that "… the African thirst for higher education remains unabated, if this is not satisfied at home it can only lead to an increasing efflux of undergraduate African students towards universities of Europe and America" (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 49). Currie's Report not only represented the actual first signs of British assent to higher education in Africa, but it also hinted at the underlying danger of Britain losing both the loyalty as well as political and economic alliances with a

future educated African elite likely to assume leadership roles in the postcolonial era. More so, it indicated the gradual emergence of the United States as a formidable political rival at the international level that could no longer be ignored.

Equally troubling from the Currie Report, was the concern of the British about the growing young radical nationalists who had embraced Garveyism and Pan-Africanism while studying in America, including Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. While Garveyism preached against the illegal European occupation of Africa and its accompanying exploitation of the continent and its peoples, Pan-Africanism attempted to raise the consciousness of all continental and Diaspora Africans around the globe to unite in opposing racism, colonialism and black exploitation by European powers (Leney, 2003). These sudden developments hinted to the colonialists of their numbered days in Africa. Thus, there was the urgent need to build a cadre of loyal associates through higher education offerings. The immediacy of the situation compelled the advisory committee to begin to question the wisdom of Britain in subscribing to the adaptation of education to the African environment, a policy that was contained in the Phelps-Stokes Report of 1922. Until the beginning of the 1930s, British colonial officials had failed to address the question of education in their African colonies. The new realisation, however, prompted the move towards accepting the necessity for African educated elite.

However, unlike the French, Britain preferred to train its African elite in Africa – not in Britain. This strategy, perhaps, was designed to help Britain avoid any funding costs involved. That is, if Africans wanted higher education, then they had to pay for it themselves. Furthermore, if the universities were located in Africa, it provided the British the opportunity to dictate their course, nature and scope and credibility. This implied that African universities would completely come to rely on British academic institutions not only for all their operational requirements, but more so, for their approval and acceptance into the world university system, since the quality of academic standards required would be determined by British Universities. Once again, this confirms Philip Altbach's Centre – Periphery theory mentioned above, concerning Western and African universities. In other words, the policy to train its African elite inside SSA meant the colonisation of African higher education. This also created jobs and opportunities for British academics and graduates in African institutions, since the new African universities lacked the required trained personnel, critical resources and professional expertise needed for implementing their curriculum and administration. Building African universities inside SSA also gave the British the opportunity to influence the kind of academic and political training given to African students, since they were not in England to discover any discrepancies in the freedom of thinking and challenging authority in attempts at fostering critical thinking skills, and also the courses offered and administration styles that existed between the two institutions.

The most obvious implication of the British colonial policy was the fact that the decision to offer higher education to Africans inside SSA, and Africa in general,

meant that these institutions had to be built inside the region. But this decision, however, also meant that the nature of the university had to be modelled around the dictates and similarities of British universities, thus laying the foundation for the alienation of African universities from their local societies. The students were geared towards imbibing more European knowledge and values than those of their African cultural background. This kind of hiatus in academic and citizenship training from the early stages of the university system in SSA helped to develop and create later political leaders who cared less about the problems of their societies and people than their own selfish goals. It also created a gap between the use of the university as a source of social and economic development in SSA, thus, university graduates were not trained to become problem-solvers but just graduates with paper diplomas.

In the creation of these African universities, Currie's Report had recommended that university colleges should be made out of Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum as well as Makerere in Kampala, training students to the level of University Pass degrees. It emphasised the study of education focusing on producing teachers to meet the needs of the Sudan and East Africa. In West Africa, it recommended that Achimota in the Gold Coast and Yaba in Nigeria should be turned into university colleges, as well as Fourah Bay College which was to specialise in theology and education. To strengthen the case of the university colleges as recommended by the report, the advisory committee, in 1937 appointed the De La Warr Commission on higher education in SSA, which visited Uganda and proposed – again – that Makerere become a university college soon and later to be affiliated to London University, granting external degrees.

BRITISH COLONIAL HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES IN THE 1940S

At the beginning of the 1940s the Colonial Office in London became rather active and ready to promote efforts towards the establishment of universities in SSA. Thus, all of a sudden higher education which had been repeatedly ignored by colonial policy since the days of Horton, Blyden and Hayford, was now high priority on the colonial government's agenda. This time, the initiative rather came from London – not from Africans. Several reasons accounted for the sudden shift in government attitude toward higher education in SSA and for Africans. First, the British government had become aware and convinced that it was far more dangerous for Africans to continue to acquire higher education training from overseas, especially in America than to provide them with university facilities locally. As discussed above, the shifting of loyalties of the African elite who studied in America became a major concern at this time to the British who then decided to end any such further occurrences arising in their colonies. Second, even in Britain, the wisdom of indirect rule which had helped not only to keep the peace in the colonies but had also reduced administrative costs suddenly began to be questioned. It was realised at this time that the inadequate contributions of the local chiefs to the new system of parliamentary government and economy that required Western educational qualifications and literacy. The colonial

government, therefore, realised the need for allowing educated Africans into the mainstream of governance (Barnes, 2002).

Third, and perhaps the most important reason, was the Declaration of the famous Atlantic Charter by the Allied Powers of WWII in 1944, which reaffirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination, following the end of the War in 1945. The Charter, though later construed to apply to European countries, since Africans still had to fight for their independence, inspired Africans, especially the educated Africans now turned nationalists, to press harder for universities as part of African nationalism and self-rule. African demand for higher education centred on the training of Africans capable of taking over the administrative and technical jobs hitherto reserved for Europeans. This need showed the first signs of African dependency and professional and economic vulnerability that would lead to neo-colonialism in postcolonial Africa. African independence, therefore, would not mean true independence as conveyed by the word. The sudden interest from the Colonial Office in London helped to increase African demand for university education. In 1940, the government enacted its Development and Welfare Act, which made available funds for development projects in the colonies. Consequently, the government began to assert its control over policy and implementation in the colonies. In 1943, it appointed the Asquith Commission headed by Justice Cyril Asquith, to look into the establishment of university colleges to be affiliated to British Universities in the colonies (Leney, 2003).

The end of WWII in 1945 drove home to the government of the imminent possibility of independence in the colonies, especially following India's independence in 1947. It was realised that it was only a matter of time before Africans also became free hence Britain needed allies on whom to depend to continue their exploitative relationship with their African territories. The educated elite thus became important to the British since they were the most likely candidates – not the chiefs – to assume power following independence.

The Asquith Commission reported its findings following its investigations in East, West, and Central Africa. Its recommendations included inter alia:

- The colonial office focus on the need to ensure high quality education in the colonies to produce elites of good quality leaders.
- University colleges should aim to become centres of learning, promote research, be residential, and emphasise liberal arts and science above professional and vocational studies.
- It laid the basis for the Scheme for Special Relations between the University of London and the colonial university colleges, under the supervision of the International University Council for Higher Education (IUC) in the colonies. (Agbodeka, 1998, p. 16; Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 55).

The IUC was made responsible for allocating funds under the Colonial Welfare and Development Act, and also to process advertisements for the university colleges and recruit staff for them, mostly from British Universities. Agbodeka (1998) comments on this:

> So the stage was set, among other things, for a massive colonial educational infrastructural construction era, which coincided at least partly with the period of post-war job scarcity in the UK… We cannot but conclude that the British government opened an overseas job market around the Empire and no doubt did kill two birds with one stone. (p. 6)

The Special Relations Scheme suggested by the Asquith Commission also provided for the possibility of adaptation of the curriculum content of the degree programmes but in practice, the emphasis was on transplantation – not adaptation. This strategy, thus, did not only undermined the entire higher education system in the colonies by not relating it to local development, but it also alienated both the graduates and the knowledge gained from the African society and its needs. This situation deepened the dependency syndrome in SSA, with African universities becoming peripheral institutions even today, within the international university system.

In 1946 the Colonial Office agreed that any colony able to find the initial capital cost could establish its own university college. Consequently, the Gold Coast was allowed to build the University College at Legon, Accra, with one million pounds sterling from the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) funds. It opened its doors on October 11, 1948 with ninety-two students as a residential institution. It would later add the Kumasi College of Technology which also would become the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology as the second university of the country. However, this strategy of the colonial government was an indirect attempt to shift the bulk of the cost of building the university colleges onto the colonies. This exercise not only helped to deplete any meagre funds left by the colonial administration going into independence, but it also made African universities completely dependent upon the central government for any future funding needs. More so, since the curriculum was a direct transplantation of British academic requirements in Africa, it was clear that the university colleges established very little or no relations whatsoever, with local African industries and businesses to promote social and economic growth inside SSA. This negative trend has since continued into the postcolonial era and into the 21st century.

The Asquith Report, however, resulted in a number of higher education institutions being established through the agency of a combination of British government finance, through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and British University expertise in the form of the IUC for Higher Education. The graduates of the university colleges received their degrees from the University of London, on the basis of their affiliation to the university. The IUC also had the responsibility of setting the examination standards for the university colleges. The latter, therefore, concentrated more on passing the required examinations than combining academic knowledge and skills to produce graduates capable of applying the knowledge gained in the society. Thus, African universities began to focus more on the teaching and learning of theory than the application of the same. Indeed, the university colleges became examinations-orientated than anything else.

The Asquith Colleges included the University College of Ghana, the University College of Sierra Leone, the University Colleges of Ibadan, Khartoum, Makerere, Nairobi (after upgrading the Royal Technical College at Nairobi), the segregated College of Salisbury (later the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland), and the University College of Dar es Salaam (Effah, 2003). These institutional establishments, all of them occurring in the late 1940s into the 1960s began the African university education system within the British colonies. Thus, on the eve of independence some form of higher education at the university level was in place in most of the British colonies in SSA. Its rigour and quality was comparable to that of the metropole (Brock-Utne, 2000).

CONCLUSION

The discussion presented above, confirms that in all the British colonies of Africa higher education came rather late. These institutions were built in the latter half of the 20th century hence they have since not had adequate time at their disposal to build their own academic traditions (Altbach, 2003). The late arrival of higher education has also resulted in the creation of manpower and economic dependency on former colonial powers in postcolonial SSA, whereby expertise in most areas of scientific and technological needs is imported from Western countries, because the universities that were supposed to help develop such manpower needs were not given priority on the agendas of the European colonialists. The colonial roots of higher education in SSA, therefore, have rendered such institutions dependent upon Western academic dictates and practices in regards to curricular and administrative structures, in their struggle to meet the Western academic standards required of them. Despite the fact that post-independence African universities are now autonomous and thus capable of issuing their own university degrees, still almost all of them continue to adhere to the academic systems and structures left by the colonialists. Consequently, some European universities, including those of Great Britain, such as the University of London, continue to perceive the universities of their former colonies as second-class universities since the latter institutions were created by them. Thus, graduates from African universities are made to undergo special one-year "post-graduate diploma" degree training, before being allowed to pursue their originally intended degree programmes, with the excuse that the one-year post-graduate diploma degree is required to assess the ability of these graduates to pursue higher degree programmes in the United Kingdom.

The history of higher education in colonial SSA, as discussed above, indicates that the goal for establishing such institutions was not aimed at the development of Africans and their societies, unlike those of Europe, instead it was designed to establish the African elite who were the likely candidates to assume the public and government positions vacated by the colonialists after independence. These institutions, therefore, were not established as autonomous academic sites, to foster

independent thought and critical thinking skills in students, but to be used to continue to serve the economic and political interests of Europeans, through the elites, in the postcolonial era. The universities were built not only on the colonial principles and ideologies of European interests, but they were also patterned on European models of higher education. This strategy made adaptation of such institutions to the African society rather difficult thus alienating the African university graduates from their society and people, since the curriculum reflected foreign knowledge and values. The universities, therefore, continue to remain white elephants – to a large extent – and ivory towers in the African society due to their inability to assist in the improvement of the quality of life and standard of living of their people and the development of their societies through advancements in scientific and technological innovations. The mission and role of African universities in the development of African societies, therefore, have not been realised due to the lingering colonial influences which compel them to focus more on examinations and the teaching and learning of more theory than practical application of the knowledge acquired, to allow the graduates to become problem-solvers of their various societies.

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12. REFORMS WITHOUT EXPECTED RESULTS?

Result-Based Monitoring and Evaluation in Nigeria's Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

All over the world, education has been acknowledged as an important element for advancement. In the words of South Africa's late statesman, Nelson Mandela – "Education is the most powerful weapon which can change the world." This makes it a key instrument for harnessing opportunities in a developing country like Nigeria which has a large youth population. Thus, education is a critical sector in the quest for development, but even more important is the quality and relevance of education in building postcolonial Nigeria in the 21st century. Therefore, the nature, quality and relevance of education, and more specifically, higher education (although it seemed to have beenneglected in the framing of the just ended 2015 Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] and the newly introduced 2030 Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs]), may in many ways shape the future of many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). This chapter reflects on the need and nature of reforms in the sector and argues that results of the reforms must be tracked to demonstrate the extent to which they have enabled the actualisation of identified policy objectives. Failure to track results from reforms, may have dire consequences as the crisis in the educational sector may be prolonged and ultimately contribute to creating more complexities in the educational sector. This may also spill into the economic, social and political sectors impacting the developmental agenda of Nigeria.

After a range of policy reforms and frames such as the MDGs were introduced to ensure the attainment of policy objectives, the track record of countries in SSA could suggest that often, these reforms do not necessary achieve the desired results (such as the attainment of the United Nations' MDGs, which were targeted to have been achieved by 2015), and the education sector is no different. For educational reform and restructuring to be real and effective, it needs to be properly monitored, evaluated and underpinned by a results-based approach. Thus, in the post-MDGs era, discourse around educational quality and relevance is to ensure that the results expected from various reforms are well articulated, so that they are recognisable after they are achieved. If the result-based approach is not embraced, we may end up with numerous policy reforms and related activities without the requisite results, and education will be executed just for the sake of providing education.

E. Shizha & N. Makuvaza (Eds.), Re-thinking Postcolonial Education in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 21st Century, 221–239.

In the context of the 21st century global space, this chapter is anchored within some postcolonial discourses and attempts a re-thinking of, as well as, re-engagement with identified pertinent educational issues, in postcolonial Nigeria. Thus, the chapter presents a synopsis of the Nigerian state and a historical account of the nature of higher education reforms, especially during Nigeria's third attempt at democratic rule in 1999. It proceeds to identify and review key reforms in the higher education landscape in Nigeria in the last few decades and argues that it looks as though the reforms have not achieved the expected results; with graduates ill prepared for the job market while Nigerian universities are doing very poorly in the global university rankings. A case is made to change current approach to a result-based monitoring and evaluation (M&E) approach to keep activities focused on set targets and agreed outcomes. By so doing, policy makers will ensure that the intended goals are indeed achieved and that the investment in higher education is commensurate with the expected outcomes. Finally, recommendations are made to assist sector leaders in ensuring that higher education is well placed to serve the Nigerian nation state in achieving its developmental vision and to "end poverty in all its forms" and "promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all" as stated in the SDGs (Report of the Secretary-General, 2016).

BACKGROUND TO NIGERIA'S POSTCOLONIAL EDUCATION

Education is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Quality education provides opportunities for individuals and countries to fully maximise their potential while contributing to sustainable development. Education is, thus, a critical sector if postcolonial SSA is to fully actualise its potential, and even more so for Nigeria, if it is to leverage its position as Africa's largest economy. From the 1950s to early 1990s, the Nigerian educational sector produced millions of highly skilled human resources to meet the needs of the Nigerian economy as well as supply excess labour to the international labour market. However, in the last few decades, higher education enrolment figures have dropped to a very modest 4% of the relevant age cohort. This level compares poorly with economic competitors such as South Africa with 17% (Sainta, Hartnett, & Strassner, 2003), thus access remains a higher education reform challenge for Nigeria.

A critical cross-cutting outcome of Nigeria's higher education, in the early post-independence decades, was its output quality with requisite graduate attributes such as problem solving, hard work, and focus, amongst others. Thus, Nigeria had indeed established a well-regarded higher education system offering instruction of an international standard in a number of disciplinary areas. However, with the on-set of unstable political, economic and social climate in Nigeria, especially in the early 1990s and thereafter, the educational system began to suffer neglect (Ibukun, 1997), thus forcing many of these professionals, including academics to seek opportunities outside of the country and indeed outside of the continent. Decades later, the Nigerian

educational system is yet to attain the glory of its earlier years. In the past two and a half decades (mid 1990–2016) there have been concerns about the quality of higher education, with critics arguing that it has dropped significantly. Sainta et al. (2003) attribute the degeneration to successive military governments during the 1980s and 1990s. Ezekwesili (2006) acknowledges this increasing dysfunction of the education system and called for a wide range of reforms.

The wide range of higher education reforms that were introduced include attempts at improving access, improving the quality of teaching and learning and improving the governance structures (Ekundayo & Ajayi, 2009). Generally, these reforms sought to address the neglect that the educational system had suffered during the era of military rule. Accordingly, some of the reforms focused on infrastructure, planning for the demand for education, accreditation-related issues, non-benchmarking with international best practices, staff pay, autonomy of institutions, quality leadership and management, accountability, curriculum relevance, and graduate quality (Akindutire, 2004; Ochuba, 2009). Despite the reforms, the effects of the degradation in the educational sector have had devastating outcomes, long after the end of the military era and well into the present day. This may have negatively impacted on postcolonial Nigeria's developmental agendas and the MDGs set that were introduced in 2000 and expired in 2015.

A HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SYNOPSIS

This section seeks to provide a brief social and political background of Nigeria in order to allow for a better contextualisation of the arguments presented. Nigeria has a huge population estimated at over 170 million and is heavily dependent on the exploitation of natural resources, especially crude oil and liquefied natural gas. The country is also a member of Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and is currently Africa's largest country by population and also Africa's largest economy having surpassed South Africa in 2014 (Africa Ranking, 2016).

Integral to this discourse of postcolonial reform in the Nigerian State, is the macro political climate which impacts the policies and policy reforms. Nigeria has had only a few democratic governments compared to military rule. The first democratic attempt was Nigeria's elected government post the independence era (1960). According to Robert (1981), Nigeria was a democratic state in the first years after independence and one of the few genuine federal systems in the world. Democratic rule lasted from 1960–1966 when the government was overthrown by a military coup that brought in General Agui Ironsi as Head-of-State followed by the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970. At the end of the war, specifically between 1970 and 1979, Nigeria was again led by several military heads of state, including Generals Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Muhammed and Olusegun Obasanjo who subsequently handed over to a civilian government in 1979.

The second attempt at democratic rule, lasted from 1979–1983 with the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) led government, headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Once

more, the democratic government was sacked through a military coup (led by Major General Muhammadu Buhari) who governed the Nigerian Republic from December 1983–August 1985. He was in turn removed via a palace coup, and there were more many counter coups with Nigeria only returning to democratic rule in 1999. Finally, another attempt at democracy in 1999 brought into power, President Olusegun Obasanjo, this time as a self-proclaimed, reformed democrat. He democratically handed over power to Umaru Musa Yar Adua, who unfortunately died in office and his term was completed by his deputy, Goodluck Jonathan who remained in power until 2015, when he lost through the electoral ballot to current President Muhammadu Buhari.

From the above, it can be derived that substantial periods of Nigeria's post-independence governance has been under military rule (well over 25 years). Military rule by nature stifle democratic tendencies as they do not respond to societal preferences, nurture citizen participation, or embrace accountability but rather they are authoritarian, oppress civil liberties and suspend the constitution. In the process, the Nigerian military neglected sectors like education, but even in some of the previous democratic regimes, for example, under Alhaji Shehu Shagari (1979–1983), an attempt at democracy lacked leadership and direction. To many Nigerians, it seemed like the elected government of the day was only interested in enriching themselves, and thus, was not focused on the development agenda and investing in key sectors like education. Corruption became institutionalised and most sectors including the higher education sector lacked the necessary investment, leadership and accountability.

OVERVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS IN NIGERIA

It would appear as if reforms and continuous policy changes in the Nigerian higher education sector were geared towards resolving a host of challenges (Omopupa & Issa, 2013). The history of Nigeria's higher education dates back to 1932 with the establishment of the Yaba Higher College (Ike, 1976). Following that, a number of commissions were set up by government to lead on reforms. The Elliot Commission established by the colonial government, made key recommendations which primarily focused on the establishment of many more universities at federal and state government levels, thus between 1960–1990, Nigeria's first University College of Ibadan was established and subsequently many others. It must be said, that at this stage, the higher education sector provided for adequate access and Nigeria's quality of higher education was well respected globally.

In the 1990s, higher education in Nigeria began to create a crisis of confidence in its quality (Adamu, 2011). Furthermore, between 1990–1997, Harnett (2000) noted that investment in higher education sector significantly declined, adding that the universities suffered progressive erosion in the purchasing power of their budgets, and the allocations to higher education declined by 27% – even as enrolments grew by 79%. Furthermore, there were governance related concerns as university

autonomy was usurped by central government, incentives and rewards for research productivity, teaching excellence and associated innovation gradually disappeared, and accountability declined. In an attempt to reverse these ills, there were calls for more reforms as governance had to be improved and strengthened at institutional level and at related agencies, such as, the Nigerian Universities Commission.

Post 1990s, with increasing demand for access to higher education (from 15,000 in 1970 to 1.2 Million in 2013 (Adeyemi & Adeyemi, 2012), there have been several attempts to strengthen higher education and a number of reforms were introduced. The need and possible value of these reforms is not in doubt, according to Ajayi and Ayodele (2004), higher education is in travail. The system is riddled with crises of various magnitude and dimensions, thus various reforms were introduced.

Focus on Outcome

The 2004 national policy on education, declares the intentions of government as geared towards the use of education as a tool for developing relevant and well trained capacity in pursuance of national utility and self-reliance through reforms (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). The policy reform intentions were concise and a good fit in terms of their relevance in Nigeria's postcolonial discourse. However, present day Nigeria, is struggling to deal with the challenge of university graduates who are not self-reliant as was expected and who lack the requisite skills set, hence employers show a preference for foreign trained graduates. Thus, the key question is what went wrong? With the reforms in place, why was the intended outcome not achieved? There may have been slight gains, or perhaps some 'movements,' but these have clearly fallen short and not yielded the anticipated results. The focus was short term and somewhat crisis management in order to deliver on outputs rather than the long term results/outcomes as contained in the policy documents.

Focus on Access

The Educational Reform Act of 2007 was designed to improve the capacity of universities, particularly given their ability to accommodate a vast number of applicants (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007). In 2009, a road map which isolated key access as a priority area (Egwu, 2009) was presented. In this regard, reform attention was focused on managing the demand for admission (in many instances without commensurate attention on the capacity of the universities to accommodate such large numbers of students). In terms of access, the road map showed that capacity to enrol had to be pegged at 150,000. This accounted for only about 19% of over one million candidates seeking university placements yearly. In the polytechnics, only 58% (158,370 of 300,000) could be accommodated, while in the Colleges of Education only 34% (118,129 of over 250,000) could be accommodated (Abdulkareem & Fasasi, 2012). This meant that the tertiary education sector could barely accommodate about 400,000 from the over 1,500,000 possible entrants,

seeking access to higher education. This clearly signalled that the capacity of universities to take on many more students as envisaged in the reform needed to be further enhanced. Part of the reforms from 2011–2013, was the establishment of 13 new federal universities. Currently, there are 128 universities of which 51 are private universities. With the new universities, access was slightly improved but the requisite staff capacity needed to be enhanced. With limited capacity, it was only a matter of time before the quality would be compromised.

Focus on Highly Skilled Academic Expertise

Egwu (2009) appropriately observes that quality offering at tertiary level required availability of appropriate staff, yet statistics showed that universities only had 58% of required staff while polytechnics had 42% and Colleges of Education had 43%. Shu'ara (2010) also claims that there was academic staff shortage in the critical areas of science and technology, over 60% of academic staff were in the lecturer 1 and below category. There were also issues around brain drain in the sector, as Nigerian academics left the sector and migrated to many well-resourced universities across the globe. According to Akindutire (2004), institutional deterioration and salary erosion prompted substantial brain drain and impeded new staff recruitment. Furthermore, a system-wide audit that was conducted showed that despite the reforms aimed at strengthening capacity, universities employed more non-academic staff than academic staff. With academics totalling 27,394 and non-academic totalling 72,070 resulted in a ratio of 1 academic staff to 2.6 non-academic staff (Jaja, 2013; Shu'ara, 2010). Thus, although Nigeria is Africa's largest country with 20% of the region's population, Nigeria has only 15 scientists and engineers engaged in research and development per million persons. This compares with 168 in Brazil, 459 in China and 4,103 in the United States at the beginning of the 21st century (World Bank, 2002). All of the above, continue to have huge implications on quality of the academic programmes offered, and show that the reforms have not brought about the expected results.

Focus on Governance

The pressure for access entrenched a culture of corruption in public universities, with Vice Chancellors and senior administrators, in some cases, reserving spaces for friends and family. In an effort to counter these challenges in the system, the Educational Reform Act of 2007, committed to restructuring the fragmented nature of governance (which consisted of Nigerian Universities Commission, the National Board of Technical Education, and the National Commission for Colleges of Education). All of these were consolidated and merged into what is now called the Tertiary Education Commission, an independent and external body charged with coordination of the entire higher education system and thus responding to quality issues as well as the orderly management of university processes (Ibukun, 1997).

The Tertiary Education Trust provides guidelines for accreditation of courses, approval of academic programmes, maintenance of academic standards, monitoring of universities, technical and colleges of education, providing guidelines for the setup of higher institutions and the implementation of appropriate sanctions (Okojie, 2007; Ubulom & Okubotimibi, 2013; Varghese, 2013). Internal governance was also strengthened and consisted of the governing council, led by the Pro-Chancellor, the Senate led by the Vice Chancellor were expected to implement the guidelines provided by the supervising agencies. However, critics argue that the powers of the Vice-Chancellors are being eroded by the council and by politicians who sometimes seek to interfere in the day to day management of the affairs of the university.

Focus on Infrastructure

The 2007 Educational Reform Act committed to improve funding to universities in the area of infrastructural and instructional facilities (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007). Educational challenges were further aggravated by the less than appropriate teaching and learning infrastructure, most of which was dilapidated and overcrowded due to inadequate funding (Oyeneye, 2006). A report presented by Shu'ara (2010) showed that education sector budget was only 7% of the overall budget in 2009 and it dropped to 6.45% of the overall budget in 2010. It was only a matter of time before these challenges further eroded the quality of programming in Nigerian Universities. Aina (2002) notes that given the current expenditure, education ranked lowly as a developmental priority. Thus, when the world university rankings were published in 2015, the same year that the MDGs expired, no Nigerian university was profiled in the top 600. University of Ibadan was ranked 601, behind a number of other African universities.

Years following the implementation of these reforms, the key question is whether the reforms have been effective, borne the expected results and can indeed contribute to the Nigerian development agenda including the internationally acclaimed SDGs. An analysis of the implementation of the reforms shows that in terms of the reforms to improve governance, and following the Magna Charta Universitatum (1998), universities in Nigeria have become autonomous, free from over-regulation and subject to more accountability measures (Varghese, 2013), although there are still limitations (Education International, 2007). Prior to the reforms, the appointment and removal of the Vice Chancellor was done by the President. At the moment, appointment is done by a council from a list sent of appointable candidates (Varghese, 2013). There is also, still a huge shortage in terms of financial investment in the sector. According to Ekundayo and Ajayi (2009), it has been a mixed fortune, with declining library, laboratory facilities, lecture halls, offices and hostels all inadequate to service the large numbers of students. Ubulom and Okubotimibi (2013) sum up the state of implementation of educational reforms in Nigeria as having a mixed fortune due to the fact that:

- Reforms never indeed made it past the planning stage;
- They encountered implementation challenges; and
- They failed to achieve the expected impact.

With Ibukun (1997) describing it as nothing but crisis management at best, what this suggests is that reforms that have been adopted do not mean that they will automatically be effectively implemented, and thus beyond the adoption of reforms, ways that improve implementation should be highlighted. These elements are well documented in policy implementation debates as the three generations of policy implementation research. Against this background, this chapter posits that Nigeria's higher education can be restored to its glorious days with the adoption of the result-based M&E approach. The next section explores the results-based M&E approach as presenting an opportunity for improving public sector reforms.

RESULT-BASED MONITORING AND EVALUATION: CONCEPT CRYSTALISATION

This section, presents a concise discourse on result-based M&E as a practical approach to enhancing the effectiveness of reforms in the pursuit of important developmental goals in postcolonial Nigeria. In the recent past, there has been a visible attempt in many developing countries to develop or reform appropriate regulatory policy instruments to guide governmental activities. While many of these policy reform strategies seem almost faultless on paper, these have not necessarily been translated to deliverables or met the policy goals that were identified. Higher education in Nigeria is one such sector. What this suggests is that even the best policy reforms can fail, if they are not closely monitored and appropriately evaluated, hence, the value of the result-based policy M&E approach. However, currently, there exists a wide gap between intentions of policy makers and institutional performance (Ile, Eresia-Eke, & Allen-Ile, 2012).

Results-based M&E approach attempts to broaden the focus of traditional management in any sector, including in higher education, ensuring that programmes and activities are outcome focused. This is done by ensuring that attention is paid not only to processes and systems, but also to activities so that they remain focused on policy goals or objectives to ensure their realisation. In other words, policy makers should not just focus on efficiency and effectiveness, such as building a library but more importantly assess whether intended results or objectives have been duly achieved. That is, is the newly built library now providing adequate resources to support the students in their academic journey? The result-based approach is all about ensuring that the end goal or policy goal is achieved. The institution or adoption of a results-based M&E philosophy in an organisation must necessarily be preceded by a good understanding of what results mean. A result is an observable and describable change in the state that arises from a cause-effect relationship. This definition of results highlights:

- the importance of some kind of transformation from an old, unacceptable state to a new desirable state of affairs;
- the fact that the so-called change or transformation must be observable and describable, even if it is not necessarily tangible; and
- the new state of affairs that has come into existence, because of some intervening action (that may be deliberate or accidental).

Results may have a number of different features. For instance, results may:

- appear within a short time or take a long time to be realised;
- be planned or unforeseen;
- be either positive or negative; and
- be manifest at the level of individuals, groups, society etc.

Results-based M&E focuses on tracking the realisation of positive changes which are evidence of some form of improvements or some form of development. It aims to improve effectiveness of interventions, whether they are policies, programmes, and projects based on the cardinal principles of transparency and broad-based participation (Kusek & Rist, 2004). According to Kusek and Rist (2004), the results-based management approach entails engaging relevant stakeholders in the process of:

- defining and creating mutual understanding of what intended results are;
- employing appropriate tools of M&E to establish the extent of progress made towards realising intended results, this could include involvement of stakeholders in M&E processes; and
- reporting on performance with a view to learning from them and making improved managerial decisions.

According to the United Nations Development Group (2011), the results-based management approach demands profuse attention to issues of planning, monitoring as well as evaluation. The need for proper planning cannot be over-emphasised as this is often the basis for any form of goal-directed activity in the organisation. Adequate planning would not only provide a clear definition of expected results but also present the blueprint of action for attaining the results. If a plan is not well-thought out, then organisational focus is blurred and subsequent reform activities are unlikely to produce desired results. Good planning is therefore non-negotiable, if developmental changes, in the sense of meaningful results from the reform are to be realised. The results-based management approach should be thought of as a cyclical process which comprises five key components (UNDP, 2009):

Envisioning

This means clear articulation of the desired or dream state of affairs; it is the ultimate state which the individual, the organisation or the government wishes to realise through the reform. Crafting a vision should be done in an inclusive way as much as

possible. This will ensure that a strong vision community is created to support the vision. The Nigerian experience shows that vision crafting should not be solely left to the relevant ministry, as this is insufficient. Doing so lacks ownership from the relevant stakeholders.

Results Definition

While the vision is often relatively broad, defining results helps to translate the vision into more specific and measurable terms. For instance, Nigeria's 2004 National Policy on Education, crafts a vision geared towards the use of education as a tool for developing relevant and well trained capacity in pursuance of national utility and self-reliance through reforms. While relevant in the postcolonial development discourse, it would be much clearer if the anticipated results are clearly conceptualised and captured succulently, in which case, the realisation of certain interim results become pointers to the fact that higher education is on track to realising the ultimate reform results.

Planning for Monitoring and Evaluation

Ample attention needs to be focussed on efforts relating to developing sets of actions that would aid the M&E of activities and results that emerge from them. This should not be an after-thought and hurried activity. Keeping a tab on progress is just as important as the execution of mainstream reform activities. This is so, because proper M&E provides evidence that the right things, as defined by the results are being done. In the Nigerian context, while there is evidence of planning for select reform activities, there is little or no evidence that detailed M&E plans were developed prior to implementation of reforms.

Planning for M&E helps to shed light on a number of issues that are often taken for granted in government departments that claim to undertake M&E of their reforms. Planning for M&E outlines very systematically, the activities of M&E that must be undertaken at different times in the life of the reforms. It also reveals the resource requirements, in terms of human, material, financial and other resources that may be required in order to effectively undertake M&E. In many cases, because there is no early preparation made for M&E, it is not well integrated into the planning phase of the reforms. For instance, provisions are never made for dedicated personnel, finance and materials for the M&E activity itself. Like other endeavours or activities in the organisation, M&E requires resources. The consequence of a lack of resources is that even when the willingness to undertake M&E exists, it is unfortunately hamstrung by the unavailability of requisite resources.

Execution of Monitoring and Evaluation Activities

Once a good plan for M&E has been developed, all that needs to be done is to undertake relevant activities in accordance with the blueprint. The span of these

activities might range from the identification of indicators, the determination of baselines and targets, the sourcing and collection of data, the analysis of the data and the reporting of performance-information. In the Nigeria's higher education reform, it would appear that there was insufficient focus on the M&E of reform activities as this was not evidenced by detailed M&E activity plans and/or reports.

Managing Monitoring and Evaluation Information

M&E activities ultimately generate information which helps managers determine how well or how poorly they are performing in a particular regard. If this information is not utilised to improve performance or reward satisfactory behaviour, then it is not being used properly. Managers have to commit to using information generated by M&E systems, and manage this information in such a way as to ensure improved organisational reform or performance. To get the anticipated results, Shu'ran (2013) argues that there needs to de-politicisation of data management and improved transparency to ensure that quality of data is safeguarded, as current performance of reforms may be hazy due to inadequate, incomplete, irregular data and weak management systems, including information and communication technology.

At the epicentre of the macro and micro activities that make up the results-base management life-cycle are the stakeholders. In order for the result based M&E approach to be effectively implemented, stakeholder participation is important. The reason is that results are meaningful in so far as they address certain concerns of stakeholders, especially those who are expected to be central beneficiaries of the reforms. In fact, the result-based M&E approach is hinged on participation of stakeholders and is really geared towards bringing about stakeholder satisfaction, through the delivery of agreed-upon results.

According to the United Nations Development Group (2011), the result-based M&E approach is particularly striking as it enables institutions or organisations to:

- demonstrate more clearly to stakeholders, the results that they are achieving, from time to time;
- mobilise required resources and to ensure that these resources are allocated and utilised in the most productive ways to achieve results; and
- improve their overall decision-making through learning from reports generated through M&E. The natural consequence of which is improved performance and better realisation of results.
- increase stakeholder-confidence by involving them to varying extents in the reforms and demonstrating incontrovertibly that expected results are being realised.

There is no gainsaying the fact that results-based management approach can truly benefit policy reforms, relevant organisations and those they serve.

INSTITUTIONALISING RESULT-BASED MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The adoption of the result-based approach has been adopted in Kenya (Varghese, 2013) as a key reform strategy, with performance contracts based on performance criteria, selected indicators and targets. Such, an approach could strengthen Nigeria's higher education sector. Even when a number of commissions were constituted over the years, including the 1991 Grey-Longe Commission and the Etsu-Nupe Commission in 1996, and others in the post 1999 era (including the Ijalaye Commission) all geared towards resolving the higher education challenges, especially the issues of access (Ekundayo & Ajayi, 2009) and quality, the results are far from desirable. Indeed, the post 1999 era showed more commitment and constituted more policy and institutional reforms than the combined governments in the previous decades. These reform initiatives as contained in the 2004, 2007, and 2011 policy reforms (Akindutire, 2004; Ekundayo & Ajayi, 2009; Ezekwesili, 2006; Ochuba, 2009) include:

- institutional audits of all universities and associated agencies;
- resuscitation of the National Open University of Nigeria; and
- teachers registration;
- National Certificate of Education (NCE) as the minimum teaching qualification;
- revocation of the vice –chancellors former privilege of personally selecting 10% of each year's student intake;
- introduction of information Communication Technology (ICT) for teaching, learning and research;
- improving the functioning of university councils and re-constitution of all university governing councils with broader representation;
- licensing of several private universities;
- exemption of university staff from public service salary scales and regulations ;
- increase in the funding of Universities;
- improving curriculum relevance;
- development of appropriate policies;
- re-focus the role of Nigerian Universities Commission on quality assurance and coordination of the entire system; and
- the amalgamation of University, Technical and Colleges of Education Commissions into the Tertiary Education Commission & the Tertiary education trust fund of the 2011 Act.

These reforms over the years seemed comprehensive on paper but implementation has in some cases been less than desired. Yusuf and Yusuf (2009) argue that previous educational reforms had been implemented half-heartedly or abandoned at inception. With poor reform implementation, the world university rankings for 2015 featured no Nigerian University in the top 600. This suggests that reform- associated-results need to be vigorously improved through a result-based approach. According to Abdulkareem and Fasasi (2012), reform is a change in improvement in existing

practice. Reform in higher education, therefore, implies a change and improvement in different aspects of education at tertiary level. A wholesale adoption of the result-based approach will ensure that institutions and agencies are pulling in the same direction, with clearly defined goals and timeframes.

Currently, it appears as if in an attempt to resolve the reform issue, the Nigerian government seems to be 'throwing some money' at the problem through enhanced government grants for capital. Although, critics such as Ajayi and Ekundayo (2006) argue that the Nigerian Government investments towards education fall short of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which recommends that investments towards education should be 26% of the total budget allocation, in the recent past, it has been between 6–8%. With this kind of investment, how would Nigeria have succeeded in achieving the MDGs on education and development? While, the investment in the sector could be better, the main challenge is that the return on investment made has been poor hence, it has not borne the expected MDGs and result. Therefore, things have to be done differently when implementing the newly introduced SDGs, through the adoption of the result-based approach as a strategy for operationalising reforms. In the Nigerian higher education, as with most developmental work, M&E should aid performance and improve service delivery. Indeed, when it is obvious to people or organisations, that their performance is being tracked in a transparent manner, performance tends to increase. This is the value that M&E brings to the realm of higher education and development work. When the methodology for doing this is the results-based M&E approach, the direction and probability of success defined as the achievement of results, is even higher.

Good M&E systems are created using a participatory approach that pools the ideas and concerns of key stakeholders. In Nigeria's higher education, quality remains a key concern and is well documented (Moja, 2000). This has led to a high rate of unemployment amongst graduates, thus aggravating stakeholders. An institutionalised result-based approach equips the system, on the one hand, to deliver performance information that adequately addresses the concerns of these key stakeholders, and on the other hand, adopting a participatory approach to building M&E system helps the organisation to get buy-in from stakeholders and establish a consensus as to what the expected results ought to be. It is the opinion of Kusek and Rist (2004) that a good M&E system must be based upon four key elements: ownership, management, maintenance and credibility.

Ownership

Like any item of value, an M&E system only serves its purpose adequately when the system is accepted by all those who bear certain responsibilities in it or demand information from it. Ownership should not be seen as being vested in a single manager or even a tiny group of persons. If the system is created on the basis of the recommended participatory approach, then those who made contributions

in building the system are likely to take ownership and therefore support it. For example, lessons can be drawn from the governance reforms in higher education in Nigeria as it seems to have brought about the inclusivity in governance, with more democratic and committee driven processes, thus providing ample opportunity for ownership and broader participation. However, beyond involvement in processes, a case and argument are made for stakeholder involvement in the conceptualisation, development and ownership of an effective M&E system. These include students, academics, administrators, policy makers and representatives of state agencies.

Management

For the M&E system to serve the purpose for which it was created, responsibilities for different aspects of it must be carefully delineated and assigned. In this regard, the M&E system should clarify the role of students and lecturers in providing feedback for decision making as well as other important constituencies in various university activities. If M&E processes are not clearly spelt out, responsibility-overlaps can occur and greatly hamper the functioning of the system because they may instigate conflict. The basic managerial functions of planning, organising, leading and controlling must permeate all of the activities of such a system for it to be efficacious. The institutions should provide incentives for key role players, (not necessarily financial) for those who discharge their responsibilities well, in the M&E system. Likewise, where role players fail to deliver on the expected and it impacts on the M&E system, their performance should be adequately managed through training or/and coaching.

Maintenance

A system that is poorly maintained breaks down easily and frequently, so much so, that its full value is not actualised. An M&E system that is not properly maintained will become moribund and useless quickly. One of the ways that the system can be maintained is to ensure that information needs are reviewed from time to time and changes are made to keep performance-related information generated by the M&E system useful. Another way is to ensure that the skills and knowledge of those that bear responsibility for different elements of the system, such as data collection, data analysis, indicator selection, reporting, evaluation, etc., are updated through training and/or other interventions from time to time.

Credibility

Result-based data must be credible and credibility is about trustworthiness. Data obtained by the system must be reliable and valid in order for the system to be trusted for the all-important purpose of decision-making. Information generated by the M&E system should be accurate. Shu'ara (2010) strongly presents the case of

poor quality of data and the extent to which it is heavily politicised in the Nigerian education sector. Ideally, the system must be allowed to independently generate correct information whether it announces poor performance or good performance. Either way, the performance-related information generated by the system helps the organisation to learn, so as to improve performance. To ensure that leaders of institutions and reforms remain results-focussed, it is advisable to construct what is commonly described as a 'results chain'. A results chain shows logically, the manner in which results are expected to be realised. It depicts in a graphic manner, the relationship between results on the one hand, and the resources necessary for achieving them, on the other. Typically, the results chain provides for a greater understanding of the *means* and the *ends* of a reform initiative. With the results chain, it becomes easy to interrogate the reform at its embryonic stages with a view to determining if there is reasonable logic that suggests that the means would generate the results.

The customary results chain is made up of five key elements as shown in Figure 12.1. These elements are the *inputs*, the *activities*, the *outputs*, the *outcomes* and the *impacts*. The inputs and activities can be categorised as the *means* of the reform. The results of undertaking the activities which consume the inputs are then the output, the outcome and the impact. So in essence, results in terms of developmental reforms can be seen at three different levels (UN, 2009). These are the levels of outputs, outcomes and impacts.

An input describes a resource usually human, material, physical or financial that is required for the execution of the reform activities. In trying to identify inputs, the question must be asked: "What shall we *put in*"? We simply reverse the two words that make up the word, *Input*. Activities generally relate to the process of transformation or consumption of the inputs which is aimed at generating an output. To identify activities, the use of the project management tool called the work breakdown structure, which breaks down activities into manageable bits, can

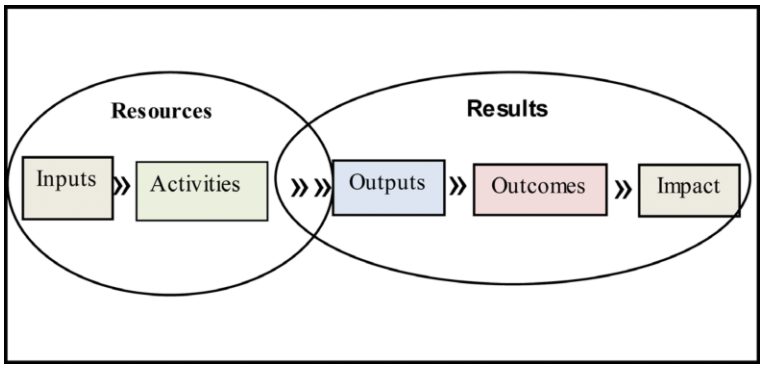

Figure 12.1. Results chain

be useful. Key to its fulfilment is the identification of meaningful activities and sub-activities, ensuring effective utilisation of earmarked resources and leading to expected outputs being realised.

The output in the process is the first level of results achievement because it heralds an observable change arising from a cause-effect relationship. An output is the answer to the question: What have we achieved from undertaking all the activities and utilising all the resources? Otherwise, we should ask ourselves: What have we been able to *put out* there? Outputs are the direct consequences of the consumption of resources and completion of all reform activities. A good example of these would be the availability of instructional materials and resources in university libraries, as this remains a major challenge which Moja (2000) argues would be even more serious at higher education levels as most of the books are imported at high prices which are unaffordable to the average student.

The next level of results is that of outcomes. This is really the crux of the matter. If we are to reimagine higher education in the postcolonial 21st century context, we must be clear of the expected outcomes that we are pursuing and the result of reforms implemented. Outcomes usually relate to the behavioural changes in the lives of the targeted beneficiaries of the outputs. An outcome is what will *come out* of the reform that has been executed in a particular sector or setting. An outcome tends to address the question of how the lives of targeted beneficiaries have changed because of a completed reform. The ultimate level of results is the impact. At this level, the concern is with larger society and not just the higher education sector. An impact attempts to describe how the reform has improved the lot of the larger society. It tends to address the question of how society has become better because of the sustained changes in behaviour of the targeted beneficiaries. Put differently, the whole point of reforms and improved result-based M&E, in the Nigeria sector, is to track and assess the extent to which it is contributing to the developmental goals of the postcolonial Nigerian state. In effect, the realisation of the educational reforms Acts of 2004, 2007 and 2011 highlight the need for a postcolonial educational sector that provides quality instruction, enriched learning environment and access that provides students with the requisite values, skills and knowledge to advance Nigeria in the 21st century.

The results chain model, as illustrated in Table 12.1, is a good way to bring the resources and consequent changes that might be realised into perspective. Each element in the chain is of immense importance. In practice though, more attention is paid to some elements of the chain, relative to others. This tends to erroneously suggest varying levels of importance. The M&E pipeline utilises the same elements of the results chain but attempts to depict qualitative measures of the extent of attention paid to each of the five elements, in reality, by managers or organisations. In Nigerian higher education, as with many other departments, government has been focused on inputs (e.g. increase in budget) because these are the basis for any form of operational function. The increase in budget, although a good start, will not

Table 12.1. Basic sample of a results chain

Input	*Activities*	*Output*	*Outcome*	*Impact*
Budget	Development of teaching and learning infrastructure	Equipment and lecture rooms	Improved teaching and learning experience and quality skilled graduates	Productive graduates that contribute to Nigeria's development and enlarge the nation's tax base
Academic and professional staff	Recruitment processes Performance management processes	High quality teaching and research		

automatically translate to effective use of the resources. Institutions need to develop efficient and effective operations and processes to ensure that the consumption of the inputs will translate to the production of the output. The output should improve the experience of the intended beneficiary (outcome) and ultimately, in time, the beneficiaries will impact positively on society.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education provides capacity for all sectors. So it is important that the education sector is revitalised, particularly to meet the demands of the SDGs on the role of higher education in development. Nigerian higher education needs to begin to show better results, unlike what happened in its implementation of the MDGs. To do that, we need an acknowledgement that reforms require strong monitoring ensuring that activities and programmes are on track towards achieving desired results, and an assessment to validate the attainment (or lack thereof) of the reform objectives. This chapter made a case for a result-based M&E to be adopted to ensure the educational reform agenda is fully achieved. With the aid of a result-based approach and appropriate plans, M&E can now take place effectively as it ensures that educational activities are undertaken as already envisaged in the plans or where necessary, certain aspects of the educational reform plan are reconsidered.

Developing an M&E system in the higher education sector may be very tasking but the benefits that such a system generates for Nigeria, government and society-at-large more than makes up for any investment in the system. The system will also produce and present credible data (which is currently lacking) and signal whether desired performance levels have been achieved or not. Existing needs and demands for performance-related information drive the utility and value of the system and

consequently ensure its sustainability. The following are suggested recommendations to fully maximise the gains of the results-based approach:

- Vigorous stakeholder mobilisation and engagement in the sector;
- Development of effective M&E framework for the sector;
- Adoption of guiding principles;
- Continued investment in education as a commitment on the part of government and private funders;
- Long term training of administrators and academics alike;
- Investment in resources such as in libraries, books and ICT;
- Clarity of M&E responsibility and plans for all stakeholders;
- Encouraging learning, research, knowledge sharing and innovation;
- Appropriate performance management and appraisal systems ;
- Sustained political will, commitment and continuity in reforms;
- Management accountability across sectors including universities and various related agencies; and
- Stronger alignment with the labour market and employers' expectations.

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13. NEOLIBERAL MANAGERIALISM OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

African higher education, which is perceived as the panacea for challenges afflicting Sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) social, human and economic development (Ndofirepi, 2014), is facing challenges resulting from neoliberal globalisation. Higher education is supposed to yield significant benefits for both young people and society by providing better employment opportunities and job prospects, improved quality of life and greater economic growth (The Africa-America Institute, 2015). Surprisingly, higher education was never explicitly identified in the 2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as either a development goal in its own right, or as a potential agent to address other development goals (Roberts & Ajai-Ajagbe, 2013). Even in the just drafted 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will run from 2015 to 2030, the importance and role of higher education are also not explicitly stated. We can only surmise that SDG #4 on ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all (p. 5); SDG #8 on promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (p. 7); and SDG #16 on promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (United Nations, 2016, p. 10), are related to access to higher education, lifelong learning opportunities and higher education's role in preparing knowledge and skills for productive employment. However, higher education in some countries in SSA is struggling to achieve these goals and is experiencing obstacles in terms of human capital flight, financial support, governance and its relevance to the development needs of the sub-region. These challenges are an outcome of the neoliberal managerialism that was adopted, which focuses on governments' cut-backs on social expenditure. The purpose of this chapter is to unravel these challenges and to suggest ways universities in SSA can overcome these operational obstacles.

This chapter, which is based on available literature and not on field research, argues that, like other universities worldwide, universities in SSA are experiencing unprecedented financial inadequacy due to neoliberal globalisation and associated marketisation and privatisation policies affecting governance and management of universities. Neoliberal policies have meant poor remunerations and working

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conditions for university academics, thus causing dissatisfaction and disaffection that have led to the brain drain from universities. The chapter also discusses governance issues and the role of governments in controlling policy decisions that affect the financing, running and management of higher education. The chapter contends that political and financial support should be given to research and innovations that will dissuade experienced academics from leaving so that they can contribute to human capital development, which is essential to the economic growth and human development of SSA. To unravel the financial and human capital challenges facing universities in SSA, we need to explore neoliberal managerialism as the disabling factor to the social and economic development nexus.

NEOLIBERAL MANAGERIALISM

Cutting public expenditure by developing countries, in order to access loans from international financial institutions, has resulted in implementing structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that were the brainchild of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Easterly (2003) contends that SAPs are based on a condition that governments must make macroeconomic adjustments in government and the formal sector. Conditionalities associated with these loans include among others: reduced budget deficits, currency devaluation, reduced domestic credit expansion, and structural conditions like freeing controlled prices and interest rates, reducing trade barriers, and privatising state enterprises (Easterly, 2003). SAPs affected education funding in a way that destabilised the governance and management of higher education, which in turn affected students' educational grants and loans from government as well as retention of experienced academics in universities in SSA. Lynch (2014) points out that:

> With the rise of the neoliberalism as a system of values, there is an increasing attempt to off-load the cost of education, health care and public services generally, on to the individual. Allied to this, there is a growing movement to privatise those areas of public services that could be run for profit, including higher education. (p. 1)

When SAPs were introduced in SSA, as in other world universities, a new form of university management and governance system, the new neoliberal managerialism, was implemented. Neoliberal managerialism "is the mode of governance designed to realise the neoliberal project through the institutionalising of market principles in the governance of organisations" (Lynch, 2014, p. 1). Lynch further contends that "the ethos of 'new managerialism' is stripping public services of moral and ethical values and replacing them with the market language of costs, efficiencies, profits and competition" (p. 1). While this style of management has been employed widely to business corporations for years, what makes it 'new' is the deployment of managerial principles in the public sector bodies (Lynch, Grummell, & Lyons, 2012), such as universities.

Marketisation and Commercialisation

Marketisation and commercialisation of the universities are the core of neoliberal managerialism. It gives primacy to product and output over process and input, and it endorses strong market-type accountability in public sector spending (Lynch, 2014). The attainment of financial prudence and other targets is a priority and the development of quasi-markets for services is also a key goal which operates as a form of control through competition and public surveillance (Clarke, Gewirtz, & McLaughlin, 2000). In addition, the key feature of neoliberal managerialism is transforming citizens and their rights and welfare to competing customers and service users (such as treating students as business clients) through consumerisation and commercialisation of education. Students' welfare is no longer the responsibility of the government but students are customers or end-users that should be responsible for their education by paying tuition fees and other educational costs. As Lynch (2014) observes, "Within new managerialism, there is an elision of the differences between public and private interests" (p. 2). Also, new configurations of public-private relationships are designated as partnerships that include outsourcing services like catering and private finance initiatives for new infrastructure (Ball, 2009).

Decentralisation

What affects academic freedom and control is the decentralisation of budgetary and personal authority to line managers combined with the retention of power and control at central level, and the introduction of new and more casualised contractual employment arrangements (Lynch, 2014; Peters, 2013), as a means to reducing costs and exercising control. This new form of employer-employee relationship creates poor working conditions, reduced resources and remunerations. Concerning neoliberal managerialism, Peters (2013) explains:

> These theories and models have been used both as the legitimation for policies that redesign state educational bureaucracies, educational institutions and even the public policy process. Most importantly, there has been a decentralisation of management control away from the centre to the individual institution through a 'new contractualism' – often referred to as the 'doctrine of self-management' – coupled with new accountability and competitive funding regimes. (p. 11)

Faculties and departments are expected to raise their own funds or compete for the little that is available from government. This competition and focus on sourcing funds distracts academics from their core educational business of creating knowledge. Peters (2013, pp. 12–13) has identified four effects resulting from neoliberal universities being situated in the service of the 'new global economy' under conditions of knowledge capitalism:

- It has diminished the public status of the university. In the era of sovereign debt crisis the search for alternative funding patterns have led to national strategies for encouraging fee-paying students on the basis of human capital theory, leading to excessive student debt and a consequent privatisation of higher education;
- [In developed countries], it has buttressed domestic fee-paying students with an internationalisation of higher education and the global competition for international students with the growth of multiple campuses and off-shore profit centres. Both these features led directly to the encouragement of all forms of capitalisation of the self and a kind of new educational prudentialism;
- It has focused on issues of intellectual capital and the ownership of the means of knowledge production … and an emphasis on the commercialisation of research and online teaching initiatives; and
- It has led to the huge growth of administration vis-à-vis the teaching and research faculty, to an increasing bureaucratisation of the university and to the emergence of a new class of "knowledge managers," – an administrative cadre – whose job is monitor and measure academic performance and to maximise returns from research.

Decentralisation and educational prudentialism affect both students and university teachers in search of an academic life and career that is fully supported by university administrators.

Regulation of Academic Life

Neoliberal managerial practices are situated around "performance based evaluation and efforts to frame, regulate and optimise academic life" (Morrissey, 2013, p. 799). The regulation of academic life is an infringement on the academic freedom of academics, which might affect their output of critically thinking human capital from universities. Regulation is thus, equally a surveillance politics where quality assurance serves as a mechanism to prise compliance (Lucas, 2014). In this regard,

> In the contemporary era, the university thus sits oddly amid two narratives; one that prises academic freedom, independence of thought and expression, heterodoxy and exploration to create new knowledge frontiers, on the other hand, an increasingly intrusive series of regulatory regimes that seek to manage, steer and control the sector in ways that serve the interests of the state and the economy by applying specific ideational motifs about efficiency, value, performance, and thus the economic worth of the university to the economy. (Rosa, Stensaker, & Westerheijden, 2007, p. 1)

Therefore, governance and management are one factor that affects the development of human capital in the era of neoliberal managerialism and global capitalism.

POLITICS AND UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE

Governance is a key policy issue in higher education in the 21st century. While autonomy opens up areas for improvement and competition, it is restricted by the interference of state-driven higher education policy and the increasing intervention of external quality assurance. Universities in SSA rely on government for their funding, a factor that reduces their autonomy. Lately, the financial crisis in most countries has brought new governance challenges to the higher education sector. How should universities raise funding for effective teaching, research and governance? To what extent should they privatise their institutional activities? Good governance and decision-making are major factors in improving the quality of higher education. They help to bring about a balance between autonomy and accountability. The role of governance and accountability is under scrutiny and has increased its presence in recent times (Rahima, Joharib, & Takril, 2015).

Governance effectiveness entails quality of public and private involvement and the extent to which they are insulated from political interference. It also consists of the ability of universities to develop quality policies, capacity to implement them and how much governments value such policies (Rahima et al., 2015). In other words, there should be partnerships between universities and their governments including the private sector that benefits from research conducted by universities and the human capital that comes out of these universities. The developments over the past decades indicate that higher education in SSA has moved from a state of vitality to a state of decline and disrepair. One has to visit the University of Zimbabwe to understand the decline and the state of dilapidation that the once vibrant institution has degenerated to. The University of Zambia, Makerere in Uganda, Nnamdi Azikiwe University in Nigeria, and University of Dodoma in Tanzania have experienced similar poor governance and accountability that have ruined these institutions. While one of the reasons that have caused the decline might be the 'cut back management' policies and measures (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011), we cannot ignore political interference by governments in policy decisions and other governance and management issues, including the appointment of politically correct managers, such as vice-Chancellors and members of University Councils. African universities adopted neoliberal reforms to reduce cost (through staff reduction, a freeze on new appointments, and a freeze on increase in staff salary, etc.), introduced cost-sharing to generate income to improve 'efficiency' of the system. The reforms drove some academic staff away from the university jobs to other more lucrative avenues of employment within the country while others migrated to other countries. Some of these policies also led to a deterioration of physical facilities and academic standards, contributing to a sharp decline in the quality of teaching and research (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011; Varghese, 2013).

'Statist' Model of Educational Governance

University politics is driven by state ideology that might affect the performance of the institutions. Public African universities adopt a 'statist' model of governance – one in which the Minister of Higher Education and the ministry officials and administrators exercise direct control over the educational structure at all levels (a 'direct state-control' model) through political policy directives. According to du Toit (2014), in the state-supervision model, the state supervises higher education institutions in terms of assuring academic quality and maintaining a certain level of accountability by recruiting the self-regulatory capacities of decentralised decision-making units. In this regard, the government's role involves monitoring and influencing the framework of rules that guides the running or governance of the institutions. This includes controlling the hiring of the most influential position of Chancellor or Vice-Chancellors who should be 'politically correct'. Whereas in developed nations like the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the United States (du Toit, 2014), the influence of the state proper is considered to be appropriately weak, in SSA the state's control of universities is overpowering. However, not all African states have total control of their universities.

In Ethiopia, the higher education proclamation of 2003 grants autonomy to higher education institutions. Autonomy is granted in the administration of personnel, finances, internal organisation, and in establishing linkages with internal and international organisations. The reforms also led to the introduction of a block grant system, enrolment-based budgeting, and the introduction of cost-sharing (van Schalkwyk, Willmers, & Czerniewicz, 2014). The reform of 2003 envisages that all public higher education institutions are to be established with autonomy and accountability. Cost-sharing became common practice in many universities. In Nigeria, following the Magna Charta Universitatum of 1998, public universities became autonomous, free from over-regulation by the government, and subject to accountability measures (Blom, Raza, Kiamba, Bayusuf, & Adil, 2016). Autonomy gave the universities the freedom to appoint key officers, determine the conditions of service of their staff, control student admissions and control their finances. In Nigeria, the federal government, in its efforts to democratise public educational institutions, amended the law in 2003 to provide improved autonomy for the university system. The Act provided freedom to govern and regulate themselves as independent legal entities without interference from the government and its agencies (Blom et al., 2016). In Kenya, as a follow-up to the public service reforms of the 1990s, the government introduced results-based management as the basic approach to governance and management of public institutions. The performance contract (PC) was one of the important elements in this reform – a negotiated agreement between the government and public institutions focusing on their performance and outcomes. The PC provides the managerial and operational autonomy to public institutions (Filho et al., 2016). The PC is based on performance criteria or the

tenets of good corporate governance, and each performance criteria has selected performance indicators to measure progress.

In most countries in SSA, the state plays a major role in how state universities are governed and managed. Even in private universities, the government interferes with its policies and standards, which are based on the political ethos of the ruling party of the time. As noted by Schugurensky (2013), the common trend, not only in SSA, but worldwide, is the general loss of institutional autonomy. Accordingly,

> Autonomy allows institutions to set, collegially and free from external interference, their own objectives and missions, content and methods of instruction, evaluation criteria, admission and graduation requirements, research agendas, promotion and demotion procedures, and the like. (p. 305)

It can be argued that several reforms in higher education in SSA may be stemming more from the compulsions of the state to expand higher education and the fiscal constraints of the state to finance the expansion. The market-friendly reforms are an integral part of this package of reforms in the context of the globalisation process (Fielden, 2008). From this perspective, the reforms implemented in SSA can broadly be categorised into: (a) privatisation of public institutions; and (b) promotion of private institutions (Varghese, 2006). The pressure to reform higher education came from three sets of actors – the state and the corporate sector for improving economic growth and competitiveness, the employers looking for relevant skills, and some households' willingness to pay. The reforms are also an effort to satisfy these actors and respond to their concerns. There are core concerns, common across reforms in several countries, although their relative importance varies depending on the level of development of the country (Varghese, 2012). For example, South African universities are better managed and are competitive because they are better government funded than in other SSA countries.

New Managerial Approach

It would appear that universities in SSA are concentrating more on new managerial and neoliberal policies at the expense of their actual mandates to teach and develop human capital, conduct research and provide community service. The increase in global managerialism in higher education is well-documented (Bentley, Habib, & Morrow, 2006; Brennan, 2008; Reed, Meek, & Jones, 2002). However, managerialism without informed decision-making has the potential to foster weak and fragmented institutions prone to corruption and misappropriation and misallocation of resources (van Schalkwyk et al., 2014). Universities in SSA have suffered negatively from this form of managerialism which tends to be a top-down decision making process. Explaining this form of governance, Peter (2013) claims:

> The vice-chancellor, deans and heads of department have increasingly become "knowledge managers" in a knowledge corporation charged with running the

> university through a strategic planning process in accordance with targets, new incentive structures, and policy directives at the expense of traditional collegial and democratic governance. Governing councils have become corporate boards further sidelining academic forums. (p. 13)

We agree with the views of de Boer, Goedegebuure, and Meek (2010) who argue that university management is not confined to the top of the institution but cascades down to its constituent parts: the faculties, departments, schools and research institutes. Poor decisions made at the top will affect those at the bottom. In support of new managerialism, Kolsaker (2008) found that academics appear to accept managerialism when it facilitates enhanced performance, professionalism and their status. However, this support is dependent on the academics being given enough resources to carry out their mandated roles. Conversely, for Chaharbaghi (2007), corporate managerialism manifests itself in costly administrative burdens to the management of universities that seem to be undermining the morale, motivation and goodwill of university employees, managers and professionals. Unlike corporations, which are in the business to make money and profits, universities provide a social service that requires funding and their functions are depressed by corporate managerialism and bureaucratic impersonality. Fitzgerald (2009, p. 51) refers to the "tyranny of bureaucracy" and explains that managerialism leaves little time for leadership. This view is echoed by Weinberg and Graham-Smith (2012) who assert that managerialism erodes collegiality.

FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION

Most universities in SSA are under-staffed, under-financed and in poor operating condition (Devarajana, Mongab, & Zongo, 2011). The decline in public expenditure per student is having an adverse impact on the quality and relevance of education programmes. Africa is the only region in the world that has experienced a decrease in the volume of current public expenditure per student (30% over the last 15 years) (World Bank, 2010). Despite their low levels of revenue per capita, African countries have by and large managed to maintain a steady allocation of resources to higher education since the mid-1990s. On average, the continent has devoted 0.78% of its gross domestic product to tertiary education, compared with 0.66% on average for other developing countries and 1.21% for the OECD countries (World Bank, 2010). This commitment is also reflected in the fact that African governments allocate about 20% of their current expenditures on education to higher education, a rate that is higher than non-African developing countries (18%) (Devarajana et al., 2011). As a recent World Bank study indicates, however, the priority given to tertiary education in the distribution of the overall budgetary allocation for public education varies considerably, from less than 5% in Cape Verde to almost 40% in Lesotho (World Bank, 2010). Even in countries such as Burkina Faso, Coˆte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia and Rwanda that are still far from ensuring universal school enrolment at

the primary level (what was a requirement of the 2015 MDG # 2 on universal basic education) and where a balanced allocation rule would suggest a smaller share of public resources to post-primary education, this subsector still accounts for more than 20% of the education budget. Conversely, several countries such as Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, where universal primary school enrolment has improved remarkably and one would expect to find a larger share of the education budget devoted to higher education, the ratio is low.

In most SSA countries, budgetary practices remain largely statist; governments fund the operations of the universities. For universities themselves, university operating budgets use the previous year(s) as a baseline and make incremental changes based on general considerations such as the country's economic performance, government revenues, inflation rates, or institutional growth. Thus, in spite of the magnitude of financial needs confronting the institutions, their leeway, when considering a significant adjustment to their allocated amount, is minimal. The government has the final say on how much will be allocated to the public university's operation budget. Thus, budget discussions between the universities and their governments are a matter of fine-tuning the internal distribution of these fixed allocations among staff salaries, student services, staff development, and operational expenses. There are other problems in budget management, such as the lack of transparency in decision-making, fragmentation in budget responsibilities and the absence of measures for curbing out-of-control budgets in higher education (World Bank, 2010). This results in inefficiency and mismanagement of the allocated funds.

The inefficient application of funds often dilutes the impact of funds provided. Describing problems of funding in universities in SSA, Abrokwaa (2014) states:

> The problem has been described as a *crisis* characterised by declining funding and the consequent deterioration of infrastructural and teaching and research facilities, while at the same time there is a growing public demand for university education…. (p. 175)

The problem is the consequence of factors that include absence of defined funding mechanisms, poor system planning, poor monitoring of expenditures, excessive public expenditure on students studying overseas and inefficient use of available funds by higher education institutions (World Bank, 2010). For example, the government of Zimbabwe spends millions of dollars annually supporting students who are sent to study at South African universities and overseas when it cannot adequately fund higher education institutions at home. Sometimes governments make educational decisions that are politically driven at the expense of economic considerations when supporting higher education.

Some countries, however, have adopted more innovative budgetary practices and are beginning to move away from historically based budgets. Formulas can be based on cost per student, as in Kenya and Rwanda (World Bank, 2016). Other countries, such as Nigeria and Ghana, use normative unit costs derived from prescribed student-teacher ratios by discipline and the recommended cost of goods and services for a

teaching unit by discipline. For investment, some countries, such as South Africa, implement funding contracts linked to teaching and research outputs specified in government-approved plans. Various governments, such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Mozambique, and South Africa, supplement the core budgets of universities with competitive funds to inspire qualitative improvements, research, and partnerships (World Bank, 2016). Faced with inadequate public financing, the share of private resources in higher education financing is expanding. The contribution from households accounts for approximately one-quarter of national expenditure (state and households) on higher education. It varies widely according to country, ranging from less than 10% in Mali, Chad, and the Republic of Congo to more than 50% in Uganda and Guinea Bissau. However, household financing of higher education is relatively low when compared to household investment in other levels of education (30% of national expenditure in primary education and more than 45% in lower secondary education) (World Bank, 2016). This situation is peculiar to Africa and contributes to inequality in the education system, since access to education is likely to depend on the financial abilities of parents to pay tuition fees for their children.

Comparatively, higher education institutions in SSA are the most financially challenged in the world (Teferra, 2015). University education everywhere, even in wealthy industrialised nations, faces fiscal problems, but the magnitude of these problems is far greater in Africa than anywhere else. According to Teferra and Altbach (2003), the causes include: the pressures of expansion and 'massification' that characterises most African academic institutions and systems; the economic problems facing most African countries that make it difficult, if not impossible, to provide increased funding for higher education; a changed fiscal climate and policy direction induced by multilateral lending agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; the pressure of other social and health issues such as HIV and AIDS on government budgets; the inability of students to afford the tuition rates needed for fiscal stability; and misallocation of available financial resources, such as the provision of free or highly subsidised accommodation and food for students (Teferra, 2013).

Financing higher education is an expensive enterprise – knowledge creation, knowledge dissemination and innovation do not come cheap. High-end expertise, expensive equipment and instruments, extensive infrastructure (such as laboratories, libraries and halls of residence) and the accompanying requisites (such as information technology) and a complex academic culture entail that the sector, unlike primary and secondary education, is costly (Teferra, 2013). As a result, in Zambia, for example, the government could only dispense 20% of institutional budgets in 2011 and the funding level remained almost the same for three years, from 2009 to 2011, without regard to major inflation and depreciation of the local currency (Masaiti, 2013). For instance, as of January 2010 one US dollar was equivalent to more than 4,000 Zambian Kwacha; in 2012, one dollar was slightly over 5,000 Kwacha. The requirements for public institutions in the country are usually higher than what is estimated based on the expected revenue the government

will generate in the given fiscal year. The issue is that government estimates are far below the level needed for sustainable operations and for better remuneration of faculty. What makes Zambia's situation more precarious is the deterioration and devaluation of its currency in relation to other major currencies such as the Euro, the Pound Sterling and the US Dollar (Masaiti, 2013).

In Botswana, one of the few countries in SSA that have attained middle-income status, the higher education system is funded through the traditional ad hoc method based on incremental budgeting where allocations are based mainly on economic growth, government revenues, inflation rates and the previous year's budget. This system, which claims close to 20% enrolment rates – one of the highest in the region – fails to take into account important issues such as the student enrolment figures, academic programmes on offer at the various institutions, and institutional performance. The allocated amounts often depend on how well institutions are able to lobby. However its budgetary allocation has been going down. The annual share of the government's budget allocations for education amounted to 21% in 2005 and 16.2% in 2009, while 5.8% and 6.7% of gross domestic product (GDP) was devoted to tertiary education in 2007 and 2009 respectively (Damani & Molutsi, 2013). In Malawi, the public recurrent unit cost of university education, in terms of GDP per capita, is the highest in the world. This may be due to the very low GDP per capita in the country, but certainly it is also because the government bears the entire cost of public higher education. By the period 2000 to 2008, the recurrent unit cost stood at 2.1% of GDP per capita, which is seven times more than the average in SSA (World Bank, 2010). In Zimbabwe, one of the major problems now facing the universities, according to Mpofu, Chimhenga and Mafa (2013), is under-funding due to tight budget constraints because of the national economy that is in total chaos and heavy and rising debt service obligations. Education is now a very low priority for the government and funding of universities continues to decline.

PRIVATISING HIGHER EDUCATION

The revival of higher education in SSA depends on their abilities to mobilise resources and the restructuring of study programmes, governance and management to better align with markets. This is a big challenge for many as they are poorly resourced and managed. As a result of the continued economic reforms that started in the 1990s, there has been a movement away from the state, which financially supported the universities, to a market-oriented approach. Abrokwaa (2014) highlights this movement as follows:

> The emergence of globalisation has created a rather more competitive global economy resulting in rapid economic, political, and social transformation of all countries, including those of Africa, particularly in privatisation of national programmes and economic concerns. These changes have had serious implications for all African universities since increase in privatisation has

> forced the governments to take lesser roles in their economies thus reducing their university allocations. (p. 175)

Market-friendly reforms became common in economic sectors and their influence was also reflected in education, especially higher education. However, the pressure to reform higher education was worldwide as the knowledge-based economy became the *sine qua non* for economic growth (Fielden, 2008). This period also experienced the emergence of the private sector in higher education, including countries in SSA, which did not have a tradition of private higher education before. Provision and financing higher education can be entirely by the state, by market or by a combination of the two. However, the state is losing its monopoly but a totally private for-profit system does not exist anywhere as the dominant provider of higher education. What is increasingly becoming a common practice is a parallel system of public and private institutions.

Privatisation in Public Institutions

The privatisation measures imply that, while the institutions remain in public ownership, its operations are guided by market principles. Some of the specific privatisation measures adopted by countries and universities in SSA include the university enterprise scheme such as the parallel programmes of the University of Nairobi (Kiamba, 2004) involving self-sponsored and government funded students (Ngare, 2008); the dual track admission policy – with sponsored and private students – in Benin, Burkina Faso, Mauritius, Uganda (Makerere University) (Mamdani, 2008) – the dual track – residential and non-residential programmes in Malawi, the institutional transformation programmes, cost-sharing, and revenue diversification

Table 13.1. Estimates of number public and private universities in selected SSA countries

Country	*Public*	*Private*
Angola	8	17
Ghana	9	27
Kenya	22	25
Nigeria	86	61
Senegal	4	3
South Africa	23	22
Tanzania	17	44
Uganda	11	30
Zambia	20	15
Zimbabwe	9	6

strategies of the University of Dar-es-Salaam (Ishengoma, 2004), the dual track systems in Zambia and the cost-recovery measures adopted widely through the abolition of subsidies, the pricing of services, and the introduction of tuition fees and student loan programmes in several countries in the region (Oketch, 2003; World Bank, 2010).

Privatised Universities

The establishment of private higher education institutions got impetus from the late 1990s onwards (Oketch, 2003). There are private higher education institutions in SSA that rely on students paying high tuition fees. In many countries in SSA, private higher education is surging exponentially (Levy, 2006; Mabizela, 2002) and the number of private universities, in some instances, is outnumbering the public universities. Table 13.1 above clearly shows that there is a propensity towards privatising higher education. Most countries have more private tertiary institutions than public. Privatisation of higher education takes away the government's responsibility towards providing its young people with the education they deserve.

Privatisation reduces the role of governments in developing the human capital required for economic and social development, and creating educational and social inequalities at the same time. Those who can afford can easily access well equipped private universities which have well-paid academics who are motivated unlike those in public universities. However, both public and private higher education in SSA contribute to human resource development and the human capital requirements of the sub-continent.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPITAL

Human resource development can be explained through human capital theory. A core thesis of human capital theory is that education renders workers productive, that is, it raises the marginal product of an educated worker relative to one not so educated (van der Merwe, 2010). This economic theory is the key idea in labour economics that examines the set of marketable skills of workers and argues that workers make a variety of investments in their human capital (set of marketable skills). Higher education is viewed as a key element of human capital theory because it is viewed as the primary means of developing knowledge and skills. Nonetheless, in pursuing higher education, costs are incurred in the expectation of future benefits; hence, the term "investment in human capital" (Psacharopolos & Woodhall, 1997 cited in Itika, 2011, p. 4). Neoliberal managerialism affects costs of human capital development. It is important to recognise that students do not only incur direct costs, such as books or tuition fees in acquiring higher education, but there are also the opportunity costs or income foregone while people acquire credentials (Becker, 1964 cited in Itika, 2011). For students in university or workers in lengthy training programmes, such costs can be the largest component of the

total cost, particularly if they do not receive financial support from the government and the private sector, and fail to get employment at the end of their education and training. The direct costs, which are influenced by neoliberal market-oriented managerialism, make educational investment expensive (Itika, 2011).

Sustainable growth in SSA is contingent on the capacity of states to diversify their economies and thus train human capital that will help to carry out and support this transformation (World Bank, 2010). Universities play a key role in developing the requisite human capital. Therefore, in this process investment in higher education should be seriously considered for universities and colleges to train individuals who will be capable of implementing new technologies and using innovative methods for economic growth. Theoretically, higher education is supposed to yield significant benefits for both graduates and society, as a whole. It is also expected to bring about better employment opportunities and job prospects, improved quality of life, and greater economic growth (Benjamin et al., 2012). However, these expectations do not seem to reflect the realities in SSA where some of the young people who have attained higher education are struggling to get employment to earn a decent living (Zimbabwe is a good example where most of its graduates are working in the informal sector, some of them selling mobile phone recharge cards at street corners).

Human Capital Wastage – Unemployment

While the Africa-America Institute (2015) contends that investments in higher education pay off and returns to investments in higher education in Africa are 21% and the highest in the world, it is not clear how this figure was arrive at, as some countries in SSA report high unemployment rates and their economies cannot absorb most of the graduates coming out of universities and colleges. According to Kelvin Balogun – President of Coca-Cola, Central, East and West Africa, almost half of the 10 million graduates churned out of the over 668 universities in Africa yearly do not get jobs (African Centre for Economic Transformation [ACET], 2016). A recent World Bank report estimates that as many as 11 million young people in SSA will be joining the job market every year for the next decade, and the risks associated with growing numbers of urban youth without meaningful occupation are high (World Bank, 2014).

Besides stagnation in employment creation, the curriculum in Africa is lagging behind technological advancement needed to provide the right education and training for jobs in today's workforce. A severe mismatch still exists between the skills of young African workers and the skills that employers need for today's global workforce (Africa-America Institute, 2015). This mismatch is largely due to inadequate funding given to higher education for research and technological innovations that meet the 21st century global economic environment. Adequate financing is fundamental to the development of new innovations and knowledge production that is in tandem with the challenges of the new knowledge economy and

knowledge society. Unfortunately for SSA, the human capital that is needed to impart knowledge and skills is leaving higher education institutions due to frustrations with weak regional economies, unstable political climate and poor working conditions. This has resulted in the brain drain affecting these institutions.

Human Capital and the Brain Drain

Human capital that has been the major driving force of the economies of the developed world in the West and some South-east Asian countries has been lacking in Africa, not because Africa has not been training human resources but because African professionals and skilled workers have been migrating to other continents for better opportunities. Asian countries such as Singapore, Korea and Japan focused investments in high quality technological innovation and development of requisite human capital, which helped them to achieve high growth and economic transformation. Unfortunately, SSA's human capital development base is evidently weak because of the quality of higher education provided by African universities. Inadequate institutional support mechanisms for education and skill development continue to limit access to institutions of training and learning (Baah-Boateng, 2013). Those who go overseas to attend university and attain professional skills tend to remain in the host country. If these were to return home after graduating, their knowledge capital would be transferred to help develop their countries. They would provide an abundance of well-educated human resources that would have absorbed advanced technologies from developed economies (Baah-Boateng, 2013). However, SSA is losing its educated human resource through the brain drain. This brain drain is widespread and has affected institutions of higher learning. Because of the unfavourable working conditions, some academics, lecturers and professors end up deciding to leave their institutions for greener pastures. The primary cause of external brain drain is unreasonably low wages paid to African professionals. Sadly, the contradiction is that SSA spends billions of dollars annually to recruit and pay expatriates to work in Africa but Africa fails to spend a proportional amount to recruit African professionals now working outside Africa. African professionals working in Africa are paid considerably less than similarly qualified expatriates as noted by the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki when he states:

> Africa recruits and hires expats and pays them more than USD4 billion a year…the USD3.6 billion we spend training professionals [who] we lose every year, is almost equal to the USD4 billion that we pay 150,000 expats that we import. (cited in ENCA, 2015)

Human capital, educated workers, and technology are perceived to be instrumental for economic development and competitiveness in today's world, so the drain of skilled professionals should be of concern to the development of SSA (Benhabib & Spiegel, 2005). The loss of professionals continues to affect SSA's economic

development and the concern is that many countries in Africa may be lagging behind economically and stuck in a poverty trap. It is no secret that political and economic instability in most African countries (e.g., Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leon, Somalia, Zimbabwe) have undermined economic and social growth in most of the countries in SSA (Shizha, 2015). It is therefore, not surprising that the majority of African nationals who are experts in highly specialised fields live outside Africa in more developed countries. Regrettably, the current political environments and economic policies in most countries in SSA do not favour or encourage African nationals and intellectuals/experts to return home from the diaspora (Mugimu, 2009).

The brain drain can be extremely harmful for SSA which has a limited pool of experts. The *World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report* 2014–2015 showed Burundi as the country in SSA least able to hold on to its top talent while Chad and Guinea are also in the top five countries unable to retain their top skilled professionals (Schwab, 2014). A 2013 United Nations report shows that one in nine Africans with higher education, that is about 2.9 million highly skilled professionals, were living in developed countries in Europe, North America and elsewhere, a number that signified a 50% growth in the past decade, and more than any other region in the world (Firsing, 2016). The former South African president, Thabo Mbeki has described the brain drain from SSA as 'frightening' and claims that Africa is losing 20,000 academics and 10% of highly skilled information technology and finance professionals annually (ENCA, 2015). Mbeki estimates that more African scientists and engineers live and work in the US and UK than anywhere else in the world (ENCA, 2015; Firsing, 2016).

This continuous outflow of skilled labour contributes to a widening gap in science and technology between Africa and other continents. Africa's share of global scientific output has fallen from 0.5% in the mid-1980s to 0.3% in the mid-1990s. Docquier and Marfouk (2005) argue that many African nations have very high skilled emigration rates (i.e. the fraction of nationals with tertiary degrees who were born in the country but live outside it). Further, the brain drain today is almost exclusively an African phenomenon as many of the small countries, like Cape Verde, as well as some bigger countries like Ghana and Kenya, have high skilled emigration rates ranging from 45% to 67% in contrast, for example, to the high skilled emigration rates of China and India which are around 3% and 4% (Nyarko, 2014). The concern is that the exodus of African professors and other academics undermines the quality and delivery of higher education, teaching and research. As a result, migration of academics from SSA leads to loss of years of investment in the education and training given to these professionals who decide to emigrate. The sending country would have invested in earlier education, primary, secondary and undergraduate levels for those who go overseas for graduate courses and never come back. SSA is certainly experiencing a debilitating flight of professionals and skilled people escaping their countries' economic crisis and the level and trend of brain drain has reached unsustainable heights (Chimanikire, 2005).

WAY FORWARD AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is without question that neoliberal managerialism of higher education has a negative effect and outcome on financing higher education and human capital development.

- The evidence of the destabilisation of higher education and human resource development and retention of human capital in universities suggests that policymakers should reconsider a more favourable budgetary allocation to higher education than they are. Financial policies could be designed to mitigate some negative impacts through increased spending on education and training.
- Governments and the private sector could design support programmes and services that can minimise the adverse impact of neoliberal managerialism on low-income groups which are most likely to be affected by cut-backs in educational allocation and the user-fee policy.
- There is a tendency by governments in SSA to build more universities when the existing ones are under-funded. Governments should expand on the existing universities by creating satellite campuses and channel available resources towards this expansion and better wages and working conditions of academics in these institutions to avoid the brain drain rather than establishing new universities. Attempts should be made to attract back human capital that is working overseas due to poor working conditions at home.
- The corporate business/private sector should invest in higher education to assist both students and the institutions since they are the ultimate beneficiaries of the human capital development carried out by universities. They benefit from the knowledge and skills that graduates bring to the knowledge economy and society.
- An education tax can be raised from workers (Zimbabwe has AIDS levy for the health sector) to be remitted to the universities for adequate funding of universities.
- SSA academics should partner with other international universities to intensify institutional research funds so as to earn some revenue for their institutions as their contribution to the cut-backs resulting from neoliberal managerialism.
- The private sector and for-profit organisations should provide consultancy opportunities to university departments for a fee to improve institutional revenue base.
- Finally, SSA universities should intensify their efforts in investing in the capital market and in other revenue yielding projects such as property ownership to supplement whatever comes from the government as well as intensify their efforts in raising funds from sundry sources including its alumni/alumnae and paid parking system.

CONCLUSION

Higher education in SSA is struggling to keep up with demand and retaining experienced staff because of poor financing and governance. Political interference and economic challenges undercut the universities' capability to provide qualitative

education that imparts skills that meet the current global economic environment of the 21st century. Without good management or apolitical governance regimes, universities in SSA will continue to be dependent on government support and control. Financial inadequacy and lack of sufficient teaching and research resources push experienced professors and other professionals from SSA in search of better living and working conditions. This loss leaves higher education institutions exposed to inexperienced academics or experienced but poorly paid and with no resources to work with, which might demotivate them. SSA needs to focus on improving its economy to attract professionals who have left the countries. In particular, they should either invest adequately in higher education or liberalise the universities so that they can attract sufficient funding from within and from external linkages. A well-funded and managed university is likely to retain its experienced professionals and more likely to contribute to teaching and research that assists in the human capital development required by the 21st century labour market.

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