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The publishers have made every effort to contact the copyright holders, but if they have inadvertently overlooked any, they will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the earliest opportunity.

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## Foreword

Zambia is fortunate in that several studies deal with the origins and development of formal education since the end of the nineteenth century. The student of this educational development, however, is less fortunate because these studies have not been brought together into one place. Neither have they been fed into one volume that guides the study of Zambia's evolving educational system. Moreover, there is not, as yet, any coherent overview of the developments that occurred and the thinking that inspired them.

The present volume does not attempt to fill these gaps. Its more modest aim is to examine some aspects of the provision of formal education, from its beginnings in the 1880s up to the late 1990s, in a way that will enable the reader to know some key developments that occurred and to understand major factors influencing them. It does this by organizing the material into Chapters, each one of which consists in a page or less of notes (in boxes), some references to published material, and a selection of relevant excerpts from the literature. Although some of the excerpts are quite general, the majority refer specifically to Zambia.

In selecting the readings, two principles were borne in mind: the content should be relevant to the Chapter, and the material should not normally be readily available to those who might use this book. While a great deal that is useful and informative has been written, students of educational development in Zambia frequently cannot lay hands on this material. They do not have access to a library that holds it, or the numbers seeking simultaneous use of books, journals and documents exceed the ability of libraries to provide.

On the other hand, some source material is fairly readily available, particularly the three books named below which, in their different ways, cover the history of education in Zambia from 1883 to 1985. Hence, although this volume includes these sources among the References for the various Chapters, it does not give excerpts from them as Readings. This explains why there are no Readings from:

Kelly, M. J. (1991) *Education in a Declining Economy*

Mwanakatwe, J. M. (1974) *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence*

Snelson, P. D. (1974) *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*.

This book of Notes and Readings has been assembled for use by all who are interested in the evolution of formal education in Zambia. Although the needs of students of education, at the universities and in teacher colleges, have been borne particularly in mind, it is hoped that a wider audience of educational practitioners, academics and policy-makers may also find the material enlightening and useful. I am grateful to colleagues and students at the University of Zambia for helpful comments on earlier versions of this work.

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February, 1999.

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## Part I—Introductory Concepts

### Chapter 1 The Meaning and Scope of Education

*What is Education?* It is not the same as schooling, but is a lifelong process conducted by many agencies. The word has many meanings. It could refer to a system or institution (e.g., a school system), to certain activity (“Education is the action exercised by the adult generations on those who are not yet ready for social life”), to content (the curriculum and syllabuses), or to the product (as when we speak of “an educated person”)—cf. Fifth Reading, below. The distinctions between formal, non-formal and informal are also important. **Formal education** is the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded system that runs from primary school to university or other forms of higher education. **Non-formal education** is any organized educational activity outside the established formal system that is intended to serve identified learning clientele and learning objectives. **Informal education** is the lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in each one's environment: For the greater part, individuals acquire most of their knowledge, skills, attitudes and values through informal education, in the home, from the media, on the street. UNESCO definition of education as “An organized and sustained communication process designed to bring about learning,” refers principally to formal and non-formal education.

*Aims of Education:* These are treated in Chapter 24, but at this initial stage what is stated in *Educating Our Future* should be borne in mind: The education system aims at enabling schools “to provide an education and learning environment which facilitates the cultivation of each pupil's full potential. The overarching aim of school education, therefore, is to promote the full and well-rounded development of the physical, intellectual, social, affective, moral and spiritual qualities of all pupils so that each can develop into a full person, for his or her own personal fulfillment and the good of society.”

*Importance of context:* The concept and expectations of education, its provision, and the uses to which it is put are all affected by the historical, social, cultural, economic, and political context. Hence it is necessary to know something about these.

*Content of Education:* Education should promote knowledge (learning to understand); know-how (learning to do); wisdom (learning to set priorities); and character formation (learning to cooperate, persevere, and become a respected and trusted member of society). Every school should provide opportunities for students to develop in these four areas. Fundamental competencies expected at the end of schooling include: (a) Basic skills: reading, writing, arithmetic and mathematics; speaking and listening; (b) Thinking skills: thinking creatively, making decisions, problem solving, seeing things in the mind's eye, knowing how to learn, and reasoning; (c) Personal qualities: individual responsibility, self-esteem, sociability, self-management, and integrity.

*Origins & Development of Education:* We study this area so as to understand the education system today, to discern the forces at work in its development, to evaluate the successes, mistakes, problems and solutions of the past and how these have contributed to situations as they are today. Armed with this knowledge, we can make better provision for the future.

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- World Conference on Education For All: (1990) *World Declaration on Education For All*. New York: Inter-Agency Commission. (see Chapter 19, Reading 3).

### Readings

The *first reading* gives the text of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Zambia is a signatory, on the right to education.

The *second reading* gives UNESCO's understanding of the scope of 'education'.

The *third reading* explains why it is necessary to promote education for all. Zambia participated in the World Conference on Education For All (Jomtien, 1990), referred to throughout the reading.

The *fourth reading* introduces the idea of lifelong learning and gives the classic definitions of informal, formal and non-formal education.

The *fifth reading* examines four principal ways in which the word 'education' is frequently used.

#### *First Reading*

#### **Article 26**

#### **of the**

#### **United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

*Second Reading*  
**The Scope of 'Education'**  
by  
**UNESCO**

*Education is taken to comprise organized and sustained communication designed to bring about learning. Communication* requires a relationship between two or more persons involving the transfer of information. *Organized* is intended to mean planned in a pattern or sequence with established aims or curricula. It involves an actual educational agency which organizes the learning situation and/or teachers who are employed to consciously organize the communication. *Sustained* is intended to mean that the learning experience has the elements of duration and continuity. *Learning* is taken as any change in behaviour, information, knowledge, understanding, attitudes, skills or capabilities which can be retained and which cannot be ascribed to physical growth or to the development of inherited behaviour patterns.

Included in this scope, therefore, are activities that in some countries and in some languages may not usually be described as 'education', but rather as 'training' or as 'cultural development'. Excluded, however, are types of communication that are not designed to bring about learning, or that are not planned in a pattern or sequence with established aims. Thus, all education involves learning, but many forms of learning are not regarded as education. Leisure-time activities such as recreation, sports and tourism which are not designed to bring about learning and which do not involve an organized educational agency are excluded. 'Self-directed learning', 'family and socially-directed learning' and 'random learning' are excluded because they involve no organized agency or teacher (in the sense used above), as are isolated events involving no sustained educational activity, such as one or two public lectures, conferences or meetings; entertainment; information, advertising and selling programmes; (and) other social and corporate activities, such as meetings of clubs or associations or work camps.

**Source:** UNESCO (1976) *International Standard Classification of Education*, pages 2–3. Paris: UNESCO

*Third Reading*  
**Why Education For All?**  
by  
**UNESCO**

**The Right to Education: Vision and Reality**

In the world today, more than four decades after the United Nations *Universal Declaration on Human Rights* was adopted, no one would dare to deny that all children and young people have the right to a basic education. First and foremost, it is in the interests of individuals and societies to expand and improve the education of children and youth in order better to meet their basic learning needs. Education leads to individual creativity, improved participation in the social, economic, cultural and political life of society, and hence to a more effective contribution to human development. In fact, education is prerequisite not only for the full exercise of the individual's rights, but also for understanding and respecting the rights of others. The significance

of education in the exercise of democratic rights was eloquently emphasized at the World Conference on Education For All (Jomtien, 1990) by President Borja of Ecuador when he stated that “the vote is an expression of opinion, and wise decisions in choosing governments depend on a well-educated public.”

At the Fourth International Conference on Adult Education (Paris, 1985) the right to learn was defined as the right: to read and write; to question and analyze; to imagine and create; to learn about the world as it is and as it was; to have access to educational resources; and to develop individual and collective skills.

In a global sense, the right to education and the right to learn unfortunately still constitute a vision rather than a reality, although the demands on and for ‘educated people’ continue to grow. Today, some 1,000 million adults, with women as the silent majority, are labeled illiterate. Over 130 million children, almost two-thirds of them girls in the developing countries, have no access to primary education. Against this alarming background, the 1989 United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* reaffirmed the right of every child to education.

Of course, education costs money, and the world economic crisis, which imposes dramatic reductions in investment and expenditure, has led to demands for accountability and financial stringency. As each sector of public and private life competes for what it regards as its fair share of available resources, education must justify itself in the face of other pressing claims. This can be done, but it is no simple matter of cost-effectiveness or returns on investment. There is now strong evidence of ways in which education, through its influence on attitudes and behaviour and its positive impact on health, productivity, protection of the environment, family planning and child care can transform the cultural, social and economic life of peoples and communities. The *World Declaration on Education For All* calls for an “expanded vision” of basic education:

...that surpasses present resources levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems, while building on the best in current practices. New possibilities exist today which result from the convergence of the increase in information and the unprecedented capacity to communicate. We must seize them with creativity and a determination for increased effectiveness.

For basic education to be viable in practice, it must effectively address three major facets or dimensions of the economic, social and cultural lives of all people and of all societies. First, it must not only be a key instrument for safeguarding the cultural heritage of peoples and societies, it must engender a vital sense of the importance of culture and of cultural identity and values for the development and well-being of human society as a whole. Next, it must respond to the impact of scientific discoveries and technological change on the content and processes of education itself, and it must actively explore and re-explore the inter-relationships between education and the world of work. Finally, it must seek to develop conscious concern for the quality of life and contribute to an understanding of the vital importance of sustainable development.

### **Culture and the Educational Process**

The first dimension is *the interplay between ‘culture’, broadly defined, and the educational process*. Article 1.3 of the *World Declaration on Education For All* states:

Another and no less fundamental aim of educational development is the transmission and enrichment of common cultural and moral values. It is in these values that the individual and society find their identity and worth.

Through education, a culture is transmitted and transformed, and social functions and status are reproduced and created. The interface between education and culture is vitally important, yet too often ill-understood. Culture conditions learning in negative and positive ways. Cultural development is a key educational goal, as is the safeguarding of cultural identity and tradition. The United Nations' World Decade for Cultural Development (1988–1997) had as one of its prime objectives the affirmation of cultural identity by “finding ways to keep alive what is unique in each society without sealing it off from outside influences”. This poses a profound challenge to educators: how are they to provide education for cultural maintenance while at the same time promoting effective learning of modern knowledge? The task is made doubly difficult, for cultural maintenance must be understood in the context of its particular local setting. Moreover, not all modern knowledge is significant; indeed it may be superficial and of little real value.

Despite its important relationship to the economy, education cannot be reduced to a vehicle geared solely to employment, growth and efficiency. Culture, including language, is an essential ingredient of any learning process. A child's respect for his or her own culture and language is the foundation for self-respect and tolerance for others.

If attitudes such as trust, hope, respect and opportunism are nurtured during infancy and the early years of schooling, they will lay the foundations of personal development crucial for later life and for establishing positive attitudes to others. In a world in which mutual respect and cooperation are essential, it is important to develop approaches likely to enhance people's self-esteem through mutual support and cooperation rather than through competition. At the same time, it is no less important to develop in the individual a critical approach which will help to identify who and what is truly worthy of respect.

### **Education in Relation to Scientific and Technological Development**

Second, there is the dimension represented by *the impact of unprecedented scientific and technological development*. To be truly independent, a country should be able to ensure that all its citizens are given the opportunity, starting from the earliest stages of education, to gain an understanding of science and technology and the capacity to put them to appropriate use and to develop them to meet collective needs. Although the large majority of people do not necessarily work with new technology, they live in societies where technological innovation increasingly permeates almost every aspect of daily life. The need for basic scientific and technological knowledge and skills, therefore, becomes pervasive. This applies to rural no less than to urban societies. Workers in the agricultural sector, for example, need modern approaches in matters such as food production and marketing, irrigation and fertilizers, and they, too, need to understand how protecting the environment sustains livelihoods.

A country's engagement in the development and use of new technologies has profound implications for employment and skills requirements. With the introduction of new technologies, especially the application of informatics, areas of employment in which repetitive jobs have so far predominated are diminishing. In contrast, there is an expansion of job opportunities for high and middle-level professional persons with creative skills, able to improve the quality and management of their work. Sound basic literacy and numeracy skills, middle-level technical and organizational skills, and, to an increasing degree, problem-solving and abstract reasoning abilities, will be the cornerstones of scientific and technological advance.

There is a persuasive body of theoretical and empirical evidence showing that investment in the education and training of the labour force plays a crucial role in economic development. In

developed and developing countries, educational investment has been an important factor contributing to increased productivity and hence to economic growth, both in the modern industrial sector and in agriculture.

### **Education and Sustainable Development**

The third facet or dimension concerns issues affecting *the quality of life and education for sustainable development*. There is now a heightened awareness of the environmental crisis through which the world is passing. Education has a vital role to play in helping human beings to improve their relationships with their environment and, indeed, in contributing to the ultimate sustainability of the planet. Since the early 1970s there has been a growing concern that development aimed at improving the quality of life is seriously handicapped by imbalances in the human environment which are often caused or reinforced by human behaviour. In the industrialized areas, pollution and its physical and biological effects are often the consequences of uncontrolled industrialization and striving for growth. Inadequate water supplies, floods and famines caused by over-exploitation of land and soil, and rapid urbanization are all prominent environmental problems symptomatic of underdevelopment. In all regions, the potential threat of environmental devastation by armed conflict remains ever present. Education, in a broad sense, can make major contributions to a better understanding of these problems and to ways of addressing them appropriately and effectively.

### **Education and Population**

For optimum effect, environmental education should be linked with population education. In many countries rapid population growth has seriously inhibited efforts to raise the standard of living. High birth rates themselves have an adverse effect on maternal health and early childhood survival. Education of women is the key to population control, while population education for both men and women can develop the potential to analyze population issues and help all people, young and old, to see how important these are for their own daily lives and for the well-being of the society of which they form part.

### **Education and Health**

It is difficult to over-emphasize the value of the impact that education can have on health and nutrition. Malnutrition has particularly devastating effects on children, lowering their resistance to disease and, as is now increasingly recognized, impairing their mental as well as their physical development. Inadequate distribution systems of food and discrimination in sharing, even within the family, can contribute to the painful injustice of hunger. Education helps remedy these serious problems in a number of ways.

To start with, more education can mean increased family income. In a direct way it can help parents to understand and act appropriately in relation to health issues. The more educated the parents, the better the nutritional conditions of the children are likely to be. Moreover, there is evidence to show that it is especially the education of the mother that favourably influences the nutrition and health of the children. World Bank studies in twenty-nine developing countries have shown an inverse correlation between infant and child mortality and the health of mothers. Furthermore, there is evidence that education in health and nutrition can be more effective and less costly if it is simultaneously part of general education and tied to community organizations and to other influential channels of communication.

### **Basic Learning Needs**

In all these areas there are recurring common threads. One is the need to establish a bridge between what is learnt at school and the challenges of real life. Education for all requires

systematic analyses of learning needs—what bridges are needed, and by whom, and at what points in their lives. Communication skills must be put into practice—for instance, using a map, or following instruction to operate a particular machine. Numeracy must come into play in real-life situations—measuring a room, calculating the real value of crops produced, or deciding what equipment to purchase for a small business. Basic literacy skills must be accompanied and supported by educational content and activities that make reading and writing really useful skills for achieving personal as well as collective benefits and goals. There are few aspects of life of such vital concern to people as their health and that of their families, or the protection and enhancement of their environment. Science and technology, rather than being taught as separate subjects, should be integrated into the teaching of basic communication and numeracy skills, and linked to health and environment themes.

The scope of “basic learning needs” is set out clearly in Article 1.1 of the *World Declaration on Education For All*:

Every person—child, youth and adult—shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy and problem-solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning.

The detailed nature of basic learning needs and how best to meet them will vary over time from country to country and from culture to culture. In all cases basic learning needs cannot be separated from other basic human needs, the definition of which must include elements that are both personal and social. Which learning tools and skills, and what knowledge do human beings need for survival, for work, for full personal development, for participation in decision-making and for continued learning?

With the rapidity of technological and social change, worldwide, previously accepted notions of a relatively fixed body of basic knowledge and skills that could be learned during a predetermined duration of schooling are giving way to a concept of education centred on the need to “learn how to learn”, it being understood that learning continues throughout life. To quote Article 1.4 of the *Declaration*:

Basic education is more than an end in itself. It is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training.

Consequently there is need for augmented concepts of ‘literacy’ and ‘numeracy’ which must be sensitive to each national and cultural setting and go beyond mere reading, writing and counting. Just as the first printing press transformed the process of transmitting knowledge, so the computer today is altering the nature of cognition. Literacy and numeracy in the “information age” will be less rigidly structured, more open to change, less concerned with content and more with process. Such concepts of literacy and numeracy will place greater emphasis on the distinction between personal knowledge derived from direct experience and processed knowledge, such as data and other information drawn from external sources. There will also be more emphasis on the processes of problem-solving and on the appropriateness of solutions in practical, ethical and social terms.

### **Education and the World of Work**

Another recurrent thread is the general idea of shifting the centre of gravity of the education system to place it in close juxtaposition with the broader community and the world of work. This means linking learning in the classroom with learning in the school community and the family, as well as in the wider community and its environment. As "Education For All" is increasingly seen as a lifelong experience, more attention will be need to be given to non-formal education for youth and adults, especially through the media, with better links between the formal educational system and non-formal programmes. The "quality" of basic education is now seen more clearly to reside in achievement-oriented education for each child and adult learner. Achievement needs to be measured not only against standards set within the educational process but also against performance in later life. Understanding of children's intellectual development and its pedagogical implications is advancing and should be incorporated into teacher-education programmes, curricula and assessment measures.

### **Implications for Teacher Education**

Such major changes, involving emphasis on 'process skills' and 'learning to learn', as well as more integrated approaches to subject matter and the use of educational technology in appropriate ways, inevitably places a greater load on the teacher. This in turn calls for improvements in the quality and content of the training and re-training of teachers and for the provision of adequate facilities and support services. The key to success will lie in the quality and training of the teacher educators who will themselves be responsible for the training and re-training of the millions of teachers throughout the world.

### **The Education of Women and Girls**

The education of women and girls, which was given the most urgent priority in the *World Declaration on Education For All*, is an ever-recurrent theme. Whether it be in relation to access to education in science and technology, including 'appropriate technology' to improve living conditions in rural areas, to women's contribution to economic and social development, to issues related to the quality of life such as health, population and the environment, or to cultural heritage, action must be taken to ensure that girls and women share equally in education and its benefits.

**Source:** UNESCO (1991) *Education For All: Purpose and Context*, pages 1-5. Paris: UNESCO.

#### *Fourth Reading*

### **Education Viewed as Lifelong Learning Informal, Formal and Non-formal Education**

by

**P. H. Coombs, with R. C. Prosser & M. Ahmed**

### **Lifelong Education**

The idea and the necessity, of seeing education as a lifelong process has been emphasized by the International Commission on the Development of Education. In contrast to the view that equates education with schooling and measures it by years of exposure, the Commission adopted from the outset a concept of education that equates it broadly with learning, regardless of where, when or how the learning occurs.

Education thus defined embraces much more than the conventional “academic” skills and subject matter. It includes also, for example, the acquisition of occupational, household skills (commonly called “training”); the development of aesthetic appreciation and analytical modes of thinking; the formation of attitudes, values and aspirations; the assimilation of pertinent knowledge and information of many sorts. These different kinds of learning, to be sure, vary greatly in their depth and complexity; in the time, effort and maturity required to attain them; in their degree of generality, specificity and transferability to new situations; in their inherent value and durability. Yet all of them, if relevant to the circumstances, can enhance human capabilities and the behaviour of both individuals and communities.

This learning-centred view of education obliges us to start our analysis with the clients and their needs before moving on to consider alternative means for meeting these needs. It obliges us also to recognize that education by its very nature is a continuing process, starting from earliest infancy through adulthood, that necessarily entails a variety of methods and sources of learning. We have found it useful to group these learning methods into the following three categories, recognizing that there is overlap and a high degree of interaction between them: (1) informal education; (2) formal education; and (3) non-formal education.

### **Informal Education**

By informal education we mean the truly lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment—from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the marketplace, the library and the mass media. Through informal education, for example, a child acquires a substantial vocabulary before going to school, a daughter learns child care and cooking from helping and observing her mother, a son picks up occupational skills from his father, and children and adolescents learn from their peers.

For the most part, this process is relatively unorganized and unsystematic (hence the designation “informal”). Yet it unquestionably accounts for a very high proportion of all that any person—even a highly schooled one—accumulates in a lifetime. As the International Commission on the Development of Education noted, “the school's importance in relation to other means of education is not increasing, but diminishing.”

### **Formal Education**

By formal education we refer, of course, to the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded “educational system”, running from primary school through the university and including, in addition to general academic studies, a variety of specialized programmes and institutions for full-time technical and professional training.

### **Non-formal Education**

We define non-formal education as any organized activity outside the established formal system—whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity—that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives. Examples of non-formal education applicable to children and to youth would be: pre-school day-care centres and nurseries; school equivalency programmes to provide a “second chance” for those who are missing schooling or dropped out early; adolescent and adult literacy classes; school-based extracurricular activities, such as boy and girl scouts, young farmers' clubs, sports and recreational groups; and occupational training for adolescents in agriculture and construction, carried on outside the formal school structure.

Formal and non-formal education are alike in that both have been organized by societies to augment and improve upon the informal learning process—in other words, to promote and facilitate certain valued types of learning that individuals cannot as readily or as quickly acquire through exposure to the environment. They differ mainly in their institutional arrangements and procedures and to a considerable extent in their subject matter and learning clientele. Occasionally their differences merge in “hybrid” programmes combining significant features of both, which are of great importance for the future.

In the broad conceptual framework of a “lifelong educational system”—a system that should ultimately provide every individual with a flexible and diversified range of useful learning options throughout his or her lifetime—formal, non-formal and informal education are clearly complementary and mutually reinforcing elements.

**Source:** Coombs, P. H., with Prosser, R. C. & Ahmed, M. (1973) *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth*, pages 9–12. New York: International Council for Educational Development.

*Fifth Reading*  
**The Many Meanings of the Word ‘Education’**  
by  
**G. Mialaret**

We find ourselves confronted with at least four principal meanings of the word ‘education’: (a) education as an institution; (b) education as action; (c) education as content; (d) education as a product.

**Education as an Institution**

This refers to the sum-total of structures, whether in a country, a group of countries, or at a particular time, whose purpose is to educate pupils, which function according to more or less precise rules, and which, at a given moment of history, reveal characteristics having a certain stability. This is how we would analyze Soviet education and compare it with American education, just as we might compare ancient education with modern education.

**Education as Action**

This is the meaning most frequently used until about 1950. Its definition is dominated by that given to it early in the century (1911) by Durkheim, a definition which influenced the thinking of several educators: “Education is the action exercised by the adult generations on those who are not yet ready for social life. Its purpose is to induce in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him both by society as a whole and the social environment for which he is particularly intended.”

After 1921, however, we find a definition which gives another tone to the educational process: the definition proposed at Calais by the International League for New Education: “Education consists in encouraging the fullest possible development of the aptitudes of every person, both as an individual and as a member of a society governed by solidarity. Education is inseparable from social evolution; it constitutes one of the forces which determine it. The purpose

of education and its contents must be constantly revised in accordance with the increased knowledge of child, man, and society given us by science and experience”.

Education as action, therefore, combines several aspects which are very often confused; that of purposes, that of methods and techniques, and that of psychological processes involved (to create or to use when dealing with the pupil).

### **Education as Content**

As a preliminary consideration, we can say that education as content corresponds to what we call ‘the curriculum’, but a closer analysis reveals the limitations of this resemblance. When we speak of scientific education or artistic education, of classical humanism or modern or scientific humanism, we go considerably further than the notion of a curriculum, which very often refers almost exclusively to a body of knowledge to be acquired. Although it is true that a scientific education is characterized by a sum-total of knowledge in different fields, it also includes the creation and development of a certain number of structures and psychological processes which will change the subject’s outlook on the world and the way he apprehends, uses and masters it.

### **Education as a Product**

Education as a product stresses the result of education as action applied to education as content within the framework of education as an institution. The general education of the eighteenth century, which was aimed at educating a ‘gentleman’—a man having some knowledge of everything—is no longer that of the twentieth century, which is aimed at educating a contemporary man who can quickly adapt himself to new situations and solve the increasingly numerous and different problems he will be faced with.

**Source:** Mialaret, G. (1985) *Introduction to the Educational Sciences*, pages 14–16. Paris: UNESCO.

## Part II—Education in the Pre-Colonial Era

### Chapter 2 African Indigenous Education

*Characteristics:* Stress on communal & social aspects rather than on individual & competitive. Functional preparation for useful adult life in household, village, tribe. Much learning by doing. General absence of specialization (but see 'Process' below). Unchanging from generation to generation (traditional, static). Conservative rather than innovative.

*Curriculum:* Sum total of experiences of family, tribe or group. Conducted within pervasive, unifying religious context. Stressed (i) detailed knowledge of physical environment and skills for exploiting it; (ii) how to live and work with others; (iii) roles in networks of kinships and relationships, and understanding of rights and obligations; (iv) laws, customs, moral principles, obligations to ancestral spirits, to relatives, to others in group/tribe.

*Process:* Learning was inculcated through (i) imitation—work; play; (ii) oral literature; (iii) social ceremonies; (iv) participation in adult activities (fishing/hunting/agriculture/house-keeping). There was provision for some formal skills training (pottery/carving/weaving/herbalist knowledge and skills), and for organized learning during seclusion periods prior to initiation. Punishment and fear were widely used as motivators for learning and behaviour.

*Strengths:* Traditional education was meaningful; unifying; holistic; effective; practical; relevant. There was no separation between education and the world of work. It reached out to and educated the whole person. It involved the entire community. It developed strong human bonds. It was very strongly person-centred.

*Limitations:* It was static; conservative and not very open to change or innovation. Its world view was restricted. It found it difficult to cope with the dynamic needs of the modern world. It was orally based, without written records. It had limited scientific understanding. It promoted conformity and adherence to past traditions, rather than a spirit of inquiry, innovativeness or change.

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## Readings

In the *first reading*, Ocitti poses a number of questions that invite the reader to identify features that still characterize the traditional education of children in many parts of Africa, Zambia included. As you read his "Indigenous Education Investigation", give your own answers to the questions he asks. When you have finished, try to summarize your findings in writing (along the lines suggested by Ocitti in Section 5).

The *second reading*, by Bray and others, deals with the part indigenous education plays in the development of societies in Sub-Saharan Africa. When you have studied the reading, try to answer the question: What, in your view, are the most valuable philosophical and sociological insights provided by indigenous forms of education?

### *First Reading*

## Indigenous Education Investigation

by

J. P. Ocitti

The outline given below is suitable for use by those who wish to describe an indigenous African system of education.

### 1. Tribal Setting And Background

#### *Geographical setting*

Location—relief—climate—seasonal activities of the people, especially in agriculture and animal rearing.

#### *Historical setting*

The language group the people belongs to; their origins, movements, and other historical landmarks up to the beginning of colonial rule.

#### *Socio-political organization*

(i) Tribal social division (family, lineage or village, clan, chiefdom). Social life. Describe the social relationships that existed; the rights and duties of husbands, wives, children. Was descent reckoned on the father's side (patrilineal) or on the mother's side (matrilineal)? Behaviour between relatives, especially whether any relative (e.g. the father's or mother's brother) had any special importance to a child's growing up.

(ii) Political organization. Describe the system of government. Were kings/chiefs hereditary or elected. What powers had they? What systems of councils were there? How were councils elected? What part did the old men or elders play in tribal life?

(iii) Religion. The names and nature of God. The position of the spirits in tribal life. Which crimes brought down the wrath of the spirits on the tribe or clan as a whole? Which offences or crimes affected the individual and were dealt with by punishment or compensation? What were the major sacrifices that were offered and for what reasons?

(iv) Magic. This includes protection from evil spirits of all kinds and from illness; control over nature; taboos; divination; witch-finding; consulting with the spirits of the dead; the relationship to and importance of magic in everyday life.

### *Major Tribal Customs*

(i) Customs connected with marriage; attitudes towards marriage and having children; attitudes towards bachelors and spinsters. How marriage was arranged (by courtship? by child betrothals?). Was marriage patrilocal (e.g. when the wife lives with the husband's group) or matrilineal (when the husband lives with the wife's group)? Was marriage by bride-price or by symbol transfer, etc.?

(ii) Customs connected with child-birth. Attitudes people had towards pregnancy. Any ceremony connected with first pregnancy? What taboos or other observances were required of a pregnant woman? What was believed would happen if the woman failed to abide by the regulations and taboos? Child-birth – any special place where it took place? What were believed to be the causes of prolonged labour pains? What would be done when the birth occurred? What kind of person was the local mid-wife? How was the placenta cut and how was it, together with the umbilical cord, disposed of? How about customs connected with twins? What happened to babies born with some deformities? For how long were the baby and its mother confined to the house? Describe the name-giving ceremony, i.e. the 'out-dooring' rite. How were names given? Any meaning attached to names?

(iii) Customs connected with death. Attitudes people had towards death (examine some dirges or funeral songs). Was there any belief in life after death (resurrection)? Describe what was done from the time a person died to the time of burial. What subsequent rites were performed to wind up the mourning?

## **2. Infancy And Early Childhood Education**

### *Feeding*

How soon after birth was the baby fed? Any fixed times for feeding? How was a baby fed when its mother was sick? At what age was a baby weaned? What methods were used to wean the child? Was weaning abrupt or gradual? What factors normally prompted weaning? Was the child fed on adult food alone or with the rest of the family? Describe the accepted "table manners".

### *Encouraging a child to walk*

Describe the various ways or methods used to encourage a child to crawl or walk.

### *Encouraging a child to talk*

Attitude towards a child's cry. Reasons given for a child's cry. How infants were stopped from crying. How were children's questions treated by adults? What other methods were used to encourage a child to talk? Collect a few traditional rhymes. Name the types. What were adults' attitudes towards children with defective speech? How was a child expected to speak with adults?

### *Sleeping habits*

State whether children had a fixed time for sleeping during daytime. Where was a baby made to sleep during the day, and why? How was a baby lulled to sleep? Did the baby sleep with somebody or alone? Did the baby sleep in a cradle at night? How were young children sent to bed in the evening?

### *Toilet and bladder training*

When was bowel training begun? How was this carried out? At what age was this training expected to be completed? Was a child scolded or punished if it soiled itself? Was there a special toilet language for children? What were adults' attitudes towards breaking wind, diarrhea and constipation? How were these treated? When was bladder training started? How was it carried out? Was a young child taught to urinate in a special place? At what age was training in bladder control completed? What was the attitude towards bed-wetting? How were culprits punished?

### *Hygiene habits and illness*

How often were babies washed? With warm or cold water? How was a child's skin protected? What precautionary measures were there against fire, poisoning, malignant glances, and illnesses generally? What common children's diseases were known to the people? What was done about children who were ill?

### *Laying the foundation for socio-moral adjustment of the child*

Describe a child's earliest relationships with its mother, father, child-nurse, siblings and strangers. What attitudes were there towards emotional outbursts, jealous feelings, destructive behaviour, fits of obstinacy, temper tantrums? How were these dealt with by adults? What early attempts were made to make a child conform to mores, customs and standards of behaviour (i.e. how good habits and character were developed in the young)?

## **3. Childhood Education**

### *Learning through playing*

Did adults make any toys for children? What did children play with? Describe separately boys' and girls' make-believe play activities. Describe 'rompy' play activities (e.g. wrestling), recreational play and some selected organized games for boys and girls. Were there any 'meditative' indoor games (e.g. riddles)?

### *Learning through work*

Describe step by step how a girl and a boy were taught through the medium of work to be proficient in farm or domestic work.

### *Learning through oral literature*

Indicate what children gained through listening to legends, myths, folk-tales, folk-songs and proverbs, and through participating in or observing dances.

### *Learning through ceremonies*

Describe as many ceremonies as you can find — try to see their values to children who often experienced them.

### *Learning through hunting*

Name the types of hunting there were and indicate what education children gained by taking part in them.

### *Learning through formal teaching*

Name as many situations as possible when children were given formal instruction.

## **4. Adolescent Education**

### *Entry into adolescence*

Was this marked by any initiation ceremony such as circumcision? Describe the attitudes of adults towards puberty changes and attempts made by mothers to train their daughters in hygienic habits connected with menstruation.

*Accomplishing and becoming more proficient at domestic and farm activities*

Attempts made by adults to test their adolescent boys and girls in the various tasks expected of adults—and speeding up the process of bringing-up before marriage.

*Learning through hobbies*

Make an analysis of hobbies undertaken by adolescents (playing musical instruments? acquiring skills unique to each sex? collecting personal belongings for married life? etc.).

*Sex education and preparation for marriage*

Indicate whether there was any sex education; given by whom? where? at what age? Freedom for boys and limited freedom for girls—why? Describe the ideal woman and man or wife and husband.

**5. Reflection, Conclusion And Recommendations**

In the light of what you know about modern education; try to summarize your findings of the indigenous education studied, under these headings:

*Philosophy:* On what principles, do you think, was your indigenous education based? Giving specific examples, indicate the possible aims of that education.

*Scope:* Try to put into categories what, according to your findings, were the main areas of learning, i.e. indicate what constituted the curriculum of indigenous education.

*Method or process:* With examples, show what were the techniques of learning and teaching (if any) in indigenous education.

*The good in indigenous education:* Especially as far as the objectives, the curriculum and the methods were concerned.

*Limitations of indigenous education for today:* Any weaknesses of indigenous education in the past? Can indigenous education alone help children to become adjusted to modern life? Give reasons.

*Conclusion and recommendation:* (i) What modern education can learn from indigenous education. (ii) How the good in both indigenous and modern forms of education can be merged or synthesized to produce true national education for development.

**Source:** Ocitti, J. P. (1973) *African Indigenous Education*, pages 110–116. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

*Second Reading*

**Indigenous Forms of Education: The Individual and Society**

by

**M. Bray. P. B. Clarke and D. Stephens**

There is no one, single indigenous form of education in Africa. Societies, differing from each other as they do, have developed different systems of education to transmit their own

particular knowledge and skills. The differences are not necessarily great, but it is quite clear, for example, that the indigenous system of education among the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria and that of the Akan in Ghana, differ in method and content. Again, practices such as child weaning which form part of the 'curriculum' in the indigenous education systems of many African societies vary widely in method and perspective.

On the other hand indigenous forms of education are sometimes remarkably similar, and one form can be seen to have influenced another. Part of the reason for this is that certain educational specialists, as is the case in the Western-type and Islamic systems, are extremely mobile. The impression has often been given of pre-colonial Africa as consisting of static cultural units dwelling in isolation. However, cultural and economic interaction between different societies has at times been very fluid and intense. An example of this is the way the peoples of different ethnic origin in many parts of what are now Ghana and the Ivory Coast came to share some of the same artistic traditions. The mobility of specialists such as the Dyula dyers and Numu blacksmiths in the Ivory Coast and Ghana was in large measure responsible for this.

### **African Perspectives on Freedom and the Individual**

Although there has always been and still is exchange of ideas between societies, one cannot examine indigenous education in just one society and then draw sweeping and unqualified general conclusions about it in Africa as a whole. One can, however, generalize about the philosophical and sociological foundations of indigenous forms of education. *African philosophy tends to define people in terms of the social context to which they belong*, and this has important implications for the nature and goals of indigenous forms of education. African thought also recognizes the uniqueness of the individual with his or her own personality, talents and 'destiny'. Thus in a sense individuals are thought of as transcending the socio-cultural context. There is, however, a strong tendency to situate a person's individuality and freedom within the overall social, cultural and historical context of the community or society.

Among the Dogon of Mali, for example, an individual's actions are regarded as being closely interlinked with the way society in general and the world operate. The individual is not thought of as having one 'self' or 'soul', but rather as a multiple entity made up of several 'selves' or 'souls', each one of which reflects a concrete relationship between that individual and the wider world. Among the Dogon, a person at birth is only potentially a human being and it is the society into which that person is born that provides the individual with a spiritual, sexual, social and intellectual identity. This process happens only gradually. The community, for instance, during one of the numerous naming ceremonies which a newborn person must undergo, confers upon the child both an 'intelligent' soul, which provides the individual with the capacity for acquiring knowledge, and the 'grains' which connect the person with the laws of the universe.

### **The Goals of Indigenous Education**

Although indigenous education systems can vary from one society to another, the goals of these systems are often strikingly similar. The emphasis, it seems to us, is placed on both normative and expressive goals. *Normative goals* are concerned with instilling the accepted standards and beliefs governing correct behaviour, and *expressive goals* with creating unity and consensus. In singling out normative and expressive goals as the principal objectives of indigenous education we do not mean to suggest that there is no competitive element within the system, giving rise to what are termed *instrumental goals*. Indigenous education does encourage competitiveness in intellectual and practical matters, but this competitiveness is controlled and subordinated to normative and expressive aims.

There is, or ought to be, a direct link between the goals and content of education. A great deal of the content of indigenous education consists of what sociologists like Durkheim refer to as moral education. According to Durkheim, *morality is "a system of rules and actions that predetermine conduct"*. An essential element of morality, Durkheim maintained, was a spirit of discipline, which assumed the existence of organization and authority. With regard to the content of morality in general he stated that: "to act morally is to act in the light of the collective interest"; and he added: "the domain of the moral begins where the domain of the social begins". According to Durkheim, it was society in the sense of a supra-individual element in social life consisting of collective sentiments and beliefs, which gave moral rules and ideals their authority. In his view, a child needed to be taught morality, and this meant among other things teaching him or her about the nature of family life and in general "about the nature of the social contexts in which the child will be called to live".

Durkheim's ideas on moral education help us to understand the content and goals of indigenous forms of education. Though indigenous education in its various forms has a many-sided character, it is intimately intertwined with social life. What is taught is related to the social context in which people are called to live. Among the Chagga of Tanzania, for example, there is a 'course' for children in what is called 'imitative play'. It consists of representations of scenes from adult life by means of which the young are made familiar with the norms and ideals expected from full, responsible members of society.

Indigenous education, however, is not only concerned with the systematic socialization of the younger generation into the norms, religious and moral beliefs, and collective opinions of the wider society. It also lays very strong emphasis on learning practical skills. It is not that the idea of art for art's sake, or the notion that the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom and the improvement of an individual's intellectual capacities, have no place in indigenous education. They do, as we shall see; but there is greater emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge which is useful to the individual and society as a whole.

### **The Educators and the Curriculum in the Indigenous Education Process**

As we mentioned at the beginning, what people learn varies from one African society to another. It depends greatly on the level of stratification and the mode of political and economic organization of the society itself. In many African countries the whole community is the principal educative and socializing agency. However, some specific organizations and individuals have the task of educating the young. Some people specialize in teaching particular disciplines.

One scholar has described how among the Akan of Ghana education is a joint enterprise of both the old and the young. Children have complete freedom to attend many adult activities. At birth they are given a symbolic introduction to adult language, a few weeks later they begin to eat adult food, and from the age of six they can commence adult work. The main purpose of this early introduction to adult life is "to free the infant as quickly as possible from dependence upon the parent". Akan indigenous education, therefore, is adult-centred rather than child-centred. It is based on the assumption that an individual can participate in community life and benefit from the education the community has to offer at what is, relatively speaking, a very early age.

But even in societies where there is a strong emphasis on the community as educator, parents play a very important role in the education of their children. There is very often a clearly marked division of labour. The mother educates all the children in the early years, but later the father takes over the education of the male children while the mother remains in control of the

females. After learning to walk, speak and count, the male child goes to his father and male elders and begins his training for manhood. The female child remains in the community and begins to learn how to live and work as a woman in that society.

Among the Chamba (of north-eastern Nigeria), and in other African societies, there exists a conscious model of the ideal man and the ideal woman, and it is with this ideal in mind that children are educated in the second stage of the educational process. The ideal man preserves and strengthens the cultural, social and moral features of the society. The ideal woman is a wife and mother who, through the bearing of children and in her role as educator, assists her husband in the task of preserving and strengthening the customs and traditions of the group.

This is the ideal that is aspired to; meanwhile both parents attempt to provide their children with a very practical type of education and one based on sound principles of common sense. The nature and content of this practical education, as far as the male child is concerned, is often determined by the father's occupation. If, for example, the father is a farmer, then the male children are trained as farmers. Likewise the practical education provided for the female child will be determined by her mother's role as wife and mother and her occupation, which might well include cooking and possibly dyeing or trading. It should be mentioned that though children are instructed and guided by their parents, there is strong emphasis in the learning process on participant observation.

Apart from the parents, institutions such as age-groups participate in the education process. The age-group is important as a means of moulding the personality of its members and defining their attitude to tasks and problems which they will face in adult life. The age-group encourages and teaches respect for elders, solidarity and cooperation. In many African societies age-groups are also part of a division of labour, with economic, social, cultural and political functions being allocated on the basis of age.

In addition to the age-group system, there are other institutions such as the craft guilds and the secret societies where specialists are trained. Many of the crafts are hereditary occupations where the family hands down, usually to the oldest male child, the techniques and secrets of the trade. This seems to have been the case, for example, with bead-making and black-smithing. One can exaggerate, however, the extent to which certain crafts remained the preserve of certain families and closely knit groups, or the extent to which participation in these crafts was rigidly determined by sex.

In some parts of Africa centres also exist for training religious specialists. In these isolated institutions the recruits are transformed into new personalities. This transformation is symbolized in a number of ways. For example, the recruit's hair is shaved off several times during the course of training. Learning a new language dialect forms part of the training, and the recruit is also given a new name and trained in a new occupation. The whole process aims to create a new personality who will engage in a new kind of life. Recruits learn both about the spirit world and about more practical matters. For instance, they are taught how to make priestly garments and necklaces, and also such things as mats and baskets which are then sold to ordinary people.

The priests are also the traditional doctors. For this they have to learn a great deal about plants, roots and herbs. Treatment, however, is rarely seen in purely material or physical terms. In his treatment of the patient the doctor must use his knowledge not only of plants, herbs and roots

and their healing properties, but also his knowledge of the universe which enables him, among other things, to release the hidden power of the medicine.

The training of a diviner can be a long, highly specialized and complicated process. Not all diviners are trained for the same role in society. Among the Ndembu of north-western Zambia, for example, in addition to being a doctor, the diviner is concerned with analyzing the past. The Ndembu diviner's task is not to reveal the unknown but to give coherence, unity and meaning to all the known facts in a particular case. On this basis he works towards a specific moral judgment concerning the matter, and having achieved this he prescribes a resolution for the problem.

We have indicated that in the indigenous education system one of the main ways of acquiring knowledge and skills is participant observation. However, the indigenous system also places considerable emphasis on the 'art of memory'. The art of memory was valued by the Greeks and Romans, but it is downplayed and rather despised by Western educationists today.

### **Indigenous Education and Western Education: Points of Contact**

The policy of replacing the indigenous education systems in Africa by the Western education system has sometimes been attacked. Opponents of the full-scale westernization of education in Africa have advanced numerous criticisms against this trend. If it is one of the main purposes of schools to transmit the attitudes, values, skills, social understanding and customs of the society which they serve, then is it not the case, some educationalists point out, that the traditional or indigenous form of education does precisely this? Indeed perhaps it does it in a more effective way than the Western-type school. It would appear that indigenous forms of education in Africa place far greater emphasis on participant observation and that they appreciate fully (a point of fundamental importance) the vital link between knowledge and experience.

Of course we are not suggesting that indigenous forms of education in Africa are perfect and therefore in no need of change or improvement. As societies change, education systems also have to change if they are to cater for people's needs. When a country seeks to transform itself from a non-industrial to an industrialized nation, the education system has to play a different role from the one designed for a non-industrialized society. Instead of pursuing as one of its main objectives the goals of social stability and continuity, it will increasingly have to assist in the process of advancing controlled change. Further, when a complex, multi-cultural society is attempting to integrate itself and become one nation, the education system will need to be reshaped in order effectively to transmit different attitudes and skills.

Throughout Africa, prior to the period of large-scale nationalism and industrialization, the indigenous education systems performed the role of socializing individuals into particular societies where beliefs and values were widely held in common. The education system equipped the same individuals with the skills to perform the tasks assigned by the family and the wider society. In a culturally and religiously diverse society which is undergoing industrialization and in which the extended family system is breaking down, an education system can only be relevant if it provides individuals with the intellectual equipment, moral values, and skills needed to cope with the changing situation. It is clear from what we have already said that indigenous forms of education need to undergo major reforms in goals and methods if they are to perform this role effectively.

An issue which is relevant to the whole question of education and the development process concerns the nature of African traditional thinking. Does it constitute a barrier to the development of a truly scientific approach necessary for modernization? Levy Bruhl advanced the view that the

pre-logical and mystical character' of 'primitive' thought and the rational procedures of modern thought were incompatible. However, Levy Bruhl's thesis cannot be maintained. Horton maintains that in substance there is no essential difference between traditional African ways of thinking and Western scientific thinking. Differences do exist, but these are largely differences of idiom and do not in any way render traditional African thinking any less rational *per se* than Western scientific thinking. Apparent differences in thinking are in fact often differences in language which is used primarily as a means of representing reality. A people's reality, that is, their shared experience, will be represented in the language devised by that people.

Indigenous and Western forms of education, therefore, should not be seen as opposites; the two approaches can supplement each other in a number of ways. As we have seen, indigenous forms of education tend to reflect the values, wisdom and expectations of the community or wider society as a whole. Western forms of education, on the other hand, tend to stress the 'intellectual' development of the individual while paying less attention to the needs, goals and expectations of the wider society. The solution does not lie in abandoning one form of education for the other. A formal education system can play an important role in Africa, but such a system, if it is to meet the cultural, social, moral and intellectual, as well as the political and economic needs, of Africa needs to be domesticated and indigenized. And it is here that the study of indigenous forms of education becomes crucially important. The philosophy, methodology and content of schooling in Africa need to be shaped and moulded, not exclusively, but to a far greater extent, by indigenous perspectives. We do not simply mean those that operated before the arrival of the Western system. We are also referring to the considerations, views, opinions and assessments of past and contemporary African educationists who, through research and experience, have become aware of the needs and goals of African societies. No serious educational planning can be undertaken without identification of the specific needs and goals of particular African societies.

### **Conclusion**

Indigenous forms of education tend, more than the Western form, to serve the needs and aspirations of the community as a whole. The emphasis is on normative and expressive goals. Competition between individuals is encouraged, but not to the extent that individualism and introverted elitism are held in higher esteem than education for life in the community. Indigenous educational theory holds that each of the individual's relationships affects and is affected by all the others. Though, as we pointed out, the notion of art for art's sake exists, indigenous forms of education regard education in terms of its effects upon or consequences for society more than in terms of its effects on individuals.

By comparison, Western education tends to be 'bookish' and somewhat divorced from the life and culture of the wider community. It is, therefore, less able in some respects to provide an education that will fit an individual for life in the community. Furthermore, it tends to encourage competition at the expense of cooperation. On the other hand, it positively seeks to promote originality of thought and outlook which can be valuable assets in any society.

There is, therefore, a need to harmonize and integrate the best elements of both indigenous and Western forms of education to create a more viable system of education in Africa.

**Source:** Bray, M., Clarke, P. B., & Stephens, D. (1986) *Education and Society in Africa*, pages 101–110. London: Edward Arnold.

## Part III—Education in the Colonial Era

### Chapter 3

#### Brief Outline of the History of Zambia, 1891–1964

To understand the socio-economic context within which the development of education occurred in Zambia during the colonial period, some knowledge is needed of the history of that period. This is given in the reading below. Notice how Turok brings out the way in which the entire political economy of Zambia was geared towards mining and the interests of the settlers, with consequent neglect of agriculture and the African population, together with active discrimination against Africans.

#### *Reading*

#### **Colonial Rule in Zambia**

by

**Ben Turok**

*The problem of Northern Rhodesia is not a colonization problem. It is the problem of how best to develop a great estate on scientific lines so that it may be made to yield the maximum profit to its owner. (H. W. Fox, British South Africa Co., 1910)*

The three main periods in the formation of modern Zambia are: mining company rule from 1891 to 1924; Colonial Office rule from 1924 to 1953; and Federation from 1953 to the end of 1963.

Each of these periods contributed a different element to the country's development. Yet there was one outstanding continuity—the dominance of mining interests throughout the colonial period. Even after Independence, the presence of the large mining companies remained a powerful political factor which was partly responsible for the moves to create a large state-controlled sector as a counterweight to private and foreign capital.

#### **Company Rule: 1891–1924**

The first Europeans to enter the territory that came to be called Northern Rhodesia were Portuguese. But their activities were insignificant and it was the reports drawn up by David Livingstone, who made several visits to the area between 1851 and 1873, which encouraged European interest. He was motivated by a desire to promote both missionary work and trade, and he succeeded in both. Missionaries and traders established relationships with the African chiefs, creating a degree of familiarity which facilitated the more significant intrusions to come.

But the principal actor in relation to the area was Cecil Rhodes who had made a fortune in diamond mining at Kimberly in South Africa and who sought to extend his hold over the regions to

There was certainly a lack of coordination between the political and the trade union struggles which weakened both. In the period before the achievement of Independence, UNIP opposed a purely economic strike by the Union on the grounds that there were sensitive negotiations underway which could be prejudiced by a climate of strife. It may be that the political leaders wished to present an image of moderation at this time and feared that militancy by the Union would stand in the way of a transfer of power.

In spite of the differences within the struggle, the British Government was becoming increasingly aware of the bitter opposition which the imposition of the Federation had aroused. The Monckton Report had declared in 1960 that opposition in Northern Rhodesia was "widespread, sincere and of long standing. It is almost pathological." This report signalled the end of Federation. After various attempts at compromise solutions, the Federal structure was formally dismantled on 31st December 1963. Within a matter of weeks UNIP, headed by Kenneth Kaunda, swept the polls in Zambia's first ever "one-man one-vote" (universal adult suffrage) elections. The stage was set for the independence negotiations (April–May 1964) and the eventual accomplishment of independence (24th October 1964).

### **The Economy during the Period of Colonial Rule**

The pre-independence history of Zambia's economy can be divided into three phases: pre-colonial subsistence farming; the period of consolidation of the extraction of labour and the penetration of settler farming; and the establishment of an indigenous copper industry. The first phase was marked by stagnation, the second by the steady dislocation of African agriculture and traditional social structures, and the third by the rapid reorganization of the whole economy to create one of the most distorted economies in Africa.

The first Europeans to enter the territory were small traders who made little impression on the economy. Later, when BSAC rule was established, its presence was felt more in the imposition of taxes and the building of a railway to the Congo (Zaire) than in any direct economic activity. Mining was not at that stage a profitable activity for so large a company.

The mid-1920s saw an explosion in the demand for copper in Europe and the United States, due to the surge in the electrical and automobile industries. Ninety percent of world copper production was controlled by American-dominated Copper Exporters Incorporated, established in 1926. This company soon began to force up the price of copper. It was then that the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia attracted attention. They represented an alternative supply.

In 1928, the BSAC sold 50,000 square miles of mining concessions. Two rival mining companies were established: Rhodesian Anglo-American and Rhodesian Selection Trust. The country's subsequent history was based on the fortunes of these companies which did indeed become "a great estate on scientific lines".

Though the early thirties saw a major depression in the industry, copper mining became very profitable from 1935, yielding substantial revenues to the government. By 1939, taxes on copper yielded 70% of total revenue. The BSAC also benefited as it had retained all royalty rights in the territory and royalties were based on the price of copper, irrespective of profitability. In

1939, the BSAC drew £500,000 in royalties, about the same as Northern Rhodesia collected in taxes.

In the forty years before independence there was an enormous outflow of capital from Northern Rhodesia. During that period, over £400 million was exported to the developed world. The BSAC received more than £160 million gross from this, as well as £82 million from royalties. The British Treasury collected approximately £40 million in taxes, since the mining companies were based in London and paid tax there on their profits. In the ten years before independence, the two large mining companies sent £260 million out of the country, while £100 million went to the Federal Government, mostly for developments in Southern Rhodesia.

The pre-independence economy can be summed up as follows:

1. With mining dominating the economy and society, the whole system was subordinated to its requirements. Being an export industry which required only labour and capital for its operations, there was no intrinsic reason for copper mining to become an engine of growth for the economy as a whole.
2. The industry was a substantially self-contained enclave, with few linkages with the rest of the economy. The railway line brought in basic supplies of machines and manufactured goods from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. There was no necessary spill-over of productive activity to the rest of the country, as might have been the case with a manufacturing industry. Throughout the Federal period, wage employment remained static at 270,000.
3. Although capital investment was massive and the scale of operations large, foreign ownership and the backwardness of the economy meant that financial benefit did not accrue to the country. There was very little productive re-investment within Northern Rhodesia during the colonial period.
4. Not only did profits leave the country, but also much of the salaries and savings of the expatriate community. As a result there was only a small internal market for manufactured goods and higher priced foods. At independence manufacturing constituted only 7% of the GDP. The external orientation of consumption by short-term contract mining staff created a pattern for the settler population, and it was an important function of the colonial administration to facilitate the importation of goods and the externalizing of financial assets.
5. African mine-workers, unlike workers in industrialized manufacturing countries, were not consumers of the goods they produced. The realization of production did not depend on internal consuming power. Hence the labour power of the workers could be exploited more, the only limit being the continuing replacement of labour by the extrusion of new workers from the indigenous economy. Thus the maximum extraction of surplus value was possible as long as the colonial social and political conditions remained.
6. The small internal political base for the maintenance of these relations of production received support from the body of expatriate management and skilled workers needed to operate the mines. Many of them came from South Africa and readily identified with the colonial/capitalist structures of Northern Rhodesia. In this way, the mining enclave, coupled with the small settler and expatriate population, was able to set a pattern on society which remained until independence.

### **Society in Colonial Zambia**

From the early years, the mining companies, the colonial administration and the settlers opposed the granting of social as well as political rights to Africans. The colour bar became deeply

entrenched in respect of social status and economic opportunities. The mining companies also opposed the creation of openings for Africans other than those needed in the labour process; ultimately it was the needs of mining that determined the nature of the social structure.

Racial discrimination and differentiation were similar in Northern Rhodesia to Southern Africa as a whole. But in addition, the much smaller minority of whites in the territory added to their sense of insecurity and led to the combined pressure of mining companies, colonial administration and settlers to sustain white privilege and prevent African encroachment.

The favourable position of white settler farmers was reinforced by their privileged access to the market for cheap maize for African mineworkers. African farmers were squeezed out of the market in the mid-thirties when the Maize Control Board allocated three-quarters of the total internal market to European farmers and decreed that they be paid 78 ngwee per bag compared with the 50 ngwee per bag paid to African farmers. Added to the burden of taxes and the loss of male labour to the mines and European farms, these restrictive measures further eroded African agriculture.

In general, Africans were caught in a scissors of official policy aimed at extruding male labour from the rural areas while deliberately limiting their opportunities in the capitalist economy. By the early twenties, over a third of African men were in employment, mostly outside the country. Within the country there were tight restrictions on African job advancement and few openings for Africans in trade and commerce. Many of the country's infrastructural needs were provided from Southern Rhodesia, and secondary and tertiary industry were not encouraged. On the whole, Northern Rhodesia was a stagnant economy. The mining companies gave very little back to the country and Britain was equally parsimonious. Only £136,000 was given in development grants between 1930 and 1940, in return for the £24 million received in taxes.

Under colonialism, as long as the economic base remained mining and European farming, there was no necessity to improve social services for Africans. Indeed there was every incentive to keep government spending low and taxes down. Hence, by 1931 the government spent only £15,000 on assisting selected mission schools. In 1942 there were only 86,300 children in school, with only 3,000 in the fifth year and 35 in secondary school. A trades school in Lusaka had only 70 pupils in 1948, partly because legislation dating from 1943 prevented Africans from becoming industrial apprentices. The neglect of education was a continuing symptom of official determination to keep avenues of advancement closed to all but expatriates and settlers. By 1958 there were less than 1,000 African children in secondary schools, while only one school provided for entrance to university. In 1951 there were only 4 African university graduates, while by 1961 there were 961 Africans with secondary school certificates and 76 with university degrees. There were only 6,401 primary and 301 secondary school teachers. The colonial civil service mirrored this policy. There were separate institutions for Europeans and Africans and "only the most menial and insignificant tasks were filled by members of the African Civil Service".

The so-called African Senior Service reflected the status accorded to Africans. It included adult education assistant, urban court registrar, wireless operator, agricultural laboratory assistant, dispensary assistant, etc. Of the 5,451 in this senior service in 1957, 4,911 were in the lowest grade and 90 in the highest which, in any case, required a Higher School Certificate (6th Form). Salaries for these posts were in the range £326 to £668 a year, not very different to an African miner and about a sixth of a European miner. The evidence shows that the colonial state did not create a significant white collar class in Northern Rhodesia.

Where official avenues are blocked and white collar status jobs are scarce, the natural environment for the petty bourgeoisie is generally in the informal sector based in the African townships. In many Third World countries there has grown up a sector consisting of small-scale, labour-intensive and low-skill work serving the urban townships. Activities include operating food stalls, suitcase selling, individual craftsmanship, shoe repairing, hairdressing, watch repairing, and so forth.

The colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia was opposed to the emergence of an informal sector economy. Fry notes that “hawking and small trading were put beyond the reach of all but a few Africans by setting the annual hawker’s license fee at £2.10, ten times as large as the Native Tax in some of the poorer parts of the country”.

Prior to Independence, Africans were actually prohibited in major urban trading areas and those who were commercially active were either very poor shopkeepers or hawkers. Low African wages meant that the market was small. Europeans either spent their incomes outside the country or confined their purchasing to European shops or to ‘second-class’ trading areas manned by Asians. Some Asians were able to operate in small scale manufacturing and wholesale distribution, but there were no Africans in this class of business. Hence, while there were a number of Africans who were self-employed, the term petty bourgeoisie may give a wrong impression of their place in the economy and social structure.

From the analysis above it is clear that the political structures, the economy and the social framework created by colonial capitalism meant that Africans were barred from jobs and opportunities more systematically than in most non-settler colonies. The state used African tax revenues to create a migrant labour system, but also to strengthen the infrastructure needed by white industry and farming, and to improve the facilities available for Europeans with their high-income styles of consumption. African agriculture went into decline, while, until independence, there was no compensating improvement in conditions for migrant or permanent urban Africans.

The absence of skills, management experience, and a stable middle-class and professional class made the transfer of power to an independence government problematic. From the point of view of the British government, the settlers and the capitalist class, there was no African social stratum which could take on the role of indigenous representatives for foreign interests. Unlike countries like Ghana, Nigeria or Kenya, there was no domestic class of any education or experience, or with any capital, however small, which could serve as the natural heirs of white power. No doubt the expectation was that settlers and expatriates would continue to manage the economy for a long time after independence, but this was somewhat unrealistic for that particular period of sweeping decolonization in Africa. Foreign-owned companies were to pay a substantial price in the loss of efficiency in the economy and the country as a whole resulting from the determination of the government of newly independent Zambia to install Africans in positions of responsibility, notwithstanding their lack of experience or expertise.

**Source:** Turok, B. (1989) *Mixed Economy in Focus: Zambia*, pages 16–33 (abridged). London: Institute for African Alternatives.

## Chapter 4

### School Education: Its Introduction and Provision up to 1924

*The Context:* Livingstone's travels and work for elimination of the slave trade. Response of churches to 'opening of Africa to commerce and Christianity'. Arrival of missionaries in Zambia, particularly in Barotseland. Toe-hold by 1890, but big influx 1890 to 1906 into all parts of the country, especially the south (following development of line-of-rail to the copper-rich areas) and north-east.

*Mission Schools:* Schools seen as integral to mission work, since it was on young people that missionaries placed their main hope for stable converts to Christianity. The missionaries were motivated to give formal education (literacy, numeracy) so that people could read the Bible (evangelization) and spread the gospel message to others (Christian leadership formation). Some also wanted to develop agricultural, carpentry, black-smithing and other skills that would help people raise their living standards. There was very little capitalization on traditional systems of education and no appeal to the way people had hitherto transmitted wisdom, knowledge and experience from one generation to the next. Instead, in their desire to "convert" people to Christianity, missionaries rejected much of traditional way of life. As a result, schools were alien to the local culture from the outset—they were foreign to the people, western-inspired and conceived. At first, local people showed little interest in schooling, but this slowly changed with the realization that what was learned in school might make it easier to get paid employment (and pay taxes).

*BSAC Involvement:* The BSA Company administered the territory, collected large sums in taxes from the local people, but gave no money for schools (except for the Barotse National School). Missions supported schools and teachers from their own limited resources. Teachers were poorly educated, not trained, badly paid. The BSAC refused to support education but tried to control the system—its Native Schools Proclamation of 1918 gave the company sweeping powers over schools and teachers. Strong missionary resistance led to repeal of the proclamation. Despite large tax revenues, the BSAC continued to incur financial losses on its administration of the territory. In 1923 it made arrangements with the London Colonial Office to relinquish control the following year. Missionary expectation was that the new, colonial administration would support their work in education.

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### Readings

In the *first reading*, Henkel's account of early mission settlements in Zambia before 1900 sets the context for the introduction and provision of school education.

The *second reading* comes from an official annual report on education, prepared during colonial times. Note the importance attached to girls' education, even at this early stage of educational development.

In the *third reading*, Henkel traces the development of the education system up to 1924.

#### *First Reading*

### Early Mission Settlements up to 1900

by

**R. Henkel**

The interior of southern Africa was one of the last non-Islamic areas of Black Africa to be reached by Christian missionaries. Most of the societies which came into the area of present-day Zambia had already settled previously in neighbouring areas. David Livingstone, who originally came to South Africa as a doctor with the London Missionary Society (LMS), never actually founded a permanent mission station. He did, however, have great influence in directing mission societies into Central Africa. At his suggestion, both the LMS and the mission societies of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland turned towards Central Africa. In 1858 the Anglican Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) was also founded in response to his challenge.

Before missionaries settled permanently in the area of present-day Zambia during the eighties of the last century, there were several abortive expeditions. Most of these failures can be attributed to the climate, to which the Europeans were unaccustomed, and the illnesses which resulted. Many of the pioneers died of malaria, blackwater fever or other illnesses. The first attempt was an LMS expedition in 1859 from its station at Kuruman in South Africa which had been established in 1817. However, before the expedition reached its destination it had to be abandoned and only three of its eighteen members survived. Loziland had become widely known through Livingstone's writings and two other missions tried without success to establish themselves there. The Jesuit order, which had Portuguese missionaries stationed in the coastal areas of Mozambique as early as the sixteenth century, started its 'Zambezi Mission' in 1878, attempting to establish a station on the Zambezi River. However, Lewanika, the Lozi ruler, refused permission and the party had to return. Eventually the Jesuits started a mission in Matabeleland (Empandeni). They did not return north of the Zambezi until 1905.

F. S. Arnot, a Scot, was allowed to start a mission school in the Lozi capital of Lealui in 1883. However, he abandoned it after a year to open up other areas for Brethren missionaries (later often called Christian Missionaries in Many Lands – CMMML): in Angola, the Congo, and the

northern and north-eastern parts of Northern Rhodesia. Like Livingstone, Arnot did not open any mission stations but he became an important mission strategist for Central Africa. He advised missionaries of the Brethren movement, to which he belonged, about the establishment of mission stations. In addition, on the strength of Arnot's activity in Barotseland, Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission (PEM) gained entry. In 1910, he brought the South African General Mission (SAGM) into the North-Western province of the country and finally, in 1913, he persuaded the South African Baptists to take over the work of the small Nyasa Industrial Mission in Lambaland, near the present-day Copperbelt.

The first permanent missionary settlements in present-day Zambia were at opposite ends of the country. Whereas the London Missionary Society did not try to enter Loziland again after the disaster of 1859, Coillard, encouraged by Arnot's experience, traveled to Loziland in 1878 to find out whether his society would be welcome there. On the strength of his reception he returned to raise funds and to prepare for the work. His mission, a Protestant body, had worked in Basutoland since 1883. Coillard returned with Christians from Basutoland, whose language was closely related to the Lozi language, opening the first mission station at Sesheke in 1885, another at Sefula in 1887, and a third at Kazungula in 1889.

The London Missionary Society had turned its attention to the east, establishing two missionaries at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika in 1878, with the intention of entering the country south of the lake. But it was not until 1883 that the first temporary station, Lofu, was built at the southern end of the lake. However, this, as well as the next station, Niamkolo (started in 1885), was later abandoned because of the unhealthy climate and resulting high death toll. Instead, Fwambo on the high plateau between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, where the climatic conditions were better, was opened in 1887. Three years later it was moved a few kilometres away to Kawimbe. In order to facilitate supply and communication with the stations near Ujiji, a steam-boat, "The Good News", was brought overland in parts and launched on Lake Tanganyika in 1885. This was the first steamer on the lake, just as the "Ilala", launched ten years earlier by the Livingstonia Mission, had been the first steam-boat on Lake Nyasa.

The missions, particularly the LMS and the Livingstonia Mission, were as much interested in eradicating slavery (which was rife in their areas) as in planting Christianity. They stopped slave caravans and settled many of the freed slaves near their stations. Since external powers had not by then established any effective administration in the area, and because of the disturbances caused by slave raiding, the missionaries assumed the role of chiefs, arbiters and judges in local disputes. Most of them welcomed the granting of a Royal Charter to the British South Africa Company over what is now Zambia, although the company did not take full control by building administrative stations until shortly before the turn of the century.

Thus, by 1890 there were only six mission stations in the country, three each in the south-west and north-east extremities. Some rudimentary teaching was done here and the first people turned to Christianity, but these stations can be regarded as no more than toe-holds in a relatively unknown country.

Before the turn of the century the two established missions had started eight more stations and four new societies had arrived. The Paris Mission expanded its work by opening four new missions in Loziland and in Livingstone. They therefore 'occupied' the upper Zambezi Valley, and it was not until 1930s that another mission society, the Catholic Capuchin Fathers, entered Loziland. From the south, another British missionary society entered the country: the Primitive

Methodist Missionary Society (PMMS), the missionary arm of a movement which had split from the main Wesleyan Church in Britain. They had run a small station in South Africa since 1870, but being unable to expand work there, the society looked to Central Africa. Coillard, who was consulted, suggested that they work among the Ila people on the Kafue Flats. For three years the pioneer party was kept waiting by Lewanika until, in 1893, they finally got permission to start work, establishing stations at Nkala and Nanzela.

In the north-east, the LMS expanded its work which, until then, had been confined to the Mambwe people. First, Kambole station was built in the Mambwe area, but in 1899 it was possible to establish a station at Kashinda in Bemba country near Chief Mporokoso. After Chief Kazembe of the Lunda in the Luapula Valley had been defeated by the BSAC forces, the LMS started a mission station, Mbereshi, next to his capital (1900). The Bemba resisted the establishment of a new station until 1895. In that year, the French Bishop, J. Dupont of the White Fathers, was allowed to settle at Kayambi on the fringe of the Bemba area. The White Fathers are a Catholic order founded in 1868 for the purpose of evangelizing Africa. In the beginning, their missionaries were mainly French, but later they included many from other European countries. Dupont also had a temporary station in the Mambwe area, although this was essentially an observation post because his aim was to penetrate Bembaland, which he finally did, opening Chilubula in 1898 and Chilonga in 1899.

Two other societies entered from Nyasaland. One was the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland, or Livingstonia Mission, mentioned earlier. It extended its work in Northern Nyasaland westwards by starting a mission station at Mwenzo near the Tanganyika border in 1894. The other society was the Dutch Reformed Church Mission of South Africa. This mission had established itself in Central Nyasaland in 1889 and in 1899 extended its work into eastern Zambia, the population of which is Nyanja-speaking like that of Central Nyasaland. As in the case of the LMS entry to the Luapula Valley, their first settlement at Magwero near the present-day Chipata was only possible after Mpezeni, the Ngoni chief who resisted white settlement in his area, was defeated by a BSAC force.

Thus, by 1900, the missions had started penetrating the interior of Northern Rhodesia, the furthest outposts being the Primitive Methodists' stations in the Ila country and the White Fathers' station at Chilonga. However, what was to become the core of the country — the line of rail area — was as yet untouched.

**Source:** Henkel, R. (1989) *Christian Missions in Africa*, pages 28–32. Berlin: Dietrich Reimar Verlag.

*Second Reading*  
**Education during the Period 1885–1925: The Official View**  
by  
**Department of African Education**

Apart from the pioneer journeys of David Livingstone, the advent of missionary enterprise in Northern Rhodesia may be considered to date from the year 1885, when Francois Coillard of the

Paris Evangelical Missionary Society established a mission station at Sesheke in Barotseland, having first secured the permission of the Paramount Chief and his Indunas. During the next forty years the number of societies operating in the country steadily increased, and by the end of this period sixteen had entered the educational field, although they received no financial encouragement from the Administration of the BSAC to engage in education. Some of the most important schools in the Territory today were founded during this period. The station schools soon undertook the training of African evangelist teachers whose schools spread rapidly over the Missions' growing sphere of influence.

It is interesting to note the early beginnings of girls' education. In 1915 the London Missionary Society established a girls' boarding school at Mbereshi with Miss Mabel Shaw as the first principal. The success of this school encouraged others and by 1925 girls' schools had been established at Mabumbu in Barotseland by the Paris Mission, at Chipembi by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, and at Chilubula, Kayambi and Ngumbo by the Sisters of the White Fathers' Mission. From these starting points the pioneers in girls' education set out on a long road of endeavour to find a solution to perhaps the most difficult and the most important problem in African education.

The foundation of the Barotse National School in 1907 is associated with the early days of the BSAC's rule in North-Western Rhodesia and the establishment of an administration at Mongu-Lealui. In accordance with the historic agreement entered into between the Company and Paramount Chief Lewanika the school was established and financed from the Barotse National Trust Fund. No other schools received assistance from public funds before 1925.

During this period no machinery existed for the administration of education. Indeed it is pertinent to recall that only in 1922 was an educational organization set up in the Colonial Office (London) in the shape of an Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical Africa Dependencies. An officer of the District Staff was, however, seconded in 1921 as an Inspector of Schools to advise and assist the Missions in their educational work.

**Source:** *Annual Report on African Education 1952*, page 5. Lusaka: Department of African Education.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Significance of the Missions in the Development of the Educational System by R. Henkel**

*The school has undoubtedly been the most universally appreciated Christian contribution to Black Africa over the past century and more. (Turner, 1975)*

The assessment of the missions' contribution to educational work is not undisputed, as one might have supposed from this statement by Turner. Other authors consider the educational work of the missions to have laid the foundations for the political, cultural, economic and intellectual colonization of the Africans, and accuse them of having "decisively accelerated the cultural suicide of the continent". The validity of such claims is not considered by the present study. Rather, the

aim is to examine the development of the Zambian educational system with particular reference to its spatial characteristics. In this development, the missions without doubt played a dominant role. Attention will mainly be directed to the structural aspects, and the question of the educational curricula will to a large extent be disregarded.

The missions were the most important agencies doing educational work during the colonial era, not only in Northern Rhodesia but in the whole of Black Africa. Almost all missions considered the schools to be their most important means of Christianization. Thus, a Catholic bishop in southern Nigeria observed that "those who hold the school hold the country, hold its religion, hold its future". In 1923, in Britain's African territories, there were about 6,000 recognized mission schools, but only 100 government schools. The situation was similar in the Belgian territories, while the colonial administration in the French territories played a more active role. Later the British colonial authorities became more involved, yet even in 1961 it was estimated that 68% of school children in Africa attended mission schools. Following independence, the state took over the major responsibility for the education system in most countries.

### **The Genesis of the System of Formal Education up to 1924**

In pre-colonial society 'education' needs to be considered in a much broader context, whilst knowledge was more informally imparted. The exception was the 'initiation schools' in which young people were prepared for adult life. The essentially informal character of traditional African upbringing did not mean that it was in any way less effective, although this was usually overlooked by many early educationalists. It was effective in providing members of society with the abilities needed in the natural and social environment of the time. What clearly differentiated it from the education that the newly arrived Europeans were offering was the lack of any form of writing.

One of the missionaries' first tasks was to learn the language of the people of the area around the mission station and to put it down in writing. The next step was the opening of schools in which reading and writing, first of the local language and then of English, could be taught. However, both measures were secondary to the main aim of the missions—that of bringing Christianity to the people. Since the Bible had great importance, especially for the Protestant denominations, the missions wanted the Africans to have access to it. For many missionaries, school education was just a means to this end. Others regarded education as part of their task to 'civilize' the Africans. Due to the importance of the school in the work of the missions, it became equated with the 'church' in the minds of many Africans. This idea was reinforced by the frequent use of the school building as a church on Sundays and the fact that the teacher was also the preacher. As an external symbol of Christianization, the school became an element of the settlement landscape:

The school building is the outward expression of the attitude of the villages towards religion. It takes the place of the little heathen temples which were so plentiful but which have now almost disappeared.... In the eyes of the people it is first and foremost a place of worship.

In the early years of the missions only a few schools were established and there were many setbacks. This was not only due to the fact that it took time for the population to accept the missionaries and for the missionaries to learn the local language. It was also because formal education was alien to the Africans who initially did not see the value of reading and writing. Children were only sent to school if they were not needed for work in the house or fields, and early missionaries' reports are full of complaints about irregular school attendance. With tribes like the Ila, whose economy was predominantly cattle-based, it was particularly difficult to establish an

effective school organization. Often pupils could be attracted only by the use of incentives, such as free food or clothing. However, schools gradually became established in all parts of Northern Rhodesia, although their number and quality varied according to the attitude and the financial and personnel resources of the missions working there at the time. In the first decade, the Dutch Reform, the Free Church of Scotland, the London Missionary Society and the White Fathers were the leading missions in the number of schools they operated. By about 1925 these missions, all situated in the eastern half of the country, managed about 80% of the country's schools. However, as schools often were weapons in the struggle between the missions for areas of influence, their educational effectiveness was sometimes limited. On the other hand, at the Paris Mission in Barotseland, much more emphasis was given to the quality of education. Fifteen years after the Paris Mission began work it had only five schools, but these gave it an advantage over the others which was to last for several decades. The missions in the North-Western Province started few schools, regarding education as a relatively unimportant part of the missions' work.

Catholics and Protestants had different perceptions of the importance of schools. Although it was essential for many Protestant societies that the converted be able to read their Bibles, this was not an important consideration for the Catholics. To the Catholics, the school played a more important role in the education of the whole person. As far as the educational aims were concerned, Welbourn differentiated between the strong emphasis on the development of initiative and responsibility prevalent in schools run by the British Protestant missions and the greater stress on obedience found in the Catholic schools and those run by the conservative American missions. The contrast between Catholics and Protestants can be understood in the context of the respective mission's aims: the Catholics wanted to incorporate their converts into the Roman Catholic Church, founding for this purpose only a new church province; the aim of the Protestants, however, was to found independent (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating) churches run by Africans which, after a certain time, were to be independent of the European missionaries. For this to be possible, responsible Christian African leaders were needed.

Until 1924 the development of the education system took place with little involvement by the British South Africa Company which administered Northern Rhodesia on behalf of the British Government. The BSAC had, in the years 1890, 1898 and 1900, entered into agreements with the Lozi ruler Lewanika whose power, it was assumed at the time, extended over the whole of North-Western Rhodesia. In these treaties, among other things, the BSAC gained exploration rights to the whole of North-Western Rhodesia and the right to allocate land to white settlers outside Barotseland. In the so-called "Lewanika Concession" of 1900, the Company undertook to protect Barotseland from external threat, to pay Lewanika an annual sum of £2,000, and to aid and assist in the education and civilization of the native subjects of the King by the establishment, maintenance and endowment of schools and industrial establishments.

However, in the three decades in which the BSAC administered North-Western Rhodesia only one school was built—the Barotse National School near Mongu, which was begun in 1907. The establishment of this school appears to have been a response to the arrival in Barotseland of the 'Ethiopian' movement in the person of W. Mokalape, an executive of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. During this period the strong desire of the Lozi for education had become clear and the BSAC by building the school wanted to take control of the movement which had both anti-white and anti-colonial undertones.

The missions, which in the meantime had considerably expanded their activities, repeatedly called upon the BSAC to share the cost of running the schools. This was repeatedly refused,

despite the fact that the BSAC annually collected almost £100,000 in direct taxes in Northern Rhodesia alone, from which the only school for Africans that they funded was the Barotse National School. Schools for European children, however, were financed by the BSAC from as early as 1908. In 1908 it was the BSAC Administrator's view that the mission societies needed no financial backing from the Company since they received ample grants from promoters throughout the world.

At the end of the period of BSAC rule the fifteen missions working in the territory were managing, without the help of the Company, a total of 1,688 schools with approximately 92,000 pupils. A large concentration could be observed in the eastern and north-eastern part of the country where the four largest mission societies (as regards schools and pupils) had their working area.

**Source:** Henkel, R. (1989) *Christian Mission in Africa*, pages 125–129. Berlin: Dietrich Reimar Verlag.

## Chapter 5

### Colonial Education Policy

*Groups interested in education in Northern Rhodesia:* Colonial Office in London, Colonial Administration in Northern Rhodesia, settlers, missionaries, local people. Each had own ideas and concerns. Colonial Office & Administration took little account of what local people wanted. No practice of consulting them. London Colonial Office often more progressive than Administration in Northern Rhodesia. Settlers felt mission education was disruptive, a potential political and economic threat—hence they generally opposed educational developments for the Africans. Missionaries wanted literacy and some skills training, but produced beginnings of an elite—outputs from mission schools had values that did not match those of tribal leaders or of colonial authorities, and many became unhappy with their role. The missionaries were not always aware that they were having this impact. Local people increasingly wanted more education, of higher standard and to higher level; generally they had to leave the country to get this.

*Missions pioneered education, but soon colonial administration began to show interest.* Colonial Office in London set guidelines for African education in all British Colonies in tropical Africa. Derived its ideas from two groups—Phelps-Stokes reports and Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa. This Committee requested Phelps-Stokes foundation to send a commission to East Africa, which they did in 1924. Phelps-Stokes Commission met with General Missionary Conference at Kafue in June. From its perspective on provisions for the education of Negroes in the United States, it recommended an educational programme adapted and responsive to the needs of the community. Its concern was that education should prepare students for life in the rural, village community. Hence it recommended a simple, utilitarian form of education rooted in agriculture and with little academic stress or content. Advisory Committee took up these ideas and formulated basic policy principles (cf. First Reading, below): encourage voluntary educational effort; promote cooperation between government and other educational agencies; education to be adapted to mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples; stress on religious teaching and moral instruction; importance of teacher training and supervisory system; urgent need for education of girls and women.

*Control of education as part of policy of 'indirect rule'.* 'Indirect rule' was meant to allow Africans run their own affairs, but almost entirely at the level of the village and community. Traditional structure and social system should be maintained in place, particularly by a widespread system of elementary schools that would not disrupt society with western influences. Colonial government had a perennial fear of producing an educated unemployed class. Showed this mostly in slow way it developed secondary education. Policy statements between 1925 and 1937 were almost entirely devoted to elementary education. No early coherent, directive policy on development of secondary education. The over-arching policy that guided all educational policy was that nothing should be done that would threaten European dominance.

*Colonial authorities (especially in Northern Rhodesia) against too much modernization of Africans:* They favoured a conservative, adapted approach. Colonial education often interpreted as being education for subordination, exploitation and development of underdevelopment; seen (in later years) as an instrument of imperialist domination and economic exploitation, as a major source of economic inequalities and social stratification, as an instrument of intellectual and cultural servitude. Curriculum inadequate and largely irrelevant to needs of local people.

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### Readings

The *first reading* gives the text of the Colonial Office's 1925 *Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Compare the contents of this Memorandum with the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, as found in Snelson and other authors.

In the *second reading*, Carmody gives an overview of the educational policies that guided the British South Africa Company and later the Colonial Office.

In the *third reading*, Coombe outlines the policy perspective which saw mass elementary education and secondary education as competing alternatives: one could be chosen, but not both. This policy position was responsible in large part for the late start of secondary education in Northern Rhodesia.

#### *First Reading*

### **Education Policy in British Tropical Africa**

by

### **Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa**

As a result on the one hand of the economic development of the British African Dependencies, which has placed large revenues at the disposal of the Administrations, and on the other hand of the fuller recognition of the principle that the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the Governments of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the Mission Societies.

In view of the widely held opinion that the results of education in Africa have not been altogether satisfactory, and with the object of creating a well-defined educational policy, common to this group of Dependencies—comprising an area of over 2.5 million square miles with a population of approximately 40 million—the Secretary of State decided in 1923 to set up an Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa.

The Committee feels that it has now reached a point at which it is possible to formulate the broad principles which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy, and

with the approval of His Majesty's Government, set forth these views to the local Governments, together with some indication of the methods by which they should be applied.

The following outline has accordingly been drawn up. Supplementary memoranda on special subjects may be added from time to time.

### **Encouragement and Control of Voluntary Educational Effort**

Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy. But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions, by inspection or other means.

### **Cooperation**

Cooperation between Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. With this object Advisory Boards of Education should be set up in each Dependency upon which such agencies and others who have experience in social welfare should be accorded representation. These Boards would be advisory to the Government, and would include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural and Public Works Departments, together with missionaries, traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion, since education is intimately related to all other efforts, whether of Government or of citizens, for the welfare of the community. The Board should be supplemented in the provinces by Educational Committees.

### **Adaptation to Native Life**

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of the true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus (= gap) between the educated class and the rest of the community, whether chiefs or peasantry. As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational training—including especially the Departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture—must cooperate closely in the educational policy. The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people. but provision must also be made for the training of those required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. 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.

### **Religion and Character Training**

The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community, and at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization—and even education itself—must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing

beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilization need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty.

Such influence should permeate the whole life of the school. One such influence is the discipline of work. Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as classroom instruction. The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined cooperation, is the foundation of character. With wise adaptation to local conditions such agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements can be effectively utilized provided that good Scout Masters are available. The most effective means of training character in these ways is the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils—entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors—can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.

### **The Educational Service**

The rapid development of our African Dependencies on the material and economic side demands and warrants a corresponding advance in the expenditure on education. Material prosperity without a corresponding growth in the moral capacity to turn it to good use constitutes a danger. The well-being of a country must depend in the last resort on the character of its people, on their increasing intellectual and technical ability, and on their social progress. A policy which aims at the improvement of the condition of the people must therefore be a primary concern of Government and one of the first charges on its revenue. But success in realizing the ideals of education must depend largely on the outlook of those who control policy and on their capacity and enthusiasm. It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men, both British and African. By such men only can the policy contemplated in this memorandum be carried into effect. It is open to consideration whether a closer union between the administrative and educational branches of the service would not conduce to the success of the policy advocated. Teachers from Great Britain should be enabled to retain their superannuation benefits, and to continue their annual superannuation contributions, during short service appointments to approved posts in Africa.

### **Grants-in-Aid**

The policy of encouragement of voluntary efforts in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standards. Provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by Government itself. The utilization of efficient voluntary agencies economizes the revenues available for educational purposes.

The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given should not be dependent on examination results.

### **Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Text Books**

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee suggests cooperation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text-books. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Text-books prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provision will need to be made for this by setting aside temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications. In this work cooperation should be possible between the different Dependencies with resulting economy.

### **Native Teaching Staff**

The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications, and in character, and should include women. The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers, and this matter should receive primary consideration. The principles of education laid down in this memorandum must be given full and effective expression in institutions for the training of teachers of all grades if those principles are to permeate and vitalize the whole educational system. The training of teachers for village schools should be carried out under rural conditions, or at least with opportunities of periodical access to such conditions, where those who are being trained are in direct contact with the environment in which their work has to be done. This purpose can often best be served by the institution of normal classes under competent direction in intermediate or middle rural schools. Teachers for village schools should, when possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe and district who are familiar with its language, traditions and customs. The institution of such classes in secondary and intermediate schools should be supplemented by the establishment of separate institutions for the training of teachers and by vacation courses, and teachers' conferences.

Since in the early stages of educational development the training given to teachers must necessarily be very elementary, it is indispensable, if they are to do effective work, that they should from time to time be brought back for further periods of training—say every five years. The greater efficiency which would result from this system might be expected to compensate for any consequent reduction in the number of teachers which financial considerations might render necessary.

### **Visiting Teachers**

As a means of improving village schools and of continuing the training of their teachers, the system of specially trained visiting (or itinerant) teachers is strongly to be commended. Such teachers must be qualified to enter sympathetically into the problems of education in the rural areas. Visiting the schools in rotation, they will remain some time with each, showing the local teacher out of their wider experience how a particular task should be done, or a better method introduced. By bringing to village schools new ideas and fresh inspiration and encouragement they will infuse vitality into the system. As far as possible the visiting teacher should be of the same tribe as the pupils in the group of schools he visits, knowing their language and customs. The visiting teachers should be prepared to learn as well as to teach. They should be brought together annually for conference and exchange of experiences.

### **Inspection and Supervision**

A thorough system of supervision is indispensable for the vitality and efficiency of the educational system. The staff of Government Inspectors must be adequate, and their reports should be based on frequent and unhurried visits and not primarily on the results of examinations. It is their duty to make the educational aims understood and to give friendly advice and help in carrying them out. Each mission should be encouraged to make arrangements for effective supervision of its own system of schools, but such supervision should not supersede Government inspection.

### **Technical Training**

Technical industrial training (especially mechanical training with power-driven machinery) can best be given in Government workshops, provided that an Instructor for Apprentices is appointed to devote his entire time to them; or in special and instructional workshops on a production basis. The skilled artisan must have a fair knowledge of English and arithmetic before beginning his apprenticeship and be able to work to dimensional plans. Instruction in village crafts must be clearly differentiated from the training of the skilled mechanic.

### **Vocational Training**

Apprentices and 'Learners' in vocations other than industrial should be attached to every Government department, e.g. medical, agricultural, forestry, veterinary, survey, post office (telegraphy), etc., and should as a general rule sign a bond to complete the prescribed course of instruction together, if so required, with a prescribed period of subsequent service. It should be the aim of the educational system to instill into pupils the view that vocational (especially the industrial and manual) careers are no less honorable than the clerical, and of Governments to make them attractive—and thus to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour.

### **Education of Girls and Women**

It is obvious that better education of native girls and women in Tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to overstate the delicacy and difficulties of the problem. Much has already been done, some of it wise, some of it—as we now see—unwise. More should be done at once (not least in regard to the teaching of personal and domestic hygiene), but only those who are intimately connected with the needs of each Colony can judge what it is wise to attempt in each of the different Dependencies.

We are impressed by the fact that mere generalizations on the subject are not needed and may be misleading. In regard to the education of its girls and women, Tropical Africa presents not one problem, but many. Differences in breed and in tribal tradition should guide the judgment of those of those who must decide what is prudent to present.

- (a) Clever boys, for whom higher education is expedient, must be able to look forward to educated mates.
- (b) The high rate of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are widely prevalent make instruction in hygiene and public health, in the care of the sick and the treatment of simple diseases, in child welfare and in domestic economy, and the care of the home, among the first essentials, and these, wherever possible, should be taught by well-qualified women teachers.
- (c) Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women as well as for adult men. Otherwise there may be a breach between the generations, the children losing much that the old traditions might have given them, and the representatives of the latter becoming estranged through their remoteness from the atmosphere of the new education. To leave the

women of a community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour in through education, may have the effect of breaking the natural ties between the generations or of hardening the old prejudices of the elder women.

Education is a curse rather than a blessing if it makes women discontent or incompetent. But the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country. The hope of grappling with this difficulty lies in the personality and outlook of the teachers. Female education is not an isolated problem, but is an integral part of the whole question and cannot be separated from other aspects of it.

### **Organization of the School System**

School systems in their structure will rightly vary according to local conditions. It is suggested that when completed a school system would embody the following educational opportunities so far as conditions prevalent in a Colony or District allow:

- (a) Elementary education both for boys and girls, beginning with the education of young children.
- (b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula.
- (c) Technical and vocational schools.
- (d) Institutions, some of which may hereafter reach university rank and many of which might include in their curriculum some branches of professional or vocational training, e.g. training of teachers, training in medicine, training in agriculture.
- (e) Adult Education. This, which is still in an experimental stage, will vary according to local need. But it is recommended that those responsible for the administration of each Colony should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. The education of the whole community should advance *pari passu*, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community.

**Source:** Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies (1925) *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. As given in Scanlon, D. G. (1964) *Traditions of African Education*, pages 92–102. New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University.

*Second Reading*  
**Government's Educational Ideology**  
by  
**B. P. Carmody**

In their endeavours to create a Catholic peasantry through education among the Tonga, the Chikuni Jesuits did not totally control the direction of development. The British South Africa Company and later the colonial government also wished to shape the schooling process to foster their own ends. The African response to western education was largely determined by their perception of the opportunity structure rather than by the ideology of either the Church or the native education department.

Government entered into the educational endeavour initially through ordinances and regulations. The British South Africa Company assumed no financial responsibility for education,

but did not discourage Chikuni from expanding its out-schools in 1913. Some years later (1918) it introduced a proclamation demanding the registration of all schools which it defined in such a way as to gain control over any context where people received instruction. Moreover, anybody found subverting the tribal authority of the chief or headman, or spreading teaching of a seditious tendency, was subject to a large fine. In addition, the proclamation empowered magistrates and native commissioners to inspect schools. These regulations and attempts to control education by the British South Africa Company were prompted by the Chilembwe revolt in Nyasaland where it was felt that the teachers and those educated by the missions had played a leading role.

While the Company had little interest in promoting native education, many missionary groups who directed schools considered that the Company ought to share some financial responsibility for it. Many missionaries viewed the 1918 Proclamation as government interference without corresponding financial commitment. Because of fairly widespread criticism of the Proclamation the High Commissioner instructed the Administrator to solicit amendments from the missionary representatives. Consequently, the 1919 Missionary Conference gave much attention to the Proclamation and a critique of it. In response to the missionary criticisms, the Company replaced the 1918 Proclamation with a new Native Schools Proclamation in 1922. At their Missionary Conference in 1922, members re-echoed their demand for government aid for missionary work. Meanwhile, it had been decided that from April 1, 1924, the British South Africa Company would cease to hold responsibility for the administration of Northern Rhodesia. Instead, the Colonial Office would assume the powers of government.

In November 1923, the Secretary of State appointed an Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa dependencies. This committee, including Sir Frederick Lugard and Major Ormsby-Gore, consulted the Phelps-Stokes Commission's report of their 1920–21 visit to West Africa and subsequently invited the Commission to undertake an East African survey. The Commission did this in 1924. During their tour, they visited Northern Rhodesia and met the General Missionary Conference at Kafue.

In their 1924 report, the Phelps-Stokes Commission emphasized 'adaptation' to the conditions and needs of society aimed at raising the standard of life of the village community. They recommended the appointment of a Director of Native Education, an advisory board, and grants-in-aid to missions (with priority to the establishment of teacher training). The Advisory Committee's policy memorandum of 1925, *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa* (first reading, above), embodied many of the Commission's proposals.

A philosophy of 'adaptation' underlined the Advisory Committee's memorandum, derived from the experience of Negro education in the United States. In fact, one of the premises underpinning the approach of the Phelps-Stokes Commission surveys in Africa was that no significant difference existed between the native problem in Africa and the Negro situation in America. Thomas Jesse Jones, one of the most influential people in creating the Phelps-Stokes reports, had a plan for a dual education system in Africa, consisting of education for the masses and education for native leadership. This paralleled the education system for Negroes in the southern parts of the United States. Education for the masses would be simple, utilitarian and agriculturally rooted, while literary education was down-played as appearing unsuitable and not meeting the real needs of the people.

*Education Policy in British Tropical Africa* not only emphasized 'adaptation' to the mentality of the people but also emphasized strengthening the tribal community. This reinforcement

of tribal life received structural support with the introduction of indirect rule in 1929. The aim of indirect rule entailed guardianship of the territory until the local people could stand by themselves. It was conceived as an attempt to preserve the existing order, to buttress the chief's authority, and to reinforce the creation of a peasantry.

The educational policy of the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia focused on the idea of 'adaptation'. This entailed maintaining the status-quo by emphasizing practical and agricultural education for the masses. Preservation of the status quo meant protection of settler interests *vis-à-vis* those of the African population. By only providing rudimentary education for Africans, the government ensured that they were prepared either to work on the land or in the lower echelons of the state and the unskilled jobs in the wage economy. In this way, Africans were denied the kind of education which would enable them to compete with Europeans for high level jobs, thus protecting the economic position of the settlers.

The Northern Rhodesia government thus pursued an educational policy designed to foster a rural school system biased toward education of the masses, preparing them to work in a rural setting and consolidating a conservative social order, based on tribal authority, in the interests of a settler class.

**Source:** Carmody, B. P. (1992) *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia*, pages 47–49.  
Leiden: E. J. Brill.

*Third Reading*  
**Foundations of Policy: Official, Missionary, Imperial**  
by  
**T. A. Coombe**

In the years following the Depression (of 1929–33), government officials in Northern Rhodesia commonly expressed the belief that the territory's straitened circumstances had been the sole and sufficient reason for its failure to produce more highly educated Africans. However, the economic constraints upon educational development overlay an official state of mind which was anything but enthusiastic for African secondary education. In 1934, the Director of Native Education noted that despite the current setback to expansion, the village school remained the basis of the whole educational structure, "It is the advance of a great multitude of villagers," he wrote, "rather than the higher education of a select minority that must be our aim." Two years later, the Acting Director put this point with equal clarity: "The policy of this Government has always been to build a sound foundation of village education, to improve and develop the primary school and diffuse education as widely as possible among the people rather than concentrate attention (and expenditure) on the higher education of a select few." The crucial phrase in both these statements is 'rather than': mass elementary education and advanced education were seen as alternatives and contradictories. It was possible to choose one but not both.

On the whole, the opinions of the missionaries and others engaged in Africa education endorsed the department's policy. There were exceptional men who chafed at the delay in creating higher schools. But for more than twenty years before the governing authorities had taken any interest in education, missionaries had thrown their chief efforts into the opening and maintenance of village schools, and some still considered this work their prime duty. The preference for

elementary education depended in part on a view of African society which was basic to the government's native policy. It was believed to be essential that the tribal structure and traditional social system should not be ruptured suddenly by Western influences, including education. Change was inevitable, but it should be mediated gradually so that it might be absorbed and made indigenous: hence the need for a widespread system of village schools which would raise its standard by degrees as the community was able to sustain the challenge. The enemy of this desirable order was the highly educated African who (it was thought) almost by definition had shed his tribal ties. Since he had alienated himself from his people, there was nothing good that he could contribute to their welfare. In some educators these ideas distilled a bitter contempt of the few Africans who were better educated than their fellows and wished to conform to a European style of life. "The chief aim of the Elementary School Syllabus," wrote Caldwell (Director of Native Education), "is to study the interests of the great majority of peasant children (and) to dispel illiteracy amongst the masses without bringing about a change so revolutionary as to dislocate tribal life."

The deliberate emphasis of the Department of Native Education on widespread elementary education at the expense of secondary exaggerated an important and persistent strain of British colonial policy. The Colonial Office and its eminent advisers were impressed by the apparently mischievous consequences of past educational practices in India and West Africa, and were equally influenced by the concept of an educational programme adapted and responsive to the needs of the community, a doctrine which the American-sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commissions had popularized in Africa. In consequence, from the mid-1920s the official colonial policy gave unmistakable priority to mass education. Until 1937 no published document on education in the Colonies dealt at length with schooling beyond the elementary stage. On the other hand, the Advisory Committee recognized that an exclusively elementary education system would not meet a colony's every need. African civil servants and chiefs required a suitable vocational training, and an increasing number of Africans fitted by "character, ability and temperament" must be permitted to advance themselves through higher education.

This admittedly cautious reference to the provision of higher education was made in the committee's first memorandum, published in 1925. In 1935 the Advisory Committee returned briefly to the subject of higher education in a preface to its fresh statement on mass education. They declared emphatically that advanced and elementary education were complementary, not antagonistic, and continued: "there is not only a moral obligation resting on governments in Africa to enable Africans to develop their capacities to the full and open as widely as possible the doors of knowledge to those who can profit by an advanced education, but the general progress of the people depends on a steady increase of highly trained Africans in all walks of life."

Though at this time the Colonial Office in London had not yet engaged the Northern Rhodesia Government in discussion about secondary education in the territory, the Advisory Committee's sentiments were clear beyond argument. Northern Rhodesia officials could with good conscience ground their education policy on "the advance of a great multitude of villagers": the pronouncements of the Advisory Committee gave ample encouragement to this goal. But they must have known by now that their deprecation (= dislike for) of higher education was at odds with official opinion in London.

**Source:** Coombe, T. A. "The origins of secondary education in Zambia. Part I: Policy-making in the thirties." *African Social Research*, Number 3, June 1967, pages 188–192 (abridged).

## Chapter 6

### Organization and Development of Education, 1924 – 1953

*Phelps-Stokes recommendations for Northern Rhodesia* (Snelson, pages 138–140): Appointment of Latham as Director of Native Education. Establishment of Advisory Board. Subsidization of mission work. More rigorous attention to teacher education. Training and appointment of Jeanes supervisors (Snelson, chapter V). Expansion of mission work.

*Government involvement in administration of education:* Rudimentary system started. Missions continued to dominate actual provision—1,990 mission schools by 1935, 2,034 by 1945 (by contrast, Government and Local Education Authorities had 12 schools in 1935 and 51 in 1945). Concentration on elementary education, almost all of it in rural schools. Very little urban provision. Central village schools. Commencement and problems of Native Authority and Government schools. Very small numbers in upper primary—186 in Standard IV in 1933, 180 in Standard VI in 1939, 836 in Standard VI in 1945. Majority were in the first three or four years of school. Much wastage. Low quality—teachers poorly educated, poorly trained, poorly paid.

*Slow beginnings of secondary education:* Strong settler opposition; government fears of not having enough finance; no clear policy directives. Impact of De la Warr Commission (1937). Uncertain start of secondary at Lubwa and Kafue, and finally at Munali (1939). Munali's enrollment only 65 in 1945. No girls' secondary until 1946 (Chipembi). Despite all attempts to improve it, girls' education generally lagged behind that of boys.

*World War II (1939–1945) increased demand for copper and Northern Rhodesia prospered:* More resources for education. Post-war plans for rapid development—every child to get 4 years education, urban children to get 6 years (one sign of increasing rural-urban imbalance); increase in number of secondary schools. Recognition that Africans would need education in order to participate more fully in economic, social and political life of country.

*Dual education system* from earliest days—one for Africans, one for non-Africans. Non-Africans few in number but until 1939 more was spent on educating a few European children (1,248 in 1938) than on many African children (over 92,000 in 1938).

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### Readings

The *first reading*, from the 1952 Annual Report of the Department of African Education, gives a historical account of developments between 1925 and 1951.

In the *second reading*, Henkel gives some additional information on the same period, as well as some details on developments up to 1964.

In the *third reading*, Coombe summarizes the confused political and economic thinking that was in large measure responsible for the late start of secondary education in Zambia. He brings out that one of the most important practical reasons that led to the eventual commencement of secondary education was the growing need for better educated teachers for the middle and upper primary schools.

### *First Reading*

## **The Development of Education in Northern Rhodesia, 1925–1951: Historical Survey by Department of African Education**

### **The Period 1925–1936**

In 1925, soon after the administration of Northern Rhodesia had passed from the Chartered Company to the Colonial Office and partly as a result of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and of a request by the General Missionary Conference, a sub-department of Native Education under the Department of Native Affairs was established, and the Inspector of Schools, Mr. G. C. Latham, became the first Director. An advisory board was appointed and held its first meeting in July, 1925, to draw up plans for the organization of mission education and the training of teachers—the essential preliminary to any educational advance.

In 1928, the first departmental examination for teachers was held. The examination was based on the Government Standard IV syllabus with a paper on teaching theory and school management. The candidates were also required to pass tests in first-aid given by local doctors and nurses. Eleven of the thirteen Mission Normal Schools then in operation submitted 261 candidates, of whom 113 were successful. In the same year a start was made with the building of the Government Jeanes Agricultural, Normal and Primary schools at Mazabuka. The Beit Railway Trust generously provided £12,000 towards the capital expenditure of this project and a maintenance grant of £1,000 per annum for five years. This school was closed in 1938 as the result of an alteration in the boundaries of the local Native Reserve and a new Jeanes and Teacher Training Centre was opened near Lusaka (Chalimbana) in 1939.

In 1930, the Department was separated from the Native Affairs Department and moved from Livingstone to Mazabuka. Approval was given to a five-year scheme which entailed an expenditure of £32,179 in 1931–32, rising in the fifth year to £71,346, of which £31,940 was to be expended on grants-in-aid. Unfortunately, the machinery to implement the scheme was hardly started when the financial depression came, resulting in the serious disorganization of the work so recently begun. Not until 1938 did expenditure again exceed £30,000. It was, nevertheless, possible to post a Superintendent of Native Education to each of the five educational areas proposed in the scheme, open Government primary schools at Ndola and Kasama and the Central Trades School at Lusaka, and maintain all Government and aided Mission institutions. Superintendents at Kasama, Ndola, Mazabuka, Fort Jameson and Mongu were able to devote much of their time to the important and necessary work of inspection and organization. A scheme for the reorganization of education in Barotseland included, among other successful experiments, the introduction of a salary scale for Mission teachers, the establishment of a provincial advisory committee on education and an African inspectorate of Jeanes supervisors.

By the end of this period the broad lines of Government's educational policy had been formulated and applied. Briefly, they were to help the Missions with grants to carry on the bulk of the primary school and teacher training work and to share with them, as it became necessary and possible, secondary education and vocational training.

### **The Period 1937–1951**

Funds became more plentiful for educational services after 1937 and a general review of the existing position was made by Sir Alan Pim in that year, which was of assistance in formulating plans for a general advance in educational services. A scheme for tackling the educational problem on the Copperbelt was brought into force, an African Literature Committee was set up, and proposals for the expansion of education generally during the next five years were brought into operation in 1939. This five-year plan had for its immediate objectives the extension of the Central Village School system; the expansion of female education through the training of teachers' wives; the opening of one or two Junior Secondary Schools; increased attention to agricultural and health training and to handicrafts; the training of chiefs; special provision for backward or neglected areas; compulsory education in urban areas.

By the end of 1941 the majority of these projects were well under way and preparations for the execution of the remainder had been made, so that 1943 saw the attainment of the aims of the first five-year plan in all its more important aspects. Indeed, over this five-year period considerably more was accomplished than was originally contemplated, despite the disabilities which the war inevitably brought, in the form of shortage of staff and difficulties in school supplies. A growing consciousness of the need for greater educational facilities for the African population, accompanied fortunately by a notable increase in the Territory's revenue, led to an expansion which is perhaps unparalleled—at least in quantity—in the history of Colonial Education.

This development can best be illustrated by the following (abridged) calendar of salient events for the period 1937–51:

- 1937:* five candidates selected for secondary education for the first time and granted Government bursaries.
- 1938:* Ngoni School, first Native Authority School of its kind in Northern Rhodesia, to be opened.
- 1939:* (a) New Jeanes School opened at Chalimbaria.  
(b) Secondary education classes started at Munali Training Centre, Lusaka

- 1940: Government girls' boarding school (primary) opened on Copperbelt.
- 1941: Lunzuwa Boarding School started the three-year Upper School Course; wholly staffed by Africans and managed by an African School Council.
- 1942: Higher Teachers' Course (HTC), for selected elementary teachers, started at the Jeanes School.
- 1943: (a) Compulsory education introduced at Broken Hill and at certain points on the Copperbelt.  
 (b) Africans appointed for the first time to the Advisory Board on African Education.  
 (c) First Northern Rhodesia student entered Makerere College.
- 1944: Senior secondary school classes started on a regular basis at Munali Training Centre.
- 1945: Ten-year Development Programme prepared.
- 1946: (a) Transfer of the Barotse National School to the Central Government.  
 (b) Secondary education for girls started at Chipembi by the Methodist Mission.
- 1947: (a) Lukashya Vocational Training Centre for ex-askaris opened.  
 (b) Training of African nurses started at Chikankata Mission by the Salvation Army.
- 1948: Further measures for improving the standard of teaching, regulating entry and increasing the proportion of girls in primary schools.
- 1949: Two additional Junior Secondary Schools opened.
- 1950: (a) Scheme for establishing twenty post-Standard IV Trades Schools started and four schools established.  
 (b) One full secondary and four junior secondary schools in operation.
- 1951: (a) Committee on African Higher Education, appointed by the Central African Council, submitted its report. Appointment of Commission in 1952 agreed.  
 (b) New Munali Secondary School for 400 boarders occupied in December.  
 (c) Hodgson Training Centre expanded and twelve Trades Schools in operation.  
 (d) New African Education Ordinance passed providing for the establishment of Local Education Authorities, Schools Councils and a Unified African Teaching Service (UATS).  
 (e) Compulsory Education regulations suspended in the Copperbelt owing to shortage of accommodation and the rapid increase of children of school age.

During this period standards of education were progressively improved. The 1934 primary school syllabuses were revised in 1943 and again in 1950, and adequate examination machinery was set up. The minimum entrance qualification for male candidates for the Elementary School Teachers Certificate Course was raised to Standard VI, while promotion refresher courses were instituted to ensure that teachers maintain required standards at regular intervals during their service. The training of higher grade teachers—H.T.C., T.3 and T.2—was introduced.

There has been steadily increased emphasis on the practical side of education with a more realistic application to local needs. Perhaps the most significant step forward in this direction was the widespread training of Female Helpers—generally, though not exclusively, the wives of teachers and evangelists—whose newly acquired knowledge of needlework, knitting and, to a lesser extent, cookery and domestic crafts, brought a much-needed breath of utilitarianism into a somewhat over-academic atmosphere. The improvement in accommodation and equipment since 1942, when funds became available for this purpose, has led to conditions of greater orderliness and efficiency in village schools. Both the Department and the Missions have had to depend almost entirely on their own building organizations for the execution of their school building and furniture programmes. The senior boys have made a valuable contribution to the work, thus learning the lesson of self-help. This progress was made possible to a large extent by the excellent service

rendered by the Trades School section of the Munali Training Centre in training instructors for schools, and builders, carpenters and thatchers for the building teams.

It was obvious that an expansion as rapid as funds would permit was necessary after the financial depression (of 1929–33). It was realized that some sacrifice of quality to quantity would be inevitable as long as the training and supply of qualified teachers lagged behind the demand. But as early as 1939 the Acting Director, and again in 1942 the Director, became apprehensive of the effects of a policy of prolonged expansion. They pointed out that education was likely to suffer by over-much zeal for expansion when this necessitated dilution of teaching staff; that temporary arrangements must be replaced by something more permanent as soon as possible; that there must be time for consolidation after each period of rapid advance. The prolongation of the war with its consequent wear and tear on European supervisory staff only served to emphasize more and more the need for a breathing space.

To this end steps were taken to control more rigidly the opening of new schools, except in unserved or under-served areas or in districts that were patently behind the territorial average of enrollment of about forty percent of the children of school age. It is hoped that this policy will enable those districts which are fairly well equipped with schools to put their house in order in regard to enrollment and staffing and at the same time give less advanced areas an opportunity to make up leeway.

In spite of much needed additions to the staff which have made it possible during the last few years to intensify the campaign against inefficiency and general wastage in elementary schools, much remains to be done in concentrating efforts on well-organized, adequately staffed, and equipped schools at strategic centres.

During the past twenty-five years, therefore, African Education in Northern Rhodesia has passed through these stages:

**1927:** Aided system began to get underway and 495 schools were selected for limited assistance (25,413 pupils, expenditure £7,000).

**1931:** Three hundred and fifteen improved schools: 17,810 pupils; expenditure £32,095. Further expansion held up for lack of funds but system maintained and staff training improved.

**1937–1951:** Rapid expansion and progress, as outlined above, but consolidation of the primary school system became imperative by 1945, when measures were initiated to that end.

This section of the report would not be complete without a tribute to the work of the Missions and to the energy and endurance of the small team of departmental officers who shouldered the growing burden thorough the long years of depression and war and post-war difficulties. Education owes it to them, and to the faith of the past --- the faith of men and women who saw beyond what was to what might be --- that it will now be able to fulfill more abundantly its purpose.

**Source:** *Annual Report on African Education, 1952*, pages 5–10. Lusaka: Department of African Education.

*Second Reading*  
**The Education System in the Colonial Period, 1924–1964**  
by  
**R. Henkel**

The year 1924 brought with it a change in the status of Northern Rhodesia, which had previously been administered by the BSAC. This change was to have marked effects on the educational system. In that year the British Government took over the administration of the territory from the company and declared it a Protectorate. In the following year a Department of Native Education was created, which was supposed to coordinate the development of education for Africans in the territory.

The BSAC had attempted to gain control of the schools with the 'Native Schools Proclamation' of 1918, whilst refusing financial responsibility. The missions rejected this attempt at control, arguing that since the company did not finance the schools, they were in no way accountable to it. However, along with this came efforts towards the standardization of the curricula. These were the main topics discussed at the General Missionary Conference, founded in 1914 and which met again in 1919, 1922 and 1924. In the meantime it had become evident to the Colonial Office in London that responsibility for education in the colonies could not be left solely to the missions. Under pressure from the mission societies, the British Government was called upon to develop an unequivocal education policy in the colonies. The Phelps-Stokes Commission visited the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa in 1924. In their report they concluded that secular education was the task of the colonial administration. Then they recommended participation in the coordination and financing of mission schools. In Northern Rhodesia the first effect was the introduction of stipulations governing the provision of assistance for schools, predominantly concerned with teachers' levels of training and subjects taught.

The number of pupils did not significantly change in the first fifteen years of direct administration by the British Government. Until 1940 they never amounted to more than 130,000, a number which had been reached by the missions as early as 1924. The number of pupils in Government-aided schools also showed a slow initial increase. In 1927 it was 25,000, only reaching 30,000 ten years later, although it then quickly increased to 117,000 by 1945.

The funds made available by the colonial administration for education were extremely modest, despite its declared wish to be responsible for this area. This is even more apparent when one examines the revenue obtained in the form of taxes from the copper industry at the end of the 1920s, which was only temporarily interrupted by the world economic crisis of 1932–33. Out of a total of £31 million raised in taxes between 1924 and 1945 less than 3% went into the education budget for Africans. What is particularly outrageous is the fact that as late as 1938 the education budget for the 1,200 European school children was higher than that for the 120,000 African children at school. On average, one hundred times more was spent on a white school child in the 1930s than on an African, although it must be borne in mind that not all African children were able to attend school.

Between the two wars no great overall expansion took place in the education system — it did not expand in a quantitative sense, although it did in respect of quality. As in 1927, only a quarter of the schools were recognized and funded by the government in 1935. The White Fathers and Dutch Reformed ran the majority of the unaided schools, which had by far the highest

enrollment. The aim of these schools was to provide an elementary education to as many children as possible. Even so, many of them were little more than 'prayer centres' in which some reading and writing were also taught. However, the Department of African Education made certain stipulations for funding, and by 1945 70% of children actually in school attended aided schools. This proportion rose to 95% in 1954, and in the final years before Independence practically all mission schools received government aid. Due to rapid population growth, the proportion of children attending all kinds of schools scarcely changed from the 1920s to the 1960s. It ranged around a third (34% in 1954). However, due to the greater number of government aided schools, children had access to better education.

Teacher training was an important prerequisite if the quality of education was to be improved. Whereas in the early period a person who could read and write only reasonably was often employed as a teacher, in 1924 the colonial government insisted on the provision of so-called 'Normal Schools', which were supposed to guarantee a sound training for teachers. Between 1925 and 1932 the larger mission societies each began a Normal School, usually at their main stations. Smaller mission societies sent their teachers to be trained at one of these schools. Thus in the 1930s a three-stage school system existed: at the apex stood the Normal Schools; below these were the schools at the other mission stations in which, as in the Normal Schools, European missionaries taught; the lowest level was formed by the large number of village schools.

Up to the end of the Second World War (1945) the missions supported the large majority of schools. The colonial government did not start to operate its own schools until relatively late. In 1924 only the Barotse National School existed, and state schools provided for less than 2% of the school population in 1935 and 6.5% in 1945, although the proportion had risen to 22% by 1954. It was not the state which was directly responsible for the rise, but rather the so-called 'Local Education Authorities', many of which were established after the War. These were answerable to the African Education department, but like the mission schools, they had a high degree of autonomy. In 1945 they ran 172 schools. Many of these were in urban areas, and mostly on the Copperbelt where, in 1950, the United Missions to the Copperbelt had handed over their schools to the Government. In some towns along the line of rail the first moves towards the introduction of compulsory schooling were taken in 1943-44.

There were marked contrasts in the provision of schools between various parts of the country. It was not so much a town/country contrast, but the result of missions, constrained by their limited means, concentrating their educational efforts. This concentration was intensified by the need to provide schools of a quality adequate to qualify for government funding. In 1945 Livingstone, Sesheke and Chinsali, were the districts best provided with schools. In these areas 93%, 77% and 75% respectively of school age children were attending government funded schools. On the other hand, the districts of Fort Jameson (Chipata today) and Mumbwa had only 19%. The lowest value, of 16%, was given for the North-Western province because the missions working there neglected education, at least initially.

Although suggestions to this effect were made as early as the 1920s, the development of secondary education was not begun in earnest until after the Second World War. In other British colonies institutions of higher education were established significantly earlier (for example, Makerere College in Uganda and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone). A few pupils succeeded in being sent to high schools in South Africa, but in Northern Rhodesia concrete steps towards the provision of further education facilities for Africans were not undertaken until pressure came from the Colonial Office in London.

In 1939 the first secondary school class began in a school in Lusaka, which a few years earlier had been selected as the new capital. The school, called Munali after David Livingstone, produced the first generation of leaders of independent Zambia. Munali was run by the Department of African Education. Missions opened secondary schools after the War. In 1954, apart from Munali and two other government schools in Kasama and Mongu, there were two Catholic (Canisius and Malole) and two Protestant (Chipembi and Mapanza) secondary schools. By 1960 the number of mission secondary schools had risen to sixteen; in addition, there were eight which were run by the government and two by the mining companies. However, most offered only junior secondary education (up to Form 2) and thus did not provide complete secondary curricula. As in the case of primary schools, there was a contrast between the missions, whose schools were primarily rural in location, and the Government, the majority of whose schools were in the towns. Following the British model, the schools were mostly boarding schools, successful pupils from the primary schools being distributed among them. As a whole, the system of secondary schools was only slowly and belatedly developed in Northern Rhodesia. In 1964, at Zambian Independence, there were approximately 1,200 Zambians with a secondary school leaving diploma, a number which had been reached in Ghana in 1943, in Uganda by 1955, and even in Tanganyika, a poor and greatly neglected country, by 1960. Although the Department of African Education remained in Lusaka during the Federal years, independently coordinating the African education system, the country suffered from the domination by the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia. There were not enough financial and personnel resources allocated to Northern Rhodesia to expand secondary education considerably.

**Source:** Henkel, R. (1989) *Christian Missions in Africa*, pages 129–135 (abridged). Berlin: Dietrich Reimar Verlag

*Third Reading*

**The Origins of Secondary Education in Northern Rhodesia**

by

**T. A. Coombe**

The initial provision of secondary education for Africans in Northern Rhodesia was undertaken in order to meet the urgent need of the growing number of upper primary schools for qualified teachers, and of the government departments for better trained clerical workers and technicians. It was not until the problem of staffing came to a head, that is, until the costs of further delay were considered to outweigh its disadvantages, that secondary education was seriously contemplated. Even then, the impetus towards a decision came from the Colonial Office (in London) and the Nyasaland Government rather than from within the local administration. African demand for secondary education was relatively small, dispersed and unchannelled, and of slight effect in the determination of policy, though the swelling demand at the level of the lower and upper primary middle schools created the conditions which persuaded the government to act. Ideas about the value of secondary education as a means of intellectual cultivation, or as a bridge across the 'cultural gulf which separated the races', scarcely rose to the surface of discussion. The prevailing view was strictly utilitarian.

The school system in which secondary education had such a protracted birth had been in existence for 15 years as a centrally directed organization when Munali's first secondary class

opened in 1939. The first six years (1924–1930) had been devoted necessarily to the task of moulding a sense of corporate purpose, creating the administrative, consultative, and financial frame through which this purpose could be expressed most efficiently, establishing teacher training as the first obligation of educational missionaries and, finally, devising a rational scheme of expansion and development. This was Latham's task, and he did it superbly.

The second six years (1931–1937) were characterized by dislocation and plodding advance. One of the notable achievements of that time was the retention of the small staff of young education officers who had been recruited to help put the Latham scheme into place. They were a strong team, as Tyndale-Biscoe perceived gratefully when he arrived in December 1936. They had become accustomed to manage their far-flung circuits largely on their own initiative. But for their energy and resourcefulness, the structure which Latham had created might have crumbled disastrously under the repeated blows to which it was subjected in the years of the Depression and its aftermath.

As members of the Colonial Education Service they were influenced, perhaps decisively, by the system of ideas and directives on African education which had been crystallized in the memoranda of the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office. These were chiefly the work of colonial theorists such as Lord Lugard and Joseph Oldham, and the principles they advocated were thus dependent on the doctrines of indirect rule and imperial trusteeship. According to this school of thought, the colonial task was to assist the traditional institutions of African society in adapting to

the new demands which were bound to follow the imposition of colonial rule. Changes so great that such an adaptation evidently could not be made must therefore not be introduced. Economic development and education should accordingly be promoted only so far as seemed likely to prove consistent with the over-all purpose.

It followed that there should be emphatic concentration upon elementary education for the masses as a vehicle through which techniques of improvement in health and agriculture could be communicated. The Advisory Committee acknowledged from the outset that more advanced education was necessary for chiefs and others who would occupy responsible positions, but not until the Currie Report of 1934 and, more especially, the De La Warr Report of 1937, were the implications of this view squarely considered.

Latham's system embodied the Advisory Committee's early recommendations. To the new education officers the educational field in Northern Rhodesia must have appeared to offer almost laboratory conditions in which to apply them. They addressed themselves single-mindedly to shoring up the work of the missions in village schools and supervising the sparse middle (and later upper) primary schools for teachers and government assistants. During the Depression, when available funds were so meagre, it seemed unthinkable to divert money from the clamant needs of the villages. Post-primary education would no doubt come in the fullness of time, but that time was not yet.

It was a misfortune that these ideas were so readily compatible with others which sprang from different motives and carried considerably more weight in the affairs of the territory. There were those in the Secretariat who, when the occasion arose, gave sympathetic attention to the need for secondary education, but there was also a strong streak of reaction in the administrative service. The derisory attitude of many in the public service to higher education for Africans is explicable partly as a self-protective reaction against the general settler view of African education.

A settler of 40 years' standing put it this way in 1938: "Education should be available to the native, but only as far as his economic position warrants. It should not be in advance of his position as this might tend to develop a class of 'Babu' natives—all book learning and no desire to work—dissatisfied with their position and a nuisance to everybody else."

This calls forcibly to mind the essential fact that the Department of Native Affairs was an African service in a territory where the dominating political and economic interests were white. Not only did this contract the amount of money available to African education, but it also put the Department on the defensive. In connection with further education it had to face not only the general antipathy of settlers towards Africans 'who had been educated out of their station', but the particular opposition of unofficials to the idea that well-educated Africans should replace whites in employment at lower rates of pay. It was considered by government that the political destination of the African population could largely be left to the efflux of time. That Africans might one day participate in, let alone control, the central institutions of government was a possibility almost grotesque in its remoteness, and it had no effect on education policy. It is not accidental that the two colonial governors who are remembered for their passionate support for higher education (Guggisberg in the Gold Coast and Mitchell in Uganda) administered territories without settled white minorities, where the political future, however indistinct, would yet be one in which an educated African leadership would play the primary role. The contribution of higher education to the ultimate goal of colonial self-government was also remarked by the De La Warr Commission.

This Commission was the stimulus which compelled the Northern Rhodesia Government to overcome its hesitation and embark upon a policy for secondary education. Among its virtues, the Commission confronted head-on two principles of education policy which were given dutiful obedience in British colonial Africa, not least in Northern Rhodesia. The first was the view that the correct order of educational development was linear, from the elementary level by progressive stages to the higher. This theory buttressed the view that elementary education was the first duty of colonial governments, and powerfully argued against the premature expansion of higher education. De La Warr remarked mildly that the successive stages of education were interdependent, each stage requiring teachers from the next for its development, until the university level was reached: "primary and advanced education are complementary". It was the practical recognition of this self-evident proposition, not its approval in principle, which first stirred missionary and official educationists in Northern Rhodesia to recognize that a start on secondary education had become unavoidable.

The second, related principle was that the output of students with advanced education should not exceed the 'absorptive capacity' of a territory, that is, the number of jobs available at the required level. De La Warr's opinion on this score was repeated in the conclusion of the Commission's report in these words: "We are aware of the possible risks of too rapid advance and of a top-heavy structure. Nevertheless we are convinced that the material needs of the country and the intellectual needs of its people require that such risks as there may be should be taken."

In Northern Rhodesia this nettle was never grasped. It was certainly not grasped in the late thirties when the initial secondary policy was being devised. There were two reasons for this, apart from the 'absorption' principle itself, which was never abandoned. The first is that the territory's absorptive capacity was not reliably known. The tools available for the projection of manpower requirements were rudimentary in the extreme. Moreover, manpower needs were conceived in terms of the education system and government departments alone. The needs of private employers (especially the mines) and the possibility of self-employment were not considered. Secondly, the

experience of Northern Rhodesia's early penurious (= poverty-stricken) history and the effects of the Depression (1929–1933) made financial economizing a reflex habit of thought for the government. Thus, the Governor informed the Secretary of State that the estimated expenditure on African education “could not be increased without sacrificing services equally important”.

Finally, it might be observed that, such is the irony of events, the first secondary class at Munali was begun in 1939, a year before a grant-aided secondary class was opened in Nyasaland. In 1939, Southern Rhodesia's first junior secondary course was inaugurated at St. Augustine's, Penhalonga, without government support; the first government secondary school was established at Goromonzi only in 1946. Munali's secondary course was embarked on after long hesitation and at the urging of diverse forces from outside and within, but it was the first government secondary class in the Central African field.

**Source:** Coombe, T. A. (1968) “The origins of secondary education in Zambia.” *African Social Research*, Number 5, June 1968, pages 393–397 (abridged).

## Chapter 7

### Education during the Federal Period, 1953–1963

*Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland:* Established on 23rd Oct. 1953 at the instigation of white settlers and against the strong opposition of Africans who saw it as marginalizing them and entrenching settler power. Fearing that the two Rhodesias might link up with South Africa, the British Government capitulated to the wishes of the settlers. Northern Rhodesia's copper industry was the prize the Federal Government in Salisbury wished to exploit. During the period of Federation, almost £100 million was transferred in tax from N. Rhodesia to Salisbury, mostly for developments in Southern Rhodesia (in 1959–60 alone, the tax paid by N. Rhodesia was £19.5 million, of which only little over £1 million was returned for development purposes). Federal capital was Salisbury which was also the capital of Southern Rhodesia—in other parts of the world, federal capitals and state capitals are in different locations, to avoid the danger of the federal government being too favourable to the state in which its capital is located. Federal institutions were established—Central African Airways, Central African Power Corporation, University, etc. Federal Government favoured Southern Rhodesia by developing there several capital projects—even the Kariba dam and power scheme were developed on the border between the north and south in preference to a more suitable site in the north (on the Kafue River). During Federal period, the mining industry was the only part of Northern Rhodesia's economy that developed; African agriculture deteriorated because of preferential treatment and higher prices paid to white commercial farmers for maize and other products.

*Organization of Education:* Racially segregated. Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG) responsible for African education; Federal Government responsible for education of all other races and for higher education. Unbalanced allocation of resources, with the larger share going to educational developments for non-Africans and a relatively small share going to NRG for African education (even though copper revenues from the North financed most of the educational developments for all races).

*Education in Northern Rhodesia:* More secondary schools were opened, especially after 1956. Trades schools developed (for low-level training, see First Reading, Chapter 12) and some technical education provided at Hodgson Institute in Lusaka. Tentative early moves in 1952–53 towards establishment of a university in Lusaka frightened the Federal authorities into speeding up the development of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; this opened in Salisbury in March 1957. From the start, Northern Rhodesian Africans viewed this Federal institution with suspicion and hostility; also, because it admitted only on the basis of A-levels it did not respond to the real needs of Northern Rhodesia. Many small scattered mission-run teaching training institutions were consolidated into three larger colleges. Terms of service and status of primary school teachers were improved through the development of Unified African Teaching Service.

*Education and Nationalism:* Emergence of African elite. Development of nationalist movement (African National Congress, Zambia African National Congress, United National Independence Party). In secondary schools, several politically-inspired disturbances and student policies of non-cooperation and passive resistance. Widespread, sincere, and almost pathological opposition of Africans to Federation eventually paved the way for its breakup on 31st December 1963.

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## Readings

In the *first reading* Sanyal & Others give a brief account of post-primary education in Zambia before independence. They introduce their account by a rapid survey of the development of school education in Zambia.

In the *second reading*, the Ministry of African Education gives an overview of educational provision in the final years of the Federation, 1961–63.

The *third reading* gives some excerpts from Mwanakatwe's 1974 address to the Historical Association of Zambia on the role played by education in the struggle for independence.

In the *fourth reading*, the frequently-quoted UN/ECA/FAO Report of 1964 gives a profile of education and of the educational status of the people in Zambia at the time of independence.

### *First Reading*

## **Post-Primary Education before Independence**

by

**B. C. Sanyal, J. H. Case, P. S. Dow & M. E. Jackman**

### **Secondary Education**

In spite of Zambia's natural wealth, secondary and higher-level educational facilities were meagre prior to independence, in comparison with most other African countries. Primary education had a start as early as between 1883 and 1884 with the school in Barotseland (now Western Province) established by the Christian missionary, Frederick Stanley Amot. Fifty-four years later the first secondary school for Africans was established—in 1938. In 1950 there were 151 551 African pupils enrolled in the country's primary schools, as against only 357 in secondary schools, i.e. one place in secondary school for 350 places in primary school. The enrollment rate for the primary age-group was among the highest in the developing world, but for the secondary age group it was one of the lowest.

The reasons for this are the following: firstly, in Zambia during most of the period before independence, there was a dual system of African education and European education. The Europeans were more privileged under the administration of the British South Africa Company, which was chiefly concerned with attracting and encouraging Europeans to settle permanently. It did not wish to develop a poor white community in the country and as a consequence preferential treatment in job allocation was ensured. Also there was no African member of the Legislative Council to strengthen the case for African education until after the Second World War. Under the circumstances, European education got the larger share of available resources. Coombe gives additional reasons for the slow and ineffective advance in education: "Advanced education for Africans was regarded by some whites with hostility, by others with suspicion, and by few (if any) with enthusiasm". He goes on further to say: "Any form of education which was likely to prepare Africans to compete with local Europeans for employment raised an outcry; this invariably threw the Government onto the defensive and reinforced their cautious attitude towards the educational advancement of Africans".

The attitude changed during the years of the Federation, i.e. during the period 1953–1963. African enrollment in secondary schools jumped to 1,198 in 1956–57, to 3,794 in 1961–62, and in 1963, within just two years, enrollment almost doubled to 6,440. The first examination for the sixth form (A-level) was taken by the Munali Secondary School pupils in 1957. In 1963, three secondary schools—Munali, a government-controlled institution; Canisius College for boys (and some girls), controlled by the Jesuit Fathers; and Chipembi Secondary School for girls, controlled by the Methodist Mission—offered sixth-form courses to African pupils who demonstrated merit in their School Certificate examination.

### **Technical Education**

Unlike general education, technical and vocational education got a very early start in Zambia. The reasons were: (i) the competition in manual work with the Europeans was less acute than for white-collar jobs; (ii) the employment possibilities were higher; (iii) there was genuine desire among the early missionaries and colonial administrators to raise the standard of living among the Africans. As a result, almost all the primary schools had technical or vocational programmes for building, carpentry, and agriculture. The first government-controlled technical institute was established in 1930, offering a two-year training course in agriculture for graduates of middle-level primary schools. The Central Trade School, later called Hodgson Technical College, was established in 1934 to train African craftsmen, offering a three-year course for students who had completed six years of primary education (Standard IV). The entry requirement was raised in the 1950s and the number of courses offered also increased. In 1957 there were 21 schools offering some kind of vocational course, of which eleven were junior trade schools controlled by the missions and ten were controlled by the local authorities, offering three-year post-Standard VI courses.

### **Teacher Training**

As with technical and vocational education, teacher training was also given priority after 1930. In 1926 there were only two institutions training teachers for primary schools; by 1939 the number had increased to thirteen. In 1949, 173 men and 33 women had obtained their provisional teachers' diploma, qualifying them to teach in lower-primary schools, and 225 men and 42 women had completed their junior teachers' course which needed a Standard IV entry requirement (T4s). In 1963, Zambia was training teachers (i) for junior secondary schools—those who had a Higher School Certificate or a good pass in the School Certificate examinations; (ii) for upper primary schools—those who had an average pass in the Cambridge School Certificate examinations; and

(iii) for middle and sometimes upper primary schools—those who had a two-year junior secondary pass (Form 2). All these courses were of a two-year duration. These programmes enabled Zambia to have 6,754 trained teachers by 1963, mostly for primary schools administered by the Ministry of African Education. In addition, the Chalimbana Teacher Training College offered, from 1961, a three-year secondary school-teachers' course for secondary certificate-holders with a minimum of five credits, including English Language (T3s). This course was withdrawn in 1965 because of its association with Rhodesia (the programme was underwritten by the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, based in Salisbury).

### **Education for Women**

Zambia is one of the countries in Africa where educational opportunities for women did not lag far behind those for men. In 1939, the earliest year for which statistics could be obtained, 26% of the total pupil population in primary schools were girls. The proportion of girl pupils increased to 31% in 1945, enrollment increasing more than fourfold. Although the later period experienced a slower rate of growth, the proportion of girls increased to 42% of the pupil population in the year before independence.

At the secondary level, however, the situation was different. For the first time, three girls were enrolled in Form 1 in 1946 — a mere 2% of the total pupil population (in Form 1). The number increased to 387 by 1960, increasing the proportion to 15%. During the next three years participation had increased greatly, with 1,379 girls in 1963, i.e. 21% of the total (secondary) student population. Most of the advancement in girls' education in the earlier years took place in missionary schools and in the Copperbelt where a government boarding school was opened in 1941 at Mindolo.

However, there was a high rate of wastage among girls in the earlier grades; the principal factor encouraging girls to remain in school appears to have been the orientation of the school curriculum to the needs of everyday life. Snelson has this to say: "Where girls remained in school long enough to learn something of value, it was largely due to the presence of female helpers, ancillaries who had been given a short course, who taught elementary needlework, housewifery, and cookery and mothercraft".

**Source:** Sanyal, B. C. & Others (1976) *Higher Education and the Labour Market in Zambia*, pages 85–88. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

*Second Reading*  
**Triennial Survey for the Years 1961 to 1963 Inclusive**  
by  
**Ministry of African Education**

### **Historical Survey, 1947–1960**

African education had its place in Northern Rhodesia's Ten Year Development Plan (1947–56), partly financed by Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The educational plan, after two upward revisions in 1949 and 1951, was completed two years ahead of schedule. Its major objectives were to consolidate and improve the primary school system, to develop secondary education, trades training and schemes of adult education and community development, and to

increase the supply of trained teachers. Between 1947 and 1954 the number of pupils in primary schools rose from 167,459 to 174,881, and in secondary schools from 143 to 722 (including six boys in the Higher School Certificate class). Trades school students increased from 69 to 904, with another 278 at Hodgson Training Centre. The number of trained African teachers rose from 2,252 to 3,945. The Publications Bureau was established in 1948 to arrange the supply of books to Africans and to encourage local authorship. Central Government's recurrent expenditure on African education in 1954–55 was £1,054,675 and capital expenditure £250,108. Northern Rhodesia became part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953.

A new Development Plan was prepared in 1955, indicating the expansions considered necessary at all levels of the educational system but fixing no dates for their achievement. The aim for primary schools was in fact achieved by 1957, that for junior secondary in 1959 and for senior secondary by 1960. This was the more remarkable because in 1958 Northern Rhodesia entered a period of serious financial stringency. A sharp fall in the price of copper necessitated the introduction of many economy measures. The then Department of African Education suffered less than almost any other and was one of the very few to be allowed limited expansion. In 1959 a Four-Year Capital Plan covering the whole Federation was approved which, out of the £31,633,000 available for Northern Rhodesia, allocated £2,400,000 to African education.

By 1960 enrollment in primary schools was 287,536 and in secondary schools 2,602. The total enrollment in technical and vocational classes was 1,445. The number of trained teachers had risen to 5,936, thirty of them African graduates. Recurrent expenditure by the Central Government in 1959–60 was £2,130,047 and capital expenditure £460,441.

From 1957 on, special attention was paid to education in the main urban areas where rapid increase of population had led to over half the children being unable to find places in school. Various administrative measures, such as the introduction of an all-the-year-round system and the extension of the two-session system, made possible a considerable improvement in the position in 1958 and 1959. In 1960 the situation was transformed by the establishment of the Northern Rhodesia Educational Trust. This was made possible by the munificent gift by the two copper mining groups of £811,500 and a low-interest loan of a similar sum to finance a seven-year development programme of African education on the Copperbelt and at Broken Hill.

The other top priority in educational planning from 1957 onwards was secondary education, the enrollment at secondary schools in 1960 (2,602) being over 125% greater than it had been in 1956 (1,198). A separate secondary school entrance examination was introduced in 1959 and a youth employment service was started by the Ministry of Labour in 1960.

The priority given to secondary education and to the increased provision of primary school facilities in urban areas inevitably meant a slowing down of development in rural primary education. More and more children in rural areas were unable to find places in school and this accentuated the tendency for young people to drift to the towns in spite of administrative attempts, by both rural and urban local authorities, to control such movement.

Teacher-training took on a 'new look' when three new united mission training colleges were opened in 1959 and 1960 (Charles Lwanga, Livingstone and Malcolm Moffat). The future pattern of other forms of vocational training and further education was indicated in the report of the Keir Committee, published in November 1960. The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was opened in March 1957 and immediately attracted Northern Rhodesian African

students who had hitherto to rely on finding places in universities and university colleges in South Africa, Basutoland and Uganda. The introduction of Commonwealth Education scholarships and teacher grants in 1960 provided additional facilities for higher forms of education.

The African Education Ordinance promulgated in 1952 had provided for the establishment of local education authorities in all provinces and districts, a unified African teaching service, the appointment of school councils, closer management and regulation of schools, and proper financial control designed to ensure that the best value is obtained for the public funds spent on education. (A further important objective of the Ordinance was to give legal effect to the long-standing partnership between Government and voluntary agencies, mostly missionary societies.) From 1958 onwards special attention was paid to the training of African managers of schools of whom there were forty-five out of a total of 201 managers in 1960. The organization of the Ministry was reviewed in 1960 and a start made with the creation of separate branches for administration, inspection and teaching.

A tragic feature of the mounting political troubles that beset Northern Rhodesia in 1959 and 1960 was their effect on education. Thirty-three schools were destroyed or damaged by what was believed to be politically-motivated arson and several hundred children deprived of their schooling. Six post-primary institutions suffered serious outbreaks of indiscipline and had to be closed, while less serious incidents disturbed the academic work of several other schools.

In spite of such setbacks it will be seen from this brief survey that the period from the formation of the Department of African Education in 1930 to the end of 1960 was one of steady growth in African education, made possible by cooperation between central and local government agencies, the missionary societies, and private industry.

### **Main Aims of Education**

The aim of education in Northern Rhodesia as elsewhere is to produce good men and women capable of earning a useful living and of playing a constructive part as citizens in local and territorial affairs. The system of formal education, therefore, lays emphasis on the acquirement of knowledge, practical ability and character training. It is the Government's belief that all children should receive an education which provides literacy in an African language and in English, teaches the basic skills of the three Rs, and instills social and self-discipline. This fundamental training is provided to the extent that funds and staff allow. A balance has to be maintained, however, between the aim of full primary education for all and the need to satisfy the demands of the professions, trade, commerce, industry and Government for more highly educated and skilled local men and women. Other needs that have to be borne in mind are those of early school-leavers who could not or would not stay on at school but who now wish to achieve higher academic or technical standards, and the continuing need of these who leave school for material to keep exercised their ability to read and think.

The long-term aims of the Ministry of African Education have been:

1. to extend facilities as resources permit until there is a system of universal primary education for every child;
2. to extend facilities for secondary education and vocational training, having regard to funds available, the supply of candidates fitted by character, temperament and ability to profit by them, and the Territory's needs and powers of absorption, thus increasing the number of Africans qualified to play a full part in administrative and social services, in industry and commerce, and in public life generally;

3. to provide adult education courses for those who wish to continue their education, particularly women;
4. to encourage the production and wide distribution of suitable literature for those made literate by education.

### **University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland**

On 31st January 1963, the Minister of African Education made the following statement on behalf of the Government: "It is a sad fact that the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is not popular with Northern Rhodesian African students. I say this is a sad fact because the degrees provided at Salisbury, being those of London University, are of a high standard, and Northern Rhodesia contributed substantially towards the building of the college, which was designed, as its name indicates, to serve the whole of Central Africa. Unhappily, the fact that the college was situated in Salisbury has made it the object of suspicion. Political strains and stresses in Southern Rhodesia have been reflected in the life of the college and made the development of a happy, united community difficult. Other charges have been brought against the college suggesting that it was made more difficult for African students to reach the standard required than for European students. Inquiry has shown that there is no foundation for such an accusation. It remains true, however, that every year some students at Salisbury fail their examinations while others, apparently less well qualified academically, who have gone elsewhere, such as Makerere College, pass examinations of the same standard. This may well be due to the difficulty students in Salisbury have had in concentrating on study in such a centre of controversy. I think, too, that the college has been slow to cater for the special difficulties which African students have during the vacation, lack of access to libraries and of suitable accommodation for private study. Our students in Northern Rhodesia have also been influenced by the attitude taken by the Government of Nyasaland towards the University College in Salisbury. The Nyasaland Government has made it clear that they do not wish any of their students to go to Salisbury, and have in fact withdrawn students already there, even though they were within a few months of completing their course."

**Source:** Ministry of African Education (1964) *Triennial Survey for the Years 1961 to 1963 Inclusive*, pages 2-3, 9, 27-28. Lusaka: Government Printer.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Role of Education in the Political History of Zambia**

by

**J. M. Mwanakatwe**

While the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was spearheaded by educated men and women who drew up the scheme of political action intended to pressure the colonial government to surrender political power to the Africans, the African intelligentsia were quietly operating in other fields to achieve the same objectives. There were, for instance, the trade unionists. Most of the trade union leaders were educated men who detested white political domination, the industrial colour bar and the existence of wide differentials in the wages paid to European and African workers in industries and in commerce. The most famous militant trade unionist was Mr. Matthew Nkholoma whose influence as Secretary of the African Mine Workers

Union was recognized in the territory and abroad. UNIP had forged from the beginning an alliance with the African trade union movement, an achievement which earned the party more influence. In this way, the poor conditions of workers were exploited in the quest by party leaders to forge a powerful political organization.

Then there were civil servants and teachers, who constituted the largest group of educated Africans. Like other categories of African workers, they suffered the same humiliations from discriminatory practices and inadequate wages and salaries. The nationalist movement had always the advantage of knowing the plans of the colonialists through the teachers and civil servants who were members of the (nationalist) parties. Some teachers and civil servants, however, worked tirelessly to frustrate the activities of the nationalists. They acted as stooges of the imperialists. Indeed, even among the active politicians there were some black sheep, personified by the number of Africans who joined either the United Federal Party or other white political organizations which supported the concept of Federation.

The educated class, especially among the teachers, worked tirelessly to educate the masses about voting procedures when the political parties eventually obtained the kind of constitution for Northern Rhodesia in which more people were able to vote than in previous elections. Through their efforts, illiterate men and women who had just acquired the franchise were able to use their votes effectively. This was the greatest contribution of the teachers to the success of the 1962 General Election in which Mr. Kaunda's party obtained a majority of African seats and one upper roll seat. He fielded by far the most impressive team of candidates in terms of education and administrative experience. The quality of the men he fielded for the General Election clearly exploded the myth among whites that Mr. Kaunda had no support among educated Africans, that UNIP was merely a party of ne'er-do-wells, remarks which were unfair, motivated merely by political prejudice.

There were, of course, educated African men and women in various spheres of life who in their own quiet ways continued to advance the political fortunes of the Africans. There were African businessmen or farmers who provided financial support to the political parties. Such people were always the front men who suffered acute humiliation and embarrassment because of racial discrimination.

It should not be forgotten, too, that students in this country played a very important and significant role in the political struggle. From early March in 1960, there was considerable unrest in the schools because students began to realize that unless the legitimate political demands of the Africans were conceded, their future was doomed. The political education mounted by UNIP in the late 1950s had been extended to students in secondary schools, teacher training colleges and technical institutions. So there was a sudden spurt of indiscipline at six educational institutions for Africans in five provinces. This took the authorities completely by surprise. In some schools the disturbances were very serious because students rioted, breaking windows and school furniture and burning property.

A Commission of Inquiry, which was appointed by the government to investigate the causes of the disturbances, mentioned in its report that

A number of students have objected to the pamphlets, photographic and film productions issued by the Federal and Northern Rhodesia Information departments, on the grounds that these are, to all intents and purposes, issued by the political party in power at the moment. Students see these as advertisements for Federation to which they are opposed.

As the pamphlets of opposition parties are forbidden to schools ... care must be taken to avoid colouring information material with anything that might be regarded as political propaganda.

The list of what educated men and women did to accelerate the attainment of freedom and independence is endless. In fact, there is another entirely different dimension to the role of education in the political history of Zambia. Education, which began spreading in the country more widely in the late forties and fifties, helped to break down the barriers between tribes. Students who had mingled in boarding and urban schools with boys and girls from different ethnic groups were more tolerant of each other. Munali, Chipembi Girls Secondary School, Kafue, Canisius College, and Mindolo Girls School played an important role in promoting mutual respect among men and women who were destined to shoulder important responsibilities in our nation.

Education is important in our political history in two other respects. Literacy among Africans made it possible for leaders to communicate by the written word to their followers. Secondly, the widespread use of the English language also improved the means of communication between leaders and their followers where it was not possible to converse in an indigenous language. Speaking the English language with fluency gave self-confidence to the Africans who were obliged to work side by side with Europeans.

**Source:** Mwanakatwe, J. M. (1974) *The Role of Education in the Political History of Zambia*, pages 8–9. Address to Historical Association of Zambia (Lusaka Branch), 3rd October 1974.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Education at the Time of Independence**  
by  
**UN/ECA/FAO**

**Introduction**

In no area is Zambia's heritage of imbalance and contrast so marked as in the field of human development. This contrast is not merely racial, although the disparity under Federation between the facilities available to the children of the 86,000 non-Africans and to the African majority was enormous. Nor is it just a contrast between urban and rural standards, although in some Provinces barely 50 percent of the children get schooling, while along the line of rail almost all do. The contrast is primarily between the development in economic and political fields (delayed though this has been) and the lack of educational development.

Of course, similar contrasts have been seen in many parts of Africa. But in Zambia the inevitable difficulties which beset a country moving rapidly through economic and social change have been compounded by weaknesses which have stunted the very capacity to adapt to these changes. It is not too much to say that Zambia, in terms of high level manpower, is one of the least-educated countries in a most under-educated continent. This demonstrable fact presents Zambia with its gravest danger on the eve of Independence. Not merely will the shortage of educated people be the greatest obstacle along the path to economic expansion; even political stability could be threatened. Independence and nationhood mean little if the reins of government are not taken up by local hands; every African country which has recently gained Independence faces this task, yet many of them have benefited from a preparation very much longer and more complete than that of Zambia.

The task of making good the lost years will not be easy or cheap. Nor can it be accomplished quickly; to achieve an adequately educated labour force will take decades. A start has already been made, but it must be accelerated rapidly if the seventies are not to be burdened with the same problem as the sixties. The programme which follows, although enormous and costly, is necessary. We are conscious that educational expansion is in many ways the most important element of economic development, because it is the development of human beings themselves. Thus, while our recommendations for education and training have clearly in mind the economic needs of the country, we have not forgotten the value of this education in human terms.

### **The Educational Structure of the Present African Population**

The majority of Africans in Zambia have never been to school at all. This includes over half the men and over four-fifths of the women over 21. According to the recent census, 75% of African males and 93% of females over the age of 16 years are illiterate in the sense that they never completed four years of primary schooling. The proportions without schooling are considerably higher in the rural areas than in the urban, although even in the latter over half the total population have had no education. The educational structure of today's population is the result of the coverage and extent of schooling in the past. Thus among the older age groups, educational levels are low precisely because aided schooling in the 1930s was so limited.

There are some important educational features in the African population of 1963. First, there is a high proportion of unschooled and illiterate in the older age groups; even among the 20 year-olds, fewer than 50% have been at school long enough to reach Standard II. Amongst persons over 30, the proportion with minimum levels of schooling is scarcely a fifth and this proportion tapers off very rapidly in the older age groups.

Secondly, of those who have had some schooling, most have reached only minimum levels. Few have completed five years of primary school, and fewer still seven years. The census also indicated that less than 14,000 have had any secondary schooling.

Thirdly, those with the most schooling are largely concentrated in the 15–30 year-old age group, a fact of importance for leadership of all kinds. Lastly, there is a significant number of persons who have received sufficient schooling to awaken modern ambitions, but not enough to obtain the skills to achieve them. These persons, especially numerous in the younger age groups, will feel frustrated even if they find unskilled work.

Very few Africans have reached the higher levels of education. Under 1,000 have passed their School Certificate and numbers with lower certificates are correspondingly small. The Table below gives the cumulative totals since 1933 of all Africans who have passed the named examinations at each level, with an adjustment made for mortality. These stocks represent the sum total of all Africans alive in 1963 who had satisfactorily completed 6, 8, 10 and 12 years of schooling in Zambia. Their numbers, even by African standards, are extremely small. For example, in Uganda, a country with twice the population but less than a third the average income of Zambia, there were in 1963 6,300 African School Certificate holders (8,700 non-Europeans altogether). In the one year 1963 alone, nearly as many Africans passed the School Certificate in Uganda as had ever passed in Zambia. In Ghana, in 1937, nearly 20 years before it attained independence, more students passed the School Certificate than passed in Zambia in 1960.

### 1963 Stock of Educated Africans in Zambia, by Highest Examination Passed

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Standard IV	86,900	23,300	110,200
Standard VI	28,200	4,200	32,400
Form II	3,940	480	4,420
School Certificate	884	77	961

This scarcity of persons with education in Zambia is more acute at the higher levels. The conclusion is harsh: the Zambian population, on the eve of Independence, is in terms of education one of the least prepared populations in the whole of Africa.

#### **Non-African Education**

In addition to African education there was a second educational system in Zambia. This embraced the schools for non-Africans which had been a Federal responsibility since 1954. For non-African children, schooling was compulsory between the ages of 7 and 15, instruction was in English, and opportunities were available for most European children of ability to continue their education to the top classes. The Federal Ministry of Education estimated its expenditure upon its primary and secondary schools in Northern Rhodesia in 1962 as £1.9 million or about £90 a year per child, a high figure by international standards.

In the years before Federation, primary education for Europeans in Zambia had been established on a sound footing, although secondary education was only just beginning to develop. Up to 1950, only two years of secondary education were available for Europeans in Zambia and pupils proceeding beyond this stage were accommodated in Southern Rhodesian schools.

After the Federation was established, secondary expansion in the European schools was pressed immediately by the Federal Ministry. But for Asian and Coloured children, primary education was given first priority until 1960 and the expansion at secondary level took place only afterwards. Adequate expansion was made difficult and expensive because of the policy of separating the races in secondary school.

The decision that the Federation should be dissolved, not later than the end of December 1963, brought in its train the end of the policy of separate education in Zambia. The Government of Northern Rhodesia decided that at the same time that it assumed responsibility for non-African education, it would introduce a policy of opening all schools to children of any race. This policy is now being implemented, with fee-paying as the new basis for entry into the former Federal schools. Inevitably there will be difficulties and the need for delicate decisions. But the way is open for the ending of discrimination and the expansion of education in ways that can benefit the whole country.

#### **Strengths and Weakness of the Present System**

The non-fee paying school system is very much larger than the fee paying. At the end of 1963, just before the introduction of the new policy, the former extended throughout the country, embracing over 350,000 Africans, mostly at primary level but including more than 6,000 in different forms of secondary education. In a few designated urban areas, schooling was compulsory for six years. Elsewhere attendance was compulsory for four years only, and then only where

schools were available. In spite of this provision, schooling is more widely available than in many African countries, and about three-quarters of school-age children get some schooling. But primary education, though widespread, has its difficulties: there are problems arising from the large number of languages, the remoteness of some of the rural schools, and the high pupil-teacher ratios (averaging 64 to 1 in the lower primary schools). These ratios result from the two-shift system in which most lower school teachers teach one class in the morning and another in the afternoon. Recurrent expenditure by the Ministry of African Education in these schools was estimated to be £3.9 in 1963–64 or about £11 per head per annum.

Yet the real weakness of this education is not at the lower primary level but above. Until two or three years ago, the educational pyramid tapered to 'the point of disappearance' more sharply than in most other African territories. Although there has been considerable expansion in the last three years, the increase has come later than in many countries elsewhere in Africa. Even the 1963 school system implied that of every 100 Africans who start primary school, 82 would reach the fourth year, 42 the sixth, and 21 would complete the full primary course. Of this 21, only six would find a place in a secondary school; of them only three would enter a senior secondary form, and only two would end up with a School Certificate.

University education is not yet available in Zambia. Students at this level have had to find places in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or at universities elsewhere. Bursaries have been made available for such study and, since 1962, a Bursaries Committee has operated under the Ministry of African Education. In 1963 about 300 persons of all races were studying under such grants. But the years of neglect of secondary education made it impossible to expand quickly the number of university students; the flow of qualified applicants was only a trickle.

A second feature of Zambian education is the weakness of technical training. In many parts of Africa, agricultural and technical education are weak and Zambia is no exception. One of the two colleges, Hodgson, despite good facilities, has a reputation (like the trade schools) for receiving mostly low-grade students; instruction there has largely concentrated on the building trades. In Ndola, the Northern Technical College is just commencing, having absorbed the facilities of the former Copperbelt Technical Foundation. It is too early to judge the success of the new venture, but there are some grounds for misgivings. The education will be extremely expensive and its work will be largely concentrated on apprentices on block release, of whom the vast majority are non-African. In addition, this largely duplicates facilities which the mines already offer to students apprenticed to the industry.

A third characteristic is the expensive standards adopted (and expected) for buildings, both schools and houses. This may sound somewhat odd less than a year after a teachers' strike about the standards of their housing. But the fact remains that standards of school construction are in many cases a good deal higher and more expensive than elsewhere in Africa.

These weaknesses should not disguise the strengths of the system, some of which have already been mentioned. Primary facilities are widespread and, contrary to what is often said, the proportion of teachers with training is, by African standards, extremely high, even at the lower levels. Expansion, though not as rapid as it might have been, has been well based and there is probably a good deal of reserve strength still in hand. Finally, education is extremely popular and there is considerable evidence that local communities are willing, indeed keen, to extend school facilities by community effort.

The development of Zambia's human resources must be guided by manpower needs. At the moment, supplies of skilled manpower fall short of what the economy requires. With expansion in almost every sector, these needs will greatly increase. It must be the explicit purpose of the education system, and of other institutions of training, to provide the people of Zambia with the education and skills they need to build and develop the country. This implies a very close coordination between those concerned with educational policy and the central planning office; Ministry officials need clear objectives, so that their work in expanding education is directly linked to national needs. It also means that the balance between different sorts of technical education, and the balance between the different levels of education, must match the *future* manpower needs of the country.

**Source:** UN/ECA/FAO (1964) *Economic Survey Mission: Economic Development of Zambia*, chapter VI (abridged). New York: United Nations.

## Chapter 8

### The Search for a Human Resource Development (HRD) Strategy

*People as a Country's Wealth:* People are more important than natural, industrial, financial resources. Universal importance of balanced, integral development of human potential. Great significance in developing countries because of past neglect and historical imbalances.

*HRD Problems in Developing Countries in 1960s:* Rapid population growth (not fully recognized at time); increasing unemployment in formal wage sector; shortage of persons with critical technological, managerial, financial skills for national development; inadequate institutional infrastructure for developing human resources. In Zambia no university, few secondary schools, access by majority to technological training limited; inappropriate system of incentives—higher payments for white-collar work—administrators and bureaucrats seen as role models—absence of entrepreneurs and self-made people.

*Criticisms of Strategies Employed:* Greater stress on education as instrument of national development than as instrument of personal development. Concept of HRD very narrowly economic; overlooked other large areas of human potential (lifelong education, health, cultural traditions, religious & moral values, leisure, elimination of poverty, etc.). Tied too closely to manpower considerations.

*Addis Ababa Conference, 1961:* Purpose: to enable African States decide on their priority educational needs for the promotion of economic and social development and to formulate plans for educational development. The Conference made an inventory of educational needs (expansion of education with quality; reorient to economic & social needs of each country; open to all without distinction, especially girls and women), identified specific needs (buildings, learning materials, teachers, curriculum, relevance of curriculum, higher education, literacy, incorporation of cultural values), and set priorities (secondary education; curriculum reform; teacher training) and targets (long-term, i.e., for 1980: universal primary education, secondary available to 30% of primary leavers, higher available to 20% of secondary leavers, constant improvement in quality).

*Appraisal of Addis Ababa Conference and its Impact:* There was a general failure to meet targets (reasons: rapid population growth; underestimation of needed resources; underestimation of problems of rapid expansion; few jobs for school-leavers and hence disillusion; too little attention to type of education needed; much quantitative growth, but quality slipped back; economic and political difficulties; natural disasters). Positively, the Conference provided common forum for the sharing of problems, experience, aspirations. It demolished walls of isolation between African states and focused world attention on educational needs of Africa.

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### Readings

The *first reading* gives an excerpt from the official UNESCO report on the Addis Ababa Conference. There is strong emphasis throughout the reading on education's role in economic development, although this is balanced by the statement at the beginning of the excerpt, that education would have value even if it contributed nothing to economic development. It was necessary at the time of the Conference to stress the importance of secondary education, but priorities have changed during the thirty-three years that have since elapsed. Currently, primary education is a higher priority. Few today would agree with the Conference's implicit suggestion that there could be 'too much' primary education.

In the *second reading*, Mate gives a brief overview and appraisal of the 1961 Conference.

In the *third reading*, Chinapah and his colleagues criticize the human resource development strategies adopted in the 1960s and 1970s for their failure to pay attention to the centrality of the self-determining person in the process of development. Note their statement: *The whole purpose of development was not to develop things but to develop man*. Their critique shows that they would not fully agree with the approach adopted by UNESCO in the first reading.

### *First Reading*

## **Planning Education for Economic Development**

by

**UNESCO**

### **Education as Productive Investment**

Education does not have for its primary purpose a greater production of goods and services. The purpose of education is to broaden understanding, so that men may make the fullest use of their innate potential, whether spiritual, intellectual, or physical. Education would therefore have value even if it contributed nothing to economic development. Education is listed among the universal human rights; it is necessary for the full development of the human personality, and is grounded in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The economic aspect of education consists on the one hand of its costs, which limit the amount any country can afford, and on the other hand of its effect in increasing productive capacity, which justifies large expenditures on education even in purely economic terms. Economists have always recognized that increases in the national income are attributable not merely to the accumulation of physical capital, but also to the improvement of human capacity through research, education, inventions and the improvement of public health, as well as to better organization of human relations, whether in business, social or public institutions. Recent statistical calculations have shown that the accumulation of physical capital explains less than half of the annual increase in production in developed countries. The rest is due to increase in human skills and to better organization of production. It is difficult to isolate the proportion which is due to education, since the factors which contribute to the improvement of human capacity cover a much wider area than is usually included in 'education', as defined for budgetary purposes. Nevertheless, there is no disputing that expenditure on some forms of education is an investment which more than pays for itself in the narrowest economic terms.

### **The Need for Planning and High-Level Manpower Surveys**

The Addis Ababa Conference notes that education cannot make its fullest contribution to economic development unless it is particularly geared to the needs of economic development, which themselves differ at different stages of development and in different places at different times. Education more than pays for itself, but only if it is of the right kind and is mixed quantitatively in the right proportions. It is possible to have too much education in the sense of producing more of some types than the economy is able to absorb at its current stage of development. This can happen at any level of education. A country may find itself producing more university graduates or more primary school leavers than its economy can currently absorb, and may well as a result be faced with intractable economic, social or political problems. The balance between primary, secondary and higher education; between general, technical and vocational studies; between humanities and sciences; or between institutional and in-service training—all these require careful analysis if education is to be a help rather than a hindrance to development.

For this reason, education needs to be planned continuously in relation to economic development. The manpower needs arising out of the development plan should be surveyed and the supply of skills of various kinds integrated with expected needs. The Conference recognizes that manpower planning is still itself an underdeveloped science whose factual basis and techniques are rudimentary. Much more research needs to be done on the quantities of different kinds of skills which relate to different patterns of development, matters now being studied by research workers in universities and in other institutions. The Conference hopes that UNESCO, in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Africa and the International Labour Organization, will promote intensive studies of manpower needs in Africa. At the same time, rudimentary though current techniques may be, the results they yield are sufficiently valuable to justify the conclusion that every African country should have a manpower unit, operating jointly between the Ministry of Education and the central planning authority, to assess current needs and plan to match demand and supply.

### **Educational Content and Economic Development**

One of the principal deficiencies of most education systems is their tendency to give too little weight to studies based on the natural sciences. At the university there are usually proportionately too many students of arts, law and social science, and too few students of science, engineering, agriculture or medicine. At the secondary level there is a deficiency of technical institutes and farm schools, and the great majority of general secondary schools fail to make adequate provision for teaching the natural sciences. In the same way, the primary schools tend to neglect biological and mechanical studies. The chief reason for this is that the institutional patterns of education were formed many centuries before the modern technological revolution occurred, with its dependence on science. Education has therefore inherited its traditions and prejudices from a pre-scientific age. If education is to be integrated with economic development and to pay its way in purely economic terms, one of the principal changes must be a shift in curricula away from philosophic and literary studies towards natural science and its various applications. Entire substitution of one for the other is not in question; but a shift in relative proportions is of great importance.

## **Priorities**

### **Secondary and Higher Level**

It was noted that some African countries have unduly neglected secondary and higher education in relation to primary education. Economic development is highly dependent on skills of the sort which are taught in institutions to students of 15 years of age and upwards. It is of the

highest priority to ensure that an adequate proportion of the population receives secondary, post-secondary and higher education; this should be put before the goal of universal primary education if for financial reasons these two are not yet compatible. Plans for economic and social development depend upon an adequate supply of teachers, technicians, agricultural assistants, nurses, book-keepers, secretaries, medical technologists, clerks, and others with secondary level skills. Whereas the numbers required at the university level are so small that deficiencies can be met by external recruitment at relatively small cost, the numbers required at the secondary level are so large that deficiencies seriously handicap development.

### **Primary Level**

It is at the level of primary education that integration with economic development proves to be most difficult. The skills on which primary education concentrates—reading, writing, and counting—must have some value in any occupation whatsoever, and the habit of analysis which any kind of education must stimulate, is of special value in occupations whose technology is revolutionized by development, and not least in agriculture, which is the family occupation of the vast majority of children in primary schools. Primary education is difficult to integrate only where and to the extent that primary schooling creates among the great majority of children expectations of a way of life and a standard of living which the economic system is not yet able to give them.

Integration of primary education is only partly a problem of adjusting curricula. The subject matter taught in primary schools is obviously important, but the problem would exist even if all rural schools taught exactly the skills needed in rural areas. The real problem is that any good primary school will widen children's horizons beyond what can be satisfied by the economy of 'a hectare-and-a-hoe'. The school leaver expects a higher standard of living than his farmer father, a better house, pure water, and easy access to medical and other public services. He is willing to drive a tractor or a lathe, but can hardly be expected to respect the back-breaking energies with meagre output yields which are forced upon his father through lack of modern inputs. In other words, the boy whom the primary school turns out is ready for an economy in which technological revolution is occurring rapidly, in agriculture as well as in urban occupations. So, when the primary schools turn out large numbers who are expected to accommodate themselves to 'a hectare-and-hoe' civilization, what can be expected is frustration and exasperation.

Economic integration requires that primary education, like any other level of education, should keep in step with the stages of economic development, and that rural schools especially should gear their numbers to the rate at which agriculture is adopting new technologies into which the primary school leaver can fit. (However) this is too drastic a restriction, partly because a drift from agriculture to urban occupations is part of the natural pattern of economic development, partly because having a surplus of educated people stimulates economic change, and partly because the right of young people to acquire education and understanding must never be completely sacrificed to economic needs.

The attainment of universal literacy cannot be given the highest priority in the earliest stages of economic development as compared with the expansion of other skills at secondary and higher levels, but it is an objective in its own right, and every country should aim at having every child in school within two decades. If primary school leavers cannot be integrated into the economy, this is equally a challenge to revolutionize the economy.

## **Adult Education**

It is also agreed that most African countries should accord adequate priority to adult education, especially in the countryside. Experience in other continents has shown that even among illiterate farmers agricultural extension can effect substantial increases in yields. In general, the quickest way to increase productivity in Africa today, in any industry, is by on-the-job training of adult workers. This form of education is the most closely geared to economic development, and yet the most neglected. Except for in-service training of teachers, responsibility for most of this kind of education rests not with the Ministry of Education but with the Ministries more directly concerned with production.

The Conference also notes a tendency to transfer to full-time trade-schools training of a kind which is more adequately and cheaply done by on-the-job apprenticeship training (e.g., in building skills), with or without part-time attendance at institutions. In view of the scarcity of resources, under-developed countries should avoid unnecessary prolongation of formal schooling in this manner.

**Source:** UNESCO (1961) *Final Report: Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa*, Addis Ababa, 15–25 May 1961, pages 9–11. Paris: UNESCO.

## *Second Reading* **The Addis Ababa Conference** by **C. M. O. Mate**

### **Introduction**

The Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education, held from 15 to 25 May 1961, resulted from a decision taken by the General Conference of UNESCO at its eleventh session, to convene a conference of African states for the purpose of “establishing an inventory of educational needs and a programme to meet those needs in the coming years”. It was held through the joint effort of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Africa.

Up to the time of the Conference, the African countries had, on the whole, made appreciable progress in the expansion of their educational facilities, but it had become obvious that the educational provisions and achievements so far were inadequate for the purpose of meeting the essential needs of the African countries. Relatively small percentages of the children of school age were actually enrolled in schools at the various levels and the form of education provided was not sufficiently adapted to meet African needs in the economic, social and cultural fields.

It is worth noting that the Conference took place at a time when a large number of African countries had attained, or were in the process of attaining, their independence, which went with the assumption of responsibility for their own educational policies and their implementation. Also, at the time of the Conference, recognition had begun to be given by international financing organizations to the fact that education can be gainful economic investment in that the human development for which it provides makes for the effective use of resources, both human and natural, of the community for its social and economic progress. Further, it is worth remarking that the Addis Ababa Conference was significant in providing the first occasion when the educational

progress, needs and problems of Middle Africa (the part that includes Zambia) were dealt with as a whole, with the drawing up of a regional plan of educational development for the attainment of the objectives agreed on by the Conference.

### **Needs, Priorities and Targets**

It may be useful at this stage to outline briefly the types of needs to which the Conference directed its attention, and to state the priorities and targets it set.

#### **Needs**

The needs indicated cover all levels and types of education and the essential services relevant to them. They include finances for salaries, school buildings and scholarships; supply and equipment of classrooms; production and distribution of suitable textbooks; provision of trained teachers at the various levels; new orientation of curriculum to provide for technical and vocational education and technological training; development and popularization of girls' education; expansion and improvement of facilities in higher education; promotion of adult education to enable the adults to understand the social and technical changes taking place in Africa; and realistic and effective planning of education as part of the overall national planning for economic and social development.

In examining these needs, the African countries showed their keen awareness of the close link between educational progress and economic development through the supply and use of skilled manpower. They also became conscious of the need to maintain a reasonable balance among the various levels of education, to reduce costs through judicious economy, and to seek external loans and aid to help meet their educational expenditure.

#### **Priorities**

In view of the comprehensive nature of the needs, the inevitably high cost they would entail, and the inadequacy of available resources for meeting them, the African countries found it necessary to give priority to secondary education, curriculum reform and teacher training as basic requirements for a balanced educational programme and closely related to improvement in the rate of social and economic growth.

#### **Educational Targets**

The Addis Ababa Conference set the targets for a long-term plan (1960–80) and a short-term plan (1960–65). The main features of the long-term plan were:

1. Primary education to be universal, compulsory and free.
2. Education at the second level to be provided for 30 per cent of the children completing the primary education course.
3. Higher education to be provided, mostly in Africa itself, to 20 per cent of those completing secondary education.

#### **An Appraisal of the Addis Ababa Conference in the Light of Subsequent Experience**

The fact that the Addis Ababa Conference had a regional approach to the educational problems of Africa necessitates a certain amount of qualification of the conclusions which may be reached through any appraisal of the efforts made by many countries to meet the needs and priorities it indicated and to achieve the targets set. One of the main reasons for such an attitude is that the countries affected were at different stages of educational development at the time of the Conference. For example, a few of the countries had, at the time, already exceeded the short-term targets for the primary and secondary levels. But there were also a number of countries whose

enrollments at the primary and secondary levels and financial resources made the targets appear unrealizable within the period affected.

It is reasonable to state, however, that the targets and the factors related to them have, *inter alia*, drawn attention to a set of criteria for measuring educational progress in certain quantitative terms. Reference may be made in this connection to the drop-outs and repeaters in primary schools as well as to the shift advocated in relation to secondary schools from general education to vocational and technical education and teacher training. It is to be noted that these quantitative terms also have qualitative implications and significance.

It is necessary to realize that the objectives apart, the Addis Ababa Conference provided other situations of intrinsic value to the African countries in their joint effort to achieve overall social and economic development. Through the Conference, all the English and French-speaking countries of Africa were provided a common forum for discussing their educational problems; the Conference also offered opportunities for the developing of mutual respect and understanding among these people who, though living on the same continent, had been separated by different educational systems, political institutions, and cultural traditions, as a result of colonialism.

Also, the Conference provided a common ground for collective thinking on the new trends and factors which were affecting the African countries as a group.

Furthermore, it is possible to see the Addis Ababa Conference, together with the problems of African education which it highlighted, as forming a potent force which drew the attention of the developed countries to the educational needs of Africa to a decidedly marked extent and led to a desire on the part of these countries to assist Africa in dealing with these needs. The granting of external assistance to African countries for educational purposes stems from this recognition of the needs of Africa.

**Source:** Mate, C. M. O. (1969) Addis Ababa in Retrospect: An Evaluation of Experiences since the 1961 Conference, pages 4–6, 25–26. In R. Jolly (ed.) *Research and Action: Education In Africa*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Integrated Development of Human Resources**

by

**V. Chinapah, J.-I. Lofstedt and H. Weiler**

### **The Gap between Educational Planning and the Integrated Development of Human Resources**

Inspired by human-capital theorists and economists of education, the conceptual, methodological, and empirical 'classics' on educational planning have tended to concentrate on purely economic criteria for ascertaining the roles and functions of education—formal schooling as a source of skills, qualifications and certificates relevant to the domain of production. Educational planning had to be geared towards the manpower required for the economic growth of society, human beings were to be made more productive and educational planning was seen in this context

as a vital instrument for gearing educational development towards the economic needs of society. Although severe doubts and criticisms were raised on the limited roles and functions attributed to educational planning in the process of human resource development, evidence shows that the application of economic rationales remains up to the present a powerful maxim in the theory and practice of educational planning.

Notwithstanding attempts in different directions, the fact remains that a primarily economic analysis of education has tended to distort the very conception of the human element in the process of development. Recognizing this limitation, efforts were made in the 1970s to redefine human resource development in terms of a strategy for satisfying basic human needs. *The whole purpose of development was not to be to develop things but to develop man.* In this context, educational planning was seen as instrumental in the process of an all-round development of human beings, intellectually, socially, politically, morally, aesthetically and physically. It seems fair to say that this earlier effort at re-conceptualizing the notion of human resource development away from a purely economic construct has had limited impact on the reality of educational planning and policy.

### **The Human Factor in the Development Matrix**

*The concept of development underlying the notion of human competence is predicated on the role of people as autonomous participants in the process of social change and improvement, capable (competent) of both understanding the complex dynamics of development processes and of affecting and influencing the direction of these processes. Just as 'development' has many facets, the human capabilities and competencies required to participate actively in these facets range as widely. Once we understand development as no longer limited to the realm of economic production and consumption, but as also including such things as the sustenance of cultural traditions and identities, the quality and ease of interpersonal and inter-group communication and action, the inculcation and growth of active and critical citizenship, the possibility for recreation and creative use of leisure time, and the achievement and preservation of good health, the range of 'human competence' required to sustain this wide array of development objectives expands correspondingly. To achieve this range of human competence in a concerted, coherent fashion thus becomes a major policy challenge. To plan for this concerted effort gives a new and both more ambitious and exciting meaning to the old notion of human resource development. Inasmuch as education plays a role in bringing about this new range of human competence, educational planning would become an integral part of the new overall effort at the planning of human competence development.*

One of the elements of the new concept of development is the multiplicity and diversity of human competence that is required to sustain the ideal of the autonomous, active participant in the development process. The most important of these would include gainful work; study; health; culture; polity; the environment; peace. While these do not necessarily include all the capabilities that would be needed, they would seem to include the most significant ones. They are probably self-explanatory, but it may be important to emphasize once more that, while many of these capabilities are related to one another, they also represent objectives in their own right. For example, it is obvious that poor health and nutrition will have a detrimental effect on a person's ability to participate in the process of economic production. At the same time, however, there is an absolute and independent value in sustaining people's health and physical well-being regardless of its impact on their productive abilities.

A wide array of strategies is available for achieving these objectives. These strategies can be defined in terms of their institutional source (family, school, media, etc.) or in terms of the kind

of intervention (resource allocation, literacy training, regulation, publication, etc.). Education is one (but only one) of these strategies. However, education continues to attract particular attention because of: (a) its extensive presence throughout a society and across most regional, social and cultural cleavages; (b) its susceptibility to being re-directed or manipulated, more easily than many other social institutions, by the state and/or powerful social and economic forces in the society; (c) its critical role in providing, through its certification function, access to a variety of social statuses and rewards; and (d) its considerable cost to a society in terms of both material and human resources.

**Source:** Chinapah, V., Lofstedt, J.-I., & Weiler, H. (1989) "Integrated development of human resources and educational planning", pages 20–23, 26. *Prospects*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1989.

## Part IV—Education in the First Republic 1964–1973

### Chapter 9

#### Zambia's Educational Problems and Policies in 1964

*General Policy Questions:* How to increase access—to primary education, to secondary, to higher, for girls, for rural children? What kind of education to give—academic? vocational? practical? rural-oriented? How to retain pupils in school and reduce dropout (making education more efficient)? How to improve academic achievement? Where to get the resources for education—where would the funds come from? What proportion from the state? Should the education system depend on private payments? Where would teachers come from? Who should own/manage/run the schools? How should the education system be organized and managed?

*Access to education just before Independence:* In late 1963, there were 623,000 children in age range 7–14 in Zambia of whom 350,000 were in primary schools (270,000 in lowest four classes; 80,000 in Standards III–VI); 1,769 primary schools (about 1,000 of them mission schools); 7,050 pupils in 26 mission and 16 government or local education authority secondary schools; 7,200 teachers in all institutions (of whom 600 had completed secondary). Only 150 of those teaching in primary schools had completed secondary school, and most of these were in European schools. There was very limited higher education of any kind and no university in the country. Enormous demand on part of people for education and pressure to expand. A crisis of expectations was imminent as people expected immediate delivery of more education on attainment of Independence.

*Educational Inequalities:* (a) A dual system for Africans and non-Africans; lavishly equipped and well-staffed European schools; compulsory education for European children and facilities available up to Form VI. Over 3,500 Europeans (out of population of 60,000) in secondary. The problem was how to integrate the two systems without affecting standards and without replacing racial distinction by distinctions based on class. (b) Girls' participation poor (girls = 42% of primary enrollments, 20% of secondary, 19% of teachers). (c) Uneven geographic distribution. Large areas with few or no schools. Inadequate urban provision, especially in cities and large towns.

*Human Resource Problems:* Four major problems (i) scarcity of skilled and educated 'manpower'; (ii) a surplus of unskilled labour; (iii) extreme dependence on expatriates; (iv) prejudices against technical education. Additional rapid supply of high-level 'manpower' needed for (a) development of economy; (b) replacement of departing expatriates; (c) Zambianization.

*Educational Policies Adopted:* Ensure equality of educational opportunity, regardless of race; promote national unity; foster national development. To achieve these goals, the priorities for the development of education were to be (a) the establishment of a university; (b) the expansion of secondary education and the improvement of the quality of primary education (both ranked equal).

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chapter VI. New York: United Nations (see Fourth Reading, Chapter 7 above)

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### **Readings**

The *first reading*, from the Ministry of Education's 1964 *Annual Report*, sets out the principles that motivated changes in educational policy and the tasks that faced the Ministry in 1964.

The *second reading* gives the UNESCO Planning Mission's views on the nature of the challenges facing education in Zambia at the time of independence.

### *First Reading* **Educational Policy** by **Ministry of Education**

Three main principles have motivated all recent changes in educational policy. First, in an independent country which subscribes to a democratic way of life, the national interest requires that there should be equality of educational opportunity for all and without regard to racial, tribal or religious affiliations; second, in a young country, the system of education must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity without necessarily incurring educational uniformity; and, third, in a developing country seriously deficient of trained manpower, an urgent objective of educational policy must be to subserve the needs of national development without, in the process, frustrating the full development of individual abilities and satisfactions.

Prior to 1st January 1964, there was not equality of educational opportunity in what is now the independent Republic of Zambia. The African and non-African systems of education were quite separate, and between them there was little communication. In the pre-Federation days there were two distinct departments of education and, during Federation days, non-African education and all higher education were not the direct responsibility of the Northern Rhodesia Government. The non-African system also catered for the Asian and Coloured population, in separate schools, but its predominant purpose was to meet the needs of the European population permanently settled or temporarily resident in the country.

The main reason for this separation was that the two systems, although having very similar long-term educational aims, started from widely different points and, in consequence, they varied greatly in the speed and practicability of attaining their objectives.

From the start, the objectives of the European system were quite clear. Through its school organization, syllabus, language and social practice it was charged with preparing its pupils for the more highly developed, competitive and sophisticated society found in European countries. As the European population was comparatively small—in 1953, for example, when the Federation was established, there were some 53,000 Europeans in Northern Rhodesia compared with some 2,660,000 Africans—the size of the problem was not large and, as a result, it was possible to

maintain a system of compulsory education between the ages of 7 and 15 years; to provide high standards of school buildings and equipment; to supply specialist services, medical as well as educational; and to obtain the finance necessary both to maintain and to increase these facilities in accordance with the growth of the population.

The objectives of the African system of education, however, although based on a similar educational philosophy, were always hampered in their practical attainment by the size of the problem. From the earliest days, the policy of successive governments had remained unchanged and the long-term aims were frequently reiterated as being

- to extend facilities as resources permit until there is a system of universal primary education for every child;
- to extend facilities for secondary education and vocational training, having regard to funds available, the supply of candidates fitted by character, temperament and ability to profit by them, and the Territory's needs and power of absorption, thus increasing the number of Africans qualified to play a full part in administrative and social services, in industry and commerce, and in public life generally;
- to provide adult education courses for those who wish to continue their education, particularly women; and
- to encourage the production and wide distribution of suitable literature for those made literate by education.

But the speed with which these objectives could be attained was inevitably governed by political and economic factors. Previous annual reports and triennial surveys have recorded the measure of success which has been achieved in attaining them and, although the quantity and quality of the primary education provided since 1925 compare favourably with those of other African countries, much play has been made of the fact that Northern Rhodesia entered into independence as the Republic of Zambia with the local human resources of only about one hundred African university graduates and less than a thousand African holders of a full secondary School Certificate.

Thus, the main tasks during 1964 were to integrate the different system of education obtaining in the country; to promote a unity of purpose without necessarily requiring a uniformity of practice; to ensure equality of educational opportunity for all children; to increase such opportunities rapidly at all levels to meet the national needs for educated and trained men and women; and, in the process, to maintain, extend and improve existing educational standards.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1964) *Annual Report*, pages 1–3. Lusaka: Government Printer.

### *Second Reading*

## **Viewpoint, Inequalities and Selected Recommendations**

by

### **The UNESCO Planning Mission**

#### **Viewpoint**

An education system is a result of decisions made and designs laid down by past and present governments. In periods of calm and steady growth this is scarcely noticed; the purposes of society and the general structure of the education system so designed are unquestioned and seem

part of the natural order of things. However, in a time of rapid change, new objectives are set, new designs are desired and the inherited system is brought under review. Our report is made at such a time.

The most striking feature of Northern Rhodesia society is the sharpness of the division within it, and it is this feature which is now directly challenged. There is marked inequality of access to positions of responsibility, power and wealth, and, related to this, unequal access to the education and skills needed to fulfill them. The contrasts sit awkwardly with the formal political equality that will exist early in 1964.

As a result, we believe that the major demand which is now made on the education system is that it should play its part in removing these inequalities; that it should open the doors which are now shut.

From this general viewpoint a number of consequences follow which give shape to our analysis and recommendations. Clearly, there must be greatly increased provision for the education of African children. It is here that exclusion, other than on grounds of ability, has operated most severely. Further, priority must be given within education to the provision of university and other forms of higher education, and to expansion of secondary education. This alone gives effective access to professional skills, to high and middle ranks of administration, industry and commerce. Moreover, the expansion of the education system itself requires a sharp prior expansion of secondary school output. We realize that there is an insistent demand for wider primary education, to give more equal access to literacy and higher education. However, it is important that for some years efforts to widen primary education should not make heavy demands on the small pool of trained teachers and the small output of the secondary schools. If effort is dispersed thinly over all education, the rate of overall expansion will be reduced.

Within the field of primary education we believe that priority should be given to improving the quality of teaching, particularly in the lower primary schools. The teachers in this most difficult and most important field are the least equipped, by both education and training, for their task. The importance of their work is not matched by their rewards in salary and living conditions, nor by their prestige in the teaching profession and in the community.

As a result, the children who leave after four years have gained little of permanent value from their schooling, their skills are soon lost and the efforts and sacrifices involved have been largely wasted. The relatively small numbers who continue into either two years or four years in the upper primary schools suffer in their later education from any defects of teaching in the first four years. Though older than the native English speaking child when they enter school, African children at present have eight years of primary education before they enter secondary, as against the former's seven years. Their difficulties with the English language, in which their secondary education is conducted, add to any handicaps arising from their primary education.

The priorities within primary education are a small but steady increase in the number of children entering middle and upper primary schools so that more and more may have an opportunity to go on to secondary education; the rapid improvement of education in the lower primary schools, in particular by the elimination of double shift teaching; the introduction of a fifth year for all children; and the reduction of the length of primary education to seven years.

These priorities are essentially quantitative and formal. To them we add three more directed at the qualitative improvement in the education received by African children:

1. the use of English as the sole medium of instruction;
2. the opening of more teachers' colleges
3. an improvement in the standard of quality of the staffing of the teachers' colleges and of the training they give.

### **Educational Inequalities**

Dichotomies have existed within the educational structure, between the opportunities available in the systems administered by the Federal Government and the Government of Northern Rhodesia. They have also existed within schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of African Education as between provision in rural and urban areas; and between the attractiveness of those schools for girls and for boys.

#### *Compulsory Education*

It was compulsory for almost all children for whom the Federation was responsible to attend school between the ages of seven and fifteen. The Ministry of African Education required all children in designated urban areas to attend school for six years. Elsewhere attendance was compulsory for four years only in areas where schools were available.

#### *Language of Instruction*

The language of instruction in the Federal schools, with very minor exceptions, was English; the majority of the pupils came from homes where English was the only language spoken, and for whom, therefore, there was not the problem of learning a new language for working purposes. In the primary schools for African children, the language of instruction until the fifth year was one of the vernaculars. In the lower primary school, teaching could begin in the pupil's mother tongue in areas where this was not the main vernacular; in these circumstances one of the four official vernaculars was introduced not later than the beginning of the third year. English was introduced as a subject of study early in the first year, and the amount of time given to it rose steadily to a maximum of six to seven hours a week in upper primary schools.

#### *Opportunity Available*

In the schools under the Federal system there was no restriction on entry at any level except those imposed by the necessity to pass examinations (e.g., for entry to the Sixth Form). Places in secondary schools were available for all those leaving the primary schools; children could proceed as far as their ability justified. Different kinds of courses and different rates of progress were provided. In July 1963 there were 13,206 children in primary schools and 5,428 in secondary schools under Federal control.

For African children the position was different. In the urban areas provision was made for all children to have six years of primary education. Outside the urban areas the majority of children had only four years of primary education; where further primary education was available, the number of places available for the fifth and sixth years was less than the number wishing to enter school. Selection processes were required at various stages in both primary and secondary education. In September 1963 there were 342,105 children in aided (mission) and maintained (government and local education authority) primary schools, and 6,525 children in aided and maintained secondary schools, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of African Education.

### *Education of Girls*

Compulsory education from seven until the age of fifteen ensured that most girls in Federal schools remained at school for eight years or more.

Despite a steady change for the better over the last ten years only a small percentage of girls in African schools in Northern Rhodesia received more than four years of primary education. They generally started school earlier than African boys, but a higher percentage of them dropped out at or before Standard III.

### *Size of Classes and Average Teacher-Pupil Ratio*

In the primary schools for European, Asian and Coloured children, the total enrollment for the second term of 1962 for the whole of the Federation was 50,692; the average class had thirty pupils, and the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:29.

In the primary schools for African children the enrollment on 30th September 1963 was 328,770. There were 6,388 teachers, including heads, making a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:51. This figure is high because teachers in the lower primary schools work two sessions—the morning with one group of children, the other in the afternoon with another group. The model class had nearly forty pupils.

### *Total Expenditure*

The Federal Ministry of Education estimated its expenditure upon its primary and secondary schools in Northern Rhodesia in 1962 as £1.9 million, or £90 per head of the 20,942 pupils.

The Northern Rhodesia Government estimated its expenditure on comparable pupils as £4 million, or £12 per head for 334,500 pupils.

## **Summary of Recommendations**

(selected items only)

We regard as equal in priority the expansion of secondary education and the rapid improvement of the quality of primary education.

- The number of pupils receiving secondary education should be increased by
- providing more places above Form I so that 75% of those in Form II proceed to Form III;
  - increasing the enrollment in Form I in 1966 and thereafter by thirty new 'streams' of thirty-five pupils each year.

The education of girls should be given equal status with that of boys. More provision should be made for them. For the next few years, we recommend that there should be separate secondary schools for girls.

New secondary schools should be sited where there is need for them because of population. Day schools for boys should be developed. Boarding schools for girls will be needed for the next few years, but they too should be sited in terms of local needs.

The study of the reliability and validity of the examinations used for selection purposes, already begun, should be continued and enlarged.

Secondary schools should be multilateral above Form II, with choices of at least academic, technical, home science and commercial courses.

The scale of supply of apparatus and materials for the teaching of science should be increased, particularly in junior secondary schools. In-service courses for teachers in the method of approach to this subject should be arranged.

The emphasis in secondary education should be shifted from memorization and routine application to the cultivation of the discovery by independent inquiry and thinking of information and of relationships between knowledge.

The major emphasis in primary education must be to improve the quality of lower primary schools. The final step should be to increase the number of well-qualified and well-trained teachers engaged in teaching in the lower primary school, so that double session teaching will be eliminated. The size of classes in primary schools should be reduced to a maximum of thirty-five as soon as possible. In addition, many classrooms and teachers' houses must be rebuilt, and the scale of equipment provided for the lower primary school should be at least doubled. The principle should be adopted that the teacher in any community should be provided with a house of comparable quality in design, construction and facilities with those provided for other workers in that community on comparable salaries.

The medium of instruction should be English, from the beginning of schooling, and as soon as possible a pilot scheme should be set up to commence the introduction of English as the medium of instruction. However, study of a vernacular should continue, at least throughout primary school.

The teachers' colleges should take as an explicit aim the encouragement in professional matters of independence of thinking by their students. Post-School Certificate courses of three years' duration should be continued for those training for teaching in junior secondary schools. Courses of training for teaching in primary schools should be two years in length.

Teaching and learning aids supplied to schools must cultivate active learning. As a first priority, teachers must be trained to use these aids effectively.

**Source:** UNESCO (1964) *Report of the UNESCO Planning Mission: Education in Northern Rhodesia*, pages 1, 6–7, 104–110. Lusaka: Government Printer

## Chapter 10

### Achievements and Challenges in Primary School Development, 1964–73

*Aims:* Policy stressed quality, practice stressed quantity. Aims of First National Development Plan—create sufficient places so that every 7 year-old child can be admitted to Grade 1 by 1970, all urban children can complete the full 7-year primary cycle, and 75% of rural children can also complete the 7-year cycle. Maintain quality by expanding facilities for teacher training and by upgrading teachers. Achieve by more readily available government funds, heavy reliance on self-help activities to build teachers' houses and classrooms, extension of double session teaching where possible and necessary, crash training of teachers (1966 to 1968)—one year after Form 2.

*Achievements:* Rapid expansion of Grades 1–4 (285,000 pupils in 1964; 483,000 in 1970). By early 1970s, about 80% of eligible children could find places in schools. Grade 4 to 5 transition rate increased to 75% in 1972–73.

*Problems:* (a) Buildings: some very poor self-help structures, unsafe, some had to be demolished; (b) Critical shortage of teachers' accommodation (led to teacher frustration and demoralization; teachers became increasingly angry and defiant; major strikes in 1963, 1968, 1970, widening the gap between old teachers and younger elite); (c) Over-enrollment and very large classes; (d) Triple sessions started in some areas; (e) Much repetition, especially in Grade 7; (f) High drop-out rates in rural areas, especially among girls in Grades 4, 5 and 6.

*Challenges:* (a) How to get across the idea that primary education is terminal. This was faced up to in Second National Development Plan, but never accepted by parents, pupils, teachers or administrators; (b) How to promote English as medium of instruction (by teachers who were not strong in English) and at the same time promote appreciation for local languages; (c) How to make primary schooling more relevant and valuable for those who did not proceed into secondary; (d) How to cope with the growing problem of the primary school leaver.

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### Readings

The *first reading*, from the 1966 Manpower Report, gives a broad statement on Government's educational policy at the time and opens up the question of the primary school leaver.

In the *second reading*, a number of excerpts from the 1969 *Zambian Manpower* document outline the achievements during the early years of independence and the challenges facing the educational system.

The *third reading* is a closely reasoned paper presented at the First National Education Conference in 1969. In addition to an overview on educational policy decisions that were implemented in the period 1964–1969, the paper examines one of the greatest challenges to primary education, namely the primary school leaver problem.

#### *First Reading*

### **Universal Primary Education: The View in 1966**

by

**Cabinet Office**

Government policy in Zambia acknowledges that the educational system must be directed towards manpower needs. This means adjusting the size and structure of the educational system, and aligning the teaching and attitudes created within it, to the needs of development. The educational programmes of the First National Development Plan have been designed to achieve this.

The majority of the population are either unschooled or illiterate in the sense that they have had less than four years of primary education. This is especially true among the older age groups, including most persons of working age.

The Government policy during the First National Development Plan is to expand enrollments so that by 1970 every child will be able to have at least four years of education. From 1966, 75% of all children completing the four-year primary course in rural areas, and 100% in urban areas, will be given the opportunity to complete the full primary course of seven years. After 1970 the picture is undecided, but Government has made clear the desirability of providing the full primary course to all children as soon as possible.

By 1970 universal primary enrollment will have been achieved, but those who benefit will mostly be under working age. But by 1980, if the primary course is given to all, the full effects of literacy will not only have affected the youngest age groups but also an increasing proportion in the labour force. This influx of a larger proportion of persons with a basic education could make a major impact in both rural and urban areas. At the very least, these persons will be fully literate, with all that this can mean for grasping new ideas, learning new techniques and being alert and responsive to the challenges of development.

These improvements, though now within the nation's grasp, will not follow automatically. The primary syllabus needs imaginative developments if these primary school leavers are to have the basic skills and attitudes needed for development. Broadly speaking, those completing primary

school do three things: some will go on to secondary school or some other types of formal education; others will leave school and obtain a wage-earning job, often only after a year or two, since they are often just fifteen years of age or less. Many, and for many years in Zambia (as in most African countries) the majority, will have to make their livelihood in the rural areas on the land. From a manpower point of view, the most important development needed in primary education is to discover how best to fit these young people for this life ahead. This challenge encompasses every aspect of primary education: what is taught, the attitudes created, the basic curriculum. There is no simple answer to this problem, but it will be important for a long period and deserves continuous discussion, experiment, evaluation and re-evaluation. Successful development of the rural areas, as well as the morale and stamina of the country, depends in no small way on finding solutions to this problem.

**Source:** Cabinet Office (1966) *Manpower Report*, pages 30–33. Lusaka: Government Printer.

### *Second Reading*

## **Education's Contribution toward Meeting the Demand for Manpower by Office of the Vice-President**

### **The Educational System**

Within the overall framework of the primary and secondary school system, there are a number of different types of schools. The vast majority of primary school pupils attend Government 'non-scheduled' (non-fee-paying) schools. Besides this, however, there are Government 'scheduled' (fee-paying) schools, and private schools, mainly run by religious organizations. The latter include both fee-paying and non-fee-paying establishments, some of which are aided by Government funds. The secondary schools are organized along the same general lines, except that the fee-paying Government secondary schools have been gradually converted to a non-fee-paying basis over a period of several years.

In principle, the entry age in Government non-scheduled schools is seven, whilst the entry age in scheduled schools is five. In the absence of compulsory registration at birth, however, it is difficult to judge to what extent the principle is observed. Primary schooling continues for seven years, the first four of which are termed 'lower primary' and the final three 'upper primary'. The First National Plan set forth specific aims for primary education, as follows:

1. To provide sufficient places for primary education for every child aged seven in Zambia in 1970.
2. To provide opportunities for all upper primary school children in urban primary schools and 75% of children in rural primary schools to complete a seven-years primary course.

Admission to Government secondary schools is determined by an examination, taken in Grade VII by pupils who have continued on into the final primary year. Currently about one-quarter of the Grade VII pupils qualify to progress into Form I of secondary school. The complete secondary course lasts five years, but is divided into lower (Forms I and II) and upper (Forms III, IV and V) sections. A selection examination is taken in Form II, as a result of which roughly two-

thirds of the initial Form I intake progress to Form III, and thence automatically to Form V. The Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations are taken in Form V to determine, among other things, how many are eligible to enter the University.

In regard to secondary schooling the aims of the First National Development Plan were related to the economic needs of the country, as follows:

To expand secondary schooling to provide the manpower in the numbers and with the skills required for national development.

The Plan also set forth the goal:

To continue the programme of secondary school expansion by building a further forty-five new Form I classes each year and to provide sufficient Form III classes for two-thirds of all secondary school entrants to complete the full course.

A variety of openings for further education and training exist to accommodate school-leavers at the different stages of school output. For Grade VII primary school-leavers the main opportunities are in the Trade Training Institutes and Zambia Youth Service camps. The Northern Technical College and Evelyn Hone College of Commerce and Arts offer courses at both Form II and Form V entrance levels. In addition, a number of Government Ministries, not to mention certain bodies in the private sector, run training institutes in such fields as teaching, nursing, forestry and agriculture, with intake at both Form II and Form V levels. The greatest opportunity of all for further education, of course, is offered by the University of Zambia. For courses not yet offered in Zambia, resort may be had to foreign institutions.

Facilities for education are not restricted to children and youths, however. As would be expected in a country in which, prior to Independence, educational facilities for Africans were sadly lacking, a high proportion of the present-day labour force is illiterate or only semi-literate. Numerous facilities for adult education have been created since Independence with the aim, as stated in the Plan:

To develop the facilities for adult education (including classes for women, regional libraries, educational broadcasting) in order that the opportunities of education are available to Zambians of every age in every part of the country. Every agency contributing to education—missions, mines, industry or individuals—is assisting the educational development of the nation and is, therefore, welcomed.

#### **The Primary and Secondary Schools: Achievements**

Few countries in the world can have achieved such rapid expansion of their educational system as Zambia has since Independence. Primary school enrollment almost doubled between 1964 and 1968, whilst secondary enrollment in 1968 was three times that of 1964. The 1968 figures are well in line with the targets of the First National Development Plan, primary school enrollments in 1968 representing 102% and secondary enrollments 95% of the Plan's targets.

#### *Fluency in English*

Progress has also been achieved towards improving the quality of primary and secondary schooling. One area in which effective work is being done is in improving students' fluency in the English language.

With English the official language, and most advanced education and training offered only in English, it is highly essential for young Zambians to achieve proficiency in English early in life.

Most of them, however, come from homes in which local languages are spoken and learn English, if at all, too late and too imperfectly to serve them well in school and in later employment.

In the scheduled primary schools, English is used as the medium of instruction in all grades, which is relatively easy due to the fact that many of the pupils in these schools are the children of expatriates whose native tongue is English. In most unscheduled schools, which a large majority of Zambian children attend, English is not used as the medium of instruction until Grade Five, although it is taught as a subject in the lower primary. This means that, in general, children from unscheduled schools have had only three years of English-medium tuition prior to going to secondary school where English is the medium of instruction throughout.

Plans for the expansion of English-medium classes are aimed at covering Grade 1 of all unscheduled primary schools by 1973. Achievement of this goal, however, will be dependent upon conversion of an existing primary teacher training college into an in-service training college, providing courses of three months duration for currently employed teachers. At present it seems that this conversion may be delayed for at least a year.

#### *Teacher Training Course*

Among other measures that should help to improve the quality of primary education over that of recent years is the re-introduction of a two-year primary teacher training course, currently under way. A two-year course had existed prior to 1966, when it was reduced as an emergency measure. Approximately 53% of the 1968 new intake into the basic teacher training course will complete a two-year programme. Beginning in 1969 all new teachers entering basic training are expected to complete a two-year course.

#### *Selection for Upper Secondary*

A further development to improve standards is the switch from Form II to Form III as the stage for selecting students to enter upper secondary school. Under this plan, being initiated in 1969 and to be fully implemented in 1970, all secondary school entrants will be able to receive at least three years of secondary schooling.

This change should be beneficial in several ways. Primary school teachers and others who enter the job market after lower secondary will profit from the additional year of schooling. Admission to upper secondary will be more selective. Drop-outs should decline, since there will be fewer students in upper secondary, where the drop-out rate tends to be higher.

#### *National Schools*

Steps are also being taken to reduce the disparity in quality of students between urban and rural areas. At present there seems little doubt that the quality of intake into rural secondary schools is below that entering urban schools. Although the secondary examination is a national one, the actual entry to schools is generally on a regional basis, and the pupils gaining secondary places have not necessarily had the best results nationally. However, seven 'national' schools exist, 25% of whose intake is from outside their own region; it is proposed that from 1969 onwards the majority of secondary boarding schools will be on this basis.

#### **Primary Schools and the Nation's Needs**

The first official output from the schools occurs on completion of Grade 4 in rural schools, when approximately 25% of the pupils fail to find places in Grade 5. On average, these pupils should be eleven years old. There is no opportunity for them to enter a training institution and they

are too young to find jobs, although not too young, of course, to help their parents on the land. Should they ever find a job, other than on the farm, it is unlikely that they will do so within five years of leaving school. There is grave danger that by that time they will have lapsed into illiteracy, given the environment of the rural areas and the poor quality of education offered in many rural primary schools. These children benefit little from their education; from a coldly economic point of view, the cost of their education must be largely written off.

To reduce this waste, it appears that these children should receive either more education or less. Either they should be permitted to complete a full primary course or the number of places in lower primary should be reduced more nearly in line with the number in upper primary. Since Government policy is to cut down the urban-rural differentials by promoting opportunities in rural areas, the former choice is the only one that can be considered. The increased cost to Government may be partly offset by eliminating or drastically reducing 'repeating' in primary schools, now at far too high a level.

The next, and largest, output from the school system occurs on completion of Grade 7 of primary school, when 70 to 75% of the pupils fail to obtain places in secondary school. On average, these pupils are fourteen years old. Some opportunities do exist for them to enter training courses, in Zambia Youth Service Camps and Trade Training Institutes. The total number of such places available, however, currently amounts to about 1,500, whilst the number of Grade 7 school leavers who did not progress to Form I was about 45,000 at the end of 1968 and by 1975, with a full primary course offered in rural areas, will be about 85,000.

Although the great majority of children leave school upon completing primary education, the whole primary system is geared to feeding the secondary system; that is, it caters to the minority who progress to secondary education. Primary schooling is currently too 'academic' for Zambia's needs, and clearly should have more practical content for the benefit of those who will never progress beyond primary.

Arrangements are, in fact, currently being made for the introduction of agricultural science in upper primary school. Children in the eleven to fourteen age-group, however, are not too young to be taught various other practical subjects, especially if improvements in the quality of lower primary education are achieved. Woodwork, and perhaps certain other technical subjects, could be introduced with advantage. Home economics should certainly be taught, at least in Grade 7, and consideration should be given to introducing certain commercial subjects, such as commercial arithmetic and typing.

A major problem in introducing such subjects will be the lack of teachers qualified to teach them. Undoubtedly the change will need to be made gradually. As a beginning, each teacher in training for upper primary might be required to study one practical subject during his training course. The cooperation of the Agricultural Colleges and Technical Training Institutes will be highly desirable.

Whilst these measures can be regarded as an essential first step towards solving a major and increasing national problem, they do not constitute a complete solution. At the age of fourteen the children are still too young to be able to find wage jobs, even if jobs are available, and to an increasing extent in the 1970s it will be difficult for primary school leavers to find such employment.

The vast majority of primary school leavers must expect to earn their livelihood in agriculture and ancillary industries. If youth are to remain on the farm, however, farming must be made far more productive and rural living more attractive. It is to be hoped that the programme being developed to accomplish this will make special provision for boys and girls who have completed primary school but are not yet prepared to earn a living.

**Source:** Office of the Vice-President (1969) *Zambian Manpower*, pages 30–33, 35–36. Lusaka: Government Printer.

*Third Reading*  
**Educational Strategy and National Policy**  
by  
**T. A. Coombe**

**Educational Planning Targets**

A sense of past deprivation has been a powerful stimulus to educational planning since Independence. In the primary sector, the sweep towards universal enrollment is clearly a response to popular demand and an expression of egalitarian conviction. The approved rate of primary expansion is unrelated to questions of economic return, especially rural productivity.

The scope of secondary and higher educational expansion, on the other hand, has been defined by a calculation of two inter-dependent economic factors: manpower needs and estimated financial resources. The magnitude of both depends upon assumptions about the rate of increase in production, wages and employment. Many of the assumptions have been falsified by events. The country faces the prospect of skilled manpower supply in excess of demand (as distinct from need), at current wage levels, and insufficient revenue to sustain the soaring capital and recurrent costs of educational expansion at the approved First National Development Plan rates.

Up to 1968, educational planning targets have been substantially achieved. Enrollment of all seven-year olds in the first grade is being approached. In some areas primary school provision has reached saturation. About one-third of Grade 7 leavers have been admitted to secondary schools. (In both these respects Zambia's numerical achievement outstrips that of her East African neighbours.) About two-thirds of Form II leavers have proceeded to senior secondary. This year, however, the Ministry has been compelled to alter the future secondary structure. A three-year junior secondary programme (it is intended) will provide better preparation for employment for those who do not continue their schooling. A 50% progression to senior secondary will cut costs and reduce the danger of over-supplying Form V leavers. As far as I know the intention is still to proceed to universal primary enrollment, with seven years' primary for all urban and three-quarters of rural children. These targets might have been re-phased, but presumably they are to be met early in the Second National Development Plan and sustained in the face of population increase.

**Educational Costs of Rapid Expansion**

Tens of thousands of children have benefited by Zambia's educational growth since 1964. Such benefits are not cheaply bought. Some of the adverse consequences of massive expansion may be listed:

1. Extensive pressure upon administrative and supervisory resources. The Ministry contends simultaneously with Zambianization of its own senior ranks, rapid turnover of senior expatriate personnel, rapid turnover (by transfer) of senior Zambian personnel, chronic absolute shortage of staff, and an inappropriate distribution of responsibility. In these circumstances the demands made by an unprecedented expansion of facilities has taxed the Ministry's resources unbearably. Additionally the Ministry has been ill-equipped to undertake several essential services: in particular, planning, curriculum development and evaluation, and research (direct or sponsored).
2. Significant decline in the professional quality of the teaching force. Primary expansion dictated emergency measures to keep up teacher supply, particularly the one-year full-time training programme for Form II leavers. This is now being replaced by the former two-year course. The primary colleges continue to recruit largely from students who fail to enter senior secondary schools. Paradoxically, the greater the proportion of Form III entrants, the poorer the relative quality of recruits to the primary teaching profession. This situation will change for the better with the new 50% progression to senior secondary after Form III, and within measurable time the colleges will have the opportunity to recruit Form V leavers. But will the salary structure permit such recruitment on a significant scale? The huge increase in secondary classes has put a severe strain on the Ministry's capacity to recruit teachers from abroad and to retain them. Many who are presently recruited are unsuitable or unprepared for secondary teaching. Many more are totally unequipped to deal competently with a second-language teaching situation. Bush life, poor school administration, shortage of teaching supplies, student indiscipline, their own incompetence or insecurity, are among the factors which make for an appallingly heavy turnover.
3. The decline in School Certificate passes last year (1968), for which high staff turnover is perhaps the most important single reason. If this is so, the decline ought to be regarded as the beginning of a trend rather than a chance variation.
4. Student unrest and frustration. Again an important contributing reason is probably students' dissatisfaction with massive staff changes, together with shortages of instructional materials, and the cultural and recreational poverty of many new rural schools. A thoroughgoing sociological investigation of student attitudes and behavior is urgently required if calamitous events like the Isoka disturbance are to be forestalled, or at least anticipated.

### **Educational Policy since Independence**

Apart from the sheer increase in schools and enrollment, the Ministry has implemented significant policy decisions since Independence, including:

1. Incorporation of the Federal school system, the elimination of racial segregation in the schools, and the following concomitant decisions:
  - (a) progressive abolition of fees in fee-paying (scheduled) secondary schools;
  - (b) creating a uniform 7:5 primary-secondary structure;
  - (c) introducing a common new secondary selection test battery;
  - (d) the English Medium Scheme.
2. Establishing the David Kaunda Secondary Technical School.
3. Establishing the University of Zambia with O-level entry, abolishing Sixth Forms.
4. Boosting formal school education for adults by correspondence and evening classes, and creating educational radio and TV.

Most of these decisions mark radical departures from the pre-independence system or significant enlargements of previous efforts. Each of them derives from a basic principle of policy, such as non-racialism, or the equalization of educational opportunity, or satisfying high-level manpower needs. Nevertheless, most of these changes closely affect only a fractional minority of the school-going population, the bulk of which is to be found in rural unscheduled schools. *There has been little attempt to formulate a systematic account of the personal and social purposes for which the school system as a whole exists*, especially the desired relationship between educational provision and development strategy, and between the formal school system and other varieties of training in agricultural, vocational and technical skills.

One's overwhelming impression of the school system is that it is an increasingly elaborate machine for the production of white-collar and professional manpower for the modern, urban sector. In this sense it is merely a fabulously stepped-up version of the inherited system, with compounded rates of wastage. As the Ministry's 1966 Annual Report states: "For many years the primary school course has been regarded not as an end in itself but as a stepping stone to secondary education", and "The (secondary) curriculum largely remains of the grammar school type, particularly in the senior forms. Perhaps this is inevitable when pupils have to be prepared for an overseas school leaving examination".

Since 1966, if not before, the Ministry has been uneasily aware that more was required of the Zambian education system and has groped for an appropriate response. At the secondary level, the watchword is 'diversification'. Commercial subjects and agricultural science have been introduced "in order that the country's manpower needs may be matched and the education given may be more relevant to the lives of the pupils". At the primary level, the Ministry has given thought to "the revision of the primary school syllabus so that it might reflect Zambia's new national status and (correspond) more directly to the needs of pupils".

### **Primary School Leaver Problem**

Suggestions for a new agriculturally-oriented primary syllabus have been made most prominently in connection with the primary school leaver problem. Both the FNDP (in chapters on Education and on Manpower and Employment) and the 1966 Manpower Report refer eloquently to the gap between the numbers of potential new jobs and primary school leavers, and charge the primary schools with responsibility for equipping students "with the skills and attitudes needed to make a useful start on the land". Elsewhere both documents make the point that the rural development plan will play a vital role in demonstrating that agriculture is a profitable alternative to urban employment, and providing resources and opportunities for young people to make a good start. However, the Plan's recommendations on this subject are totally unspecific and (by a disastrous oversight) no mention of schools or school leavers is made in the chapter on Agriculture.

Not surprisingly, there appears to have been little inter-ministerial consultation on the future of primary school leavers, though a joint working party has considered the question. The Ministry of Education's attention to the question has quickened perceptibly since the opening of the 1968 school year, when 27,000 primary school leavers were unable to gain places in Form I. The Minister has spoken with considerable sensitivity about the plight of the school leavers and their parents. He recognizes that the problem is both pan-African and "not simply an educational one which can be solved by this Ministry alone. It is a national problem that affects all aspects of our economic and social life." So far, however, the Government has not made a concerted conceptual or programmatic attack on the problem. The Ministry of Education's proposed revised primary

syllabus is a drastically inadequate response to this critical national dilemma for which, as Mr. Wina (the Minister) has stated, the Government as a whole must assume responsibility.

### **Experience Elsewhere**

The cluster of issues summarized by the theme of the Kericho Conference, 'Education, Employment and Rural Development', has received massive attention by scholars, administrators and planners in Africa in recent years, and now dominates discussion of African education policy. Kenya and Tanzania are in the forefront of this important activity and have considerably augmented the literature on the subject. It is imperative that Zambia should avail itself of this wealth of research and analysis.

### **Generalizations**

This is not the place to review the (Kericho) findings systematically. However, several important generalizations (some empirical, some prescriptive) seem warranted and can be stated crisply:

1. Whatever other effects an agriculturally-biased primary curriculum may have, it will not persuade primary school leavers to look to the land for a living, unless rural development in their areas has already reached the point where agriculture is seen to be both 'modern' and profitable.
2. Primary school leavers are not irrevocably alienated from agriculture. However, they regard unreformed agriculture as the occupation of last resort, the graveyard of personal aspirations and the repository of backward traditions.
3. Until adult farmers learn to innovate, productive opportunity for young farmers will be negligible. This implies that a multi-faceted programme of farmer education should receive a very high priority in development strategy. This will be costly in terms of both capital and high- and middle-level manpower, but increases in productivity are potentially enormous.
4. Unemployed school leavers, both urban and rural, will lose what skills they have and their incentive to learn unless wide-ranging opportunities for informal education are made available to them.
5. The preceding two points imply the necessity for a frank assessment of the priorities of educational expenditure, and inescapably a partial shift of resources from the formal school system to other modes of education and training.
6. They imply also the need to evaluate the costly secondary and higher educational sectors in the light of the responsibility they should assume for supplying skilled manpower on a large and diverse scale for agricultural development. In Zambia's case, the new three-year junior secondary programme clearly requires careful planning and linkage with post-school training facilities. Likewise, a more advanced entry-level to the University, if adopted, would require serious consideration of the distribution of degree programmes and other post-school training.
7. The rate of expansion of primary education should be boldly re-considered in the light of its social costs and constraints on revenue, as well as public demand.
8. The first point above notwithstanding, it is imperative to proceed with a realistic attempt to frame a new terminal curriculum for the primary school. Its broad aims might be to foster talent, inquiry, and initiative, using local resources to the fullest possible extent. The implications for pre- and in-service teacher training are obvious.
9. Educational planning must proceed in close consultation with the Ministries involved directly in development, especially rural development.

### **Education for Self-Reliance**

President Nyerere's statement of education policy is probably the most profound, and certainly the most provocative, essay in educational reconstruction in independent Africa. (It might also be spectacularly misguided.) It is apparent that a massive programme of implementation is under way. Tanzania offers a testing ground for the proposition that the formal school system at all levels can become a direct agency of economic development and a transformer of social values. The weight of evidence is against it. But each national situation is unique, and my guess is that if such a programme is to succeed anywhere, it is likely to be in Tanzania. The cardinal reasons would be (a) that the education policy is an outgrowth and elaboration of an ever-increasingly well-defined national political and economic standpoint, which is achieving substantial institutional expression; (b) that all relevant agencies, from the party, through the teaching force and teacher training colleges, to the Institute of Education and university disciplines are being mobilized cooperatively in its support; (c) that self-reliance is a fundamentally valuable pedagogical ethic.

### **Conclusion**

Guy Hunter's diagnosis of the educational condition of developing countries seems apt to our situation: "As (formal education) spreads, far faster than employment, so the number of years of schooling required to escape from the ruck (= main body of competitors not likely to overtake the leader) grow bigger; more and more children receive some education, but not enough to reach the receding threshold of qualification for the modern sector; what education they receive may well be unutilized and largely irrelevant to the only life open to them. The essential problem in these countries is to establish a relationship between education and the great needs of society — to put a driving belt on the wheel, now beginning to spin wildly."

**Source:** Coombe, T. A. (1970) Educational Strategy and National Policy, pages 26–29. In *Report on First National Education Conference, 30th September—2nd October 1969*. Lusaka, Government Printer.

## Chapter 11

### Achievements and Challenges in Secondary Education, 1964–1973

*Aims & Strategies:* Expand secondary system to provide educated persons in the numbers needed and with skills required for national development. Target was to have one-third of primary school leavers entering junior secondary, and two-thirds of junior secondary leavers entering senior secondary. This was to be achieved by (a) expanding existing schools; (b) establishing new schools (at least one secondary school in each District). Decision to establish large dual schools (this the era of faith in very large schools). Strategies also included improving facilities and increasing supply of teachers.

*Achievements:* Secondary school enrollments increased fourfold between 1964 and 1970. But since there had also been rapid expansion at primary level, the primary to secondary transition rate fell. To a large extent achievements were blocked by developmental and personnel problems. The expanding system also faced critical educational challenges.

*Developmental Problems:* Targets for school developments were not met; completion of schools fell much behind schedule; many schools had to be occupied before construction was completed. Reasons: the building industry could not cope with the large number of new schools to be built; poor road and transport system; structures were expensive, with many foreign components; costs rose rapidly; procedural delays in awarding contracts; unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in Rhodesia had an adverse effect on supplies, costs, and timing.

*Personnel Problems:* The crucial problem was that of teacher supply; few qualified Zambians were available, and there was difficulty in attracting and retaining these. Hence there was heavy reliance on expatriates—mostly young, inexperienced, on short contracts, many of them non-English speakers. As secondary expanded, there was increasing difficulty in recruiting expatriates in numbers required. Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PCE) at University of Zambia made significant contribution to supply of needed teachers (see Third Reading, below).

*Educational Challenges:* How to improve performance in mathematics and science. What kind of curriculum to adopt—how to include practical subjects (diversify the curriculum), where to get the necessary teachers, how much funding and emphasis to give to practical, vocational subjects (see First and Second Readings, below). What to do about poor performance of girls, especially in rural schools, and their fewness in senior secondary. How to ensure that secondary schools did not produce an alienated, work-shy elite, interested only in white-collar jobs and their own privileges (see First Reading, below).

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### Readings

The *first reading* gives the substance of a statement made to Parliament in October 1968 by the Minister of Education, in which he outlined substantial modifications or reforms affecting secondary schools. This document gives the reasons that led to the introduction of three years of junior secondary. It also addresses the curriculum issue, with the announcement that the secondary school curriculum was to be diversified through the introduction of practical subjects. Notice also the strong statement: *outside the context of service to the community and society in which we live education is nothing but the robbing of the poor for the strengthening of one's hand to deprive them of yet more in the future.*

The *second reading* highlights some of the educational challenges facing Zambia's secondary schools in 1969; it also goes into considerable detail on the diversification of the curriculum for secondary schools, and on the problems of teacher supply.

The *third reading* gives some information on the sources of supply for secondary teachers in Zambia. These included the Postgraduate Certificate of Education at the University of Zambia, a programme that ceased in 1972.

### First Reading

## Major Government Policy Decisions in Respect of Education by A. N. L. Wina, Minister of Education

### Introduction

Our educational system has expanded at an unprecedented rate since Independence and if history is fair to us, to this Government and to this House, then these brief four years of post-independence (education) will properly be recorded as the years from which the history of this young nation started. Enrollment in our secondary schools has increased by 206% since 1964; enrollment in our primary schools has increased by 61% over the same period. In the rebel colony of Rhodesia there were last year only 15,640 African pupils in secondary schools as against 34,000 in our schools. We have caught up with them since 1964 and now we have outstripped them. If greater evidence of our determination to forge ahead and equal their determination to hound the African out of his birthright is needed, then this is it. This is the testimony for all to see.

This phenomenal expansion has brought in its wake many problems, chief among which must be classed the financial problem. This country has, in spite of the difficulties of U.D.I., maintained the highest rate of educational expansion in Africa. This has not been possible without much sacrifice of other desirable goals and objectives on the part of the people of Zambia and on the part of their Government. This sacrifice obviously cannot go on forever without causing serious dislocation to our economy. It is, therefore, imperative that measures are taken now to ensure the most economical use of our educational resources.

Secondly, an unprecedented rate of expansion of our education system has brought in its wake complex problems of syllabus content, teacher morale, and national purpose in our schools.

Mr. Speaker, it is frightening to contemplate that the difference between our present system and the colonial system of education might well be one of quantity and not suitability. The colonial regime provided education for a few people while we might be giving a colonial type education to vastly greater numbers. Then, there is the question of the morale of the teacher himself in this vastly expanded system in which, unless the administrative framework is modified, the teacher becomes an imperialized cog in the wheel. Finally, the pupils themselves. To what extent do they now realize that the negative tactics of non-cooperation and passive resistance which were in order during the struggle (for independence) must now be translated into positive cooperation, that the demands that they made on the colonial administration must now be translated into pledges for service to this young Republic? Reduced to fundamentals, the question is this, "Does the educated man and woman of our nation realize that knowledge imposes an obligation to better and higher service and not reward, that outside the context of service to the community and society in which we live education is nothing but the robbing of the poor for the strengthening of one's hand to deprive them of yet more in the future?"

#### **Outline of Major Policy Decisions**

Having made these points by way of introduction, Mr. Speaker, I would now like to proceed with my outline of the major policy decisions which Government has taken in respect of education. It has been decided, Mr. Speaker,

1. to change the structure of the secondary school course;
2. to diversify the secondary school curriculum;
3. to maximize our utilization of space in secondary schools;
4. to convert Hillcrest Secondary School into a technical secondary school as soon as money becomes available; and
5. to convert the Chalimbana Teacher Training College into a special In-service College for teachers, also as soon as funds become available.

#### **Restructuring of the Secondary School Course**

Honourable Members are aware that the present secondary school structure provides for a two-year course in the junior secondary segment from which two-thirds of the pupils pass into the senior secondary segment for a course of three years duration leading to the Cambridge School Certificate Examination or the G.C.E. O-level examination. For some time now, Government has been giving serious thought to the implications of the present arrangements in an attempt to see whether the benefit derived by the nation from expenditure on secondary education cannot be maximized by the production of a better quality graduate all along the line. It has been generally agreed that the minimum period of secondary education from which the pupil can derive any lasting benefit is three years and it is, therefore, to be doubted if the weaker pupils, required to leave secondary school at the end of two years, gain much from such attendance. This doubt is emphasized by the growing discontent on the part of employers who feel that the Form II graduate has little to offer while expecting much. It has also been a matter of concern to me as to whether the students who enter the training colleges after Form II are sufficiently and academically prepared to undertake the demanding task of becoming teachers of our youth. With the general dissatisfaction of the employers with the quality of the Form II leaver, the fact of our primary course being only seven years as against what it was before—eight years—and the consequent result that students will be completing Form II at an earlier age than before, it has appeared to Government that it would be better to extend the junior secondary course by another year so that

the terminal examination would no longer be sat for at Form II but rather at Form III. Government has, therefore, decided to restructure the secondary school course so that the terminal classes will now be Form III and Form V and not Form II and Form V as before. This means that all students who enter Form I will continue in school until after Form III. The senior secondary course will now take only two years (i.e. Forms IV and V) while the junior course will take three years (from Form I to III). The measures now adopted will lead to

1. an improvement in the education of the school leaver and, therefore, a higher quality candidate for entry into professions;
2. an avoidance of the high drop-out rate at the Form III point as a result of all pupils being required to continue until the end of the third year; and
3. a minimization of the failure rate of the Cambridge School Certificate as it will now be possible to reduce the progression rate into Form IV from 66.5% to 50%. This should result in more candidates obtaining certificates than is the case now.

These measures, coupled with our already highly advanced aptitude testing at the Form I level, the most advanced in Africa, should ensure, as time goes on, very good results.

Over the last four months I have carried out intensive consultations on this and the other issues dealt with below, both with the National Council of Education and, therefore, the Regional Councils of Education, and also with the Heads of Secondary Schools whom I have had the opportunity of meeting in Lusaka and Ndola. They have all, without exception, given Government full backing in this measure.

#### **Diversification of Secondary School Curriculum**

The second issue relates to the curriculum of our secondary schools. Honourable Members will appreciate that in any educational system the curriculum is the most central point of any policy of a Ministry of Education.

Education should be so organized as to reconcile the need for each child to discover and develop his/her natural talents as well as the need of society for scientists (medical, mental, physical, etc.), technologists and economists to mention only a few. At the present moment our educational system is still based, to a large extent, on the pattern that we inherited from the colonial past where the objective was primarily to produce a kind of product which was suitable for low level teaching and menial clerical jobs. I consider that, having expanded at the dramatic pace that we have done, a pace that has no peer in the whole of Africa, the time has come for relating our education more closely to the real needs of our society. These needs are for the quicker mastery of the vast store of scientific and technological know-how and for the innovation and harnessing of these to the wagon of economic prosperity for all.

To this end Government has decided on the introduction of a wide range of practical subjects into our schools, such as

- workshop practice;
- geometrical and technical drawing;
- technology;
- typewriting;
- elements of accounts;
- business studies;
- farm practice;
- agricultural science and agricultural machinery.

I would like to emphasize to Honourable Members that the introduction of practical subjects into the curriculum should not be viewed as a move to translate our secondary schools into trades schools. All the practical subjects that I am proposing to introduce require an intellectual application of the highest order and only too often it has been established that the student who is good at pure mathematics is also likely to be good at technical or geometrical drawing and that the student who is good at agricultural science is also likely to be good at biology and botany.

Secondly, in introducing the practical subjects we are not in any way seeking to reduce the importance of the humanities, the pure social and natural sciences. We seek simply to produce whole and integrated men and women, men and women who will be as at home grappling with complex scientific formulae as with replacing a fuse or mending their roof. We seek to develop and tax the intellectual capacities of our youth not only in the field of the theoretical subjects but also in the field of the practical subjects which are, after all, the logical consummation of any thought processes.

There are, Mr. Speaker, those in our midst who would decry the role and indispensability of the intellectual in the proper planning and exercise of our development and growth. While we must accept that, due to no fault of ours, the majority of our people have not had the opportunity of a full development of their intellectual and critical faculties, let us, however, not make a virtue of these deficiencies. Rather let us brace ourselves anew and rededicate ourselves to the sacred national goal of ensuring the flowering of excellence in our society. Let us remember that, regardless of the politics involved in any situation, the world would not be where it is today without the contribution in thought and inventiveness of such all-round intellectuals as Einstein, Karl Marx, Fleming, Marconi and many other distinguished luminaries.

Let Zambia's future, therefore, not be compromised by the political prejudices of the day. Let us determine here, secure in our national philosophy, to produce a society in which both the worker, the villager and the intellectual shall have a full and meaningful role, meaningful in the sense that they will all give of their best to an independent and freedom-loving democracy.

### **English Medium Classes in Primary Schools**

Perhaps one of the most exciting developments now taking place in our unscheduled primary schools is the English medium teaching. There are now 830 English medium classes and next year it is hoped that this number will be doubled. The English medium classes are already showing returns in the forms of accelerated powers of comprehension among the pupils and they are also already providing a vehicle for the most up-to-date methods and teaching techniques. It is my intention to ensure the rapid spread of this programme to all classes of the primary schools in the country. At the same time, appropriate recognition continues to be given to our vernaculars which we consider to be of fundamental importance to our educational system. So important do we consider the vernaculars to be for the creation of one Zambia that they are taught alongside English not only in the unscheduled schools but also in the scheduled schools.

### **The University of Zambia**

With regard to the University of Zambia, it is Government's hope that the University will, in due course, take over responsibility, by means of an Examinations Council, for all school examinations that are currently offered by other universities abroad. For it must be clear to everybody that if we seek to re-orientate our educational system to the real needs of the country then full local responsibility for all examinations is an essential corollary. In the final analysis,

unfortunate though it may be, it tends to be the examination rather than the syllabus which determines the pace, degree of orientation and all other important factors.

Honourable Members may remember that some time ago I made a public statement to the effect that with the passage now of three years since the University opened its gates to students, the time had come for a review of the entrance requirements. This issue is already the subject of informal discussions and I sincerely hope that before the end of this year the Senate of the University will be in a position to take a decision in this respect. What I am most anxious for under any system is a maximization of returns in quality from investment in the University.

#### **Maximization of Space Utilization in Secondary Schools**

In the field of boarding, it has been decided to introduce double-bunking where possible. This will ensure maximum usage of available boarding facilities. Here I would like to assure Honourable Members that the comfort of the pupils, having been uppermost in our thoughts, will be duly taken care of.

The second measure in this field of maximization of space relates to an increase in the number of students per class in the junior secondary from 35 to 40. From an educational point of view such an increase is by no means new and strange as there are many schools the world over, and in developed countries, which have enrollments in excess of our traditional 35. This measure will naturally result in less classroom space being required than in the past and will, therefore, lead to certain long-term economies being effected. Naturally, a number of existing classrooms will have to continue to take only 35 pupils as they will prove too small even for the reduced circulating space per pupil to take in more than existing numbers, but I am making arrangements for the new classrooms which can take 40 to do so in the next school year.

#### **Chalimbana In-service Training College**

The fifth policy change relates to the conversion of Chalimbana Teacher Training College into a special national in-service training college. There are, in this country, a large number of teachers who require to be re-trained if they are to be kept constantly in touch with modern approaches in the field of teaching. So far, any in-service work that has been done has been done on the basis of courses run in the existing colleges which are also concerned with the training of new teachers. It has now been appreciated that this approach will not result in any dramatic programme for re-training and it is for this reason that Government has decided to set aside a special institution to re-train as many teachers as possible. When the re-training programme is fully under way it is anticipated that no less than 900 teachers will pass through the portals of the Chalimbana College each year. At this rate it should be possible to ensure that every serving teacher has an opportunity for re-training once every ten years.

#### **Summary**

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, in a general summary of the measures so far announced that some of them represent Government's determination to ensure that no matter what happens, no matter whether the four fat years in which we have enjoyed expansive prosperity in spite of the buffetings, strictures and setbacks of U.D.I. are followed by four or even seven lean years, the educational system of this country shall not run on flat tyres.

**Source:** Wina, A. N. L. (1968) *Statement to Parliament, 8th October 1968*, Government of Zambia Parliamentary Debates, Hansard No. 16, 2nd Oct. – 2nd Nov. 1968, cols. 20–32.

*Second Reading*  
**Education's Contribution to Meeting National Manpower Needs**  
by  
**Office of the Vice-President**

**I: Problems to be Overcome in the School System**

The rapid (post-independence) expansion of enrollments could not have been accomplished without making certain sacrifices, and without encountering a number of problems. In the case of the primary schools, the full primary course was reduced in 1966 from eight to seven years, whilst the primary teacher training course was reduced from two years to one year. The secondary school expansion has been achieved by employing expatriate teachers, primarily on contract terms, many of whom are relatively young and inexperienced. The supply is also somewhat uncertain and turnover is high. A major change in the secondary school system was the abolition of Form VI, which constituted the final two years of a full secondary course, and the adoption of Form V as entry level to the University of Zambia.

**Continuing Disparity in Standards**

Despite efforts to overcome it, disparity still exists in the quality of tuition available in different parts of the country. The Government fee-paying primary schools, for example, are staffed largely by expatriate teachers, whose qualifications at this still early stage are generally superior to those of available Zambian teachers.

Schools in urban areas are generally better than those in rural areas. The difference is most apparent in primary and lower secondary. It has been commonly believed that among students who are able to reach Form V initial differences in the urban-rural background will be largely overcome. The results of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations of 1967 suggest that this is largely true in respect of boys, but not of girls. Girls in the urban areas did best of all and those in rural areas the least well.

**Inadequate Preparation in Science**

The inadequacy of secondary students' preparation in science and mathematics will handicap Zambia's manpower programme for many years. In general, students tend to take up science and mathematics too late, they take fewer courses than they need, and they fail to master the courses sufficiently well to serve them in later life. Out of 1,834 secondary school students entered for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in 1968, nearly 1,100 did not sit for the mathematics examination or failed it outright, while only about 400 received an O-level pass. Since the record varied markedly from school to school there is reason to believe that the quality of teaching had much to do with the degree of success attained.

While many jobs requiring a secondary school education call for a certain knowledge of science and mathematics, key jobs at the degree level, such as engineer, agronomist, physician, economist, etc., depend heavily on these subjects. Enrollments at the University of Zambia by students well qualified in science and mathematics fall far short of the numbers needed. Emphasis on these vital subjects in the secondary schools should be substantially increased, as a matter of priority.

### **Educational Opportunities for Girls**

The rather disappointing educational accomplishments of girl secondary students in rural areas probably result from mis-application of a policy on equality of educational opportunity for girls. This policy, adopted soon after Independence, was intended to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex. However, with regard to the provision of secondary school places in the large dual secondary schools, it has been interpreted to mean that an equal *number* of places should be made available for girls and boys. Since there have been substantially more boys than girls in Grade 7 of primary school, this has resulted in a greater opportunity for girls to progress into secondary school than for boys, and has meant that some girls have been admitted to secondary schools with substantially poorer results in the selection examination than some of the boys who have been unable to obtain places.

For a country that is desperately short of educated and skilled manpower, this is a wasteful practice. It now seems apparent that boys and girls should be required to exhibit the same level of excellence before progressing into secondary school. If this rule is established a greater number of boys than girls will enter secondary schools for some years to come, but the difference in number will be gradually reduced, and perhaps eliminated in the future.

## **II: The Secondary Schools and The Nation's Needs**

The Zambian secondary school system is patterned on the British Grammar School with an almost entire emphasis on academic tuition; two secondary technical schools provide exceptions to this rule. The First National Development Plan recognized that such a system was not appropriate for the new nation, and proposed, as one of its aims:

Increasingly to relate secondary education to the needs of the country by diversifying the secondary school syllabus into technical and commercial fields, and giving a new place to agriculture by starting Young Farmers' Clubs in every school and introducing agricultural science as an O-level subject.

Work to accomplish this objective was delayed, but solid progress was made in 1968.

The Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education was expanded to include one official responsible for the introduction of commercial subjects in secondary schools and one for the introduction of agricultural science in all schools. An organizer in technical education has also been appointed.

Fourteen schools offered agricultural science tuition in 1968. The arrangements for its introduction were left largely to the headmasters and consequently the pattern varied; only one of the schools offered the subject through to Form V and O-level. A syllabus has now been prepared and circulated for lower secondary, and for upper secondary the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination syllabus is being followed. The lower secondary course includes farm management, farm economics and elementary mechanics of farm equipment; it is hoped that by the end of Form II, the students will have the basic knowledge required to become improved farmers.

It is intended that in time all schools will be covered and that each school will work its own plot of land and operate a commercial unit raising livestock or growing crops, in order to demonstrate to pupils that farming can be lucrative. Each school is being provided with a small

rotary cultivator. The cost of introducing the subject, including the cultivator, is K600 per school, which is very low compared to the expenditure being incurred in some African countries.

A major problem is, inevitably, the supply of teachers. It is important that the teachers should be enthusiastic, as well as competent in their subject. For this reason it may take another four or five years before all secondary schools can be covered. Arrangements are being made currently to train teachers, and it is hoped that a two-year course will be started in 1969 at the Natural Resources Development College, to be followed by a final year at the University of Zambia. The impending introduction of a School of Agriculture at the University of Zambia will be of great value, not only practically but also psychologically, in raising the status of agriculture in the eyes of school children.

Thirty schools offered commercial subjects in 1968, principally typewriting. Three hundred typewriters will be distributed to fifteen additional schools during the course of 1969. Syllabuses in typewriting, office practice, and book-keeping have been prepared and issued to schools, and since 1968 Typewriting and Office Practice have been included in the Form II selection examinations for upper secondary; 882 and 422 pupils, respectively, were entered for these subjects in that year.

In general the schools have tended mistakenly to enter their average or below-average pupils for typing. Nevertheless, 688 out of 882 entrants passed (the pass mark being 40%). Of the 422 entered in Office Practice, 307 passed. These results are better than the average Form II results, suggesting that perhaps the pupils were more interested in applying themselves to subjects which they could expect to be of immediate value in their life and work upon leaving school.

Elementary book-keeping is not introduced until Form III, but by Form V a fairly advanced level is reached. At present only six schools are offering the subject. The major problem, again, is teachers, and to overcome this problem it is proposed to introduce commercial subjects into the secondary school-teacher training course at Kabwe (Nkrumah). The prospective opening of a School of Business Studies at the University will also be invaluable for this.

The introduction of Woodwork and Technical Drawing started in 1969 with the recruitment of an official responsible for this work. For the training of teachers, however, it is hoped to operate a two-year course at Northern Technical College followed by one year at the University of Zambia.

Since the introduction of commercial and practical subjects is still in its infancy in Zambia, there is some room for choice as to arrangements, periods per week, and subjects to be offered.

One possibility in introducing practical and commercial subjects is to have certain schools specializing in them whilst other schools are principally academic. The 'comprehensive' type of school is far more flexible, however, and it is desirable that all students should learn some practical subjects whether or not they will ultimately enter university. Consequently, the general introduction of commercial and practical subjects in all secondary schools seems preferable. In addition, it may be wise to establish several more technical secondary schools.

The change to a three-year lower and two-year upper secondary course raises a number of possibilities with regard to selection for upper secondary school. Under the present system the selection for upper secondary is made by examination at the end of lower secondary, that is in Form II, and inevitably the course followed in lower secondary is geared to preparing students for

this examination. Under the new system, however, it is expected that about half of the lower secondary pupils will be screened out and will not progress to upper secondary, as against one-third at present. Thus it will be all the more necessary that those students who leave the school system after lower secondary school have some preparation for the outside world.

A curriculum has been broadly accepted by the Ministry of Education, but not as yet introduced. In this curriculum, eight periods out of forty per week are devoted to practical subjects in lower secondary, and ten periods per week in upper secondary. It is felt that under the new three-year-two-year system, the lower school curriculum, with some adjustments, should apply for the first two years only, with commerce compulsory. The basic selection examination for upper secondary should still take place at the end of Form II. A new curriculum for the students not selected for upper secondary should be prepared for the third year, converting this year effectively into one of pre-vocational training. As a curriculum for this year the following is proposed:

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Periods</i>
English Language	7
Civics	2
Physical Education	1
Mathematics	8
General Science	6
Practical Subjects	16
Total Periods	40

At the end of the third year, a graded school leaving certificate should be awarded, based 50 per cent on performance in the Form II examination and 50 per cent on performance in the third year.

### **III: Supplying Secondary School Teachers**

The most serious problem encountered in the rapid expansion of secondary school enrollment has been to maintain the supply of teachers. Output of Zambian secondary teachers has been negligible so far, and it will not be until 1971 that a substantial contribution is made by local institutions.

Teacher requirements, which totalled about 2,000 in early 1969, are expected to reach 3,000 by 1975 and 4,400 by 1980. Fewer than 200 Zambians are currently employed as secondary school teachers.

The University of Zambia will be the chief source of supply of secondary teachers. The University is placing great emphasis on the production of teachers, but the enrollment of qualified Form V school leavers is building up (only) slowly. A rather optimistic projection suggests that the annual supply of Zambian teachers from this source will not reach 100 before 1974; it should exceed 400 by 1977.

Other major sources will be the Higher Teacher Training Colleges. The Ministry of Education has recently expressed a desire to extend the teacher training course from two years to

three years. In the case of Kabwe Higher Teacher Training College (Nkrumah), it is assumed that the first year in which this occurs will be 1974, when half of the second-year students will proceed to a third year. Any attempt to introduce the change earlier would have serious repercussions upon the teacher supply position; its introduction even in 1974 is dependent upon the assumption that a Higher Teacher Training College at Kitwe (COSETCO) will then be in existence and producing output. Plans for the conversion of an existing secondary school into a Higher Teacher Training College at Kitwe are still under discussion. For the purpose of the present projections, however, it is assumed that the college will come into existence, with its first intake in 1971 (for a three-year course from the start), and that it will build up to total capacity of 300 students.

Under these rather optimistic assumptions, it is anticipated that full Zambianization can be achieved by 1980. The projections must be tested periodically to take account of new information and new developments. After about 1980 some of the facilities that have been used for teacher education may become available for other purposes.

In the meantime, the secondary schools must continue to depend largely upon expatriates for their operation. The position in Government schools in February 1968, with regard to Zambianization and terms of service, was as follows:

Zambian teachers	117
Non-Zambian teachers	1,213
Total	1,330
of whom	
Contract terms	965
Temporary terms	222
Link scheme	3
Permanent & pensionable	140

With only 11 per cent employed on a permanent and pensionable basis there has been very heavy turnover among teachers. In consequence, at any given time, a high proportion of the teachers are relatively inexperienced in Zambian conditions. Employment of new expatriate teachers of high quality is becoming more difficult.

The problem of teacher supply during the next six years, until sufficient Zambians become available, will clearly be very crucial. If secondary expansion requirements are to be met, taking quality as well as quantity into account, it is essential that every effort should be made to attract more experienced teachers, to encourage contract teachers to stay for longer periods, and to ensure that the available stock of teachers is utilized in the most efficient manner possible. In particular, a thorough study should be carried out as to possible application of modern teaching aids and teaching devices in Zambian secondary schools, both as a means of economizing in the use of teachers and to improve the quality of tuition.

**Source:** Office of the Vice-President (1969) *Zambian Manpower*, pages 33–35, 36–38, 41–45. Lusaka: Government Printer.

*Third Reading*  
**Secondary School Teacher Supply and Demand**  
by  
**D. Stannard**

The supply of teachers is now the most intractable problem facing the secondary school system in Zambia. Five years after political independence, some 90 per cent of all secondary teachers are non-Zambians. The extraordinarily rapid expansion of the school system has placed an immense strain on the countries of major expatriate recruitment, the Establishment Section in the Ministry of Education, and the recruiting agencies in Zambia and abroad. Moreover, continued reliance on large numbers of expatriate teachers serving on short contracts can at best maintain the secondary system: for its full development and adaptation to Zambian needs, a supply of well qualified Zambians is now essential.

As elsewhere in Africa, government policy is to progress towards the localization of the secondary teaching force. This is a development which will remain subject to a number of constraints for some years to come. Even if a plentiful supply of students for teacher training could be assumed and the probability of their remaining in teaching more or less permanently were strong, Zambia would still lack teacher trainers, appropriate buildings and capital for investments with such delayed returns.

In spite of many difficulties, Zambia has already shown some determination to increase the local supply of teachers. The University of Zambia has welcomed the introduction of a quota system which places the highest priority on the training of teachers and which ensured that in 1968 and 1969 30 per cent of Zambian degree students entering the University with government bursaries read for the B.A. with Education and 18 per cent for the B.Sc. with Education. Similar quotas were applied in 1970. Government bursary holders are also bonded to the government for a period of two years after successful completion of their courses.

In 1967, a secondary teachers' college was opened in accommodation taken over from a school in Kabwe, and part of the World Bank loan negotiated in 1968 was earmarked for an extensive college building programme to raise its capacity to 450 in 1971. At present, teachers of mathematics, general science, languages and social studies are trained at Kabwe. A second college is planned to open on the site of a former private school at Kitwe in 1971 (or possibly 1972), also with World Bank assistance, and will have an enrollment capacity of 300. Both these colleges will recruit Form V leavers with good Cambridge School Certificates or four G.C.E. O-level passes, and train them for junior secondary teaching. Although administered by the Ministry of Education, Kabwe Teachers' College is an associate college of the University, which awards the Secondary Teachers' Diploma to successful students.

A fourth source of secondary teacher supply is the Natural Resources Development College (NRDC), which is close to the University in Lusaka and in 1969 enrolled eleven students in a three-year diploma course in the teaching of agricultural science up to Form V and general science in junior secondary forms. Negotiations with the University are advanced for the establishment of an associate relationship with NRDC in respect of this course. The School of Education shares in the training of these teachers.

The School of Education was one of the foundation schools of the University, which opened in 1966. In that year 42 graduates were enrolled in a course leading to the award of the Postgraduate Certificate of Education of the University of London. This UN. Special Fund/UNESCO-assisted course was transferred from Salisbury to Lusaka after Rhodesia's declaration of independence in November 1965. From 1968 the full-time P.C.E. students of the University have been awarded the Certificate of the University of Zambia. From 1969 part-time students also studied for the Zambian P.C.E. Almost all full-time P.C.E. students are recruited overseas and teach in Zambia after their studies on contracts from two to three years' duration. This programme has the advantage of providing professional training in a Zambian context, of helping to maintain the proportion of trained graduate teachers, and of supplying the schools with teachers at the beginning of the academic year in January when staffing is especially difficult. But it is a most expensive method of supplying trained graduate teachers and, as the system expands, the annual supply forms a decreasing proportion of all teachers in the system. Numbers recruited for the P.C.E. course have increased, but recruitment poses problems of selection which have not yet been satisfactorily solved. In 1969, and again in 1970, enrollments fell short of the target figures.

It can be seen from the above that the University of Zambia qualifies all secondary teachers trained in Zambia. It is expected that it will continue to do so.

The First National Development Plan noted that by 1970 education would be the largest user as well as the largest producer of skilled and educated manpower. So it is. Yet the shortage of teachers remains the crucial bottleneck in the secondary system. It is essential for the health of the secondary system to limit the period during which this shortage will be specially severe. This task will, of course, fall to the agencies for recruitment overseas; but it behoves Zambia, for the sake of her own future and as an earnest of her determination to strive for self-sufficiency in this respect, to recruit Zambians for secondary teacher training in the largest possible numbers and to hold Zambians in the profession. In the years immediately ahead, Zambia may be in the unusual position of having more places for secondary teacher training than trainees to fill them. There are convincing indications that the Ministry of Education is alive to this problem, but not yet that it is being attacked with the resolution or imagination for which it calls. More energetic measures to attract more mature Zambians from other occupations (including the primary teaching force) into secondary teaching, and the provision of tailor-made courses for them, could profitably be explored. In improving the morale of teachers, the professional satisfactions to be derived from teaching deserve as much stress as the material rewards.

As a direct result of past deprivation and the abnormal age distribution of the population, the ambitious educational expansion programme requires that a very high proportion of scarce degree and diploma level Zambians be employed in education. The two measures which have been employed to secure new entries into the secondary system are the quota system at the University of Zambia and the bonding of students who are at the secondary teachers' colleges. It remains to be seen how effectively the bonds will be enforced, if indeed the government attempts energetically to enforce them. The education quota at the University, however, is clearly failing to provide the intended number of teachers. This is especially true in the sciences, where examination results have been extremely disappointing. However well the University tackles its own internal problems in this regard, the education quota will supply Zambian teachers only if government is determined that it should.

It is necessary for government, as well as for students, to recall at the time of graduation that the purpose of the quota and the bond is primarily to supply teachers and that promotion posts in education are more effectively filled by men and women with sound teaching experience. It would therefore be a mistake if recent graduates were prevented from gaining that experience by over-rapid or even immediate promotion in the educational system. Even more important, other government departments must be discouraged from regarding the secondary teaching force as a reservoir of talent to be tapped at will. The poaching of teachers to solve immediate staffing crises in government is, at best, a self-defeating policy in the long run, and its continuation can only jeopardize the building up of a professionally committed Zambian teaching force.

**Source:** Stannard, D. (1970) *Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Zambia*, pages 57–59, 111–112. Michigan State University: Institute for International Studies in Education and the African Studies Center (*Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English-speaking Africa*).

## Chapter 12

### Technical and Vocational Education

*Situation in 1964:* At time of Independence, technical & vocational training (TVT) was the most undervalued and, with university, most underdeveloped educational area. Only training available for Africans was low level, through 15 small trades schools and some technical training at Hodgson Training Centre (now David Kaunda Secondary Technical, DKS)—but this was never full and was always a centre of agitation and bitterness. Some craft and technician training at NORTEC and Evelyn Hone. Legislation dating from 1943 barred Africans from apprenticeship training; this situation lasted until 1959. The two major problems faced by TVT in the 1960s were (i) all technical training held in low esteem, and (ii) severe social and racial discrimination.

*Measures adopted:* Saunders' 1967 report advised: (i) abolition of apprenticeship scheme; (ii) institution of full-time pre-employment training programmes; (iii) consolidation of all sub-professional training; (iv) training of teachers for vocational and technical areas; (v) fostering of more positive attitudes to all technical training. Commission for Technical Education & Vocational Training established in 1968 (became DTEVT in 1973). Decision to diversify secondary school curriculum through introduction of practical subjects. Establishment of DKS and Hillcrest as secondary technical schools (1965 & 1969) in order to prepare pupils for subsequent training in engineering or applied sciences or as technologists or higher grade technicians.

*Achievements and Challenges:* Development of NORTEC, Evelyn Hone, Zambia Air Services Training Institute, and Trades Training Institutes. Racial barriers overcome. But trades and vocational training (& occupations) still held in low esteem; regarded as second best. Continuing challenges: (a) where is training best conducted—on the job, before the job, or after getting experience? in a specially designated institution or in the enterprise? (b) escalating costs of institutions and problem of getting/retaining qualified staff and keeping up-to-date with technological developments; some programmes/equipment fossilized; (c) employers' role crucial, but, apart from Mines and finance institutions, they did not play their part, partly because too small, partly because of attitude that this was government's responsibility, and partly because they were afraid to invest in training lest those trained at an employer's expense should move elsewhere after training; (d) very low proportion of women taking technical courses.

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- Office of the Vice-President's (1969) *Zambian Manpower*. Lusaka: Government Printer.

#### Readings

The *first reading* gives some information on the rise and fall of the Trade Schools in the period 1950 to 1965.

The *second reading* presents a historical account of the state of vocational and technical education in Zambia in the period 1964–1969. Notice the reference in the reading to the wish of every literate Zambian to become a white collar worker.

The *third reading* outlines the development of one aspect of technical education after the publication of the Saunders Report in 1967, namely the dual system of training that emerged, with higher salaries being paid to Form 2 graduates who passed through TTIs than to trade-tested workmen who developed their skills on the job. This can be interpreted as an aspect of society's tendency to reward institutionally acquired qualifications more highly than proven competence.

The *fourth reading* gives the conclusions and recommendations of the 1969 Zambian Manpower document on technical education and training.

*First Reading*  
**Trade Schools**  
by  
**W. Hoppers**

**Establishment of Trade Schools.**

The Northern Rhodesia Government, intending to increase the supply of skilled African workers as well as to raise the quality of their labour, decided in 1948 to build a number of Junior Trade Schools. These were to be post-Standard 4 institutions with a three-year training programme in bricklaying and carpentry, mainly for the construction industry. The training was to be very practical with most of the week spent on building sites and one day reserved for 'technology and academic subjects'. The programme, which started in 1950 with three schools, reached its completion in 1957 when 21 Trade Schools were in operation (10 government- and 11 mission-run schools), with a combined total of 1,110 students (its highest number, against a potential maximum of 1,320). By that time the schools were in the process of upgrading entry qualifications from Standard 4 to Standard 6.

While it thus seemed that institutional training organized by the Government was making some headway, ultimately the Trade Schools did not become the dominant mode of skill acquisition nor the principal mechanism for the selection of skilled workers for industry. This related not only to the mines, which had already started their own system of formal training, but even to the construction industry for which the youths were primarily being trained. Two important factors stand out here, one being the relatively few graduates produced by the Trade Schools even during their heyday, the other being the quality and composition of skills obtained as related to the needs of industry.

**The Inability of Trade Schools to Meet the Needs of Industry**

During the early years, the output of all Trade Schools was very limited, numbering barely 650 between 1947 and 1955. This should be compared with an overall number of about 10,000 workers in skilled capacities reported to be in the construction industry in 1955.

Secondly, on the whole, the quality of the Trade School graduates was reported to be low, comparing unfavourably to that of workmen who had developed their skills under supervision on the construction site or on the shop-floor. The problem of quality was caused partly by the level of skills obtained in the Trade Schools, partly by the composition of the skills package. The schools

had been designed to provide basic vocational preparation for prospective workers in the construction industry. But as the structure of employment changed during the mid-1950s, the graduates became increasingly unsuitable to qualify for the types of semi-skilled jobs that were then being rapidly created. Rather than for general handymen with some knowledge of several trades, the great demand was now for operatives who were specialized in one trade.

As a result, the Trade Schools were never able to adjust themselves to suit the requirements of industry. Indeed, by the time the system reached its full strength in the late 1950s, the construction industry dived into a slump period and graduates had great difficulty in finding work. The first school was closed in 1959 and, due to lack of demand as well as lack of interest among school-leavers, more followed in the early 1960s, until in 1963 only 13 were left. Enrollments decreased from 1,110 in 1957 to 789 in 1961 and as few as 203 in 1963. In 1960 political disturbances made their own contribution when students boycotted classes out of frustration over their own future and political events in the Territory. Trade Schools had lost whatever economic relevance they had previously possessed, and the idea of such low level training for Africans was anathema to the nationalist movement which regarded the schools as symbols of colonial exploitation and racial discrimination. Many of the schools that were closed later turned into primary schools. Others were left derelict.

The Junior Trade Schools continued to exist but their role was reconsidered in 1965. Since they were seriously under-enrolled, in a poor state of maintenance, and had very little up-to-date equipment, it was decided that the majority should be closed down and be turned into primary or secondary schools. Only three were allowed to continue, one in a rural area, the others along the line-of-rail. At the same time their programme, which continued to be aimed at Grade 7 leavers, was upgraded to bring it more into line with the requirements of the building industry. Thus, it was turned into a sandwich course of one year's full-time training, one year's experience with a sponsoring firm, and one year back at the Trade School.

### **The Low Post-Independence Priority for the Training of Skilled Workers**

In the initial years after Independence, the training of skilled workers for industry in general was given only low priority, the task of manning a rapidly increasing state bureaucracy with Zambians being considered far more important. Out of 56,150 manpower positions in existence in 1965, only 9,465 or 17% were occupied by qualified Zambians. It was estimated that by 1970 the total requirements would reach 90,000, all of which would need individuals with Form 2 qualifications. Hence, the greatest importance was attached to the expansion of the general and academic section of the educational system.

Such overwhelming attention to academic education, as opposed to technical training, seemed to be based on popular demand, the denial of the former (i.e. academic education) having always been seen as the most conspicuous injustice which barred Zambians from what were so obviously the positions of power, wealth and status. Due to the Trade Schools, technical education had acquired the image of a second-rate provision, a 'diversionary tactic' to prepare people for a lifelong occupation as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'.

**Source:** Hoppers, W. (1985) *From School to Work: Youth, Non-Formal Training and Employment in Lusaka*, pages 38–46 (abridged). The Hague: CESO.

*Second Reading*  
**Technical and Vocational Education in Zambia: Historical Background**  
by  
**Commission for Technical Education and Vocational Training**

Vocational training as such is not new to Zambia, for as was the case with general education, the missionaries pioneered vocational training some years ago. The missionaries needed hands to build their churches, stations and schools as much as they needed teachers to teach catechism and religion. As an expediency, therefore, they established practical training schools for carpenters and bricklayers in the early 1920s at Kawimbi, and later on at Mbereshi and Sefula. The training at Mbereshi became formalized in the early 1930s and the older generation of building foremen have had their training there. It will be noted that the missionaries such as the Catholics, who had skilled workers in the form of religious and lay-brothers, did not enter this field of training until much later.

By the 1940s most mission schools had carpenters' and builders' workshops attached to them. For this they never received any financial support from the colonial government which appears not to have catered for such training until 1935 when the training centre at Munali was started, providing instruction in carpentry and trowel trades only. It is interesting to note that even as late as 1962 in the Ministry of African Education of the then Northern Rhodesia Government the view prevailed that training in these two disciplines should be given priority, as they were the cheapest courses that could be offered and the ones which the Africans really needed. It was this penny-pinching approach to the subject that made the programme worthless and lacking in balance.

Advanced courses, or rather longer courses, were introduced in the early 1940s, together with instructor training. In the early 1950s, government schools, especially along the line of rail, following the missionary example, had attached to them small carpentry and brickwork shops, but in most cases they provided only an introductory course to crafts as part of the training for primary school leavers. All along, the standards attained were quite elementary and not geared to industrial practice. In the early missionary schools the entrants had spent barely four years in a primary school, and at Munali the entrance qualification remained for a long time at eight years of primary school.

When, in the early 1950s, carpentry and brickwork instructors began to graduate from Munali, the Government accepted limited responsibility for vocational training and provided some grants to missionary trade schools, and formally established its own similar schools along the line of rail, such as Mwekera, Luanshya, Mufulira and Kitwe.

Unfortunately, it would appear that the policy was to dampen the desire for practical work and to encourage every African going to school to look to clerical work and teaching as the ultimate desire of every educated African. Thus was born that anathema of the present day, the desire of every literate Zambian to become a white collar worker. The official view was illustrated by the fact that only about the dullest students were considered suitable to enter trade schools, and the buildings at the institutions in which they trained were sub-standard to requirements and inferior even to the primary schools from which the trainees had come. Although courses were as long as three years, the trainees were introduced only to the very basics of the trades and those who have eventually turned out to be good tradesmen have done so largely through later experience and contact with industry.

Between 1961 and 1962 a few managed to get themselves indentured through government departments. This number has increased very gradually, so gradually in fact that by 1969 only 68 Africans had passed through their apprenticeship schemes and received trade qualifications, and those mainly in rather indifferent fields.

With such sub-standard training, unrelated to the real needs of industry, and the racial discrimination that applied in those days, it is small wonder that few Africans wished to enter any vocation apart from clerical and teaching posts. There was one saving grace, however, the Trade Testing system. This system at least provided in its own small way a scheme of service and some initiative to the worker. Its weakness lay in the fact that it partially served to retain racial discrimination within industry. It was also a paper qualification that guaranteed or provided no methodical training experience on the part of the graduate.

In late 1967, the Government of the Republic of Zambia noted this deficiency and established the Commission for Technical Education and Vocational Training to re-vamp and formally establish technical education (*a*) to satisfy existing requirements of industry and commerce; (*b*) to ensure steady output for the future; and (*c*) to ensure that henceforth Zambia would be technically oriented and that the youth of the country should be trained in initiative, creativity and productive hard work. This awareness was made all the more acute by Mr. W. A. B. Saunders, Principal of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, Canada, who advised His Excellency the President on the general implications of establishing a new training programme.

Due to the physical and sociological repulsion of the trades schools, they often found it very difficult to attract entrants, especially as opportunities for further academic education expanded. In 1958, there were some 15 trades schools, all of which were under-enrolled, having an annual average entry of only 15 students each. Not only did these institutions fail to attract students, they could not attract suitable teachers either, so much so that most of those who were in charge were undesirable workmen from the Public Works Department and who themselves were unhappily treated. Indeed, vocational training became more and more the despised Cinderella of the country's educational programme.

In 1962 the colonial authorities decided that they had to build more primary schools and looked upon the unused trades schools as ready-made accommodation for the expansion of primary education. In this way, several mission and government trades schools were closed and aid withdrawn. After Independence, many more were closed, leaving only Lukashya, Livingstone and Kabwe.

Under the direction of Mr. Hodgson, Munali Training Centre had, in the meantime, made commendable strides in technical education and when the academic side moved to the new site (where the present Munali Secondary School is located), courses of City and Guild standard were introduced at the Training Centre and a new and attractive centre was built, mostly by the trainees, as it exists today. However, due to racial discrimination the Hodgson graduates never found a place in industry and the institution became a centre of high political agitation and bitterness, something which did not die out even after independence. Partly because of this, but also partly due to the little regard paid to technical and vocational training by the authorities, the technical training at the Hodgson Training Centre was discontinued and the centre was turned into a technical secondary school (the present-day David Kaunda Secondary Technical School).

In 1960, as a result of the Keir Report (which was sponsored by the Government of Northern Rhodesia and the Federal Government), the Northern Technical College, which was being run as a private organization sponsored by the Ndola Lottery, had its position confirmed for apprenticeship training and received the backing of industry and Government. The Keir Report also established the status of the Evelyn Hone College of Further Education. In spite of the subsequent action of the Ministry of Education mentioned above, the Keir Report recommended continuation and expansion of the Hodgson Training Centre.

The Northern Technical College was organized on the basis of apprenticeship and a block-release system aimed at giving trade qualifications according to the standards set by the City and Guilds London Institute. Nominally, in 1960, it became possible for Africans to be indentured and become apprenticed. But Africans never managed to get that indentureship, since the employers were unwilling, on racial grounds, to take them. In addition, the secondary education system was so undeveloped that few acquired the necessary entry qualifications. Consequently, Africans continued to go to Hodgson until it was closed down.

**Source:** Commission for Technical Education and Vocational Training (1969) *Statement of Policy and Intent*, pages 8–10. Lusaka: Commission for Vocational Education and Technical Training.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Development of Technical Education**

by

**W. Hoppers**

### **The Replacement of Apprenticeship by Institutional Training**

By 1967 a process of rethinking the overall provision of technical training led to the publication of the Saunders Report and culminated in the 1969 Statement of Policy and Intent of the newly-formed Commission for Vocational Education and Technical Training. The Saunders Report established the new policy that apprenticeship should be phased out and replaced by a system of full-time training in an institution. Various serious objections to apprenticeship were raised: it was considered to be too restricted by legal constraints, to last too long, and to be unsuitable for a massive modern training effort. Moreover, apprenticeship had always been limited to European workers, so that there were lingering overtones of racism. In many cases, youths would have to be indentured to those few Europeans who had remained in the country, and with whom they would not have had the social contact that was considered essential to the system.

Under the new system, emphasis was to be on high-level technical training for an increasingly sophisticated industrial system. The new institutions were to provide the technical cadre that would support further economic growth. At the same time, it was important that the old misconceptions about Trade Schools “being good for backward students” be corrected and “the facts be re-established that the trades schools, technical institutes and the Institute of Technology are part of a national education system highly respectable and comparable to, if not better than, the academic schools at the appropriate levels.”

### **Institutional Bias in Training of Craftsmen**

Technical education was to be offered at three levels: the craft or trades programme leading to occupational competence as a 'craftsman' or his equivalent in another occupation; an industrial technician programme; and an engineering technology programme. The first of these was to take place mainly in reconstituted Trades Training Institutes (TTIs) which, in the craft sector, were to be the basic replacement of the former apprenticeship programme. Trade Schools were to be abolished. Although a working party had recommended that Trade Schools should be re-vamped to provide pre-vocational and operative training for Grade 7 school leavers, it was finally decided to focus on training at the craft and technician levels. Moreover, the craft programme was reserved exclusively to Form 2 leavers. The craft programme was to consist of a six-month pre-trade training course, followed by two years of craft training with options not only in the building trades, but also in electricity, automotive repair, plumbing and others.

The old trade test system would not be abolished but was to continue to provide qualifications for experienced workers through part-time training at a TTI. It would thus remain the only route that a Grade 7 leaver could follow to the level of a skilled worker. Initially it was thought that both routes would lead to the same status of craftsman by subjecting every to a national unified system of examination and certification which recognized three levels of proficiency. In practice, however, the TTI examination and the status of craftsman have been kept separate from the trade tests for skilled workmen, the former being especially protected by relatively high wages. At present (1985) a TTI graduate with a full certificate can earn the equivalent of a university graduate or the head of a small primary school with two years experience.

These developments make it clear that the old dual system of training has basically continued to exist, albeit in modified form. Important in this respect were the decisions, on the one hand, not to continue with even a semblance of institutional vocational training at the lower levels, and on the other hand, to offer high rewards to Form 2 leavers passing through the new institutions. The lack of parity and the complete institutional separation between the TTI and the trade-test channels for skill development meant that on-the-job training could never lead to a status equal to that attained by formal training.

**Source:** Hoppers, W. (1985) *From School to Work. Youth, Non-Formal Training and Employment in Lusaka*, pages 49–50. The Hague: CESO.

#### *Fourth Reading*

### **Technical Education and Training: Conclusions and Recommendations by Office of Vice-President**

The weakest phase of Zambia's programme to overcome skill shortages is the provision for technical education and training. Lack of central coordination and planning has been a major cause of this weakness, but the resources devoted to the programme, both by Government and the private sector, have also been inadequate. The recently formed Commission for Technical Education and Vocational Training, backed by an effective National Training Act, should be able to develop a suitable programme.

In the white collar field, below the graduate level, thanks largely to the activities of Government institutions and Government ministries, a good deal of training has already been provided. In 1968 about 1,900 white collar workers completed training at diploma level, i.e. formal training for one year or more. If most existing facilities are expanded in accordance with present plans, if Evelyn Hone College is expanded very considerably beyond present plans, and if a new institute of technology is developed to supplement NORTEC, most white collar occupations can be Zambianized by 1980. This is a conclusion that will need to be checked periodically during the coming years.

Even so, shortages will continue to exist in some occupations well beyond 1980. Examples are accountant, architect, professional nurse, and technician. Most of these are occupations in worldwide shortage and Zambia is unlikely to fare better than other countries.

Skilled manual jobs are found largely in the private sector, and this is where most training should be offered. Except, however, for the far-flung and effective programme of the copper mining companies, designed only to meet their own needs, and much smaller programmes run by a few other companies, very little formal training is now taking place. There is, however, a considerable amount of informal on-the-job training.

The greatest need is for *extensive* training, that is also training *in depth*, of skilled, all-round artisans such as moulder, machinist, tool-maker, electrician, and the most broadly trained carpenters. Most of these jobs are now held by expatriates and unless extensive training expands enormously Zambia will continue to depend on foreigners in such jobs for many years. In 1968 fewer than 100 persons completed extensive training for skilled manual jobs as against an estimated annual need, only a few years from now, of 1,700.

Clearly, the slow, tradition-ridden apprenticeship system, on which the nation now depends for extensive training, should be drastically revised, and supplemented by other facilities, presumably the new Trades Training Institutes (transformed from the old Trade Schools). All facilities must be greatly expanded. The excellent facilities maintained by the copper mining companies and a few other employers should serve the entire nation, under contract with the Government.

### **Recommendations**

1. A National Training Act should be enacted at an early date.
2. Existing training facilities, both for white collar and for skilled manual workers, should be substantially expanded.
3. In the training of skilled manual workers particular emphasis should be given to *extensive* training (two years or more).
4. Early arrangements should be made for wider use of the training facilities of private companies, such as the copper mining companies, under contract with the Government.

**Source:** Office of the Vice-President (1969) *Zambian Manpower*, pages 106 –107. Lusaka: Government Printer.

## Chapter 13

### University Education

*Background:* Possibility of a university in Lusaka considered by Carr-Saunders Commission as early as 1952, but idea abandoned under pressure from Southern Rhodesia. Dissatisfaction with University College of Rhodesia & Nyasaland (UCRN, in Salisbury) (cf. Chapter 7, Second Reading, above). Clandestine contacts with UNESCO at Tananarive Conference (Sept. 1962) & decision by Northern Rhodesia Government in March 1963 to investigate possibility of establishing its own university (Minister of African Education: H. M. Nkumbula). Preliminary visit of Sir J. Lockwood (April, 1963) and of committee of consultants in September–October, under Lockwood's leadership. Report submitted in December 1963 and accepted in January 1964 by new nationalist government (Prime Minister: K. D. Kaunda).

*Lockwood Recommendations:* Philosophy—the new university must be responsive to the real needs of the country, and must be an institution which will merit respect and recognition throughout the academic world. These principles led to radical recommendations: country needed graduates, but too few traditional Sixth Form schools and candidates in Zambia to respond to national needs. Hence recommendation of O-level entry (first time in English-speaking Africa, but model followed by other universities, while those with A-level entry in Kenya, Nigeria and elsewhere have now changed to the Zambian model). Second, so as to be able to respond flexibly to national needs, the new university should be completely independent from the outset, without first being a college of a British university, such as London or Manchester (UCRN in Salisbury was at first a college of London University; Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Khartoum, and universities in West Africa all started as colleges of British universities). Lockwood Report stressed priority for education and science as part of response to national needs. The University should strive to merit the respect of the academic world both through the intrinsic excellence of its courses, and through the evident quality and subsequent performance of its graduates.

*Immediate and Subsequent Developments:* Government adopted Report in January 1964; established Provisional Council in mid-1964. University Act enacted November 1965. Teaching commenced, at Ridgeway Campus, in March 1966. Formal installation of Chancellor in July 1966. First lectures at Great East Road Campus, March 1968. Kitwe Campus established in 1978; became Copperbelt University in 1987–88. Student enrollments: 310 in 1966; 1,253 by 1970, 3,813 by 1980. First graduates in 1969.

*Problems:* Necessary early dependence on expatriates and need for heavy investment in training own staff. Insufficient qualified candidates for science. Students carrying over with them from secondary schools poor work/study habits and learning styles, with inadequate critical faculties. Unpopularity of Education and Agriculture. Funding generous but inadequate—resources could not keep pace with expansion, and hence decline in provision of library, laboratory and teaching resources. Heavy teaching commitments (largely a quantitative dimension) left little time for development of research and postgraduate traditions (largely a qualitative dimension). In later years, there was a loss of time, continuity, trust, and international credibility through regular and prolonged closures and disturbances.

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### Readings

In the *first reading*, the Ministry of African Education gives a summary of the lead-up to the work of the Lockwood Committee.

The *second reading* allows the Lockwood Report to speak for itself, presenting its philosophy and major recommendations.

The *third reading* outlines the views of the first Zambian Vice-Chancellor of the University, Professor L. H. K. Goma, on the role of the University of Zambia in development.

### *First Reading*

## **A University in Lusaka: Plans and Action** by **Ministry of Education**

For over two years discussions had been taking place on the desirability of supplementing the courses provided at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury by more general degree courses for which the minimum entry standard could be less than two A-level passes. This led to a more general questioning of the type of higher education most relevant to Africa's present needs. In April 1962, Central Africa was visited by a group of university men representing the Africa Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, led by Dr. C. W. de Kieweit, which issued its 'reflections' on issues concerning secondary and post-secondary educational development in August. The UNESCO Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa held at Tananarive in September 1962 provided the opportunity for consultation with university experts from other parts of Africa, Britain and America.

The new Northern Rhodesia Government, formed in December 1962, considered the matter and in March 1963 it was announced that the Government was investigating the possibility of establishing as soon as possible a university in Lusaka, and a local committee was set up to be available for consultation by visiting experts. The (British Government) Department of Technical Cooperation in London was asked to arrange with the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas for advisers to come and examine the question. In April, Sir John Lockwood,

Master of Birkbeck College and formerly Vice-Chancellor of London University, visited Lusaka and made a preliminary examination of the project. In September, he returned as chairman of a committee of consultants arranged by the Department of Technical Cooperation, the Inter-University Council, and the American Council on Education. The other members of the committee were Professor Karl Bigelow, Mr. A. Tattersall, and Mr. H. A. Warren. Their report was received by the Northern Rhodesia Government in December 1963 and is due to be published in February 1964.

The Report's main recommendation is that an autonomous university should be established without undue delay, the normal minimum entrance requirement to be an approved standard of performance at the Ordinary Level in the G.C.E. examination, and the normal length of pass degree courses to be four years, with a further year of study for an honours degree. Questions of location and siting, finance, constitution, the possible nature of courses in education, agriculture, administration, law, and technical and technological studies are considered in detail, as are the questions of extra-mural studies, extension work and correspondence courses. The Lockwood Committee recommends that a Provisional Council should be appointed at once to begin the planning of the university, to appoint its Head, and to collect and hold funds. The Committee's work constitutes a landmark in the history of education in Northern Rhodesia—*monumentum aere perennius* (a monument more enduring than copper; from Horace, a Latin poet).

**Source:** Ministry of African Education (1964) *Triennial Survey for the Years 1961 to 1963 Inclusive*, page 28. Lusaka: Government Printer.

***Second Reading***  
**General Report and Recommendations on the Development of a University in  
Northern Rhodesia**  
by  
**The Lockwood Committee**

Northern Rhodesia is on the threshold of a momentous change in its status. The approach of independence calls for urgent decisions on educational policy. At the present time there is a great shortage of local Africans who have enjoyed the benefits of higher education or have had experience of the upper levels of administration in government and business. Much the same is true of the whole middle range of employment. Inevitably, independence will bring with it substantial and searching problems. Inevitably an increasing localization of appointments will be expected and demanded as a matter of urgency, on the natural argument that an African country is not truly independent while the senior and responsible posts in official and other walks of life are mostly held by non-Africans. Risks will be taken, as elsewhere, in promoting young and inexperienced men and women to responsible positions. But, if administration is to proceed successfully and progressively during the next ten or twenty years, a large-scale educational programme, particularly at the secondary and higher levels, can alone supply the minds and hands to operate and support it satisfactorily.

Our concern is with post-O-level education and training. In our investigation we have naturally taken account of the ways in which pre-O-level developments have been moving so as to form as reliable a picture as possible of the flow of trained ability coming from the schools. But we

have not attempted a detailed discussion of the pool from which this stream flows, since this is one of the tasks of the UNESCO planning mission which is currently visiting Northern Rhodesia. We have, however, been in touch with the mission. We would only say this. Secondary and higher education must be thought of as indissolubly linked. Without a sound secondary system, higher education has no solid basis. Since not all who are exposed to secondary education are fitted for higher education, the base of secondary education must be broad enough in numbers and the opportunities offered to produce an adequate supply of men and women qualified to go forward into one or other of several fields of higher education. It is self-evident that the whole economy and life of the country will require a host of secondary-trained people to man the multifarious range of activities both in and out of government. The problem for every developing country is to strike the right balance between secondary and higher without diluting or debilitating the quality and value of either.

*The starting point of our inquiry into the establishment of a university has been a twofold conviction: first, that the university must be responsive to the real needs of the country; secondly, that it must be an institution which on merit will win the respect and proper recognition of the university world. Unless it satisfies these two criteria, it will fall short of meeting its national responsibility. It must combine practical service to the nation at a critical time in its life with the fulfillment of the historic purpose of a university as a seat of learning, a treasure-house of knowledge, and a creative centre of research.*

If it is to carry out satisfactorily the first of these responsibilities, it will need full freedom to define its own entrance requirements, and to plan the range, structure and length of its degree courses. In order to enjoy this freedom and the flexibility which freedom offers, the institution must be a university in its own right, not a university college in a special relationship for degree purposes with another university. If it were the objective of the foundation of a university institution to produce a relatively small elite of graduates to fill senior posts in government, schools, university, the professions and business, a special relationship arrangement would have something to commend it. But when well-trained men and women will be wanted in a broad spectrum of types of employment, a university free from the unavoidably constricting authority which the degree structures of another university would require is better fitted to encompass this wider range of interests and need.

Furthermore, it should conceive its national responsibility to be more extensive and comprehensive than has sometimes been the case elsewhere. It should draw its inspiration from the environment in which its people live and function. It should be a vigorous and fruitful source of stimulus and encouragement to education and training of all kinds and itself operate in fields which hitherto have not formed part of the normal United Kingdom pattern. As an independent institution it can be as inclusive as it wishes and experiment without hindrance in nationally desirable fields. Degree courses of a more vocational type can be contemplated. Subjects or areas of study which are described in the United Kingdom as 'further' education could be considered as suitable for degree courses. The United States and some parts of the Commonwealth, not to mention other parts of the world, find no apparent difficulty in including them within the framework of university studies.

In saying this, we emphasize that these ideas do not conflict with the satisfaction of the second criterion. They do not preclude work of the highest quality. Nor would we wish to contemplate the establishment of a university which did not aim high and in its planning make provision for such work.

### **Entrance Qualifications**

Northern Rhodesia is fortunate in that the call for a university institution comes at a time when the system of secondary education is producing a steadily growing rise in the output of pupils who will have completed courses up to the end of Form IV, i.e. to the point of being able to sit for the School Certificate or O-level of the G.C.E. examination. The projections for the years to 1970 are encouraging and are significant for the planning of higher education. But sixth forms are few and an attempt to gear minimum university entrance requirements to the possession of a Higher School Certificate or a corresponding equivalent of the A-level of the G.C.E. would so narrowly limit academic opportunities as to defeat the national interest.

We therefore accept the wisdom of the man who said that "A university will not serve its social purposes if it sets its standards of admission so high that it is concerned with only a tiny minority of extremely able students and does nothing for the larger numbers of less spectacular ability who will not realize their full potential in service unless they have the advantage of university education". We recommend that the normal entrance requirement for admission to a university degree course should be a suitable performance at the O-level of the G.C.E. examination after twelve years of school education (or the possession of equivalent qualifications). This accords with current practice in many countries of the world. The University will decide what constitutes a suitable performance and what equivalence means.

### **Length of Degree Course**

The full-time degree course should be of not less than four years' duration. For an ordinary (i.e. general or pass) degree the course should cover four years, divided into Part I (the first two years) and Part II (the second two years). For an honours degree, a further year at least of study would be required; but thought should certainly be given to the possibility of enabling outstanding students to obtain an honours degree in four years. Planning of the institution of honours courses should proceed actively during the first years of the University's life.

### **Degree Subjects and Field of Study**

An accelerated development of secondary education will demand a great increase in the number of well-qualified teachers. For teachers, a course for the bachelor's degree of which the practical, professional element is an integral part, perhaps about one-sixth of the whole, would offer an excellent preparation; the major content of the course would consist of two teaching subjects.

In a country which is largely agricultural the design of university courses to deal with specific local problems in the improvement of production is essential, and such courses should have a high priority.

Technology has its own special problems. The existence of the mining industry on the Copperbelt and the needs of the government, for example, in civil engineering, clearly imply some potential demand for graduate engineers and metallurgists, though the greatest need at present is at the sub-professional level. Before a Faculty (or College) of Technology (or Engineering) is established, a very thorough investigation should be made of the exact extent of the needs for various kinds of engineers.

Some of the social sciences—economics, administration, management, commerce (to include accountancy, banking, insurance, taxation, etc.), law, statistics, psychology, sociology and

social administration, and possibly home science—must find a place in the University at a fairly early stage, since the country will have considerable need of administrators, lawyers, economists, statisticians and welfare workers. The University will probably want at a convenient time, though not immediately, to create an Institute for African Studies, which might grow out of the social studies field; this could serve as a meeting point for the research activities of the relevant university departments and provide a stimulus to such studies.

If a speedy start is to be made in establishing a university, it will probably be necessary to begin with non-laboratory subjects. Laboratories for degree courses need the most careful planning and must await the appointment of the professors who will be responsible for their design. We, therefore, recommend that subjects in the arts and the social sciences should be the first to be undertaken for degree purposes. Scientific subjects should follow with the minimum of delay, since the country must have an increased corps of science-teachers and will need to initiate the training and development of its own nationals for posts in the University itself.

### **Recognition of the Degrees of the University**

We have laid much stress on our two criteria for the University, that the University should at once serve the real, urgent national needs and that it should be a University commanding respect in the academic world. In forming our judgments on the University and framing our recommendations we have kept these criteria in the front of our minds. Any doubts about the international acceptance of ordinary (or general or pass) degrees gained after four years of properly planned study from O-level and of honours degrees obtained after five years of properly planned study will disappear. The intrinsic evidence of the courses will validate them and the evident quality and subsequent performance of the men and women to whom degrees have been awarded will end all remaining argument. We appreciate the motives of those who feel that the new University should seek sponsorship from an already well-established university. But the idea of a formal sponsorship has become outmoded; it is held to represent an infringement of the autonomy of the university and has elsewhere been found unacceptable. We believe that the results expected to follow from sponsorship can better be secured if the University is prepared to accept external examiners and foreign academic advisers, and to encourage its departments to enter into informal relationships with outstanding departments in other foreign universities. The academic standing of its staff, the soundness and value of its courses, and the quality of its graduates will be the real guarantee that the University can hold its head high among its sister universities.

**Source:** Government of Northern Rhodesia (1963) *Report on the Development of a University in Northern Rhodesia* (The Lockwood Report), pages 1–6. Lusaka: Government Printer.

### *Third Reading*

## **Role of the University in National Development**

by

**L. H. K. Goma**

### **The Problems**

The duty of a university to promote the development of the community it serves is no easy task. There are several reasons for this. First, it is often just not clear what is the best thing for a university to do from the point of view of development. For instance, should it involve itself in the

production of middle-level skills, without which the university graduate, particularly in the scientific and technological fields, cannot function adequately? Would this not lead to the university becoming grossly expensive and insufficiently productive of the right kind of personnel?

Second, the concept of the university as an instrument of development contains a number of fairly sharp contradictions. It might be asked, for example, whether a university whose enrollments and subject-offerings are subject to the requirements of national development might not be in danger of losing its essential university character. It can also be argued that the more activities a university undertakes in furtherance of national development, the more politically vulnerable it is likely to become; and yet in the long run a university which is extremely vulnerable politically is not necessarily likely to make the most lasting contribution to development.

Third, there is another kind of problem arising from the sheer burden of functions which are liable to be assumed in the name of development. It can quite easily happen that university staff take on tasks for which they are not particularly well qualified and for which they do not really have enough time; and yet in the efforts to fulfill them they cannot give enough time either to their traditional functions of teaching, research and the perennial re-interpretation of our heritage of knowledge and culture. Is there not a danger that the additional tasks will overtax the strength of the university to a point that all their functions will suffer, including the cause of national development itself?

## **The University of Zambia: The Implications and Practice of the Development Concept**

### **General**

The University of Zambia must consciously and systematically shape itself to serve the cause of development. Its order of priorities should be dictated by the needs of Zambia. The knowledge it imparts and the intellectual and professional skills it develops should be aimed at meeting the practical test of rendering service to man. It is quite possible to be an excellent teacher, doctor, or engineer, and then use these talents to exploit others. Professionalism must be tempered by human understanding; otherwise development will be lopsided.

If the University is to make a significant contribution to the development of Zambia, it must proceed from informed criteria. There must be a continuous search for the real problems of Zambia. What are the key features of the development problems of the country? Put differently, what are the main obstacles to development? The medical services must be improved; the standard of agriculture must be improved; all forms of education must be improved. Is there a common factor to all these problems? Is there one outstanding need, the solution to which could help solve these long-term problems? And what role can the University play in finding the solution?

The University must at all times remember that development is not simply an economic process; it has cultural and political ingredients. Economic, cultural and political progress interact on one another to create the problems of today and to shape the pattern of tomorrow.

### **Manpower Requirements**

The most immediate and perhaps the most serious handicap facing Zambia today is the extreme shortage of high-level manpower. The country's needs encompass a broad range of specialties. It is, therefore, essential not only to produce the needed local skills in the number required, but also to ensure that scarce resources are not wasted on producing skills substantially

in excess of the ability of the economy to utilize them. The production of the needed skills, in a balanced manner, is a critical task assigned to and accepted by the University of Zambia. This is done through a quota system in admitting students to the University.

Government's manpower planning has stressed the acute need for teachers in secondary schools and for science (including agricultural, engineering and medical) graduates. Consequently, the production of these has been accorded top priority at the University. However, it seems essential for the University to take a more critical attitude to manpower projections, particularly as it can be said that manpower planning as conducted by governments everywhere is usually fairly inexact.

### **Quality and Quantity**

It is necessary to appreciate that development not only requires quantitative changes but also qualitative ones, which might perhaps be even more important, though more difficult to effect. Attention has so far been directed predominantly to quantitative aspects of the University's possible contribution to national development.

The University must never be allowed to abandon the idea of excellence or the pursuit of the first rate in its effort to serve large numbers and in its dedication to meet the needs of Zambia. Excellence should not be sacrificed to mediocrity. If the training of graduates is poor in quality, their contribution to society will be inferior. The needs of Zambia demand that those who come out of the University should be men and women of integrity, competent and capable of facing new problems thoughtfully and objectively, with the desire to find constructive solutions to the problems rather than augment partisan controversy.

In addition to producing high-level manpower, the University must attempt to educate the whole man. It is not enough to give graduates a sound academic or professional training if, at the same time, they do not acquire sound moral values; if they are not imbued with a sense of social responsibility; if they do not possess an inner conviction that the knowledge they have acquired should be put at the service of their fellow-men, of their country, indeed, of the whole of humanity.

### **Research**

The University is conscious of its role as a national institution and is actively encouraging and pursuing research that is relevant to the development needs of Zambia. While the University recognizes the needs of its staff for undertaking research that enables them to stay in the world market and which contributes positively to the establishment of the institution as a seat of scholarship, the relevance to national needs of the research pursued must never be given second place.

### **Public Service and Foreign Experts**

The presence in the University of a community of people of the highest intellectual gifts and education, and devoted to their chosen specialties, provides a body of experts, on the spot for consultation by Government and other public bodies and by private interests. But does the country make full use of the University in this regard? The answer is NO, and the reasons for this are not difficult to ascertain.

Insufficient decolonialization of the mind and the consequent uncritical adulation of foreign experts and know-how presents one of the biggest obstacles to the effective utilization of available local manpower in many developing countries. The work of such personnel is often not seriously

appreciated or demanded by Government, industry, agriculture or other sectors of society. Instead, specialists are brought in at very great expense to produce, in a few days, reports that are often worth next-to-nothing. In some cases, the advice that the visiting so-called experts give today may be identical with what the local expert has been saying for years, but has never been listened to.

I would suggest most strongly that it should be the standard practice to first approach the University for advice, where appropriate, before inviting or accepting foreign experts from outside Zambia. Many of these cannot claim any direct personal acquaintance with the Zambian environment. If the University can give the advice sought or undertake the task required to be done, there can be no justification on the part of anyone for bringing in experts from abroad. On the other hand, the University would be doing a disservice to the country by offering to undertake what it knows it cannot do, thereby denying the country the expertise it needs and which it can get from outside.

### **The University and the Educational System of Zambia**

In order that the University might fulfill its mission in the field of national development, it needs to develop itself both qualitatively and quantitatively. This is only possible if it could build on the base of a sound secondary education. Political and economic changes have highlighted the deficiencies of the quality of education available. In this regard, the University has a unique role to play in the development of educational concepts and practices appropriate to the circumstances of Zambia.

Lack of materials to support new curricula makes it impossible to produce effective changes in school teaching, which thus remains limited and authoritarian. Research into and evaluation of school teaching is obviously essential. The School of Education at the University is engaged in this exercise.

There is, of course, the problem of producing and supplying secondary school teachers who have zeal for teaching. It may be asked, however, whether the training of teachers at the University and in associated teachers' colleges is challenging enough to make them want to teach even before they complete their training. Or is this such that they get discouraged right at the start and during the course of their training?

### **The Challenge of Rural Development**

Perhaps the greatest single challenge and opportunity offered to the University of Zambia at the present time is that of the development of the country's rural areas. The Government and people of Zambia have decided that their major effort must now be directed towards the development of these areas. In this challenging task the University should seek to play an essential role.

This naturally raises a number of questions: How can the University, with its urban setting, be related organically to a predominantly rural society? What sort of measures should it take to avoid becoming primarily a resource for the urban elite? Through which of its own activities should the University seek to secure real ties with the rural areas? Are links with the primary school system or rural health centres or new kinds of extension activity the answer?

Any programme for rural development must require the support of several disciplines: agriculture, medicine, engineering, the pure sciences, economics, sociology, demography, geography, education, law, business administration, public administration, etc. The University

already offers study programmes in most of these. For this and other reasons, it is doubtful whether the suggestion that there should be established, at the University, a School of Rural Development, rather than a School of Agriculture, can have much practical significance.

Whatever the approach, the University can and should seriously attempt to contribute to rural development by (1) producing appropriately educated and trained men and women, (2) new information won by research, and (3) intellectual leadership based on knowledge and understanding of the real-life situation in rural economy and in the society as a whole.

### **Conclusion**

To sum up: there should be a continuing dialogue on the need to ensure that the University of Zambia is sensitive to and effective in the developmental needs of the country, yet with an intellectual and cultural strength of its own which will enable it to stand apart from sheer utilitarianism.

**Source:** Goma, L. H. K. (1969) Role of the University in National Development. In Ministry of Education (1970) *Report on First National Education Conference*, pages 44–46. Lusaka: Government Printer.

## Part V—Education in the Second Republic 1973–1991

### Chapter 14 Educational Reforms and Innovations

*Educational Reform Movement of 1970s:* Innovations/Reforms = changes in educational practice/methods/content/structure/organization. Large-scale changes = reforms. In 1970s extensive efforts universally to reform and reorganize existing educational structures and to modernize teaching content and methods. Major reform movements often triggered by external event (in UK, new society introduced by World War II; in U.S.A., shock in 1950s at Russian ability to launch a spacecraft; in Africa & Asia, end of colonialism). Much conscious educational reform in 1970s, but educational reform a necessary & ongoing process in Africa and elsewhere.

*Factors Contributing to 1970s' Educational Reform Movement in Newly Independent Countries:* (a) 1960s placed stress on expansion, on quantity; but concerns arose about quality. (b) National desires to create radically different programmes & institutions. (c) Economic self-sufficiency seemed to require massive changes in school curriculum & out-of-school education/training network. (d) Need to give expression in schools to new national ideologies. (e) Disillusion with outcomes of the 1960s (Development Decade) and striving for something better. (f) Misgivings about education system: highly selective, promoting individualism & elitism; credentialism, paper qualifications appearing more important than knowledge/skills; too academic and irrelevant to needs of many; promoting inequalities & alienation, and undermining self-reliance.

*General Pattern of Reform Movements:* Pressure for massive change → decision to reform → rapid planning → large-scale execution. Outcomes: (a) high public expectations + overload of education bureaucracy, both leading to (b) delays, unexpected outcomes, public disillusion, resistance; all these resulting in (c) reforms being reduced in scale or reforms being swallowed up by traditional structures, methods, etc.

*General Characteristics:* Ambitious (in terms of time, energy, material resources invested in process; degree of rapid & extensive change expected; financial and human commitments required); initiators (educational planners at education ministries or local universities; external advisers from aid agencies; little participation of executors, i.e. teachers, or of beneficiaries, i.e. parents/public); implementation (large-scale & immediate, seldom with pilot phase; through existing bureaucracy, seldom with special new implementation arrangements or mechanisms); outcomes (often very much scaled-down version; frequent failures; maintenance of *status quo*).

*Reasons for Failures:* (i) Inadequate public/professional consensus/participation, especially by teachers. (ii) Too ambitious—exceeded financial, material, human resources; insufficient attention to economic, demographic, logistic factors. (iii) Capacity of education ministry to absorb/execute overstretched. (iv) Management strategies suitable for routine tasks in stable environment applied to educational innovations in situations of uncertainty. (v) Too heavy reliance on political slogans, on personal commitment of a few and on voluntary service. (vi) Unfavourable or unstable political or economic environment. (vii) Resistance by elite groups. (viii) Concentration on individual elements of a reform instead of on total package. Many reform exercises ended with production of a plan—process important, led to understanding of forces at work; but need for further implementation—plan often overlooked; hence piecemeal implementation; ever-recurring tendency to stress numerical, quantitative aspects, at expense of qualitative. Inadequate attention to currently important issues, such as population growth, health, girls' education.

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## Readings

The *first reading* outlines four major trends that the Faure Report identified in educational reforms in the late 1960s and early 1970s. When you have studied the reading, try to identify for yourself the trend which best fits the Zambian situation of the 1970s. Think also about the answers you would give, in the context of Zambia today, to the questions raised in the final section of the reading.

The *second reading* gives some of the views of the same UNESCO Commission on education and society, and includes their understanding of elitism.

The *third reading* gives further insights into the meaning of the concepts 'elitism' and 'meritocracy'. It is particularly valuable in the way it distinguishes elitism from the existence of elites.

The *fourth reading* gives two brief but strong statements on the way the privileged elite may use the education system to safeguard its own advantages. Some of these ideas were already anticipated in the introductory section of the First Reading, Chapter 11 above.

The *fifth reading* is from a paper prepared by P. H. Coombs for the International Commission on the Development of Education (the Faure Commission that authored *Learning to Be*). Although Coombs was writing in a world-wide context, the problems he identifies were very much Zambia's problems in the 1970s: a gap between educational demand and supply, a gap between resources and requirements, imbalances between educational outputs (the number of school-leavers) and jobs, and imbalances between formal and non-formal education. To what extent do the same problems continue to confront Zambia?

The *sixth reading* is a powerful expression of the dilemma that faced many countries in the 1970s (and that still faces them today): the inability of the education system to respond to the needs of the rural areas and the incapacity of the modern economy to provide jobs for all those who have gone to school.

*First Reading*  
**Major Trends in Educational Reforms**  
by  
**E. Faure and Others**

Many developments (in education) show a general consistency which is all the more remarkable in that they have sprung from very diverse ideas, criticisms and protest movements, which may be grouped into four major trends.

**Educational Reforms**

The first of these consists in reforming and reorganizing existing education structures and modernizing teaching methods. With or without attendant structural changes on the socio-economic level, reforms of this sort are on the agenda nearly everywhere. The measures and initiatives taken by public authorities, as well as scientific bodies and individual educators, have implicitly, if not explicitly, prepared the way for major innovations in a number of countries. Numerous changes have taken place in developing countries, largely as the result of central-government initiative, although the scarcity of means and a certain bureaucratic inertia sometimes dampen innovative enthusiasm and incline people to wait for confirmation of experiments undertaken elsewhere. In some countries possessing enormous intellectual and financial resources, the extent and gravity of problems—and the failures to date in confronting them—provide strong arguments for those who stress that fragmentary measures are ineffectual, and thus advocate total reform.

**Structural Transformations**

In countries which more or less recently have gone through social and political upheavals, events have often led to profound structural changes in the educational world, affecting the student base, access to education at various levels, curricula revision and, although to a lesser extent, modernization of methods. The establishment of close ties between schools and their milieu is a top priority in countries (such as Cuba) which view the education system as a vast mass movement, where each individual who has received an education has a civic duty to teach those who have been denied learning opportunities. Similar preoccupations are found in countries (such as Yugoslavia) trying to separate education from the State by socializing it and making it the direct and active responsibility of those involved. The problem of structural changes is predominant in countries which consider that education should be completely revolutionized, if necessary by outside forces (as in the People's Republic of China). Here, it is proposed that education and productive work should be completely integrated and that students must cease to form a distinct social category.

In these varied experiments, we should distinguish between specific aspects, determined largely by existing political structures and particular ideologies, and other elements less directly bound to these factors and, as such, susceptible of wider application.

**Radical Criticism**

Belonging to the third movement are proponents (such as Ivan Illich) of 'de-institutionalizing' education and 'de-schooling' society. Such theses, which as yet have no experimental basis, accordingly remain intellectual speculation. They are grounded on an outright condemnation of 'institutionalized' education and lead either to intermediary formulae or radical plans for a total 'de-schooling' of society. This extreme thesis is developed from the postulate that education constitutes an independent variable in each society and a direct factor in social contradictions. The school's position in society and the play of forces to which it is subjected make

it incapable, however, of being the instrument of a true education in the service of mankind. On the contrary it serves the purposes of repressing, alienating and dehumanizing societies. According to Illich, therefore, institutions should be 'inverted' and the school suppressed, so that man may regain his freedom in a society shorn of formal schooling, resume control of the institution and thereby recover his initiative in education.

In their absolute form, these concepts do not seem to conform to any of the world's existing socio-political categories, but their authors think that de-schooling society would sooner or later lead to an over-all change in the social order likely to break the present vicious circle in which education is trapped. Even those who endorse these ideas recognize that while young persons can form their characters and learn by living within the community and performing practical tasks, some form of schooling is still required for certain kinds of learning. Be that as it may, these novel theories, which are close to other movements among young intellectuals, are interesting both for the controversies and play of ideas they touch off and for the lively way in which they propound the problem of education. They help to throw light on possibilities from which other systems, even very different, may well draw inspiration.

### **Dissent**

A fourth movement, swelled by the dissent of the users themselves, has made its appearance in certain countries where education is of increasing concern to politicians, educationists, researchers and philosophers, as well as to the students themselves and the general public.

The analysis of reactions often seen among working-class people confronted by rigid educational systems—parents who notice negative reactions in their children or students skeptical of the value of the educational possibilities offered them—yield fruitful results. When the school system remains the exclusive property of an intellectual elite, the product of the bourgeois class which built the system and continues to dictate its laws and moral values, students become confused by the divorce between an outmoded education and the reality of the world around them. They become frustrated, dissipate their energies, grow bored or put their hopes in something else. Student dissent made a niche for itself in history when widespread criticism infiltrated the heavily defended bastion of education. Despite its sometimes confused and naive character, its two-edged radicalism, student protest opened a breach. Apathy among the student population constitutes, in its own way, another form of dissent. Disaffection and lack of enthusiasm among students in many countries is undoubtedly a sign that antiquated education systems are being rejected.

### **Conclusion**

Where then are we to find the characteristic sign of the present moment, among this constellation of divergent or coincident trends, varying methods, teeming ideas and generous intentions?

For more than twenty years, attention has remained focused on a few major questions—how to obtain quantitative expansion in education, make education democratic, diversify the structures of educational systems; and modernize content and method.

A few years ago a new framework of problems took shape. In essence, it boils down to three questions. Are school systems capable of meeting the world-wide demand for education? Is it possible to provide them with the immense resources they need? In short, is it possible to continue the development of education along the lines laid down and at the rate we have followed?

To these very pertinent questions must be added queries of a different sort to throw fuller light on the dimensions of the problem as it affects man's future development.

*We can and we must, given the present state of affairs, inquire into the profound meaning of education for the contemporary world and reassess its responsibilities towards the present generations which it must prepare for tomorrow's world. We must inquire into its powers and its myths, its prospects and its aims.*

Source: Faure, E. and Others. (1972) *Learning to Be*, pages 19–23 (abridged). Paris: UNESCO.

*Second Reading*  
**Education and Society**  
by  
**E. Faure and Others**

The urgency of the tasks related to the expansion of educational systems has led planners to concentrate mainly on the quantitative aspects of the effort required, of the obstacles to be overcome and the disequilibria to be corrected. But we are becoming aware that the essential questions concern the relationships between education and society, education and the learner, education and knowledge, between aims avowed and aims achieved.

Education is both a world in itself and a reflection of the world at large. It is subject to society, while contributing to its goals, and in particular it helps society to mobilize its productive energies by ensuring that required human resources are developed. (Moreover) until the present, education as we have known it through all the forms of society which have lasted for any length of time has been the select instrument by means of which existing values and balances of power have been maintained and kept in effect, with all the implications of both a positive and negative character which this process has had for the destiny of nations and the course of history.

So far as teachers', learners' and parents' personal experience is concerned, the social function of educative practice is infinitely complex. While its practice illuminates the liberating power of education, it also demonstrates the limits to its powers; its shortcomings and its oppressive, coercive effects.

The contradictory nature of the basic facts in this situation helps to account for the widely differing opinions on the relationship between education and society. Broadly speaking, they may be grouped into four schools of thought:

1. Idealism, which considers that education exists in and for itself.
2. Voluntarism, consisting in the conviction that education can and must change the world, independently of any changes which may take place in the structure of society.
3. Mechanistic determinism, according to which the form and future of education are directly controlled by and more or less synchronized with surrounding environmental factors.
4. Finally, the school of thought which derives from all three of these, and which postulates that education necessarily reproduces and even exacerbates and perpetuates the vices inherent in the societies which supporters of this school are currently criticizing very

sharply. Their view is that there can be no conceivable remedy for education apart from radically changing society. However, in apparent contradiction to this, they maintain that the educational world may well set the stage, with an interior revolution of its own, for a subsequent social revolution.

### **Self-Perpetuating Function of Education.**

Education, which both reproduces and renews itself, is often accused of immobility. It is certainly not the only institution against which such reproaches are levelled. In fact one of its essential functions is that of repetition, to repeat to each generation the knowledge that the previous generation inherited from its forebears. It is normal therefore for educational systems to be given the job of handing down traditional values. This is why they are inclined to form closed systems, both in time and space, and to be largely concerned with their own existence and success.

So the system looks inward and backward. This viewpoint helps to consolidate existing structures and to form individuals for living in society as it is. Therefore (and we do not mean this pejoratively) education is by nature conservative.

### **Use and Abuse of Civic Training**

All education, beginning with family education, has the task of socializing children and adolescents. Schools continue and will continue to carry out the duties of civic training (especially in countries which recently acquired or recovered their national identity) and of ideological training (in countries where leaders of a revolution consider it their duty to capture minds and to topple all the bastions of the past). The important thing is not the position which instruction of this kind has in education, but its aims—at least the implicit ones. Does it encourage self-fulfillment in individuals with a healthy idea of their relationship to the world, or does it condition individuals, make them follow set examples and become easy to govern? Does it encourage the development of people with independent minds and sharp critical faculties, or does it cultivate unthinking respect for hierarchies? The fact is that in very many situations children and adolescents need above-average strength, an exceptional capacity for escape, or an unshakable character if they are to maintain intact the curiosity and inventiveness which are man's primordial faculties.

### **Elitism**

The term 'elitism' is a rather poor definition of the condition it describes. Theoretically it does not mean that first-class education is reserved to a specific caste. It really consists of separating the 'cream' of society from the rest. It is a system which aims not at excluding people on the grounds of their social background, but rather at co-opting 'the best', as defined by the existing elite. Hence the school acts as a sieve, starting in the elementary classes and operating through successive stages of filtering with an eye to selecting the future elite. And if social mechanisms inadvertently favour the academic success of children from privileged social and cultural backgrounds, this must be seen as a consequence and not as an aim of the system. Moreover, the word elite implies a small number. But the system does not cease to be 'elitist' simply because it grows quantitatively. The determining factor is the principle of selection, however many are chosen, and the exclusion of all others on the basis of criteria laid down by the existing elite, which continually makes these restrictions more stringent.

### **Education as an Image**

Education, being a subsystem of society, necessarily reflects the main features of that society. It would be vain to hope for a rational humane education in an unjust society. A bureaucratic system, habitually estranged from life, finds it hard to entertain the idea that schools

are made for children, instead of children being made for schools. Regimes based on authority from the top and obedience from the bottom cannot develop an education for freedom. It is difficult to imagine school imparting a taste for creative work in socio-economic conditions in which work is generally an alienation. And how can one imagine a society woven out of privileges and discrimination developing a democratic education system?

### **Education Renews**

It by no means follows that for lack of being able to modify and correct social conditions by itself that education must remain their passive offshoot. The subordinate relationship of education to the socio-economic system is not such as to make it impossible to act, if not on the entire complex, at least on this or that particular element. Pressure is being brought to bear to renew educational structures and content so that they become able to contribute more or less directly to social change. This is certainly possible, provided that we have a clear image of society in light of which educational objectives may be formulated.

*Two conclusions follow from this.*

*First, it is far more necessary today than in the past for reforms in education to have social and economic development objectives.*

*Second, it is hard to conceive of society developing without a renewal in education. This is valid for all societies, of whatever type, whatever their predominant doctrine and however they envisage their future—whether reformist or revolutionary.*

**Source:** Faure, E. and Others (1972) *Learning to Be*, pages 55–61 (abridged). Paris: UNESCO.

### *Third Reading* **Elitism and Meritocracy** by **R. Klitgaard**

“Are you sure you want that title?” a colleague asked me about this book. “Both ‘elitism’ and ‘meritocracy’ are dirty words.”

It is true that elites, and especially elitism, have few friends among those who study developing countries. An abundant literature describes elites in various settings—who they are, where they come from, what their ‘class interest’ is. Usually these studies criticize elite groups for their reactionary selfishness. The elementary proposition that drives much research is that elite groups try to perpetuate themselves at society’s expense. The existence of elites, even in the seemingly benign and unavoidable sense of “the choice or best of anything considered collectively, especially of a group or class of persons,” is therefore said to lead to elitism in the sense of a self-conscious, exploitative ruling minority.

In theory, a number of social institutions and policies are supposed to check elitism. One is democracy, another is economic competition, a third is public redistribution of private wealth and income. Unfortunately, says the literature on elites in developing countries, these policies are often subverted by elite groups. A classic example is what happens to meritocracies (the word ‘meritocracy’ was coined by the British sociologist Michael Young in his classic 1957 satire *The*

*Rise of Meritocracy.* Young described a society increasingly dominated by allocation and promotion by merit instead of by privilege or political allegiance or chance.)

A merit system is ostensibly anti-elitist. Its purpose is to allocate scarce opportunities to the worthiest aspirants, not to those with the best connections. Examples of merit systems include policies for university admissions and for the selection of recruits for the civil service. Both are devised for selecting a nation's future elite but doing so objectively and openly, with no notion of perpetuating the power of any group. Broadly speaking, meritocracies also might include bidding systems for public contracts, procedures for awarding research grants, and even methods for allocating scarce foreign exchange or import licences. In each case there are more candidates than positions, and the winners are chosen via a process that, in theory, picks those with the most merit for the task at hand. University admissions, for example, are often based on 'academic merit', as measured by examinations and not by willingness to pay or political loyalty or family background.

But do meritocracies work out that way? No, declare many critics. Merit systems get co-opted by elites. Max Weber identified the underlying dilemma:

Democracy takes an ambivalent stand in the face of specialized examinations, as it does in the face of all the phenomena of bureaucracy—although democracy itself promotes these developments. Special examinations, on the one hand, mean or appear to mean a 'selection' of those who qualify from all social strata rather than a rule by notables. On the other hand, democracy fears that a merit system and educational certificates will result in a privileged caste.

The caste metaphor suggests the stratification, inbreeding, and self-perpetuation that occurs when elites control what appears to be selection by merit. Some authors contend that examinations and related devices are particularly insidious means of elite dominance because examinations cause the illusion of objectivity and do permit a few people of non-elite background to rise. Indeed, in some circles it has become tautologous that merit systems are simply another tool of the elite. As one author put it, "Educational systems are a key instrument in ensuring the reproduction of the prevailing social structure and must necessarily adopt a social definition of talent or achievement that favours the maintenance of power and prestige of the privileged group." And so 'meritocracy', like 'elitism', becomes a dirty word.

What can be done about this sad scenario of pernicious elitism and the breakdown of meritocracies? On such practical matters the usual literature on elites in developing countries is silent or vague. It may be suggested that it would be nice if elites were not needed or if everyone could have elite status or if human relations were transformed so that one person's greater authority or expertise or wealth did not negatively affect other people. Lamentably, we have few examples of these nice things happening. Simply calling for 'structural changes' rings hollow. So far, neither the ejection of the colonialists nor the erection of revolutionary orders appears to have obviated the need for elites or eradicated elitism.

**Source:** Klitgaard, R. (1986) *Elitism and Meritocracy in Developing Countries: Selection Policies for Higher Education*, pages 1–2. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Elitism in African Education Systems**  
**Two Statements of the Problem**  
**from**  
**Pro Mundi Vitae**

**The Education System Trains an Elite**

Much has been said about foreign domination, There can be no dispute about this. But what we want to discuss here is internal domination and only one aspect of this: domination through the education system. Some Africans take advantage of their political, socio-economic and socio-cultural status to improve their own position and to ensure that of their children. They do so through the education system....

Contrary to all the fine words and despite the dedication of the teachers, the education system as it functions today trains an elite which has little concern for collective interest, which guards its privileges jealously, and which is determined to make use of the education system to safeguard its own advantages....

Further, we must understand that educational reforms and innovations are decided upon and put into practice in terms of the power relationships which exist among different groups. So far, the national and international middle-classes have succeeded in imposing a high level of selectivity and, as a result, an elitist character on all education systems in Africa. Among the means used are: a large number of drop-outs; bottlenecks between one school cycle and another; international recognition of secondary school and university studies; teaching in French, or English, or Portuguese.

**Source:** *Pro Mundi Vita*, 1987, *The Education System and Change in Africa*, pages 3, 7, 14–15.

**Education as an Instrument for Class Domination**

One of the most dramatic problems, in our opinion, is the fact that the type of education system introduced under colonial rule and maintained after independence can only lead to the creation of an 'elite' which is culturally extra-centric, which is isolated from the working classes, which is only interested in the democratization of public life and development to the extent that these serve their own interests. The former colonial powers actively sought to create such a category for it enabled them to hand over power without undertaking any in-depth re-organization of the economic structures. The major danger facing the African neo-bourgeoisies is that they in turn become colonizers. They are in danger of impregnating the education system with their ideologies and their values to such an extent that in their hands it becomes the supremely effective instrument of domination, by means of which each person will be called upon to accept the ruling classes' vision of the individual: everyone fitting into the place assigned to him.

**Source:** Emy, P., 1982, *Ecoles d'Eglise en Afrique Noire*, in *Pro Mundi Vita*, 1987, *The Education System and Change in Africa*, page 3.

*Fifth Reading*  
**The Crisis of Linear Strategy, Imbalance and Maladjustment**  
by  
**P. H. Coombs**

The strategy of linear expansion which most of the world's educational systems have been pursuing for more than a decade has now run its course and ended in crisis. A radical revision of that strategy is therefore urgently required.

**The Actual Problems**

The main thrust of the simple expansionist strategy which rich and poor nations alike have followed in recent years has been to enlarge the existing educational establishment as rapidly as possible, with little change in its structure, logistics, content and methods. The cardinal aim has been to boost the number and percentage of young people attending educational institutions at every level. Consistent with this aim, the principal measuring rods of progress have been the statistics of enrollments and 'participation rates', and of over-all educational expenditures.

Judged by these measures and against the entire record of history this strategy has made dramatic progress. In less than one generation student enrollments in the world at large have more than doubled. So have educational expenditures in most countries. This is by any standard a remarkable record of accomplishment. Never before have people and governments the world over demonstrated such solid faith in education as a key to individual and national advancement. And never before have the human resources and productive potential of nations been so broadly enriched through education.

It is tempting to conclude from all this that educational development is now 'over the hump' and can make further progress with greater ease from here on. But unfortunately quite the opposite is the case. The truth is that educational systems virtually everywhere now find themselves besieged by a serious crisis whose end is nowhere in sight.

This crisis varies in form and intensity from nation to nation according to differences in local circumstances. Yet its main lines of force and basic features are similar for all. Essentially it is a crisis of maladjustment—of disparities taking many forms—between educational systems and their social-economic environments.

**The Gap between Educational Demand and Supply**

Despite their rapid expansion, educational systems have been unable to keep pace with the rising popular demand; thus, a gap between demand and supply has persisted and in many cases widened. One reason for this is that educational demand is self-generating—the more it is satisfied the faster it grows, irrespective of the economy's ability to support it. A large increase in primary school enrollments soon translates into an expanded demand for admission to secondary schools, then later to the universities. A large educational expansion in one generation compounds the educational demand in the next generation.

A further reason for the growing demand, especially in developing countries, has been the extraordinary growth of the youth population. Because of this, schools must simply run fast to stand still, relative to the total number of children. Urban schools have to run even faster to keep

up with the migration of families from rural areas. Participation rates cannot rise until after this population growth is offset.

Caught between rising demand and limited resources, educational systems have tried to escape by spreading their resources thinner and thinner over more and more students. The unhappy results—concealed beneath the smiling mask of rising enrollment statistics—have been tragically high drop-out and repeater rates and a widespread erosion of educational quality. One must discount, therefore, the picture of progress presented by the statistical indicators mentioned earlier.

### **The Gap between Resources and Requirements**

There is no reason to expect either the dynamic gap between educational demand and supply or its unfortunate impact on educational quality and effectiveness to diminish in the coming decade. On the contrary, the situation threatens to grow worse, thanks to a growing economic squeeze which all educational systems face. This squeeze results from an inevitable slow-down in the growth of education's financial resources on the one hand and from an inexorable rise in its unit costs on the other.

Over the past ten to fifteen years educational expenditures have been growing at least twice as rapidly as the national economy and the over-all public budget from which the support of education must come. Unfortunately this disparity in growth rates cannot be kept up, for simple reasons of arithmetic. In view of other pressing national needs—such as housing and health, agriculture and industry, and in many cases, unhappily, rising police and military costs—education simply cannot go on indefinitely getting an expanding share of the national economic pie.

The proof, if any is needed, is that in nation after nation the growth of educational budgets has already begun to slow down, and in some cases has levelled off completely. There are, of course, exceptional cases (as in Pakistan) where the upswing of educational expenditures was slow getting started and a substantial cushion thus still remains for future expansion. But for the majority of nations the era of rapidly expanding budgets is coming to an end; from now on education's financial growth will have to stay in line with economic growth.

This leads us to the other side of the economic squeeze—rising costs per student. The most conspicuous cause of rising educational costs, of course, is general inflation—from which education tends to suffer disproportionately due to the usual long time lags in adjusting teacher salaries and other educational factor costs to catch them up with competing fields. A more fundamental cause, however, even in the absence of inflation, is that education is a labour-intensive industry with a relatively static handicraft technology, in competition for highly qualified manpower with less labour-intensive enterprises whose technology is advancing and whose productivity and real wages are therefore rising. Sooner or later education is forced to match the rising wage rates of these competitors, even though its own productivity is not rising. This spells increased real costs per student, even if quality remains unchanged.

An educational system can postpone the day of reckoning, as many have done, by spreading its resources thinner—at the expense of quality. It can hold down costs per student by hiring more unqualified teachers; by filling classrooms to overflowing, and by purchasing fewer textbooks and other learning aids. But there are limits to these escape routes, and many nations have already reached them. Pressed downward far enough in quality and effectiveness, education stops being a potentially fruitful social investment and becomes a costly dis-investment.

There is no doubt that, despite what has been said, educational authorities must continue to search and press ingeniously for additional financial resources. But the important conclusion is this: the central issue that virtually all educational systems now face is how to get bigger and better educational results from the resources already available—how, in other words, to improve their efficiency and productivity.

### **Imbalances between Educational Outputs and Jobs**

The imbalance between demand and supply on the input side of educational systems is matched on the output side by imbalances of several sorts between the 'end products' of education and the manpower needs and absorbability of the economy.

As time goes on and specific manpower shortages are overcome a still larger problem looms, taking the form of an over-all 'surplus' of educated manpower relative to the total number of job openings of every sort. One finds this phenomenon, for example, in such developing countries as India, the United Arab Republic and the Philippines, where educational expansion began early and has gone far. Yet it would be absurd to regard these countries as being 'over-educated' in any real sense. They, like all other developing nations, have an urgent need to strengthen their human resources as a basis for more rapid economic growth and social development. But unfortunately, because of the structural rigidities and imperfections which characterize such economies, their theoretical manpower needs for growth far exceed what the employment market actually demands and can pay for.

The difficulties arising from imbalances between educational output and available jobs are on the whole less severe in more developed countries whose labour mobility and absorbability are greater. But even here the problem can be very troublesome, as it was in France, for example, in the spring of 1968. The 'events of May' in Paris were touched off by the anxieties of university students, especially those majoring in certain social sciences, who became aware that their numbers far exceeded the number of jobs likely to be available in their special fields in the near future.

All this is not to say that educational systems should be planned and expanded only with a view to matching national manpower requirements (even if such requirements could be foreseen with precision, which they cannot). But on the other hand, it is plain that an educational system that 'goes it alone', paying no attention to prospective manpower needs and job opportunities, is likely to find itself in increasingly serious trouble.

### **The Obsolescence and Irrelevance of Educational Content and Methods**

The imbalances we have thus far considered can be defined largely in quantitative terms—too much of one thing relative to another (e.g. too much educational demand vis-à-vis jobs available). But the maladjustments which characterize today's educational crisis are also qualitative in nature, particularly when it comes to the matter of what is being learned and how it is being taught. In this matter particularly, the inherent inertia of educational systems has contributed greatly to the crisis.

A frustrated educational reformer once quipped that it is harder to move a curriculum than a graveyard. This may or may not be an exaggeration, but in all events it is clearly the case that during the past ten to twenty years, in the vast majority of the world's schools and universities, the content of the curriculum and the methods for conveying it to learners have lagged woefully behind the rapidly advancing frontiers of knowledge and the changing nature of real educational needs. This brings us back to the strategy of linear expansion. Educational systems have grown

enormously, but they have ended up looking very much like their former selves, only larger (and often poorer). They have simply not adapted their internal affairs to the rapidly challenging world all round them.

The result is that much of what is now being taught is obsolete in terms of what today's students will require to live effectively well into the 21st century. Moreover, in many situations, what is being taught is irrelevant as well, viewed in the cultural, social and economic context of the particular nations and students concerned.

The teaching methods and educational logistics—in short, the 'educational technology'—which were originally designed to serve a relatively small and homogeneous group of 'elite' students (and which worked quite well for the purpose) have been largely carried over and applied to a much larger and far more heterogeneous student clientele. It simply does not fit. The standardized curriculum with its 'uniform standards', enforced by the revered 'examination system'; the chronological academic lock-step, which expects everyone to move at the same pace; the 'normal' class size and pupil-teacher ratio—these and all the rest of the educational paraphernalia of an earlier and different era are cracking and crumbling badly under the stress of having to serve a very different kind of student body. What is needed, quite obviously, is a much more flexible and diversified set of pedagogical arrangements that can accommodate students having a much wider range of family and cultural origins, academic intelligence and motivation, and career aspirations and prospects. But pedagogically, running a mass educational system effectively is many times harder than running an elitist system well. And unfortunately, the ways of doing it are not yet clear, thanks to the poverty, triviality and irrelevance of most educational research.

#### **Imbalances between Formal and Non-Formal Education**

The final problem of maladjustment to be mentioned here involves the relationships and the allocations of resources between the formal educational system and that motley assortment of out-of-school training and educational activities which may be called non-formal education. Most observers agree that non-formal education has an extremely vital role to play, whether in continuing the education of already 'educated' persons, especially in developed countries, or in bringing literacy and useful skills to masses of people in developing nations who were deprived of formal schooling. Most would also agree, however, that non-formal education has thus far been seriously short-changed and underdeveloped.

**Source:** Coombs, P. H. (1975) *The Crisis of Linear Strategy, Imbalance and Maladjustment*. In *Education on the Move*, pages 33–37. Paris: UNESCO

*Sixth Reading*  
**Educational Innovations in Africa**  
**from**  
**Pro Mundi Vita**

The education system (of a typical African country) constitutes the more or less obligatory path for entry to the modern labour market and posts of authority in the State, the administration, religious and cultural associations, and business. It is like a river which taps the aspirations of all

Africans to material well-being and social position; its waters, in principle, are open to everyone (democratization); but the vast majority of those who set sail do not go far and find themselves aground on the banks, like refuse (school dropouts). Many other people never even leave the bank (illiteracy and a low percentage of school attendance). It is in this situation that educational innovations have their foundation.

### **Guidelines for Educational Innovations**

Experiments in educational innovation abound in the countries of Africa. They are dictated by an awareness of a two-fold incapacity: the incapacity of the education system inherited from the colonial era to respond to the needs of the rural areas, and the incapacity of the modern economy to provide jobs for all those who have gone to school.

### **First Solution: Ruralization of Schools**

The large number of children coming out of primary school, either because of failure or at the end of their course, first attracted attention. Something had to be done about them and they had to be given appropriate training. Since the majority of these children were the sons and daughters of farmers, the first solution which came to mind was not only to set up post-primary schools of the crafts and vocational types but above all to transform the primary school in terms of rural life. Thus the *principle of ruralization* came into being. For a number of reasons, however, the educational system resisted and engulfed these innovations. Unable to introduce rural life into the school, efforts were made to introduce the school into rural life after having got rid of those aspects which were incompatible with it.

### **Second Solution: Diversification of Curriculum**

The economy did not continue to develop, indeed on the contrary; so the administration and all the state apparatus absorbed more people with diplomas (or secondary school leaving certificates) than it needed and thus became saturated. But the education system continued to produce cadres and employees for the tertiary sector (i.e. the services sector). An increasing number of these people with diplomas (= School Certificate & above) became unemployed. Moreover, those who had only received a general education lacked technical skills. The situation gave rise to the second principle of educational renewal: *professional training* (through the diversification of the secondary school curriculum, among other ways). Following its natural tendency, the educational system re-instituted vocational and technical branches but without success, for few young people followed them. The means of implementing such an operation still had to be found because the financial aspects were beyond the means of the national budgets. Once again, the education system resisted triumphantly. But a solution was found: rather than the State professionalizing public education, it was the local communities and voluntary association which did so (as with Harambee Village Polytechnics in Kenya and many forms of non-formal education).

### **Education and the Economy**

There is something very striking in all this. At a time when the economy inherited from the colonial era is in jeopardy, the education system engendered by that economy continues to pour its unfinished products and its left-overs into a society which is no longer served by this economy in crisis. Instead of correcting this by economic means, efforts are made to do it by education. Of course, it was to be expected that the solutions put forward would satisfy neither the classic type of elitist education nor the dominant capitalist production system. The education system does not create jobs, but it does prepare for them; when the economy needs people with specific qualifications it generates the institutions needed to train them.

The basic mistake of the principles of ruralization and professional training lies in the confusion they create between the potential for transforming individuals through education and the possibility of transforming society through the economy. The confusion arises, in turn, from the ideology of development, which claims that education is the sole key to development. It camouflages the manifest powerlessness of economic policy behind all-powerful declarations of the promises of education policy no longer served by this economy in crisis. Instead of correcting this by economic means, efforts are made to do it by education, by employing a wealth of imagination.

### **Education at the Service of the National Middle-Classes**

But we must not throw out the baby with the bath water. Ruralization and professional training offer erroneous solutions to real problems: the problems posed by the education system and the economy. And there is more: the application of these solutions has brought about a better understanding of the problems and has clearly demonstrated that the African education system serves the national middle classes and that the people, understanding this role of the education system, are just not prepared to swallow anything.

Indeed, in every country there are schools of good repute. They form the model and norm for all education; it is the children of the cadres who attend them. The children of farmers and of workers find it difficult to enter because they often practice a very rigorous system of academic and social selection. There are also the private schools which follow the Belgian, French, English or American programmes. These are the schools to which the wealthy send their children (when they don't enroll them directly in a school in France or England). At the end of their studies these children will fill the prime positions in business, administration, the party machinery, and the government. The people, whose aspirations to material well-being and social positions are no different from those of the cadres, see all this and remain convinced that the only salvation lies in such schools. They reject any formula which diverges from the model of the (better quality) private school. Their refusal to cooperate in the new formulas for them (of ruralized or diversified schools) has disconcerted some and discouraged others, but this refusal is quite understandable and means that we cannot consider initiatives which fail to make fundamental changes in their living conditions as beneficial for the people. We must recognize that a great many, if not all, of the new formulas offer farmers and workers schools which, in the long run, will continue to maintain them in their misery, in a society which dominates them and an economy which exploits them.

### **Evaluation**

Educational innovations have resulted in unstinting and exciting experiments. The multiplication of such experiments testifies to the importance given to educational problems. Their diversity witnesses to the amount of creativity expended to find suitable solutions. Without seeking to minimize their merits, we must nevertheless attempt to understand the bearing and the limitation of such experiments in order to improve them as much as possible using the means available.

In this perspective, we should note that these experiments are being carried out in countries in which agriculture has deteriorated to such an extent that they are no longer self-sufficient in food production. In these same countries, the level of income of the people makes any significant development in local crafts, be they traditional or modern, impossible; craftsmen can neither make a living from their trade nor can they transform it. Children who are rejected by the educational system or who are unable to enter it are asked to follow courses which train them to work in these sectors. What sense can there be in this?

On the other hand, the classic education system continues to benefit from a high level of support. Professional hierarchization and social stratification conform to the level of qualifications. The level of salary depends on the number of years spent in the traditional educational system. In this context, the innovations inspired by ruralization and professional training (= diversification of the secondary school curriculum) serve to maintain, when they do not increase, the gap between the social groups through different types of education. Here we see a first attempt to create an education system in terms of social classes by assigning different social groups to certain well-defined branches.

**Source:** Pro Mundi Vita (1987) *The Education System and Change in Africa*, pages 27, 32–34. Brussels: Pro Mundi Vita.

## Chapter 15

### The Need for Educational Change in Zambia

*Need for Overall Re-Orientaion:* Much quantitative expansion in 1960s but overall structure, curriculum, & organization remained much as in colonial era. Piecemeal attention to certain areas and components (e.g. language policy, the structure of secondary education, the content of secondary education), but no attention to whole spectrum of education for children, youths, adults as an integrated system. Partial attempt to address this at 1969 National Education Conference—considered quality, relevance, rising costs, general aims of education, etc.; but did not consider education as a whole or seek to give the whole system a new orientation.

*Growing Social Concerns:* Increasing unemployment; growing problem of primary school leavers—no jobs for them in urban areas, few training facilities, inadequately prepared for life in rural areas. Rural-urban inequalities becoming more marked; real rural incomes falling; shortage of supplies in rural areas; poor medical, educational, transport & social services for rural poor. Poverty getting worse instead of better, mostly in rural areas, but also a growing phenomenon in towns. Doubts as to relevance of education in this scenario; but the same scenario induced rural poor (a) to want more education, (b) to want more of the academic type of education which might lead their children out of rural poverty & neglect.

*Misgivings with Education System:* Too academic/bookish. White collar orientation. Almost no community involvement. Responding to reward system of society and thereby encouraging individualism & social stratification. Dominated by examinations. Not sufficiently oriented towards real education (solid learning achievement; worthwhile personal knowledge, understanding; acquisition of life-skills, desirable attitudes and habits, sound values, appreciation and love for one's own culture). Alienating from local culture & rural areas. Performance of children in basic language, number & science areas poor. Selection for next educational level based on paper qualifications without regard for character or community contribution. Promoting selfish elitism.

*Burning Educational Questions:* How to provide mass education (resources, alternatives, types, levels) without encouraging the 'diploma disease'? How to equalize educational opportunities, especially access? How to promote community participation & involvement? How to foster educational self-reliance? What balance to strike between modernization and promotion of traditional values? Is it possible to develop a system based on cooperation instead of competition?

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- Draisma, T. (1987) *The Struggle against Underdevelopment in Zambia since Independence: What Role for Education?* Amsterdam: Free University Press.
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## Readings

The *first reading* is an extract from the official summary record of discussions at a Briefing Seminar held at the Ministry of Education in Lusaka in April 1975, prior to the departure of four Study Tour Groups. As part of the educational reform movement of the time, these groups were assigned to study educational reforms and innovations in East Africa, West Africa, the Caribbean, and the People's Republic of China. The reports from these groups formed an important input into the ongoing process of educational reform. How many of the points made at the 1975 Briefing Seminar would still apply today?

Although the *second reading* refers to Tanzania, the four problems identified by President Nyerere were also being experienced in Zambia and contributed to the desire to reform the Zambian education system.

The *third reading* shows why, throughout the developing world, there was need for new programmes and new approaches in education. Note the strong statement contained in the quotation from Harbison & Myers, that primary education should be given a lower priority than secondary. This is quite contrary to the best educational thinking today.

In the *fourth reading*, Dumont highlights the inequalities between urban and rural areas in Zambia in the 1970s. In a second excerpt he draws attention to the bias in favour of secondary education. You might wish to compare the situation Dumont describes with the way things are today: has there been improvement or deterioration, or are things still much the same?

### *First Reading*

## **Why Do We Need to Reform Zambian Education?**

by

**Ministry of Education Briefing Seminar**

### **Reports by Study Groups**

(For purposes of reporting, the seminar divided itself into four study groups). The following is a composite list of the principal points made by the four Study Groups in their reports:

#### *Points made by all four groups:*

1. The system encourages young people to seek white-collar employment to the exclusion of jobs requiring manual and technical skills.
2. The system of education responds to the reward system of society, thus encouraging individualism and social stratification based on educational attainment and income. By concentrating on individual achievement, the education system is unable to inculcate commitment to the development of the community and nation.
3. The curriculum is too bookish and theoretical, with too little attention to practical and useful skills. Most educational institutions are non-productive, including many of those where excellent facilities exist for productive work.

#### *Points made by three of the four groups:*

1. The present system does not involve the community in educating and training the youth. In fact, the community is divorced from the educational system which is regarded as a closed and alien world.

2. The system has relied too heavily on foreign cultural influence and has deprived itself to a great extent of Zambian cultural forms. Being largely imitative, the education system diminishes Zambian culture and has little sense of direction in trying to discover Zambian values. Cultural education is not often enough seen as a creative enterprise building on tradition.

*Points made by two of the four groups:*

1. The system is mainly geared to the passing of examinations and not enough life-long knowledge is achieved by pupils.
2. Education tends to alienate children from their own environment and community. Among rural communities this tendency encourages the influx into urban areas.
3. The pyramidal structure of the system results in large numbers of children being ejected from the system at Grade 4, Grade 7 and Form 3. All children should receive primary education up to Grade 7 and thereafter be channelled into various forms of skills training as well as secondary schools.
4. Adults are treated to academic learning rather than enabling them to improve occupational skills.
5. Education is too costly to Government while being virtually free in every respect to students. This has led to irresponsibility and lack of appreciation on the part of students, and less money for educational expansion. Free boarding and personal allowances should be abolished.
6. The system is too bureaucratic. Decision-making and authority must be radically decentralized. Local initiative and the spirit of self-reliance are strangled under the present administrative system.
7. Participatory decision-making and participation by teachers and pupils in responsibility are very poorly developed.

### **Discussion**

The discussion focused on four topics. Points were raised and answered, but no attempts were made to arrive at conclusions.

### *Colonially-Oriented Education*

It was suggested that we tend to indulge loosely in the use of phrases such as 'white-collar mentality', 'foreign control of education' and 'colonially-oriented education'. The meeting was challenged to be more specific. In response, it was proposed that colonial education was highly selective, it encouraged individualism, and did not involve the community in decision-making. We opposed all these characteristics: it was not merely a matter of changing the syllabus. The syllabuses are in fact Zambian-oriented, but do they meet the needs of Zambia? Our education must flow from and give form to the tenets of Humanism. At the same time, it was observed that the reformers of the education system are products of the system they want to change. We should be conscious of this paradox and try to understand its implications.

### *Political Decisions*

The reward system of society is beyond the influence of the Ministry of Education, yet much of what we criticize in our education is attributable to that system. Are we wasting our time? We may tinker with the syllabus and try to change attitudes by changing the education we provide, but our efforts will be in vain so long as wage differentials remain as extreme as they are and formal qualifications are so extravagantly rewarded. It was acknowledged that the economic structure and reward system could only be changed by bold political decisions. However, it was felt that our educational reform exercise should contribute to this political task. On the one hand

we must help the society to revolutionize its thinking about the alternative ways of making a living. On the other hand, we must seek to involve the political leadership in the educational reforms from the earliest opportunity, such as when the study-tour groups return. It was proposed that a special National Council meeting be held at the appropriate time to debate the proposals for Education for Development.

### *Education and Employment*

The suggestion was made that the more education that was provided at higher levels, the greater the surplus of well-educated young people, the more likely it would be that career aspirations would be depressed, and the sooner it would be appreciated that educated people could accept manual occupations. This was disputed, with the example of India in mind. It was suggested that we need revolutionary thinking about the foundations of education rather than more of the same. On the other hand, it was argued that we do not wish to dilute the present system of education. We need highly trained people. But our main concern is with the masses, and we therefore need a balanced education combining 'bookish' education with skills training. But, it was suggested, the capacity of the education system itself to promote employment creation must also be taken into account.

### *Free Education*

Free education needs critical examination. It is agreed that we should not re-introduce tuition fees, but we have added so many frills that our higher education students are among the most privileged in the world. We follow the maxim: "To those who have, more will be given." The philosophy of Humanism is being abused. We are killing the spirit of self-reliance. It was essential that we should look at the system of educational financing in other countries. We must save money in higher education in order to give more opportunities to those who do not have them. It was suggested that the introduction of fees would require the application of a means test if genuine cases of hardship were to be accommodated. But means tests were notoriously difficult to implement. In response, it was observed that if fees were afforded in times past, how much more possible was it for fees to be paid now? Finally, it was proposed that the groups should be aware of concealed educational payments and should ask the question, "How free is free education?" We must beware of contradictions in our educational system, where alternative policies can be defended in terms of Humanism.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1975) Educational Reforms Study Tours: Report of Briefing Seminar, 29th–30th April 1975. Ministry of Education, mimeo.

*Second Reading*  
**A Critique of the Inherited Education System**  
by  
**Julius Nyerere**

### **An Elite Education**

First, the most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically an elitist education designed to meet the needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system.

Although only about 13% of our primary school children will get a place in a secondary school, the bias of our primary school education is the preparation of pupils for secondary schools. Thus 87% of the children who finished primary school last year—and a similar proportion of those who will finish this year—do so with a sense of failure, of a legitimate aspiration having been denied them. Indeed we all speak in these terms, by referring to them as those who failed to enter secondary schools, instead of simply as those who have finished their primary education. On the other hand, the 13% have a feeling of having deserved a prize—and the prize they and their parents now expect is high wages, comfortable employment in towns, and personal status in the society. The same process operates again at the next highest level, when entrance to the university is the question at issue.

In other words the education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority in the majority, and thus cannot produce the egalitarian society we should build, nor the attitudes of mind that are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces the growth of a class structure in our country.

### **An Alienating Education**

Equally important is the second point; that fact that Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. This is particularly true of secondary schools, which are inevitably almost entirely boarding schools; but to some extent, and despite recent modifications in the curriculum, it is true of primary schools too. We take children from their parents at the age of seven and for more than seven hours a day we teach them certain basic academic skills. In recent years we have tried to relate these skills, at least in theory, to the life which the children see round them. But the school is always separate; it is not part of the society. It is a place children go to and which they and their parents hope will make it unnecessary for them to become farmers and continue living in villages.

### **A Bookish and Qualifications-Oriented Education**

The third point is that our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile comes from books or from 'educated people'—meaning those who have been through a formal education. The knowledge and wisdom of other older people is despised, and they themselves are regarded as being ignorant and of no account. Indeed it is not only the education system which at present has this effect. Government and Party themselves tend to judge people according to whether they have passed school certificate, have a degree, etc. If a man has these qualifications we assume he can fill a post; we do not wait to find out about his attitudes, his character, or any other ability except the ability to pass examinations. If a man does not have these qualifications we assume he cannot do a job; we ignore his knowledge and experience. For example, I recently visited a very good tobacco producing peasant. But if I tried to take him into Government as a Tobacco Extension Officer, I would run up against the system because he has no formal education. Everything we do stresses book learning, and underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all.

### **Non-Productivity of Students**

Finally, and in some ways most importantly, our young and poor nation is taking out of productive work some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women. Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume

the output of the older and often weaker people. There are almost 25,000 students in secondary schools now; they do not learn as they work, they simply learn. What is more, they take it for granted that this should be so. Whereas in a wealthy country like the United States of America it is common for young people to work their way through high school and college, in Tanzania the structure of our education makes it impossible for them to do so. Even during the holidays we assume that these young men and women should be protected from rough work; neither they nor the community expect them to spend their time on hard physical labour or on jobs which are uncomfortable and unpleasant. This is not simply a reflection of the fact that there are many people looking for unskilled paid employment—pay is not the question at issue. It is a reflection of the attitude we have all adopted.

**Source:** Nyerere, J. (1967) *Education for Self-Reliance*, pages 9–13. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.

*Fourth Reading*  
**The Need for Alternatives in Education**  
**from**  
**Harvard Educational Review**

Ideas about the rôle of education in national development have changed greatly during the last thirty years. Before the mid-twentieth century, westerners thought education had little to offer the underdeveloped world, especially the colonized regions of Africa and South Asia. They saw little prospect for modernization because underdevelopment was attributed to immutable factors like climate and race. Colonial education was directed towards preparing a small indigenous elite to become clerks and junior civil servants in local bureaucracies.

After the Second World War and the successful drive for political independence throughout much of African and Asia, interest in development intensified. While the term development encompassed such social and political goals as improved standards of living and greater social justice, most efforts focused on aggregate economic development. During the Development Decade of the 1960s, the United Nations adopted as its primary goal the achievement of “a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5% in all, or at the very least, the great majority of the underdeveloped countries by 1970.”

Policies which stressed rapid economic growth tended to ignore rural areas and led to disproportionate investment in the small urban sectors of developing countries. The rationale behind such policies was that the richer modernizing sectors would gradually pull the rest of the economy into the development process. Increases in wealth in the modern sector, so the argument went, would trickle down to rural sectors. Not surprisingly, this strategy maintained the rigid unequal class systems so prevalent in most developing nations.

Planners expected education to meet manpower needs for civil servants, middle-level professionals and technicians in an expanding urban economy. In their 1964 book, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth*, Harbison and Myers explicitly prescribed that “primary schooling should be given a lower priority than secondary and higher education.” While massive investment in formal schooling resulted in increased enrollment at all levels, there was a

disproportionate emphasis on the costlier higher levels. The World Bank estimated that in the five year period, 1960–1965, school enrollments in developing countries increased 42% at the primary level, 80% at the secondary level, and 93% at the level of higher education (primarily university).

Demand for education continued to increase despite evidence that schooling had not provided the impetus to development that economists predicted. Most likely it fostered even more inequality. Hundreds of thousands of youths in developing nations, particularly India, comprise a growing class of educated unemployed. Problems of the countryside have been exacerbated as rural young people complete primary school and migrate to the cities in search of jobs which do not exist. In such cases, the only returns to education are frustration and alienation.

The results of the Development Decade fell far short of expectations and by the early 1970s thinking about the development process and the relationship of education to development began to change. Though many Third World nations achieved the 5% growth in income, the benefits of this growth had not trickled down to the masses of rural and urban poor.

The persistence of poverty in the face of substantial economic investment led to a more comprehensive approach to development. Mainstream Western planners now recognize the importance of implementing development strategies that directly address inequality, poverty and unemployment. These factors not only concern the aggregate level of economic welfare, but also its distribution, and have long been incorporated into the development strategies of socialist countries such as China.

This concept of development implies the need for new programmes and approaches in education. In Africa and Asia particularly, schools have often been too shackled to colonial traditions to respond constructively to the exigencies of national development. Because of the disparity of resources between urban and rural sectors, education should provide the motivation and skills necessary for rural people to lead productive lives. There is a need for systematic experimentation with alternatives to the formal school system. Curricula must be developed to promote consciousness of national political issues and pride in national cultures and traditions.

*Source: Harvard Educational Review, Editorial Introduction, Vol. 45, No. 2, May 1975, pages 157–159.*

*Fourth Reading*  
**Rural-Urban Inequalities**  
by  
**Rene Dumont**

**I: Urban Rich and Rural Poor**

It would be unrealistic to refuse to admit that there is a very big gap between urban and rural Zambia. They are so far apart that it seems difficult for Lusaka or Copperbelt people even to imagine what is going on in the rural areas. Part of the population believe they are living as if in the USA, while others are forced to live near the stone age. Wherever we have been we have been told: "Please explain to Lusaka what our life is like." If the urban privileged minority ignores the

gap, the peasants certainly do not. If we asked their opinion about the go-back-to-the-land policy, they just laughed:

The leaders who talk about it are the first ones to get their families out. They know. A wise old chief told us: "I have never seen anybody coming back, except thieves who come here to rob old people. But every day I see people rushing away."

The truth is that rural life is not attractive and what is more, is not improving at all, while everything that is done seems to be done for the towns. Rural life has become a thing of the past—and why should people accept it when they are conscious of the huge gap? According to a World Bank study, the average income in the mining sector is fifteen times more than that in the subsistence sector. In towns, urban poor included, it is more than four times that of rural people (and this difference does not take into account all the disparities in social services and supply facilities).

We could underline these differences by the following comparison between the top category in towns and the average villager.

<b>Urban Rich</b> <i>Lusaka, Ndola, Kitwe</i>	<b>Rural Poor</b> <i>North-Western, Northern, Luapula</i>
1. Income increased by 50% or more since 1964	1. One bag of maize = three shirts in 1964 = less than one shirt in 1979.
2. Supermarket, luxury commodities cosmetics. Clearstone.	2. No shops, no salt, no soap except at black market prices.
3. Less than one child in twenty dies before five years.	3. More than eight children out of twenty die before five years.
4. Big hospitals, costly curative medicine.	4. Few, poor, rural health centres; no preventive medicine, no drugs.
5. Two eggs + meat + chicken every day; overfed; obesity.	5. Child malnutrition widespread; physical and mental development jeopardized.
6. Private schools, secondary schools, University for law and literacy; few science and less agronomists.	6. Poor primary schools; bad teachers; no exercise books, no pens; no practical skills taught.
7. Low density areas, wide streets, lawns, parks, air conditioning, swimming pools, golf.	7. No water supply, no feeder roads, no storage for rural depots.
8. All amenities of life.	8. No basic needs.
9. Loans to buy private cars.	9. No spare parts for bicycles.
10. Town planning for rich country.	10. No help to improve rural housing.
11. Mercedes-Benzes around expensive churches.	11. No lorries, no buses, no scooters for District Agricultural Officers.
12. K65 = female shoes, 5" high-heels.	12. Barefoot = hookworm disease
13. Whisky, wine, beer.	13. Chibuku.
14. Tie and jacket.	14. Rags and tatters.
15. Urban privileged minority with all political & economic power.	15. No peasants' union; no power at all; no dialogue with authorities.
16. Westernization = de-Africanization.	16. No more "African values". Growing rural poverty.

In such circumstances, who would want to go back to the land? Even if for most people the first column will always be the 'impossible dream', still it will remain a pole of attraction.

## **II: Rural Schools in Zambia**

We must make a clear distinction between the policy, the principles and the reality. Too many people hide behind the policy of the educational reforms, refusing to see the reality. Indeed there is no official discrimination against rural schools. Nowhere is it said that primary education must lead to secondary; that the worst teachers will go to remote areas; that the teaching in rural areas is to be of poor quality; that secondary schools must get priority over primary ones. But the rural life is despised to such an extent, the idea of development is such, and the pressure of privileged people is such, that this is really what is happening. In the minds of most people, education means to learn English, to be able to handle paper work and to get some bureaucratic job. It is symptomatic that in spite of all recommendations from UNESCO and other agencies the teaching in primary schools is supposed to be in English from the first year.

Already, at the very beginning, the child is divorced from his environment! The only hope he has is to get to Form V and to towns. If not, he will be a 'failure', because there is no alternative.

### **Secondary First**

The whole pattern of education in Zambia is still a copy of the western model. It is difficult to get away from it, but Zambia does not seem to have made any particular effort to break away. Most people blame the financial situation, but this has not always been so serious, and in the Third National Development Plan we read: "The planned goal of consolidating the physical plan of the primary school system was far from being achieved," whereas a little further we read: "The major part of the planned secondary school expansion programme has been completed."

The ZNUT proposes even "that all school-going pupils should pay K10 or K15 annually. This money would be spent on building not less than five secondary schools each year." They are asking the poor parents of primary school pupils to pay for secondary schools, where the big majority of children will have no opportunity whatsoever of being admitted. In the Northern Province fourteen secondary schools receive three times more money than 500 primary schools. It might be objected that these are boarding schools. But after all, why should some schools receive all facilities, including sometimes stadium and swimming pool, while others don't have even any books or pencils?

**Source:** Dumont, R. (1979) *Towards Another Development in Rural Zambia*, pages 29–30, 49. Lusaka: Government Printer.

## Chapter 16

### Educational Reforms and Innovations in Zambia, 1964–1997

1964	Abolition of racially segregated schools.
1966	Education Act. Opening of University of Zambia.
1968	Minister's Speech to Parliament announcing restructuring of secondary schools, diversification of curriculum, and use of English as medium of instruction.
1969	First National Education Conference.
1974	Decision to reform education system from perspective that education is a necessary condition for national development.
1974–75	Preparatory work on educational reforms.
1975	Decision that all educational institutions would be production units.
1976	Draft Statement on Educational Reform ( <i>Education for Development</i> ). National Debate.
1977	Revised reform document prepared on basis of feedback from National Debate.
1978	Publication of <i>Educational Reform: Proposals and Recommendations</i> .
1979–83	<i>Third National Development Plan</i> (1979–83) provides for implementation of some reform proposals.
1982	First basic school (Grades 1–9) opened.
1984–85	Work at UNZA by ERIP team (Educational Reform Implementation Project).
1985	Re-introduction of boarding fees in secondary schools.
1986	Submission of ERIP report, <i>The Provision of Education for All</i> .
1987	Report of a Working Group. Zambia breaks with IMF/World Bank; policy of <i>Growth from Own Resources</i> .
1989–93	<i>Fourth National Development Plan</i> (1989–93) provides for implementation of 1977 Educational Reforms.
1989	MOE prepares for participation in World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA). Preparatory documents reveal critical nature of educational provision. <i>Policy Framework Paper</i> (PFP) identifies primary education as top priority.
1990	Zambia participates in the WCEFA at Jomtien, Thailand, and subsequently establishes its own Education For All (EFA) Task Force.
1991	Zambia's National EFA Conference: <i>Zambia Statement on Education For All</i> . Preparation of Report on Investment Strategies for Education. Ministerial statements of strong support for partnership in educational provision by voluntary agencies and private sector.
1992	Adoption of <i>Focus on Learning</i> (Report on Investment Strategies in Education) as new official national education policy, replacing <i>Educational Reforms</i> (1977).
1993	Commencement of Zambia Education Rehabilitation Project (ZERP). Formal establishment of grant-aided institutions as Board of Management bodies.
1993–95	Moves towards comprehensive education policy statement and decentralization.
1995	National Symposium to consider National Education Policy and Education of Girl Child. Decentralization in Copperbelt (on pilot basis).
1996	Approval of <i>Educating Our Future</i> as comprehensive education policy statement.
1997	Adoption of Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Programme, BESSIP, as Government's national programme for basic education.

## References

### **Official Ministry of Education Documents Related to the Educational Reforms**

#### ***Special Investigation Reports (1975)***

1. Adult Education
2. Decentralization of Primary Schools to Local Authorities
3. Development of Curricula and Teaching Materials
4. Distance Teaching
5. Evaluation and Guidance
6. Examinations
7. Goals and Objectives of Primary Schools and Primary Teacher Training
8. Localization of the School Certificate
9. Organization and Management of the Education System
10. Political Education
11. Pre-School Education
12. Private Schools
13. Production Units
14. Special Education
15. Statistical Profile of Zambian Education
16. Supervision and Administration
17. Teacher Education

#### ***Study Tour Reports (1975)***

1. Guyana, Jamaica, Cuba
2. Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana
3. Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone
4. People's Republic of China

#### ***Draft Statement (1976)***

*Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform*

#### ***Evaluation Reports (1976)***

Summary of Contributions to the National Debate on Educational Reforms (3 vols.)

#### ***Background Statement (1977)***

Background to the Educational Reforms (*ZANGO*, No. 2, April 1977)

#### ***Definitive Statement (1977)***

*Educational Reform: Proposals and Recommendations*

## Reading

The only reading proposed for this topic is the background statement to the 1974–1977 educational reforms, prepared by the Ministry of Education. The statement gives detailed information on developments that led to the initiation of the exercise and on the progress of activities up to March 1977 when work was still under way in formulating Zambia's definitive educational reform position.

## **The Background to the Educational Reform**

by  
**Ministry of Education**

Zambia's education system, like its counterparts in other developing countries, has undergone rapid changes and growth since Independence in 1964. Educational reform is therefore not a new thing in Zambia. What is new about the present exercise, however, are its objectives, its scope and the manner in which it is being conducted.

### **Objectives, Scope and Conduct of the Reforms Exercise**

The objectives of the reform exercise are to subject the present educational system to critical examination, and to propose a long-range but workable set of policies which will enable education to make its most effective contribution to the building of a humanist society in Zambia.

The scope of the exercise is comprehensive. It is not limited to the present statutory functions of the Ministry of Education, still less to the school system as such. Instead, the intention is to view all organized educational activity for children, youths and adults as an integrated system, and to suggest what the nation's priorities should be in improving that system, particularly those of its components which are susceptible to change or influence by the state.

The manner in which the exercise is being conducted differs from previous policy-making in education. This time a deliberate effort has been made to achieve a collaborative and participatory process involving the people as a whole, in the belief that the nation's education is not the property of the Ministry of Education alone, nor even of the Government as a whole, but rightfully belongs to all the people. In keeping with our state constitution, the reform exercise (being a major undertaking in the field of national development) has been conducted throughout with the advice and consent of the Party (UNIP). The Central Committee of the Party will make the final decisions on the proposals for educational reform.

### **First National Education Conference**

The nearest previous approach to the present exercise was the First National Education Conference in 1969. This large, representative gathering met for several days of deliberations at a time when the effects of post-independence changes in educational structure, and the consequences of the first phase of massive quantitative growth, were causing some misgivings among educationists and the public at large. There was a felt need for stock-taking, for the establishment of new goals and a new orientation for the education system.

The findings and recommendations of the Conference were helpful in clarifying the issues which needed to be tackled, and no doubt they influenced both the general approach of the Ministry of Education as well as specific decisions in a number of fields. It cannot be said, however, that the Conference resulted immediately in a dramatic overall shift in priorities. One reason may be that the initial phase of post-independence change and growth had not yet been fully completed, and was still taxing the professional and administrative resources of the Ministry to the full. To change course in such circumstances may have been beyond the Ministry's ability.

A deeper reason for the delay in formulating radical new policies was suggested by the Secretary-General of the Party:

Educational goals can only be convincingly formulated once the national political and economic line has been crystallized. Of necessity, education must be concerned with the type of society we are trying to create. Perhaps it is understandable that the transitional period we passed through, prior to the adoption, by the nation, of Humanism and One-Party Participatory Democracy, was not an easy or congenial environment in which to establish the guiding principles for a revolutionary education system.

The present exercise is intended to remedy that lack, in other words to interpret Humanism in the educational sphere, so that education may become "meaningful for the overall development of the human person in Zambia".

Before the formal commencement of the reform exercise, the Ministry had intentionally set about the task of reviewing the aims and objectives for each sector of the system, in the light of the national philosophy and the Party's goals. This was being done through the Ministry's various consultative bodies in which new proposals are initiated, in particular the Curriculum Council.

Ministry officials also participated vigorously in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on Education, which was appointed by the President in 1973, to help prepare the Party's statement, *UNIP Policies for the Next Decade, 1974-1984*. Although the Committee's report was not published, it has been used as a working document in the reform exercise. The chapter on education in the Party's manifesto, meanwhile, became the new point of reference for discussions of educational strategy.

What was needed was an organizational vehicle to draw the new thinking together, and to undertake the thorough investigation necessary to provide a firm basis for detailed policies. The Ministry considered and rejected the use of external experts from multilateral agencies, preferring to place its confidence in the collective experience and judgment of educationists and others within the country. However, it was recognized that our local resources would need to be supplemented by expert advice from outside the country, especially in the Third World.

The catalyst was provided in May 1974 by an Inter-African seminar on *Educational Alternatives for African Countries*, organized jointly by the University of Dar es Salaam and the Swedish Dag Hammarskjold Foundation. His Excellency the President accepted an invitation for Zambia to be represented and directed the Permanent Secretary for Education to lead a delegation to the seminar. The delegation found the discussions highly suggestive and recommended to the President that our education system should be re-thought systematically from the standpoint that education is a necessary condition for national development.

The Permanent Secretary reported that he had chosen the title 'Education for Development' for the reform exercise because he envisaged the reforms "not only as requisite for the socio-economic development of Zambia but also for the development of the whole man." This approach recalled President Kaunda's words in addressing the National Education Conference in 1969: "The type of education Zambia needs, like any other developing country, is 'Education for Development', it is education to meet the special needs of our people."

The President endorsed the proposal for a reform exercise, which had also received the strong backing of the Minister of Education. In June 1974, the Minister led Zambia's delegation to the Sixth Commonwealth Education Conference in Kingston, Jamaica, where the Zambians took the opportunity to inform themselves about similar movements for educational change in sister

Commonwealth countries. Between June and October, 1974, the Ministry worked out its preliminary views on the terms of reference for educational innovation, and the programme of activities which would culminate in the presentation to the Party of a new policy on Education for Development. In October, the Minister submitted his views on these matters to the President.

The schedule of activities adopted in October 1974 has been scrupulously executed. As the following chronology shows, it represents a process of widening consultation and review, leading first to the formulation of a draft statement on educational reforms, followed by a national debate on the new proposals, an evaluation of the public's comments, and the re-writing of the policy document.

### **Chronology of the Reforms Exercise**

#### *January 1975*

- Ministry of Education senior officials approved draft terms of reference for educational innovation. Steering Committee appointed to coordinate reform exercise.

#### *April 1975*

- Briefing Seminar for educational reforms study groups travelling abroad discusses the need for reform, revises terms of reference and approves topics for investigation (cf. First Reading, Chapter 15 above).

#### *June — December 1975*

- Study groups travel to four different groups of countries, and make their reports.
- Special investigations undertaken within Zambia and reports submitted (the names of countries visited and the list of reports prepared are given in the References above).
- Additional investigations undertaken in Britain and Western Europe (education of the handicapped), Tanzania (teacher education) and Malawi (localization of the School Certificate examination).

#### *December 1975 — January 1976*

- Nationally-representative Report-Back Seminar for Educational Reforms Study Groups Abroad analyses above reports and makes recommendations on reform.

#### *February — March 1976*

- 'Retreat Group' prepares "Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform".

#### *April 1976*

- Freedom House clears draft document for distribution to the public as a basis for national debate.
- Briefing seminar on national debate for provincial representatives.

#### *May — November 1976*

- National Debate on educational reform launched by His Excellency the President.
- National Debate spearheaded by Members of the Central Committee in the Provinces.
- Copies of draft document distributed throughout the country.
- Summaries of draft proposals published in the seven official Zambian languages.

- Mass media information campaign to stimulate public discussion.
- Seminars organized nation-wide.
- Individuals, educational institutions, associations, churches, trade unions and representative meetings send in written comments on draft proposals.

*December 1976 — January 1977*

- Evaluation Reports, summarizing the public's views, prepared in Ministry of Education.

*January — February 1977*

- Nationally-representative Evaluation Seminar on the National Debate discusses the public response and offers guidelines for revision of the draft document.

*February — March 1977*

- 'Retreat Group' reconvenes to re-write the reform proposals for submission to Party and Government.

**Conclusion**

The collaborative and participatory nature of the exercise may not need further comment. However, three additional observations should be made for the record.

Firstly, although the Ministry of Education has been primarily responsible for the conduct of the reform exercise, the proposals are not confined to the present statutory responsibilities of the Ministry. Other concerned Ministries and public agencies have, therefore, been consulted at various stages, mainly through participation in the Report-Back Seminar, the National Debate itself, and the Evaluation Seminar, as well as through direct discussion. Concerned Ministries will also have the opportunity to examine and comment on the final proposals before decisions are taken, according to normal Government procedure. The Ministry of Education acknowledges its debt to the Ministries concerned for the advice and assistance already rendered.

Secondly, members of the National Assembly have been kept informed of the intentions and progress of the reform exercise through speeches and special statements delivered in Parliament by successive Ministers of Education, and on two occasions Parliament has voted funds to enable the reform exercise to proceed. Likewise, the public has been informed through these parliamentary announcements as well as by ministerial press conferences, press statements and the National Debate itself.

Thirdly, from the beginning the exercise has been conducted under the auspices of the Party, whose encouragement and advice have been indispensable.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1977) "The background to the educational reform." *ZANGO*, No. 2, April 1977, pages 1-6.

## Chapter 17

### Educational Reform in Zambia, 1974–1977

*Process and Principles:* Two meanings to term 'educational reform' in 1974–77 context: (a) the process that took place; (b) the outcome of that process. Appreciation of (b) requires understanding of (a). Background well delineated in MOE's statement (previous topic). Fully local, Zambian process—local expertise, special reports, study visits abroad, extensive involvement of local educationists, popular participation through National Debate. Hence, locally inspired & executed attempt to re-align the education system to meet national and popular objectives, to guarantee greater equity of access, and to relate content to needs of a truly independent Zambian society. Two basic underlying principles: (i) integration of productive work with formal study; (ii) increased involvement of community in all that relates to education & schooling. Both principles also underlie much of traditional education.

*Salient Points of Draft Statement:* (a) Close integration of study and work — “Every student a worker, every worker a student.” Stress on production in schools; educational and economic value of production to be equally important. (b) Education for all, students and workers, young and old. Full-time and continuing education to be of equal value (for entry to next level, promotion in employment, etc.); flexible structure that would allow easy movement from world of work to world of study, and *vice versa*. (c) Set goal of ten years universal schooling, providing all with functional education and vocational competence; second stage to contain many different programmes (Forms 4–5, Teacher Training, Zambia Enrolled Nurse, Agricultural Assistants, etc.), all to be equivalent for purpose of entering Third Stage (Higher) education. (d) Three-year training for all teachers: 1st year on the job, 2nd institution-based, 3rd at work under supervision; “everyone who knows must teach”. (e) Examinations to be used for certification. Selection to next level to be based on examination outcomes *plus* school-based assessment *plus* record in productive work *plus* cumulative school record card *plus* demonstrated commitment to Humanism. (f) Resources to be mobilized through National Education Levy, more effective use of facilities (rotating intake), requisitioning little used buildings (cinemas, churches, halls) for use as schools, wholehearted committed activity of all education personnel (especially teachers).

*Public Reaction:* Welcomed proposals for quantitative expansion and qualitative improvements; but rejected large proportion of the specifics whereby these were to be brought about. See Coombe's analysis in Third Reading below: rejected on ideological grounds (too socialistic, treated human beings largely as economic entities), on pragmatic grounds (too costly, unmanageable, would lead to educational chaos), on professional grounds (would lower standards, asks too much of people—especially teachers, dangers of nepotism, schools are for learning and not for economic gain). Many academics, especially abroad, welcomed the proposals in the Draft Statement as ambitious, imaginative and revolutionary in the best sense, but many doubted their feasibility.

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### Readings

The *first reading* gives the first chapter from *Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform*. The extract examines the need for educational change in Zambia and then sets out the main principles on which the new national system of education for all will be built. Compare what the Ministry says with what is presented in the Fourth and Sixth Readings, Chapter 14 above, and notice the similarity between the simile of a train ejecting its passengers and the river which leaves so many grounded on its banks.

In the *second reading*, Daka gives some information on the nature of the written submissions in the National Debate, and reflects on some of the lessons to be drawn from it.

In the *third reading*, Coombe analyses the adverse public reaction to many of the proposals in the Draft Statement on Educational Reform.

### *First Reading* **Education for Development** by **Ministry of Education**

#### **The Need for Change**

The present education system has been likened to a train on a single track bound for one destination, but which ejects most of its passengers, without stopping, at several points along the route.

In other words, the system favours a small minority who are believed to be the most able academically, at the expense of the vast majority of others. By doing so, it promotes a spirit of selfish competition rather than cooperation. It breeds individualism, elitism and class consciousness, since material wealth and a comfortable life seem to be the goal at the end of the academic ordeal.

*These are the main criticisms which the society levels against our education system. They can be summed up as: rejection for the majority, rewards for the few.*

The society's criticisms are justified, but in making them society is criticizing itself. Zambian society gives respect, status, prestige and wealth to those who achieve the highest levels of education. Society permits wages and salaries to be more closely linked to educational qualifications than to the social value of the work performed. Society even tends to despise the school-leaver who has been turned away from further full-time education, and to blame him when he is unable to find wage employment. But society has not yet succeeded in creating a dynamic social structure and economic organization in rural and urban Zambia which would enable every school-leaver to be employed in socially constructive and productive work.

Even when educational reform has been embarked on, its goals will not be fully achieved until the socialist transformation of society has been accomplished. Before then the contradictions between our humanist socialist convictions on the one hand, and the actual injustices and disparities of wealth and status on the other, will stand in the way of educational reform. For example, the longer education continues to be a passport to individual affluence and influence for the few, the longer it will be before education can be the well-spring of development for the nation as a whole.

These contradictions are transitional. They are part of the process of revolutionary change from which our education system cannot stand aloof, as if waiting for the dust to settle before joining the victorious side. On the contrary, the education system, and all who work in it, are part of the vanguard of the humanist revolution and as such are already committed. We are direct agents of the Party in its task of eliminating poverty and exploitation in the society.

### **The Aim for National Education**

Education for Development must be a revolutionary system of education which is inseparable from the humanist revolution of society. The new national system of education will therefore have only one aim. The aim will be to foster the potential of each citizen to the full, for the creation of a humanist socialist society, and for selfless service to humanity. In pursuing this aim, the national education system must develop these qualities in every citizen:

1. commitment to the creation of a humanist socialist society under the leadership of the party and Government;
2. love and service towards our fellow-men, recognition of their rights and promotion of their well-being;
3. respect for the dignity of labour and dedication to hard work;
4. solidarity with fellow-workers and rejection of elitism;
5. patriotism and readiness to defend the security of the nation;
6. commitment to international solidarity based on national independence, equality and non-exploitation of man by man;
7. understanding of and pride in our national heritage;

8. appreciation for the national arts;
9. scientific understanding and technical competence;
10. critical understanding of the written and spoken word;
11. ability to generate ideas and to solve problems;
12. self-reliance and a collective approach to life;
13. commitment to combat ignorance and servitude;
14. determination to continue one's education.

### **Study and Work**

The combination of study and work is the main theme of Education for Development.

In humanist Zambia, every able-bodied citizen—youth and adult—is either a student or a worker. Everyone who is not a full-time student must be a worker, in the sense that everyone must make a productive contribution to the society. Humanism does not permit anyone to be a full-time dependent on others' charity, except for infants, the aged and the infirm.

In the present system, full-time students are also full-time dependents, since they are largely exempt from productive work so long as they are enrolled in a school or college. The fault of this system is two-fold. First, it encourages students to believe that they are entitled not to work because they are students, which is the same as saying that education is an escape from labour (except for the labour of learning). Second, it deprives the society of the energy and skill of hundreds of thousands of young people, which means a staggering loss of output every year.

In the present system also, a relatively small proportion of workers think it necessary to continue their education by part-time study. A majority are barred by illiteracy, others by lack of money or access to facilities for learning. Moreover, the society may not even expect workers to study.

In the new system of Education for Development, no student will be exempt from work, since work will be part of his studies. And no worker will be exempt from continuing to study, because society will insist that study is part of a worker's duty. The development of the nation requires that students should make an economic contribution even before they become workers, and that workers should continually improve their understanding and competence through study.

These are the main principles on which the new national education system for all will be built.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1976) *Education for Development. Draft Statement on Educational Reform*, pages 1–2. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

### *Second Reading*

## **Participatory Educational Reform: The Zambian Experience**

by

**P. J. Daka**

The National Educational Reform Steering Committee received a total of 1,412 written submissions. These could be grouped roughly into five categories as follows:

1. received from individual Members of the Central Committee	3
2. received from individual Members of Parliament	4
3. received from religious groups	41
4. received from other groups and institutions	228
5. received from individuals	<u>1,136</u>
	1,412

It can be seen, therefore, that about 81% of the written submissions came from individuals. The individuals included nationals and non-nationals; Zambians abroad and those within the country; parents, teachers, students and businessmen. The rest, constituting about 19%, came from public institutions and pressure groups. The term 'pressure group' is used here to mean groups that 'represent special interests seeking some preferential treatment from Government for their members.'

These pressure groups could further be put into three categories. First were those which existed even before the reform exercise, primarily for educational purposes, or those closely aligned to education. Parents and Teachers Associations, Regional Councils of Education, the Zambian National Union of Teachers, and various Churches were some of them. The second type were those groups or institutions whose primary reasons for existence evoked their latent interest in education and their desire to participate actively; for instance, the Farmers' Bureau, the Defence Forces, and numerous private companies and employers' associations. The third category consisted of temporary coalitions of individuals and groups specifically for the purpose of responding to the proposals of the Educational Reforms. Some conferences and seminars which took place throughout the country fell into this category of ad hoc groups.

The first two categories had accumulated experience and information relating to education which proved valuable during the debate. For example, the Churches had for a long time been partners with the Government in the field of education and in the management of schools. Parents and ZNUT had vested interests in education which could make a lot of difference in the implementation of policies emerging from the reform exercise. Above all, these two categories possessed concentrated power of sanction over policy.

If we look closely at some of the organizations which participated in the debate, we would see their power base which grants them the right to legitimize government policy in order for it to work. For example, the Catholic Church made only one official submission through the Zambia Episcopal Conference, a body on which sit two metropolitan Archbishops and seven other Bishops representing more than 1,500,000 adherents of the Catholic Church.

### **Did the Views of the Elite Dominate the National Debate?**

A number of studies have been done on the Zambian educational reform experience. Some seem to have been written by people who adopted a structuralist view or wanted to use the reform exercise to test how socialist Zambia was. Perhaps because of this stand, but also because they did not have a direct access to all the submissions received during the National Debate, such studies have tended to conclude that the views of the elite prevailed when decisions were being made at the time the final document on educational reform was being prepared. However, it is my view that a study of all the submissions does not seem to have strong evidence to suggest that one particular group dominated throughout. What seems to have been demonstrated is that power was dispersed throughout the nation. This was why some of the earlier proposals were reversed in the final

document. While this is true, there is no denying that the officials, or technocrats, in the Ministry of Education visibly played a more dominant role at all levels of the reform exercise. They were the ones who initiated the reform exercise, they determined the decision pace, and generally set the tempo of the whole undertaking. But since there must be a coordinating authority to hold the exercise together nothing less could have been expected from the officials. Indeed, the officials tried to dilute their own influence over the reforms by recruiting, at various stages in the exercise, actors from outside the Ministry of Education.

Another thing which a study of the National Debate seems to reveal is that a consensus of opinion did not emerge on all the issues, due to the plurality of interests and values. To complicate the matter even more, evaluation of the submissions was in some instances subjective, with the result that what was accepted at one level of decision-making was rejected at another. In certain cases where public opinion conflicted with the generally accepted professional practices or trends, as happened on the localization of the School Certificate Examinations, the views of the officials prevailed.

During the Debate it became clear that some pressure groups and organizations acted as surrogates for their members either after consultation with them or without any consultation at all. These represent instances of one view of pluralism (that many groups and associations exist between the individual and the state) and were examples of associations standing between the individual and the state in order to protect the interest of the individual from the potential absolutism of the state. A close examination of the outcomes of the National Debate seems to indicate that the voices of the people were listened to. This was why certain decisions were taken which even reversed Party policy as stated in the 1973 Party Manifesto. A case in point was the decision to cut the Ten-Years-Universal-Basic-Education down to nine years. The whole National Debate is full of 'mutual adjustments' so that there was no one group or institution which had its way on all issues. Indeed, it could even be said that the state was seen as 'just one other human association', not to be preferred over others.

Source: Daka, P. J. (1986) Participatory Educational Reform: The Zambian Experience. Paper Presented at Educational Research Bureau Seminar, University of Zambia, 27th February 1986, pages 13-16, 21-23. Mimeo.

*Third Reading*  
**Public Criticism of the Draft Statement on Educational Reform**  
by  
**T. A. Coombe**

The publication of the draft statement was followed by intense public discussion and dispute. To summarize the National Debate would be impossible (the Ministry of Education put together a three-volume summary of the 1,500 written submissions it received). I shall not even try to give a balance sheet of the way opinion divided for and against. The favourable comments were in any case often less interesting and less useful than the unfavourable. Too many of the former were in the vein: "The Party hath done a good thing. Blessed be the name of the Party."

Instead, let me divide the adverse comments rather crudely into three categories: those made on ideological grounds, on practical grounds, and on professional or educational grounds.

### **Criticisms on Ideological Grounds**

The main ideological criticism, at the time, was that the document was too socialist and not humanist enough. The document portrayed man as an economic resource or commodity, whereas a truly humanist education must concern itself with the whole man in all his facets. As a refinement of this view, it was protested that the religious dimension of education was totally absent from the document, whereas it should be central, especially since *Zambian Humanism* has a spiritual foundation. Other critics found both humanism and socialism to be too imprecise to provide a sensible basis for an education policy, or claimed that humanism would be acceptable for this purpose just as soon as it was practiced by those who preached it.

### **Criticisms on Grounds of Practicality**

The criticism on grounds of practicality came in several forms, one of which relates directly to the ideological issue. There was scepticism and outright disbelief in the capacity of the *Zambian people* and *Zambian social institutions* to mobilize adequately to achieve the goals laid out in the draft document.

In particular it was frequently suggested that the principle of voluntary service was weakly developed and could not be relied upon as a basis for planning. The people were simply not ready to accept the tasks which would be laid upon them and they could not be expected to change their attitudes overnight. In addition, scornful comments were made about the degree of bungling and incompetence displayed in the civil service and parastatal organizations. If government departments and economic enterprises could not be properly managed, what reason was there to expect that a massive transformation of the entire national education system could be engineered without plunging it into chaos?

And then there was the question of resources. Firstly, the document was bitterly attacked for failing to provide the *Zambian people* with any financial or other estimate of what its proposals would entail. The severest critics saw this as an act of dishonesty, camouflaged in a cowardly fashion by the frequent exhortations to voluntary service, cost-cutting procedures and the appeal to sacrifice. Secondly, it was pointed out that the education system was already inadequately provided for at its present unsatisfactory rate of growth, let alone the massive expansion envisaged by the proposal for ten years' compulsory education for all. Moreover, the people were poor and inflation and the slowdown of economic activity were making them poorer. What further sacrifice could they in all justice be expected to make? (Here I must interject that the reform exercise was conceived in 1974 when taxation from mining activity brought in K333 million as revenue to Government. In 1975, when the exploratory investigations were being undertaken, the minerals tax slumped to K59 million. In 1976, when the draft document was published, the minerals tax brought in K12 million. In 1977, when the proposals were being revised, mineral tax revenue was precisely nothing.)

### **Criticisms on Professional or Educational Grounds**

The third category of criticism concerned professional or educational questions, and here also I shall select only a few of the main issues. An undercurrent of uneasiness, if not outright alarm, could be seen on the matter of educational standards. No one, that I recall, expressed confidence that the quality of education would be improved as a result of the proposed changes, but scores of voices were raised to warn against tampering with well-known and accepted educational practices, because the probability of lowering standards was too great. This fear was expressed

especially with respect to the proposals for teacher education, the recruitment of volunteer teachers, the use of school-based assessment (which many felt would encourage favouritism and nepotism), and the excessive preoccupation with productive work at the expense of formal learning. The Teachers' Union repudiated the proposals on volunteer teachers and the new pattern of training, claiming that these would lead to a further drop in the status of the profession and make it more difficult to attract new recruits.

**Source:** Coombe, T. A. (1979) Basic Education and Educational Reform in Zambia, in *Education 'At the Base' in Developing Countries*, pages 17–35 (abridged). Verhandelingen No. 17: The Hague: CESO.

## Chapter 18

### The 1977 Educational Reforms

**Content:** Aims at development of whole person. Insists on quality and relevance. States the principle that productive work in schools should serve educational objectives. Establishes long-term goal of nine years universal education (in basic schools), with intermediate goal of seven years of primary education for all school-aged children. Retains English as medium of instruction. Allows continuance of private schools (but only until such time as the state would be able to make adequate provision for everyone). Shows great concern for improvement of teachers, that teachers be worthy of leadership & respect, and that they be fully professional people; establishes two years full-time teacher training as the norm. Retains certification and selection functions of examinations; treats school-based assessment with caution, but allows that it should be applied in determining borderline & difficult cases.

**Strengths:** Ideological: concern for whole person & each individual, above all the teacher; concern for equity (better distribution of resources). Professional: concern for quality, for relevant curriculum; primacy of educational objectives. Cultural: movement towards restoration of Zambian languages to rightful place. Practical: realistic & pragmatic; much of it feasible; realistic appraisal of what can be expected of people, what people will accept, what can be done within constraints of limited resources.

**Weaknesses:** Seen by many critics as complete reversal & rejection of major 1976 proposals, by others as little more than linear expansion of existing educational system. (a) Timid and cautious: not willing for education to provide dynamic leadership role in transforming society; does not face issue of kind of education needed in present-day Zambian society nor ask whether existing system is producing universal well-being; adopts a “keep politics out of education” approach, and hence does not address many critical issues on which education has a bearing; never asks whether ‘more of the same’ is the real answer to the educational, social and economic problems Zambia faces. (b) Deals favourably with the handicapped, but otherwise makes no special provision for the disadvantaged such as out-of-school youth, or rural problems & issues; leaves responsibility for much of continuing education to other Ministries and fails to assert its own potential role in combating adult illiteracy. (c) In common with the *Draft Statement*, it takes too little account of the context of education, especially population growth, rural neglect, growing urbanization & worsening economic situation. (d) Like most documents of the time, it has nothing special to say about girls' education or environmental problems.

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### Readings

The *first reading*, which is taken from the 1977 *Educational Reform* document, deals with the relationship between education and employment in Zambia and with productive work in schools. It also sets forth fourteen major tasks which the Ministry of Education must undertake in implementing the reforms. Examine each of these tasks and ask yourself whether the Ministry has reached the targets that they imply.

In the *second reading*, Clarke gives further useful information on the educational reform movement of the mid-1970s and highlights a number of critical differences between the ideas in the 1976 Draft Statement and the definitive proposals of 1977.

In the *third reading*, Lungu analyses the influences that led to the replacement of the radical 1976 *Draft Statement* by the more incrementalist 1977 policy document. He concludes that it is the elites or the well-to-do sections of the Zambian society that have the upper hand in the formulation of educational policy (Daka, in the Second Reading, Chapter 17, does not adopt this view). In the full version of his paper, Lungu also considers the influence of the elite in relation to the Education Act of 1966 and to the 1978–82 debate on the teaching of scientific socialism as a form of political education.

### *First Reading*

## Some Issues in Zambia's Educational Reforms

by

Ministry of Education

### Development and Education

Education is a social institution which will continue to reflect the characteristics of the Zambian society but, on the other hand, society will continue to be influenced by it as there is interdependence between any education system and the society it serves.

Despite great efforts to expand our present education system it has not been possible to narrow the gap between the steadily rising demand for its services and its capacity to admit more students and give them a satisfactory education. The scanty financial resources have been sparsely

spread over educational materials, books, teachers, classrooms, etc. Some children go without education, while others leave school too young to be useful to society.

As there is disparity between the number of school-leavers each year and available opportunities for employment, we have a pool of educated unemployed. This pool tends to accumulate in urban centres, creating frustrations and resentment, and presenting a growing threat to social and economic stability.

This fact must be emphasized because as a consequence of the large numbers of young people who look unsuccessfully for paid employment after leaving school, especially at Grade 7 and Form III levels, some people have come to believe that a child can only get a job if he is very highly educated; while others have stated that there must be something wrong with the type of education being offered to our children. Even if it is conceded that the education system is not responsible for creating employment for these school-leavers, it is frequently said that the education system has created unemployment by giving students an inadequate or irrelevant kind of preparation for life and work. Such views are nearer the mark, since education, among other things, must include the preparation of students for entry into the world and life of work.

These problems must be confronted as aggressively as our resources permit. However, it should be recognized that the creation of economic and social conditions which would provide useful employment to all school-leavers is well beyond the scope of the education system alone. The education system, other sectors of the economy, and society have common obligations and responsibilities in preparing students to enter the world of work. These should together create conditions whereby relevant productive skills, gained by students during the process of education, could be put to use in appropriate fields immediately on leaving school.

### **Education and Production Work**

Production activities in educational institutions have educational value. Through production, students can apply knowledge, appreciate the importance of working with their hands as well as their brains, develop the spirit of self-reliance, and learn how to contribute to the nation's productive activities. This important aspect of education, which is a part of a child's upbringing, has not been emphasized in the past.

In future, production and service to the school community and the nation will be among the main features of education to be developed and emphasized in curriculum organization. However, this will take into account the age of the students and the need for proper balance with other subjects in the curriculum.

### **The New Education System**

The changes which will come about as a result of the educational reforms will not merely consist in changes in the structure and the accompanying nomenclature, or in the improvement and acquisition of new physical facilities, or changes in organizational patterns. While these changes in the framework are part of the major and essential elements of the reforms, it is the content, the methods and the organization which must receive the greatest attention, and these aspects embrace meaningful reform in the curriculum leading to its enrichment and being made more relevant to the needs and aspirations of the individual and society. Appropriate teacher education should be undertaken to enable the teacher not only to understand, but also to be involved in the development of the new curriculum, and to make necessary adjustments in his own attitudes and approach. The

development and provision of adequate literature and other educational materials to interpret the curriculum in the context of the changes envisaged will also have to be done.

Reforms, therefore, must involve change in direction, in depth and in breadth. They should include a substantial change in the intrinsic value of the educational enterprise and should, therefore, take into account the various factors which are the basis of the interplay between the education system and society. They should seek to improve quality without sacrificing quantity so that the majority of the people, if not all, should benefit from effective implementation of the changes.

In discussing the major components of the structure of the new education system, therefore, it is intended that the components should serve as a framework of the vehicle which will carry the essential elements of the reform exercise. In short, there are dynamic and quantitative elements as well as qualitative aspects to be looked at in the process of implementation.

### **Implementation**

It must be emphasized that the recommendations on policies and the structure of the new educational system are an agenda for action. To translate the envisaged educational reforms into a system that works and has integrity will call for a pragmatic approach.

As has been stated already, it is not in the nature of educational reforms that all the various proposals or recommendations can be implemented immediately. Thus there are aspects of the present proposals which should be implemented fairly soon and, in fact preparation has already begun in connection with such areas. At the same time, there are some areas of the reforms whose fulfillment will be achieved only in the long term. Periodical review will be necessary since circumstances may require a number of assumed strategies to be changed in order to cope with new factors and constraints which may have a bearing on implementation.

The implementation exercise will be closely related to the nation's ability to confront the major constraints on the expansion and improvement of education: namely, the insufficiency of qualified Zambian teachers, inadequate educational facilities (buildings, materials and equipment) and financial resources.

The policy to expand and improve the whole system of education and to provide basic education for every child is a desirable goal; but ten years of compulsory education cannot be achieved immediately due to inadequate facilities and insufficient manpower and financial resources. The Ministry of Education should, therefore, progressively implement UNIP policies by providing nine years universal basic education rather than 'ten years compulsory basic education'. In any case, Zambian parents and their children are now clamouring for education and do not have to be compelled. As more teachers, educational facilities, financial and other resources become available, the Ministry of Education should:

1. more aggressively improve the quality of education and services;
2. eliminate regional and other inequalities in educational provision;
3. provide opportunity to every child of school-going age to enter Grade 1;
4. provide seven years of full-time education for every child as a first step towards the achievement of nine years of basic education;
5. clear the bottleneck at Grade 4–5 levels so that every Grade 4 pupil, as far as possible, proceeds to Grade 5 and continues to Grade 7;

6. progressively increase Grades 8–9 places so that, in due course, every child who completes Grade 7 shall be able to enter Grade 8 and complete Grade 9;
7. expand and provide a wider range of continuing (part-time) education programmes;
8. facilitate the professional development of teachers and general staff of the Ministry;
9. more effectively coordinate, on a national basis, provision for primary and secondary education to enable equal opportunity in enrollment within Regions and to facilitate Grade 7 students to proceed to Grade 8 within the same Region;
10. ensure that there is proper and adequate consultation in the preparation or planning of programmes and their content in various stages of education;
11. improve the Production Units' programme introduced in educational institutions in 1975;
12. ensure that new buildings are simple in design, durable and constructed from as much local materials as possible;
13. encourage self-help projects by communities and ensure that educational projects shall be executed to completion;
14. ensure continuation of present policy that all new schools shall be built with their complement of teachers' houses.

One of the first steps in the process of achieving nine years of universal basic education is for the new system to enable every child to enter school at the age of seven and receive at least seven years basic education. It is, therefore, intended in the short term to concentrate more resources on this phase in our effort to attain nine years universal basic education.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1977) *Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations*, pages 6–7, 97–98. Lusaka: Government Printer.

*Second Reading*  
**The Rise and Fall of the Reform Movement**  
 by  
**R. Clarke**

**Introduction**

The Ministry of Education's 1977 statement on *Educational Reform*, which was adopted as official government policy in June 1978, can only be properly understood in the context of the movement for educational reform which can be traced from 1974. This reform movement reached its high point in 1976 with the publication by the Ministry of a tentative and radical *Draft Statement* which was the subject of the National Debate which lasted from May to November 1976. I shall argue here that the 1977 statement on Educational Reform can be interpreted as a negation and reversal of the earlier radical proposals in the *Draft Statement*.

**Policy Background of the Reform Movement**

The reform movement grew out of an increasing awareness within the Ministry of Education of the contradictions within existing policy. Since independence educational policy had been dominated by two main considerations: firstly, the popular demand for universal education; secondly, the need for the educational system to provide the skilled manpower needed for an expanding and Zambianized economy. These two different strands in the thinking underlying educational policy involved a contradiction which became more evident as time went on: the

rationale underlying the expansion of the secondary and tertiary levels was manpower planning, which meant that graduates from this part of the system could expect to find wage employment and relative wealth in a poor country; but this rationale was sadly contradicted in the primary sector, where primary school-leavers could not expect to find wage employment, nor even productive employment of any kind in most cases. Indeed, Nyerere in his seminal paper on *Education for Self-Reliance*, suggests that primary school-leavers are actually unfitted for productive work in the rural economy by virtue of the content and ethos of a primary school curriculum which is conceived as a preparation for secondary schools, and which acts in practice to alienate students from their local community.

By 1974 the central dichotomy in educational development policy was particularly exposed by two aggravating aspects. Hitherto, since independence, the popular demand for education had been met with a policy of constantly expanding the system, but this policy had served only to temporarily assuage the public's apparently insatiable demand for more. The very success of primary school expansion had caused the number of Grade 7 'push-outs' to rise to some 80,000 a year, but by 1974 there was simply no more money for a further expansion of the system, and the yearly outcry about the annual crop of Grade 7 'failures' was threatening to erode popular support for government educational policy. In addition to this, grave doubts were arising about the effectiveness of the manpower planning aspect of policy, particularly since national development plans had largely failed to develop increased employment and production.

The failure of an expanded educational system in Zambia to actually produce economic development is a pattern which has been replicated in much of the Third World. By 1974 there seemed to be a broad agreement, between 'human resource' and socialist thinkers alike, that a reformed education system should provide education more equally. Thus the World Bank, not known hitherto as a proponent of socialist policies, in 1974 produced an *Education Sector Working Paper* which was critical of its own earlier strategy of emphasis on the education of high level manpower, and discovers the virtue in a more equal provision of education: the paper outlines in some detail a system of low cost, functional mass education, providing both formal and informal education as a means for mass participation in the development process.

It might be expected that the Ministry of Education in Zambia would be particularly interested in the World Bank's recommendations, not only because they addressed themselves to problems which were very much present in Zambia, but also because much of Zambia's previous educational expansion had been funded through World Bank projects. Clearly a re-orientation of policy to take account of the Bank's latest thinking would improve Zambia's standing for future funding.

When the Ministry of Education published its *Draft Statement on Educational Reform* in May 1976 this was the culmination of a process of deliberation and consultation which had begun in April 1974, and which had included the mounting of study tours of Ministry officials to study the education programmes of many Third World countries, including China and Cuba. The President himself launched the proposals which were to be the subject of a six-month long National Debate, following which they would be modified in the light of public response.

### **The Political Economy Context of the Reforms Movement**

The general character of the 1976 Proposals needs to be seen in the light of concurrent developments in the political economy. The year 1974 had seen the publication of *Humanism Part II*, and in 1975 the 'Watershed Speech' had made it clear that a more socialist course for the

country was being planned in earnest. By means of a 'socialist revolution' the wealth and power of the emergent bourgeoisie was to be challenged, and private enterprise would be progressively replaced by production and distribution under the control of the people. The previous development of a dual economy of urban wealth and rural poverty would gradually be reversed by a socialist agrarian revolution.

### **The Socialist Perspective of the 1976 Document**

The 1976 *Draft Statement on Education Reform* was critical of the way the education system had proved a faithful servant of the dual economy, providing "rejection for the majority, rewards for the few". The document makes it clear that the successful implementation of the proposed reforms is dependent on a concurrent "socialist transformation of society", and that the education system "cannot stand aloof....we are direct agents of the Party in its task of eliminating poverty and exploitation in society". The 1976 proposals were therefore radical in that they proposed a very different system of education to serve as a means of socialization into a socialist society, with the faith that the institution of such an education system would itself contribute to the transformation of society. Gone was the previous duality of selecting a few into the richer industrial sector while rejecting the majority into the impoverished rural sector, because a future egalitarian society was assumed.

### **Salient Proposals of the 1976 Document**

However, the 1976 proposals are to be distinguished not for their socialist rhetoric but for the way they followed this with a detailed and comprehensive outline of a more socialist system of education. A unified national system of education was proposed which would be 'rectangular' rather than pyramidal; there would be ten years of basic education for all, and the subsequent stages would be accessible to all through a vastly expanded system of continuing education, with extensive use of non-formal and informal methods. Not only would Continuing Education involve all workers, but all full-time students would also be considerably engaged in productive work; educational institutions would also become productive enterprises whose production objectives would carry equal weight with educational objectives, so that each institution would aim at economic self-sufficiency. The organization of productive work, and other school activities, would be based on collective rather than individual effort, and the collectivist concept of "emulation" was introduced.

As the system developed into one of socialization into a socialist society, so it was envisaged that the previous selection system would be phased out; certification would be based more on the student's record of continuous assessment and would not be used for selection purposes so that the present system of public examinations would in due course wither away. Where it was necessary to select students for particular courses of study, this selection would be based partly on tests of the student's aptitude for such further studies, but also partly on the student's record of community service and "demonstrated commitment to Humanism". Control of the system would be to a large extent decentralized, with management of individual institutions being put in the hands of management committees on which would be represented members of the local community and the student union. Non-government schools would be allowed provided they were managed cooperatively, were non-profit making, and provided they were not encouraging "capitalism and elitism".

### **The 1977 Document as a Reversal of the 1976 Proposals**

By contrast, *the 1977 document can be understood as a comprehensive reversal of all the previous radical proposals*. Indeed the title of *Educational Reform* makes little sense unless it is

realized that its purpose is to contradict the previous reform proposals of 1976, and to defend the present educational system. The present pyramidal structure is to be retained, and indeed is diagrammatically represented in all its stark reality in the document itself. Although basic education is to be extended to nine years, there is to be no national system of Continuing Education as previously proposed, nor any increased reliance on informal and non-formal methods of education: the Ministry's present provision of Adult Education is defended, and the Ministry's role is to continue to be restricted to the provision of formal education. The integration of work and study, which was such a central feature of the earlier proposals, has disappeared in the later document; the educational objectives of school production units are to remain "paramount", and it is suggested that production for self-sufficiency would be a form of "exploitation" of the students. The collectivist concept of "emulation" is not mentioned, but instead there is a stated belief in the virtue of equality of opportunity and the worth of the individual. The present system of selection and public examination is defended: there is to be no increased reliance on continuous assessment for certification, and there is no mention of taking into account a student's "demonstrated commitment to Humanism" in considering his eligibility for selection to the next stage of education. There are no proposals for a decentralization of control within the system, and the present centralized administrative system is defended. No stringent controls are outlined for the control of non-government and private schools; these are seen as a useful way of supplementing state provision which should be "appreciated and encouraged".

Whereas the earlier document saw the reformed education system as the vanguard of the socialist revolution, the word 'socialism' is not mentioned in the later document. Rather than seeing education as an instrument for political change, the document suggests that education merely "reflects the characteristics of Zambian society". The earlier proposals suggested a system where a huge increase in the expansion of the system would be enabled by a variety of institutional mechanisms: by increasing self-sufficiency of productive institutions; by the raising of an Educational Levy; by a 'rotating intake' of students into formal educational institutions; by the use of volunteer teachers; by the requisitioning of existing available buildings such as churches; by the adaptation of the school calendar to the seasonal agricultural cycle; by the extensive use of distance teaching and self-instructional material. All of these mechanisms for expanding the system are specifically ruled out in the 1977 document.

### **The 1977 Proposals as a Continuation of the Present System**

The 1977 document is not therefore proposing a unified national system of education, but rather a continuation of the present dual system. There will continue to be a selection system superimposed on universal education at the lower levels. There are proposals for a more relevant skills training for the majority who will not be selected, but no attempt is made to deal with the known effects of the present selection system on primary school curricula in actual practice. There is an acceptance of the present dual nature of the economy, and an acceptance of a limited role for the Ministry of Education as the provider of manpower for the present economic system. There is a withdrawal from the problem of the unemployed school-leavers, which is seen as a problem for other sections of society, outside of the Ministry of Education. In the absence of any other proposals to extend educational provision, the proposal to extend basic education to nine years from the present seven can be seen as a continuation of the previous policy of pandering to popular demand with a continual expansion of the base of the educational pyramid. Since the document proposes no new ways of raising revenue, it is difficult to see how such a policy can be further pursued; however, if such a policy were successfully pursued it would aggravate the situation by turning the present problem of unemployed Grade 7 leavers into a problem of unemployed Form II leavers.

Apart from its role in contradicting the earlier proposals, the 1977 document does address itself in some detail to proposals concerned with improving the internal efficiency of the Ministry of Education, as presently constituted. Such an exercise can perhaps be described as 'reform' in a lesser sense; but the earlier proposals were concerned with 'reform' in a much grander sense—they were concerned with attempting to relate the internal workings of the Ministry of Education to the actual needs of a changing society.

Source: Clarke, R. (1979) "The rise and fall of the reform movement." *Zambia Educational Review*, Vol. 1, December 1979, pages 4–8.

### *Third Reading*

## **Elites, Incrementalism and Educational Policy-Making in Post-Independence**

### **Zambia**

by

**G. F. Lungu**

### **Elite and Incremental Models of Policy-making**

Although educational policies in developing countries are supposedly intended to benefit the masses, and are meant to be implemented in a radical manner, the real beneficiaries and influential elements are often members of elite groups whose conservative orientation dictates a gradualist approach to educational reform and implementation. This observation suggests that elite and incremental models of policy-making are particularly relevant to the understanding of some general causes and consequences of educational policy-making in developing countries. According to Dye & Zeigler the elite model of policy-making assumes, among other things, that public policies are outcomes of the preferences and values of the elite. In another discussion, Dye observes thus about the elite model:

Public policy does not reflect demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.

The overriding influence of elites on policy matters does not in itself suggest that they are a homogeneous group or that they enjoy consensus on all policy issues, but they are fundamentally agreed on the basic norms of the system and on the continuation of the system itself; "only policy alternatives that fall within the shared consensus will be given serious consideration." Dye does not elaborate on the incremental method he refers to, and consequently fails to explain why elites tend to be conservative in the first place.

This task is adequately undertaken by Lindblom in his article *The Science of Muddling Through*, though he does not relate it to the elite model. Lindblom refuted the observations of some theorists who argued that decisions or policies were made in a thoroughly comprehensive, systematic and rational manner. Instead he argued that policy changes are generally incremental modifications to past programmes. Incrementalism is conservative in that it is primarily concerned with minor changes in existing policies.

This conservatism has several sources: first, policy-makers easily accept the legitimacy of established programmes because they have not sufficient information, resources, time or

intelligence required to man new policy programmes. Secondly, they are more comfortable with previous policy programmes than the consequences of new ones, especially in uncertain conditions. Thirdly, existing policies may have heavy investments—buildings, emotions and personnel—and only those changes that will cause little dislocation to existing arrangements can be seriously considered. Fourthly, incrementalism is practically suitable, because it renders agreement among policy-makers easier since it reduces conflict by resorting to minor changes. Conflict is usually heightened when proposed changes involve major policy shifts. These and other considerations make incrementalism more appealing to policy-makers than radical or comprehensive approaches to policy-making.

What is not made clear in the above outline of elite and incremental models is that although the two could easily coincide in reality, they are not necessarily causally linked. Elites need not be conservative, as Dye seems to suggest, nor is incrementalism a unique policy strategy of elite groups. However, the case of Zambian educational policy seems to fit well into these two models. Not only have elite groups dominated the educational policy deliberations, but they have also preferred incremental changes to the radical suggestions made by the government. The remainder of this discussion is centred on this assumption.

A word or two about the use of the term 'elite' will be in order. It is used here to refer to the numerically small but politically powerful and socially privileged groups which include Zambian and expatriate businessmen, bureaucrats, leading politicians, members of learned professions, churches, and trade union leaders. These groups do not necessarily share consensual views on the Zambian educational system, but they have taken a common conservative stand on almost all educational issues since independence in 1964.

### **The 1976–77 Educational Reform Proposals**

The 1966 Education Act had increased access to education, but it also helped to create a system that was a decade later viewed by policy-makers as a very problematic one. By 1975 only 20% of primary school graduates found places in junior secondary school, and about half that percentage proceeded to senior secondary. Less than 5% of School Certificate holders entered the university, and about 20% went to colleges. A few were absorbed in employment; but the majority joined the teeming jobless school-leavers. Coincidentally Zambia was badly hit by an economic slump in 1976 and her revenue from copper, the economy's mainstay, was almost zero that year. Stern measures followed: the Kwacha, the country's currency, was devalued by 20%. The economy's capacity to both support the school system and employ its graduates was greatly impaired.

Naturally, this led to critical review of the educational system, especially its structure and the curriculum. General complaints ranged from charges of irrelevant curriculum to the elitist bias of the educational system. To gauge public opinion and encourage popular participation in policy-making the government drafted proposals in the form of a document entitled *Education for Development*. Both oral and written reactions were solicited.

The proposals had made several far-reaching suggestions for the new Zambian educational system. The reformers, influenced by developments in Cuban and Maoist Chinese education, sought to recommend an educational system that would fit the political ideology of Zambia—Humanism, a form of African socialism. Among the most important proposals were: the proposal for establishing work and education programmes whereby students would alternate their time between work and academic learning; the proposal to increase the years of universal primary

education from 7 to 10 years (that is, all eligible children would attend school from Grades 1 to 10, leaving Grades 11 and 12 to those who would qualify); the establishment of a 24-months compulsory military service for all students; the replacement of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate by a local examination; the introduction of political education; and resorting to using churches as classrooms. Forty-two thousand copies of *Education for Development* were distributed throughout the country, and formal debates opened in May and ended in November 1976.

### **The National Debate**

Both the participation in and the outcome of the debates clearly affirmed the dominant role of elites and their preference for an incremental rather than radical reform in educational policy. Both the nature and context of the debates favoured elite groups. The 42,000 copies were circulated among literate participants, especially institutional leaders like headmasters, principals, executive committees of parent-teacher associations, farmers' associations, labour leaders, and the church leaders. The document was written in English, a language (though official) that is neither spoken nor understood by the majority of Zambians. An unspecified number of summaries of the document were published in seven local languages, but this could not increase mass participation in the debates because of the high levels of illiteracy in the country.

The existing media infrastructure also favoured the better educated and wealthier members, especially in urban areas. Television debates were watched by very few viewers, since only a tiny minority of Zambians can afford to buy television sets. The radio was also extensively used, and while it is widely used in rural areas, there was at the time an acute shortage of radio cells in the country. Newspapers also reported debate deliberations, and gave critical comments and invited written opinions on the reforms; but, like television, the press is also an urban phenomenon. The two national daily papers—*Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail*—are published in English and their circulation is largely confined to urban areas.

However, even without media bottlenecks, the participation of the poor and illiterate members of the society would still be problematic. Participation in decision-making in modern institutions requires a set of skills, like literacy, organizational ability, and bargaining strategies. These elements exist to a very low degree among the poor, especially the peasantry in the countryside. In addition, although the poor are interested in sending their children to school, it is questionable whether they would be keenly involved in the debates on the technical niceties of the curriculum. For the most part they lacked information regarding the issues raised in the reform proposals.

### **Reactions of Debate Participants to Proposals in the Draft Statement**

The reactions of the groups that participated generally tended to border on conservatism or near-rejection of the proposals. Businessmen, commercial farmers, trade union leaders, top civil servants, and Christian clergymen were well represented. The opinions of these groups were almost unanimous in rejecting the proposal for alternating work and education, the introduction of a compulsory 24-month military service, and the introduction of political education in the form of scientific socialism. Perhaps there is no better description of these groups' reaction to the Reform proposals than O'Brien's observation:

Opposition to the work and study proposal came from those who believed that the present situation should change gradually and others who believed that the existing system was adequate but the reforms were misguided. Some, such as the Zambia Seed Producers Association, believed that the system had proved itself over a long period in many countries and did not need change.

This latter group had an interest in the existing system as they represented the commercial farmers, most of whom were expatriate. E. Chipimo, a former High Commissioner in London, and at the time local director of the Standard Bank, said the worthwhile ideas in the document had been or were current in the existing system or could be accommodated by it. Both Chanda and Chipimo asked if the authors seriously considered that their theories could be implemented. The same two in company with others said that these reform proposals were the latest and most disastrous in the series. These might be said to represent the attitudes of the industrial and commercial sectors which were keen on improving the existing system but were not enthusiastic about any radical changes.

### **The Definitive Educational Reforms Proposals**

In response to sentiments such as these the government drafted a revised edition of the proposals entitled *Educational Reform: Proposals and Recommendations*. This document had little resemblance to its predecessor, *Education for Development*, which had drawn heavily on Maoist Chinese and Cuban models of education. *Educational Reform* underplayed the work-and-education proposal, was evasive about the compulsory 24-months military service (this was completely abandoned in 1982), and conveniently avoided the atheistic tone of scientific socialism. However, it did approve the localization of School Certificate Examinations but recommended that this should be done cautiously.

Another compromise was the extension of universal primary education from seven to nine (instead of the previously suggested ten) years of basic education, and three years of senior secondary education. This was more a response to the crisis of access to schooling than a concern for the radical tone of the reform proposals. The issue of work-and-education was resolved by the introduction of production units in all schools. This was not a novel thing, for even during the colonial era schools had some farms or clubs dealing with the production of vegetables and poultry. Production units were nowhere near to alternating work and education as the proposals had initially suggested; the latter would have involved the students spending half the academic year in various factories, industries and farms, and the other half in school. Thus, *Educational Reform*, which was finally accepted by the government, was a gradualist approach to change, and in the words of O'Brien it represented:

the interests of the emerging middle class and those who had an interest in retaining the *status quo*. It would also appear that the party, despite its rhetoric, recognized that Zambia's future lay with her industries and not with agriculture, in towns and not in the rural areas. The education system still aimed at the production of academically competent pupils who could compete on the international scene. The debate did demonstrate that the people who were articulate and literate were the ones who were most likely to benefit.

### **Conclusion**

This discussion has examined the role of elite groups in Zambian educational policy-making. It is readily apparent from the discussion that elites or the well-to-do sections of the Zambian society have the upper hand in the formulation of educational policy. Evident, too, is the preference for gradual reform strategies rather than the officially declared 'radical' changes. In these respects, the educational system resembles the national political economy. Since independence, the government has announced several socialist measures in the economy but the result has always been moderate state control of companies in partnership with multinational corporations. Instead of creating a socialist economy, the government has ended up with a capitalist welfare state, and even this is now showing signs of strain and is reverting to its pre-welfare position. The education system could hardly be different.

However, the basic question revolves around the issue of why elites have been able to play a leading role in educational policy-making, and their preference for incremental change. One factor, not discussed in this paper, is that the political system, despite its socialist rhetoric, has embraced the tenets of liberal democracy. Even after introducing the one-party state in 1973, the political system still operated on the precepts of liberal democracy, allowing group activity to influence public policy. In most African countries where military regimes have been established or where leaders have resorted to the introduction of Marxist governments (like Angola and Mozambique) group activity is highly circumscribed and public policies (including educational policy) are the sole responsibility of the leadership or the party. The Zambian case, therefore, should be regarded as the exception rather than the rule. No elite group in contemporary Africa can deter a determined government from introducing measures it wishes to implement, except, of course, where a fairly liberal political atmosphere exists.

Given a liberal political atmosphere, incrementalism inevitably flourishes. Influential Zambian groups greatly value the educational standards that British colonialism bequeathed to the country. Additionally, the uncertainties that educational reforms would create, coupled with inadequate financial and personnel resources to implement reform provisions, dictated a gradualist, cautious approach to educational policy changes.

More research is required to shed light on the issues of who makes educational policy, and how educational policies are made in the developing countries of Africa. The Zambian evidence is too limited to warrant generalizations for the continent, but it does indicate that in underdeveloped and predominantly illiterate societies, elite groups, if given the chance, will dominate educational policy-making to preserve their interests.

**Source:** Lungu, G. F. (1985) "Elites, incrementalism and educational policy-making in post-independence Zambia." *Comparative Education*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1985, pages 286–295.

## Chapter 19

### Educational Developments, 1977–1991

*Implementation of the Educational Reforms:* Much of the enthusiasm for educational reform faded away with the publication of the 1977 document. No strategy worked out for their implementation, no implementation unit set up. Some elements included in Third National Development Plan. Copies of reform document not widely distributed. Document taken as the final justification for every educational intervention, but few were really familiar with its contents. Establishment in 1984 of Educational Reform Implementation Project (ERIP) at UNZA, to work out a detailed plan for implementing the reforms. Report (*The Provision of Education for All*) submitted in 1986. Recommended that in view of demographic and economic constraints (fast-growing population and deteriorating economy) priority be given to providing seven years of good quality education to all children, with only limited expansion at the Grade 8 and higher levels; also recommended introduction of user charges, especially for boarding and at tertiary level.

*Socio-Political Developments:* “Growth from Own Resources” policy stance from mid-1987; break with IMF & World Bank removed possibility of World Bank & new donor support for implementation of ERIP and other proposals. Zambia invited to World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien, March 1990); preparatory work & investigations revealed critical state of education at all levels, especially in primary schools. Jomtien showed that a large number of developing countries, especially in Africa, had similar problems to Zambia's. Establishment in 1990 of National Education For All (EFA) Task Force, with special responsibility to promote achievement of universal quality primary education and a significant reduction in adult illiteracy (especially among women), both by the year 2000. Zambia National EFA Conference (March 1991) formulated *Zambia Declaration on Education For All*, with stress on achieving universal primary education, real achievement of school learning objectives, reduction of illiteracy, extension of private provision of education, and new strategies for raising financial resources for education.

*Decline in Resources:* Number of pupils and teachers rising, but less government money available for education. From 1983, with early attempts at Structural Adjustment, national budget getting smaller and education getting a smaller proportion each year. Of money going to education, proportion going to primary education getting smaller each year. Salaries absorbing almost all educational funds, leaving little for teaching materials, books, inservice training, inspection, maintenance of infrastructure. Much of education's limited funds spent on boarding and other non-educational student costs. Public spending on each university student disproportionately larger than that on each primary school pupil. Increasing reliance on donor aid for education, but problems experienced (a) in coordinating this aid, and (b) in determining Zambia's own priorities.

*Growing Problems of Access & Quality:* Very rapid population growth (average annual growth rate about 3.2%), but only very small increase in number of schools & classrooms. Extra numbers accommodated in very large classes, with double/triple sessions, and ‘tied timetables’, all of which worked against quality teaching-learning. Many children not able to find places in school; problem different in rural and urban areas. Gross enrollment ratio rose until 1985 but then began to fall. Fall in completion rates (number of those entering Grade 1 who eventually complete Grade 7). Girls affected more than boys. Poor quality education in most schools—few books, shortage of chalk & teaching supplies, very little furniture, buildings ramshackle, teachers demoralized, almost no inspection. Education clearly in a crisis.

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## Readings

The *first reading* gives excerpts from the educational chapters of three successive National Development Plans. The first and third contain some reference to the implementation of the educational reforms. You will notice that while some of the proposals are quite specific, others are very general.

Turning the 1977 *Educational Reforms* into a plan of action was the task entrusted to the University ERIP team in 1984. The *second reading* gives part of the team's summary of its report and recommendations. The substance of the report was well received by the Ministry of Education which continues the task of implementing the ERIP recommendations.

The *third reading* gives the first seven articles from the *World Declaration on Education For All*, adopted by the Jomtien Conference in 1990. Note that when the World Declaration uses the term 'basic education' it is talking about the set of basic skills, knowledge and attitudes which will enable learners to take charge of their own lives and set them free to learn further. It is not talking about basic education in the sense that the term is used in Zambia to designate schools that run from Grade 1 to Grade 9.

In the *fourth reading*, Kelly analyses the crisis besetting the education system at the end of 1990 in terms of access, quality, credibility and financing. Many of the problems he mentions still characterize education in Zambia.

The *fifth reading* gives the opening sections of the *Zambia Declaration on Education For All*. This Declaration was the outcome of the National EFA Conference held in Lusaka in March 1991, several months before the restoration of multi-party politics in Zambia. The document speaks of the major educational issues that concerned the Conference participants, in the light of Zambia's achievements and problems and of the *World Declaration on Education For All*.

### *First Reading*

## **Implementation of the Educational Reforms Statements from National Development Plans**

### **Third National Development Plan (1979–1983)**

The implementation of part of the educational reforms will begin during the Third National Development Plan (TNDP). The reforms will involve many changes in various aspects of the education system, aimed at making the system more effective. The following are some of the important points which will be taken into consideration in implementing the TNDP:

1. Quality of education and services will be improved.
2. Quality of teacher education and professional development of the teacher will be improved.
3. Elimination of regional and other imbalances in educational provision will be undertaken at Grades 1, 5, 8 and 10.
4. Provision for part-time (continuing) education will be expanded and diversified.
5. Use of educational facilities will be maximized in order to avoid waste. New buildings will be simple, durable, functional, low in maintenance costs, and will use local materials and technology.
6. Self-help education projects by communities will be encouraged and once initiated such projects will be executed to completion.
7. Recurrent and capital expenditure on education will be well planned to avoid wastage.
8. Production activities in all educational institutions will be consolidated to bring out educational values, develop correct attitudes and production skills.
9. Localization of School Certificate Examination will be completed.
10. Development of resource centres and teachers' centres will be undertaken.
11. Development of new curricula that will accommodate the educational reforms will be undertaken.

### *Basic & Primary Education*

The long-term goal in basic education is to achieve nine years' universal basic education for every child.

During the TNDP efforts will be made to mobilize resources towards the following objectives:

1. all children who have attained the age of seven are enrolled in Grade 1; and
2. all children who complete Grade 4 enter Grade 5 and proceed to Grade 7.

### **Interim National Development Plan (1987)**

The overall objective of the education sector during the Interim National Development Plan (INDP) is to improve the quality of education including political education and to increase access to it through:

1. increased production, supply and distribution of educational materials, the development of a new curriculum to meet the demands of the nation and conducting inservice training directed towards the new curriculum;
2. quantitative and qualitative expansion of more widespread educational opportunities at basic level.

In order to make maximum use of facilities at primary education level the practice of double and triple sessions will continue and will be extended to as many schools as possible during the INDP. In order to achieve universal primary education by the year 2000 additional classrooms will be constructed.

### **Fourth National Development Plan (1989–1993)**

The period of the Fourth National Development Plan (FNDP) will provide another opportunity for concerted efforts in implementation of the Educational Reforms. In the light of the existing provision in the educational services, and the current economic and demographic constraints, the general aims of the sector will be to foster judicious expansion and to enhance quality of education.

The objectives of the FNDP are to:

1. ensure improved performance of all educational institutions;
2. provide pre-school education through community efforts;
3. provide more widespread and equitable educational opportunities at the basic level and giving priority to the expansion of primary education;
4. widen access to primary and secondary education through distance education, night schools and part-time courses;
5. ensure carefully controlled expansion at other levels;
6. enhance the training and research capacities at tertiary level;
7. consolidate and extend the teaching of population education to all educational institutions and training of teachers for this purpose;
8. strengthen and enlarge the financial resource base for educational provision especially in the field of mathematics, science and technology; and
9. monitor adherence to standardized chargeable fees by all private educational institutions.

The major thrust for educational development during the period of the plan will be threefold. Firstly, there will be consolidation of existing facilities, with a provision of limited additional facilities for specially targeted groups, while focusing on maintaining progress towards the goal of universal primary education (that is, for Grades 1 to 7), but with some additional provision for Grades 8 and 9. At teacher education level, facilities will be expanded to the extent needed by these demands, and at technical education and university levels it is envisaged that there will be only modest expansions.

The overall objectives of the plan will be implemented by the adoption of three major strategies. These are:

- qualitative strategy;
- quantitative strategy; and
- cost-effective strategy.

### **Quality Improvement Strategy**

During the FNDP the quality of education will be improved through the following:

1. increasing instructional materials;
2. facilitating curriculum development and training so that both boys and girls have equal access to subjects at post-primary levels;
3. upgrading teaching staff;
4. improving the system of public examinations to make them a more effective tool in educational development;
5. improving educational management, administration and supervision;
6. improving education broadcasting services, cultural education in educational institutions, rehabilitating physical facilities, furniture and equipment in all educational institutions, including educational support service units.

### **Cost-Effective Strategy**

In view of financial constraints and the need to ensure cost-effectiveness it will be necessary to reduce unit costs by instituting cost-saving measures and introducing cost-sharing schemes. During the FNDP the following cost-effective measures will be undertaken:

1. improving the distribution and utilization of teaching staff in order to reduce under-employment;
2. rationalizing the deployment and utilization of non-teaching staff;
3. introducing cost-sharing between the Government and users;
4. rationalizing courses and enrollments in relation to manpower requirements.

**Source:** National Commission for Development Planning (1979, 1987, & 1989) *Third National Development Plan, 1979–1983*, pages 342–343; *Interim National Development Plan, 1987*, page 64; *Fourth National Development Plan, 1989–1993*, pages 308, 315, 318. Lusaka: Government Printer.

*Second Reading*  
**The Provision of Education for All**  
**Summary of the ERIP Report**  
by  
**M. J. Kelly and Others**

### **Priorities**

In implementing the educational reforms it will be necessary to concentrate in the first instance on the provision of seven years of education for every child of primary school age and on the improvement of the quality of that provision. To achieve this it will be necessary that priority in the allocation of financial resources be accorded to the following areas:

1. the physical expansion and development of the primary sector;

2. the physical expansion of teacher training colleges for the production of teachers in the numbers needed by the enlarged primary sector;
3. the development of curricular materials for the primary sector and its provision with an abundance of educational materials and equipment;
4. the development of methods of assessing practical, productive and service activities so that these can be included among the instruments used when selecting the small proportion that is to proceed to the next higher level of education;
5. the improvement of teacher education, through improvements in the structure of the programmes, in the qualification of staff in the training colleges, in the methods and materials of instruction and in the quality of the student undergoing instruction.

All other educational targets must remain subordinate to those just outlined. Some expansion of secondary education, at both junior and senior levels, will be possible but only on a modest scale. The expansion of junior secondary will be sufficient to allow a growing number to proceed to this level, although the progression rate may not increase or may do so only slightly. The expansion of senior secondary education will also allow an increasing number to proceed to this level but because the rate of growth will be slower than at the junior level there will be a sharp reduction in the progression rate. The implication of these considerations is that while education at the secondary level is important and desirable it does not have the same priority at present as the provision of education for all at the primary level.

To meet the needs of the fast-increasing child population it will be necessary between now and the year 2000 to provide primary school facilities for over 2.5 million children, that is, more than twice the number who were enrolled in 1984. During the same period the enrollment at junior secondary level will rise from 68,000 to 156,000. This will be accomplished by increasing to 80,000 the number entering Grade 8. The enrollment at the senior secondary level will rise to approximately 54,000. By the year 2000 the number taking the School Certificate Examination will have risen from its present level of 13,000 to over 18,000.

### **Teachers and Teacher Education**

The development of the primary school sector will require an increase in the number of teachers from the 1984 level of 27,700 to 51,300 in the year 2000. It is proposed that approximately 41,000 of these should be trained teachers; the remainder will be trainees in the second year of a three-year sandwich-type training programme or untrained teachers. The development at the secondary level will require the services of approximately 8,500 teachers. Three-quarters of these will be trained non-graduates teaching at the junior secondary level and one-quarter will be trained university graduates teaching at the senior secondary level.

The quality of teacher education will be improved by extending the training programme to three years, at both primary and secondary level; the first and third year will be spent in residence in a teacher education college and the second year teaching in a primary or secondary school, according to the type of training. The division of responsibilities for teacher training will remain as at present, with the primary teacher colleges responsible for those who will teach in Grades 1 to 7, the secondary colleges for the teachers of Grades 8 and 9, and the University for those who will teach the senior grades. With the development of more basic education schools, however, there will be a gradual shift in responsibility for Grade 7 teacher preparation; since Grade 7 is part of the final three years of the basic education cycle a start will be made to prepare teachers for teaching across the Grade 7 to 9 range. This training will be provided in the secondary teachers colleges, so that eventually the primary colleges will be responsible for Grades 1 to 6 only. To meet the needs

of the senior secondary system the University will increase its output, especially in mathematics and science, and will devise programmes for the preparation of graduate teachers in a number of practical areas. The University will also mount a variety of different education degree and diploma programmes to cater for the staff development needs of the teacher education colleges and for the professional improvement of education administrators, planners, inspectors, etc.

### **Maintenance, and Teaching Equipment**

The development of the education system will be accompanied by a stress on the upkeep and maintenance of facilities and on the provision of an adequate supply of books, writing materials, science apparatus, and various teaching aids. Particular emphasis will be placed on improving mathematics and science education through the supply of all the necessary teaching aids, through the upgrading of teachers in these subjects, and through the development of some schools for the specialized teaching of mathematics and science.

### **Meeting Recurrent Costs**

The following arrangements will be made to meet the running costs of the primary and secondary schools:

1. At the primary level (Grades 1–7) costs will be shared between government, district councils and parents. Government will pay the salaries of trained teachers; district councils will pay the salaries of untrained teachers and operational costs; parents will pay, through the school fund, the cost of educational materials, school maintenance and school activities. The level of payments which parents will make each year will be in the range K20 to K40 for each child; this is the amount they are already paying, on the average, through various payments for school items, PTA fund, etc.
2. At the junior secondary level (Grades 8–9) costs will be shared between government and parents. Government will pay salaries and operational costs; parents will pay, through the school fund, the cost of educational materials, school maintenance and school activities. The level of payments which parents will make each term will be in the range K30 to K50 for each child; this is the amount they are already paying, on the average, through various payments for school items, PTA fund, etc.
3. At the senior secondary level (Grades 10–12) costs will also be shared between government and parents, but because this level of education is not part of the basic education that is to be available to all it will be necessary for school fees to be introduced at this level and to rise during the coming fifteen years to about K100 per term.
4. A bursary fund will be established to help those in need to meet some of these educational costs as well as boarding costs. In order to encourage greater participation of girls at all levels of education a special fund will be established to defray some of their educational expenses in specific cases.

### **Capital Developments**

The major implications for capital development are as follows:

1. At the primary level it will be necessary to construct at least 550 new classrooms each year, during the coming fifteen-year period, to cater for all the needs. Financial inputs will be made by government, district councils and donor agencies. District councils will raise the necessary revenues through a special educational tax. Local communities and parents will contribute labour and materials (where appropriate).

2. At the junior secondary level, developments will consist in the construction of approximately 40 new schools and the establishment of basic education schools through the addition of Grade 8 and 9 classes to several primary schools. The costs will be met by government and donor agencies, but local communities will also participate through the provision of labour and materials (where appropriate).
3. At the senior secondary level there will be no new facilities. However, additional provision will be made at this level by the gradual phasing-out of Grades 8 and 9 from existing secondary schools and their transfer to new facilities in basic education or junior secondary schools.
4. Each of the primary teachers' colleges will be expanded so that enrollment can be increased and two new colleges will be operational before the end of the fifteen-year period. A new secondary teachers' college will also be operational by that time. The costs will be met by government and donor agencies.
5. Investment will be made in the necessary infrastructure for the production of teaching materials and in particular an industry will be established for the local production of science teaching apparatus.

### **Examinations**

Examinations exercise a very great influence on the work undertaken in schools and on the way in which it is conducted. Because of this, steps will be taken to ensure that examinations promote better teaching and learning and that they stimulate the acquisition or development of abilities, skills and knowledge which are relevant to the pupil, whether he is one of the minority who continue in the educational system or of the majority who leave it. Specifically this will require:

1. a separation of the selection and certification function of the examinations at the end of Grade 7 and Grade 9;
2. the utilization of teacher and school-based assessment procedures;
3. the re-design of examinations so that they concentrate on the knowledge and skills that are needed by pupils who are to terminate their formal education at the end of Grade 7 or Grade 9;
4. the establishment of a comprehensive feedback system that will provide the inspectorate and schools with detailed information on strengths and weaknesses in examination performance.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. and Others (1986) *The Provision of Education For All. Towards the Implementation of Zambia's Educational Reforms under Demographic and Economic Constraints, 1986–2000*, pages XXIII–XXVIII. Lusaka: University of Zambia.

*Third Reading*  
**World Declaration on Education For All**  
by  
**World Conference on Education For All**

**Education For All: The Purpose**

***Article 1 - Meeting Basic Learning Needs***

Every person—child, youth and adult—shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time.

The satisfaction of these needs empowers individuals in any society and confers upon them a responsibility to respect and build upon their collective cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage, to promote the education of others, to further the cause of social justice, to achieve environmental protection, to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own, ensuring that commonly accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace and solidarity in an interdependent world.

Another and no less fundamental aim of educational development is the transmission and enrichment of common cultural and moral values. It is in these values that the individual and society find their identity and worth.

Basic education is more than an end in itself. It is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training

**Education For All: An Expanded Vision and a Renewed Commitment**

***Article 2 - Shaping the Vision***

To serve the basic learning needs of all requires more than a re-commitment to basic education as it now exists. What is needed is an “expanded vision” that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems while building on the best in current practices. New possibilities exist today which result from the convergence of the increase in information and the unprecedented capacity to communicate. We must seize them with creativity and a determination for increased effectiveness.

The expanded vision encompasses:

- Universalizing access and promoting equity;
- Focusing on learning;
- Broadening the means and scope of basic education;
- Enhancing the environment for learning;

- Strengthening partnerships.

The realization of an enormous potential for human progress and empowerment is contingent on whether people can be enabled to acquire the education and the start needed to tap into the ever-expanding pool of relevant knowledge and the new means for sharing this knowledge.

***Article 3 - Universalizing Access and Promoting Equity***

**Basic education should be provided to all children, youth and adults.** To this end, basic education services of quality should be expanded, and consistent measures must be taken to reduce disparities.

For basic education to be equitable, all children, youth and adults must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning.

The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated.

An active commitment must be made to removing educational disparities. Under-served groups—the poor; street and working children; rural and remote populations; nomads and migrant workers; indigenous peoples; ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities; refugees; those displaced by war; and people under occupation—should not suffer any discrimination in access to learning opportunities.

The learning needs of the disabled demand special attention. Steps need to be taken to provide equal access to education to every category of disabled persons as an integral part of the education system.

***Article 4 - Focusing on Learning Acquisition***

**Whether or not expanded educational opportunities will translate into meaningful development—for an individual or for society—depends ultimately on whether people actually learn as a result of those opportunities, i.e., whether they incorporate useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills, and values.** The focus of basic education must, therefore, be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively upon enrollment, continued participation in organized programmes and completion of certification requirements. Active and participatory approaches are particularly valuable in assuring learning acquisition and allowing learners to reach their fullest potential. It is, therefore, necessary to define acceptable levels of learning acquisition for educational programmes and to improve and apply systems of assessing learning achievement.

***Article 5 - Broadening the Means and Scope of Basic Education***

**The diversity, complexity, and changing nature of basic learning needs of children, youth and adults necessitates broadening and constantly redefining the scope of basic education to include the following components:**

- *Learning begins at birth.* This calls for early childhood care and initial education. These can be provided through arrangements involving families, communities, or institutional programmes, as appropriate.

- *The main delivery system for the basic education of children outside the family is primary schooling.* Primary education must be universal, ensure that the basic learning needs of all children are satisfied, and take into account the culture, needs, and opportunities of the community. Supplementary alternative programmes can help meet the basic learning needs of children with limited or no access to formal schooling, provided that they share the same standards of learning applied to schools, and are adequately supported.
- *The basic learning needs of youth and adults are diverse and should be met through a variety of delivery systems.* Literacy programmes are indispensable because literacy is a necessary skill in itself and the foundation of other life-skills. Literacy in the mother-tongue strengthens cultural identity and heritage. Other needs can be served by: skills training, apprenticeships, and formal and non-formal education programmes in health, nutrition, population, agricultural techniques, the environment, science, technology, family life, including fertility awareness, and other societal issues.
- *All available instruments and channels of information, communications, and social action could be used to help convey essential knowledge and inform and educate people on social issues.* In addition to the traditional means, libraries, television, radio and other media can be mobilized to realize their potential towards meeting basic education needs of all.

These components should constitute an integrated system—complementary, mutually reinforcing, and of comparable standards, and they should contribute to creating and developing possibilities for lifelong learning.

#### **Article 6 - Enhancing the Environment for Learning**

**Learning does not take place in isolation. Societies, therefore, must ensure that all learners receive the nutrition, health care, and general physical and emotional support they need in order to participate actively in and benefit from their education.** Knowledge and skills that will enhance the learning environment of children should be integrated into community learning programmes for adults. The education of children and their parents or other caretakers is mutually supportive and this interaction should be used to create, for all, a learning environment of vibrancy and warmth.

#### **Article 7 - Strengthening Partnerships**

**National, regional, and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task. New and revitalized partnerships at all levels will be necessary:** partnerships among all sub-sectors and forms of education, recognizing the special role of teachers and that of administrators and other educational personnel; partnerships between education and other government departments, including planning, finance, labour, communications, and other social sectors; partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families. The recognition of the vital role of both families and teachers is particularly important. In this context, the terms and conditions of service of teachers and their status, which constitute a determining factor in the implementation of education for all, must be urgently improved in all countries in line with the joint ILO/UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers (1966). Genuine partnerships contribute to the planning, implementing, managing and evaluating of basic education programmes. When we speak of “an expanded vision and a renewed commitment”, partnerships are at the heart of it.

Source: World Conference on Education For All (1990) *World Declaration on Education For All*, pages 3-7. New York: Inter-Agency Commission.

*Fourth Reading*  
**The Crisis in Education**  
by  
**M. J. Kelly**

The context of this National Conference on Education For All is the stark reality that in common with other countries in the world, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zambia is in the throes of an educational crisis: *a crisis of access*, where nothing meaningful is being done to bring the benefits of literacy to about one-third of the adult population who continue to suffer from the handicap of illiteracy, where a significant number of children cannot find school places, at least until they are almost at the age of puberty, and where another significant proportion must leave school before completing the primary course and hence almost certainly lapse back into illiteracy; *a crisis of quality*, where the schools are failing to achieve the objectives society has established for them, above all those of imparting basic communication, numeracy and thinking skills; *a crisis of credibility*, where questions are being asked about the role of education in development and its function in the entrenchment of social inequalities and injustices; and *a crisis of financing*, where existing commitments have already outstripped resources but where considerations of human rights, social demand, economic development, and political necessity all point to the need to assume new and ever-expanding commitments.

**The Crisis of Access**

Fifteen years ago the *Draft Statement on Educational Reform* painted a stark picture of the coverage of the primary school system: four out of every five children of primary school age were actually enrolled in Grades 1 to 7; many children in urban areas who were old enough to enter Grade 1 were being turned away from school because of the shortage of places; a bottleneck between Grades 4 and 5 in rural areas was such that one quarter of the enrollment nationwide in Grade 4 could not proceed to Grade 5; and there was a steady decline in the number of girls moving from lower to higher grades. Although the dimensions of the problem have changed somewhat, essentially the same features characterize the provision of school education in Zambia today: about 7 out of every 8 children of primary school age are enrolled in Grades 1 to 7; 7-year old children are still being denied admission to schools in Lusaka, Kitwe, Ndola and other centres because there are no places for them; in many rural districts an examination is still administered at the end of Grade 4 to select the fortunate 75 to 90% who can proceed into Grade 5; the number of girls equals the number of boys in Grade 1, but by the time Grade 7 is reached there are 4 boys for every 3 girls.

Lest the seemingly high percentages occasion any complacency, it is well to note the human scale of this educational deprivation: 35,000 seven-year olds find no place each year in Grade 1; 15,000 children aged 11 or 12 must leave school each year on completion of Grade 4; during the seven-year primary cycle, some 10,000 girls just disappear from the educational system; and some 200,000 children in the age-range 7 to 14 are not in schools, largely because there is no place for them. When these figures are cumulated back across years and student cohorts it is clear

that Zambia is far from the target set out in the 1962 UNIP manifesto, and repeated several times since, of providing seven years of compulsory education to all its children.

The majority of those children who could gain no access to education in the past, or who had to leave before completion of the full primary cycle, have joined the ranks of the illiterate population, as thousands are still doing today. The heady rhetoric in the years immediately after Independence, on opening the door of education to every individual through mastery of the skills of reading, writing and simple numeracy, translated itself into a short-lived enthusiasm that had almost dissipated itself by 1971, which was the last year that a financial allocation of any worth was made to the adult literacy programme. The neglect of this area comes out vividly in the cumulative enrollment figures—during the entire twenty-five year period, 1966–85, fewer than 160,000 persons had participated in basic or functional literacy programme and today there are fewer than 4,500 enrolled in literacy classes. The picture is similar for other areas that fall within the broad scope of basic education: farm training institutes, community development programmes, nutrition and health programmes, all beginning with zeal and enthusiasm, all fading out after a few hapless years, and the people to whom they extended a ray of hope that the nation was indeed concerned about their dignity and well-being were let slip back into the trough of deprivation and the seamless web of poverty.

The state of illiteracy, as given by the 1980 census, was that about 47% of the adult population, that is, some 1.36 million persons, could be counted as illiterate; of these 0.86 million were female and 0.50 million were male. More than 60% of the total were under the age of 45 in 1980 and hence one could expect that a very substantial proportion of them would be still living and, because of the almost total absence of efforts to help them, would still be illiterate. Their number would be swollen by the 150,000 or so who completed no more than four grades of primary schools, as well as by other premature school-leavers, in the decade 1980–89. Hence it is likely that when the detailed findings of the 1990 census become available they will show that very many adults, especially women, are illiterate; it could even be that the total number of illiterates, though not the percentage, may be larger than it was in 1980. The *World Bank Atlas* gives the percentage of illiterates in 1985 as 24%; if this estimate is correct and things have not improved in the meantime, then the number who can be counted as illiterate must still exceed one million.

### **The Crisis of Quality**

During the 1980s the quality of education provided in all institutions of learning, from primary schools up to and including the universities, declined sharply, in some cases precipitously, whether quality is measured in terms of the inputs into the educational system, or of the outputs from the system, or of the process of instructional interaction between teacher and students in the classroom. There has been a falling-off in the availability and quality of facilities: dilapidated, unsafe and sometimes unusable buildings; inadequate, battered or totally absent seats and desks; grossly overcrowded classrooms. Instructional materials and equipment are all in short supply or may be totally unavailable—no textbooks or writing materials, no chalk, no science apparatus, inadequate and out-of-date library resources. Teachers are relatively well educated and trained, but they are a demoralized, dispirited body because they are not given the material resources they need for the professional discharge of their responsibilities and because so many of them feel obliged to undertake a host of private commercial activities to supplement their greatly reduced real incomes.

These factors have an adverse effect on the education process itself, what actually goes on in the classroom: teacher absenteeism and the need to devote an inordinate amount of time to the management problems of large classes effectively reduce student time on the learning task, one of

the most significant factors leading to student achievement; the poverty and paucity of instructional materials reduce learning to listening, to copying, to recitation, to rote memorization; written work and reading activities cannot be assigned because of the absence of materials and facilities; the numbers are so large that teacher-student interaction at the individual level is not possible—the teacher may even have difficulty in locating a child in the congested conditions within his classroom. It is no surprise then that in terms of outputs educational quality is low: examination performance stagnating at a low rate of passing; primary school-leavers who cannot read, write or compute and who will quickly lapse back into illiteracy; secondary school-leavers who are mathematically innumerate, scientifically illiterate, and devoid of the skills of operating with symbols; university graduates who, having spent five or six years to obtain a degree that should be completed in four years, cannot respond flexibly, creatively, and competently to the responsibilities placed on their shoulders.

### **The Crisis of Confidence**

Faced with this situation, employers express dissatisfaction with the outputs of the education system and criticize it for not doing its job properly. They must engage so much in re-doing what schools and colleges were supposed to have done that many of them are asking about the value of education. Given the harsh economic climate and the sluggish growth of the economy, it is understandable that officers in the Ministry of Finance and Planning look covetously at the large budgetary allocation for education—K6 billion for 1991—and ask if these resources would not be better utilized in developing the infrastructure or in promoting industry and creating jobs.

But even more worrying is the fact that the perception of parents appears to be changing. No longer do they manifest an almost “superstitious, if touching, faith in the magic of knowledge in itself” and in education's role in liberating them from grinding poverty. Instead they are showing that they are losing confidence in education as it is being provided, or that they cannot sustain the costs associated with it; and this they are doing in the most concrete way known to them, by not enrolling their children in school. Primary school enrollments in 1987 were lower than they had been in 1986, the first time in the entire history of Zambia that there was a decline of this nature, and even the 1988 enrollment had not regained the 1986 level. The existence of this crisis of confidence had already been acknowledged by the Ministers of Education who met in Harare in 1982:

...it is the very conception of education, its aims and content, its structures, the values that it instills and the spirit in which it operates that are at issue.

At the same time evidence is accumulating that the benefits of education are accruing disproportionately to the children of the more affluent so that education is found to be contributing to the intergenerational perpetuation of power, prestige and relative affluence. Instead of breaking down barriers and promoting equity, it would seem that in practice education is reinforcing distinctions within society, while in theory it can be seen as an agent for the legitimation of inequality. This issue deserves more extensive treatment than can be given here, but it is mentioned at this point to highlight the fact that it is the poor, the vulnerable, the marginalized in society who are suffering most from the inadequacies and deficiencies of the primary school system, from the neglect of the problem of illiteracy, and from the virtual cessation of so many other activities pertaining to basic education. They will remain poor, vulnerable and marginalized so long as society does not make an all-out effort to provide them with their basic human right to education. But the provision of such education, if complemented by other social sector inputs, principally related to health and family well-being, and accompanied by an efficient labour-intensive pattern of

development, will open up the route for them to escape from their poverty and for conditions of greater social equality and justice to prevail throughout society.

### **The Crisis of Financing**

It is against this dark background of inadequate educational infrastructure, the erosion of educational quality, and the questioning of the very concept of education, that attention now focuses more sharply on the financing of education in Zambia, particularly its basic education components.

The analysis reveals a number of imbalances and distortions in the financing of the education system in Zambia. Those that affect primary and literacy education most critically are:

- a strong bias towards the financing of higher education to the detriment of what is happening at the lower levels. The evolution of the ratio of unit costs for each university student to costs for primary students, from 87.0 in 1970–74 to 133.1 in 1985–89, provides conclusive evidence of this. The decline in resources for the adult literacy programme manifests a similar bias.
- the absorption by teachers' salaries of virtually all the funds for primary schools, leaving nothing for the purchase of resources that would enable the teachers to do their work effectively.
- the use of public and community resources to expand provision while failing to take account of the recurrent cost implications of such expansions or of the need to revitalize the quality and effectiveness of what goes on in existing schools.

### **The Need for Structural Educational Reform**

Finding ourselves in the classic situation where resources are insufficient to meet the needs, our task must be to reverse the problem by reducing the scale of the needs so that they fit the resources.

If as a nation we do not have the resources to build the educational structures we would like, then we must re-design that structure to fit our likely resources. How will the new design for education look? Will it accord a much higher national priority to all forms of non-formal provision, through communities, NGOs, the churches and small organizations? Will it incorporate a curbing of educational expansion, especially at the middle and higher levels? Will it embody a shorter compulsory cycle of formal education? Will it capitalize on the one resource that is available in abundance—time: the time of the community and its members to serve as supplementary instructional staff in the schools; the time of students to learn at their own pace through some form of distance education or to learn through teaching by assuming teaching responsibility for small groups of peers (a most effective way of learning and a most cost-effective way of teaching)? Will it see our existing schools transformed from their barrack-like conditions, where dull unimaginative teaching prevails, into centres of real learning where the stimulating guidance of well-motivated teachers interacts with the innate desire young people have for knowledge to produce a satisfaction and accomplishment in learning unlike anything we know today? Will our newer and trimmer educational structure still be heavily bureaucratic, rigidly centralized, remotely controlled, in terms of curriculum and management, or will it provide for the community to do what it has always done well, educate its own young people?

I do not know. But perhaps this Conference, with its wide spectrum of experience, the collective wisdom of much of the leadership of the country, and the rich insight brought to us by our friends from the donor agencies and from abroad, might be able to provide some of the answers. Let us not, then, seek at all costs to extend and dilute resources in trying to meet

objectives that cannot possibly be attained. Instead, let us together work out what we can accomplish with our existing and likely resources to do what is best for our less well educated fellow citizens, above all what we can do to bring quality basic education to all.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. (1991) *The Financing and Costing of Basic Education For All*, pages 87–90, 116, 132. In Kelly, M. J. (ed.) *National Conference on Education For All. Volume II. Conference Papers*. Lusaka: National Task Force on Education For All.

*Fifth Reading*  
**Zambia Declaration on Education For All**  
by  
**Zambia National Conference on Education For All**

**The Policy Context**

There is need for commitment at all levels to the goals and aims of Education For All. Of particular importance are the commitment and consistent support of the political leadership to providing more funding for basic education, to the provision of early childhood development services, and to the elimination of illiteracy.

In line with the trends towards more pluralism in society and liberalism in the economy, there should be more pluralism in the provision, management and financing of education.

The potential contribution of non-formal education to personal and national development should be more systematically exploited. Greater priority must be accorded to non-formal education. This requires that expertise gained through non-formal programmes be adequately recognized for purposes of employment and admission to formal programmes.

Especially favourable conditions should be provided for the urban and rural poor, girls, low-income women, children from female-headed households, and the disabled, to offset the multiple disadvantages from which these groups suffer.

Teachers must play a leading role in the realization of Education For All. The success of the programme depends very heavily on their commitment, competence and expertise. But the problems of low morale and performance, brought about in large measure by the unprecedented reduction in real incomes, remain critical. The restoration of teacher morale and the enhancement of teacher status require urgent attention.

Progress towards the provision of Education For All is in many ways hampered by the absence of information on the system as a whole. It is imperative that there be data-based decision-making, but this is constrained by the lack of accuracy and timeliness with which data-analysis can be conducted. The ability to provide thorough and up-to-date information on educational provision, to identify significant problems affecting educational development, and to evaluate policy options that could improve the contribution of education to personal and national development, is also scarce. Support must therefore be provided for action-based research on all aspects of educational provision, but focusing particularly on quality issues pertaining to basic education.

### **Universalizing Access to Basic Education and Removing Disparities**

**Basic Education For All** means that the basic learning needs of all children, youths and adults must be served. Every child, youth and adult must have the opportunity, through education, to develop his or her talents for personal well-being, for the service of one's fellows, and for the good of the nation. Each must have access to an educational programme which responds to one's needs and is designed for one's age and ability.

Consistent efforts must be made to neutralize any features that establish or consolidate differences in educational provision between one group and another, whether in terms of access or of the content of the curriculum and learning materials. Access to educational provision, progress within the system, and success upon completion of a given cycle, should be liberated from dependence on gender, on family background, on social standing, and on place of residence.

To compensate for past neglect, there should be positive discrimination in favour of women and girls. In the school sector this should be reflected in smaller classes, more copious supplies of learning materials, and a richer environment for learning.

### **Community Involvement and Alliance Building**

The first responsibility for the education of a child rests with the parents who have conferred life on that child. Hence the primary educative force in the life of an individual is the family and after that the wider community in which the family lives. But while belonging primarily to the family and community, the task of education requires the help of society as a whole which has the responsibility of overseeing the duties and rights of parents and communities and of assisting them to discharge their duties by providing educational services which are beyond the resources of the family or the other more local providers of education. The acceptance of these principles implies that the provision of education is a responsibility that cannot be left to the Government alone or to any of its ministries.

It follows at once from what has been said that community involvement in educational provision should be the rule and not the exception. A prerequisite for community involvement is a clear recognition of the rights of the community, within the framework of an efficient state administration, a democratic political culture, and a climate of peace and stability.

Among all the agencies of education, the school has a special importance, being a centre that engages the joint participation of families, teachers, various kinds of cultural, civic and religious groups, and the Government itself. Since all are partners in the enterprise of education, no kind of school monopoly should be established that allows or requires any one of the educational partners to exercise sole responsibility for the provision, management or financing of education.

A greater measure of responsibility for the education and training of its children should be restored to the community so that it may continue to do what it has always done well, educate and train its own young people. To this end, there should be readiness to call upon qualified members of the community to provide instruction in their areas of expertise, such as in various crafts, in cultural expressions, and in the development of various practical skills, and to undertake supervisory duties that would free teachers to attend to other activities directed towards learning.

Communities should be enabled to develop a sense of ownership for basic education facilities that would make them feel accountable for the preservation and maintenance of buildings, furnishings, school equipment and materials.

The school should be strengthened to become a centre for meeting the total learning needs of the community. To this end, it should be required to share its resources, services, skills and physical facilities, with the community and serve as a centre of service for the community as a whole.

### **Private Schools**

The development of private schools should be actively encouraged. The development of these schools should be promoted through carefully designed legal and extra-legal incentives. In principle, there should be a minimum of government regulation for private schools, but in the early stages of the expansion of this sector some regulation relating to facilities and standards may be required for the protection of users. But market forces will eventually provide better protection for the user than any form of external regulation. Hence the market should be allowed to operate freely as soon as possible. The education ministry should retain responsibility for the inspection of private schools in discharge of Government's duty to protect the rights of children to an adequate education.

### **The Promotion of Learning Achievement**

The focus of Education For All is not on the numbers enrolled in schools or participating in established programmes. Rather it is on measurable learning achievements and outcomes. In practice, it has three objectives:

1. the development of communication skills. These embrace literacy and numeracy; civic, scientific and cultural knowledge; social values and attitudes;
2. the fostering of knowledge and skills that enhance the quality of life. These include knowledge relating to health, nutrition and sanitation; creation and management of a home; family welfare; fertility awareness; management and protection of the environment; civic participation;
3. the development of skills that can contribute to economic production. These include all activities for making a living or for producing goods and services.

The promotion of learning achievement as a guiding principle for basic education demands that attention be accorded to measurable learning outcomes. The effects of the learning should be demonstrated in the lives of individuals, families, communities, and society as a whole. In other words, the development of basic education is an investment in the quality of the education being provided. It is against this vision of basic education as learning acquisition that attention is focused on quality-enhancing strategies.

The first need is to define acceptable levels of learning achievement for various educational programmes. To this end, clearly defined national competency-based levels of achievement should be established in key basic skills areas such as numeracy and literacy.

The second need is to establish and apply systems for assessing learning achievement. Hence, objective measures of performance that are easy to apply and interpret should be designed and applied, first in relation to the communications skills of literacy and numeracy, whether acquired through the formal or non-formal system, and subsequently in relation to life and production skills.

The acquisition of learning requires that the process be supported by appropriate educational materials and equipment. These should promote the development of communication,

life and production skills. They should be developed with these objectives in view and should be produced in sufficient quantity for use in schools, in literacy and post-literacy programmes, and in other non-formal areas. All the partners engaged in educational provision should be involved in the development, production and provision of these learning materials.

The role and function of the inspectorate are central to the development and maintenance of professional and academic standards in the school system. Measures should therefore be taken to strengthen the inspectorate and make it more effective within the present educational framework. The professional and academic competence of inspectors should be enhanced by provisions for training. Their effectiveness should be promoted by creating a pool of transport exclusively for their professional use. Their functions should be facilitated by freeing them from the discharge of administrative tasks that lie outside the sphere of their proper responsibilities.

**Source:** National Task Force on Education For All (1991) *National Conference on Education For All. Volume I. Conference Report*, pages 8–12. Lusaka: National Education For All Task Force.

## Chapter 20

### Developments in Educational Policy

*'Free' Education:* Tuition fees never charged in majority of primary, secondary (government & grant-aided), & tertiary level institutions. Decision (1965) to abolish boarding fees in schools. Only payment legally required of parents = School Fund, for sports, cultural activities, etc. National Education Conference (1969) foresaw need for re-introducing fees, because of drain on resources. *Educational Reform* (1977, pages 84–86) reaffirmed that policy was not to charge school fees and that education would continue to be 'free'. With deteriorating economy, PTAs introduced charges to collect funds for school supplies & special projects.

*Educational Fees:* Late 1985, government reversal of policy—re-introduction of boarding fees. Even with payment of fees, boarding costs at secondary schools continued to consume about one quarter of the funds used at secondary level—to pay for a relatively small number of students, many from better-off homes. ERIP report recommended rationalization of PTA payments into composite fee, with introduction of real fees in senior secondary and above. In April 1989 announcement that university students were to pay tuition fees. *Economic* considerations dominant in various processes of re-introduction of fees. Less attention to *equity & efficiency*. Believed that payment of fees leads to greater accountability on part of providers and hence to greater efficiency. Bursaries established to help out needy, but not well used & often hard to secure because of bureaucracy. General principle in financing education that the more universal a level of education is (especially if it is compulsory) the less justification there can be for tuition fees; the less universal it is, the more justification there is for making the beneficiaries pay fees.

*Ambivalence towards Partnership in Educational Provision:* In 1964 educational provision at primary & secondary levels largely in hands of mission and local government agencies. Government control of schools increased in 1960s and 1970s, in line with increasing government control of economy. Missions retained control over grant-aided secondary (and a few special primary) schools. Reluctance of private sector to begin or expand private schools. *Draft Statement on Educational Reform* had negative attitude to these, but tolerated mission schools. *Educational Reform* tolerated both, because the state did not have the resources to provide for everyone, but affirmed that state provision for everybody was the ultimate goal. Some increase in private schools after 1977 Reforms.

*Towards Pluralism in Educational Provision:* INDP's affirmation (1987) that first responsibility for education of child lay with parents opened door (a) to parental payments (fees) and (b) to community, private and other provision. Strong ERIP Report recommendation for more pluralism in education. Growing liberalism in economy accompanied growing recognition of role of private sector in educational provision; clearly affirmed in 1989 and later PFPs. World Conference on EFA stressed need to strengthen partnerships between government and NGOs, the private sector, local communities, religious groups and families. The *Zambia Declaration on EFA* (1991) was unequivocal: "the development of private schools should be encouraged." Following the 1991 political transition, Ministry's policy highly supportive of (a) community schools, (b) take-over by religious groups of management of primary schools; (c) establishment of schools by industry and private sector (though regulatory environment did not change much). Establishment in 1993 of grant-aided schools & colleges as Board of Management institutions. Decentralization: pilot 1995 scheme established Education Boards in Copperbelt Province.

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## Readings

The *first reading* gives the INDP's statement on parental responsibility for educational provision. Note that the Plan's reference to District Councils having managerial and financial responsibility for primary schools had legal basis because of the 1980 Local Administration Act (on decentralization) but Councils never actually assumed this responsibility. “District Council levies for educational purposes” is another idea that was never implemented.

The *second reading* gives excerpts from two historical documents: the Statutory Instrument of November 1985 legislating for the re-introduction of boarding fees in primary and secondary schools, and the Minister of Education's April 1989 Statement to Parliament on the financing of higher education and on the proportion of the tuition fees that from then on would be payable by university students. Both measures are still in force.

The *third reading* gives a general picture of government policy towards the private sector at the end of the Second Republic and a clear statement of educational priorities.

The *fourth reading* examines education's “extraordinary staying power”, that is, its ability to survive in a reasonably flourishing condition, notwithstanding gross under-investment.

### *First Reading*

## **Parental Responsibility for Educational Provision from Interim National Development Plan**

### **Cost Recovery**

The responsibility for the education of children rests primarily with the parents and it is they who must ultimately provide the necessary resources for education services. It is imperative, therefore, that during the Interim Plan parents will be called upon to help bring about the planned qualitative improvements and quantitative expansions to the education system. This will bring about a closer integration and collaboration between the schools and the community. Parents will in this regard be expected to contribute to educational improvement and development in the following ways:

1. through their involvement with District Councils which will have responsibility for managing and financing primary schools and through their payments of special District Council levies for educational purposes;
2. through participation in self-help projects that have been approved by the Ministry of General Education and Culture, by providing labour, materials and services through cash payments; and
3. through the payment towards the cost of boarding fees both in primary and secondary schools.

**Source:** National Commission for Development Planning (1987) *Interim National Development Plan, 1987*, page 65. Lusaka: Government Printer.

*Second Reading*  
**Government Statements on Fees and Bursaries**  
 by  
**Ministers of Education**

**I: Reintroduction of Boarding Fees**  
*Statutory Instrument No. 173 of 1985*

The fees set out in Part I of the Second Schedule shall be payable by any pupil who is a Zambian.

*Second Schedule*  
*Part I*

In a day Primary School	nil
In a day Secondary School	nil
Boarder in a Primary School	K85 per term
Boarder in a Secondary School	K168 per term

**Source:** Supplement to *Government Gazette*, 28th November 1985.

**II: New Measures for the Financing of Higher Education**  
*Ministerial Statement Delivered in the National Assembly, 4th April 1989*

**Grants and Fees**

Hitherto, the funding of higher educational institutions, particularly universities, has been done on a more or less ad-hoc basis and has largely depended on how much money is available and on how well an institution argues its case for increased support. While these factors will undoubtedly continue to play an important part, it is not only desirable but necessary that clear guidelines be developed on the basis of which government subventions will henceforth be made.

In this regard the basis for funding will be the number of Effective Full Time Students (EFTS) and the range of disciplines offered. On this basis, staff establishment levels, physical facilities provision and provision for general running costs will be determined.

Furthermore, government subventions will be for meeting expenses relating to approved staff emoluments, research and approved development, as at present, but all other running costs will be met by institutions mainly from fees.

In the case of universities, that part of the subvention relating to staff emoluments will be computed on the basis of an overall staff-student ratio of 1:10 with respect to teaching and research staff and an overall ratio of 3:10 in the case of administrative and support staff.

As institutions will be expected to meet other running costs mainly from fees, it becomes necessary to adjust these so that they can adequately cover this item.

The government will continue to further subsidize the education of nationals. Thus, apart from meeting expenses relating to staff emoluments, research and approved developments, government will contribute towards the tuition fees payable by Zambians and residents according to the following sliding scale:

<i>Category</i>	<i>GRZ Contribution</i>	<i>Beneficiary's Contribution</i>
GRZ-sponsored	75%	25%
Self- or Family-sponsored	50%	50%
Other	0%	100%

### **Bursaries**

For study at the universities, bursaries have hitherto been awarded without regard to national manpower needs. The criterion has been admission to university. With effect from the next academic session, these awards will be competitive, with quotas reflecting national manpower needs.

As the capacity of the universities is likely to exceed the number of GRZ bursary awards, there will be a sizable number of students who will have to find alternative sources of support.

Furthermore, the educational costs of students on paid study leave will now be borne by their employers, and correspondence and part-time students will no longer be eligible for GRZ bursary awards.

**Source:** Ministerial Statement to the National Assembly, *Zambia Daily Mail* (advertisement), April 21, 1989.

*Third Reading*  
**Policies on the Private Sector and on Education**  
from  
**Policy Framework Paper (PFP)**

**Role of the Private Sector**

Economic growth and efficiency in Zambia require a vital private sector. It is important, therefore, that private entrepreneurs be encouraged to participate freely in the economic activity of

their choice and that competition be promoted. The government has already introduced several reform measures that will contribute to a more efficient and dynamic private sector.

Although the government has taken several positive measures recently, past excessive regulation and control of private sector activity have shaken investor confidence. The creation of an improved climate for private investment and private sector activity will require further concrete actions to assure private entrepreneurs that their activities and assets are safe from government interference.

### **Education**

The government of Zambia is, within the broad resource constraints of the adjustment programme, determined to reverse the decline in the quality of and access to education that has resulted from the difficult economic situation. To this end, emphasis in education expenditure is to be given to primary education, particularly in the very poor urban and rural areas. Increased resources for education within the expenditure programme will be channeled to rehabilitating existing facilities, while the distribution of recurrent expenditures will be focused on providing adequate teaching materials and equipment, on improving educational quality (curriculum development, upgrading of teachers) and on strengthening management and supervision in the sector.

To relieve the government of part of the budgetary burden of providing educational facilities, local communities will be expected to play a more active role in the construction, operation, and maintenance of educational institutions. In addition, current regulations and measures governing the establishment of private education facilities will be reviewed and ways and means of improving technical training explored.

In order to strengthen the financial resource base for education, Zambia has introduced user fees for the beneficiaries of secondary and higher education and instituted cost-efficiency measures. The Government intends to use the resultant savings to finance the additional recurrent expenditures that will result from limited increases in primary education. These policies are expected to reduce the current wide disparities of expenditure between primary and higher education in Zambia.

Source: National Commission for Development Planning (1991) *Economic and Financial Policy Framework Paper, 1991–1993* (PFP), pages 15, 30–31. Lusaka: Government Printer.

#### *Fourth Reading*

### **The Survival of Education in Times of Economic Adversity**

#### **The Policy Which is at the Root of All Policies**

by

**M. J. Kelly**

The final questions that remain to be asked about the education system at a time of rapidly decreasing financial support are how and why it has managed to survive. Some indications of the 'how' have been provided above: steady and sometimes rapid numerical expansion; reduced real

expenditure per pupil (effected for the greater part by a reduction in the real salaries of teachers); an almost complete drying-up of the supply of the inputs considered vital for ensuring school quality; a deterioration in the physical plant and infrastructure for the system; an increased recourse to the private sector for the co-financing of the system; and growing reliance on foreign aid for the maintenance of some minimum level of inputs. These matters have been treated elsewhere in great detail for the period 1975–1985 (in *Education in a Declining Economy*) and hence will not be re-considered here. But it is worth pursuing somewhat further the question of why the education system has managed to survive in what is, notwithstanding so many shortcomings, so robust a state.

### **The Political Salience of Education**

One answer lies in the political and social salience of education. Politicians are aware that education is a sensitive political entity. For the ordinary person who is geographically, economically or socially remote from the halls of power, contact with government is effected largely through the education system. To such a person, the school in the village and its teachers are the face of government. The vitality of the school is the vitality of government, its decline the decline of government. Because the school is the most visible and pervasive aspect of government in the life of the nation, government finds it essential to ensure its survival. It has been correctly noted that educational provision serves to legitimate political regimes in developing countries. It is through the education system that they have something to offer to the people when they are unable to offer anything else. If a regime is to survive, it must ensure the survival of education.

Likewise, unless it is of a totalitarian type, the political regime cannot afford to modify too radically the education system or the philosophy that guides it. Zambia had experience of this in the 1976 National Debate on Educational Reform. Education is too close to the lives of the people, especially the conservative people in rural areas, for its forms to be changed too abruptly or for it to be threatened with economic collapse. Indeed, even in conditions of severe civil turmoil the machinery of the education system continues to work with surprising efficiency, as has been shown in the case of Uganda. Even where natural disasters disrupt normal living conditions, educational services are among the first to be restored. This “extraordinary staying power” of educational investment was seen very dramatically in Greece in 1986 when schools which had been destroyed in the calamitous Kalamata earthquake were re-opened just a week later in makeshift surroundings.

Governments will also ensure the survival of the education system because teachers usually constitute the largest single body of public sector employees and hence form a constituency that they cannot afford to alienate. In Zambia teachers constitute approximately 30% of all government servants and hence are a very powerful force to be reckoned with. Governments are also moved by economic considerations to preserve their education systems, seeing educational provision as the basis for and manifestation of the development process. They also regard education as a fundamental human right which must be provided for, no matter what the drain on the public purse.

### **Enduring and Universal Popular Demand for Education**

In all of these sensitivities to the need to ensure the continuance and development of educational services, governments are supported by the perceptions of the public, parents especially, who hold firmly to the belief that education can do today what it did in the past and that it is the necessary, even if not sufficient, condition for access to greater prosperity and prestige. The elite, with their powerful voice, want the system maintained and improved so that it may promote their children's chances of advancing to positions of even greater wealth and status; the

masses, with their more diffuse lobby, want more access for their children to a system which, in their view, has put the elite in their position of pre-eminence.

This popular pressure for more education because of the perceived benefits becomes even more insistent when the economic climate becomes harsher. Economic instability makes the privileges of the affluent more precarious and the poverty of the disadvantaged more grinding; but both see a way forward and upward through a door to which education alone is believed to hold the key. The growth in demand on the part of the elite for more and better education for their children is manifested in the diverse manipulations of the local education system which middle- and upper-class parents use, consciously or unconsciously, to secure places for their dependents in the better schools and in colleges and at the universities; in the financial support enjoyed by the Parent-Teacher Associations of certain quality schools; in the development of prestigious and expensive private schools at primary and secondary levels; and in the continued sending of children to schools abroad, even though the fees in Kwacha terms are inordinately high. In the rural areas, the growth in demand is seen in the huge groundswell of activity dedicated to transforming primary schools into basic education schools, with little concern for the capacity of the system to provide education of adequate intrinsic quality within these schools and with no reflection on the relevance of such schools and what goes on within them to the life of the community.

As suggested earlier, given the situation of economic adversity, the vigorous popular demand for more education can only be met by tolerating within schools and institutions a sharp deterioration that makes its most severe impact on the weaker sections of society who hope for most from the education system. The freedom of choice and movement that their resources ensure, together with their ability to supplement the meagre educational offerings within schools, has cushioned the better-off sections of society against the worst manifestations of declining quality; but the rural and urban poor, who lack such resources, must remain content to accept what is available since it is all they can get. The external skeleton of educational provision pacifies them with the knowledge that they are receiving something, but there is reason to doubt whether what goes on behind the facade is good enough to promote social and economic mobility, to serve as a mechanism for the re-distribution of wealth, or to contribute to the elimination of poverty.

### **Education Will Survive**

What all of the foregoing amounts to is that no matter how harsh the economic climate, no matter what variations may occur in financial prosperity, education is so widely perceived, at the public and private levels, as bringing political, social and economic benefits that resources will always be devoted to maintaining it in some kind of working order, able in some way—however limited—to discharge its responsibilities, or at the very worst, to appear to do so. The danger that little exists but a facade, behind which there is nothing but empty formalism and ritual, will not prevent great sacrifices being made, by the state and by individuals, to expand the system and to extend the scope of its provision. The economic environment may change, but educational provision will persist. This is surely the supreme educational policy which gives meaning to all other policies, that regardless of fluctuating circumstances, be they political, social or economic, education must be enabled to march on.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. (1996/97) "Education policies and the changing economic environment: the case of Zambia, 1965–1989." *African Social Research*, Nos. 37 & 38, Dec. 1996/June 1997, pages 123–125.

## Part VI—Education in the Third Republic 1991 Onwards

### Chapter 21

## Principles Underlying Government Provision of Education in Zambia

*Why do Governments Exist?* To provide necessary services which individuals would not provide for themselves, if there were no government. (i) A government should develop the structures & institutions of a society, and should finance these if there is danger that the private sector will not provide them or that beneficiaries would not purchase them. (ii) A government should equalize access by members of a society to necessary social goods & services and should finance these for those who cannot afford to purchase them. In this equalizing role, a government should seek to narrow the gap between the rich and poor. (iii) A government should establish the conditions necessary for the economic development of a society and should actively promote such development. In this economic role, a government should strive to promote and, in certain circumstances, to create adult employment. (iv) A government should provide for the security and defence of the members of a society.

*Should a Government Finance Education?* Yes; this is part of its role as developer. If it does not do so there is danger (i) that the private sector will not provide all the services that are needed (e.g., those needed in remote rural areas or in urban shanty towns); (ii) that those likely to benefit from education will not always be prepared or be able to pay for educational service (as is so often the case with girls and the poor).

*Should a Government Provide Education?* This depends very much on circumstances. World-wide, privately-provided education tends to be of better quality and more cost effective than state-provided education—private schools in general achieve more, and do so more cheaply, than government schools. In some countries almost all of the education is provided by the private sector, even though most of the financing comes from the government—the government uses public funds to contract private providers to supply educational services. Where private schools range from those which are excellent to those which are of poor quality (as in Zambia), there are good grounds for partnership arrangements, with education being provided both by government and by the non-governmental (private) sector.

*Should a Government Regulate Education?* Yes; this is needed in order to (i) protect the consumer; (ii) ensure equality of educational opportunity. Consumer-protection means ensuring that physical facilities are safe & hygienic, that staff are suitably qualified, that the education provided is of satisfactory standard. Equality of educational opportunity in this case seeks to ensure balanced development of education, in terms of level (e.g., sufficient opportunities at the bottom as well as at the top), curriculum (e.g., covers essential core areas) and geographical spread of facilities (e.g., not all concentrated in towns or in low density urban areas).

*Should a Government Administer Education?* Yes, principally in order to (i) formulate broad policies for the sector, (ii) undertake planning at the national level, (iii) enact the legislation that an education system requires, and (iv) mobilize local and international resources for the development of the sector.

Note: adapted from Hallak (1990), Third Reading below.

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## Readings

The *first reading* gives the position on grant-aided and private schools adopted in 1977 by *Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations*.

Having presented the Mission Statement currently adopted by the Ministry of Education, the *second reading* sets forth the underlying principles that guide *Educating Our Future*, the national policy on education. These diverge widely from the principles implicit in the first reading, particularly in relation to the private sector and the role of non-governmental providers of education.

In the *third reading*, Hallak explores a number of issues relating to the role of government as 'equalizer' and 'developer' in the provision of education. The reading gives the basic reasons why a government should be involved in the financing of education, and sometimes in its provision.

### *First Reading*

## **The Role of Non-Government Agencies in Education**

by

### **Ministry of Education**

The Party and Government have the responsibility of ensuring that educational facilities are available to all citizens. However, due to limited resources, the state has not been able to make adequate provision for everyone, although this remains the ultimate goal. Therefore, the important role played by mission agencies and other voluntary organizations will continue to be appreciated and encouraged by the Party and Government, especially in pre-school, primary, special, secondary, technical and teacher education.

Non-government institutions which currently provide educational facilities include grant-aided schools, colleges and institutes; private schools and colleges; and private correspondence colleges.

#### **Grant-aided Educational Institutions**

Grant-aided educational institutions are those institutions to which the Government contributes 75% of the cost of their capital works programme in the form of a grant and to which a grant on recurrent expenditure is also made to cover the payment of teachers' salaries, school requisites, boarding costs, etc. Examples of this category are mission schools, teacher training colleges, and trades training institutes run by mission agencies.

There are other educational or training programmes which may not be formally classified as schools, but to which the Government makes small grants. For example, youth training programmes, community-based skills training projects for youth, etc. These are important sectors where there should be clear policies and where systematic expansion and improvement are urgently required. The policies discussed in this and other chapters will provide a firm basis for voluntary organizations to extend their work in collaboration with appropriate government agencies.

#### **Private Educational Institutions**

Private educational institutions in Zambia cover a wide range of functions. They offer pre-school, primary school, secondary school, vocational and cultural programmes. Some have been established primarily to serve the expatriate community, or a particular religious group.

In terms of the provisions of the legislation on education, private educational institutions are permitted if they satisfy the requirements for registration and are run or operated in accordance with the provisions of the relevant Act. The main purpose of the legal requirements is to protect the students concerned and the general public against exploitation, by ensuring that the fees charged by the proprietors of the institutions are reasonable in relation to the service rendered, and that satisfactory standards of educational provision are maintained.

The variety of private educational institutions operating in Zambia thus includes the following:

- (a) institutions that aim at providing educational programmes which enable expatriate children to integrate smoothly into the school system on return to their home countries;
- (b) institutions which provide education and charge fees but are operating on a non-profit basis;
- (c) institutions which charge fees for providing general, commercial or technical education and are run on a profit-making basis as business enterprises;
- (d) institutions which provide education with the aim of catering for persons who have a vocation to the priesthood for particular religious groups;
- (e) institutions which organize and run workers' education programmes, such as trade unions, industrial and commercial enterprises, the Party, and other institutions.

### **Control of Non-Government Educational Institutions**

The role of non-government institutions in education is essential and, to all intents and purposes, these institutions will continue to be part and parcel of the Zambian education system. These institutions will follow approved curricula and syllabuses, and will be subject to professional inspection. Students will sit, as at present, the same examinations and be subject to the same selection procedures as students in government schools. It is important, therefore, that efficient control by stricter enforcement of the relevant Education Act should be exercised by the Ministry of Education. To this end, the Ministry of Education should organize and set up adequate administrative machinery to improve its performance in this respect.

In addition, the Ministry of Education should ensure that the proprietor of each institution is a fit and proper person or body of persons to be a proprietor and to be responsible for sound and efficient management of the institution.

The proprietors should facilitate the establishment of Students' Representative Councils and Parent-Teachers' Associations. However, it must be mentioned that in some schools these organizations already exist.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1977) *Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations*, pages 77–78. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

### *Second Reading*

## **The Philosophical Rationale Underlying the National Education Policy by Ministry of Education**

### **Mission Statement**

*The mission of the Ministry of Education is to guide the provision of education for all Zambians so that they are able to pursue knowledge and skills, manifest excellence in performance and moral uprightness, defend democratic ideals, and accept and value other persons on the basis of their personal worth and dignity, irrespective of gender, religion, ethnic origin, or any other discriminating characteristic.*

## **The Philosophical Rationale Underlying the National Education Policy**

### **Introduction**

Zambia is a liberal democratic society. Hence, it is the values of liberal democracy that must guide the formulation of educational policies and their implementation. The core values of rational and moral autonomy, equality, fairness and liberty underpin the concept of a liberal

democracy. In this system, the people are expected to participate fully and rationally in the affairs of their country. A basic principle is that their consent is the only legitimate justification for their being governed. In a liberal society, therefore, the state is obliged to protect and promote fundamental human and civil rights, to propound educational policies and aims which focus on nurturing the holistic development of individuals, and to promote the social and economic welfare of society through the provision and renewal of the skills, knowledge and competencies necessary for the development of society and the economy.

The philosophical rationale for educational provision is informed by these principles which form the basis for a shared commitment among all partners towards educational development in the country. Clear articulation of the principles for the development of education contribute to establishing the direction such education ought to take. Further, it provides justification and support for resource allocations to educational development.

Within this framework, the philosophical rationale for future development of education is based on three broad considerations:

1. the role of the Government in education;
2. principles for the development of education policy and practice; and
3. the aims of the national education system.

### **The Role of the Government in Education**

Education is a right for each individual. It is also a means for enhancing the well-being and quality of life for the entire society. The Government's role in education arises from its overall concern to protect the rights of individuals, promote social well-being and achieve a good quality of life for every person through all-embracing economic development. The Government must therefore seek to create, promote and support the conditions within which education can realize its potential in society.

The Government respects the legitimate interests of various partners in education and supports the distinctive character of individual schools, colleges and universities. They, in turn, have a corresponding obligation to respect and support the principles and rights upon which a democratic society is based.

Because of the centrality of knowledge, skills and technology in shaping the organization and productivity of the economy, education is a productive investment. Since knowledge, skills and technology develop and change so quickly, this investment must be continually renewed. Individuals must learn continuously throughout their lives, acquiring new skills and technologies. The establishment of a liberal market economy, in which internal and external competition are central values, accentuates dependence on the knowledge and skills of the people and their ongoing access to education. Investment in education, therefore, is of crucial concern in the strongly competitive climate of the modern world. Hence, the Government strongly reaffirms the important role education plays in human resource development as the basis of all other development. It will act, therefore, as the watchdog for enhancing the contribution of education and training to economic development and improved social cohesion.

Three major principles inform the Government's important role in education:

1. the Government is the custodian of the human rights of all individuals, including their right to education. Its concern, therefore, will be with how well national education policy and practice promote equality, equity, efficiency, partnership, pluralism, transparency and accountability;

2. the demands of national development require that the Government pays attention to the role education plays in human capital formation, particularly in developing the types of knowledge, skills, values and competencies that are necessary for economic development and social welfare;
3. democratization of education, with its demands for partnership in educational provision, requires that the Government creates an enabling environment, and establishes rules and regulations, that will protect the right of various educational agencies to full and fair participation in educational development.

### **Principles for the Development of Education**

Education in Zambia is intended to serve individual, social and economic well-being and to enhance the quality of life for all. This aim will be guided by the principles of liberalization, decentralization, equality, equity, partnership, and accountability.

#### **Liberalization**

Liberalization of educational provision entails fundamental changes in power relations within the education sector. Under a liberalized educational system, the right of private organizations, individuals, religious bodies, and local communities to establish and control their own schools and other educational institutions is recognized and welcomed. Liberalization of educational provision allows those with resources to establish such institutions and to run them in accordance with their own principles—subject, however, to stipulated rules and regulations. In this way, liberalization contributes to expansion of educational opportunities while protecting the right of parents to send their children to educational institutions of their own choice, be they public, private, religious or communal.

#### **Decentralization**

Decentralization involves the devolution of power from the centre to the local level, in districts and schools. It promotes broad-based participation in the management of education with great emphasis placed on the creativity, innovation and imagination of local-level education managers. By allowing various stake-holders to share in decision-making and to take responsibility for education at the local level, decentralization fosters a sense of local ownership and promotes better management. By decentralizing to the local and school levels, many of the bureaucratic procedures that currently impede efficiency in the educational system will be eliminated.

Government expects that the newly-established Education Boards will

- relieve the Ministry of Education of much of the burden of day-to-day business;
- cater for a greater degree of democracy in the management and administration of the system; and
- allow for greater responsiveness to local needs.

#### **Equality and Equity**

Every individual in Zambia has a right to education. Hence it is a matter of fairness or justice that access to, and participation and benefit in, the education system be available to all. The development of education will therefore seek to promote equality of access, participation and benefit for all in accordance with individual needs and abilities. Measures to promote equality will include allocating resources to those in greatest need, providing appropriate support systems, and changing the tangible and intangible qualities of the system itself to cater for the diverse educational needs and interests of the population. It will also include strategies for the earliest feasible intervention to support children at risk. The Government will ensure that special support measures for such children are developed to enable them to participate in education.

Where access, participation and achievement in education are impeded by gender, physical, mental, economic, or social factors, the Government will seek to eliminate sources of educational disadvantage in order to enhance equity.

The achievement of fairness in education demands that educational policies should value and promote a multifaceted development of the people, taking into account their uniqueness so that they can fully and rationally participate in the economic, cultural and social affairs of society. In all its educational endeavours, the state will aim at making it possible for its citizens to live useful lives, taking into account knowledge and skills appropriate to their age, their social and economic roles, the complexity of the modern world and the social environment in which they live. Educational policy will deal, therefore, with Zambia's cultural and intellectual heritage as well as with the knowledge, skills and values that are to be transmitted to future generations. In other words, the concept of equity in education necessitates the diversification of the curriculum in order to suit different abilities, talents and interests.

### **Quality**

All learners should be facilitated in the attainment of the highest standards of learning through teaching of excellent quality. Quality is brought about by maximizing the efforts of all those responsible for the education of learners and by coordinating all the structures of the system so that centres of education, from pre-school to university, are places where effective teaching, learning and research take place and where the highest standards of achievement, in accordance with ability, are obtained by every student.

The Government has a bounden duty to promote the highest standard of education and learning for all. This entails giving attention to various interdependent factors, including the quality of the curriculum, teaching and assessment, the quality of teachers in schools, school and institutional arrangements, and planning processes. The Government will also develop rigorous procedures for the evaluation of educational effectiveness and outcomes, with due regard to the legitimate autonomy of individual institutions.

### **Partnerships**

Building on the principle of liberalization and on the creation of an enabling environment, the Government will follow an education policy that encourages and strengthens partnerships in educational development. A cardinal principle is the acceptance by all parties that the various partners participate by right and not by sufferance in educational provision. To promote this participation, the Government will create conditions that allow the human, financial and other resources under the control of private and voluntary agencies, communities and religious bodies, to be channeled without hindrance into the education sector.

The development of a strong commitment to partnership will require improved co-operation among various stake-holders, coupled with better coordination and planning of educational provision. Accordingly, while recognizing the rightful autonomy of individual institutions, the Government will promote constructive cooperation that will enhance the welfare of all students.

### **Accountability**

There are many legitimate competing demands for resources in the country. The amount of money available for education is limited. To ensure the best possible use of available resources and to allow for full public accountability, the Government will ensure that effective systems are in place at national, provincial, district, and institutional levels for evaluating the effectiveness and efficiency with which resources are used. Accountability measures will pay attention to how well education serves parents, learners and the wider community.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future. National Policy on Education*, pages xi, 1–5. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Third Reading*  
**What Should be the Role of Government**  
by  
**J. Hallak**

A key policy issue is what should be the role of government? This actually raises two separate questions:

- Should the government play a more or less active role in human resource development?
- What should be the role of government with respect to finance, provision, administration and regulation?

**What Should Government Do?**

General consensus seems to favour requiring government to finance all ‘public goods’, such as clean air and national defence, which benefit all members of the society. Private interests are not willing to pay for these goods because others cannot be excluded from enjoying them simply because they do not pay. It is therefore self-evident that societies must tax their members and provide these goods and services through mechanisms of government. It logically follows that government does not need to finance ‘private goods’, which benefit only those members of society who consume them. Individuals will purchase them without encouragement, and government need not be involved.

Note that we used the word ‘finance’ and not ‘administer’ or ‘deliver’. Whether or not government is expected to take over the provision of goods and services depends very much on the generality of the belief that the government will do a better job than the private sector—for example, when the private sector is ill-equipped to provide the service, or sees no incentive for sharing responsibility for it. Whether or not it is deemed best that the public sector deliver goods or services, it is generally recognized that government must regulate their quality. Because of market imperfections, quality would deteriorate if consumers were left defenceless. The purpose of regulation of norms or provisions is to impose these norms on both the public and private sectors which provide public goods.

**Is Education a Public Good?**

And what about education? Education is not a purely public good, nor must it be considered a purely private one. On the one hand, rates of return on private investment in education or, in some subsectors of an educational system, can be interesting enough to attract individuals to pay without the encouragement of government. On the other hand, for the sake of social justice, education must be provided to those who cannot pay for it. Economically speaking, the social benefits of education often exceed its private benefits. If government does not intervene, the level of investment in education will be insufficient from the point of view of the society as a whole.

It is fairly widely agreed that government has an attribute of ‘developer’ and ‘equalizer’. Government must be responsible for (i) developing the structures, service and institutions of the society, and (ii) equalizing access to social goods, one of which is education. Economists tend to regard education as a quasi-public good, and all societies hold their governments responsible for financing and organizing it.

To fulfill its role as ‘equalizer’, the State is required to finance education and training services for those unable to purchase them on the private market. Because education is ‘quasi-public’, there is private demand and there are private markets (private schools and informal instruction provided by communities and associations, even in the poorest countries). Government must be concerned with policy not only to ensure the rights of those who would otherwise have no access to education, but also to ensure the rights of those whose resources cannot cover the entire cost of their instruction. This means that it must finance all levels and types of both formal and non-formal education and training for those who want and have the ability to profit by it, but cannot pay

for it. Obviously this is impossible. Even if money were no object, there are rarely enough well-trained teachers for the needs of any country, and no administration can expand in all directions at once.

The role of 'developer' requires that government should finance, at least partially, certain levels and types of education and training, because those who could pay for it might not purchase enough to meet the society's needs. Some programmes, whose private benefit is not interesting enough to attract individuals but whose social benefits are great, must be encouraged by government to fill urgent gaps in the labour market. Government must arrive at an appropriate mix of financial support that will best promote the interests of all, and of course there is no single optimum mix. Even if there were a perfect balance that could be achieved, based on a perfect theory of public resource allocation, it would not be easily applicable, since the costs of moving from the current arrangements in any one country, towards the optimum might be unbearable politically, because of the likely disputes and controversies about distributional implications. The expenditures of a country in its efforts to achieve it would certainly be more than its budget could stand.

### Guidelines for Policy Choices

There are, however, guidelines that can be considered in making policy choices. They are summarized in the table below.

<b>Summary of Guidelines on the Role of Government</b>		
<i>Area of Action</i>	<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Recommendations</i>
(i) Financing	Equity/social benefit	Finance to equalize opportunities; Finance the most 'public', i.e., the highest social benefit.
(ii) Provision	Cost-effectiveness	Seek partnership between the public and private sectors.
(iii) Administration	Costs and trade-offs	Target and monitor public support.
(iv) Regulation	Quality/Norms	Regulate delivery systems; Limit the consequences of market failure.

The question of administration and delivery, of regulation, and of financing should be considered separately.

### *Who Should Provide Education?*

Whether the provision should be left in the hands of the private sector to a greater or lesser degree is a matter to be considered on a case-by-case basis, after having assessed its cost-effectiveness in the private as compared to public sector. And even if these analyses indicate that one sector would be more efficient than the other, there may be advantages in keeping both sectors involved. Competitiveness, regard to cultural factors, synergism, and spill-over may all constitute reasons for a government to split the responsibilities for delivery of the service. And there is still no 'correct' demarcation line between the public and private sectors. In themselves they are fairly loose conceptions, and when it comes to deciding where to send the bill for a given educational service, or where the responsibility for the provision of the service should reside, distinctions can become even fuzzier. For instance, when a government establishes a school in an area of low population density

and scarcity of teachers, in which all primary grades are taught at the same time and in the same place, and regards this education as public goods, and all secondary grades are taught together and are regarded as private goods (the same teachers being involved at both levels), a partnership between the public and private sectors in the provision of services may well be the most cost-effective solution. The weight assigned to each will vary from case to case.

#### *The Regulation of Education*

Whether or not the government is involved in providing the service, it must regulate delivery to avoid differences in quality from sector to sector—usually meaning bad services for customers in the public sector, who are poor, and good services in the private sector where customers can pay. It must also limit the consequences of market failures when education is provided by the private sector. The private sector is not likely to provide a loan to a student if those involved consider the chances of repayment to be poor. Here a government must step in to widen access to higher education, even to the extent of providing the loans, or at least make certain that social principles pertaining to education and training are being respected.

#### *The Administration and Allocation of Public Funds for Education*

Policy decisions concerning administration and allocation of funds should be consistent with the government's role as equalizer. If access to secondary education depends on the ability to pay, as it does in many developing countries, and access to primary education depends less on the ability to pay, government should be sure to subsidize the access of the poorest segments of the population to secondary education. This points up the legitimacy of government's becoming involved in private activities, because it does not wish to see them restricted on the basis of ability to pay. It can do this either by directly subsidizing the poor, or by subsidizing private provisions to the poor. Through either option, governments must find ways to target and monitor the services or the subsidies, because they tend otherwise to simply replace private spending by those who can afford it. The cost of targeting and monitoring may be very high, even so high as to discourage a government from attempting them. Practical methods, such as means tests for awarding fellowships or exempting a student from fees, do exist, but in some societies they are not very reliable and are difficult to monitor. The fundamental policy choice of targeting will always involve trade-offs, but it can safely be said that the less rigorous the targeting, the greater the leakage toward the non-poor and the higher the costs to the public purse. And unfortunately, the more rigorous the targeting, the more difficult it is to persuade legitimate impoverished candidates to benefit from the service, and the more difficult to enlist public support for the policy.

In financing and allocating public moneys, a government must strive to provide those services which are most 'public'—in economic terms, to achieve the highest social benefit—through the educational programme to be financed. At one time or another, any level or type of education might become crucial to a society and deserving of top priority in the allocation of public resources. When the most 'public' of the services also contributes to equalizing opportunity, policy choices are facilitated. This is the case in countries where enrollment rates are still low, or where the quality of primary schooling is so poor that it is not producing literate citizens. Primary education for girls obviously fulfills both concerns, because in addition to the benefits to the person concerned, many of the goals of society as a whole, such as the improvement of the health and welfare of children and the lowering of fertility rates, are met by better education for women. But when the two conditions (services being 'public' and opportunities being equalized) do not coincide, when a country with limited financial and human resources must decide between different but equally urgent objectives of its educational system, a government's dilemmas are many and obdurate.

**Source:** Hallak, J. (1990) *Investing in the Future. Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World*, pages 76–81. Paris: UNESCO (and Oxford: Pergamon Press).

## Chapter 22: Partnerships in Education

*The Partnership Principle:* The 1990 Jomtien Conference spoke of an “expanded vision and a renewed commitment” to providing education for all., and stated that partnerships are at the heart of this vision and commitment (cf. Chapter 19, above). The partnership principle in educational provision recognizes the special rights of parents, teachers, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, and religious groups, and calls for their greater involvement in the conception, design and implementation of educational programmes. The principle is based on the fact (a) that the government cannot supply all the necessary human, financial and organizational resources; (b) that the government should not be expected to do so; and (c) that those who collaborate with the government in educational provision have a right to do so, and are not doing so merely because the government allows them. The partnership principle “means instituting a contractual relationship among the various agents of development, in particular between the people concerned and those intervening from the outside”. The participation of various partners in educational provision makes it more feasible to ensure that parents can exercise their right to choose the kind of education that will be given to their children (UN Declaration on Human Rights, Art. 26: cf. First Reading, Chapter 1 above).

*Providers of Education:* The three principal providers are the Government, missions, and the private sector. At Independence, most of the primary schools were run by Local Education Authorities and the missions. Over the period 1965–1973, Government took responsibility for these and still runs them. Missions retained control of their secondary schools, four Teacher Training Colleges, and some primary schools for children with special educational needs (the blind, hearing impaired, physically impaired). Almost all of these institutions are grant-aided, i.e., Government pays salaries and gives a grant towards the running costs. Grant-aided schools are outside the government system (and in some countries would be referred to as private schools). Grant-aided institutions were given almost complete autonomy in 1993, with power to establish Management Boards with full responsibility for policies, staffing, admissions, curriculum, etc.

*Private Education:* To meet their costs, private schools must depend very heavily on fees. Hence they respond to the needs of those with ability to pay, and are mostly found in urban areas. Private schools cater for a small proportion of pupils ( about 1% of primary school enrollments, and about 6.5% of secondary). In first years after Independence private schools received capitation grants from Government. With Government taking more control of the economic and social sectors in the late 1960s and early 1970s, support for private schools declined. Questions began to be raised about their role in a socialist country. *Education for Development (The Draft Statement on Educational Reform, 1976)* strongly discouraged them; *Educational Reform (1977)* adopted a more tolerant attitude, but remained cautious and reserved. There was an increase in the number of private schools in 1980s, partly because government schools could not cope with the numbers (especially in Grade 8), partly because some private schools promised better educational facilities than government schools, and partly because a more liberal economic climate was coming into being. Private sector involvement has been a cornerstone of economic policies since 1989; likewise there has been great stress in education on participation of the private sector in the provision of education. University Act of 1992 allows for private universities. The 1998 budget address affirmed that strategies for redressing conditions in the social sectors (principally health and education) included devolving service delivery to the private sector. Liberalization in education, which is central in the development of education policy, means the participation of private sector in (a) providing education, (b) supplying resources for education, and (c) developing educational materials.

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## Readings

The *first reading* presents the Ministry of Education's response to the call by the World Conference on Education For All for new and revitalized partnerships in education (Chapter 19, above). The Ministry singles out the four major partners who play a role in the Zambian context: other government ministries, communities and families, religious groups, and the private sector.

The *second reading* is from the report on the Twelfth Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Education, held in Pakistan, in November 1994. The Ministers considered the issues of decentralization, partnerships, and private education. The Zambian Minister of Education, accompanied by the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education (and by the Vice-Chancellor of the Copperbelt University and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, University of Zambia) participated in this meeting.

The *third reading* is an excerpt from the 1991 Zambia Declaration on Education For All. This Declaration was adopted by the National EFA Conference of March 1991, several months before liberalization in the provision of education became legitimate and fashionable in Zambia.

The *fourth reading* gives information on current Zambian initiatives in extending partnerships in education by the establishment of community schools.

*First Reading*  
**Partnerships in Educational Provision**  
**by**  
**Ministry of Education**

**Background**

Historically, formal education in Zambia originated through the work of voluntary agencies, dominant among them being Christian missionaries. From the time that an organized educational structure was established in the mid-1920s up until Independence in 1964, the basis of educational provision was a wide-ranging partnership that involved central and local government agencies, missionary societies and the private sector.

Guiding principles in development policies after independence were the establishment of state control in all areas of public life and the free or subsidized provision by a socialist state of basic services. These principles struck hard at the policy of partnership in educational provision as the state assumed to itself increasing responsibility for the running of schools, the management of education at all levels, and the financing of the system. Under the new arrangements, pressure was placed on the voluntary agencies to surrender control of their schools, while the education functions of local education authorities were taken over by the central government. The facts tell the story: in 1964, approximately 1,000 of the primary schools were run by voluntary agencies, a further 700 by local education authorities, and less than 100 by the central government. In 1967, government schools numbered 1,562, against 914 agency schools, while by 1979 government primary schools totaled 3,431 and only 62 voluntary agency schools remained.

The virtual monopoly exercised by the Government over the provision of education, particularly at the primary level, had several negative consequences. Contrary to the provisions of the 1966 Education Act, it greatly restricted parents' rights to choose the type of education they wanted for their children. It failed to tap valuable human and financial resources available in the non-governmental sector. It fostered the oppressive culture of over-dependency on the state that served to prevent communities from tackling their own problems. Finally it was incapable of responding to all the needs and failed to provide education in either the quantity or the quality that individuals and the country needed.

**Restoring Partnerships in Educational Provision**

An overall objectives of national policy in education is to establish new and revitalized partnerships, involving all providers of education and all levels: partnerships between the Ministry of Education and other government ministries; partnerships between the Government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families. Effective partnership involves giving attention to the role that cooperating partners can play, formulating policies to guide the partnership, and establishing strategies that facilitate it.

**Inter-Ministerial Collaboration**

Several government ministries—principally the Ministry of Science, Technology and Vocational Training (MSTVT), the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS), and the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (MSYCD)—are involved in the field of education. In addition, several other ministries, such as Health and Agriculture, Food & Fisheries, train staff for their own operations. Each government ministry involved in educational provision currently works almost in isolation, there being very little coordination among ministries. Consequently, the government approach to educational provision tends to be fragmented. This may lead to wasteful duplication of some services while in other areas there is inadequate provision.

To overcome such problems, the Government has adopted an initiative aimed at improving the coordination of policy and programmes in the entire education sector. This initiative, known as the Education Sector Integrated Programme (ESIP), is a sector-wide integration of educational

activities, programmes and projects currently under the authority of the Ministries of Education; Science, Technology & Vocational Training; Community Development & Social Services; and Youth, Sport & Child Development.

### **Community Participation**

A major objective of liberalization and democratization is to enhance the involvement of individuals and civic society in development. Community participation in education is one way of realizing this. A principal thrust of educational policy, therefore, must be to give people the opportunity to provide educational services or to improve on what is being offered. Such community involvement should be the rule and not the exception that it tended to be in the past.

The issue of community participation assumes special significance in the light of the fact that the first responsibility for the education of children lies with parents and after that with the wider community in which the family lives. This concept, which underpins the attention that the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights gives to the protection of the parents' right to choose the type of education their children will receive, means that parents and the community have a basic right to participate in education. The state's duty is to support and encourage them in the exercise of this right.

There are different ways in which communities are participating in education in Zambia today. Cost-sharing is one of them. The drastic reduction in public resources for education has resulted in a major part of the direct costs being transferred to parents. Parent-Teachers Associations are active in raising money for various services in schools. Business companies, churches, and NGOs provide support to schools and other institutions in such forms as direct ownership of schools, adoption of existing schools, and support for disadvantaged children. This financial involvement of parents, the community, and the wider non-governmental sector is central to the improvement and expansion of education, within the frameworks of liberalization and constrained government resources for the sector.

### **Objectives For Community Participation.**

Community participation in education will be directed towards meeting three objectives:

1. educational provision;
2. school improvement; and
3. strengthening school-community linkages.

Educational provision involves increasing school places by expanding the educational system through community resources. Communities can participate in educational provision through construction of school buildings, management of schools, maintenance of classrooms, and provision of school furniture like desks and chairs. Zambia has a long record of this form of community participation, manifested most remarkably in recent years in the upgrading of primary schools to include provision for Grades 8 and 9. A more recent development has been the establishment of more fully-fledged "community schools", that is, schools provided, run and financed by communities to meet their own needs. The Ministry will strongly support developments along these lines and will facilitate the access of such schools to educational resources, training, finance, and donor resources.

School improvement involves several objectives. The most important ones to which community participation should be directed are raising the learning achievements of pupils; increasing the levels of access, participation, retention and completion among girls and other disadvantaged children; improving school infrastructure; and enhancing school credibility among parents and other members of the wider community.

The primary objective for school-community linkages should be to narrow the gap between the school and its community. The school is a community institution. From this it follows that

- the school should play a greater role in the life of the community;
- the community should play a greater role in the life of the school; and
- the school should prepare its pupils to live a rewarding and satisfying life in the community.

Policies proposed elsewhere in this document, such as the establishment of Education Boards, the school as a health-affirming and health-promoting institution, the inclusion in the curriculum of topics relevant to the local economy, and the more extensive use of local languages for teaching initial literacy, should serve to strengthen the bonds between schools and their communities. In particular, the establishment of Education Boards should underline the facts that sole responsibility for education does not lie with the Government and that communities, being the custodians of the schools, must care for and maintain them.

The Ministry recognizes that there are a number of constraints that currently hinder the effective involvement of communities in education. These include factors like: poverty, restrictive education legislation, lack of communication between education authorities and communities, and unhelpful attitudes of teachers and education authorities to community efforts. Since the aim of the Ministry is to encourage and facilitate the full participation of communities in educational provision, it will take action to mitigate the negative effects of these constraints.

### **Grant-Aided Institutions**

Voluntary agencies, mostly religious bodies, make a significant contribution to educational provision in Zambia through their grant-aided schools and colleges. A grant-aided institution is one that receives from government a grant of 75% of the capital costs of approved projects and an annual grant in aid of running costs. The Government also pays the salaries of teachers and approved personnel at these institutions.

The participation of the voluntary agencies is greatest at the secondary level, where there are 44 schools catering for over 26,000 pupils, that is, for some 13% of the total secondary enrollment. In addition, the agencies own and operate four primary teacher training colleges. Involvement at the primary level is less substantial, partly because in the 1960s and 1970s government assumed most of the responsibility for primary school provision. An important aspect of the relatively small involvement at the primary level, however, is that much of it is devoted to the special educational needs of disabled and handicapped children.

In 1993, following extensive consultations with the voluntary agencies, the regulations governing grant-aided institutions were updated. The new regulations provide for the establishment at each aided institution of virtually autonomous Boards of Management which exercise extensive control over every aspect of educational provision at the school or college. A further significant feature of the new regulations is that they empower the Boards of Management to protect the particular ethos of each institution, through control over the appointment and retention of staff.

The substantially independent Boards of Management in grant-aided institutions are concrete evidence of the Ministry's intention to establish new and revitalized partnerships with non-governmental providers of education. The Ministry continues to appreciate the important role played by the voluntary agencies and will welcome and facilitate any extension of their activities. Subject to satisfying itself that proper arrangements are being made for educational provision of good quality, it will award grant-aided status to schools and colleges established by the voluntary agencies to meet the educational needs of the people.

### **The Role of the Private Sector**

The establishment and running of private schools by individuals and organizations is a growing mode of community participation in education. Private institutions which currently provide educational facilities include the following:

1. institutions run on a profit basis:

- schools established for profit purposes, by individuals or companies, and charging market value fees;
2. institutions run on a non-profit basis:
- religious agency schools and colleges, some of which charge fees, while others do not;
  - schools established and operated by local or international companies; some of these charge fees, while others do not;
  - communal schools run by local communities and non-governmental organizations;
  - trust schools established for the children of miners, but open to others who can afford the economic fees charged.

The diversity in the types of private schools implies that the sector caters for different types of children. Some private primary schools serve very needy children from poor homes. Other schools cater for children from privileged families. Still others serve children whose parents prefer an education that is different to that offered in a government school and are able to pay the fees. It is this diversity of private schools that makes the sector unique, interesting and enriching to the educational environment in the country. The diversity of the private education sector also draws attention to their development and relationship with Government.

Hitherto, policy and practice in Zambia has not been very supportive of private schools:

1. the Government provided no support or encouragement to private investors in education and did not facilitate their access to financial or other resources;
2. all private schools were treated in the same fashion, as if all had been established for the sake of profit;
3. private schools were denied access to educational resources mobilized from within or outside the country;
4. private school proprietors were not permitted to recruit teachers directly from the training institutions;
5. private entrepreneurs were given no special access to land or plots for educational purposes;
6. teachers in private schools lacked opportunities for professional improvement and were not accorded opportunities to participate in Ministry of Education in-service courses;
7. clear channels of communication and relationship between the Ministry of Education and private providers of education were never established;
8. rules and regulations for the establishment and registration of private schools, arising from the 1966 Education Act, were severely restrictive and inhibited the development of the sector.

This lack of support for the private sector in education has slowed its growth. As a result, private provision accounts for less than 1% of those enrolled in primary schools. At the secondary level, there is more extensive involvement, reaching out to about 7% of current secondary school enrollments, but this would seem to be well below the sector's potential to provide.

#### **Framework for Policy Towards Private Schools**

Private schools should be seen from a broad perspective which encompasses a number of considerations:

1. The provision of education is a responsibility that cannot be discharged by any single agency, but necessarily involves a plurality of providers. While the Government has the obligation to ensure that every person can have access to education, it cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task. It must work in partnership with other agencies, the private sector among them.
2. Regardless of who provides it, education is an investment in the development of people. While it begins as a private good for those who actually receive it, it ends as a public good which brings benefits to the whole of society.

3. Democratic principles and values entail that individuals should be able to exercise their rights—parents the right to choose schools, be these public or private, for their children, and individuals the right to establish and run educational institutions.
4. Because of their greater accountability to parents and responsiveness to market forces, private schools tend to be more cost-effective and efficient than public schools.
5. The development of education, like that of society, does not have to be homogeneous. Private sector involvement in education creates a diverse and rich environment which promotes the well-being of the entire educational system.
6. Constraints on Government's financial resources and increases in population necessitate extensive private sector involvement if needs are to be met.

Acknowledging that as participants in their own right, the proprietors of private schools make their own unique contribution to educational provision, the Ministry of Education will create conditions for their more effective participation. It will establish a policy framework that will lay out the ground rules for private sector involvement in educational provision and that will formally recognize the proprietors of private and other types of schools as partners in the task of providing and improving education. The basis for this policy will be enshrined in legislation that will replace the existing restrictive Education Act of 1966. As indicated in other parts of this National Policy on Education, the Ministry will also facilitate the access of private school proprietors to finance, tax exemptions, land allocation, educational materials, and training for their teaching staff.

#### **Responsibilities of the Private Sector**

The private sector in education has responsibilities as well as rights. These responsibilities include:

- ensuring that the education provided responds to the real needs of the country;
- establishing good relationships with national, regional and district education officials;
- establishing good relationships with neighbouring schools of all types and providing for inter-school activities;
- playing a full role in curriculum development, assessment and evaluation, the production of books and materials, examination supervision and marking, and similar activities;
- disseminating good practice and participating in running in-service courses and programmes;
- developing community assistance and service programmes, particularly in schools that cater for children from privileged families.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future. National Policy on Education*, pages 133–140 (edited). Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Second Reading*  
**The Changing Role of the State in Education**  
 by  
**Commonwealth Education Ministers**  
**Ministerial Committee A**  
**Decentralization — Devolution and Deconcentration**

The Committee reviewed Commonwealth experience with decentralization as presented in the background papers and noted that:

- some member countries have already installed decentralization and devolution systems
- some have in place long-standing partnerships with other stakeholders in the delivery and management of education systems
- some are in the process of establishing new decentralized systems.

It was noted that there existed a very wide spectrum of different models and approaches to decentralization and devolution. These range from comprehensive decentralized systems in Britain, Canada and New Zealand, to less complex systems in small states.

It was noted that for countries starting the process of decentralization it was important that their own definition and interpretation of the decentralization and devolution of structures, power and authority were well understood by all parties involved. Even more important was the need to define clearly the outcomes to be derived from the process.

It was also emphasized that to create an enabling environment for a decentralization process, careful planning, the sensitization of all stakeholders, and wide consultation were needed.

It was noted that the take-off of the decentralization process would be greatly enhanced by having competent local staff available. In all cases it appeared worthwhile to train both central ministry staff and local personnel for their new responsibilities. This could minimize misunderstandings and resistance to the changes.

While endorsing the need for decentralization, the Committee agreed that the state should retain certain key national functions in the following areas:

- making legislation
- formulating policies
- planning at national level
- setting national standards
- monitoring and evaluation
- collecting and analyzing data
- providing effective mechanisms for accountability at different levels.

The national ministry's role should be to provide guidelines for its partners.

The Committee noted that initially decentralization is not necessarily a cheap method of tackling current education delivery and management problems. If not properly planned it can create new demands on the system and can thus become expensive to implement.

It was noted that because member countries were at different stages of education development in varying social and economic contexts, it would not be wise to attempt to apply a single model of decentralization.

It further noted that careful planning and critical judgment must ensure that the decentralization process does not lead to the disintegration of systems or the creation of uneconomic units.

Among the issues which emerged from the discussions were the following:

- the lack of adequate capacity at local levels to shoulder the responsibilities of decentralization in developing countries attempting to decentralize their systems
- the lack of information on experiences and good practice in other Commonwealth countries.

### **Ministerial Committee B Partnerships and Participation**

#### **Rationale**

Members considered that the issue of 'partnership and participation' in education has assumed special significance in recent times for many reasons, including the following:

- It is congruent with the democratic principles and values being advocated
- It reflects a shift in governance in those countries which, at the time of their independence, had felt obliged to establish state control of education and to accept responsibility for providing enhanced opportunities at all levels
- It is a response to market forces and demands from stakeholders

- It provides countries with one solution to the problem of expanding requirements within the framework of diminishing state resources for the education sector
- It reflects mechanisms being used in many countries to achieve the goal of universal primary education.

### **Partnerships with the State**

In Commonwealth countries partnerships have been established between the state and community groups, religious bodies, parents, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and international organizations. These arrangements operate at all levels of the education system and in the non-formal sector.

### **Modalities for Partnerships**

The mechanisms for partnerships vary in the member countries and range from the establishment of community associations such as PTAs to statutory bodies. Examples of partnership arrangements include:

- the 'Adopt a School' programme, in which a business or industry takes responsibility for meeting the maintenance and other costs of a particular institution
- advisory councils, made up of representatives from various sectors and the community, which assist governments in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes
- school development associations and professional committees, which share the costs of and responsibilities for the development and delivery of educational programmes
- mechanisms for sharing responsibility between central and local government authorities
- Village Education Committees which mobilize public support for education.

### **Benefits**

The Committee noted that allowing stakeholders the opportunity to share in decision-making and to take responsibility for education at the local level fostered a sense of ownership which had far-reaching consequences.

In many countries partnerships between the state and non-governmental organizations have facilitated more cost-effective education, especially in the non-formal sector.

The private sector can play a major role in granting scholarships, assisting in the development of curricula to meet the needs of the labour market, organizing apprenticeship schemes, and in the financial management of education.

Partnership arrangements can contribute to greater accountability, the more efficient use of resources and improvements in the quality of education.

### **Issues and Concerns**

The importance was noted of developing a common understanding among all the partners of goals, objectives, roles and responsibilities. Formal arrangements would benefit from appropriate legislation. A common understanding of the language used in participatory process and sharing of information were considered necessary for building trust and empowering partners.

For effective partnerships, there needed to be an enabling environment, with the pooling of resources and the establishment of appropriate structures and mechanisms for consultations, decision-making and programme implementation.

Partners may need to develop managerial skills if they are to share responsibility. For example, it might be necessary to provide training for community leaders and members of non-governmental organizations.

## **The Role of the State**

In partnership arrangements, the state was under an obligation to retain responsibility for several aspects of education, for example, quality control in such areas as access, examination systems, curricula, teacher training and supply.

The state needs to ensure that the provision of private education does not promote elitism or allow discriminatory practices.

Mechanisms need to be put in place by the state to ensure accountability, information sharing and the monitoring of the work of its partners.

Appropriate private sector participation in education could be encouraged by the state providing various financial incentives.

Even where the state has entered into partnerships in order to achieve universal education, the responsibility to ensure the provision of basic education for all citizens must be retained by the state.

## **Ministerial Committee C The Role of the Private Sector in Education**

With the focus on pre-school and school education, the Committee set out to consider:

- the benefits or disadvantages of the participation of the private sector in education
- the ways to attract private participation
- how such participation should be controlled.

### **Business Sector and Education**

In considering the role of the business sector in education, many developing countries regretted that business and industry were often unenlightened, absorbing human resources which had been educated and trained by the state at great expense, without making a significant contribution to human resource development.

Experience in the Commonwealth suggested that there were three ways in which the private sector's contribution could be enhanced:

- (a) by making arrangements for liaison between providers and employers, to ease the transition from school to work. These could include:
  - work experience placements for students
  - mutual exchange of staff
  - business participation in careers education and guidance.
- (b) by formally involving business and industry in local schools and in appropriate planning bodies at regional and national level, covering such areas as the curriculum
- (c) by business helping schools in providing:
  - equipment which might be appropriate for use in schools
  - facilities for research and the use of equipment
  - scholarships
  - sponsorships for capital or recurrent expenditure.

### **Private Sector of Education**

The varying mixes of private and state funding make it difficult to be precise about the boundaries between state and private schooling.

Most private or independent schools enjoy some level of subsidy from the government, even if in the form of tax reliefs, and the state might sponsor some scholars. In some cases the state provides considerable support for teachers' salaries and other recurrent costs.

The Committee drew a general distinction between private schools set up to make money for their founders and those established, often by local communities, to meet local needs. Many developing countries actively encourage the latter, often with significant finance.

General pressure on resources has led some states to seek cost recovery through charging fees in state schools.

Some countries believed that the private sector could play an effective and responsible role in the supply of quality education and that there were occasions when the education provided by private institutions could provide an impetus for the state to raise its own standards.

Other countries felt that the private sector often provided poor quality schooling and that the setting up of elite schools would lead to increased social stratification.

The feeling was also expressed that developing countries could not entrust their national ideology and culture, and national development objectives, to a fully independent private sector. Appropriate controls had to be imposed on curriculum, standards and examinations.

There was genuine concern in many poor and populous countries that any withdrawal of the state from the provision of education would be dangerous, since basic education is the right of every child. Charging fees would necessarily disadvantage poorer segments of the population.

#### **Promoting Private Sector Involvement**

Among the ways suggested for both educating entrepreneurs and encouraging them to respond to the needs of the education sector were the following:

- setting out the state's policies and structures for participation in clear language, concentrating on the desired outcomes rather than the process
- giving up some state control to allow for decisions to be taken elsewhere
- providing special tax cuts on the running costs of private schools or on the acquisition of materials and equipment
- providing appropriate subsidies of capital or recurrent costs for private schools.

#### **Maintaining Control**

In order to maintain control on private schools, the Committee considered it essential that the state should:

- establish clear criteria
- set curriculum guidelines and an examinations framework
- set up structures for accountability and supervision
- establish registration procedures with powers to enforce guidelines and, if necessary, to close schools.

#### **Conclusions**

Many countries had created structures which allowed the private sector a substantial degree of 'ownership' and influence. Where this had happened, the state acted as a facilitator, providing expertise, encouragement and some finance, and also set and policed appropriate regulations.

It did not seem to matter whether the 'private sector' consisted of individuals, communities, NGOs, business or educational entrepreneurs. When the state ceded some control to them, thus creating a sense of ownership and involvement, the private sector responded energetically to fill the gaps in state provision

**Source:** Commonwealth Secretariat (1995) *The Changing Role of the State in Education. Report of the Twelfth Conference of Commonwealth Ministers of Education.*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 27th November—1st December 1994, pages 15–21. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

*Third Reading*  
**Community Involvement and Alliance Building**  
by  
**Zambia National Conference on Education For All**

*The first responsibility for the education of a child rests with the parents who have conferred life on that child.* Hence the primary educative force in the life of an individual is the family and after that the wider community in which the family lives. But while belonging primarily to the family and community, the task of education requires the help of society as a whole which has the responsibility of overseeing the duties and rights of parents and communities and of assisting them to discharge their duties by providing educational services which are beyond the resources of the family or the other more local providers of education. The acceptance of these principles implies that the provision of education is a responsibility that cannot be left to the Government alone or to any of its ministries.

It follows at once from what has been said that *community involvement in educational provision should be the rule and not the exception.* A prerequisite for community involvement is a clear recognition of the rights of the community, within the framework of an efficient state administration, a democratic political culture, and a climate of peace and stability.

Among all the agencies of education, the school has a special importance, being a centre that engages the joint participation of families, teachers, various kinds of cultural, civic and religious groups, and the Government itself. Since all are partners in the enterprise of education, no kind of school monopoly should be established that allows or requires any one of the educational partners to exercise sole responsibility for the provision, management, or financing of education.

A greater measure of responsibility for the education and training of its children should be restored to the community so that it may continue to do what it has always done well—educate and train its own young people. To this end, there should be readiness to call upon qualified members of the community to provide instruction in their areas of expertise, such as in various crafts, in cultural expressions, and in the development of various practical skills, and to undertake supervisory duties that would free teachers to attend to other activities directed towards learning.

Existing local government, educational and other legislation should be reviewed and revised in order to establish an enabling environment for effective community participation in the provision of Basic Education For All. Partnership in educational provision and management between Government and other agencies should be facilitated through a broadly representative government-mandated coordinating body. This partnership should involve commensurate input from the participating agencies, especially the community, at the level of policy and strategy formulation, planning, management and implementation, as well as at the levels of monitoring and evaluating educational programmes.

The proposed coordinating body should formulate clear guidelines that would facilitate the assumption by the community and other non-governmental agencies of responsibilities for educational provision, management and financing. In particular, it should pay attention to the removal of constraints on admissions, curriculum and staffing that may discourage wider involvement of communities, NGOs and voluntary organizations in the establishment of primary and secondary schools.

Communities should be enabled to develop a sense of ownership for basic education facilities that would make them feel accountable for the preservation and maintenance of buildings, furnishing, school equipment and materials.

The school should be strengthened to become a centre for meeting the total learning needs of the community. To this end, it should be required to share its resources, services, skills and physical facilities with the community and serve as a centre of service for the community as a whole.

To enhance effective popular participation, Basic Education Management Boards should be established. Board membership should be drawn from parents, teachers, community workers, NGOs, churches and the local business and farming community. The tasks of the boards would be to mobilize community support and to deal with all matters pertaining to the provision of basic education within the territory of the Board's jurisdiction. The responsibility of a Basic Education Management Board would extend to two or more communities, depending on size, and could encompass several schools. In this respect, the Board's authority would be wider than that of a school's Parent-Teacher Association.

The development of private schools should be actively encouraged. The development of these schools should be promoted through carefully designed legal and extra-legal incentives. In principle, there should be a minimum of government regulation for private schools, but in the early days of the expansion of this sector some regulation relating to facilities and standards may be required for the protection of users. But market forces will ultimately provide better protection for the user than any form of external regulation. Hence the market should be allowed to operate freely as soon as possible. The education ministry should retain responsibility for the inspection of private schools in discharge of Government's duty to protect the rights of children to an adequate education.

Multi-sectoral alliances within Government should be enhanced so as to promote more participation, more sharing of knowledge and resources, and a greater sense of unity of purpose in the total government thrust towards the achievement of basic education for all.

To counteract the disillusionment with school and literacy programmes experienced in some parts of the country, there is need to stimulate the demand for education. This can be done by making the process and content of education more relevant to society's needs. In particular, education should help to equip participants with the many skills of everyday living required in a rapidly changing society and with the knowledge, social values and attitudes prized in the community. For this reason, global considerations must be given to the curriculum as a whole and to the linkages between subjects, between education and the economy, and between the school and the community. The community should participate actively in this process of reviewing the curriculum and its elements so that the school may be better able to prepare its students for a rewarding and satisfying life in the community.

**Source:** National Task Force on Education For All (1991). *National Conference on Education For All. Issues, Challenges and the Way Ahead For Zambia (Zambia Declaration on Education For All)*, Volume I, pages 9–11 (edited). Lusaka: National Task Force on Education For All. Ministry of Education.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Community Schools in Zambia**  
**An Overview**  
by  
**Zambia Community Schools Secretariat**

**Rationale for Community Schools**

Community schools have developed out of a need for additional school places and relevant education for out-of-school children and youth. According to the 1990 census, only 56% of those aged 7 to 13 were actually in school. This left about 700,000 children of school-going age who were not in public or private schools, the main reasons for this being a shortage of school places in public schools and the high costs of private schools. Other aspects were the distances children sometimes

need to walk to school and the security of the children on their way to school. Community schools are within or close to the community they target, including the "illegal" compounds where very few public facilities exist.

Another element contributing to the emergence and growth of community schools is the quality of education provided in the formal school system. Quality education is not always assured in the public school system, because of lack of incentives to teachers to perform better. Neither is the curriculum adapted to suit a great number of children who do not continue into secondary school but who drop out at an early stage. This factor is particularly important in rural areas.

A further important consideration is economical. As one of the adverse effects of structural adjustment, more and more people in Zambia live below the poverty line and cannot afford to pay school fees and uniform costs. Many of the out-of-school children are girls. The number of street children, estimated at 70,000 in 1995, is increasing, as well as the number of orphans. Zambia currently has about 140,000 orphans, mainly due to the spread of HIV/AIDS, but this number is expected to grow to about 600,000 in the coming few years. Families and communities can no longer cope with the increased care these children require. A consequence of all this is a great need for accessible basic education at minimal cost.

Finally, there is the outspoken concern for gender in community schools. In Zambia, 33% of the adults are illiterate and 66% of these are women. The situation is not very likely to improve, because such a large proportion of out-of-school children are girls. Primary school completion rates have declined to the extent that 75% of girls and 92% of boys do not complete Grade 7, while less than 30% proceed to secondary school. Girls drop out because of social and financial reasons and because of early pregnancies. The majority of children in community schools are girls.

### **Characteristics of Community Schools**

#### **SPARK**

The acronym SPARK summarizes the philosophy of community schools. SPARK stands for School, Participation, Access, and Relevant Knowledge. All of these are key words for community schools. The concept SPARK refers to a comprehensive system of education in community schools which includes minimum guidelines, a syllabus, teacher training, supervision, and inspection.

#### **School**

Community schools offer basic education at no cost to children. The schools consist of a few classes, grouped together according to level (levels 1 to 4). Each level has a teacher who is a volunteer from within the community. The advised class size is a maximum of 35 pupils.

The schools are located in or near the community they serve. They are housed in church or other community buildings, or occupy any space allocated to them by the community, with or without a roof. Although the infrastructure is often poor, schools try to improve on it. The schools are managed by a community school committee, in collaboration with a supporting NGO or institution.

#### **Participation**

Most community schools are set up as community initiatives in collaboration with some technical or sponsoring institution. Community School Committees are being established to look after the daily running of the schools. Currently about half the community schools have such a committee.

The community school committee consists of all stake-holders: parents, teachers, older children and community leaders. The task of the committee is to ensure the smooth running of its school. This includes

- securing a space to house the school and taking care of security and maintenance;
- selection of children according to set criteria of accessibility;
- selection of teachers in collaboration with supporting NGOs; and
- soliciting necessary funds and resources to improve on school infrastructure.

The supporting institutions (a church, or NGO working with street kids, etc.) ensure the payment of an allowance (currently K50,000 a month = US\$20) for the teachers as well as materials for the school, such as blackboards, exercise books and pencils.

The Ministry of Education, supported by UNICEF and through the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) provides readers for the children and assists in the training of teachers.

### Access

Community schools try to respond to the need for affordable education for out-of-school children and youths. The schools therefore are free of charge. Children who wish to contribute and who can afford it pay only a minimal school fee. There is no need for uniforms, shoes or any other payments.

Community schools offer basic education for out-of-school children who could not start or continue basic education because their parents or guardians cannot afford to pay the fees. Many orphans are in this position. Therefore, community schools give priority to orphans.

When a child has reached the age of nine years, he or she is too old to be enrolled in the formal school system. Hence community schools admit children in the 9 to 16 age-group.

Girls are more disadvantaged in education because of lack of support from their parents or guardians and the household responsibilities they often carry. At least half of the children enrolled in community schools must be girls and the schools must be particularly gender-sensitive in their operations and teaching style.

In these difficult economic times, many children help to increase the household income by selling merchandise on the streets or by working in the fields. This often means that they cannot attend school at regular school times. Community schools meet this need by having a flexible time schedule. They can divert from the formal school's time schedule in order to suit the children's needs.

### Relevant Knowledge

The SPARK curriculum contains four subjects—English, a Zambian Language and Culture, Mathematics and Social Science. The SPARK manual/syllabus is developed with the formal education syllabus as a basis, while improvements have been made and new subject matter, such as pre-vocational skills and life-skills, have been added. The subject matter is spread over four years/levels. Each level corresponds, very roughly, to two grades of formal education: Level One covers reduced subject matter from Grades 1 and 2, Level Two corresponds to Grades 3 and 4, Level Three to Grades 5 and 6, and Level Four covers some subject matter taught in Grade 7. The subject matter covers the following areas:

- literacy: reading and writing skills in both English and a vernacular;
- numeracy: calculating and simple mathematics;
- languages: mother tongue and English;
- knowledge about the country and its cultures;
- knowledge about the environment, simple geography, health issues, religions in the world;
- pre-vocational skills: preparing children to absorb skills training faster and more actively;
- life-skills: psycho-social skills such as self-esteem, decision-making, and creativity, and cognitive skills such as stress management, critical thinking, timing, and planning.

There is a minimum timetable every teacher has to follow which stipulates that in Level One and Two children should be taught each day during four periods of 40 minutes each. In Levels Three and Four, children get five periods a day.

The SPARK manual was developed by a team of experts, stake-holders and community school teachers. It has been designed in such a way that teachers can use it as a reference book for whatever they need in order to function effectively in a community school. It covers the skills of a teacher; the SPARK syllabus; model lessons; and guidance for supervisors and teachers on how to do better.

### **The SPARK Class**

The SPARK class is a fifth year, optional for children in community schools, which would prepare them better for further training and employment, and in particular self-employment. During this year, teachers and business people from the community will help the young people in SPARK classes to develop business skills, further pre-vocational skills, and those specific vocational skills which can feasibly be organized in a community with few means.

Currently there are also a few schools which have a separate class which aims at preparing children to sit for the Grade 7 examinations in a government school. The teacher concentrates on issues not covered in the SPARK manual. At the end of the year, the children join a government school for a month and then sit for the examinations. Those who are successful receive certificates, while the community looks for sponsorship to allow the child to continue education in a secondary school.

### **The Institutional Framework**

The first "open community school" was established in Mtendere (Lusaka) in 1982 by the Dominican Sisters. Most community schools, however, started operating in the early 1990s. Prominent among these early initiatives was the Zambia Open Community Schools (ZOCS) project which was established in 1993 and registered as an NGO in 1996 with responsibility for 25 schools. Other organizations working with communities, such as churches and NGOs, also responded to the communities' request to organize basic education for their children.

Early in 1997, the Zambia Community Schools Secretariat (ZCSS) was established and formally registered. ZCSS is a professional and highly specialized NGO which deals with community schools throughout Zambia. Its institutional capacity has helped many other community schools in Zambia to start and run well. The Secretariat's Mission Statement reads: *The Zambia Community Schools Secretariat is an umbrella body for community schools in Zambia and stands for the empowerment of communities to provide quality and relevant basic education for vulnerable children through community schools.* Hence, the objective of ZCSS is to empower communities to establish, own, and participate in the running of community schools for vulnerable children, by the provision of relevant quality education that will empower children and promote their rights.

The growth of the community school movement has been such that by late 1997, ZCSS was responsible for over 120 schools, more than 30% of them in rural communities, with a total enrollment of more than 14,000 children. Community schools affiliated to ZCSS are found in every province except Luapula, North-Western and Western. This is not to say that there are no community schools in these three provinces, but by late 1997 none were affiliated to the Zambia Community Schools Secretariat.

### **Collaboration with the Ministry of Education and UNZA**

The Ministry of Education has supported the Community Schools movement by providing text-books for children; seconding a senior teacher to act as an education advisor for ZOCS; providing expertise from CDC and AIEMS to assist in the development of the SPARK curriculum; and allowing community school children to sit for the Grade 7 examinations in government schools. Currently, the Ministry is working with the Secretariat to develop a memorandum of understanding that will spell out the relationships between the two bodies and specify responsibilities on both sides.

The School of Education at the University of Zambia was consulted on several occasions during the process of the development of the SPARK syllabus. The School has also indicated its interest in assisting in establishing a quality monitoring system for SPARK. Currently, the School of Education has three places on the Advisory Board for the Zambia Community Schools Secretariat. Finally, the University has generously agreed to house the Secretariat at the Ridgeway Campus.

### **Challenges Facing Community Schools**

In their commitment to provide quality basic education for vulnerable children, community schools face several challenges:

1. increasing their capacity to cater better for the large number of children not attending school;
2. improving the supply of instructional materials;
3. providing training, refresher and upgrading courses for their teachers (some of whom have not gone beyond the Grade 9 level);
4. raising resources for allowances for an increasing number of teachers;
5. providing desks and a low-cost simple infrastructure;
6. ensuring some uniformity in standards across schools; and
7. dealing with the severe malnutrition, health and social problems that a large proportion of their pupils experience.

**Source:** Zambia Community Schools Secretariat (1997) *Community Schools in Zambia. An Overview*, pages 2–11 (edited). Lusaka: Zambia Community Schools Secretariat.

## Chapter 23

### Decentralization

*What Decentralization Means:* Decentralization is the process whereby decision-making powers and functions are transferred from the more central structures of government and its ministries to local level structures (and, at times, even to NGOs, communities and individuals). Decentralization is related to the principle of subsidiary function (or subsidiarity), that is, (i) a higher level group or organization should not do for a lower level group what that lower level group can do for itself; and (ii) a group or organization above the level of individuals should not do for the individuals what the individuals can do for themselves.

*Reasons for Decentralization:* (i) Decentralization empowers local bodies and individuals to take the initiative and to make decisions for activities and programmes that affect their own lives. In this way it promotes personal participation and thereby enhances the fulfillment of personal potential. (ii) Decentralization should lead to greater efficiency and effectiveness, by overcoming problems of inefficiency that arise when administrative structures are highly centralized and bureaucratic, such as is the case with the Ministry of Education at present. Decision-making authority found mostly at headquarters in Lusaka. Leads to inefficiencies, delays and lack of accountability. Very little power remaining with schools or districts to make educational decisions that are relevant to their immediate circumstances. Stakeholders (teachers, parents, community, pupils) have very little say in decisions affecting them; hence very little democracy. Long and uncertain lines of communication. Teacher frustration with delays in handling of cases. Hard to ensure proper financial accountability.

*Decentralizing the System:* Local Administration Act of 1980 entrusted to district councils responsibility for establishing and maintaining colleges, schools and day nurseries. Apart from establishing pre-schools, councils did little else to implement this Act. First real steps in decentralization of education were taken in 1995, with establishment of Education Boards in Copperbelt. Four levels of Boards—one for each Teacher College, one for each secondary school, one for each district (with responsibility for primary schools in district), and one for each primary/basic school that the Minister judges is of such size that it warrants having its own Board. Boards to have full authority for education, including recruitment and discipline of teachers and other staff, administration of funds, imposing of fees (within certain limits), administering, controlling and maintaining their institutions. Membership: up to fifteen members, only one of whom is an education official; rest are teachers, parents, pupils, school heads, and district council nominees. Pilot Copperbelt scheme to be extended later to whole country. Pre-conditions for success: comprehensive guidelines, trained personnel to service each Board, good local management, effective monitoring and feedback through Inspectorate and other systems.

*Roles & Functions:* The central Ministry of Education will retain certain powers: making legislation, formulating policies, planning at national level, mobilizing and allocating national resources, setting standards, monitoring and evaluation, quality control, ensuring accountability. The Provincial Education Office will coordinate and monitor policies in the province, plan at provincial level, control standards-monitoring & evaluation, collect & analyze data, and ensure sustainability of effective mechanisms for financial accountability within the province. Education Boards will devise rules and regulations for the institutions for which they are established, mobilize resources locally, and develop rewards and incentives for their staff. The District Education Office will be the secretariat for the District Board, and hence will implement the Board's decisions, making sure that these conform with general education policy, planning guidelines, the promotion of standards, and the principles of accountability (both to the Ministry and to the local community).

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## Readings

In the *first reading*, the National Education Policy Statement of 1996 presents the principles of decentralization in education and spells out the roles and functions that are being devolved to education boards and those that the Ministry will retain for itself.

The *second reading* moves the discourse from the theoretical domain of a policy statement to practical questions relating to institutional roles, functions and relationships in a decentralized education system.

The *third reading* lists advantages and problems of decentralization in education, and sets out the prerequisites for its successful implementation.

### *First Reading*

## **Organization and Management of Education by Ministry of Education**

### **Context**

The effective delivery of public educational services is heavily dependent on the suitability of the management structures and procedures employed. Structural arrangements should be such that, basing its decisions on comprehensive and accurate information, management can deal quickly and effectively with issues that arise. The arrangements should also be such that they are adequate for the size and complexity of the system.

Meeting the requirements for efficient and effective management of the education system in Zambia is not an easy task. There are many factors at play. Quantitatively, the system of schools, colleges and support services has expanded rapidly, but with little commensurate development or redeployment of management services. Organizationally, the entire system is highly centralized, with

hierarchical decision-making procedures that run from the national headquarters to provincial, district and institutional levels.

Moreover, the structure and organization of the system raise a number of problems that have a bearing on the management of education. These include:

1. The top-heavy management at national and provincial levels arising from the centralized structure of the system.
2. Long lines of communication and decision-making, resulting in inefficiencies.
3. Because matters regarding planning and management are decided upon at Ministry headquarters, in liaison with Provincial Education Officers, district and institutional authorities have lost the power and authority they once exercised in the management of education.
4. The appointment, confirmation, promotion, retirement and disciplining of teachers is characterized by protracted bureaucratic procedures that discourage the exercise of initiative and contribute to low morale among teachers. The Teaching Service Commission, which performs these functions, is centrally located and has the mammoth task of serving the needs of about 50,000 teachers and other educational staff.
5. The excessive centralization of power and authority is accompanied by over-reliance on civil service procedures that have severely compromised efficiency in the areas of planning; policy formulation, analysis and coordination; information and records management; human resource development and management; and financial and material resource mobilization and utilization.
6. Little coordination exists between units, departments and sections within the Ministry. As a result, conflict may arise when discharging common responsibilities.
7. Due to the unclear chain of command, adequate supervision and performance criteria have been lacking at the points of delivery.
8. Record keeping and the whole area of information systems are quite inadequate.
9. The structures for planning and performance monitoring are deficient.
10. Management training and career development programmes are under-developed and are not focused on improvements in the performance of individuals and organizations.
11. Serious gender imbalances occur at senior and managerial levels in schools and colleges. In 1994, there were no female heads in any of the primary or secondary colleges for teachers, while only 2.3% of the secondary school heads and 1.1% of those in primary schools were female.
12. Ongoing problems are experienced with teacher deployment. There is an over-supply of trained primary teachers in urban schools and a shortage in rural schools, resulting in excessive reliance by the latter on untrained teachers.
13. Although communities have been involved in the development and expansion of schools, there have been significant limitations in the procedures for establishing educational institutions. The efforts of private proprietors are hindered by bureaucratic procedures and lack of incentives, while Parent-Teacher Associations are constrained by the absence of guidelines about their roles and responsibilities.
14. Despite several changes which have occurred during the past three decades, the Education Act of 1966 continues to set the basic framework for the system. The Act has not been comprehensively reviewed to cater for the changes and developments that have occurred.

In order to remedy the situation that has been portrayed above, the Ministry of Education will undertake a programme of

- *decentralization*: devolving key functions and powers to points of delivery;
- *restructuring*: reorganizing the Ministry so that it is more responsive to the changing needs and requirements of society; and
- *systems management*: improving all aspects of management systems in education.

## Decentralization

In keeping with the democratic and liberal philosophy that Zambia has embraced, the Government has adopted the policy of decentralizing control and management of the education system. This is being effected through the establishment of Education Boards at school, college and district level.

Decentralization of the educational system in Zambia entails:

1. granting legal and financial powers over education to local units. Central authorities will normally exercise only indirect supervisory control over such units.
2. entrusting local units with administrative responsibility and discretion to plan and implement programmes and projects or to adjust central directives to local conditions, within guidelines set by ministry headquarters.
3. transfer of managerial responsibility for specifically defined education functions to organizations that are outside the regular bureaucratic structure of the education system and that are only indirectly controlled by the Ministry of Education.
4. Government divesting itself of some responsibility for ownership, power and control over education and the transfer of these to voluntary organizations or private enterprises.

The advantages of decentralization are numerous:

- It relieves the Ministry of much of the burden of day-to-day business, thereby enabling senior officers to give attention to their principal functions.
- Decisions will be made closer to the points of delivery, where the action is taking place. This will allow for greater responsiveness to local needs.
- The implementation design embodies active community participation in the delivery of educational services and in decisions on the use and management of resources for schools and colleges.
- By entrusting greater power and authority to education managers at all levels, while simultaneously ensuring the effective involvement of the community, decentralization will promote a sense of ownership and responsibility for educational institutions.
- There will be an improvement in capacity building at national and local levels.

Within the decentralized system, Ministry headquarters will continue to be responsible for

- policy analysis and development,
- strategic planning for the system as a whole,
- resource mobilization and allocation,
- the development of the national curriculum,
- quality assurance and the setting of standards,
- monitoring and evaluation of outcomes,
- establishing an effective accountability system,
- determination of overall personnel policies for the system, and
- collecting and analyzing data.

The establishment of Education Boards will bring extensive changes in existing power and authority structures. It will also transfer a number of responsibilities and functions to points where presently they do not exist. This implies the training and re-orientation of key local personnel so that they can perform efficiently and effectively. The building of capacity through this training is an essential pre-condition for the success of the decentralization policy.

Source: Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future*, pages 125–128. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Second Reading*  
**Institutional Roles, Functions and Relationships in the Decentralized Education System**  
**by**  
**Ministry of Education**

**Ministry of Education National Headquarters**

There will be a unit at the Ministry of Education national headquarters that will be responsible for the implementation of decentralization policies and the coordination of activities of education boards.

In accordance with the National Policy on Education, the Ministry of Education will:

- decentralize and devolve power, authority and relevant actions from national and provincial headquarters to the districts, colleges and schools;
- retain responsibility for key national functions in the areas of drafting legislation, formulating policies, planning at national level, mobilizing and allocating resources, developing the national curriculum, setting national standards, collecting and analyzing data, and providing effective mechanisms for accountability.

**The Provincial Education Office**

Within the decentralized system, the Provincial Education Office, which is the direct representative of the Ministry and the overseer of education activities in the province, is responsible for

- linking provincial education activities with the Ministry of Education headquarters; and
- managing education activities in the province, especially in terms of coordination and monitoring of policies in the province; planning at provincial level; controlling standards, monitoring and evaluation; collecting and analyzing data; and ensuring sustainability of effective mechanisms for financial accountability within the province.

**The Education Boards**

Each education board will carry out functions delegated to it by the Minister of Education so as to oversee the educational activities under its jurisdiction. Thus, education boards are accountable to the Ministry of Education. Boards must also be accountable to the local communities that they serve. It is expected that an education board will work with the local community in

- devising rules and regulations for the schools for which the Board is established;
- mobilizing resources locally; and
- developing rewards and incentives for its staff.

The functions and powers of Education Boards are as provided for in the respective statutory instruments.

**The District Education Board**

Within the decentralized system, the District Education Office will be the Secretariat for the District Education Board. It will be responsible for managing basic education programmes and activities in the district, especially in terms of

- implementing policy on basic education;
- mobilizing resources to meet identified needs in the district;
- planning programmes and/or projects for the implementation of basic education in the district;
- ensuring that standards are maintained in the schools for which it is established;
- establishing and maintaining effective mechanisms for accountability; and
- managing human resources within the board.

### **Teacher Training College and Secondary School Boards**

The office of the Principal and Head-Teacher will be the Secretariat for the Teacher Training College Board and the Secondary School Board respectively.

### **The Teaching Service Commission**

In the transition period, the Teaching Service Commission shall continue to perform its functions of recruitment, appointment, confirmation, discipline, and retirement of teaching service personnel in conformity with the prevailing Teaching Service Regulations.

In the long term, the Teaching Service Commission will change its role in accordance with the decentralized structure. The Teaching Service Commission will be transformed into the Teacher Accreditation Board set out in the National Education Policy document *Educating Our Future*. Its role will be to set and maintain the highest professional standards among teachers in the interests of the teachers themselves, the pupils, and the entire community.

The functions of the Teacher Accreditation Board shall be to

- determine the conditions for the registration of teachers;
- establish a register of all teachers;
- adopt a professional code to regulate the professional conduct and behaviour of members of the teaching service;
- take action, including de-registration, when this is found to be necessary; and
- resolve appeals from individual teachers and teachers' unions.

### **The Parent-Teacher Association**

Even with the establishment of Education Boards, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) will continue to exist as an entity in the school. On a consultative basis, the PTA will

- monitor pupils' progress in the school and enlighten teachers on the background of the pupils so as to enable the teachers to regard their pupils as full individuals;
- serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences between parents and teachers;
- plan and implement the production projects of the school in collaboration with the Board;
- submit to the Board for approval proposals on raising and using funds in the school;
- make recommendations to the Board on matters pertaining to the development of the school;
- keep and use PTA funds in accordance with financial regulations and guidelines in the case of basic schools; and
- receive annual plans, financial statements, and progress reports of the Board at its annual general meeting.

### **The Unions**

After the establishment of Education Boards, the Unions will continue to

- negotiate with relevant bodies on salaries and conditions of service for its members and protect their interests;
- facilitate the implementation of teaching service regulations;
- interpret and disseminate information on the roles of the union;
- facilitate maintenance of a high code of professional conduct among its members;
- regulate and improve relations between its members and the Ministry of Education, including Education Boards, particularly in terms of conditions of service for its members;
- promote cooperation among its members; and
- regulate relations between education authorities and members, and in particular provide advice and guidance related to the role of unions and working conditions of union members.

### **Relationships within Education Boards**

Within the Board, each education board should be seen as comprising two main interacting bodies working closely together. These are

1. The board, consisting of duly appointed members as spelt out in the statutory instrument.

2. The Management Team, as the administrative wing of the board responsible for the day to day running and operations of the institutions within the board.

In the case of the District Education Board, the Management Team will be headed by the District Education Board secretary, who will work with the respective Heads of the schools under the board. In the case of the Teacher Training College Board, the Management Team shall be headed by the Principal who is also the Board Secretary. The team will also include the vice-principal, heads of departments, heads of section or/and other members of the college staff holding positions of responsibility. For the Secondary School Board, the Management Team shall be headed by the head teacher, who is also the Board Secretary. The team will all also include the deputy head and heads of department.

### **Relationships between Education Boards and PTAs**

Both the PTA and the Education Board will exist parallel to each other as legal entities. The PTA is a forum for promoting regular contact and interaction between parents and teachers.

Education Boards are the overall overseers in the management of education programmes and activities in the institutions under their control. However, it is expected that a mutual relationship between the Boards and their respective PTAs shall exist. For example, Boards shall present their annual work-plans, progress and financial reports to the annual PTA general meeting, while PTAs will also in turn be expected to present their progress and financial reports to a duly called-for Board meeting.

In the case of a District Education Board, the Board will coordinate and harmonize the operations of the PTAs under its control. Each school plan and programme, including those of the PTA, will be submitted to the District Education Board. Each school shall, however, retain its own PTA fund.

### **Composition of the District Education Board**

The District Education Board shall consist of the following members appointed by the Minister:

1. the District Education Officer, who shall be an ex officio member;
2. five members of the local community nominated by the District Council;
3. two representatives of a teacher's union in the district;
4. one representative of the proprietors of grant-aided schools in the District, nominated by the proprietors;
5. four head teachers, one from a secondary school, others from primary or basic schools nominated by the respective Head Teachers Association in the District; and
6. two representatives of PTAs, non-teaching members of PTAs, in the District, one from a secondary school, another from a primary or basic school, nominated by the respective school PTAs in the District.

The board members will elect the chairperson of the board who should not be a Ministry of Education official. The Board shall appoint its Administrative Secretary who will be the Chief Executive of the Board.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1997) *Decentralization of the Education System in Zambia. Institutional Roles, Functions and Relationships*, pages 2–5. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Third Reading*  
**Decentralizing the Education System**  
by  
**K. Bloomer**

**Advantages of Decentralization**

Present trends in the management of education take place against a background in which confidence in central planning has greatly diminished. The collapse of the communist regimes of eastern Europe and the very evident internal stresses being experienced in the Soviet Union are considered by many people to have demonstrated the inefficiency of large scale state planning even in countries with, by world standards, relatively developed industrial economies. For the purposes of this paper it does not matter whether these perceptions are correct: it is sufficient that they are widely held and help to create a climate of opinion in which decentralization is likely to be seen as desirable.

A second fundamental change also contributes to this climate of opinion. The growth of new technology has made it more possible than ever before to take key decisions at relatively local levels. Information can be made more readily available throughout the system than in the past. It becomes ever easier to reconcile genuine local autonomy with strategic control at a central level.

Within this broader context in which a climate generally favourable to decentralized systems of management and control prevails, a number of potential advantages relevant to the needs of education can be perceived.

1. Local control evidently encourages responsiveness to local needs. Even in quite small countries, conditions are not as homogeneous as a highly centralized system requires. Empowering local communities or district authorities can often result in decisions being made on the basis of greater knowledge and in a way which is likely to yield more appropriate results.
2. Even at the level of the individual school or college, differences of geography, resources, tradition and personal preference imply a need for some kinds of significant decisions to be within the powers of local management. Indeed, it can be argued that variety among institutions is in itself a virtue, allowing choice, encouraging experiment and permitting the relative effectiveness of different approaches to be assessed.
3. Decentralization can speed up the decision making process. If minor issues have to be referred to some remote central authority, rapid response is out of the question. Furthermore, the ability of the centre to deal with its legitimate strategic concerns is impaired. Ministry headquarters becomes paralyzed by the need to reach decisions on a limitless number of minor matters which, by their nature, will be imperfectly understood in an office remote from the particular district or school.
4. Decentralization, therefore, encourages the development of a clear distinction between *strategic control*, which is the proper function of the centre, and *operational management*, which is more efficiently carried out locally. This distinction in turn helps to create an organizational structure which is both effective and responsive. It should be noticed, however, that the separation of strategy and operational control may in practice be difficult to achieve.
5. A serious problem in highly centralized systems is one of scale. The sheer number of individual schools or the size of the area mean that the issues are frequently beyond the comprehension of even perfectly capable administrators. Transferring powers to local level means that managers are dealing with issues which are much more readily understood.
6. Decentralization encourages initiative and improves the quality of management, particularly at local level. In a highly centralized system, key figures such as district officers or head-teachers are denied decision making opportunities and frequently have little, if any, management training. Their quality of management is, therefore, not surprisingly, often poor.

7. Decentralization releases human potential. People respond to increased opportunities to use their talents and energies productively.
8. Greater involvement in the decision making process improves morale, leading to enhanced job satisfaction and better motivation.
9. A well designed system of decentralized management increases accountability. Clarifying the respective roles of central government, local government, school management and other agencies makes it possible to set appropriate targets for each.

### **Problems of Decentralization**

Highly centralized systems did not emerge by accident. They reflect several very legitimate concerns. Governments wish to ensure that the education system will respond to national priorities. They want to promote equality rather than allow richer areas to progress while others are denied opportunities. It is important to regulate standards. Perhaps most important of all, at least in the context of Africa, it was seen as essential to expand the system and extend opportunities as widely as possible within a very short space of time. The formidable increase in pupil numbers in a short span of years is a tribute to the success of the approaches adopted. The present focus on less centralized structures may perhaps reflect a stage at which emphasis on issues of quality rather than numbers has become appropriate.

If increased delegation is to work successfully there are a number of potential problems which must first be addressed:

1. Greater local autonomy implies greater variety. As noted above, variety in itself can be a considerable virtue. It can also, however, be a reflection of different standards of provision and spasmodic attention to national policies. If these problems are to be avoided it will be necessary to clarify in considerable detail what are the standards expected. A well-defined policy framework is thus an indispensable element of a decentralized system.
2. Any system of educational management depends on effective monitoring. Even in the most highly centralized system, the centre needs to know what is taking place in each of thousands of individual schools. When those schools are permitted greater freedom of action the need for information increases. Furthermore, monitoring requires to become more sophisticated as the extent of local differences increases.
3. At first glance, it seems much more difficult to ensure fairness in a decentralized structure. In particular, the equitable distribution of resources presents apparently greater problems. In practice, decentralizing can help to clarify the issues and lead to more effective solutions. For example, there is no reason why the government should not define particular areas as being 'areas of need' in which a higher capitation allowance is paid. The process of creating a more devolved structure makes resourcing issues more explicit and allows government to reach rational conclusions about matters which may currently be taken for granted.
4. Any attempt to spread decision making powers more widely throughout the system inevitably implies a need for increased training. It may also impose demands for new equipment, particularly computers. However, it is important to recognize from the outset that the costs in terms of developing human expertise will be much greater than any materials costs and require to be addressed more urgently.
5. Effective decentralization depends upon clear demarcation of the functions and powers of the different tiers of management. It should not imply any duplication of effort. Nevertheless, it will almost certainly require increases in staff and equipment. Decentralization will not prove a cheaper form of management: its justification must be that it is better.

### **Prerequisites for Effective Decentralization**

Decentralization has a variety of potential meanings. It can refer to the process of delegating central government functions to local government or to regional or district structures within government departments. It can refer to the empowerment of individual schools and colleges.

Within establishments, it can mean giving greater autonomy to departments and individuals. It can indeed be a process applying at all these levels simultaneously.

Clearly the means by which decentralized authority is made to work effectively also differ depending on the type of structural change which is being contemplated. However, there are three key elements which are likely to play a significant role in any programme of decentralization and which can be seen as prerequisites of success:

1. A decentralized system is likely to be ineffective unless there is some structure of public authority at a local level. The authority may be a local arm of central government or a form of local government. It may operate at a regional or district level. Whatever form it takes, there will be a need for officers of reasonable seniority able to exercise initiative and take decisions. They will need to be properly trained and must be supported by an adequate administrative structure. They should have the means of knowing what is happening in the schools in their areas and should have authority to require compliance with national policies and reasonable standards of provision.
2. Monitoring and evaluation will depend on the existence of a field inspectorate, sufficient in numbers, training, confidence and skills for their task. In small systems the local officers and the inspectors may be the same people. In larger systems the inspectorate will be the eyes and ears of senior officers at regional or district level.
3. The key to successful delegation must be the creation of an effective management structure at the level of the individual school. Such a management structure can evidently take many forms. It may encompass a role for parental and community representatives on management committees, as in several African countries, or on boards of governors, as in England. It can take account of the interests of school proprietors such as churches. In all cases an indispensable element is effective day-to-day professional management through the head-teacher with, in larger schools, support from other promoted staff. It is for this reason that training—especially management training—for head-teachers and aspiring head-teachers is central to any programme of decentralization.

Successful decentralization also requires that appropriate mechanisms exist for sharing functions and powers among the various levels of the structure or among the partners contributing to the running of the system. Two of these—a scheme of delegation and a well-defined policy framework—may prove particularly helpful in clarifying the process of decentralization and establishing a structure which functions efficiently.

**Source:** Bloomer, K. (1991) *Decentralizing the Education System*, pages 2–5. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

## Chapter 24

### The Aims of Education in Zambia

*Goals in Education:* Education is trying to achieve something—it has goals, aims; essentially these are to produce desired changes in human beings. The aims may be explicit (as in *Educating Our Future*, cf. Readings below) or implicit in the organization of the education system and its schools, the curriculum, syllabuses, educational materials, and manner and content of examinations. Every educator (teacher, administrator) and every pupil is engaged in goal-directed activity, whether the goal is seen clearly or obscurely, in an evident or confused manner. Four factors contribute to determining these goals or aims.

*Educational Traditions:* The aims must take account of a system of practices and ideas which are already in place concerning what education is about. These have served the system in the past, may still be serving it well and may serve it well in the future. They may change, but they cannot be ignored. Strong traditions about the principal aims of education include: (i) ensuring the acquisition of a defined and organized body of knowledge and skills; (ii) developing qualities of character that society regards as important; (iii) giving scope to individuals to develop their potential; and (iv) providing a substantial and recognizable preparation for adult life.

*Nature of the Process of Education:* The process of formal education normally takes place in a school. School as we know it today (an institution that requires “full-time attendance of specific age-groups in teacher-supervised classrooms for the study of graded curricula”) is a relatively modern institution. Various views are held on the nature of the school's task: (i) to instruct—the teacher, as the one possessing knowledge and ideas about behaviour, seeks to communicate these to pupils; (ii) to develop and discipline the mind—the teacher's task is to help pupils develop their mental capabilities; (iii) to bring out the potential that lies hidden in each one (the word ‘education’ is from a Latin word, *educare*, which means ‘to bring out’)—the teacher's task is to help pupils develop their full personal potential; (iv) to facilitate growth through active personal engagement—the teacher's task is to arrange conditions that will ensure the active participation of the learner; and (v) to foster ability and desire to reflect on experience, giving it fresh meaning, so that thereby the learner will be better equipped to deal with new material and new situations. While not abandoning the instruction/mental-discipline approaches, modern educators tend to emphasize the development of potential/growth/reflection approaches. Education systems that are still in process of developing frequently stress the instruction/mental-discipline approaches; well-developed systems tend to focus more on the potential/growth/reflection approaches.

*Education and Society:* Education is a social institution which reflects the characteristics of society, while at the same time it affects society. At the start of the 21st century, Zambia is a liberal democracy in the modern world. This means that its schools must aim at promoting the cooperation, understanding, and tolerance needed by a democracy, the independent and competitive spirit needed in a market economy, the knowledge, understanding and skills needed in a technological age, and the attitudes and values needed intrinsically for inner satisfaction and self-fulfillment, and extrinsically for harmony with others, the environment and the supernatural.

*Education and the Person being Educated:* In schools, the persons to be educated are young, immature, developing physically, mentally and emotionally. They need guidance and a framework for the development of personally held values; they need activity and scope for investigative, exploratory behaviour; they need support, encouragement and challenge in using their very considerable intellectual powers; they need stimulation and prompting in giving expression to their creative and innovative impulses. They are also social, as members of families and communities, of school classes and groups, and of powerful school and community peer groups. Above all, each one is a unique human being, with a fundamental worth and dignity that the whole process of education must respect, cherish and seek to enhance.

Note: adapted in part from Connell & Others (1962).

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- Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future*, chapters 5, 6. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

## Readings

The *first reading* gives the goals for Grades 1–12 set out in the 1977 educational reform document. You will notice that the treatment is not very extensive. You may also notice a recurrent theme, as you move from one level to the next: a major goal at each level is to prepare the learner for progression to the next level.

After first examining the nature of Zambian society, the *second reading* sets out the characteristics that education should promote to enable individuals to live and prosper in this society.

The *third reading* gives a fully comprehensive statement of the aims of education for primary, basic and senior secondary levels. It begins by putting the child at the centre of the entire educational process and also stresses the importance of a joyful, safe and formative childhood and early adolescence.

The *fourth reading* asks the important question, whether schools can in fact achieve the worthy and desirable goals set for them by society.

### *First Reading*

## **The Goals of Education by Ministry of Education (1977)**

### **Goals for Grades 1–7**

Primary school education should be preparatory to further learning, and for most parents, sights are set on the selection for secondary school (Grades 8–12). This will not change until all Grade 7 graduates will have an opportunity to enter Grade 8.

Primary schools should, therefore, concentrate on the fundamental task of learning so that every child can master the essential learning skills on which he can build as he proceeds with further education or as he joins the life of work. The school, therefore, should assist him to develop intellectually, socially, emotionally, physically, morally and spiritually; he should be enabled to acquire learning and practical skills so that he is able to apply knowledge intelligently. The school should also assist in shaping his attitudes and values.

Primary education will have fulfilled its function if, in collaboration with the family and community, it enables the pupil to acquire the essential skills of learning and to harmonize their development so as to apply what they have learnt in and out of school in a useful and socially acceptable manner.

### **Goals for Grades 8–9**

The goals of the second phase of basic education, Grades 8–9, cannot be entirely different from those of Grades 1–7. Grades 8–9 are a continuation of the first phase and a preparation for life

as well as for further education. Because students will by now have mastered the essential learning skills and will be reaching adolescence, it is necessary for the curriculum and other activities to be more diverse in range, depth and breadth..... The new Grade 8–9 curriculum should, therefore, cater for those who will continue with their full-time education, those who will enter the world of work, and those who will join vocational training programmes.

### **Goals for Grades 10–12 (Senior Secondary School Education)**

The general goals of Grades 1–9 will still be valid at this stage, except that account will be taken of the fact that the pupils will by this time have had more experience of the educational process and will be of more mature age. The curriculum will consist of common core subjects, which give general education, and optional subjects, including practical subjects, which may be studied at greater depth. In order to minimize expenditure and conserve manpower, certain curricula may be confined to a few schools.

Since the programme for Grades 10–12 is partly preparatory for entry into the third stage education programmes, there should be close consultation between the Ministry of Education, the University (of Zambia) and other tertiary institutions to which some of the graduates will gain entry: in addition, specialists from these institutions would be involved in designing the curricula and syllabuses for Grades 10–12. This is important as there is need, for instance, for the University to relate its curriculum and the content of its courses or programmes to the background of the student, and the preparation which he may have received during Grades 10–12. Equally, the University may wish to advise on certain aspects of the school curriculum to bring it in line with some new University programmes which may be envisaged.

At the end of Grade 12 students will have been better prepared than those leaving school at the end of Grade 9 to further their education through full-time or part-time study. In fact, the school-leavers at the end of Grade 12 should also have received adequate preparation for a full and useful involvement in the life of work.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1977) *Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations*, pages 16–17, 18, 20. Ministry of Education.

*Second Reading*  
**The Role of Education**  
**by**  
**Ministry of Education**  
**(1992)**

### **The Nature of Zambian Society**

Zambia is evolving into a new kind of society inspired by democratic values and characterized by fundamental respect for the dignity and rights of all human persons. In the face of grave economic problems it is seeking to ensure increased justice, liberty and equality for all, by freeing people from want and facilitating conditions worthy of human dignity. It is promoting genuine political participation in ways that reduce the intrusiveness of the state in social and economic life, while enabling it to play a more critical role in promoting the common good. This new society is a cooperative and developing venture of individuals and groups in which each one grows in the opportunity to be fully human and each one accepts responsibility for promoting the human development of others.

The modern technological and economic character of this emerging society is such that individuals within it may have difficulty in acquiring the understanding, developing the skills, and forming the attitudes which will enable them to function in it with satisfaction to themselves. Even less do they seem able to control the direction of its future development. The individual today is precipitated into a world abounding with resources but marred by their misuse, rich in products but

impoverished by their uneven distribution, guaranteeing human rights to each one but denying their exercise to many. This world is steeped in science and subject to economic forces that are largely out of local control. It is a world that does not offer the security of the past but is one where values are changing, new lifestyles are evolving, and socio-cultural patterns are being radically transformed.

### **Role of Education**

It is the role of education, and of schools as the principal institutionalized form of educational provision, to prepare the individual to live in this society, to develop into the new type of person needed to meet the challenges of life in Zambia at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The educational system must respond, therefore, to the needs both of the individual and of society. Hence its essential objective in Zambia is to foster the fullest possible development of each individual for his or her personal fulfillment and as a significant member of the Zambian community. This entails:

- a thorough and sound intellectual formation, which includes a growing ability to reason effectively, logically and critically;
- an appreciation for the achievements, cultures and traditions of the past;
- a careful and critical study of the social and physical sciences and of technology, such that it will lead to a basic grasp of scientific method;
- the development of the imaginative, affective and creative dimensions of each student in all courses of study;
- the development of character traits regarded as important, and of a personal sense of moral values and moral responsibility;
- an appreciation of the importance of work in human development;
- the harmonious development of physical qualities and attributes that promotes the ability to use the best qualities of each individual to contribute to the greater advantage of the group;
- the provision of a substantial and recognizable preparation for adult life.

### **Active, Independent Learning**

In attaining these goals, the schools have the task of stimulating students to master certain segments of organized knowledge and of evaluating the extent to which they do so. Ideally, the curriculum should be centred on the student rather than on the material to be covered, promoting active student participation rather than passive reception. Important steps towards this active student involvement include personal study, opportunities for personal discovery and creativity, and the encouragement of personal forms of expression. In this climate of learning, the task of the teacher is to help all students to become independent learners, to assume responsibility for their own education. Since formal schooling for the majority of Zambian children must end at a relatively early age, whereas education is a lifelong process, the school must try to instill in students a satisfaction in learning and a desire to learn. It is important to learn certain material; but for all learners, and especially for those who must leave school early, it is more important to learn how to learn and to acquire the desire to go on learning all through life.

### **Democratic Values**

The teaching methods adopted in the schools, and the institutional organization and management, should help to awaken the individual's political consciousness so that the student becomes increasingly aware of the existence of social power and its components and of the forces working in the school, the local community and the nation. The student-centred teaching perspective will encourage students to express their own ideas freely and to be tolerant of the views of others. The debate of ideas and confrontation of opinions will be a practical expression of democratic principles and will foster the democratic virtue of respect for others, whatever their race, tribe, age, gender, religion, educational background, or social or economic status.

### **A Personally Held Value System**

Through the organization of its various activities, the manner that it communicates, and the regulations and discipline that it imposes, the school system promotes a formation in values. Several of these, such as being energetic in acquiring information on which to base opinions, or being mentally more disposed towards the present and the future than towards the past, are essential for one who is to live in a modern society. Others, such as dedication to hard work, are necessary for personal and national development. Still others, such as an instinct for honesty in all transactions, or the resistance to all forms of depravity and to the self-destructive tendencies caused by drugs and alcohol, have more of a moral character. The school has the delicate task of helping students to weigh these up and embrace them by a personal choice. The spiritual values inherent in the quest for harmonious relationships with other human beings, with the surrounding world, and with the supernatural, are further dominant guiding principles that the school must foster in accordance with the wishes of parents. Also important is the self-discipline expected of each student and manifested in persevering application to serious study, orderliness, punctuality, and conduct towards others that respects the human dignity of each individual.

### **Fundamental Learning Needs**

Because the duration of formal education for most children will be relatively brief, the school must cooperate with other educational agencies in meeting students' essential learning needs. The school system should respond to the needs for functional literacy and numeracy and for promoting a scientific outlook and a basic understanding of the processes of nature; it should also foster positive attitudes towards cooperation with others, national development, continued learning, and the development of ethical values. Of itself, it cannot meet the needs for the knowledge and skills required for raising a family, managing a household or making a living. What it can do, however, is to animate the other educational agents in society—the family, the mass media, the churches, various local groupings—to collaborate in ensuring that these essential learning needs are met. The school's principal contribution to developing the life-skills required by all young people will be to give them a rigorous training in fundamental communication and numeracy skills so that their capacity for subsequent education and training may be enhanced.

### **Gender Equality**

Sufficient progress has not yet been made in Zambia towards recognizing in practice that men and women share a common humanity and common attributes. The equal right of women and girls to the levels and fields of education available for men and boys, though acknowledged in principle, is often negated in practice. In particular, girls constitute an unacceptably low proportion of enrollments in secondary and tertiary institutions and the fields of study are so apportioned that women and men are shown as having and exercising different options in their career choices. The priority in according equal educational opportunity to girls and women arises from their basic human right to education and from the key role that the education of women plays in development. Socio-economic factors, especially the economic levels and expectations of families, are powerful determinants of girls' educational participation and achievement, but school-related factors also play a role. The school's task will be to foster in all members of the educational community the deep conviction that every human being has a dignity which is independent of gender and which reflects the individual's unique inner worth. Together with the other educational agencies, the school must help to eradicate all beliefs that go against the fulfillment of women. In particular, it must seek to eliminate every practice and attitude which demeans, excludes or under-represents women and girls or which shows itself more favourable to men and boys.

### **Respect for the Environment**

At a time when the earth's resources are being damaged or dissipated through wasteful practices, deforestation, soil erosion, over-fishing, atmospheric-, soil- and water-pollution, and in other ways, the education system has the task of instilling a reverence for creation as encountered in

one's own environment and a desire to participate in maintaining a healthy ecological balance. Only thus will the earth remain fruitful for the generation attending, or about to enter, school.

### **Respect for Traditions and Cultures**

Understanding little about their past, many Zambians today have an uneasy sense of homelessness and rootlessness. Several seem unable to reconcile traditional values and approaches with the imperatives of urban living, though to a great extent their mode of responding to social, cultural, and economic situations is dominated by a traditional outlook. Rapid urbanization has also hastened the demise of many customs and traditions. This is a loss which the schools have done little to prevent. Indeed, they too have played a role by downgrading the languages and cultures of Zambia. Henceforth, the education system will reverse this trend and will encourage a healthy appreciation for one's own and other cultures and an ability to be creatively critical of the contributions and deficiencies of each. By giving a more prominent role to local languages, expressions, rites, symbols and the arts, the schools will endeavour to ensure that the living cultural traditions of Zambia are safeguarded from further erosion and that opportunity is provided for their enrichment and refinement.

### **Summary**

The goals for the education system that have been enumerated in the previous paragraphs are all embraced in one single fundamental aim: the education system will seek the integral, harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, affective, moral and spiritual endowments of all students so that they can develop into complete persons, for their personal fulfillment and for the common good of the society of which they are already members and in whose responsibilities they will share as adults.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1992) *Focus on Learning*, pages 6–9. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Aims of Basic and High School Education**

by

**Ministry of Education**

**(1996)**

### **The School Learner**

The Ministry of Education emphasizes that the child is at the centre of the entire education process which exists solely for the sake of the learner. It also recognizes that each child is unique, with his or her own individuality and personality, fashioned in family and community backgrounds that are themselves unique. This contributes a rich diversity to the entire educational enterprise which should seek to cultivate the qualities and potentialities of each learner, without trying to mould all children according to the same pattern.

A further dimension is more sobering. It is the fact that a large proportion of learners in Zambia's basic schools are severely disadvantaged through under-nourishment, regular experience of hunger while in school, multiple parasitic infections, recurrent experiences of malaria, and diarrhoeal problems brought on by lack of safe drinking water. These multiple disabilities adversely affect the child's capacity to interact with and make the best use of whatever learning resources the school can offer.

A related issue is that in many parts of the country child-rearing practices promote submissiveness and passivity, but discourage qualities which the school system strives to develop, such as child independence, self-assertion, questioning, and inquiry.

Finally, there is a new dimension, occasioned by HIV/AIDS. This has made such inroads into families and communities that many children come to school emotionally disturbed, traumatized at what they have experienced at home, and lacking in a sense of psycho-social security.

These various issues affect its principal clients so deeply that the Ministry of Education cannot ignore them. It will, therefore, collaborate fully with all other agencies that seek to address and remedy these pervasive problems. It will strengthen its own Child Guidance and Counselling Services which in turn can provide in-service training for teachers in how to deal with these and related problems. It will also re-focus the school curriculum so that it is more clearly child-centred and so that it promotes knowledge and skills that are basic to sound and healthy living.

### **The Aims of Basic Education**

Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Zambia has pledged itself to protect the right of every child to a healthy, happy, caring upbringing. Accordingly, the school environment should be such that it ensures each young person's right to a joyful, safe and formative childhood and early adolescence. This principle informs the statements of educational goals and objectives and the curriculum principles to which they give rise.

The education system exists for the sake of the learners and the institutions in which the learning takes place. At the level of the schools, the system aims at enabling them to provide an education and learning environment which facilitates the cultivation of each pupil's full educational potential. *The overarching aim of school education, therefore, is to promote the full and well-rounded development of the physical, intellectual, social, affective, moral and spiritual qualities of all pupils so that each can develop into a complete person, for his or her own personal fulfillment and the good of society.*

Within this broad framework, there are more specific aims, each level of education having its own objectives appropriate to the pupil's particular stage of personal and educational development. Thus, *basic education aims at providing each pupil with a solid academic and practical foundation that will serve as the basis for a fulfilling life and that will equip each one with the pre-requisites needed for a working life, various forms of training, or the continuation of school education.*

### **The Aims of Lower and Middle Basic Education**

Currently, some 120,000 pupils, many of them aged no more than 14 years, are required to leave the school system at the end of Grade 7. As progress is made towards the goal of universal basic education, this number will decline. But for the coming decade or longer the number completing their education in Grade 7 will remain substantial. Hence it is necessary to be clear on the specific objectives for lower and middle basic education and to formulate a curriculum that will lead to their attainment.

At the lower and middle basic level, the specific aims are to:

1. ensure that pupils acquire essential literacy, numeracy and communication skills;
2. enable pupils to develop practical skills in one or more relevant areas;
3. nurture an ability, appropriate to the pupil's stage of development, to think reflectively, logically, scientifically, and critically;
4. foster healthy living, physical coordination and growth;
5. promote positive social behaviour and skills for coping with negative pressures;
6. encourage the formation of socially desirable attitudes;
7. shape the development of a personally held set of civic, moral and spiritual values;
8. further the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of Zambia's democratic and cultural institutions;
9. facilitate the development of each pupil's imaginative, affective and creative qualities.

### **The Aims of Upper Basic Education**

The specific objectives for upper basic education must take account of the fact that this is the terminal educational level for the majority of pupils. Currently, close to 50,000 pupils leave the school system each year on completion of Grade 9. The numbers ending school at this point will increase steadily as progress is made towards the goal of universal basic education. The specific objectives for this level must take account of the need to provide such pupils with a recognizable preparation for the world of work, without ceasing to cater for the minority who will continue into high school.

The objectives, and the curriculum to which they give rise, must also respond to certain characteristics of pupils at this level. In principle, pupils at this stage will be competent in using the essential learning tools of literacy, oral and written communication, basic numeracy and problem-solving. They will also have acquired basic learning content in the form of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Secondly, all Grade 8 or 9 pupils will be at some stage of adolescent development, a factor which is highly relevant to how they learn, the range of their interests, and their personal growth as individuals.

Finally, Grade 8 and 9 pupils at present are highly selected, coming from the best performing 30–35% in the Grade 7 examinations. However, one of the consequences of increasing access to Grades 8 and 9 will be an increase in the number of pupils in upper basic classes with lower academic potential. The goals of education at this level must be broad enough to cater for the needs and interests of such pupils.

In the light of these considerations the specific aims of upper basic education are to:

1. consolidate the basic learning skills and content acquired in primary school;
2. expand the range of pupils' knowledge and understanding in critical areas of learning;
3. enlarge pupil capacity in scientific and technological areas;
4. equip pupils with relevant skills and attitudes in practical or entrepreneurial areas;
5. improve pupils' skills in dealing with intellectual, social and personal issues and with the physical environment;
6. promote satisfaction in learning, the desire to learn, and the skill of learning, in intellectual, practical and other fields;
7. create an environment in which pupils can develop their special talents and aptitudes, and assist them in doing so;
8. foster the development of personally held civic, moral and spiritual values.

Whether or not these aims translate into meaningful personal development depends ultimately on pupils' actual learning acquisition. Hence, the Ministry of Education expects that upon completion of Grade 9, every pupil should have attained a suitable level of competence in the following:

- the communication skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing in both English and a Zambian language;
- numeracy and the skills of using mathematical concepts and processes in matters of everyday life;
- basic scientific and technological knowledge, understanding and principles, including such understanding of scientific method as would enable the pupil to approach a topic in a scientific way;
- a practical or entrepreneurial skill that is potentially relevant to the world of work;
- knowledge and appreciation of the social, cultural and physical environment and of the achievements and traditions of Zambia's past;
- knowledge and understanding of the democratic structure of Zambian society and of the principles and rights on which it is based;
- knowledge and understanding of spiritual, religious and moral values and appreciation of the traditions within which they have developed;

- selected options in such areas as language, the creative arts, or sport;
- life-skills necessary for the promotion of personal health, interpersonal relations, and healthy sexuality.

### **The Aims and Objectives of High School Education**

Building on the foundation laid in Grades 8 and 9, the broad aim of high school education is the integrated and comprehensive development of each pupil's potential. On completion of the programme, pupils should be accounted as well-educated persons who are adequately prepared for the furtherance of their education, through full-time or part-time study, or for becoming self-supporting workers. They should also be responsible persons, capable of making a useful contribution to society and adequately qualified for the adoption of adult roles.

The particular objectives of education at this level are to

1. develop desirable intellectual skills and qualities such as reflective reasoning, logical thinking, ability to concentrate, attentiveness to detail, and objectivity in appraisal of evidence;
2. foster creativity, imagination, resourcefulness, and innovativeness, and provide occasions for their exercise;
3. promote extensive knowledge, exact skills, and accurate understanding of chosen areas in languages, mathematics, science and technology, the social sciences, practical subjects, and the arts;
4. provide educational experiences that will nurture skills that will enable pupils to take charge of their own learning;
5. establish an environment that will cater for the psycho-social needs of pupils and that will facilitate their growth to maturity as moral and responsible individuals;
6. instill a spirit of self-discipline, integrity, accuracy and hard work;
7. awaken concern for the promotion of civil liberties and human rights, for the consolidation of the democratic character of Zambian society, for the more equitable distribution of global and national wealth, and for sustainable human development in Zambia and elsewhere.

The content, structure and processes of teaching in high schools, the range of extra-curricular activities undertaken, and the organization and ethos of the school should all be directed towards meeting these objectives.

### **Education for Responsible Citizenship**

The education of a young person in today's world would not be complete if it did not include preparation for living responsibly within civil society. Those who leave school should have knowledge and appreciation of the values that inspire society, knowledge and understanding of individual liberties and human rights, and awareness of their responsibilities to themselves, to others and to society in general. While education towards this is important at all school levels, it is crucial for those in high school who are on the threshold of becoming adults.

Since the school aims at cooperating with home, family and society in helping a pupil develop into a whole person, it must also, at this final stage, seek to lead its senior pupils into an understanding of themselves and others. Doing this calls for an investment of time and resources in the fourth 'R', that is, seriously conducted human relations education and the development of interpersonal skills. This may be a more complex and challenging task than the teaching of normal school subjects, but the returns are great in terms of more successful preparation of young people for responsible living as adults.

Some of the issues on which Grade 12 graduates need proper information and sound attitudes include the nature of democracy in Zambia, participation in civil life, respect for the personal and sexual integrity of others, maintaining health and personal well-being, managing personal interests and interpersonal relationships, crucial demographic and population control issues, respect for the environment, understanding of the pervasiveness, causes and human dimensions of poverty, and the positive use of leisure.

The formal curriculum should cater for some aspects of these topics, while a school's extra-curricular activities will be a supplementary channel for learning experiences in these and similar areas. Schools would err greatly if they gave so much attention to the intellectual formation of pupils that they neglected these other important dimensions of personal development. While schools cannot respond to every need, they play an important role in promoting the personal growth that leads to responsibility in young adults. Much of this is effected through the activities that go on outside the classroom and through school structures that give increasing levels of personal responsibility to pupils in their later years. The participation of senior pupils as members of School Boards will help to develop the type of understanding that is being spoken of in this section. Likewise, in view of the relatively privileged status of high school pupils and the great needs in society around them, schools are encouraged to promote a sense of caring in such pupils by establishing activities directed towards alleviating the needs of others. An example would be in teaching literacy and numeracy to out-of-school children or to interested adults.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future*, pages 28–31, 51–52, 56–57. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Expectations for Schooling**  
by  
**H. Beare, B. J. Caldwell & R. H. Millikan**

Society's expectations for schools and for teachers are obviously undergoing significant change. Parents are becoming more involved in decision-making processes of schools through membership of school councils, of principal-selection committees and the like; the costs of schooling continue to increase; teacher unions are demonstrating increasing concerns over teaching processes and student supervision; a sound education becomes increasingly a prerequisite for a stable career—or indeed for any type of employment; and the ideologies of several layers of government intrude more obtrusively on school philosophies and on the determination of educational policies.

Schools are becoming very different places on the inside as well, and their roles and practices grow more complex as students, teachers and parents become more articulate in expressing their preferences. The question to be addressed in the face of widespread restructuring of school systems, then, is whether schools have changed enough. How well are they keeping pace with societal expectations? How well do they perform what they claim to be doing? Are schools so fettered by systemic constraints and traditional attitudes that genuinely excellent, student-centred schooling is prevented from occurring?

Parents in several countries have clearly become concerned about the quality and perceived value of the instruction their children receive, or might receive, in a particular school. Many are genuinely fearful of a progressive lowering of academic standards at a time when their country's competitiveness in world trade and technology is being seriously questioned. There is now a greater percentage of children (approximately 30%) attending non-government schools in Australia than

ever before, and the drift from the free and secular schools of the government system to the fee-charging religion-based schools of the independent and Catholic systems appears to be continuing. There is also significant movement between schools within each of these sectors.

What is the reason for this restlessness? When questioned about the decision to move their children from one school to another, parents tend to justify their actions by quoting a combination of factors, only some of which are directly 'academic' in the strict sense of the word. Many parents, while acknowledging the importance of academic standards and breadth of offerings, consider that school should offer more than merely intellectual development. The components which promote personal growth and which they seek include:

- greater levels of extra-curricular activity
- a more broadly based formal curriculum
- more effective sanctions against disruptive behaviour
- greater stability in staffing
- the provision of psychological and social support structures
- the observance of religious beliefs and an emphasis on moral standards
- evidence of a genuine concern for the individual child, for standards of work, and so on.

### **Are Schools Aiming Too High?**

Most schools clearly cannot 'educate' the 'whole' child, especially across the spectrum of intellectual, social, moral, ethical, aesthetic, cultural, physical, philosophical and spiritual criteria, and they never will be able to without major changes to the ways in which we currently conceive of and operate schools.

To an extent, schools and school systems have brought these high expectations upon themselves by presenting to their potential constituencies statements of aims and objectives which are too idealistic. It is not unusual to find school objectives containing statements like 'to educate the child to the maximum of his/her potential', 'to educate the whole person', 'to educate according to individual needs', 'to develop a sense of citizenship, social responsibility and national pride', and so on. How many schools purposefully set out to incorporate into the formal curriculum practices reflecting such aims and objectives, and if they do, how successful are they? How are such things measured? Can schools adequately demonstrate that they are effective in achieving these objectives? Further, many of the existing structures and operating procedures in schools seem to be designed more for administrative expediency and teacher convenience than for the genuinely individual, developmental and educational needs of every single child.

There are many imaginative and educative things happening in schools, and all schools have dedicated, well-qualified and energetic teachers. But the original question remains. What constitutes an excellent school in the eyes of parents and society? Can schools provide within existing structures and operational patterns what parents and society want? And can the stated charter of schools continue to be the education of the 'whole child'?

Teachers are trained to teach, but most are not trained to be counsellors, child psychologists, social workers, or ministers of religion. Many are trained in particular specializations which have applications beyond the specific development of the intellect or which are an established part of the formal curriculum; these include physical education, the fine arts and aesthetics, arts and crafts, health and human relations, and it is in these broad areas of 'curriculum' and the 'total school environment' that some re-definition of the role of schooling and of teaching needs to be undertaken.

Schools could, in the interests of both children and the future of, society, take on the responsibilities which for increasing numbers of children other agencies are progressively neglecting or which are becoming less influential, but it is unreasonable and inappropriate to expect this additional burden to be carried by teachers alone if the existing school structures and progressive economic stringencies are maintained.

### **Total Educational Development**

We have already referred several times to the 'development of the whole child', intellectual, social, psychological, ethical, moral, spiritual, physical, cultural, and aesthetic. Most schools concentrate on a few of these elements only, largely ignore others, and give major curricular emphasis to intellectual development.

Increasingly schools are responding to the student's need for social, emotional and psychological support by providing pastoral care programmes, and within these there may be some intentional reference to moral and ethical responsibility. Many government and most non-government schools in Australia also employ chaplains.

In Australia, 'Church' schools—those of the Catholic system and those affiliated with Protestant denominations—give some degree of emphasis to formal religious education and to its public observances like assembly or classroom prayers, Masses, hymn singing, bible readings, and so on. However, these aspects are differentially practised and valued even within the different Christian denominational schools.

Others, however, do very little in the way of formal religious observance, and although government schools are by legislation 'free, compulsory and secular', many employ a school chaplain, and enact some religious ceremonies. Clearly there is a differential appreciation of the value of these aspects in both government and non-government schools. The issue becomes one of balance between these various elements of the total curriculum.

Increasing numbers of parents are expressing support not only for a wider range of curricula and other educational components, but also for discipline, religious and moral awareness, respect for the person and property of others, and extended extra-curricular activities. For some parents, there is a belief that pastoral care and personal support programmes will be more effective in schools which have some religious observances. But by whatever criteria one uses as the basis for judgment, it is transparently clear that all schools, no matter what their designation, have failed to educate 'the whole child'. Furthermore, it is unlikely that they will ever be able to do so, and doubtful whether they should even try.

What the various publics are asking of schools and of education agencies are at the least contradictory and at the most unachievable.

**Source:** Beare, H., Caldwell, B. J., & Millikan, R. H. (1989) *Creating an Excellent School. Some New Management Techniques*, pages 43–44, 46–47, 49–50, 60. London: Routledge

EDUCATION REFORMS

## Chapter 25

### Issues and Problems in Educational Provision in Zambia Today

*Structure of the System:* 7 years primary, 5 years secondary, 4 years to first degree (7-5-4). Goal is 9-3-4, the 9 years being "basic" education for all. "Basic" in Zambia means following a formal curriculum for a definite period of 9 years; internationally, "basic education" means the education that equips learners with the basic skills, knowledge and attitudes which enable them to take charge of their own lives and free them to learn further. Attainment of 9 years education for all is dependent on prior attainment of 7 years for all. Situation has been complicated by the unplanned development of basic schools. These have problems of facilities, materials, teachers—best teachers removed from primary classes in a school and seconded to teach where they have no qualifications, in Grades 8/9.

*Access:* Primary school enrollment increased rapidly in 1970s and 1980s by using double & triple sessions and by allowing class sizes to grow very large. Even with these measures, schools can accommodate only about 85% of school-age children (GER); about one-third of those actually in school are outside the correct age limits, most being too old—68% of the 7-13 year-olds are actually in school (NER)—560,000 children aged 7-13 are not in school, equally divided between boys and girls. In rural areas, there are more places than needed in Grades 1-4, but not enough in Grades 1-7; in urban areas there are fewer places than needed in Grades 1-7. There is room in Grades 8/9 for about 35% of 14-15 year-olds, and in Grades 10/11/12 for about 15% of 16-18 year-olds. Urban enrollment rates at secondary level are more than twice the rural rates; boys' enrollment rates in Grades 10-12 are more than 50% higher than girls' rates.

*Continuity:* much dropout, especially in rural primary schools; problem on the increase—91% of those who did Grade 1 in 1984 completed Grade 7 in 1990, 7 years later, whereas only 79% of those who entered Grade 1 in 1988 were in Grade 7 in 1994. This decline in completion rates occurring in both rural and urban schools. Girls affected more than boys (girls' 1989-1995 completion rate = 68%, boys' = 81%), and rural areas more than urban (rural completion rate in 1986-92 = 67%, urban rate = 96%). Because of inadequate facilities, many pupils are pushed out of school after Grade 4 (about 14,000), after Grade 7 (about 125,000) and after Grade 9 (about 39,000). Hence system very wide at base, but narrows as one goes up the 'education pyramid'.

*School-leavers:* Problem of those who leave school or are pushed out of system at young age and/or without employable skills. Schools not able to respond to the needs of the rural areas, the economy not able to provide jobs for all those who have gone to school. Is the problem educational or economic? Will increase in places in Grades 8/10 solve the problem? Can problem be solved by changing the curriculum (ruralizing at primary level, diversifying & vocationalizing at secondary level)? Does schooling engender negative attitudes to certain kinds of work? What can education & school system do to prepare young people better for the kind of life the majority will face?

as needed  
& utility  
skills

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## Readings

The *first reading* gives a perception of the state of Zambia's education sector in 1996. The constraints enumerated in the reading were identified and discussed at length as part of the preparatory work for the development of the Integrated Education Sector Investment Programme (ESIP), about which the reading speaks in the final section. Fuller details on the Education Sector Expenditure Review, which is referred to on page 261, are given later in this book of readings, in Chapter 32 on the Financing of Education in Zambia.

The *second reading*, by Levin and Lockheed, reviews the most pressing problems facing schools in developing countries. The reading was not prepared with Zambia in mind, but you will see that much in it applies to Zambia.

The *third reading* summarizes a survey conducted in 20 schools in four provinces (Central, Eastern, Lusaka and Southern) in January 1995. The summary gives a good idea of the likely conditions in primary schools today.

Using an educational pyramid, the *fourth reading* provides a visual representation of the distribution of pupils by grade and gender in Zambia's primary and secondary schools.

The *fifth reading* gives an overview of issues affecting provision in 1996 of primary school education in Zambia's nine provinces. The data appearing in the reading came from reports submitted by each Provincial Education Office on the status of education within the province.

### *First Reading*

## **Constraints Facing the Education System by Zambia Education Rehabilitation Project**

Although the decline in both access to and quality of education in Zambia began in the late 1970s, the wearing away of the system did not become visible until the mid-1980s, when school infrastructure began to deteriorate, teaching and learning materials became extremely scarce, and the number of untrained teachers increased dramatically. Today, the situation is critical. Most school infrastructure is in utter disrepair; pupils are not displaying age-appropriate reading, numeracy or communication skills; the teaching force is demoralized; and the allocation of public funds has reached an all-time low.

Against this background, the Government acknowledges the complexity of the problems facing the system and its responsibility to address these problems immediately so that all children can have access to quality basic education. Although Government is committed to increasing access and improving the quality of the system, it recognizes that many constraints must be overcome along the road to the future. Because these constraints will not disappear overnight, as they are part of the macro-economic environment of which the education system is part and over which it has little control, the Government will have to find innovative and cost-effective ways to lessen the negative impact these constraints may impose on the system.

The most significant constraints include the country's high population growth rate which is increasing the demand for schooling at all levels; the HIV/AIDS epidemic which is increasing the number of orphaned (often destitute) children; the weak institutional capacity of the Ministry which impedes effective management of the system; the labour market which is not expanding rapidly enough to absorb the annual output of school leavers; and the meagre resources currently allocated to education.

### **Population Growth**

The primary and secondary school-age population is growing at an average rate of 3.4% per year. Although census population projections show the rate declining slightly (to approximately 3.1% per year) in the next five years, the drop will not be significant enough to curtail the demand for schooling in the foreseeable future. Although the Government has been successful in expanding

the education system (particularly primary and basic education), the high social demand for schooling has overshadowed the need to improve the quality of services while expanding the system. Schools in peri-urban areas run three and four shifts per day to accommodate as many eligible school-age children as possible. Despite this only 50% of the 7-year-olds in peri-urban areas find places in the first grade (usually in crowded classrooms). In 1995, it was estimated that 20% of the 7–13 year-old age group were not in school (about 300,00 children. Revised estimates in 1996 put the number of out-of-school children at about 560,000 or one-third of those between the ages of 7 and 13). Participation rates begin at 50% for 7 year-old children, peak at 87% for 11-year-old girls and at 88% for 13-year-old boys, and decline dramatically thereafter (more rapidly for girls than for boys).

### **School Enrollment**

The Government's short-term policy on education is to provide seven years of primary education for every eligible child. The longer-term intention is to expand the system to nine years of good quality basic education. Despite the growing population and the lack of investment in education, the gross enrollment rates at the primary level are still among the highest in the region, standing in 1995 at 103% for boys and 93% for girls. At the secondary level, the rates were 25% for boys and 16% for girls. The high primary level enrollment rates attest to the great efforts the Government has made to increase access to basic education and to the high value parents place on education. Unfortunately, the strict emphasis on numerical expansion has downplayed the importance of providing quality education. For example, to increase the intake of pupils, virtually all primary schools in urban and peri-urban areas have reduced hours of instruction in the lower primary grades (1–4) from five to three hours daily. With so few hours of instruction in the early formative years it is unlikely that young pupils will acquire a strong foundation on which to build as they move through the primary cycle. In addition to the decline in quality there has also been a significant drop in primary school completion rates. For example, in 1986, 98% of the boys and 88% of the girls completed the primary cycle, but by 1995 the primary school completion rates had dropped ten percentage points, to 86% for boys and 78% for girls. Chief among the reasons for the drop in completion rates were the lack of places in upper primary classes, inability to pay school fees and other education-related costs, disillusion with the system, and school-girl pregnancies.

The education system is also highly selective. Participation is widespread at the primary level but only a selected few have access to secondary or higher education. Although participation rates begin almost at par between boys and girls in the first grade, a greater proportion of girls drop out as they move up the education system. By the time young women enrol in university, they make up only 20% of the student body.

### **Impact of HIV/AIDS**

The impact of HIV/AIDS on every aspect of life in Zambia is extremely serious. HIV prevalence in the 15–39 age-group is estimated to be 34% in urban areas and 13% in rural areas. The Ministry of Health estimates that one in every four adults is infected with HIV (between 600,000 and 700,000 out of a total 1995 population of 8.5 million). The effects on education are all too visible. Recent research estimates that 42% of the teaching force are infected. This implies that one-third of current teachers will die within the coming ten years. By the end of this decade it is estimated that there will be over half a million orphans (approximately 50,000 children are orphaned every year). Because orphans are left without the safety net of the family, they are unable to gain access to many social services, including education. There is also the psychological aspect of losing parents and relatives to the disease. The loss of parents often forces children into poverty, hunger, social disorientation, and even into crime and prostitution.

The loss of teachers through death and AIDS-related illnesses will inevitably impair the efficiency and quality of education. Although teachers can be replaced through training, recruitment cannot replace the experience and talent lost. More deaths will increase the number of funeral and

death-related activities that already disrupt school attendance by teachers and pupils. Because AIDS-related illnesses make additional claims on already stretched household budgets, it is likely that families will be less willing and able to pay for education. Families may be forced to divert children who are in school to attendance on the sick and to income-generating tasks. This will affect girls more markedly, because when households are faced with the necessity to choose, sons usually continue their studies, while daughters take care of the sick.

### **Institutional Capacity**

The education system is highly bureaucratic, inefficient and over-centralized. Dissemination and implementation of Government's directives are remarkably slow because of the numerous clearances required. Decision-making is tightly held in the Ministry headquarters, and communication among headquarters staff, field officers, and teachers is erratic at best (particularly in remote districts). Although the Inspectorate is the department responsible for communicating directives and supporting teachers on the ground, it has been virtually invisible in the last several years. Inspectors are often taken away from their professional duties to undertake administrative tasks (in which case they seldom return to their original duties in the Inspectorate) or the lack of adequate transport forces them to remain at their bases (it is significant to note that most of the inspectors are based at headquarters in Lusaka). As a result, the majority of primary and secondary schools, particularly in rural areas, have not been inspected in years (sometimes up to ten years). The Planning Unit, which is supposed to plan, lead and guide the system, is under-staffed, under-equipped and under-utilized.

### **Expenditure on Education**

In 1996, the World Bank in partnership with the Government and donor agencies in the field of education in Zambia, conducted an Educational Sector Expenditure Review to assess the level and efficiency of public, household and donor expenditure on education and training activities. The principal findings of the Review were that Government allocates staggeringly low resources to education and training; household contributions to cover primary and secondary education expenses have reached their limit; total external assistance to the education sector has remained unchanged in the last five years; and the annual budgeting, development and management of the sector's resources are highly ineffectual. The Review found that Zambia was one of the lowest countries in the region and in the world in terms of the percentage of GNP devoted to education. Also, compared with other countries, the distribution of public expenditures across sub-sectors is not equitable. For example, while Zambia spends slightly over 20% of the education budget on tertiary education, Zimbabwe spends only 12%.

In 1996, the Government allocated only about 8% of the total public budget (about US\$75 million) to education and training activities. This allocation was supposed to meet the educational needs of some two million students (from primary school to university). Actual expenditures are concentrated in three sub-sectors: primary education, university education, and administration. The intra-sectoral allocation of resources clearly reveals the deficiencies: most resources are spent on teachers' salaries and bursary schemes for students (grants).

Recent research shows that the Government cost-sharing scheme for education is highly regressive, particularly for parents with children in primary school. These parents bear the brunt of the expenses. The Review found that for non-salary items Government spends US\$1 per primary pupil and US\$808 per university student per year. Pupils attending primary schools are asked to contribute to the Parent-Teacher Association fund, the general purpose fund, to pay examination fees and to pay local school fees, while for those pupils entering first grade a placement fee is also levied. The magnitude of these payments is such that household contributions account for more than half of all expenditures on education (at the primary level, households cover almost all the expenditures other than teacher salaries). In 1993, a Beneficiary Assessment study found that, in

prioritizing household expenditures, parents balance the educational costs against the lost opportunity costs of employing children in subsistence farming or informal sector activities. The Assessment found that *most parents are willing to spend their limited resources on education for their children if they perceive that the quality of education is worthwhile*. A follow-up Beneficiary Assessment conducted in 1995 examined the issue in greater depth. It found that most parents are disillusioned with the quality of the education their children receive in school and are increasingly reluctant to spend their limited resources on poor quality education. The unavoidable implication is that because of poor quality children are being taken out of school after a few years.

### **The Road to the Future**

It is clear that education faces formidable difficulties and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. However, children and youth are the human capital of the country and this capital cannot be wasted or allowed to suffer neglect. Stringent re-allocation of resources within the sector (i.e., less for universities and more for the schools) and a major cross-sectoral re-alignment may offer some hope for a strengthened national system of education. For the Government, and for all citizens, this will depend on an important attitudinal change: from regarding public education as being entirely cost and consumption, to seeing it for what it is—the single most important investment for attaining and defending a democratic society.

In response to these problems, the Government has adopted an Integrated Education Sector Investment Programme (ESIP) as a mechanism for addressing the most critical problems over the period that lies ahead. This process started with the consolidation of individual ministerial policies into an education sector policy framework, *Investing in Our People*, which was ratified by Cabinet in 1996.

The Mission Statement adopted by *Investing in Our People* and the ESIP programme states that *The Integrated Education Sector Investment Programme (ESIP) will invest in people as the most critical factor in economic development. Its objective is to promote quality, relevance and equitable access to education and training through the rational, coordinated and efficient use of resources.*

The coming years present an opportunity which will not present itself again. Error or tardiness now is likely to exacerbate the extremely challenging situation. An inexorably expanding population, the constraints of limited resources, and the urgent and legitimate expectations of the people combine to make the unquestionable success of ESIP necessary to the long-term development of a thriving education sector in Zambia.

**Source:** Zambia Education Rehabilitation Programme (forthcoming) *Zambian Perspectives on Education. The ZERP Policy Studies*, pages 1–6, 39–42 (edited). Lusaka: ZERP, Ministry of Education.

### *Second Reading*

## **Problems Currently Faced by Schools in Developing Countries**

by

**H. M. Levin and M. E. Lockheed**

Schools in developing societies face problems of relatively low school participation in terms of enrollments of eligible age groups; low levels of school completion, even at the primary level; and low levels of achievement. To some degree their lack of effectiveness is not a mystery, for resources sufficient to provide even the most rudimentary conditions for success are often lacking.

### **Participation**

In the development decade of the sixties with its great optimism about economic growth, family planning, and educational expansion, universal primary education seemed to be around the corner. Instead, much attention during that decade was devoted to the expansion of secondary and

tertiary schooling and the directions that those levels of schooling should take. But in the nineties it is clear that much of Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Latin America and Asia have not and will not come close to meeting universal primary participation for the foreseeable future. In fact, some of these countries are farther from this goal today than they were a decade ago. According to estimates based on UNESCO data, school places were available for fewer than 65% of primary school children in low-income developing countries (other than India and China) in 1985. Since many of these school places were filled by children repeating a grade, the median proportion of children of primary school age who were enrolled in school in these countries was only 50%, leaving an estimated 145 million children out of school.

School participation data do not tell the entire story. There remain serious problems of inequity in the provision of education. Masses of children from impoverished populations, who are at the margins of both economic and political power, are relegated to an inadequate system of public schooling, while the children of families of wealth and power are sent to so-called 'private' schools, which in developing countries are often heavily subsidized by public funds. In many countries, poor children have difficulty learning because they are taught in a language that is not their 'mother tongue', often by teachers who themselves are not fluent in the language of instruction. Moreover, schools for the poor do not provide the educational and social mobility that is associated with the popular image of education as a liberating force. School quality is low and educational expectations are low, resulting in educational achievement that is so low as to provide little hope of escape from poverty.

### **Effectiveness**

Schools are also unable to retain students throughout the primary cycle. Fewer than 70% of those who enter school in developing countries reach the final year of the primary cycle, and dropout occurs early in the cycle. In virtually all countries, dropout rates for girls are higher than those for boys, and they are higher for students in rural areas than for students in urban areas.

Schools affect students' dropping out by, in some cases, encouraging repetition and by providing educational services of poor quality. On average, repetition rates in low and lower middle-income countries are two to five times higher than those in upper middle and high-income countries. Repetition is not equally likely at all grade levels. In some countries, nearly all students spend two years in first grade, often because teachers expect them to do so. In other countries, repetition is more acute in the terminal year, when students are preparing for their selection examinations for the next level of education.

The most serious problem, however, is that even those who complete their education have learned very little, as has been shown repeatedly. While students often successfully memorize and repeat what is written in their textbooks or on the blackboard, they lack proficiency in reading, writing and computational skills, and seem to lack the skills to apply what has been learned to new situations. This is a problem because it is the cognitive skills children develop in school—not simply their exposure to schooling—that are determinants of their subsequent productivity in the labour force.

### **Resources**

Finally, the available resources that many developing countries are able or willing to allocate to education are inadequate for meaningful change to improve effectiveness. The costs of a modest school programme for all primary-age children in the poorest countries vastly exceeds available national resources. Expenditures per student, when adjusted for inflation in price levels, are declining. Relative to school spending in the industrialized world, annual recurrent public educational expenditures in developing countries are low—on average, \$30 per primary student and \$111 per secondary student in the mid-1980s, versus \$1,551 and \$1,811, respectively, in industrialized countries.

As a result, schools in developing countries often lack the most basic resources needed for education, such as qualified teachers, facilities, and textbooks. Double and triple shifts for a few hours are the norm in some regions; the number of days in the school year have been reduced; and teachers' salaries have declined so much that fully qualified teachers are often a luxury and teacher turnover and attendance are problematic. Even with low salaries, almost all of the school budgets are spent on personnel, so there is little left for school textbooks and other instructional materials—less than \$1 per primary school child in low-income countries, versus \$52 in industrialized countries. Accordingly, the search for solutions to improving schooling in developing countries must begin with the attempt to provide at least minimum levels of essential school inputs.

**Source:** Levin, H. M. & Lockheed, M. E. (1991) *Effective Schools in Developing Countries*, pages 3–4. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

*Third Reading*  
**Survey of Conditions in Twenty Zambian Primary Schools**  
**January—February 1995**  
 by  
**D. R. Aspinwall**

The results of the survey show that:

- an unsatisfied demand for school places is particularly serious in Lusaka and extends less strongly along the line of rail and tarred roads;
- in rural areas the supply of school places typically exceeds demand because parents cannot afford to send children to school, attitudes do not favour enrollment, people are too scattered for all to be within walking distance of a school, the area may be affected by famine, and children drop out of schooling;
- only an estimated 57% of school-age children are enrolled in school;
- staff in urban schools work shorter hours and are mainly women, while in rural areas they work longer and are mainly men;
- the average time elapsed since an inspector last visited a particular school is between three and four years;
- for virtually all children the language of schooling is different from the language of home;
- except in a few rehabilitated schools, classrooms, particularly in rural schools, are typically bare, with few or no desks, no teacher's table or chair, a broken chalkboard, few books and no wall displays;
- the supply of books has improved but books and other teaching materials are under-used;
- donor aid has made possible rehabilitation and the improved supply of books;
- the buildings of most schools are not regularly maintained and require major repairs, whilst 18% of classrooms are temporary structures made of mud and grass;
- the average school latrine caters for 73 pupils;
- 45% of schools do not have their own source of safe drinking water;
- in most schools the only funding received from Government is in the form of teachers' salaries, while for other expenditure schools have little potential to raise money.

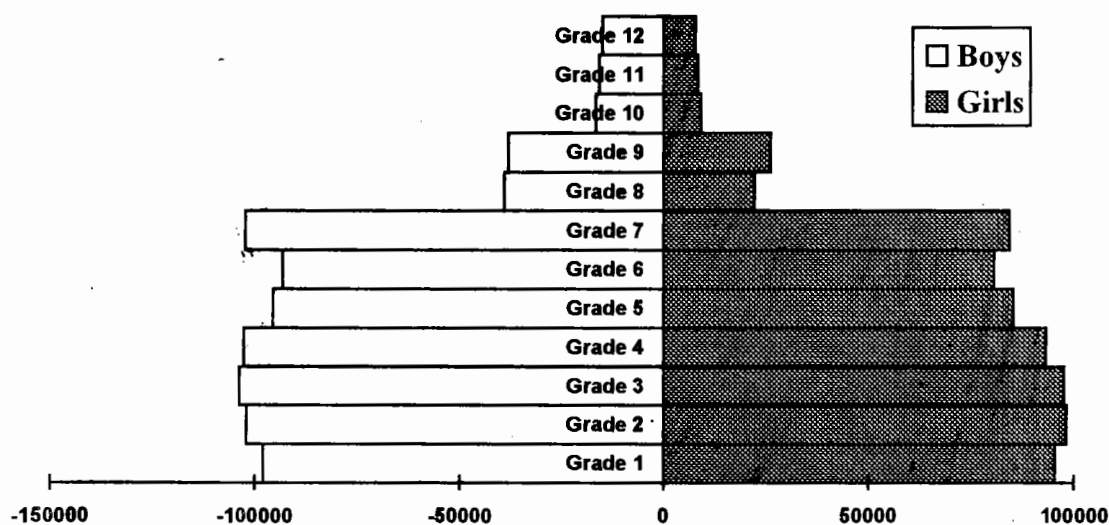
**Source:** Aspinwall, D. R. (1995) *Survey of Conditions in Twenty Zambian Schools*, pages 7–8. Lusaka: UNICEF.

*Fourth Reading*  
**The Educational Pyramid**  
 by  
**M. J. Kelly**

An educational pyramid, as shown below (Figure 1), provides information on how pupils are distributed by grade and gives an excellent pictorial representation of a school system.

**Figure 1: Educational Pyramid**

**1983–1994 Cohort**



To construct an educational pyramid it is necessary to have information on the same cohort of pupils over a twelve-year period, from the time they began Grade 1 until they completed Grade 12, with data on the number enrolled each year, given separately by girls and boys. The size of each box is proportional to the number enrolled in a particular grade. Thus, in the illustration, almost 100,000 boys and less than 100,000 girls entered Grade 1 in 1983. When these moved to Grade 2 in 1984, the boys increased in number to more than 100,000, while the girls increased to almost 100,000. In moving on to Grade 3 in 1985, the boys again increased slightly in number, but the number of girls went down marginally. The progress of the group can be followed in the same way through each year of their schooling until they come to Grade 12 in 1994. By that time they had been greatly reduced in numbers and boys were more than twice as many as girls.

An education pyramid shows at a glance

- the extent of gender imbalance in a system (compare the shaded and unshaded areas in Figure 1)
- the way opportunities for progression narrow as one goes higher up the system, and the points at which some form of selection must be occurring (because of the narrowing, the diagram is called a pyramid; the selection points on completion of Grades 7 and 9 come out clearly; less clear is the selection point for many children on completion of Grade 4)
- the extent of repetition or drop-out (repetition by both boys and girls in Grade 7 and by girls in Grade 9 are clearly marked, as is drop-out at the end of Grade 5).

Source: Kelly, M. J. (1997) Introduction to Educational Planning. Education Management and Training Programme, Training Module, pages 46–47. Lusaka: Department of Educational Administration & Policy Studies, University of Zambia.

*Fifth Reading*  
**The Status of Primary Education Provision in Zambia's Provinces**  
by

**M. J. Kelly, with H. J. Msango & C. M. Subulwa**

Salient information emerges from the provincial reports about the provision of primary education in Zambia (in 1996):

1. Since the early 1990s, there has been very little increase in primary school enrollments, the average annual enrollment growth rate over the period 1991–1996 being 0.2%, compared with a population growth rate of 3.3%. Because increases in school enrollment are lagging behind population increases, the number of eligible children who are not attending school is also increasing.
2. The efficiency of the school system is severely compromised by high dropout and repetition. With some 70,000 children dropping out in the course of 1996, the national dropout rate was 4.6%, while the repetition rate was higher, 5.1%. By the time they complete primary school, almost half the pupils will have repeated a grade. Dropout occurs for both boys and girls in all grades, but is higher for girls in upper than in lower primary. Repetition by boys and girls also occurs in all grades, but the incidence in Grades 5–7 is two to three times greater than in Grades 1–4.
3. The number who repeat in school is greater than the number who drop out. Hence total school enrollment is being kept artificially high by the excess of repeaters over dropouts. If current levels of dropout continued and there was no repetition, total school enrollments would decline rapidly and steadily.
4. Because significant dropout has been experienced in all grades over a period of years, many who enter Grade 1 do not complete primary school. Completion rates have been in sharp decline since the early 1990s and, except in the Copperbelt, they continue to decline. Primary school completion rates have fallen as low as 53% (North-Western Province), but nationally stood at 77% in 1996.
5. Approximately half of those who drop out of school do so for economic reasons, either because of school-related costs or because their labour and inputs are needed in the home. School costs have also affected the take-up of Grade 8 places in conventional secondary schools, many of which are being shunned by the selected pupils in preference for the less costly basic schools.
6. Indications are that in spite of their poverty, parents would make greater efforts to bear school-related costs if they could be satisfied that the quality of the education being provided was of acceptable standard. Many—pointing to the poor facilities, inadequate learning materials, short learning time, low teacher quality, and low levels of actual learning—believe that it is not. In other words, the synergy of parental poverty and poor school quality has enlarged the problem of primary school dropout.
7. A large number of children who persevere in school up to Grade 7 do not sit for the terminal selection examination because of inability to pay fees. Likewise, significant numbers do not sit for the Grade 9 examination for the same reason. This problem affects girls more than boys, with some 17% of girls and 7% of boys not sitting for the Grade 7 terminal examinations in 1995.
8. Almost all of the provinces provide disturbing information on the number of primary pupils who died during 1996. Although small in relation to overall enrollments (of the order of 0.13%, or 2,000 pupils across the country), that there should be so many deaths among young people is harrowing testimony to the poor health, malnutrition and destitution from which so many children suffer.
9. Access to the majority of rural and to many urban schools is not inhibited by insufficient classroom facilities. The facilities may be dilapidated and in need of rehabilitation, but in general they exist in numbers commensurate with the likely school population. This is evidenced

by the relatively small average class size, which at the district level varies between 22 and 52, with a median of 32 and a national mean of 35.

10. Gross enrollment ratios in the majority of districts are close to or exceed 100%. In districts where the ratios fall below 100%, the problem appears to lie more with the non-attendance of eligible children than with the insufficiency of facilities.
11. On the basis of data from the schools, provincial net enrollment ratios lie in the range 75—85%, indicating that about four-fifths of the children of eligible age attend school and one-fifth do not. These figures differ considerably from those obtained through household surveys and hence should be treated with caution.
12. Except in Lusaka and Eastern Province, the schools appear to have more than enough places for all seven-year old children; in fact, however, less than half the seven-year olds are enrolled in Grade 1. More than half of those in Grade 1 are reported as being aged between eight and fourteen-plus.
13. The education system is numerically well supplied with trained teachers, but these are so poorly deployed that many are clearly under-utilized. If trained teachers were properly deployed and used, the system would not need to have such extensive recourse to the costly and educationally unsound practice of employing a large number of untrained teachers.
14. The education system is reasonably close to gender balance in terms of the number of male and female teachers, with about 46% of the trained primary teachers being female. But the female teachers are not well deployed. They are heavily concentrated in towns and peri-urban areas and are not spread out equitably over rural schools.
15. Positions of responsibility in primary schools are largely the preserve of male teachers. In one district, there is no female school head, deputy or senior teacher. Town and city schools which are staffed almost exclusively by women have men as heads and deputies. With female teachers being only 11% of the school heads and deputies throughout the country, there is a gender gap in this area of seventy-eight percentage points.
16. Remarkable progress has been made in rehabilitating schools and in equipping them with desks and books. This goes hand-in-hand with the fact that the majority of schools are still in a very bad state of repair, do not have desk or seating facilities for pupils and teachers, and lack books and essential teaching supplies.
17. The level of learning achievement in schools in every part of the country is very low. Only one quarter of Grade 6 pupils have attained what teachers regard as the minimum level of reading ability. For practical purposes, three-quarters of those in Grade 6 are functionally illiterate.
18. Pupils attending school in rural areas are severely disadvantaged. Many of the schools are little more than make-shift, temporary, dark and unsafe structures. They lack essential furniture, text-books and teaching materials. They depend heavily on untrained teachers. They have few, if any, female teachers. They are seldom visited by inspectors or education officers. The already short learning time is further reduced by the absence of teachers following up on their salaries. Teaching days are lost when lessons cannot be held because of rain, storms and leaking roofs. Swollen rivers and other hazards impede the regular attendance of pupils. Because of the distance between school and home, many rural pupils spend as much as two hours walking to school, and the same in returning home after school.
19. Patterns of school participation in towns and peri-urban areas show that it has become an accepted way of life in these areas that children between the ages of seven and thirteen should be in school. It is different in rural areas, where school participation may be in competition with the household and economic responsibilities placed on children. Formal education and school attendance are part of the urban culture; they have yet to become an integral part of the culture in rural areas.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J., with Msango, H. J. & Subulwa, C. M. (1998) *Girls' Education in a System Designed for Boys. A Situation Analysis at the Provincial Level of Girl Child Education in Zambia*, pages 2–4. Lusaka: Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE), Ministry of Education.

## Chapter 26

### Equality of Educational Opportunity for Underprivileged Groups

*Equity*: refers to fairness, justice in distribution of resources; it is a normative concept, describing the way things should be. It is not exactly the same as equality, which is a positive concept, dealing with the way things are; equality describes whether resources are distributed equally; equity says whether they are distributed fairly, properly. Equal distribution does not always bring about a fair distribution—to achieve equity, it may be necessary for resources or opportunities to be distributed unequally (e.g., more to the poor, less to the rich). One of the principal functions of any government is to promote equity, enabling all to have fair access to necessary material and social goods, one of which is education. Equity's concern is not merely to promote school enrollment or attendance, but participation in all that goes on in school, continuation in a school to end of a given cycle, satisfactory performance in school, genuine learning and school achievement, and adequate opportunity for a subsequent unrestricted range of education/training or employment activities. Disadvantaged groups need special attention and protection. Children's junior status and dependency make them particularly vulnerable; among children, specially disadvantaged groups include girls (next Chapter), rural children, poor children, and the handicapped.

*Rural*: Educational provision in rural areas poorer than in urban—buildings, furniture, materials & supplies, teachers (most of the untrained teachers are in rural schools). Demand for education not so high as in urban areas. Formal education for children not seen as a necessary part of life of children. Questions arise about value of education to rural children, especially if they remain in rural areas after school: what good was their education to them? how can they retain their literacy when there are no facilities in rural areas?

*Poor*: This group may coincide with rural and with girls, but a special category also in peri-urban areas. Discouraged by costs, especially if they see that the quality is poor. Schools not designed for their needs: school curriculum and culture are essentially middle class—they are alien to the poor who feel over-awed or that school is not 'for real', not relevant to their lives. Yet, the poor's own desire is for more education of academic type that gives greater promise of upward social mobility.

*Handicapped*: Very large number in any society—possibly as many as 10% of children suffer from some type of handicap. Many need special education/attention at school. One major problem is lack of accurate information on the number of children with special educational needs. A second problem is the attitude of society to education of children with special needs. Communities and parents may doubt whether it is worthwhile, whether much can be done for such children. Some parents also feel that they will be shamed or blamed if it is known that their children have physical or mental disability, hence they conceal such children and are not prepared to send them to school. This leads to many disabled children not being enrolled. General educational principle is that those who are not severely handicapped should be enrolled in the same schools and follow the same programmes as others, but facilities may not be suitable for them. In 1995, Zambia had 28 special primary schools and 1 special secondary school for severely handicapped; in addition, there were 80 special education units at primary level and 29 at secondary level. The Ministry of Education's policy is to ensure equality of educational opportunity for children with special needs, to incorporate such children as far as possible into ordinary schools and classes, to provide education of superior quality to such children, and to strengthen the supervision and management of special education across the country.

Underprivileged Status

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### Readings

In the *first reading*, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall consider the notion of equity in education. Having given a general description of it as the way the costs and the benefits of education are distributed among different groups, they go on to consider equity as a normative concept, and to define the three main kinds of equity: horizontal, vertical and intergenerational.

In the *second reading*, UNESCO gives a brief consideration of education for the handicapped. Notice the positive reference in this reading to Zambia's efforts on behalf of the handicapped.

Lockheed and Verspoor, in the *third reading*, consider the four major factors that lead to disparities in schooling—residence, gender, poverty and minority status.

In its 1996 report on sustainable human development in Zambia, the Government draws attention, in the *fourth reading*, to the problems faced by three categories of children: street children, orphans, and disabled children.

The *fifth reading* provides an overview of current equity problems in Zambia's provision of education, drawing attention particularly to the way that children may be vulnerable on many counts.

### *First Reading*

## **Equity Considerations in Educational Investment**

by

**G. Psacharopoulos and M. Woodhall**

### **Equity in Education**

Selecting an investment project raises both efficiency and equity issues. We now turn to equity, which concerns the way the costs and the benefits of an investment are distributed among different groups in society. With educational investment, the question is whether the costs and benefits are equally distributed among regions (geographic), and whether males and females, and different social, economic, or ethnic groups have equal access to educational facilities. Because the inequalities of access and distribution are particularly severe in developing countries, the

distributional effects of investment projects and the way in which they are financed are important in these countries.

Four questions in particular need to be examined if we are to determine the effects of educational investment on equity: How are educational resources and facilities distributed among different areas and groups? What are the effects of government subsidies for education on the distribution of costs and benefits and the distribution of total income or welfare? Can educational investment be used to redistribute wealth, income, and opportunities between rich and poor, advantaged and disadvantaged? How effective is education as a redistributive tool? Such questions are now given high priority in developing countries and also in the World Bank and other international agencies, whereas in the past questions about the efficient allocation of resources tended to dominate the selection of investment projects. Moreover, equity is now likely to be an explicit criterion in the assessment and evaluation of education.

### **Are Equity and Efficiency Mutually Consistent Goals or Do They Conflict?**

With the increasing interest in equity issues, more information is becoming available on the equity implications of educational investment. One question that cannot be simply resolved, however, is whether equity and efficiency are mutually consistent goals and criteria, or whether they conflict. In some cases, equity and efficiency criteria appear to point to the same conclusion. Because of the great differences in urban and rural participation, for example, expanding education in rural areas is likely to serve equity objectives and also promote efficiency by encouraging the more rapid adoption of improved agricultural methods. Similarly, greater equity would be achieved by increasing access for females; with a better-qualified female population, national development is likely to be fostered through the changes that can be expected in the nature of labour force participation and through gains in family welfare, family planning, and health and child care.

The evidence on rates of return, which shows high rates of return to primary schooling, taken together with evidence on the redistributive effects of public expenditure on education, suggests that in some developing countries expanding primary education not only would be a profitable investment, but would promote equity, since in general primary education tends to redistribute resources towards the poor. Furthermore, as primary education becomes more widely disseminated, additional spending will be increasingly concentrated on backward rural areas and disadvantaged groups.

Thus the *World Development Reports* of 1980 and 1981 suggested that efficiency and equity goals could be jointly served by educational investment, and the World Bank's 1980 *Education Sector Policy Paper* concluded that equity in education and economic development goals are mutually consistent. It would indeed be convenient for educational investment strategy if efficiency and equity criteria always pointed in the same direction. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Although many education projects do contribute to both efficiency and equity goals, many others find that the criteria fail to agree. As a result, many countries have found themselves in an 'equity-efficiency quandary', which has become of increasing concern to governments as public pressure for more schooling has come into conflict with budgetary pressures.

### **The Meaning of Equity**

Many disagree about the relationship between efficiency and equity criteria and about the relative weights to be attached to efficiency and equity goals. First, however, we should consider what is meant by the term *equity*, how it can be measured, and whether there are alternative ways of measuring the distribution of education.

Opinions vary as to the meaning of equity because the concept is closely bound up with the notion of fairness. As a result, differences inevitably arise in judgments of what is a fair or equitable distribution of wealth, income, or education. There are also different ways of measuring the distribution. Any discussion of equity implications must therefore incorporate both analytical techniques and interpretative judgment. We do not, however, address the normative issue of whether equity or efficiency goals should take precedence, because this is a matter of political judgment. The question should nevertheless be considered when investment projects are being selected, particularly if the goals conflict. Research on equity issues cannot resolve this normative question, but it can inform politicians and policy-makers about the likely results of their choices and about possible trade-offs between them.

### **The Concept of Equity**

A distinction must be made between *normative* and *positive* statements at the outset of any discussion about equity. Equity not only refers to the distribution or sharing of resources among individuals or groups, but it is also tied up with the notion of justice. Any determination of equity must therefore be based on facts about *how resources are distributed (a positive issue)* and on judgments about *how society should distribute resources (a normative issue)*. Judgments will differ in this regard because societies differ in their moral or philosophical principles. Even the factual aspect of equity analysis will involve judgments, however, about how groups to which resources will be distributed should be differentiated. That is to say, the analysis of how goods are distributed cannot proceed unless the population is first classified into mutually exclusive groups. The basis for classification may be age, sex, social class, income level, occupation, or any other relevant variable.

When it comes to normative judgments about fairness or justice, we can expect disagreement about relevant criteria. Furthermore, at least three types of equity can be discerned: *horizontal equity*, which is usually taken to mean equal treatment of equals; *vertical equity*, which refers to unequal treatment of unequals (and which raises the question of how equality or inequality is to be judged); and *intergenerational equity*, which lies between the other two types of equity and is concerned with ensuring that inequalities in one generation are not simply perpetuated.

Debates about the equity implications of subsidies for higher education often depend on whether a populist or an elitist (or meritocratic) view of equity is adopted. The former would distribute educational opportunities equally among members of society, whereas the latter would base the distribution of higher education on ability and thus could be said to promote unequal treatment of unequals. Others might argue that the same could be said of those who discriminate in favour of the poorest or most disadvantaged members of society. Their definition of equity, however, might lead to conclusions that would conflict with those suggested by a meritocratic definition.

### **Equity and Equality**

The terms equity and equality are obviously far from synonymous, although they are sometimes used interchangeably, particularly in discussions about the distribution of educational opportunities. Many of the analytical tools designed to measure dispersion and distribution compare an actual distribution with a theoretical distribution of perfect equality. But this does not mean that a perfectly equal distribution is necessarily the desired or favoured objective of government policy on education or income distribution. According to some definitions, as we have seen above, the desired goal is unequal treatment of unequals. Thus when concepts of equity are

being debated, the issue is usually a philosophical rather than an economic one. This means that an economic analysis of equity implications of investment decisions must begin with a clear statement of what is judged to be an equitable distribution of resources, or at least a clear definition of the criteria for judging equity.

#### **Equity in Access and in Participation**

A distinction must also be made between access to education and participation, because the distribution of enrollments may be related to the numerous factors that affect private demand as well as to the access to education in different regions or geographical areas. That is to say, government policy in some countries may be concerned with reducing inequalities of access and thus may opt for building schools in remote areas or for reducing fees to remove financial barriers for those who cannot afford to enrol. In other countries, the over-riding concern may be to reduce inequalities of participation, and thus incentives may be provided for those who do not choose to enrol. In this case, the policy chosen to promote equity will be wider than one that is simply concerned with removing barriers, because it seeks to increase the participation by changing some of the factors that govern private demand. Such an approach to equity is likely to involve greater costs than the former. Whether a government adopts a wider or more restrictive approach to questions of equity will depend partly on available resources.

#### **Equity, Access and Efficiency in Relation to Level of Educational Development**

The 1980 World Bank *Education Sector Policy Paper* suggested that the relative concern for access, equity, and efficiency is likely to be a function of the level of educational development in a country. It also observed that when enrollment rates are low (less than 30%), governments are likely to be primarily concerned with increasing access to the system by having more schools enrol more students. As enrollment rates grow to more than 70–80%, the main concern becomes to maximize internal efficiency and ensure equality in the distribution of resources. The paper noted, however, that “efforts to provide a more equitable access to education should not diminish, because the last 5–10% of students remaining to be enrolled will be the most difficult to serve and will probably require special measures. For that reason, the cost of extending education to the last 10% will be high”.

Still another distinction should be made between the quantity and quality of educational provision. Most analysis of the distribution of education in developing countries is mainly concerned with quantitative indicators. Regional and urban difference, however, in the quality of schooling may be substantial (as in the case, for example, of Brazil).

**Source:** Psacharopoulos, G. & Woodhall, M. (1985) *Education for Development. An Analysis of Investment Choices*, pages 244–253. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Second Reading*  
**Education for the Underprivileged**  
by  
**UNESCO**

Women and girls receive less education than men and boys in almost every country. The disparity is particularly acute in the rural areas of developing countries. Besides the obvious equity argument, it is now recognized that when women receive low levels of education it hinders

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economic development and reinforces social inequality. Women represent an enormous potential source of human capital and scientific and technical skills in agriculture, commerce and industry. The rate of return on investment in women's education is as high as or higher than for men, even if measured by income differential alone (without taking into account factors such as effects on fertility and child health). For example, women constitute an important source of skills in rapidly expanding electronic and communications manufacturing, and financial and computer services.

Another disadvantaged group is the disabled, who may constitute up to 10% of the population in some countries. Disabled people usually are more restricted in their mobility and may require special learning materials or individualized instruction. Their needs can be, and often are, easily forgotten, especially in poor countries. Yet, with proper planning, most disabled persons could participate in basic education programmes and become productive members of society. One country that has made a special effort to provide education for the disabled is Zambia, where a special campaign for disabled children was launched in 1980. By 1985, there were thirty-five institutions serving over 2,000 pupils at the primary level, more than double the number served in 1980.

**Source:** UNESCO (1991) *Education for All: Purpose and Context*, pages 49–50. Paris: UNESCO

*Third Reading*  
**Disparities in Schooling**  
by  
**M. E. Lockheed and A. M. Verspoor**

Four factors that most significantly affect disparities in schooling between subgroups are residence, gender, poverty, and minority status. The effects of these factors are difficult to disentangle and often reinforce each other.

**Residence**

Studies have shown that the single most important determinant of primary school enrollment is the presence or absence of a school within easy reach of primary school-aged children. Given that schools are more readily available and accessible in urban areas, it is not surprising that urban children are more likely to attend school than rural children. Major impediments to education in rural areas include: (a) a general lack of resources, including teachers, materials, facilities, and equipment; (b) a lack of reinforcement for education in the local environment; (c) language problems when the curriculum is in a national (and usually urban) language while rural areas retain the use of other languages; (d) the household and production chores of children in rural areas that compete with the school schedule; and (e) incomplete schools (i.e., schools that offer only three or four grades).

Studies have repeatedly demonstrated that distance from school is a critical factor in whether or not children, especially girls, attend school. In some cases when children have to travel long distances, parents have to pay transportation costs. But even when children walk and there are no direct costs, there are indirect costs in terms of children's time spent travelling and their tiredness.

In contrast to rural children who face significant barriers in terms of enrolling and staying in school, urban students in highly dense areas suffer from overcrowded and often dilapidated classrooms. In Mzuzu City and Lilongwe, in Malawi, the student to classroom ratios exceed 100. And in urban areas in Pakistan, as many as 120 children are routinely crowded into a 12' x 17' room, giving each child 1.7 square feet of room, only one-eighth of the international standard of approximately 14 square feet per child. Such overcrowding is clearly not conducive to learning.

### **Gender**

Although the disparity between girls and boys in terms of primary school enrollment has narrowed since 1960, girls' enrollment continues to lag behind that of boys throughout most of the developing world. While one-fourth of all school-aged children in the developing world are not in school, about 40% of girls do not attend schools.

Obstacles to female education stem from a number of factors. The most significant include: national educational policies that affect boys and girls differently; uneven distribution of primary schools, especially in rural areas; lack of schools for girls when education is sex-segregated; shortage of female teachers and general reluctance among certified female teachers to work in isolated rural areas or in urban slums; perceived irrelevance of primary school curricula to women's employment possibilities; demand for girls' household labour; late entry of girls complicated by increased likelihood of pregnancy and/or preparation for marriage; and increased restrictions placed upon physical mobility of older girls.

Not only are girls much less likely to attend school, but when they do, they often face discrimination in coeducational schools due to teaching methods that stem from teacher beliefs about female incompetencies. This is particularly true in Latin American and Islamic cultures. For example, a study of Islamic schools in Nigeria noted that girls did not ask questions in class, were not asked questions by their teachers, and generally had to sit in the back of the class away from the boys. Moreover, there is ample evidence that textbooks portray women in passive and powerless roles, thus reinforcing the negative stereotypes of females in society. For example, in a primary text in Swaziland, one page depicted a boy happily playing ball while a girl was shown shying away from a snake. Although there is no demonstrable evidence of the impact of sex stereotypes on girls' participation or scholastic achievement in primary schools, such biases presumably affect girls' aspirations and expectations for their future.

### **Poverty**

In all countries, children of poorer families are less apt to enrol in schools and more apt to drop out than children of better-off families. Families pay for the education of their children both directly and indirectly. Direct outlays include expenses such as school fees, activities fees, examination fees, supplies, uniforms, transport and lunches. Families also incur indirect or opportunity costs in the form of foregone household labour or earned income of children in school. Parental decisions to bear the costs of educating their children are generally based on their perceptions that the returns from education will make the expenditure worthwhile either in terms of increased future income, increased overall household productivity, or prestige. However, because poverty is often linked with limited educational attainment and low occupational status of parents, there tends to be little reinforcement of the value of education.

In poor families children's labour is often critical to household income or survival, especially in rural areas. Studies from India and several African countries show that poor, rural

girls in particular are seldom able to participate in school, given their many duties—drawing water, preparing food, gathering wood., tending younger children, helping with farm activities.

When working children do attend school, they have less time to study which adversely affects their academic performance. Also, poor children are more apt than their better-off peers to be malnourished, a factor which further lowers their achievement.

Child labour is not confined to rural areas. Throughout the developing world, millions of urban children are found working in industry and allied activities. The problems encountered by rural working children are exacerbated in urban settings. Whereas rural child labour is traditionally carried out within the context of household production, urban child labour is realized within an employer-employee structure. When children are incorporated in this structure, the parental protection that is provided in domestic and agrarian activities is generally absent. Urban child labourers work long hours at labour that is often strenuous and that poses significant risks to their safety and health. The effect on their schooling is considerable: those who do manage to attend school are found to be less able, less industrious and less regular in school attendance and continually disadvantaged throughout their school years and even later. And, as is true of rural child workers, school attendance is simply not feasible for many of these children due to the loss of income associated with schooling and their parents' perception that the benefits of education are outweighed by the costs.

#### **Minority Status: Religious, Ethnic, Handicapped**

The data on the participation of religious and ethnic minorities in primary schooling is scant, but there is some evidence that these particular groups suffer from inequities in the education system. Discrimination is sometimes explicit, as when schools are designated along religious, ethnic, or racial lines. Other times, discrimination is more invisible, embedded in educational policies—for example, when the language of instruction favours one group over another. Children who speak a language other than the language of instruction confront a substantial barrier to learning. In the crucial early grades when children are trying to acquire basic literacy, as well as adjust to the demands of the school setting, not speaking the language of instruction can make the difference between school success and school failure—and between remaining in school and dropping out.

Other groups of children who remain on the fringe of the educational system are the mentally and physically handicapped. Although research on the extent of their participation in education in the developing world is scant, anecdotal evidence suggests that they are often excluded from schools. Teachers are not trained to teach them; schools are not equipped to deal with their special needs. In general, most systems lack the infrastructure, capacity and the resources needed to provide them with a basic education.

**Source:** Lockheed, M. E. & Verspoor, A. M. (1990) *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, pages 101–106. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Children in Difficult Circumstances**  
by  
**GRZ-UNDP**

Many of Zambia's children are missing out on the type of healthy, happy and caring upbringing that Zambia and the other members of the world community have pledged, under the Convention for the Rights of the Child, to be the fundamental right of every child. These are children living in especially difficult circumstances, including street children, AIDS orphans, disabled children, out-of-school children, and working children. Their numbers have risen and their situation has worsened along with the spread of poverty in recent years. From an early stage in life such children face threats and traumas that most adults would be appalled at and frightened to deal with.

**Street Children**

The decline in Zambia's economy over the 1980s and 1990s has been accompanied by a sharp rise in the numbers of street children. Such children live on the margins of society. A 1991 study of street children found that, almost without exception, street children are poor children from poor families, many living in abject poverty. Most are on the streets to try to make money for their families and their own survival. Both as a cause and effect of living on the street, these children miss out on education and have only very limited access to shelter, health and other services. Most said they still lived with their parents, but their parents were generally earning very low incomes or were unemployed. Most had been street children for between one and five years, spending all or part of each day on the streets. Many had experienced problems of harassment from the police and most had faced threats of violence, abuse and mistreatment.

It was estimated that there were 35,000 street children in 1991, and that a further 315,000 children were at high risk of becoming drawn into streetism. In view of the sharp increase in urban poverty during the early 1990s, and the highly visible evidence of large numbers of children in Zambia's cities and towns, it is possible that by 1994 there were more than 70,000 street children.

The numbers of street children are likely to be further swelled by the growing numbers of children being orphaned due to parents and guardians dying from AIDS. By the peak of the AIDS epidemic it is estimated that nine in every ten orphans will be because of deaths through AIDS. By the year 2000, it is estimated that eleven percent of children under 14 years of age will be orphans. Coping with a problem of this scale would seem to be well beyond the capacity of traditional caring mechanisms through the extended family, so there is now an urgent challenge to develop new models of caring for orphans.

There is a growing understanding of the HIV and non-HIV causes and effects of orphanhood and streetism. Children whose families become unable to look after them, because of the advent of HIV-related morbidity or other forms of morbidity, may be exposed to a progression of deteriorating circumstances, leading to orphanhood or becoming street children. The initial psychological trauma may be followed by a dropping out of school, with adverse effects on the household budget, leading to lower living standards and increased vulnerability to HIV as the children's situation progressively worsens and family support is reduced or ended.

## **Disabled Children**

A further category of children in especially difficult circumstances are disabled children. These include the physically disabled, visually or hearing impaired, mentally handicapped, those with learning disabilities, the emotionally disturbed, those with speech and communication handicaps, and the multiply handicapped.

A national campaign to reach disabled children was mounted over the period 1980–85. Analysis of 7,382 registered disabled children indicated that 41% were physically disabled, 25% were visually impaired, about 23% had hearing or speech impediments, and 11% had multiple or learning/mental disabilities.

On the basis of the work conducted by nearly 3,000 reporting centres in 55 districts it was estimated that the rate of disability was about eight per 1,000 children in urban areas and 30 per 1,000 in rural areas. This implied that there was a total of about 40,000 Zambian children with disabilities, most of whom were not registered. Because of problems, including illiteracy and inadequate access to health and other basic services, the rate of disability in rural areas was significantly higher than in urban areas. The highest rates of disability were found in the more remote Luapula, North-Western and Western provinces. One of the disturbing outcomes of the campaign was that in most areas the majority of disabled children were not receiving special education, treatment, nor other rehabilitation support.

It was planned that follow-up activities arising from the national campaign would provide the basis for improving the support provided to disabled children and developing community-based approaches. However, the deepening of Zambia's economic crisis since that time has meant that support for the disabled has been starved of financial and human resources. Efforts to improve provision for the disabled have more or less come to a standstill.

**Source:** GRZ–UNDP (1996) *Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia. More Choices for Our People*, pages 44–45. Lusaka: GRZ and UNDP.

### *Fifth Reading*

## **Educational Disabilities of Vulnerable Children in Zambia**

by

**M. J. Kelly and E. Banda Sinkala**

Educational provision in Zambia does not yet extend to all children. Neither does it equalize opportunities for all participants. Government policy is to eliminate all sources of educational disadvantage and to promote maximum equity.

Many children are vulnerable on several counts—being a girl, poor, rural, orphaned, having special educational needs, being out of school. These personal level inequities do not occur in isolation, but frequently interact synergistically (see Table 1 and Annex I). The AIDS epidemic and other sicknesses have increased the number of vulnerable children, large numbers being orphaned and/or having to act as household heads.

**Out-of-school children** aged 7–13 number more than half a million (one-third of the age-group); the number and proportion have declined since 1990, but the situation is changing only slowly. Reasons for the persisting large number of out-of-school children include access being obstructed by school attendance of a large number of over-age children, a high wastage rate (5.3%) in Grades 1–6, insufficient capacity in urban schools, long walking distances to rural schools, the poor quality of education, family poverty, and being orphaned or abandoned.

**The poor** participate in education less than the better-off. They also benefit less, their learning achievement being substantially below that of better-off children. There is growing evidence that widespread poverty is reducing parental ability to pay school-related costs, is inducing parents to withdraw children from school to participate in income-generating activities, and is reducing community ability to participate in self-help school-development activities. Reports from the provinces show that many of those selected for Grade 8 in boarding schools are declining their places, preferring to continue in basic schools, because the costs are lower. Higher levels of child malnutrition among the poor have negative effects on their school participation and performance. The performance of the poor in school is negatively affected by the language gap between home and school and by the absence in their homes of reading materials and similar supports for school education.

**Table 1: Multiple Disadvantages of Children at Risk**

	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Rural Children</b>	<b>The Poor</b>	<b>Children with Special Educational Needs</b>
<b>Girls</b>	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX
<b>Rural Children</b>		XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX
<b>The Poor</b>			XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX	XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX
<b>Children with Special Educational Needs</b>				XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXX

(Entries for each marked cell appear in Annex I)

Almost 80% of the children who are not in school live in rural areas. **Rural children** are disadvantaged by the dilapidated infrastructure of many rural schools, a great shortage of desks, few teaching or reading materials, long walking distances to school, the inaccessibility of many schools during the rainy season, the virtual non-use of English outside the school setting, and the urban orientation of the school curriculum. Attendance, retention and performance indicators for

rural schools lag far behind those for urban schools. Further negative aspects of rural schools are their high proportion of untrained teachers, the regular loss of teaching-learning time when teachers are away collecting salaries and household supplies, the inadequacy of school supervision, and the demoralization of many teachers in rural schools because of low salaries, unsatisfactory accommodation, and insufficient professional support.

**Girls**, especially rural girls, are particularly at risk. Their school participation falls off substantially in Grades 5–7 and worsens thereafter. School completion rates for rural girls average 60%, compared with 94% for girls in the more urbanized provinces. Less than half the girls in the predominantly rural provinces receive a full primary education. Those that do are surpassed by boys, whose achievement levels are higher than those of girls. Schools frequently do not make adequate sanitation and water provision to meet the needs of girls who are reaching physical maturity. Schools mirror society in having low expectations for the performance of girls. Girls' self-esteem is further lowered by biased stereotyping in school organization, distribution of school responsibilities, classroom practices, and teaching materials. They are presented with few role models, especially in rural schools, and are made aware from an early age that realistically they can aspire to a very limited range of post-school careers. Girls' participation and performance in school is negatively affected by the widespread belief in society, especially in rural areas, that the proper task for a girl is to prepare herself to be a wife and mother. Their school attendance is increasingly being jeopardized by the need to care for the sick and AIDS-infected relatives.

Education reaches only a small minority (possibly only 10%) of the **children with special educational needs**. These children may account for a quarter of those not attending school. Given that the incidence of disability is 60% higher in rural than in urban areas, children with special needs are likely to be proportionately more numerous in rural than in urban areas. The organization, teaching and physical structures of schools do not respond to the special needs of these children, thereby discouraging their participation.

Interwoven through all these groups are **orphans**. By 1993, 42% of urban and one-third of rural households contained orphans. Currently Zambia is thought to have about half a million children who have lost one or both parents, their number growing rapidly because of AIDS. Caring for these stretches the social safety net of the extended family to its limits. The impact on school attendance and performance is severe. Many children of primary school age must carry responsibilities well beyond their capabilities as children, caring for dying parents, finding food, and earning money. One estimate is that two-thirds of the orphans in rural areas do not attend school, because of the costs and because of the family responsibilities they have had to assume. Those who do attend may not derive the expected benefits. Children's poor educational performance has been linked to their trauma in coping with the sickness or death of parents and close relatives. In many parts of the country, teachers say that orphans in class stand out because of their under-nourished condition and lack of writing materials (pencil, paper) and other simple resources.

to all the  
mothers  
- the  
father  
- Twice  
handwritten

**Systemic inequities** also characterize the education system. Striking examples are the low level of public expenditure on education, at only 2.8% of GDP; the allocation of 18% of MOE's budget to university students who form only 0.3% of Zambia's student population; and the lower allocation of resources to rural areas, this being where the majority of lowly-paid untrained teachers are concentrated.

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BOX

Annex I: Multiple Disadvantages of Children at Risk

	Girls	Rural Children	The Poor	Children with Special Educational Needs
<b>Girls</b>	<p>Enrolment, retention &amp; completion rates of girls below those of boys; problem at its worst in Gr. 5-7.</p> <p>Girls' progression rate to Gr. 8 below that of boys</p> <p>Girls' examination performance below that of boys.</p> <p>Extensive gender stereotyping in school organization, distribution of tasks, classroom practices, learning materials.</p> <p>Sanitary/water provision in many schools not girl-friendly.</p> <p>Household chores entrusted very largely to girl, reducing her time for school/study, and energy needed for these.</p> <p>Growing reliance on girls to care for sick and AIDS-infected relatives.</p> <p>Few role models, and restricted (gender-determined) career opportunities.</p> <p>Society's low expectations for girls' performance, lowering their personal self-esteem.</p> <p>Widespread belief that education is not so necessary for a girl, since she can find security and fulfillment as a wife and mother.</p>	<p>Enrolment, retention &amp; completion rates of rural girls below those of rural boys.</p> <p>Moderately high Gr. 7 to Gr. 8 progression rates for rural girls because of large dropout in upper primary (denominator in progression ratio is small).</p> <p>Rural girls more severely affected than boys by long walking distances to school and difficulty in negotiating hazardous streams and rivers during rains.</p> <p>Rural population does not see importance of girls' education, especially after Gr. 4.</p> <p>High levels of female illiteracy in rural areas reinforce this view.</p> <p>Customary practices favor girls' early marriage.</p> <p>Rural girls are expected to live and work in the physical location of the home, and in the company of adults or small children, with little chance for exploration, inquiry, play, or significant interaction with age-mates.</p> <p>Absence of non-traditional role models—few females in rural schools, very few in school responsibility posts, even fewer in paid occupations in rural areas, apart from teaching, secretarial and nursing posts.</p> <p>Principal role models available—older women who are wives and mothers.</p>	<p>When resources are limited, households prefer to invest in the education of a boy.</p> <p>Economic need for girls' labor/care in home, to free up adult for income-generating work.</p> <p>Economic importance to poor family of girl's early marriage.</p>	<p>Very little data available.</p> <p>In the general population, the proportion of females who are blind or have multiple disabilities is higher than the proportion of males; on the other hand, the proportion of males who are crippled or mentally retarded is higher than the proportion of females (Census, 1990).</p>

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Marriage  
to family

waiting on  
domestic  
help

When they get a education  
it is of low quality

<p><b>Rural Children</b></p>		<p>Enrolment rates below those of urban because of higher dropout and lower completion rates. Rural schools badly resourced (infrastructure, materials, desks). High proportion of untrained teachers in rural schools. Long walking distance to school for many rural children. Many rural schools inaccessible during rains. Seasonal activities that reduce school attendance (following cattle to grasslands, community moving because of flooding, special fishing times). Child malnutrition levels higher in rural than urban areas. Not yet "traditional" in rural communities that the place for all 7-13 year-old children is in school. Language of school foreign to that of the home. Culture of school predominantly that of urban society. Near-total absence in rural areas of reading materials, including newspapers, public notices, and literacy-demanding situations.</p>	<p>Being poor and rural are almost synonymous: 89% of rural persons are extremely poor (<i>Priority Survey II</i>, 1993). Absence of cash economy in rural areas reduces ability to pay school costs.</p>	<p>Incidence of disability is almost 60% higher in rural than urban areas. In both rural and urban areas, the proportion of children who are disabled is the same (1% of Grade 1-7 enrollment in 1989).</p>
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	Girls	Rural Children	The Poor	Children with Special Educational Needs
<b>The Poor</b>			<p>High drop out rates because of inability to pay school costs: general purposes fee; PTA levy; exam. fees; miscellaneous items; uniforms.</p> <p>Those selected for Gr. 8 do not enroll because of costs: many avoid conventional schools (because of high boarding fees), preferring basic schools (of dubious quality)</p> <p>Higher levels of child malnutrition among children of less educated (mostly poorer people).</p> <p>Children of the poor bring lower levels of cultural capital to school — their homes have few material resources.</p> <p>Language of home not that of school.</p> <p>Much of the culture underlying school is that of middle-class urban society.</p>	<p>No hard data.</p> <p>Some urban tendency to exploit disabled as income source (begging) (<i>Educational Reform, 1977</i>).</p> <p>Low likelihood of poor investing in education of their disabled children.</p>
<b>Children with Special Educational Needs</b>				<p>Extent of the problem is not well known.</p> <p>Overall educational level of disabled is only about half that of rest of population.</p> <p>In 1989, SEN children comprised just 1% of Gr. 1-7 enrollment.</p> <p>School participation is low because of parental and community attitudes (failure to see that school can help, sense of personal culpability &amp; shame).</p> <p>Schools do not respond physically to needs of SEN-children.</p> <p>Teachers do not know how to cater for children with special needs.</p>

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. & Banda Sinkala, E. (1998) "Equity Interventions". Draft chapter for Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Programme Implementation Plan, pages 1-3, 18-21. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

## Chapter 27

### Gender in Education

*The problem of girls' education:* Ensuring enrollment, attendance, performance and success of girls in school is an ongoing problem. Many social and cultural obstacles. Almost half the school-aged girls are not in school; gross enrollment ratios lower for them than for boys at all levels; completion rates lower than for boys; drop-out rates higher than for boys. In all public examinations, girls under-perform in relation to boys. Girls' low performance levels in mathematics & science particularly disturbing. In tertiary education very few women in hard sciences and technology. Few female teachers in rural schools. Very few female school heads or deputies.

*Negative school factors:* Many factors in the school and its environment impede the satisfactory participation and performance of girls: Long walking distances to school (rural and urban). School facilities not supportive—inadequate water and sanitation, poor buildings, bare classrooms, insufficient seats and desks. Low quality of schooling—too little actual learning time, few books and learning resources, low levels of learning achievement. Problems with the curriculum—does not engage girls who have passed through initiation rites; not practical, not seen to be related to life outside school; language, pictures and images in teaching materials often prejudiced against girls and women; teaching mechanical and oriented towards learning facts for examinations. School culture not gender-neutral (biased in favour of boys). School a place where girls feel overshadowed by boys. Too few female teachers, especially in rural schools. At school, many girls experience personally embarrassing situations (no uniform, worn-out dress, harassment, solicitation, etc.).

*Negative home and community factors:* Values, beliefs and practices in the home and community also impede the satisfactory school participation and performance of girls: Child-rearing practices—girl brought up to look after others, be submissive, respond to needs and demands of boys and men. Girls carry an excessively large share of household chores and responsibilities that leave them little time for rest, play or study. Initiation, early marriages, cleansing rituals and other customary practices may turn a girl's interest away from school and lessen family/community support for her continued attendance. Society's general view is that a girl/woman is defined by her relationship to a man and not as an independent person in her own right. Widespread poverty reduces chances of girls' school participation (fees, economic value of her labour, bride-wealth, caring for the young, old and sick, etc.). Parents disillusioned with education, because standards have fallen and it does not seem to lead to employment; hence they ask, why invest in educating a girl? High levels of illiteracy among rural adults, especially women.

*Challenge for education system and society:* To make the essential equality of girls and boys, of women and men, a lived reality.

#### References

- Kelly, M. J. (1994) *Below the Poverty Line in Education. A Situation Analysis of Girl Child Education in Zambia*, chapters 4–5. Lusaka: UNICEF.
- Kelly, M. J. with Msango, H. J. & Subulwa, C. M. (1998) *Girls' Education in a System Designed for Boys. A Situation Analysis at the Provincial Level of Girl Child Education in Zambia*. Lusaka: Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE), Ministry of Education.

**Ministry of Education** (1995) *Zambia Statement on the Education of the Girl Child*. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.  
**World Bank** (1994) *Engendering Sustainable Growth in Zambia. A Gender Strategy for Promoting Economic Effectiveness*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

### **Readings**

The *first reading* presents the Ministry of Education's policy on gender in education, within the context of its perceptions of certain gender issues affecting the sector.

The *second reading* summarizes the 1994 evidence that women and girls in Zambia tend to be below the education and knowledge poverty line.

The *third reading* presents evidence gathered in 1998 from reports from Zambia's nine provinces on the educational status of girls throughout the country, examines the factors in both school and home that impede the participation and performance of girls, and suggests that the fundamental educational disadvantage suffered by girls is that they are required to adapt to a system which by its very nature has been designed for boys.

In the *fourth reading*, the Government outlines the extent of the disadvantage faced by the girl child and the heavy burden of responsibilities placed on women, particularly in terms of household tasks, access to credit, property-grabbing, and land rights, and examines why some women have turned to prostitution.

### *First Reading* **Gender Issues in Education** by **Ministry of Education**

#### **Context**

The centrality of women's contribution to national development underlines the importance of integrating gender concerns into all developmental interventions. The national goal of accelerated development cannot be attained without special attention to the needs of women and girls. It is necessary, therefore, that all national policies include gender-specific considerations.

This is all the more important in Zambia where, although progress has been made in enhancing the socio-economic status of women, they still remain among the disadvantaged and marginalized. This is particularly evident in the feminization of poverty as reflected in the limited access of females to productive resources, social services, remunerative employment opportunities, and participation in political and managerial decision-making processes. The disadvantaged status of women and girls is also strongly marked in the education sector.

This represents a great loss for Zambia since the benefits of education in improving the overall quality of life multiply with increased participation of girls and women. Their education is particularly associated with significant reductions in infant mortality and morbidity, improvement in family nutrition and health, lowering of fertility rates, improved chances of children's education, and increased opportunities for income earning in both wage and non-wage sectors.

The Zambian Government has committed itself to the socio-economic improvement and empowerment of women through various programmes and affirmative actions. Within this framework, the National Policy on Education gives high priority to the education of girls and commits the Ministry of Education to the elimination of all gender disparities within the education sector.

### **Current Situation**

Available statistics indicate that girls' enrollment in Grade 1 is almost equal to that of boys. In subsequent grades, however, the number of girls decreases steadily, with a noticeably high female drop-out from Grade 4 onwards. For every 100 girls who begin primary school, only 70 complete the full primary course, 23 proceed into junior secondary school, 9 into senior secondary, and 7 sit for the School Certificate Examination in Grade 12. Opportunities for boys are considerably better, with 87 out of every 100 Grade 1 entrants completing the primary course, 37 entering junior secondary classes, 16 going forward to senior secondary level, and 15 sitting for the School Certificate Examination.

This narrowing of educational opportunities for girls becomes even more pronounced at tertiary level. The only exception is in primary teacher training where a reasonable gender balance is maintained, with some 49% of the students being female. Among those training for secondary school teaching, little more than one-third are female, while in vocational and technical institutions less than one-third of the enrollment is female, with almost all female students training in secretarial and office work. At the universities, gender imbalance is even more pronounced, both in terms of numbers and of fields of study. In general there is one female student to every four males, meaning that female students account for only 20% of total university enrollments. The majority of these are in the arts and humanities areas, with females who take some form of science programme accounting for only 5% of total university enrollments..

The position is equally unsatisfactory within the Ministry of Education itself. Overall, women are greatly outnumbered by men, while there are very few women in managerial posts. All cadres within the Ministry reflect this unfavourable gender imbalance. At the time of writing, there is only one female provincial education officer in the whole country. In the Copperbelt, two out of six district education officers (DEOs) are female, but in the Southern Province all nine DEOs are male. In the inspectorate, the situation is somewhat similar, there being, for example, only two female inspectors out of the twelve in the Western Province.

At primary school level, women comprise 44% of the trained teachers. Two-thirds of these female teachers are deployed in urban schools. Although they constitute the majority of teachers in urban schools, very few women have been appointed to the rank of head. In Lusaka Province, only 29 out of 103 primary schools have female heads. The situation is considerably worse in rural areas. The North-Western Province has 335 primary schools, but only 13 are female-headed, while in the Southern Province only 3 out of 555 schools are headed by women. At the national level, out of 4,304 head teachers in 1994, only 54 were female.

### **Causal Factors**

Institutional, socio-cultural and personal factors combine to impede girls in realizing their potential through education. Institutional factors include the distance of schools from the girl's home, fees and levies to be paid at the school, and the negative image of women and girls portrayed by many school-books. Socio-cultural hindrances include the low value placed on educating a girl,

the over-burdening of girls with household chores, expectations that girls will automatically find personal fulfillment in child-bearing and male support in marriage, early marriages, and widespread doubt about girls' intellectual abilities. Personal factors include a negative self-image which the school frequently reinforces and radical socialization to be passive and submissive. Collectively, these and other factors contribute to a situation which effectively denies to girls and women equal rights and status with men and boys.

### **Policy Dimensions**

A major policy objective of the Government is to promote equality in access to, participation in and successful completion of education at all levels, irrespective of gender, social class, or disability. In future, therefore, all policy development for education will be informed by a recognition of the need to take affirmative action on behalf of girls' education. The Ministry will aim at ensuring that they are equal participants and beneficiaries of education at all levels and that they are equally integrated in the education sector, whether as pupils, students, teachers, managers or supervisors, and within the various fields of education and training.

Strategic interventions will include:

- requirements that Education Boards develop action plans for the promotion of equal opportunities of access to and participation in the various levels of school education
- the adoption by the Ministry and Education Boards of strategies for improved gender balance in supervisory, managerial and responsibility posts
- the formulation of strategies to encourage increased participation by girls in science and technology courses and programmes at all levels of education
- the development by the Ministry and Education Boards of procedures for preventing sexual harassment of employees and pupils
- creating more schools and school places for girls
- the establishment of special bursary schemes for girls.

As part of its overall responsibility for the provision of education in the country, the Ministry will monitor progress in achieving an appropriate gender balance at the various levels and sectors of the system and in the institutions for which it has responsibility.

**Source:** Ministry of Education (1996) *Educating Our Future*, pages 62–64. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Book 11*

*Second Reading*  
**Low Educational Profile of the Girl Child**  
by  
**M. J. Kelly**

Girls and women in Zambia tend to be below the education and knowledge poverty line. Manifestations of this poverty abound:

1. Almost half the girls of school-going age are not in school, a problem which has larger dimensions in rural than in urban areas.

2. The gross enrollment rates, for boys and girls, have been declining for several years and show no sign of an upturn. Such capacity as the system manifests has been bought at great educational expense (large classes, multiple shifts, shortened teaching day). The resulting poor learning conditions, the limited learning time, and the strong competition for available places adversely affect girls' participation and performance.
3. Urban schools suffer from problems of overcrowding. Many of them have been allowed to grow too large, without any extension of sanitation facilities. This discourages the participation of a maturing girl child.
4. The rural story is one of late age at entry, low enrollments, high attrition, and low completion rates for girls. In a significantly large number of areas, less than half the girls enter primary schools, and of those that do only about half complete the primary cycle. Rural circumstances are so different from urban that one could speak of the absence of a culture of formal education in rural areas and its presence in towns. The person at greatest educational risk is the rural girl, above all the girl living in one of the more remote parts of the country.
5. Primary school completion rates have been declining, for both boys and girls, over the past few years. The decline is at its worst in the remoter provinces where the girl child is already at the disadvantage of under-enrolling.
6. The achievement levels of both boys and girls, as manifested by literacy attainments and examination performance, are low. Literacy performance is better in urban than in rural areas. In every part of the country, the proportion of girls above ages 13 or 14 who can read and write is less than the proportion of boys.
7. The rate of adult illiteracy remains very high. One-third of the population aged 15+ cannot read and write. The female illiteracy rate of 42.7% is almost double that of the male. The high rates of female illiteracy are strongly correlated with low rates of primary school completion, especially on the part of girls. A web of poverty, illiteracy and neglect enmeshes the girl child in the more remote provinces.
8. In all public examinations, girls under-perform in relation to boys. Moreover, the examination performance of girls at the end of primary school has deteriorated in recent years, whereas the performance of boys has remained unchanged.
9. Girls' performance in science and mathematics is particularly poor. Their performance in these subjects imposes severe restrictions on the future training and career options open to them.
10. At the tertiary level, the number of female students in technological areas and the hard sciences is minuscule. In consequence, the number of females in certain professional and technological fields is minute, a factor that results in an absence of role models for the oncoming generations of girls in schools.
11. Although newly developed textbooks do not portray sexist stereotypes, several of the older, more prejudiced materials are still in use. Teachers and parents have themselves been educated through these older stereotyped texts and hence have internalized many of their prejudicial attitudes.
12. The catastrophic reduction in funding for education has resulted in such an all-round decline in educational provision that many parents are asking whether it is worth sending a child, especially a girl child, to school.
13. The introduction of cost sharing measures has stretched the ability of poor families to meet the costs of education. Where parents have to make a choice because of limited resources, the boy child is more likely to be favoured and the girl child passed over.
14. The ideal and almost only role that is envisaged for a girl is that she become a wife and mother. She is expected to devote herself, from an early age, to chores and children so as to prepare

- herself for this role. Many regard schooling as little more than a tolerable interlude in this preparation for life and one that has little or no relevance once the girl reaches puberty.
15. The stirring of her emerging sexuality, the pressures and values of society in relation to procreation and marriage, the too early attention of males (especially those concerned about HIV/AIDS risks), and the presence in class of many late-adolescent boys are believed to affect the chances a girl has of continuing in school or of performing well if she does continue.
  16. The girl child suffers from a strong sense of personal inadequacy and from a debilitating inferiority complex.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. (1994) *Below the Poverty Line in Education. A Situation Analysis of Girl Child Education in Zambia*, pages viii–ix. Lusaka: UNICEF.

### *Third Reading*

## **Girls' Education in a System Designed for Boys**

by

**M. J. Kelly, with H. J. Msango and C. M. Subulwa**

### **Gender Equity in Education**

A principal foundation on which the educational system in Zambia rests is that it should promote equality of access, participation and benefit for all. Detailed analyses of educational provision in Zambia's nine provinces amply bear out that it has not yet succeeded in doing so.

Within the school, within education as a system, within the home, and within communities, the dominance of men and boys in relation to women and girls has found expression in many ways. This has included unintended but nonetheless real discrimination against girls in educational opportunities, limiting their access to higher levels of education and to positions of influence within the educational system, requiring them to shoulder a disproportionate burden of household responsibilities, socializing them into accepting a subordinate role in a world dominated by men, and treating them as economic objects and commodities to be trafficked.

The situation, however, has begun to change. Across the face of Zambia women and men have joined hands in rejecting educational attitudes and practices which offend the dignity of women and men alike. This bold and critical awakening, which has been gathering momentum for some years, has found a rallying and action point in the Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE).

Through PAGE, a systematic attempt is being made to raise the level of public, institutional, and pupil awareness of the essential equality of boys and girls. At the same time, in an effort to counteract negative, stereotyped attitudes which are embedded in the economic, social and educational structures of Zambia's society, the programme seeks to foster the development of a healthy, confident self-esteem among girls. Because the school is a principal locus where the sea-change of this social transformation must occur, PAGE addresses specific school issues, such as the school's physical environment, school organization, teacher attitudes and methodologies, raising the quality of education for all participants, and parental involvement in school-work. Its essential purpose is to make a relationship of respect, mutuality and equality between boys and girls, between men and women, a lived reality in the school, in the home and in society.

Nonetheless, the legacy of educational discrimination against girls still remains. The provincial analyses present the evidence in detail, through an examination of educational provision in Zambia's nine provinces, within the context of each province's socio-economic status. The analyses report significant information about the provision of primary education in general, the problems in access, participation and progression faced by girls, the school and systemic factors that accentuate the problems which girls experience, and the socio-economic environment in which these problems flourish.

### **The Educational Situation of Girls as Reported by the Provinces**

1. Girls enroll in Grade 1 in numbers almost equal to those of boys and, in some provinces, in numbers exceeding those of boys. In Grades 1–4 a reasonable gender balance is maintained, with the gender gap not exceeding six percentage points. The gap between the sexes widens considerably in Grades 5–7 where girls typically constitute only 46% of the enrolment. The position is at its worst in Grade 7 where girls may constitute only 40% of the enrolment. This means that in many provinces there are three Grade 7 boys for every two girls. In the more remote and poor rural districts only one-third of the Grade 7 enrolment may be girls.
2. Progression rates from Grade 4 to Grade 5 tend to be lower for girls than for boys.
3. Although there are variations between provinces, dropout rates for girls tend to be higher than those for boys, whereas the reverse is true for repetition, the rates for boys being higher than those for girls.
4. School completion rates have been declining since the early 1990s for both boys and girls. Because the boys started from a very high level and girls from an already low level, the extent of decline for boys has been greater than that for girls. Nevertheless, in every province the completion rates for girls remain substantially below those for boys. In both the Northern and North-Western Provinces, only 52% of the girls who entered Grade 1 in 1990 completed Grade 7 in 1996.
5. The number of girls progressing into Grade 8, in both conventional secondary and basic schools, is smaller than the number of boys. In some provinces, however, the progression rates for girls are higher than those for boys; this is because of the small number of girls in Grade 7 and the relatively large number of boys.
6. The examination performance of girls in Grade 9 is inferior to the performance of boys. A lower proportion of girls receive full certificates and a higher proportion fail entirely.
7. The level of reading achievement for Grade 6 girls is below that for boys, with a gender gap of almost five percentage points. Less than a quarter of the girls in Grade 6 reached the minimum level of reading ability expected by their teachers.

### **School-Based Factors Affecting Girls' Participation and Performance**

At the level of the school, the provinces identified seven clusters of factors as contributing significantly to low levels of girl participation and performance:

1. **School Location:** Long walking distances to school affect school attendance in rural and many urban areas. Apart from the psychological deterrent that it constitutes, there are four aspects to this problem: (i) by the time she arrives at school the girl is too tired for concentrated school-work; (ii) girls are less well able than boys to negotiate physical hazards (e.g., swollen rivers, or dangerous escarpment paths) which they may encounter on the way to school; (iii) parents weigh up the value of the time the girl spends walking to school against the work-load she

- could undertake if the same time were spent at home; and (iv) parents are concerned lest girls who take the same long route to and from school every day be sexually molested.
2. **School Infrastructure:** In the majority of cases, the school facilities and infrastructure do little to attract girls to attend, and frequently they do much to dissuade them. The following were of special concern to the province authorities: (i) inadequate sanitation facilities and insufficient supplies of clean water characterize many schools; (ii) a large proportion of the schools in rural areas are little more than temporary, makeshift, unsafe and uninviting structures. Many schools which have more permanent structures are dilapidated and decrepit; (iii) classrooms are typically bare, with no teacher's table or chair, an unusable chalkboard, and no wall-displays; and (iv) there are few or no desks, requiring girls either to learn when seated on the floor or when crowded into desks with other pupils.
  3. **Quality of Schooling:** The major concern of the provincial analyses was that the levels of real learning achievement were low, indicating that the quality of schooling was poor. Parents are prepared to make many sacrifices to send their children to school, girls as much as boys, provided the quality is adequate. They will not do so if the quality is poor. In addition to poor facilities and learning resources, the provinces highlighted the following: (i) too much time is spent on manual work and there are too few hours of actual learning time; (ii) essential textbooks and readers are in such short supply that an entire class very seldom has access to the appropriate book during a class session; (iii) because of lack of orientation, teachers frequently do not use the books and other learning resources that may be available.
  4. **The Curriculum:** Many questions were raised about the school curriculum, particularly its relevance, effectiveness and gender-bias: (i) girls who have passed through the traditional period of seclusion and initiation have their minds turned towards marriage and not towards what is presently being taught in school; (ii) teaching is mostly through English, a language that few encounter outside the school setting; (iii) schools do not teach life-skills, or practical subjects in a practical way; (iv) girls experience grinding demoralization at failure either to succeed or to relate what goes on in school with life at home and in the community; (v) many of the books and illustration still in use in schools portray women and girls in subordinate, unchallenging, 'helpless' roles, whereas they portray men and boys as being leaders, 'kung fu's', brave, adventuresome. Essentially, they slight girls and women while exalting men and boys; (vi) the standard teaching methodology focuses on passive acquisition of knowledge from the teacher instead of active learning and finding out for oneself. The girl finds little scope for the organizational, caring dispositions she uses so extensively in the home, but remains a spectator and virtual outsider to what is going on in class; (vii) teaching is directed principally towards memorization of knowledge that will help in passing examinations, but less towards the personal incorporation of understanding, values and attitudes.
  5. **The School Culture:** Two aspects of this multi-faceted factor tended to predominate: (a) **The school culture does not manifest gender-neutrality.** This is shown in the way: (i) the distribution of school chores tends to replicate the gender-based distribution of household chores; (ii) leadership positions and challenging tasks are assigned mostly to boys; (iii) stereotyped reactions are made to pupils' class contributions (e.g., a boy's mistake is taken as his own, a girl's is said to be typical of all girls); (iv) boys command the greater share of the teacher's attention; (v) a girl's contribution may be treated with neglect or ridicule, while that of a boy receives courtesy, attention and praise; (vi) the actual teaching is directed more to the needs of boys and their interests, with insufficient attention being paid to what is of interest or importance to girls; (vii) teachers and school authorities show strong expectations that girls will adopt a submissive, docile attitude; (viii) teachers, boys, and many girls themselves, have low expectations that girls can produce good academic work, especially in mathematics and

science; and (ix) certain subjects are traditionally regarded as easy and suitable for girls, others as difficult and suitable for boys.

(b) *Girls perceive school as a place where they are regularly overshadowed by boys*, as shown by (i) boys constantly dominating, in the classroom, in school activities, and on the sports-field; and (ii) the never-ending suggestions and insinuations, coming from books, the orientation of the curriculum, and the remarks of teachers and fellow-pupils, that a girl is less than a boy, that she is knocking at the door of a man's world, that she is in school on sufferance, that her proper place is the home and the kitchen.

6. **School Personnel:** There are too few female teachers, especially in positions of responsibility and in rural schools. These are needed to provide counselling, to serve as inspirational models who would raise the aspirations of girls, and to reassure parents that the education of their children is in good, safe and understanding hands. Apart from other problems, the posting of female teachers to rural schools is made more difficult by the lack of satisfactory teacher-accommodation at most of the schools.
7. **Personally Embarrassing Situations:** Situations associated with school may cause girls such acute personal embarrassment that they would prefer to stay away from school rather than experience the upset they cause. Such situations include not having school uniform, having to attend class in a worn-out dress, having to leave school to chase up fees, being teased or harassed by older boys, or being solicited by teachers.

### **Home and Community-Based Factors Affecting Girls' School Participation and Performance**

The provinces identified seven clusters of factors at the level of homes and communities that affect the participation and performance of girls in school:

1. **Child-Rearing Practices:** The girl child is socialized to look after others, especially through the care of children and attention to adults; the boy child is socialized to look after himself, largely in the company of his age-mates. Much of the young girl's life is spent in the vicinity of the home, much of the boy's is spent roaming about. This leads to a quiet, caring, somewhat submissive disposition in girls, and to an adventurous, aggressive, attention-seeking disposition in boys. Both sets of attitudes surface in the classroom, where the teaching is structured to respond positively to those who are more aggressive and attention-seeking, that is, to boys. In the process, girls suffer.
2. **Household Chores and Responsibilities:** The major burden of these falls mostly on the girl. They take more time and are more tiring than those entrusted to the boy. They reinforce the girl's image of herself as one who is supposed to serve males and adults.
3. **Customary Practices:** The period of seclusion at puberty may deprive the girl of valuable learning time. What is learned during this period orients the maturing girl very strongly to early marriage and the termination of schooling. In almost all rural areas, early marriages are sanctioned and in many communities are regarded with approval, to the extent that in some districts marriage arrangements for girls begin secretly even while they are still attending school. Girls are also sometimes caught up in customary cleansing rituals, leading to their becoming pregnant and marrying early.
4. **Gender Attitudes:** The view is almost universally held that a woman is not an independent human being but is one who must by nature depend on a man and serve a man. Her role is a subservient one—to meet the physical, psychological, economic and sexual needs of a man, to be obedient to him and to show him unquestioning loyalty, to bear and rear his children, and to arrange for his comfort. This view is shared by men and women alike. In relation to the girl

child it leads to the attitude that essentially a girl is a wife-in-waiting. Hence her most important task during childhood is to learn what is needed so that she can become a good wife and good mother. The school education of a girl may be useful, but it is not perceived as being absolutely necessary since she will be able to depend on a man for her livelihood. This attitude underlies many of the problems girls experience in having to shoulder their large burden of household chores and responsibilities, getting parental permission to attend school, obtaining the necessary school fees, developing an inquiring, questioning mind, and making their mark in school.

5. **Poverty:** Every province noted the deep and widespread poverty of the people, and the related afflictions of poor health and nutritional status. These factors impinge on the girl's education in various ways: (i) family poverty means fewer resources for spending on the education of children, a choice as to which children should be supported, and the favouring of boys over girls; (ii) in a poor family, a girl may have to take on extra household and child-care responsibilities, and lose out on schooling, in order to free her mother or an older relative for income-generating activities; (iii) food-gathering activities, with the girl involved instead of being at school, are of great importance to the poor; (iv) the increase in sickness, the reduction in hospital beds, and the high costs of hospitalization, mean that more people must be cared for at home. Long drawn-out, costly and traumatic care is needed for those suffering from AIDS. Much of this care may fall to the girl, at the expense of her schooling; (v) orphaned girls, especially those who must head households, lack the financial resources, and often the time and emotional resources also, to attend school; (vi) in more traditional communities, the girl is seen as a potential source of income because of the bride-wealth that her marriage will bring to the family. She is also seen as a form of cheap labour. Both considerations are of importance in a society in which poverty is rife.
6. **Disillusion with Education:** Many of the provincial reports noted the way in which parents have become disillusioned with the education being provided in schools. They made two major complaints: (i) educational standards have fallen so low that children are learning very little in school, and hence schooling is largely a waste of time, and a costly waste, at that; (ii) even high levels of education do not seem to lead to wage employment and personal financial advancement. A strong interaction surfaced between family poverty and the quality of schooling. Poor families will beggar themselves even further for the education of their children, provided they can see that the quality of that education is good. If the quality is perceived as being poor, they are not prepared to incur the cash costs associated with schooling or to forego the considerable economic value of their children's work around the home. This applies more strongly to girls than to boys.
7. **Educational Issues:** The provinces identified three principal community-based educational issues that affect the education of girls: (i) the high levels of adult illiteracy, especially among women in rural areas; (ii) the restriction of community involvement to the physical development of schools, and the accompanying low levels of participation in the learning activities that go on in the classroom; and (iii) the attitude that it was the government's responsibility to provide education (and since the government was not doing so, there was little reason why families and communities should impoverish themselves in efforts to educate girls).

### The Nature of the Education System

In two respects, the education system is a faithful mirror of conditions in Zambian society. First, there is a vast difference in educational provision between urban and rural areas. Relatively speaking, schools in urban areas are highly advantaged, those in rural areas extremely disadvantaged. Conditions between the two areas are so different that it would be no caricature to

speak of two education systems, one for the more advantaged urban areas, and one for the more disadvantaged rural areas. This would be acceptable if, in order to make good the legacy of so much neglect, the system for the rural areas was better endowed and resourced. Unfortunately that is not the case.

Second, education manifests itself as something which exists principally for one half of the population and which needs to be developed if it is to accommodate the other half. It is there for boys. It must be developed, modified, adapted, reorganized for girls. Somehow girls must be brought into the system as it exists, stay within that system, and perform satisfactorily in it. It is within this perspective, which encompasses all of society and not just education, that the struggle to equalize educational opportunities for girls must take place. Success in that struggle will not be assured until society itself finally comes round to accepting in practice as well as in principle the fundamental and full equality of every human being, male and female. In the meantime, monumental efforts will have to be made by all educators to transform a system designed for boys into one designed for all, one where girls and boys, as central participants and equal stakeholders, can participate fully on the basis of complete equality.

### **The Wider Challenge for Society**

Tackling the problems associated with the poor participation and performance of girls requires interventions that extend well beyond the sphere of education. Little of lasting value will be accomplished so long as deep and widespread poverty persists throughout the country. The first priorities for poor and hungry people are how to alleviate their poverty and lessen their hunger. Education, no matter how beneficial, cannot rank high among priorities when other basic human needs are not being met. Hence, one of the great challenges to society is reduce the levels of poverty and improve the levels of food intake for the majority of the people. This requires deliberate policies to encourage the production of foodstuffs for local consumption (not for export or the market) and a programme that will educate people on how to use what they produce to feed their families nutritiously.

Until such time as people are liberated from their grinding poverty and are able to feed themselves and their families better, there will be difficulties in making major progress towards the goal of improving the school attendance, participation and performance of girls. But in spite of these difficulties resolute efforts, such as those being made through PAGE, must continue to be made. The significant social benefits that arise from the improved education of girls will themselves contribute to improvements in the well-being of the people.

A further area of need within society is for counselling and guidance services that would help members of both urban and rural communities recognize the importance of maintaining their marriages in the interests of their children.

Finally, there is need for society to respond to the challenge posed by the extensive gender bias that pervades all walks of life. Society as a whole must strive to put an end to the practice and spirit of male domination; to promote a spirit of partnership and equality between men and women; to pay specific attention to the phenomenon of violence against women; to eliminate the second-class economic status endured by women; to involve more women in leadership and decision-making positions; to support the full and free entry of women into all walks of social, economic and political life. In short, the task faced by society is similar to that faced by the school—to make the essential equality of men and women, of boys and girls, a lived reality.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J., with Msango, H. J. & Subulwa, C. M. (1998) *Girls' Education in a System Designed for Boys. A Situation Analysis at the Provincial Level of Girl Child Education in Zambia*, pages 1, 4-7, 9-10 Lusaka: Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE), Ministry of Education.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Disadvantages Faced by Girls and Women**  
by  
**GRZ-UNDP**

One of the major manifestations of poverty in Zambia and many other countries is the extent of disadvantage faced by girl children and the heavy burden of demands placed on women. While the roots of gender disparities are to be found in social and cultural beliefs and practices, the severity of the disadvantages and discrimination experienced by women is also closely linked to their material circumstances. The narrowing of opportunities and choices which is associated with poverty is typically felt first and most acutely by the females of the household. Since females are the principal caregivers in the household, this adds to the negative impacts upon family welfare and children's health and well-being.

**Household Labour**

Poverty in Zambia has tended to reinforce the age-old gender inequalities within Zambian society, often halting or reversing the general trend of improvement in the position of females that had been established over the post-independence period. Many aspects of the traditional organization of household labour continue to disadvantage females in both rural and urban Zambia. Typically women and girls perform a large share of the work of the household, including looking after and caring for the young, the old and the sick; cooking; doing the household chores; fetching water and firewood; and looking after crops. For the girl child the socialization process "transmits from an early age values and attitudes that cast women and girls in a secondary, subordinate role, and that define them principally in terms of their roles as child-bearers and child-rearers".

As in many other African countries, the tasks of fetching water and firewood continue to take up much of the productive time of most women, especially in rural areas. The general stagnation in infrastructure provision and maintenance has meant that little or no progress has been made in recent years with reducing walking distances for collection of water by women. Because of the combination of poverty and rapid population growth, the pressure on the environment has meant that firewood is harder to find, with the result that women's walking distances are rising. Recent studies have shown that investments that would reduce the time spent by women on collecting water and firewood could have very high levels of economic returns, by freeing women to spend more time on productive activities. These investments would also be expected to improve the well-being of children, by enabling mothers to spend more time around the home, caring for their families.

**Gender Imbalances in Education**

There are significant gender imbalances in terms of access to and continuation of education. Although roughly similar numbers of girl and boy children enrol in Grade 1, there is a

steady attrition of girls relative to boys over the twelve years of primary and secondary school, such that by Grade 12 female students account for only about 35% of the enrolment. The immediate reason for the lower proportion of girls at secondary school is that the Ministry of Education has, for the last two decades, allocated secondary school places on the basis of gender, with considerably more places being assigned to boys than to girls. Girls have been reserved 37.5% of the places at co-educational day schools while boys have been reserved 62.5%. Such a practice is deeply regressive and needs to be revised without delay.

During primary school and early secondary school, other major reasons for girls dropping out include the preference and expectation of families that it will be in their interests to invest in educating the male children but not the females. By the later years of secondary education a further important influence is that many females conform to the social stereotype that their main role should be to get married and have children. When combined with discrimination against women by employers and by society at large, the result is that they obtain only a small fraction of formal sector employment, their average incomes for formal sector jobs are significantly lower than those of men, and their legal rights and their social and cultural status tend to be infringed, compromised or subjugated.

The impacts of structural adjustment, especially poverty and unemployment, have tended to affect women and girl children more than males. One immediate impact has been to further increase females' workloads in order for the household to earn enough money to cover its basic needs and make ends meet. Typically this has involved married women having to engage in coping strategies such as petty trading, which must be undertaken in addition to their normal responsibilities for running and caring for the household. This often leads to girl children being withdrawn from school to help look after the home while their mothers are out trying to earn some money.

#### **Low Levels of Access to Assets and Credits; 'Property Grabbing'**

A major obstacle to women's economic advancement is their low level of access to assets and credits. This prevents many women from investing in the capital necessary to raise their incomes from agriculture and other forms of productive activity. In this way lack of assets and credit represents a very real form of poverty trap for women.

In comparison with males, women have much lower prospects of inheriting material assets, land or money—even when the deceased party is their spouse. Under customary law, in matrilineal communities only persons related to the deceased through the deceased's mother or more remote female ancestor are eligible to share in the estate. In patrilineal communities, eligibility is limited to those related to the deceased through a common male ancestor.

In practice, when the husband dies 'property grabbing' occurs. Property grabbing was originally based upon trying to ensure that the children of the deceased and their property will be taken care of by the family of the deceased. However, this is now subject to widespread abuse and commonly amounts to the family of the deceased husband stripping the widow of her property. Although legal protection exists for the widows, this is a protracted process and is beyond the financial means of most widows.

In the case of rights over customary land, although traditionally women and men both had rights to land, the user rights followed the line of descent. In many communities women's independent rights over land have been limited at best to land in their natal villages. Often access to

land in their husband's village has been difficult to obtain, and generally only with the approval of the husband or male kin. In practice, this has meant that women's user rights over customary land are less automatic than those of men, and that in many instances women have little option but to accept smaller and less fertile plots if they are able to obtain these.

Women's disadvantages in relation to inheritance and land rights are exacerbated by weaknesses in the existing legal framework. Within the country's dual legal system, there are many unresolved conflicts between common and customary law. Especially in rural areas, women are often obliged to obey customary laws that discriminate against them, even when common law could offer them some form of protection.

Because of women's limited access to inheritance and land, together with their low levels of income and employment, they are often unable to provide the collateral needed to obtain conventional forms of credit.

### **Prostitution**

While precise estimates are not available, it appears that poverty has led growing numbers of women and girls into prostitution. This is believed to be the outcome of the paucity of opportunities for income and employment that are available, especially for females. Another reported factor is that married women are sometimes being drawn into clandestine prostitution, either because their husbands have lost their jobs and are not earning enough to support the family or because of general stress-related decay in marriage relationships that may have been caused by living in prolonged conditions of poverty. Such women generally do not practice prostitution openly, since it is not accepted culturally. Prostitution may often take the form of seeking payments for having sex with 'boy-friends'. Because of the cultural taboo, the women often will not admit to themselves that they are engaging in prostitution. Women living in such difficult circumstances are especially threatened by HIV/AIDS. It is hard for them to say 'no' to sex, or to persuade men to practice 'safe' sex.

### **Domestic Violence**

One of the most serious threats to women and girl children is domestic violence. Because the police force has only recently started to record domestic violence cases on a gender disaggregated basis, there is as yet a paucity of reliable statistical data. However, women's organizations and other NGOs are convinced that domestic violence is both a serious and common problem, causing untold pain and trauma for women and their children. This is borne out by experience in many other countries, including both industrialized and developing countries. In its 1993 *World Development Report*, the World Bank estimated that between one fifth and one half of the world's women are beaten by their partners, often on a frequent basis. In order to begin to address the domestic violence problem in Zambia, and accord it the priority that it merits, there is need to substantially increase public knowledge and debate about its incidence and consequences.

**Source:** GRZ-UNDP (1996) *Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia. More Choices for Our People*, pages 45-49. Lusaka: GRZ and UNDP.

## Chapter 28

### The Notion of Quality in Education

*Early Focus:* Focus in 1960–75 was on quantity: early need was for a large number of educated people, quantitative expansion was visible and politically desirable, concern was with numbers in school and length of schooling but less with what was learned in school, changes in quantity appear quickly but changes in quality take a long time to appear. Some uncertainty about precise meaning of quality—feeling that ‘you can’t define it but you know it when you see it’.

*Later Focus:* Greater stress on quality. Concern that standards are declining. Clearer recognition that what students learn is what has economic value, not just their time in school. Growing realization that school factors do affect student performance. Financial stringencies made further increases in quantity difficult, but focused attention on getting value for money, that is, on improving quality. Clearer recognition that effects of improved quality are greater for poor than for rich, and hence that improvement in quality is one part of overall strategy for poverty reduction. Provision of quality-related inputs very vulnerable at times of economic difficulty, such as Zambia and many other countries have been going through. Ministry of Education clearly affirms that its fundamental goal is twofold—to increase access and to improve quality of education.

*Meaning of Quality:* Is it concerned with what goes on in schools/classrooms? with facilities? Is it about staff and their qualifications? about discipline? about school results? about achievement of pupils? about student success when they leave school (in further education, in getting jobs, in productive work)? Clearly quality involves all these. General definition: *excellence or pre-eminence in respect of a particular characteristic that is thought to be valuable.*

*External Efficiency:* Thought to be valuable—for what? If valuable in relation to preparing pupils for their roles in life, criterion is external, outside education itself; this includes notion of relevance. In this sense, education is of good quality if it is relevant and serves the changing needs of students and the society they will enter. Because society is changing, quality education must also change. Education that does not change is not externally efficient (i.e., is not of good quality). Education that does not provide for the real needs of the majority of its students is not of good quality.

*Internal Efficiency:* If the characteristic is thought to be valuable in relation to the education system and process itself, so that it is inward-looking, concerned with what goes on in schools, then we are using an internal criterion. Generally we are concerned here with success or failure in reaching educational goals. Very often we use a rough measure of accomplishment, such as examination results, to tell us whether expected knowledge, skills, attitudes, etc., have been acquired.

*Education Process:* A useful way of thinking of quality is to associate it with the process whereby the inputs to schooling (pupils’ abilities, materials, buildings, etc.) are transformed into the outputs from schooling (the knowledge, etc., as shown in exam performance and other ways). Hence we are dealing with educational transformation process: what the process gets to work on and work with (personal and physical inputs); the context in which it operates (the wide socio-economic context of society, the narrower context of school organization and management); what the process consists in (the actual teaching-learning interaction in the classroom); what it works towards (expressed in the curriculum); and what it produces (the output in terms of learning achievement).

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## Readings

The *first reading* defines the elements that constitute quality: *efficiency* (e.g., better use of available resources), *relevance* (e.g., to needs and contexts), and *something more* (e.g., going a little beyond mere efficiency and relevance).

The *second reading* enlarges our understanding of what is meant by an excellent school. You will note that, according to the reading, excellent schools are largely the product of good management, and hence depend very heavily on the professional and personal qualities of the school head.

Experience in industrialized countries forms the basis for the arguments put forward in the second reading. In the *third reading*, however, Levin and Lockheed summarize findings from experience in establishing effective schools in developing countries. They give the areas of accord which should serve as a basis for considering general approaches to developing schools that will be effective. In the context of Zambia's focus on efficiency, accountability and decentralization, notice the stress given to community involvement, empowerment and active learning.

In the *fourth reading*, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall define the concept of efficiency as it is applied to education and explain what is needed for the measurement of internal efficiency.

*First Reading*  
**Defining the Elements of Quality**  
by  
**H. Hawes and D. Stephens**

Quality can imply (1) efficiency in meeting set goals, (2) relevance to human and environmental needs and conditions, (3) 'something more' in relation to the pursuit of excellence and human betterment.

**Quality as Efficiency in Meeting Set Goals**

When newspapers write articles about falling standards, it is certainly this aspect they are talking about, though the two words 'efficiency' and 'standard' can be taken in at least three different ways.

**1. Quality as Efficiency in Reaching Standards**

The word 'standard' has an interesting educational history. It was much in favour in Britain in the late 19th century as a measure of assessing progress of classes according to a 'revised code'. In recent years 'standards' in this sense have come back into fashion. Behavioural objectives, mastery learning, codes of accountability and performance-based teacher education are all motivated by the same idea: an attempt to measure exactly where learners have got to.

No one can doubt the importance of such assessments of standards as a measure of quality, but we have to be fully aware that there are a number of different kinds of standards: standards of attainment in knowledge and learning skills; standards of creativity and critical thinking; and finally, standards of behaviour, including involvement in family and community life. The last two categories are just as important as the first in any educational system, but since they are far more difficult to measure there exists a danger that they will be neglected or marginalized.

Standards are also strongly influenced by the motivation of those who set them, hence the real danger that they may be used as a means of social control through using different sets of standards in different orders of schools.

Moreover, since standards can be applied individually as well as collectively, it will always be important to balance one against another. A school which neglects its weakest children entirely (and many do) in favour of getting 'good passes' for its better ones can hardly be complimented on its standards, yet schools also have a responsibility to develop the potential of their more gifted and creative students.

**2. Quality as Efficiency in Improving Standards**

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have very high standards of output which they achieve at remarkably little effort from the teaching staff because their entry standards are so high. Similarly if a primary school in Kenya, Lesotho or Malaysia only selects children from families who can afford to pay substantial fees or if it imposes a literacy test on entrants, or if it does both of these things, it can hardly be complimented on achieving a better output than an impoverished and isolated rural school or an overcrowded triple-shift school in an urban slum.

Perhaps the latter performed far more impressively in *raising the standard* of both groups and individuals in the school from something very modest to something much higher. Perhaps they gave children from these bleak backgrounds the ability and the will to break out from the oppression of their surroundings.

Thus, we must always consider quality of *process* alongside quality of *product*.

### **3. Quality as Standards of Efficiency**

Efficiency, in industrial language, means obtaining maximum output from a given input.

Schools are efficient when they know what they are trying to do and when they function smoothly and happily. In some respects efficiency depends on 'having the right tools for the job'. But even more important is the principle of 'making the most of what you have'.

Certain key aspects of efficiency include:

- Maximizing the time spent on the task (e.g., teachers actually teaching and learners actually learning rather than doing other things, or not doing anything).
- Suiting the demands of teaching and learning to the ability of teachers to teach and learners to learn, because if the curriculum is so wide of the mark that it makes no contact with the clients then it is highly inefficient.
- Providing suitable feedback to both teachers and learners, so that it is possible to build on strengths and remedy weaknesses.
- Making best use of resources available, including what equipment there is as well as the environment and the direct experience of learners.

There are, of course, more subtle measures of efficiency but many of us, who have lived and worked in contexts where few if any of the conditions noted above were met, would be pleased to encounter a school where:

- The teachers were consistently in their classes teaching (or at least in the staff room preparing work).
- The children were regularly engaged in learning (rather than wasting their time).
- Both the teachers and the children understood what the syllabus and textbooks were trying to convey.
- Both the teachers and the pupils had the opportunity of consistently building up from the known to the unknown, and of learning from their mistakes.
- Available learning resources in the school and in its natural and human environment were effectively used

To achieve such efficiency may sound simple. It is far from it. To engender a climate which allows this efficiency to operate may mean raising morale which has sunk to a very low ebb, and building up a spirit of trust and commitment which may at present be frequently wanting in difficult circumstances.

### **Quality as Relevance**

Efficiency cannot be the only measure of quality. It is perfectly possible to have an education which is efficiently orientating learners towards the wrong ends, either because what they are learning is not socially useful or, more sinister, because it is not desirable.

Consequently we need education which is relevant to context, to needs, and to humanity.

### **Relevance to Context**

Relevance to context is both clear and unambiguous. Education must be rooted in a society and a culture which learners can comprehend. An alien education is both unproductive and psychologically disturbing, often leading to a dangerous form of half-learning where children can answer questions on content yet do not fully understand what they are being asked or why they are answering, because it has little connection with their lives and experience.

### **Relevance to Needs**

Relevance to needs, though vital to quality, is far from clear and sometimes is very ambiguous. In fact we are continually trying to achieve a sort of balancing act between different types and orders of needs.

#### *Different Types and Orders of Needs*

Different persons and different groups of persons have different needs. There are stark differences in the goals set by different groups and classes. There is also the fundamental philosophical question of whether education should merely satisfy the desires of a parent or child who has been conditioned to a relatively low aspiration, or whether it should seek to make him dissatisfied and aim higher. Moreover, what a government may hopefully assume to be the needs of a community may be somewhat different from those that the people themselves enumerate.

There is always a tension between the needs of the individual and the needs of groups. Individuals learn at their own pace and in their own manner. No education programme which neglects to provide for individual needs can claim to be truly relevant. But not only are individuals taught as a group, they also need to act and react and cooperate as a group if society is to function. Indeed it may be relevant to look at the record of various nations with similar economic and human resources and speculate as to why it is that some have developed faster than others. Many would consider social discipline and community cohesion as a major contribution to national progress.

It is tempting to look at school education as a preparation for life, and indeed it must do this, concentrating on those qualities which enable learners to survive and adapt to change. But this is only part of the school's task. In many countries as much as half the population is below the age of fifteen.

Quality of life is not just for adults. A child has as much right to enjoy the time he is in school as an adult has to enjoy work and leisure. Moreover, school-children, particularly in poor countries, have responsibilities to their families and the community—they play a crucial part in both. The Child-to-Child programme is an example of how such responsibility can be channeled, in this case towards providing better health-care of families and communities by harnessing the untapped power of children.

Education which keeps 'needs now' in mind may prove the best foundation for 'needs later'. It motivates children, builds on their direct experience and develops in them a sense of responsibility.

#### *Different Levels of Needs*

Needs differ in importance and complexity. In the simplest analysis it is important to identify those learning needs which are minimum and which must be satisfied for all learners: a sort

of educational driving test which needs to be passed if learners are to set forth with confidence and safety along the road of life. But categorization of needs must be taken a good deal further and deeper than this.

Consider the nature of needs. At first it would seem sensible to express needs largely in terms of 'having'. We need to 'have' good health, food and employment and we need to 'have' the skills to attain these. However a little thought convinces us not only that 'having' is a most complicated concept but also that 'being' is just as important and equally complex.

The psychologist Abraham Maslow sees human needs as arranged in a series of levels which together contribute to a sense of wholeness and humanity. In one sense, however, such needs are hierarchical because the 'lower' categories are necessary for mere survival. Maslow identifies physiological needs (food, water, activity, sleep, etc.), safety needs (security against uncertainty and anxiety, etc.); love and belonging needs (group and community membership), self-esteem needs (self-respect, the desire to be recognized and valued by others), self-actualization needs (desire for self-development, to excel, to make a mark, etc.).

When we examine these categories we realize that each has very important educational implications for every learner and that all need to be kept in balance. A school can easily, for instance, concentrate on the 'lower orders' of needs, giving children all the basic skills, all the security and happiness they need but without providing that extra dimension which develops the humanity in humans. A school may fail to contribute towards developing self-confidence and a sense of autonomy which are such important components in meeting safety, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. A school may also fail to develop in learners the 'wholeness' which Maslow and other writers identify as so necessary for the mature human personality.

### **Relevance to Humanity**

We ended our last section with a note emphasizing the importance of developing the human potential in individuals. However the concept of *relevance* is also related to humanity as a species. To talk of a relevant education as one which helps to ensure the survival of that species may seem somewhat extreme, but, in our opinion, it is not. Many readers will be familiar with John Donne's famous words: "...never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." But fewer of us can remember the full passage from which it comes:

No man is an island entire in itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls ...

No educationist today can ignore those words. Our lives and futures are now linked together as never before and an education which is not linked with world issues and world priorities is not a relevant education.

### **Beyond Efficiency and Relevance: Quality as 'Something Special'**

Many would claim that the definition of quality as 'efficiency plus relevance' would serve our needs, especially if the word 'relevance' were interpreted widely enough. Certainly we have seen such a wide interpretation by Maslow when he emphasizes the importance of fulfilling the human need to express themselves and become complete persons. Nevertheless we should recognize a side of quality which goes beyond the current definitions of efficiency and relevance.

It is that extra quality of inventiveness, stimulation, excitement, concern for others or happiness which is found but rarely, in schools and teachers. It is a quality which must never be stifled and submerged by rules and bureaucracy. For it is through these special and unusual educational situations that general progress often comes.

Not that the paths that individuals or genius choose can be followed by all of us. A force like Gandhi or Paulo Freire or Mother Theresa or the many thousands of less publicized individuals who have transformed classes, schools or communities is often too unique for common people to copy. But such a force always brings into the system aspects and insights of quality which can contribute to growth like buds upon a plant.

To a 'teacher of quality' or a 'school of quality' needs to be added the concept of a 'learner of quality'. In the last scene of Flecker's play *Hassan*, a caravan sets out from the East Gate of Damascus and the gatekeeper asks them who they are:

'We are the pilgrims, Master, they reply. 'We shall go always a little further...'

An education of true quality must provide a gate through which schools and individuals can go a 'little further'.

**Source:** Hawes, H. & Stephens, D. (1990) *Questions of Quality. Primary Education and Development*, pages 11-17. Harlow: Longman.

### *Second Reading*

## **What is an Excellent School?**

by

**H. Beare, B. J. Caldwell, and R. H. Millikan**

### **The Five Principles of R. Edmonds**

Ronald Edmonds devoted more than a decade to school improvement. As senior assistant for instruction in the New York City public schools he developed one of the first formal School Improvement Projects in the USA. His research on effective schools began in 1974 with case studies of schools which were academically effective with the full range of their pupil population, including poor and minority children.

Edmonds argued that there were five characteristics which seem to be the most tangible and indispensable in those effective schools which have been the subject of detailed research. He described those features as follows:

1. They have strong administrative leadership. Later he added the principal's attention to the quality of instruction.
2. They have a climate of expectation in which no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement.
3. The school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand. Elsewhere he calls it an orderly, safe climate.
4. The school has a pervasive and broadly understood instructional focus, and he comments that the effective school is prepared to divert its energy and resources away from other areas in

order to further that instructional objective. Indeed, he is quite precise about that instructional focus. Pupil acquisition of basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities.

5. Finally, effective schools ensure that pupil progress can be frequently monitored. They have the means whereby the principal and the teachers remain constantly aware of pupil progress in relationship to instructional objectives.

### **The Nine Principles of the Coalition of Essential Schools**

The Coalition of Essential Schools grew out of an awareness that there were some essential functions which schools must perform, and from which nothing should be allowed to deflect them. In its simplest form, the Coalition's view is that 'less is more', that schools have taken on too many chores and their health will be restored only if they shed the peripheral duties and concentrate on achieving their essential mission.

In consequence, the Coalition developed nine principles which encapsulate the essence of what schools stand for and which might well be taken as a manifesto for any school. The nine principles are as follows:

1. *Schools have an intellectual focus*  
Schools cannot be all things to all people; essentially they exist to help people develop their minds.
2. *The school's goals should be simple*  
The school's prime purpose is to ensure that every student masters a set of essential skills or areas of knowledge. It emphasizes mastery learning of a clearly defined syllabus.
3. *The school's goals apply to all*  
The school's goals apply to the entire student group, not just to a subset of it. The school needs to tailor-make its courses so that every student has the opportunity to learn well.
4. *The governing metaphor is the student-as-worker*  
The school's activities are based upon the student-as-learner, not on the teacher as the worker delivering an educational programme. So the school emphasizes that the students themselves are responsible for their own learning.
5. *'Student exhibitions' are required*  
The school requires that the students demonstrate that they have mastered the course. So a certificate, or a qualification, or graduation, means no more than that the students can present evidence that they have learnt and can perform.
6. *Attitudes are important*  
The tone of the school depends upon good attitudes. The school will therefore embody the values of 'unanxious expectation', trust and decency, and parents will be treated as essential collaborators in developing these values.
7. *The staff are generalists first and specialists second*  
Each staff member is expected to have a commitment to the whole school and what it stands for. These generalist responsibilities overarch the teachers' specialization in particular subjects in the curriculum.

8. *Education is personalized learning*

Both teaching and learning need to be personalized. For this reason, no teacher should be given so many students that she cannot identify with each one personally; so she should have fewer than 80 students under her tutelage. And the teachers should unreservedly have responsibility for choosing the pedagogies which ensure that each student has a suitable course of study.

9. *The budget demonstrates priorities*

The school's resources, especially its budget, should feed what is of highest priority; the school may have to curtail or eliminate some services in order to preserve the quality of its essential services.

Source: Beare, H. Caldwell, B. J., & Millikan, R. H. (1989) *Creating an Excellent School. Some New Management Techniques*. pages 10–11, 63–65. London: Routledge.

*Third Reading*  
**Strategies for Creating Effective Schools**  
by  
**H. M. Levin and M. E. Lockheed**

**Central Philosophy**

The most effective schools are characterized by a central philosophy that provides a guiding spirit to the design and implementation of results. The reforms seem to be inspired by a serious and persistent set of educational concerns towards which a profound transformation of the schools seems to be the only answer. The philosophy of each effective schools movement is cohesive, overarching and holistic rather than being a collection of piecemeal and incremental changes. This philosophy is embodied in a movement which has spiritual and reformist appeal as opposed to the more traditional technocratic and mechanical approach to school improvement. This means that an effective schools movement must go beyond a mere checklist to an organic approach that encompasses these features in a natural way rather than mere 'add-ons' to existing schools.

**Overall Strategy**

The overall strategy is to use the central philosophy to design an ideal school and school programme. This ideal is used as a basis for a comprehensively conceived curriculum, training programme, materials, administrative support, and uniform approach to school change at a macro-level. At the same time, local flexibility, adaptations, and variations are encouraged to meet local needs within the overall programme boundaries.

**Community Involvement**

Community involvement is central to the ideal of the effective school in two ways. First, the community is expected to contribute local resources to the school through the provision of in-kind contributions and voluntary participation in school activities. In addition, families have particular responsibilities to support and reinforce the education of their children. Second, the school is expected to contribute resources to the community by addressing community needs in its programmes and getting students to work on community problems and projects. The community is expected to be an asset to the school and *vice-versa*.

### **Empowerment**

A principal emphasis is placed on empowering teachers, students, parents, and the community to take responsibility for making educational decisions and for the consequences of those decisions. At the heart of the educational philosophy is the view that a meaningful education requires active participation among all who are involved in the process rather than following a script or formula set out by higher levels. Schools are expected to choreograph their own activities within the framework of the larger effective schools programme.

### **Active Learning**

The emphasis on student learning is to shift from a more traditional passive approach in which all knowledge is imparted from teachers and textbooks to an active approach in which the student is responsible for learning. Effective-schools-approaches emphasize self-instruction, the use of manipulatives and objects around which activities are built, problem solving, and meaningful applications. Active learning also means the application of learning activities to the local context.

### **Focus**

Effective schools tend to delineate the scope of their programmes, often focusing on accomplishing well a narrow set of objectives rather than addressing ineffectively a much larger set of goals. The Coalition for Effective Schools stresses that 'less is more'. This view is also found in accelerated schools where acceleration means to cover fewer topics and activities in depth rather than more topics in rapid profusion. The New School is clear about its four curriculum areas. Each of the programmes seems to emphasize a clear and manageable focus rather than a proliferation of goals.

### **Teacher Expectations**

Either explicitly or implicitly, each one of the approaches is premised on high teacher expectations. The view is that students can succeed if the right conditions and support are provided to ensure their success. This view is embodied in the central philosophies of the programmes as well as in the training and curriculum.

### **Funding and Resources**

In most developing countries, where the school resources are below the threshold to sustain regular school programmes, additional resources must be found. These can come from the community and parental efforts as well as from national budgets. Effective school reforms must partially address this problem by freeing up more resources that can be re-allocated to meet more pressing needs. For example, one major multi-country project was premised on raising student to teacher ratios by increasing self-instruction, low-cost educational technologies, and community participation. Another major source of additional resources comes from reducing high rates of retention. Clearly, if students do not have to repeat grades, those resources can be used to expand enrollments and improve educational quality. But the shortage of resources must be addressed systematically to make schools more effective.

**Source:** Levin, H. M. & Lockheed, M. E. (1991) *Effective Schools in Developing Countries*, pages 16–17. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Internal Efficiency and Educational Quality**  
by  
**G. Psacharopoulos and M. Woodhall**

**External and Internal Efficiency**

Efficiency is the term used to describe the relationship between inputs and outputs, but because this relationship can be analyzed from several perspectives, judgments about efficiency may have to take into account more than one aspect of the relationship. Investment decisions, for example, need to consider both *external* and *internal* efficiency. The problem is that educational output is too complex to allow us to adopt a single index of either external or internal efficiency.

The objectives of society are used to measure external efficiency, which can be judged by the balance between social costs and social benefits, or the extent to which education satisfies manpower and employment needs. More specifically, the external efficiency of schools may be judged by how well schools prepare pupils and students for their roles in society, as indicated by the employment prospects and earnings of students. Such measures depend on external criteria rather than on results entirely within the school.

**Internal Efficiency**

In contrast, internal efficiency is concerned with the relationship between inputs and outputs within the education system or within individual institutions. Output in this case is measured in relation to internal institutional goals rather than the wider objectives of society. Clearly, the two concepts are closely linked, but it would be possible to envisage a school that was extremely efficient in developing skills and attitudes that were not highly valued in society as a whole. In such circumstances, the criteria of internal and external efficiency would conflict, and the school would be judged to be internally efficient but externally inefficient.

Since internal efficiency is measured in relation to the objectives of education, judgments about efficiency will depend on the way educational output is defined and measured. In other words, the quality as well as the quantity of inputs and outputs will have to be considered. The quality of output, however, is hard to measure where education is concerned.

To assess the internal efficiency of education, we need a statement of its aims and objectives together with a range of measures of output that reflect these various objectives and the success with which they are achieved. It is, of course, extremely difficult to measure the success with which the wider objectives of education are achieved, but some analysts have used such measures as examinations scores; cognitive tests in a wide range of subjects; the length of time needed for pupils to reach a required standard; scores on standardized tests of reading ability and of language, mathematics, and science skills; and non-cognitive tests designed to measure pupils' attitudes and motivation (for example, their attitudes towards modernity).

**Technical and Economic Efficiency**

Another distinction that has great bearing on investment decisions is that between *technical efficiency*, which is concerned with the maximum output that can be achieved from a particular input of resources with a given level of technology, and *economic efficiency*, which is concerned with achieving a desired level of output at minimum cost. Studies of efficiency in the field of education are concerned with cost-effectiveness and economic rather than technical

efficiency, although some studies of the effects of new technologies, such as television or computer-assisted learning, are primarily concerned with technical efficiency.

### **The Education Production Function**

Economic or technical efficiency is analyzed by examining *the way inputs are transformed into outputs*—which in economic parlance is called the *production function*. The production function of education is imperfectly understood, however, since education is extremely complex and a great many variables affect the quality of output, including socio-economic and family influences as well as school inputs.

### **Validity of Measuring Internal Efficiency of Education**

Educational output is difficult to measure and is affected by so many factors that some have questioned the value of measuring and analyzing the internal efficiency of education. Some argue that efficiency and productivity are inappropriate concepts to apply to education as a whole. Others argue that non-school factors such as family background or motivation can influence educational achievement to such a great extent that they may swamp the effect of school inputs.

Despite this pessimism, progress has been made in recent years in the measurement and analysis of internal efficiency, the relationship between school inputs and outputs, and the cost-effectiveness of education. There has been progress too in measuring some aspects of school output and quality, as well as in identifying factors that have considerable impact on achievement.

**Source:** Psacharopoulos, G. & Woodhall, M. (1985) *Education for Development. An Analysis of Investment Choices*, pages 205–206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Chapter 29

### Factors that Determine School Effectiveness

#### Conceptual Framework

by W. Heneveld

The framework consists of an interrelated network of sixteen school-related factors<sup>9</sup>, organized into four groups, that influence student outcomes. The factors and their relationship are presented in the diagram below (Figure 2). The "Supporting Inputs" flow into each school where the "Enabling Conditions," "School Climate," and "Teaching/Learning Process" combine to produce student outcomes. The student outcomes are characterized in four ways—Participation, Academic Achievement, Social Skills, Economic Success—that go well beyond the narrow reliance on student testing that prevails in most African countries.

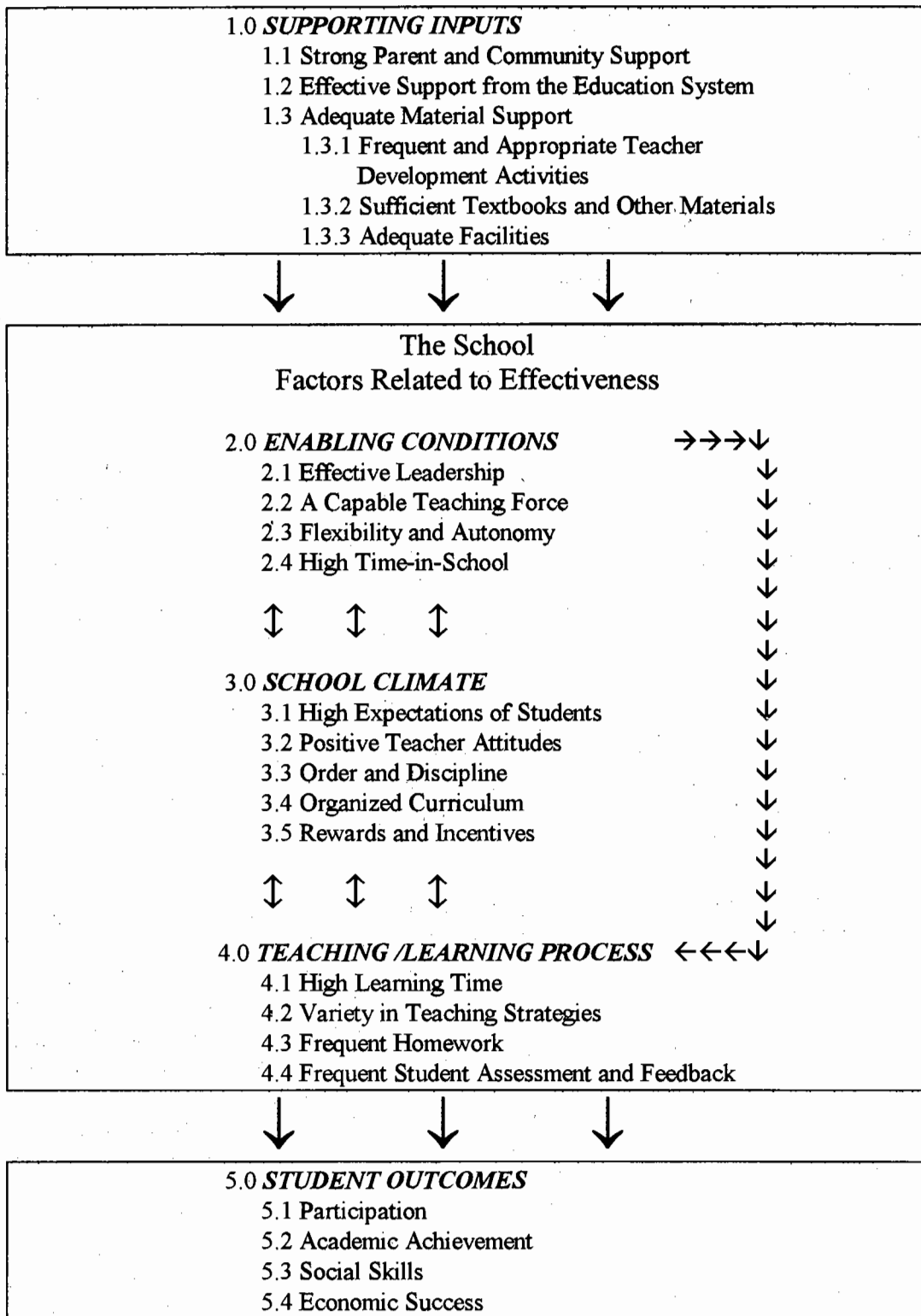
The factors determining school effectiveness are embedded in a context that includes institutional, cultural, political, and economic factors. The institutions surrounding the education system, including national Ministries of Education, will condition how the education system functions. Cultural values and practices also condition how the sixteen factors affect student outcomes, and political and economic conditions significantly influence how the education system operates and what inputs it receives. While the contextual factors also act directly on children, they have been considered exogenous factors in the conceptual framework and are not dealt with in detail here.

From a review of the research literature on school effectiveness, definitions have been identified for each of the sixteen factors. These are given immediately after the diagram. For example, one of the *Enabling Conditions* is *A Capable Teaching Force*. A capable teaching force is defined (in the definitions section, no. 2.2) by (a) the teachers' knowledge (demonstrated subject mastery); (b) their experience (more than a year teaching); (c) their stability (years in a school); and (d) their full-time-ness (hours/days in a school).

While the school effectiveness factors are considered applicable in the abstract to African primary schools, the selection and formulation of the definitions have been made with the African context in mind. They have been reviewed and revised by African educators, international educators with significant experience in Africa, and staff who work on education at the World Bank. Still, the reader must remember that the development of this material has been full of potential for error. First, the research results are not definitive on any of these factors, even in industrial countries; and selections have been made from these results about which of the significant factors should be included for Africa. Second, the definitions must certainly reflect some of the biases of the formulators. For example, factors in the home affecting schooling are ignored in this approach, and soft factors like 'leadership', 'school climate', and 'varieties in teaching strategies' are stressed. Third, the apparent gap between the conditions in African primary schools and the definitions have made some commentators wonder whether all the factors are at all relevant to schools in Africa. Given these possibilities for bias and error, the reader is reminded that planners and researchers must choose their own definitions for factors and decide on how to use them in a given national or local context.

Source: Heneveld, W. (1994) *Planning & Monitoring the Quality of Primary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, pages 5–7. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

**Figure 2**  
**Conceptual Framework: Factors that Determine School Effectiveness**



*Note:* The factors shown in the framework operate in a context that includes institutional, cultural, political and economic aspects. These contextual factors also act directly on children who bring with them to school certain characteristics and qualities.

### **Readings**

The *first reading* defines each of the factors that play a role in determining school effectiveness. In the definitions that are given, each item has the same number as in the Conceptual Framework (Figure 1, above). This makes it easy to locate the definition of an item appearing in the diagram. It also makes it easy to find the relevant place in the Conceptual Framework for an item. Thus, *Frequent Homework* has the number 4.3 on Figure 1, and when you go to 4.3 in the definitions you will find the precise meaning that is given to this term.

The *second reading* addresses the all-important question of learning achievement: do children learn in school in the way we expect? It draws on a study of reading ability in Grade 6, conducted in 1995 by the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the International Institute for Educational Planning in Paris. The findings show that levels of learning achievement are very low in primary schools, and that they are lower for girls than for boys.

### *First Reading*

## **Definitions of Factors that Determine School Effectiveness**

by

**W. Heneveld**

### **1.0 Supporting Inputs**

#### **1.1 *Strong Parent and Community Support***

Parent and Community Support is effective when:

1. The child comes to school healthy and prepared to learn.
2. Parents and the community provide financial and/or material support for the school's operation.
3. There is frequent communication between school staff and parents.
4. Community members and parents assist with instruction.
5. The community has a role, with meaningful authority, in school governance.

#### **1.2 *Effective Support from the Education System***

Support to individual schools by the education system is effective when:

1. The system delegates authority and responsibility for improvement to schools themselves.
2. The system communicates expectations (exerts pressures) for successful academic results.
3. The system provides services to the schools that help them succeed.
4. The system monitors and evaluates schools' academic performances and their improvement efforts.

#### **1.3 *Adequate Material Support***

Material support for a school is adequate for effectiveness when:

1. Textbooks and other reading materials in an appropriate language with relevant contents are available in sufficient quantity for children to use them.
2. Teachers have guides that outline what to teach and how to teach it and that provide diagnostic and evaluation materials to use with students.
3. Students have sufficient paper and implements to adequately practice what is taught.

probably of greater importance for girls than for boys. It is disappointing, therefore, to see from the provincial reports that girls do not perform as well as boys in examinations. The percentage of girls who obtain a full Grade 9 certificate is lower than the percentage of boys; the percentage of girls who fail entirely is higher than the percentage of boys.

### The SACMEQ Study of Reading Achievement

Because they set out to show how one pupil performs in relation to another, examinations do not give a good picture of actual learning achievement. Specially designed mastery tests are required for this. The study conducted in late 1995 by the Southern Africa Consortium for Measuring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) prepared and applied such tests, in the field of reading, to Grade 6 pupils. In keeping with the study's findings on the low availability of learning resources are its findings on the low levels of reading achievement among Grade 6 pupils (Table 1).

	Percent reaching the minimum mastery level	Percent reaching the desirable mastery level
Central	16.9	0.9
Copperbelt	29.7	2.3
Eastern	25.1	2.0
Luapula	32.8	4.3
Lusaka	30.1	1.9
Northern	26.0	1.5
North-Western	27.3	6.8
Southern	16.0	3.2
Western	33.0	2.1
All Zambia	25.8	2.4
Boys	28.0	2.5
Girls	23.1	2.2

The test was designed to provide a valid measure of basic literacy skills for Grade 6 pupils, the minimum and desirable performance standards being based on the professional expertise of Zambian reading specialists. Only little more than a quarter of the Grade 6 pupils attained the standard designated in advance as the minimum performance level (Table 1). Only 2.4% attained the standard designated as the desirable performance level. Three-quarters of the Grade 6 pupils did not reach the minimum expected level; 97.6% of them did not reach the desirable level. Put more harshly, three-quarters of the Grade 6 pupils were virtually illiterate. The analysis from the Eastern province quotes parents as complaining that pupils in Grade 7 are not able to read and write. The SACMEQ study bears out the parents' complaint, at least as far as the reading ability of Grade 6 pupils is concerned.

These disturbing findings pose a great challenge for all who are involved in primary education, but particularly for those teaching in schools and for the inspectorate. There are substantial variations between the provinces, suggesting that some provinces will have more work to do than others if they are to raise the level of learning achievement in primary school pupils. But for all provinces, the picture is very poor. Right across the country, children are not learning much in schools.

Equally disturbing is that fact that the reading achievement of girls is poorer than that of boys. This is all the more serious because girls usually command better verbal skills than boys, and in the School Certificate examination usually outperform boys in Literature in English. Girls' low reading achievement in relation to boys' may lie at the root of their poorer performance in the Grade 8 selection examination. Recent years have seen a re-doubling of efforts to get more girls into school and keep them there—and rightly so. What is needed, in addition, is a quadrupling of efforts to ensure substantial, meaningful learning acquisition on their part while in school.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J., with Msango, H. J. & Subulwa, C. M. (1998) *Girls' Education in a System Designed for Boys. A Situation Analysis at the Provincial Level of Girl Child Education in Zambia*, pages 29–32. Lusaka, Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE), Ministry of Education.

## Chapter 30

### Health Issues in Education

*The Problem:* Much attention in 1960s to educational expansion, increasing facilities. Later years saw change of emphasis to quality of what was provided in schools, so that participation in education would have beneficial learning outcomes. The third focus of attention is child quality, helping the child to become an active agent in his/her own learning. Concern is with child's active learning capacity (ALC), i.e., the child's propensity and ability to interact with and make the best possible use of all the resources offered by any formal or informal learning environment. A child's ALC is severely reduced by health-related factors, several of which are of major importance in Zambia.

*Malnutrition:* Dealing here with protein-energy malnutrition (PEM), where child has had long history of inadequate nourishment. Shows itself in stunting (child too small and puny for age). Over 25% of children affected in whole country, up to 40% in many rural areas. (a) If mother suffered from PEM during final months of pregnancy or when breast-feeding the child, the child may suffer irreversible brain damage that shows itself in a reduced ability to learn. (b) Where PEM is child's own complaint, there may be difficulties in concentrating and paying attention, in memory, and in inclination to be active and explore. PEM can also lead to poorer school participation.

*Micro-nutrient Deficiencies:* (a) Iodine: deficiency associated with reduced ability to coordinate what is seen with what is perceived and with reduced visual-motor coordination. Affects 50—80% of Zambian school-children, with girls more badly affected than boys. (b) Iron: iron deficiency = anemia. Iron-deficient children have difficulty in maintaining attention, alertness, concentration; show less motivation to persist in intellectually challenging tasks. Almost half the young children in Zambia are iron-deficient (low haemoglobin levels).

*Parasitic Infections (helminths):* Four types: roundworm (affects 1 billion people worldwide, 400 million of whom are children); whipworm (affects 750 million people, 300 million being children); hookworm (affects 750 million people, 170 million being children); bilharzia (schistosomes) (affects 200 million people, 90 million being children). The first three occur in all parts of Zambia and bilharzia almost everywhere. Large infestations of worms associated with impaired cognitive functioning; negative effect on ability to learn; seem to affect short-term memory, the ability to retrieve information from long-term memory, the ability to make sharp visual discriminations (very important in reading, e.g. to see the difference between 'b' and 'd', or between 'c' and 'e'). Malaria another type of parasitic infection that seriously impairs children's school participation and learning.

*Home Variables and Treatment:* Child's health & nutrition status strongly affected by family income, family size, birth order, gender, and place of residence (rural/urban). Highly effective drugs, that can be safely administered in a single dose (which should be repeated each year), can eliminate all forms of worms—the Ministry of Education, with Ministry of Health, plans to introduce regular dosing of all primary school children. Annual treatment for iodine deficiency is also possible. Iron must be constantly supplied (e.g. through vegetables such as spinach). Malnutrition needs a sustained programme of better feeding.

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## Readings

In the *first reading*, Levinger introduces the concept of a child's active learning capacity and explains why this is important in education.

In a further extract from the same source, the *second reading* summarizes the way in which certain health issues affect a child's active learning capacity.

The *third reading* is part of a government report which examines the extent of malnutrition and micronutrient deficiencies in children in Zambia. It also provides a helpful analysis of the child health situation in terms of manifestations, immediate causes, underlying causes, and basic causes. This is useful analytic framework which may be applied to several social situations.

The *fourth reading* looks at the principal micronutrient deficiencies, their prevalence among school-aged children in Zambia, and their impact on school participation and performance.

### *First Reading*

## **A New Approach: Improving Child Quality**

by

**B. Levinger**

### **The Importance of Child Quality**

A child's school enrollment, attendance, and achievement are influenced by a host of variables, including *the capacity of the child as a biochemical organism to process and respond to stimuli*. As the quality of the biochemical organism sitting in the classroom improves, so too does the efficiency of the child's learning, all other things being equal, until the child's innate aptitude is realized. Nutrition and health problems impinge on the quality of the biochemical organism and impede the acquisition of skills and abilities needed to progress satisfactorily in primary school. A child who is malnourished and carrying a large parasite (worm) burden cannot adequately take advantage of instructional resources. A chronically ill student, or one who is malnourished and whose nutrient and energy intake does not meet basic physiological requirements, is likely to be equally disadvantaged.

A good school plant and high quality instruction cannot produce the intended educational outcomes when children are too sick, too weak, or too distracted to learn. When there are many such children enrolled in primary school, the education sector performs inefficiently, optimal returns on investment are not achieved, and progress towards a wide range of development goals is

forestalled. And, if significant numbers of children are no longer participants in the formal school system because their health and nutrition status have rendered satisfactory academic progress an unattainable goal, the result is development—and dreams—dangerously deferred.

In recent years, two terms, applied interchangeably, have come into use to refer to the child's characteristics in the teaching-learning process: 'educability' and 'teachability'. Both can be defined as *the potential a child has to achieve age-appropriate, specific curricular learning objectives, regardless of whether or not the child is actually enrolled in school.*

Unfortunately, both terms convey the image of children who passively receive information transmitted by a classroom teacher. The child is object and the teacher is subject in such a teaching-learning equation. 'Educability' and 'teachability' imply that the development of new skills and knowledge is something 'done' to children without their active participation or involvement. In reality, however, optimal learning actually takes place when children are actively engaged in exploring stimuli, processing information, and exercising their creativity by applying what they have learned to novel situations. Thus, these terms, by reinforcing obsolete conceptions of education, do a disservice to efforts designed to improve the degree to which basic education programmes mesh with long-term development requirements.

### **Active Learning Capacity**

Introducing the notion of a child's **active learning capacity (ALC)** into a discussion of health, nutrition, and school outcomes would, seemingly, advance the debate. ALC can be defined as *a child's propensity and ability to interact with and take optimal advantage of the full complement of resources offered by any formal or informal learning environment.* Implicit in this definition is the notion that the child is an active partner in the learning process and that the teacher's role is not primarily to impart information but rather to facilitate a child's mastery of curriculum objectives:

What factors chiefly influence a child's ALC? There are multiple determinants including nutrition status, health status, socioeconomic status, degree of parental stimulation, and overall quality of the home and school environments. The significance of the ALC construct, however, lies in its implied focus on the quality of the child and what the child brings to the school experience.

### **The Learning Achievement Tripod**

Attempts to raise child quality (largely through micronutrient supplementation, deworming programmes, early childhood interventions, and the provision of school meals or snacks) as a means of improving school performance represent an important complement to more traditional change strategies for the sector: curricular reform, teacher training, school construction, and learning aids (particularly textbook) distribution. In effect, child quality completes a 'learning achievement tripod'. The other two legs, the quality of the teaching process (improved through curriculum development and teacher training efforts) and the quality of the school plant, have long received consideration from education sector specialists. Indeed, efforts to improve child quality—specifically, by enhancing the active learning capacity of the child—could well represent the 'third wave' of programmes designed to expand educational opportunities available to children in developing countries.

### **Waves of Educational Reform**

The first wave (of educational development)—school construction—occurred primarily during the 1950s and 1960s and held out the hope to countless thousands that education was well

within their grasp. Disappointingly, all too often, opening the school doors revealed a hidden truth: that the services being offered inside the school-house were inadequate in relation to prevailing needs and expectations.

Consequently, a second wave of education sector programming was launched: teacher training and curricular reform. By the late 60's, educational radio and television were widely hailed as a panacea for many of the sector's ills. Later on, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, basic education reforms were ushered in which purported to offer instruction geared to broad-based development objectives. Yet, once again, not all of the hoped-for outcomes were achieved. While enrollment ratios increased, many children—particularly those situated at the margins of society—failed to make the requisite academic progress and either dropped out of school or were held over to repeat one or more grades.

Interventions to improve child quality and ALC, the third wave, addresses some of the underlying causes of unsatisfactory school achievement in the face of greater access to schooling and curricular reform. These 'third wave' efforts are a critical complement to the extension of basic education services and fulfillment of the pledge to universalize primary schooling made by most of the world's government at the 1990 World Conference on Education For All held in Jomtien, Thailand, under the joint sponsorship of UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank.

Seen in a historic context, programmes to improve child quality by raising ALC may well complete a cycle of educational reform. For the last forty years, reformers have focused on creating the conditions under which all children can go to school and learn something of value to themselves and their communities. The health and nutrition interventions that form part and parcel of child quality improvement programmes are designed to remove significant impediments to learning that thwart achievement of this vision.

Source: Levinger, B. (1992) *Nutrition, Health and Learning: Current Issues and Trends*, pages 3–5. Newton, Mass.: Education Development Center.

*Second Reading*  
**Variables Affecting Active Learning Capacity**  
by  
**B. Levinger**

Three primary variables determine Active Learning Capacity (ALC): health/nutrition status; hunger level; and psychosocial support. These factors are, to be sure, often associated with such family background indicators as family size, family social class, family income, birth order, and gender. Indeed, family background appears to be influential in determining school achievement in developing countries when the formal schooling is highly institutionalized, when class structures are clearly defined and for subjects that are linked to the parents' own knowledge. However, the significance of these background (or environmental) variables in terms of ALC is that they are assumed to influence, co-vary with, or serve as a proxy for, the primary variable set. Thus, their effects are captured implicitly, albeit not explicitly. Each of the primary variables will now be defined and reviewed in turn.

## Health/Nutrition Status

Health/nutrition status refers to both *current* and *prior* bouts of PEM (protein-energy malnutrition), micronutrient deficiency disorders, sensory impairment (particularly vision and hearing), helminthic infection, and other physically or mentally handicapping conditions that impede a child's propensity to interact with and take optimal advantage of learning resources and opportunities. Findings concerning the ways in which health/nutrition status influences ALC include the following:

### With respect to **PEM**:

- Height-for-age (a measure of *prior* nutrition) is a strong predictor of school enrollment and is positively associated with grade levels. Taller children have higher levels of verbal development. Height-for-age is also positively associated with performance on reading, spelling and arithmetic tests.
- Both *current* and *prior* PEM correlate with poorer cognitive function, poorer school attendance, and poorer school performance.
- PEM *prior* to school enrollment retards physical and mental development and negatively influences age-appropriate school enrollment.
- Children *currently* receiving high energy diets perform better in school.
- Greater weight-for-age (a *current* nutritional status indicator) correlates with better performance on concentration tests.

### With respect to **micronutrient deficiencies**:

- Vitamin A deficits are a leading cause of nutritional blindness and, where severe, preclude school participation. The link between vitamin A deficiency, diarrhoeal disease, acute respiratory infection and other vision problems (e.g., night blindness and limited peripheral vision) also directly influences school outcome.
- Iodine deficiency in school-aged children is linked to cognitive function impairment and fewer years of participation in school. Maternal iodine deficiency can cause cretinism, less severe but irreversible mental retardation, and auditory impairment among infants who are then unable to enrol in school.
- Iron deficiency, whether caused by dietary inadequacy or parasitic infection, exerts a high degree of influence on aptitudes and moderately influences school attendance. Consistent, strong relationships for both preschool and school-aged children have been found between iron-deficiency anemia, impaired cognitive function and poor school performance.

### With respect to **helminthic infection**:

- Heavy worm burdens are associated with impaired cognitive function and delays in psychomotor development.
- Helminthic infection adversely affects attendance, enrollment, and school completion.
- The presence of parasites leads to other health- and nutrition-related problems that have adverse consequences for school achievement and ALC. Specifically, PEM and iron-deficiency anaemia are brought on by severe helminthic infection.

### With respect to **sensory impairment**:

- Vision problems constitute a significant barrier to learning unless corrected, and appear to be associated with primary school completion rates.
- Mild to moderate hearing loss can significantly impede satisfactory progress in school.

### **Hunger Level**

The second primary variable that determines ALC is the child's temporary hunger level. The malnourished child does not necessarily experience hunger, and the hungry child is not necessarily malnourished. Hence, a distinction is needed between health/nutrition status and short-term hunger for the purpose of determining how each contributes to ALC.

Hunger contributes to a child's distractibility, inattentiveness to environmental stimuli, and adaptive behaviours of passivity and inactivity. These effects are more apparent when the child who is hungry is also malnourished. The response to hunger directly impinges upon the development of a child's ALC. Exploratory activity is likely to be shunned rather than sought after by a hungry child.

### **Psychosocial Support**

The final primary variable in the ALC model is psychosocial support. Encompassed in this concept are such traits as the degree to which parents, caretakers, community leaders, and other significant adults encourage child independence and inquisitiveness; promote play; and hold expectations that favour learning as well as formal schooling. Psychosocial support also relates to the degree to which community institutions, values and norms promote the healthy growth and development of children. The extent to which parents and caretakers differentiate their behaviours and values on the basis of a child's gender will also play a role in establishing how much psychosocial support a child receives.

**Source:** Levinger, B. (1992) *Nutrition, Health and Learning: Current Issues and Trends*, pages 23–25. Newton, Mass.: Education Development Center.

### *Third Reading*

## **The Nutritional Status of Children in Zambia**

by

**GRZ-UNDP**

Child nutrition is widely regarded as an important indicator of general childhood welfare, especially in poor societies. Malnourished children have a higher probability of death and severe or protracted illness. Malnutrition impairs children's growth, both physically in terms of their height, weight and size, and mentally in terms of their ability to concentrate upon and absorb learning. It generally also diminishes people's ability to cope.

### **The Nature and Extent of Child Malnutrition**

Malnutrition is one of the most serious problems affecting infants and young children in Zambia. Almost half of the child population, and a similar number of adults, have the manifestations of past or present malnutrition. As a result, their health and development are at greater risk. Malnutrition is a leading cause of death among children, and a major contributing factor in most cases of measles, acute respiratory infections and chronic diarrhoea.

Protein-energy malnutrition is the result of a deficiency in protein and calorific foods, and is commonly associated with insufficient intake of staple foods. An insufficiency of protein and energy intake slows down child growth. According to the 1992 Zambia Demographic and Health

Survey (ZDHS), about 40% of children under five years of age are stunted (low height for age) as a result of chronic malnutrition over a prolonged period; 25% are under-weight for their age; and 5% are wasted (low weight for age). These overall findings are consistent with other past surveys on nutrition. Overall levels of malnutrition have remained high over the past two decades, with no signs of improvement. The prevalence of stunting provides an important indication of Zambia's long-term failure to address child nutrition problems, since stunting is caused by prolonged and usually periodic conditions of insufficient nutrition.

Zambia is one of the few countries in Southern Africa that has failed to achieve reductions in child malnutrition. By the early 1990s the rates of under-nutrition and stunting among under-fives were approximately twice the levels in Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

Between and within provinces and districts there are considerable variations in the incidence of malnutrition. The 1992 ZDHS confirmed that the most extreme levels of malnutrition are found in the more remote Northern and Luapula provinces, where more than half the under-fives are stunted. On average, 46% of rural children below five years are stunted, as compared with 33% in urban areas.

### **Micronutrient Deficiencies**

In addition to under-nutrition, many children suffer from health problems due to the inadequate absorption of important nutrients. Between 30 and 50% of children aged up to the age of four years are believed to suffer from Vitamin A deficiency. This increases their chances of death from measles, diarrhoea, and respiratory infections, and can lead to irreversible blindness. A further widespread problem is iodine deficiency, which affects between 50 and 80% of schoolchildren, and can impair their overall physical and mental development. About one-third of women are anaemic (iron deficient), which contributes to the high rate of maternal mortality and can lead to low weight babies and infant mortality. Approximately 50% of young children and 25 to 50% of adults have deficient haemoglobin levels.

### **The Reasons for the High Levels of Child Malnutrition**

The reasons for malnutrition are nearly always complex. Malnutrition is a manifestation of various underlying problems in child well-being, and cannot be understood or effectively addressed without understanding the chain of immediate, underlying and basic determinants. Based on empirical evidence from many countries, UNICEF has developed a conceptual framework to assist in understanding the causes of malnutrition and death. While disease and inadequate dietary intake are identified as the immediate causes, these are found to be determined by three main underlying causes, namely food security, the quality of care, and access to services and a healthy environment. These underlying causes are themselves related to adequacy of education, people's access to and control over resources and, ultimately, to the present and past political and economic conditions. This conceptual framework provides a valuable tool for analysis of the causes of malnutrition in Zambia.

The causes of protein-energy malnutrition, vitamin A deficiency and iron-deficiency anaemia are believed to be closely related in Zambia. The immediate causes are inadequate dietary intake, inadequate absorption of available nutrients, and frequent illness.

There is growing evidence that the problem of inadequate absorption of nutrients is closely related to the predominance of maize as the main part of the child's diet. The very high content of fibre in refined, unprocessed maize meal impairs the child's ability to absorb adequate amounts of

other micronutrients essential for growth. Inadequate absorption of nutrients may depress the child's appetite and reduce the effectiveness of the immune system. Micronutrient absorption is also impaired by the frequent attacks of diarrhoea that young children suffer from. This is exacerbated by the early cessation of exclusive breast-feeding, which would otherwise provide the child with greater protection from diarrhoeal infection. Early cessation of exclusive breast-feeding and introduction of complementary foods, usually based on unrefined maize, are also believed to further reduce micronutrient absorption, contributing to poor growth and increased risk of infection.

The immediate causes of malnutrition are closely related to problems of inadequate child care. As already mentioned, widespread early cessation of exclusive breast-feeding is a major weakness that contributes to poor child health and slow growth. Other key contributing factors include inadequate food preparation and storage for complementary foods, low frequency of feeding, contaminated supplementary foods, and inadequate attention to protecting children from infection and providing special care for children recovering from infection.

Problems of inadequate child care are closely related to the conditions of poverty that most Zambians are living under, particularly women. Poverty reduces the time and resources that mothers are able to devote to caring, including providing a nutritionally adequate diet for their children. Poor and poorly educated mothers often suffer from weaknesses in their understanding and practices regarding child care.

The other main factor causing malnutrition is inadequate access to health services and a healthy environment. Problems of inadequate access and the low standard of public health services have meant that children who are ill or malnourished often do not receive adequate treatment. The living environment strongly influences the prospects for children's health and nutrition. Among the poor, there is often a greater risk of smoky and unhygienic environments that support diarrhoea and respiratory and other infections and illnesses.

**Source:** GRZ-UNDP (1996) *Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia: More Choices for Our People*, pages 37-41. Lusaka: GRZ and UNDP

#### *Fourth Reading*

### **Micronutrient Deficiencies and Parasitic Infections among School Children in Zambia**

by  
**M. Wang**

Micronutrients are essential nutrients which the human body cannot manufacture but which it needs in only small amounts. They are life-sustaining and crucial for the efficient functioning of the brain, the immune system and energy metabolism. They must be part of the diet or be taken as supplements. Deficiencies of even the small amounts required cause learning disabilities, mental retardation, poor health, and low work capacity. Among others, iodine deficiency, iron deficiency and vitamin A deficiency, which often occur simultaneously, are the most important micronutrient deficiencies in developing countries.

### **Iodine Deficiency Disorders**

Iodine is a mineral which is necessary for ordinary metabolism. Iodine deficiency disorders (IDD) are caused by inadequate intake of iodine. Deprivation of iodine could result in goitre, cretinism, psychomotor retardation, mental damage, apathy and hearing impairment. These problems could cause children to enter school late (or not at all), perform poorly in the classroom, and drop out in the early years of school.

Iodine deficiency disorders are endemic in Zambia. A nation-wide survey was carried out in 1993 among 2,505 randomly-chosen school-aged children from 25 schools. The results showed a national goitre prevalence rate of nearly 32%. Within the country, the prevalence varied considerably, from 53.5% in the Southern Province to 12.9% in Luapula. In Livingstone in the Southern Province, 82% of school-aged children had goitre. There was also a high prevalence in Central (40.5%) and Lusaka (46.5%) provinces.

### **Iodine Deficiency and Learning Ability**

Various studies suggest that children in goitrous areas do not have the same level of aptitudes required for school learning as children in non-goitrous areas of similar social and economic development. One study in Indonesia showed that iodine-deficient children aged nine-plus performed markedly worse on tests of intelligence, motor skills, concentration, perception, dexterity and response orientation than a matched group of iodine-replete children. Controlling iodine deficiency will not only reduce the prevalence of goitre and cretinism, but will also lead to better mental and physical development of children, and to enhanced learning and better school performance.

### **Iron Deficiency Anaemia**

Iron is a mineral and, like all essential nutrients, must be obtained from food or through supplementation. Iron deficiency is associated with low consumption of food that is rich in iron, such as meat, and low consumption of vitamin C (which helps the body to absorb iron). Severe iron deficiency results in anemia. Iron deficiency anaemia (IDA) affects the selective learning aptitudes required in the classroom, such as concentration and the appropriate selection of information.

In Zambia, IDA is estimated to affect almost all young children and up to half of all adults. However, the national prevalence of IDA among school-aged children is not known. A study of 1,911 pregnant women in 1985–86 in Ndola found 34% to be anaemic. The University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka estimates that 75% of pediatric admissions are anaemic. In a study at Lake Kapolombo, in the Northern Province, of 22 anaemic children who were examined, 14 were found to have iron deficiency. While malaria may be a major cause of anaemia in very young children (less than 3 years of age), iron deficiency is increasingly more important for anaemia among older children.

### **IDA and Learning Ability**

Iron deficiency influences a child's ability to benefit from classroom instruction in several ways. School-aged children deficient in iron exhibit reduced levels of alertness, attention and concentration, and this affects their learning. They also display less aptitude for making appropriate selections from information presented in the classroom setting. A study done in Costa Rica found that children who had moderately severe iron-deficiency anaemia as infants, had lower scores on tests of mental and motor functioning at school entry than the rest of the children. On the other hand, providing iron supplementation to school-aged children suffering from iron deficiency

results in improvement in selective learning and school achievement tests. A study from India showed that anaemic boys (aged 8 to 15 years old), treated with iron, exhibited significant improvement in cognitive scores, compared with those who remained untreated or who were not anaemic.

### **Vitamin A Deficiency**

Vitamin A is an essential vitamin which the body cannot produce. It is important for normal vision, growth, and immune function. Vitamin A deficiency (VAD) is related to low consumption of foods rich in vitamin A, such as fruits and vegetables (especially carrots), and animal products, such as liver.

A 1980 study found night blindness endemic in the North-Western, Western and Luapula provinces (VAD being one cause for this). A 1985 survey in Luapula Valley (previously known as the "Valley of the Blind") found that three out of four children had low vitamin A serum levels. About 2% of children had clinical signs of VAD, which is almost twice the level of the World Health Organization cut-off point signifying a widespread public health problem. In 1988, a survey on a sample of 1,164 children in five urban and rural primary schools showed that 1.84% had night blindness. More recent data documented VAD in Central and Southern provinces, and it appears likely that vitamin A deficiency is also a problem of public health significance in other areas of the country, especially during the dry season.

### **VAD and Learning Ability**

Children who are blind or partially blind as result of vitamin A deficiency find difficulty in attending regular schools. For others, impaired vision resulting from a lack of vitamin A will impede their ability to learn. For example, children will not perform well if they are not able to see the chalkboard clearly. Evidence also exists linking vitamin A deficiency to growth, including brain growth, which continues through ages seven to ten. Supplementation with vitamin A improves the condition of school-aged children, increases their iron store and enhances their resistance to infection.

### **Parasitic Infections**

Parasitic infections, which are highly prevalent among school-aged children in developing countries, generate very high levels of morbidity. Large parasite burdens are associated with impaired cognitive function, as well as such educational outcome measures as absenteeism, under-enrollment and attrition. Parasitic infections, such as helminths (worms) and malaria, are very prevalent in Zambia.

Intestinal helminths are most prevalent among school-aged children. Helminthic infection may impair the growth and development of children, affect their ability to attend school, and reduce their functioning in school. The most prevalent helminths are roundworm, whipworm and hookworm. In addition, bilharzia-causing schistosomes tend to occur wherever there is a combination of slowly-moving or stagnant water and water-borne vegetation (which provides the environment for the water-borne snails that transmit bilharzia).

In Zambia, as in most developing countries, data regarding the prevalence of helminths among school-aged children are not available. In Malawi, however, where people's living environment and eating styles are similar to those in Zambia, a 1995 study found that 59.6% of boys and 57.6% of girls had hookworm eggs in their faeces.

### **Helminths and Learning Ability**

Research has shown that even when helminthic infections seem to produce no overt symptoms, such as diarrhoea or abdominal pain, they can still diminish growth and cognitive development. Treating children for intestinal helminths offers the possibility that concurrent disease manifestation may be prevented and that future consequences of chronic childhood infection will be ameliorated. In addition, reducing worm burdens in a heavily infected group will often reduce the rate of infection to others and hence reduce overall parasite transmission in the community. Treating children for intestinal helminths has been found to improve learning capacity. For instance, in Jamaica, a group of children who were de-wormed scored significantly better on cognitive tests than a group that remained infected (though subsequently, the infected and uninfected group did not differ significantly on test performance). In the West Indies a single treatment of children for whipworm infection improved their learning capacity to the point where their test scores matched those of children who were not infected.

**Source:** Wang, M. (1996) Nutrition and Health of School Children in Zambia, pages 3–10. Draft Report for AFTHR. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

## Chapter 31

### The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education in Zambia

**Current Situation and Projections:** In the age-group 15–39, HIV prevalence is estimated to be 34% in urban and 13% in rural areas. The number of HIV infected adults in Zambia estimated in 1994 as lying between 600,000 and 700,000 (14.4 to 16.5% of the adult population). HIV spreading at rate of 400–500 new infection cases each day. Number of annual AIDS deaths likely to double from 40,000–50,000 in 1993 to 80,000–100,000 in 1997. Majority of AIDS deaths will be in the 20–44 year-old age group. Believed to have been 70,000 AIDS orphans (below 15 years) in 1993, with number rising to 530,000–600,000 in the year 2000. Appears to be strong positive correlation between levels of infection and economic productivity—greater risk of infection among those who are economically more productive; risk of being HIV-positive greater at higher educational levels.

**Impact on Demand for Education:** Household resources reduced through sickness or committed to care of sick person; hence not available for education, leading to poorer participation, withdrawals from school. Increased opportunity cost to families of child labour, especially of girls, will have same effect. Quality in higher level institutions could be affected by premature deaths of staff/students, leading to replacements by less able individuals. AIDS orphans may not be able to attend school, or may not want to do so. Traumatic psychological impact on young who experience AIDS sickness/deaths in family may undercut demand.

**Impact on Provision of Education (supply):** Potential great loss of teachers, managers, etc. Could affect one-third of current stock of educational personnel. Where will replacement teachers come from? Economic impact: by the year 2000—may reduce national income by 10%, leaving fewer resources available for education. Communities, weakened by loss of productive members, may not be able to raise resources for self-help and other educational activities.

**Impact on Curriculum and Process of Education:** Increased pressures on schools and curriculum to become effective delivery system for messages about AIDS. Young school-leavers will be required to assume responsibility for family care and hence will need more life-skills and economically useful skills—implied impact on curriculum. Diversion of national and family resources to AIDS care and treatment will reduce resources for general health care, leading to less healthy children in school and more absences through sickness. Ethical and managerial problems: (a) posting HIV-positive teachers (can they be sent to remote rural areas? must they be kept close to clinics?); (b) confidentiality in regard to students, teachers, other personnel who are HIV-positive; (c) provision for families of education personnel who die from AIDS; (d) should there be pre-training or pre-employment screening for HIV infection?

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### Readings

In the *first reading*, Ekpo analyses the current HIV/AIDS situation in Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole and in the Southern Africa sub-region in particular.

The *second reading* gives an overview of the situation in Zambia, as it was in 1993–1994, and brings forward evidence showing that certain socio-economic and occupational groups are at high risk of contracting the virus.

The *third reading* examines in considerable detail possible ways in which HIV/AIDS is likely to have an impact on the demand, supply and process aspects of education in the coming years. The reading refers in positive terms to the Anti-AIDS Clubs found in many of Zambia's schools and colleges.

The *fourth reading* gives a brief overview of the possible effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on education in Zambia.

### *First Reading* **The HIV/AIDS Situation in Sub-Saharan Africa** by **I. A. Ekpo**

The overall picture of the current situation of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa is discouraging. Estimated prevalence rates and projections depict an epidemic which has already started, and will continue to create very serious economic, social and public health consequences, for most Sub-Saharan African countries.

#### **Prevalence and Projections**

Global cumulative estimates by the World Health Organization (WHO) indicate that:

- By mid 1993, over 13 million adult and approximately 1 million pediatric HIV infections would have occurred worldwide.

- A large proportion of the infections will occur in Sub-Saharan Africa, estimated to have over 66% of global, or over 8 million adult and 0.5 million pediatric, infections.
- The gender distribution is 45/55% male/female. One in forty adults is estimated to be infected in the general population, but in some high prevalence urban areas, one in three adults may be infected.
- Most of the infections will occur in the ages 15–49 years, or sexually active and economically productive population groups, estimated to have 8.8% or 32,433 infections per million persons.

The highest or best estimates of HIV/AIDS projections for Sub-Saharan Africa were as follows:

- Adult HIV infections would increase from 5.4 million in 1991 to 33.6 million by 2000. Adult AIDS cases would be over 10.58 million by 2000 and adult deaths 3.2 million by 1995.
- Adult female HIV infections were estimated at 3.9 million in 1992.
- Pediatric HIV infections would increase from 0.9 million in 1992 to 2.03 million by 1995; pediatric AIDS cases would increase from 0.52 million in 1992 to 1.34 million by 1995; and child deaths due to AIDS would rise from 0.5 million in 1992 to 1.32 million by 1995.

The combined cumulative adult and pediatric AIDS cases reported to WHO, for Sub-Saharan Africa, at the beginning of 1993 was 210,376. Compared to projections, the number of reported cases is low. The huge gap is due to under-reporting, owing to associated difficulties of accurate data collection and analysis. Due to inadequate diagnostic and trained manpower resources, some countries have been unable to establish and operate efficient epidemiological surveillance reporting systems.

### **Modes of HIV Transmission**

The major mode of HIV transmission is heterosexual, accounting for 71% of global infections. Other modes of transmission are perinatal or mother-to-child, intravenous drug use, and skin piercing activities, including blood transfusions. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the distribution of infections by modes of transmission are as follows:

- Over 93% of adult infections are due to heterosexual transmissions. Infections due to homosexual transmissions are very low.
- The presence of other sexually transmitted diseases, such as syphilis and gonorrhea, apparently widespread in many countries, facilitates HIV transmission by between 300 and 600%.
- The proportion of infections due to vertical or mother-to-child transmissions is not known. But a large number of children are being infected and die before the age of 5, because 30% of the children born to HIV-infected women become infected during pregnancy, delivery or breast feeding.
- Blood transfusions account for about 4% of the infections. Transmissions due to intravenous drug use, such practices as ritual scarification, male and female circumcisions, and other skin piercing activities, often associated with Africa, are negligible.

### **Impact of HIV/AIDS**

Since HIV-infected persons are likely to develop AIDS and die within 5–10 years of infection, this will lead to increases in infant and adult mortality rates:

- Because most HIV-infected adults are between ages 15–49 years, in the most economically productive population age group, the impact on the economy could be severe, as large numbers of skilled and experienced labour might be lost to the disease.
- Large numbers of infant deaths may lead to an increase in fertility rates, create an imbalance in the dependency ratio, and eventually disrupt the family structure.
- Projections of pediatric infections indicate that the impact on infant mortality rates could be as high as 50% in some Sub-Saharan African countries, resulting in the reversal of child survival gains made in the last decade.

The socio-economic consequences of HIV/AIDS are equally severe. A large proportion, or 70%, of children born to HIV-infected mothers are estimated to escape mother-to-child transmissions and survive. These children will invariably lose one or both parents to the epidemic and will be left without economic and social support. The number of elderly dependents has not been documented:

- Over 10 million children are expected to become AIDS orphans by the end of the decade.
- In Africa, where social welfare systems for coping with such problems are relatively under-developed, the large number of AIDS bereaved dependents, including the elderly, will reduce the capacity of traditional coping systems to handle the associated costs and psychological problems of AIDS.

In certain urban areas of some African countries, STD (Sexually-Transmitted Diseases) prevalence rates of over 54% have been recorded. Countries with high STD rates, without efficient national STD control programmes, are potentially at greater risk of spreading the disease. Infections are likely to spread from the core groups to the general population if measures for early detection, monitoring and treatment of STDs are not promptly implemented.

The AIDS epidemic, therefore, poses very serious public health, social and economic consequences for Sub-Saharan Africa. Because most Sub-Saharan African countries lack adequate primary health care infrastructure, have limited social welfare services, and operate on limited financial and human resources, their governments and communities are particularly vulnerable to the demands posed by the AIDS crisis.

Because HIV/AIDS affects not only the health, but also the socio-economic well-being of individuals, communities and countries, it has become evident that a concerted effort, involving a multisectoral approach, is required to retard its spread and reduce its impact. Efforts drawing on the skills of various disciplines, including health, human resources, planning, and economic and social welfare will be required to formulate and implement prevention policies and programmes to combat the disease.

### **HIV/AIDS Prevalence in Southern Africa**

The overall trend of the HIV/AIDS situation in Southern Africa reflects a continuing spread of the virus and rapid increases in HIV transmission, affecting mostly urban populations. But in some countries the virus has already infiltrated into the rural communities.

Compared to East and Central Africa, prevalence rates for the Southern Africa sub-region are lower. However, it is evident that prevalence rates are rising very rapidly; and in some urban areas of some countries, such as Malawi and Zambia, the rates in both the general population and high risk or core groups equal or surpass rates in endemic East African countries.

Current prevalence rates, compared to rates reported for previous years, indicate that AIDS is likely to reach the same epidemic proportions being experienced in the East African sub-region.

- Prevailing prevalence rates for Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe raise concern. The average estimate of sero-prevalence in urban areas in the general population for all three countries is over 21%.
- Rates for high risk or core groups in urban areas range from 22 to 54%.
- In rural areas of Zambia and Zimbabwe, estimated prevalence rates are over 10% for the general population and 34% for high risk groups.
- The high STD prevalence rates, particularly among miners for Botswana and Lesotho, and the rising HIV prevalence rates among black South Africans, place the populations of these countries and the whole sub-region at great risk. The conditions are certainly conducive to further spread of the disease.

Southern African countries share some common social, economic and cultural factors which facilitate the spread of HIV in the sub-region, some of them similar to the Sub-Saharan region:

- Seasonal labour migration of males to work in South African mines is a key socio-economic factor in facilitating the spread of HIV.

Long periods of separation of men from their wives often result in temporary liaisons with increased numbers of sexual partners. This is conducive to the rapid transmission of STDs, including HIV. This also places members in the general population at high risk, as the men will eventually return home to infect their partners and spread the virus to other members of their communities.

Gender issues are important factors to consider in dealing with HIV transmission, due to the unfortunate ability of women to transmit the virus to their unborn children.

- Economically disenfranchised women are often unable to negotiate for safer sex practices with their partners, even in instances where HIV infection is suspected.
- The importance placed by most African societies on children and the 'higher' status accorded mothers within the family encourages women who are HIV-infected to take the risk of becoming pregnant, with the hope that their children will not be infected. This cultural attitude contributes to the spread of HIV and adds to the increasing number of AIDS orphans.

### **The Future Impact of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa**

There are very few published data on HIV/AIDS projections for certain Southern African countries, except for South Africa and Zambia. It is therefore difficult to present an analysis of the HIV/AIDS projections and future impact of the disease on the mortality, fertility, migration and population growth for all countries.

- The combination of high rates of both STD and HIV prevalence rates in *Botswana* places the country in an alarming epidemic situation. STD prevalence rates ranging from 15 to 48% and HIV sero-prevalence rates of 7 to 31.9% indicate that the disease has spread from the high risk to the general population, and from urban to rural groups.
- The current STD rates in *Lesotho*, particularly among migrant miners, places this 'apparently' low prevalence country at risk of reaching the same epidemic levels as its neighbours. The high rate and transient nature of population movement between Lesotho and other high prevalent population groups in the sub-region is likely to increase its rates

of infection. It is already likely that the rates are quite high, but are being under-reported due to lack of adequate reporting systems.

- In *Malawi*, life expectancy could be reduced to a frightening level of 20 years by 2010.
- By 2000, *South Africa's* general population could be 29% sero-prevalent; its STD attenders, 60.4%; and commercial sex workers, 69.8%. AIDS deaths could reduce population growth rate to 1.2%.
- By 1995, *Zambia* is projected to have over 1.2 million HIV infections, 56,242 AIDS cases, and 52,383 deaths due to AIDS. Life expectancy could be substantially reduced to 47, instead of increasing from 50 to 61.
- By 2000, *Zimbabwe* is estimated to have over 2 million HIV infections. The effect of AIDS could reverse the Family Planning achievements which had successfully launched a campaign to reduce fertility rates. Deaths due to AIDS could also reverse the trend in increased life expectancy which was expected to reach 72 by 2010–15.

**Source:** Ekpo, I. A. (1994) *Coping with the AIDS Situation in Southern Africa. Part I: National Prevention Policies and Programme Response*, pages 1–9. Washington, DC: Economic Development Institute of the World Bank.

### *Second Reading*

## **Zambia: The Current HIV/AIDS Situation**

by

**K. Fylkesnes, H. Brunborg & R. Msiska**

### **Introduction**

Since the first AIDS case was diagnosed in Zambia in 1984 the cumulative total of notified AIDS cases (including AIDS Related Complex, ARC) has increased to 29,734 as of October 1993. As experienced in most countries, however, the notified cases reflect a significant under-reporting. Moreover, vital statistics systems are almost non-existent. Consequently, the impact of the AIDS epidemic is difficult to measure directly, and other methods will have to be used in order to provide reliable information. The knowledge about the HIV/AIDS epidemic is primarily based on sero-prevalence studies of anti-HIV antibodies. In Zambia a multitude of HIV prevalence studies have been performed among various population groups. Individually, none of these studies provides a comprehensive epidemiological picture of the epidemic. Seen together, however, they might provide insight of crucial importance guiding the formulation of interventions.

The data available on HIV infection indicate that Zambia is among the countries most seriously affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Whereas several other diseases are currently more prevalent in the population, there are some important characteristics of HIV and its epidemiology that cause this epidemic to have a greater socio-economic impact. Given current medical technology, HIV seems to inevitably lead to AIDS, a condition that is 100% fatal. Moreover, the bulk of those infected are adults in their economically most productive years. It is assumed to take an average of 10 years from HIV infection to AIDS. This assumption is based on findings from cohort studies from developed countries, and the progression is most likely to be somewhat faster in developing countries, perhaps as low as 5 years. Nevertheless, the dramatic increase in mortality, being the most visible manifestation of the seriousness, is still at the very beginning.

Studies of the epidemiology of HIV in most African countries indicate that the major transmission route is heterosexual intercourse, apparently being responsible for about 80% of all infections. The second most important way of transmission is prenatal (mother to child). Other ways of transmitting HIV, as through blood transfusion and contaminated health care equipment, are of relatively minor importance. However, the factors related to the HIV/AIDS epidemic are multidimensional. When trying to explain the higher spread of HIV infection in Sub-Saharan countries, social, economic and biological factors are assumed to be involved (e.g., poverty and the low status of women). A particularly important factor in this regard is the role of untreated sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). A high prevalence of untreated STDs, as is the case in Zambia, represents a very important factor facilitating the rapid spread of HIV.

### **Distribution by Socio-Economic Status**

The socio-economic status pattern of most infectious diseases is that of a clearly higher prevalence among the lower status groups. During the first phase of the HIV epidemic, however, an opposite pattern regarding the distribution of HIV/AIDS was revealed in different African countries, i.e., HIV was found to be most frequent among higher status groups. *An early and internationally much quoted Zambian study among hospital patients, hospital personnel, and blood donors in Lusaka, disclosed a high positive correlation between educational attainment and HIV infection.* The distribution found was as follows: 0–4 years of education, 8% HIV sero-positivity; 5–9 years, 15%; 10–14 years, 24%; and 14+ years, a sero-positivity of 33%. These findings support the general assumption that higher educational groups were 'the first' to contract the infection, implying a distribution by socio-economic status that distinguishes HIV/AIDS from most other infections.

The pattern of HIV transmission might later have changed significantly. Given the theory that behavioural changes first take place among higher educational groups (innovation theory), the most likely future is an increasingly higher transmission rate in the lower educational groups. Moreover, signs of this change may already be expected in the current distribution of HIV infection. In a study of the socio-economic factors associated with sero-positivity from Monze district in 1991, no significant association was revealed between HIV and length of education or type of work. Estimated standardized adult sero-prevalence rates for Monze (rural) district were 12% among women and 10% in men.

### **Recruits to the Copper Mines**

Results from HIV testing of persons seeking employment at the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Inc. (ZCCM), Kitwe, are available for the period 1989–91. All recruits, mostly young males 18–20 years of age and mostly from the Copperbelt area, were partly routinely tested for HIV. The results show a rather stable prevalence rate during these years at a level of about 17% (1989: 17.9%; 1990: 16.8%; 1991: 17.0%).

### **Occupational Risk**

A multi-centre study on the risk of occupational exposure to HIV among health workers (nurses, midwives and traditional birth attendants) was performed in Uganda and Zambia during the period December 1991 to January 1992. The results indicate that midwives are not at a greater risk compared to other nurses who do not work in delivery rooms. Furthermore, the nurses and midwives are not at greater risk of acquiring HIV infection than teachers and office workers. This study was not designed to examine the prevalence of the various occupational groups included and the results on sero-positivity do not provide us with a representative estimate for the groups studied. The geographical distribution of participants is impressive, however, covering both urban

and rural areas, and the number of non-attenders seems not to have been of a magnitude causing serious biases. The findings might thus represent a reasonable indication (see Table). The seropositivity (about 40% both in health workers and teachers/office workers) is strikingly high relative to most other groups. The high rates are particularly distressing when taking into account that health workers are assumed at an early stage of the epidemic to have been provided with appropriate knowledge on prevention.

**Table**  
**Comparisons of HIV Infection among Selected Occupational Groups in Zambia and Uganda**  
**(December 1991 — January 1992)**

Occupational Group	Zambia		Uganda	
	Number	% HIV+	Number	% HIV+
Midwives	379	39	373	21
Nurses	370	44	381	11
Office Workers/Teachers	370	42	371	18
Traditional Birth Attendants	369	12	375	5
Age-matched Village Women	370	13	382	8

#### **The Magnitude of the Problem of Orphans**

Reliable information on the number of children orphaned due to AIDS is lacking. A study performed in 1993, however, provides important information on the problem of orphans in general. In order to examine the magnitude and situation of orphans, widows and widowers, about 1,000 households representing both urban (Lusaka, Kitwe) and rural (Mansa, Sinda) areas were interviewed. The results indicated *an average of one orphan per household*. As many as 37% of all households were found to have one or more orphans (42% in urban and 33% in rural areas). While about half of the orphaned children were found to have lost their father only, a quarter had lost their mother and another quarter had experienced the loss of both parents.

The study uncovers the problem of orphans in general being that of reduced welfare and opportunities. The worst-off experienced serious problems both in terms of being provided with food and clothing and loss of access to health care services and education. These findings are particularly distressing when taking into account the expected exploding increase in the number of AIDS orphans over the next ten years.

**Source:** Fylkesnes, K, Brunborg, H. & Msiska, R. (1994) *Zambia: The Current HIV/AIDS Situation and Future Demographic Impact*, pages 5–6, 19–21. Lusaka: Ministry of Health.

*Third Reading*  
**The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education**  
by  
**S. Shaeffer**

**The Role of Education**

As a major actor in the development of human resources—through the teaching of literacy and numeracy, the transmission of basic knowledge and skills for survival and the delivery of vocational, tertiary and professional training—the education system bears both a special burden in terms of being affected by AIDS and special responsibilities for responding to its impact. How education systems are currently being affected (or will likely be affected), how they respond to this impact (e.g., denying it and doing nothing, or anticipating it and adjusting themselves accordingly), and the extent to which schools and other education programmes continue to be a part of the essential infrastructure of societies and communities under siege will be important determinants in how societies recover from the impact of HIV and AIDS on their economic, social and political development.

There are three issues in this regard:

1. the ways the education system must change in order effectively to deliver messages about the epidemic;
2. the impact of HIV/AIDS on the demand, supply, process and quality of education; and
3. the longer-term response of the education system to such impact.

**Impact on the Effectiveness of Education**  
**The Delivery of Messages about AIDS**

It is a truism that in the absence of vaccines, treatments and cures, education leading to knowledge about the epidemic and to behaviour change is the only way to inhibit the transmission of HIV. Even if bio-medical solutions to AIDS are found, it is further true that, given the political economy of the world today, they will likely not be available for many years to the most affected populations of the world. But education systems—especially formal school systems, which remain, for good or bad, the primary inculcators of 'modern' knowledge and attitudes—are very often unwilling and unable to address the issues, package and target the messages, and adopt the approaches needed to deliver effectively what needs to be known about AIDS. Thus, one necessary impact of HIV/AIDS on education systems will be pressures and attempts to make these systems: (1) more 'open' in the topics they talk about, and (2) more able to discuss such topics in a more integrated fashion to more precisely-targeted groups through more flexible methods.

**A More Open System**

Unfortunately, although education systems play an important role in influencing community norms and values—including sexual norms and values—they are notoriously unable (and perhaps even afraid) to support the discussion of topics such as drug abuse, sexuality and sex education, STDs and condoms, the role and status of women, or even the scientific facts of reproductive biology. This is usually true at the central level of the system, in such areas as the development of personnel policies, curricula, textbooks, and teacher training programmes. It is even truer at the school level. In decentralized education systems, schools and their teachers are often formally governed by the communities which surround them. Even in more centralized systems, they are informally influenced by these communities. In both cases, they are often

reluctant to go against local norms, mores, and values, especially as these relate to sex and sexuality.

One impact of HIV/AIDS, therefore, is to push the education system, at all levels, into more open and frank discussion of these topics in the school and community, in the system itself, and in society at large. Among other things, this requires schools to have greater cultural sensitivity to, and intimacy with, the community.

### **A More Integrated Message in a More Flexible System**

This leads to the second change required of the system—that once it becomes more able and willing to deliver the message it needs to deliver, it also becomes more systematic in deciding what this message says and more flexible in deciding where, when, how and by whom the message is delivered. In a world fraught with AIDS and with an enhanced risk of HIV infection, the education system can no longer deliver a strictly health-based message about AIDS in traditional ways (such as the secondary school biology teacher lecturing on the ‘science’ of HIV).

Rather, as implied above, the message itself must be broader than this, embedded in an integrated message concerning healthy children and healthy schools, and covering issues ranging from reproductive health, sexuality, sex education, STDs and condoms, to discrimination and human rights, respect for women, and the information and life-skills particularly needed by girls in the context of AIDS.

Such a message must be delivered to a wider range of targets, e.g., a wider age range of pupils, starting considerably earlier than usual within the school cycle. It must be delivered both in a language appropriate to the targeted audience and in a greater variety of places, both outside of school (in the media, or through clubs) and in school, in subjects such as health education, family life education, population education, social studies, and life-skills education. It must be taught more frankly and more creatively, in more interactive and experiential fashion. It must be communicated by appropriate teachers and by a greater variety of ‘teachers’ (e.g., peers, role models such as athletes, or respected members of the community, including religious and community leaders).

The system, in other words, must be willing to become more an advocate rather than a mere disseminator of knowledge, ‘selling’ an appropriate message about AIDS more explicitly, more flexibly and more effectively, especially to those at particular risk. Such an advocacy role cannot be developed overnight and such a message cannot be implemented by fiat, even if supported by a carefully designed programme of preventive AIDS education. Ministries of Education, in other words, will likely need to change in quite fundamental ways in order to deliver a genuinely effective message about the epidemic.

### **The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Demand, Supply and Process**

The most immediate and visible impact of HIV/AIDS has appeared already in many education systems of the world. Children infected at birth have not lived to enrol in school; some of the children enrolled have dropped out of school in order to earn money for their families and for the care of ill relatives; teachers have fallen ill and have died; and because of the presence of HIV in the classroom and the school, the process of teaching and learning has itself become more complicated and difficult, and its quality has deteriorated. In some societies this impact is still barely noticeable, hidden by the normal processes of change and subsumed by the more obvious

and immediately visible problems of poverty, other illnesses, drought, and war. In others, however, the impact is already quite clear and identifiable—on the demand for education, on its supply, and on the nature and quality of teaching and learning.

### **The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Demand for Education**

There are several different possible mechanisms through which AIDS can lead to changes in the demand for education:

1. The first and perhaps most chilling aspect of demand is that as a result of HIV and AIDS there will be relatively fewer children needing education. Fewer children will be born because of the early death of one or both parents. In addition, at least half the children affected perinatally or from breast milk will die before the age of entry into school. This lessening of demand due to smaller numbers of children available for primary school will eventually be reflected at all levels of the system.
2. There may also be relatively fewer children wanting education, or fewer parents wanting their children to be educated. This will be partly due to a reluctance of parents to make the considerable investment which an education requires. The higher chance of the death of an educated child leads to a lower return on investment in education and therefore, perhaps, less willingness on the part of the family to sacrifice for such an education. Experience from Uganda shows that the uncertainties due to AIDS have reduced the parents' beliefs that there is much to gain from school. Another aspect of this disinterest in education might derive from the increased randomness of the education provided. Absenteeism of both teachers and pupils due to the presence of HIV and AIDS will only make the education provided more sporadic and unsystematic. Because of irregular attendance, pupils lose the sequence of school subjects, and eventually come to the point where they and their parents see little point in continuing to pay for education.
3. A further major impact on demand results from fewer children and their families being able to afford an education. The AIDS-related impact on the ability to pay includes at least three issues: (i) the direct loss of family income due to AIDS, because of (a) the illness and death of economically productive members of the family and (b) the loss of income due to expenditures on treatment, care and funeral costs; (ii) the expansion of extended families, with many more children of school age in a family often led by less productive adults (grandparents) or teenage children; and (iii) the loss of the traditional economic safety net of the extended family and community, a net stretched even further in many places because of migration, population pressure, infestation, drought, and war.
4. A fourth impact of AIDS on demand may be that fewer children are able to complete their education. Much of this may be because of the financial constraints already mentioned, but there are several other factors which are important in this regard—illness in school; the need for children to work and care for ill adults; trauma related to the illness and death of family members; the ostracism, discrimination and stigma suffered by children in schools and classrooms due to infection or to membership in a family with HIV infection and AIDS deaths; the lower motivation provided by older, uneducated members in an extended family, and by the relative lack of attention, affection and guidance provided by heads of households to orphans in such families; the earlier marriage of girls seeking to escape from overcrowded extended families or being sought by men seeking younger, and presumably uninfected, wives. This last issue raises a crucial point: that the aggregated impact of HIV and AIDS on educational demand will likely affect the education of girls more than boys. Girls will likely be taken out of school sooner than boys when fees cannot be paid, when ill or orphaned siblings and relatives need to be cared for, perhaps also when many kinds of

productive labour must be done, and when the prospect of early marriage becomes possible.

5. Finally, the presence of HIV/AIDS may have a special impact on the demand for higher education. This is because of (i) the need for university-level students to provide income for affected families, (ii) fewer qualified candidates to fill available slots, and (iii) an increasing rejection of HIV-infected applicants by sponsoring agencies and host countries, both from a fear of HIV transmission and concern for the costs of care in the receiving country.

### **The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Supply of Education**

It is ironic and gruesome that the likely lowering of demand for education in areas heavily affected by HIV/AIDS may well be matched by a lessening of supply:

1. Though little evidence is now available concerning this issue, it seems likely that an absolute or relative decrease in the number of pupils will lead to a similar decrease in the number of classes and schools. Schools that have enrollments below a certain minimum may be closed and their remaining pupils moved to other schools. Another possible reason for smaller supply may be the lack of support and financing from the community and the government. Both will have other competing, non-educational, demands for their resources. Therefore funds for maintaining current facilities or building new ones may be very limited.
2. Even if facilities continue to be available, there may be a lack of teachers and other personnel (principals, supervisors, inspectors, higher level managers). Among such people, absenteeisms from work will result from illness, attending funerals and caring for the ill. It is estimated that adults suffer approximately 17 HIV-related illnesses prior to death; this is likely to have a serious effect on attendance and regularity of teaching. Teachers and other personnel who are infected may try to transfer to another area or, once visibly ill, they may 'abscond' and disappear. Others may also want to transfer out of heavily affected areas or refuse to be posted to them, thereby decreasing considerably the supply of education available. And teachers (perhaps especially because of their somewhat elite and mobile status) will die. The death of managers and planners will reduce the system's capacity to plan, manage and implement educational policies and programmes that are meant to maintain and even increase the supply and quality of education.
3. The supply of education will also be affected by issues of finance. Enrolment will be less, but so also will be the number of financial supporters of the system whose contributions are essential for such things as chalk, books, school maintenance and supplementary allowances for teachers. The absolute investment in education may decline because of the amount of money that may need to be spent on health-related costs of personnel: treatment, care, insurance, death benefits, etc. Other costs, for training and paying the replacements for affected personnel, may also be considerable, as may be the costs of implementing an effective AIDS education programme.

### **The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Process of Education**

The 'tone' of education will change as a result of HIV/AIDS. The social interactions and educational processes which make the system work will inevitably be coloured in some way by the epidemic.

Those in class who are infected or ill, or even members of infected families (whether as teachers or pupils), may face discrimination, ostracism and isolation. Teachers may face the suspension of social and health benefits and/or dismissal from the system. Pupils may face formal

suspension by the system or be pressured to leave school 'voluntarily'. The supposedly free and open nature of school and classroom relationships may end up being governed by suspicion and fear. Thus, the entire teaching and learning climate will be adversely affected. Teaching and learning will also be negatively affected by high rates of absenteeism of both teachers and pupils.

An added complication is that sexual abuse of girl students by male students and teachers is not uncommon; the latter is often in exchange for fees or various academic rewards. Thus, while schools should be considered 'sanctuaries', they are often instead the site of non-consensual sexual activities and HIV infection. This can lead to difficult relationships between the school and the community.

### **The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Quantity and Quality of Education**

In summary, the net result of these various kinds of impact on the demand, supply and process of education may be a loss of financial and human resources (and thus a reduction in the quantity of education) and of efficiency and effectiveness (and thus a reduction in the quality of education). Relatively fewer pupils, students and adult learners may seek an education; those that do may be faced with fewer available places, a more random sequence of teaching and learning, and fewer teachers. And those teachers that remain in the system may be less experienced and less well-trained, and supervised by fewer inspectors. The 'work-place' of the school itself may also be affected by the psychological effects of having infection, illness and death in its midst. In general, individual schools, especially in heavily affected areas, and the system as a whole, may have fewer resources from families, communities and government to maintain, improve and expand their services.

### **The Longer Term Response of the Education System to the Impact of HIV/AIDS**

Over the longer term the education system itself will necessarily be affected as it tries to respond and cope with the more immediate, more micro-level pressures of HIV/AIDS on educational demand, supply, process and quality. This will include the system's need to broaden its educational and social objectives, make more flexible its operations and strategies, alter the kinds of knowledge and skills it transmits, and develop more systematic plans, flexible mechanisms, and far-sighted personnel for managing and financing the system.

As the profile of the education system's clients and their needs changes due to the presence of HIV/AIDS, so too must its objectives. The special clients (not necessarily completely new in nature, but in larger numbers) are several:

1. non-enrollees—children who have never entered school, some because of infection and illness, others for economic reasons;
2. frequently absent students—children whose education is even more random than usual;
3. drop-outs—children who have left school before attaining at least some minimum level of literacy, numeracy and life-skills;
4. working children and street children—those not in school, some working full-time and many living outside of any home environment;
5. orphans—of one or both parents, living either in an extended or adopted family, in an orphanage, or on the streets and likely facing special problems of ill-health, psychological trauma and social stigma; and
6. girls—who likely make up more than their proper percentage of the above categories, with particular needs in terms of knowledge and skills.

In addition to facing a different set of clients, the school and its personnel may also need to take on new roles. Schools may need to pay greater attention, earlier in the curriculum or outside of class hours, to work-related technical and vocational training, including home economics, agriculture, arts and crafts, and woodwork. School staff may also find themselves devoting much more time and energy to counselling, a skill few teachers, especially at the primary level, now possess. One particularly interesting peer programme in this area is the Anti-AIDS clubs found in various countries, most notably in Zambia. The concerns such clubs embody may extend to the whole school which tries consciously to become a sanctuary, a safe haven, both from the fear and stigma associated with AIDS and the risk of HIV infection.

Putting together the education sector's response to HIV/AIDS will necessarily have an impact on the planning and management of the system as a whole. Two things are important in this regard:

1. that the Ministry of Education understands that AIDS is more than merely a health problem, to be solved through preventive education, and that it is affecting, or will affect, the Ministry's daily work; and
2. that the Ministry learns to plan with greater foresight, not for the routine but for the unexpected. Thus, the Ministry of Education will need to develop its own particular AIDS policies and action plans relating to HIV transmission, to adapting the system to the impact of HIV and AIDS on the quantity and quality of education, and to coping with the consequences of those within the system who are infected and ill.

#### **Personnel Management in Relation to HIV/AIDS**

The management of personnel is an area of seemingly routine system management which is especially important in relation to the likely impact of HIV and AIDS. There are four areas of personnel management which are especially important:

1. The management of human rights: Teacher organizations and international fora have strongly supported policies against job discrimination and compulsory testing for HIV infection and for the confidentiality of all medical histories and treatment. Unless there are clear, well-publicized and fully-supported policies about these issues in a Ministry of Education, they may tend to get neglected and lead to human rights abuse.
2. The management of teachers infected with HIV or ill with AIDS: Here there are questions concerning access to counselling, the right to transfer to areas where medical care is available, alternative working arrangements for personnel unable to work at their original job, and reintegration into work following episodes of illness.
3. Continued availability of social security and other benefits: HIV-infected teachers and other school staff members should have full access to standard social security benefits and occupationally-related benefits.
4. Management of the system for the prevention of HIV transmission: this is necessary both to protect the ministry's investment in human resources and to make the system a sanctuary against the epidemic. This involves not only pre-service and in-service education for personnel about AIDS but also policies designed to discourage high-risk behaviour. The latter might include both stronger sanctions and sexual abuse laws against personnel who force sex upon colleagues and students, and policies to assign married teachers to posts where they may live with, or close to, their spouses.

Source: Shaeffer, S. (1994) *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Education: A Review of Literature and Experience*, pages 35–62 (abridged and edited). Background Paper Presented to an IIEP Seminar, Paris, 8–10 December, 1993. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

*Fourth Reading*  
**HIV/AIDS and Schooling in Zambia**

by  
**M. J. Kelly**

When the people of Japan awoke on the morning of 7th August 1945 they did not know that that was to be a day of catastrophic doom for one of their cities. It was on that day that an atom bomb devastated Hiroshima, taking 92,000 lives.

When the people of Zambia wake each day, are they aware that because of HIV/AIDS they face an even more calamitous situation?

**The Current Situation**

The HIV/AIDS facts and projections are chilling:

- HIV prevalence in the 15–39 age-group is estimated to be 34% in urban and 13% in rural areas;
- the total number of HIV infected adults in the whole country is between 600,000 and 700,000;
- HIV is spreading at the rate of between 400 and 500 new infection cases a day (that is, there are over 150,000 new cases each year);
- the number of annual AIDS deaths is likely to double from 40,000–50,000 in 1993 to 80,000–100,000 in 1997 (that is, 220–270 a day);
- the prospect is that by the end of the decade Zambia will have between 530,000 and 600,000 AIDS orphans (one or both parents dead);
- already, more than 7% of Zambia's households are without any adult member, but are headed by children, that is, by boys or girls aged 14 or less.

**Effects on Education**

This tragic scenario will have devastating effects on the education system:

1. Education always costs something, but families will be less well able to meet even low education-related costs. Many family bread-winners will be sick or dead. There will be fewer in the active age-group (15–55) to take up income-generating activities. The little money families have will be used in caring for sick members. The consequence will be almost no money to pay for children in school, with the result that fewer children will attend school.
2. Children will stay at home, out of school, to care for the sick, to replace adults in household or other income-generating activities, to assume responsibility for heading a household.
3. The school participation of girls is likely to be more severely affected than that of boys, thereby worsening the prospects for equal opportunities and treatment for girls and women.
4. The massive number of potential AIDS orphans poses a special problem. Will these be able to go to school? Will they want to? What benefit will schooling be to them?
5. There will be a great loss of teachers, managers and educational personnel. Actual testing in 1992 of almost 400 teachers and government officials found that 42% of them were HIV-positive. If this applies across the country and coverts to full-blown AIDS, it means that more than one-third of the current stock of teachers could sicken or die from AIDS within the coming ten to fifteen years. Replacement numbers from the training colleges would be much smaller than such losses.
6. The loss of skilled human resources, and the use of personal and national resources for consumption rather than investment, are expected to lower the national income by as much as

10% by the year 2000. This means that fewer national resources will be available for education, leading to continued shortages of places and poor quality of schooling.

7. Communities, weakened and impoverished by the sickness or death of productive members, will be less well able to provide for self-help labour, **management skills** or funding for the education system.
8. Because the burden of family support will fall increasingly on younger members, economically useful skills will be needed more universally and at an earlier age than hitherto. This means that the primary school curriculum must be radically overhauled if it is to help in developing these skills.
9. Because of the diversion of family and national resources to AIDS care and treatment, there will be fewer resources for general health care. Children attending school will be less healthy and subject to more frequent absences than at present.
10. Social and academic relationships within a school will be affected by the knowledge that a teacher/colleague/fellow-student is HIV/AIDS infected.

- *Because of the projected massive increase in the number of AIDS orphans;*
  - *because of the potentially large drop in the number of teachers;*
  - *because of the need to transform the curriculum into one that will equip primary school leavers with economically useful skills;*
- it looks as if school education as we know it at present may not be possible in ten years' time.**

Now is the time to prepare for such an eventuality. Ten years' time, when the full consequences of HIV/AIDS are being experienced, will be too late. What steps can we take so that we will face the crisis with constructive alternatives? What can we do now to help the whole education sector to re-adjust itself towards what looks like being a very different, and very bleak, future?

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. (1995) "HIV/AIDS and schooling in Zambia." Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, *JCTR Bulletin*. No. 26, October 1995, pages 6-7.

## Chapter 32

### The Financing of Education

**Definitions:** Running of education system depends on *real resources* (staff, buildings, equipment, etc.) and *monetary resources* (funds that can be used to obtain real resources). Some goods and services used at once, benefits are short-term (less than 1 year), and purchase must be regularly renewed; these are *recurrent* items and costs. Others used over longer period and renewal not needed for several years; these are *capital* (or investment) goods and costs. *Fixed costs* are those not affected by the numbers enrolled or programmes offered, e.g., costs of salaries, buildings, rates. *Variable costs* depend on the numbers enrolled, or materials and curriculum, or salary levels. *Opportunity costs* = the highest price that would be paid for a possible alternative use of a given good or service. *Income foregone* = revenue lost because one has decided to use a given good or service for a certain activity, thereby making it unavailable for other activities. *Current prices* mean the cost of goods and services at the value the currency had in the year under consideration; current prices do not take inflation into account. *Constant or real prices* are prices that have been adjusted to take account of inflation; they mean the cost of goods or services at the value the currency had in an arbitrarily chosen year (for Zambia, 1970, 1977 and 1985 are frequently used as 'base' years). Costs compared over a period of time should be expressed in constant prices.

**Origin and Allocation of Finances for Education:** There are three principal suppliers: households (private individuals), public and private enterprises (business & industry), and the rest of the world (donors and investors). Each may provide finance for education directly (as fees of various kinds or as donations) or indirectly, by transferring their resources, through taxes or donor aid, to the government which then allocates to education and other sectors. Government itself does not generate funds for education; its role is to allocate funds coming from the suppliers of finance.

**Government Financing of Education:** Why should government allocate funds for education? (a) Education is a mixed good, i.e., brings benefits to the recipient (private) and to the society (public); because so many of the benefits are social, government should use society's funds to meet some of the costs. (b) A major role of every government is to equalize distribution of national resources, spreading benefits of services to those who cannot afford; through education, government transfers resources from the more privileged to the poor and less privileged. (c) Education is a necessary good; danger that if left to free market the supply would not be enough and that many would not use; hence need for state intervention. Education always costs recipients something (income foregone, etc.). Hence all education is financed jointly by private individuals and by the state. In Zambia, for every K100 spent on education in 1996, K30 came from taxes paid by the people and industry, K55 came directly from private individuals as fees, uniforms, etc., and K15 came from the donor community. General principle about fees: the more universal a level of education is, the more appropriate it is that it be publicly financed, e.g., primary education; the less universal it is, the more appropriate it is that it be privately financed through fees, e.g. university education.

**Public Expenditure on Education in Zambia:** Education receives about K80 million in constant 1977 kwacha, the equivalent of 3% of GDP and 10% of the total public budget. Amount for education fell dramatically in 1983–1994. Sector receives too little; the amount received is not well allocated by level (too little to primary); within levels, the amount available is not used efficiently (too much on salaries and too little on supplies, i.e., poor functional distribution). Inequitable distribution, with those at higher levels receiving disproportionately large share.

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### Readings

The *first reading* surveys the financial state of education in Zambia over the period 1990–1996 is surveyed in the *second reading*, which gives a careful analysis of the public, private and donor spending on education throughout this seven-year period.

The *second 'reading'* gives an overview of some aspects of educational finance in Zambia during the twenty-five year period, 1970 to 1994. Refer to this reading when you want to substantiate statements about the course of educational financing in Zambia.

#### *First Reading*

### **The Financing of Education in Zambia, 1990–1996**

by

**The World Bank**

#### **Two Decades of Decline in Zambia's Education Performance**

Since 1990, the education sector in Zambia has experienced a continuing decline in public funding for education and training. Primary and secondary education suffered particularly during the recession and economic restructuring. At the same time, the number of primary and secondary school students increased. The combination of shrinking resources and increasing numbers of Zambian children enrolled led to increased numbers of untrained teachers teaching at primary and

secondary schools; primary school teachers teaching at secondary school level; multiple shifts; and fewer instructional inputs. In addition, the demands for non-formal education, training out-of-school youth, skills training and entrepreneurship development, have increased, while overall resources have remained limited. Physical infrastructures are deteriorating and in general no textbooks or learning materials are provided by the Government. These factors have led to a serious deterioration in the education offered to most Zambian children.

### **GNP Performance**

Zambia ranks as a country where the education sector's share of GNP is very low. In 1992, Zambia devoted 2.7% of its GNP to education. Only 14 other countries in the world had smaller shares of their GNP devoted to education the same year. In this regard, Zambia compares unfavourably with other countries in the region. In 1992, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Swaziland allocated 9.1%, 7.0% and 6.0% of their GNP to education, respectively. Overall for Sub-Saharan Africa, 3.9% of GNP was devoted to education in 1992. In addition, while as a rule of thumb primary education is reckoned to need a 2% share of GNP, Zambia's share of GNP for primary education was only 0.69%–1.31% during 1992–96.

### **Public Expenditures on Education and Training**

As a share of the total public budget, the education sector has experienced a reduction from between 11 and 12% in the beginning of the 1990s to 8% in 1994–95. In comparison, Zimbabwe allocated 19.4% of its total public budget to education in 1992, while South Africa and all Sub-Saharan Africa allocated 22.1% and 19.9%, respectively.

In real terms (constant prices) total aggregated public expenditures on education have generally declined throughout the period by about 0.3% per annum, before taking into account the increase in the number of Zambian children of school age each year (estimated at 2.7–3.0% annually). This has the effect of lowering available real resources per student. The trend in the 1990s repeats the trend that prevailed for the greater part of the 1980s. The ever-growing need for additional resources to cope with rising demand, because of population growth, and the urgent need to improve the current low standards, have yet to be decisively addressed.

Primary education consistently lays claim to the lion's share of total expenditures on education (above 35% since 1993). In 1994 the share reached the Government's target of 40%. From the point of view of assessing the appropriateness of the allocation to this sub-sector, it should be noted that the 1996 budget of K41.9 billion (US\$34 million) for primary education has to furnish the needs of 1.5–1.6 million children. If teachers' salaries and other personal emoluments (95% of the budget) are deducted, little more than US\$1 per child per year is left for learning materials, furniture, capital investments and other needs.

Secondary education's share of total public expenditures generally declined in the 1990s. The ratio fell from 15.2% in 1990 to a low of 10.1% in 1993; after rising to 13.3% in 1994, it is likely to remain below 12% in 1995 and 1996. The share of these expenditures going to personal emoluments rose from between 30% and 40% in the early 1990s to 70% in 1996. Boarding costs continue to absorb most of the remaining resources.

There are six government-run and four grant-aided pre-service Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs), and two in-service colleges. Some TTCs are utilized beyond their capacity and many of the colleges are characterized by extreme dilapidation of services, lack of funds for the improvement of physical infrastructure, and limited resources for regular maintenance. As a result,

the colleges are rapidly becoming totally inappropriate as places for learning, leading to declining academic and pedagogical levels in the teachers they train. The share of the education budget received by the colleges has remained at around 4% for the past five years, although significant reductions occurred in specific years. The current and increasing number of untrained teachers, the declining levels of quality in teaching, the expected shortage of teachers in light of both the increasing school enrollments and the impact of HIV/AIDS, point to a bleak future regarding the quality of education.

The share of total public expenditures devoted to university education over the period 1990–1995 has increased considerably, from 12.9% in 1990 to 26.4% in 1995. In 1992, Zimbabwe spent 12% of its public education expenditures on tertiary education, while the average for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa was 15%. The expenditure per university student as a multiple of expenditure per primary student remains very high. In 1993, the public resources spent on a university student were 206 times those for a primary school student, and the bias in favour of university education persists. If teachers' salaries and other personal emoluments are deducted, approximately US\$808 per student per year has been available at university level for non-salary expenses. In other words, apart from what is spent on salaries, the resources made available per university student are approximately 800 times higher than for a primary school pupil (in 1993, the figure was 1,000 times higher).

#### **Household Financing of Education and Training**

The range of household financing of primary education varies from 50% to 75% of the total costs. While not conclusive, a limited survey showed that in 1995/96 the estimated household costs (fees, exercise books, uniforms, transport) for parents with children in primary schools ranged between K35,00 and K60,000 per child; on the other hand, the 1996 budgeted public resources available per primary pupil were K28,000. A preliminary analysis, based on Priority Survey II data, computed government spending at K32 billion in 1993, while parents and households spent K61 billion the same year. From this preliminary analysis it appears that households spend twice the amount on education provided by public funding (or 65–75% of total education costs). School uniforms account for almost half of the education costs paid by households at primary level.

Government has embarked on a policy of education cost-sharing. While generating additional resources, the cost-sharing measures now being pursued (user-fees, school uniforms, a variety of school funds, transport, opportunity costs from lost labour) appear to drive out the poor and ultra-poor, a pattern that is reflected in the low attendance ratios for poorer households. Moreover, in Zambia there is a tight correlation between the availability of instructional inputs (a proxy for quality) and parents' ability and willingness to pay.

#### **Donor Financing of Education and Training**

In 1990–94, total bilateral and multilateral assistance to Zambia rose by 120%, from US\$311 million in 1990 to US\$687 million in 1994, peaking at US\$979 million in 1993. However, the share directed towards education has declined from 12% of total assistance in 1990 to 5% in 1994. But while education's share has declined, the amount going to the sector has remained almost constant in nominal terms at US\$36–37 million annually.

An average of 37.2% of the external assistance to education has been channelled to support technical and managerial education and training. Tertiary education and sectoral policy and planning are the second largest beneficiaries, taking up an average of 20% each, or about 40%

of the total assistance. Part of that aid is for the technical assistance provided by consultants and expatriates.

Primary and secondary education receive approximately the remaining 20%. The support towards primary education has risen from US\$2.7 million in 1990 to US\$5.0 million in 1994, but support for secondary education has declined from US\$5.8 million in 1991 to US\$1.8 million in 1994. The donor expenditures per student doubled for primary pupils from US\$1.6 in 1991 to US\$3.2 in 1994. But for secondary education, the donor expenditure per student decreased from US\$44.1 in 1991 to US\$12 in 1994, and at the tertiary level from US\$1,379 in 1991 to US\$395 in 1994. However, as measured by student costs, there is still a strong bias in donor support towards tertiary education.

### **Elements of a Financial Strategy to Improve Quality**

Improving quality in primary education is closely linked to the quality of the instructional inputs. Sufficient emphasis and resources should be targeted towards improving the quality of teaching (teacher training, text-books, etc.). Renewed focus should be placed on the academic and pedagogical requirements for teachers and teachers' working conditions (salary and non-salary benefits). While considerable improvements in the access and enrolment rates may be achieved through school rehabilitation and construction this may merely be a quantitative improvement, without any corresponding improvement to the quality of education and the human resource base. Government needs to develop a clear strategy for education quality that will lead to a better human resource foundation for economic development, as well as meeting public and private sector demands for skilled labour, and giving Zambians the self-employment and entrepreneurship skills that will enhance incomes and participation in society.

### **Quality and Cost-Sharing**

Households already spend as much as Government on primary education, indicating that the scope of cost-sharing has already been pushed to the limit. Essentially, the Government should focus on increasing resources for primary education; signalling the Government's high priority for education; fostering further community support; shifting recurrent budget allocations and administrative expenses towards instructional purposes and teacher training; investing, through communities and donors, in more and better physical facilities and equipment; providing more learning materials; increasing subsidies for lower-income groups; and mobilizing increased resources for girls' education

### **Strategy**

Increased funding for education and training and a re-allocation of sector resources are imperatively needed if the country is to build the human resource base required for accelerated and sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction. The first step is to move to a coherent integrated strategy of policies and activities that will improve education and training in Zambia. The issues needing decisions by the Government to clarify and implement this strategy include:

- giving priority to the education sector over the next five years, with this being reflected in budgetary terms and political decisions;
- defining the programme elements already identified within Ministry plans and supporting their implementation through an integrated and cost-effective plan;
- establishing the financial policies and working framework that will enable the fulfillment of the objectives.

In summary, to provide access, equity and quality to more Zambians, the Government needs to substantially increase the total public budget envelope to education and training, meet quantitative requirements (more teachers and students), and increase teachers' salaries. The budget should be increased to make up for the historic lack of investment in education to a level which will ensure the supply of sufficient resources for non-salary expenditures.

**Source:** World Bank (1996). *Education Sector Expenditure Review, 1996*, pages 5–14 (edited and abridged). Washington, DC: The World Bank.

*Second Reading*  
**A Profile of Public Expenditures on Education in Zambia**  
 by  
**M. J. Kelly**

<b>Public Expenditure on Education in Zambia, 1970–1994</b>					
Averages for Five-Year Periods					
	<u>1970–74</u>	<u>1975–79</u>	<u>1980–84</u>	<u>1985–89</u>	<u>1990–94</u>
Public Expenditure on Education (PEE) in millions of constant 1977 kwacha	96.19	108.46	101.52	64.19	57.02
PEE as percent of GDP	5.16	5.45	4.97	3.00	2.62
PEE as percent of Total Public Budget	11.56	12.55	12.13	9.93	8.77
Expenditure on Primary Education as % of PEE	39.0	42.3	43.1	37.1	33.5
Expenditure on Secondary Education as % of PEE	26.5	23.3	21.7	22.4	17.2
Expenditure on University Education as % of PEE	10.3	11.4	15.8	18.2	18.9
Expenditure on Learning Materials as % of Recurrent Educational Expenditure	5.8	5.8	2.8	2.8	3.3
Expenditure on Student Welfare (Transfers) as % of Recurrent Educational Expenditure	9.1	9.0	10.8	17.9	15.7

PEE = Public Expenditure on Education

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. (in preparation) *A Statistical Profile of Education in Zambia during the Period 1970 to 1994*.

## Chapter 33

### Education in a Period of Structural Adjustment

*Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP):* Economic failure of many countries attributed to *combination of poor policies* (overvalued exchange rates, high levels of government spending equivalent to more than 15% of GDP, excessive involvement of government in economy, protectionist import-substitution trade strategies, heavy taxation of agriculture) *with external circumstances* (deteriorating terms of trade, large debt burdens), *coupled with poor governance and poor infrastructure*. Response of SAP: (a) *stabilize economy* (devalue currency, curb inflation, reduce budget deficits, increase interest rates, cut services, increase efficiency, privatize state enterprises); (b) *restructure economy* (let market prevail, decontrol prices, restrain wages, remove subsidies, remove trade barriers, encourage outside investment, promote exports).

*Impact on Education:* (a) Reduced budget; education's reduced priority in developmental framework (see Third Reading, previous chapter, for data on reductions which education in Zambia suffered as % of GDP and % of total public budget); primary education bore heaviest share of reductions. Fewer resources for quality-enhancing inputs (books, inservice training, inspections, maintenance, etc.). (b) Introduction of cost-sharing: boarding fees re-introduced 1985–1986, fees at tertiary level 1988–1989, primary fees (school fund) increased 1994; increasing expectation that parents will purchase student requisites, even at primary level. (c) Decline in primary school gross enrollment ratio (from 95% in 1985 to 85% in 1994); smaller proportion of those entering Grade 1 completing Grade 7 (79% in 1988–94 compared with 102% in 1982–88). (d) Negative impact on equity: drop in girls' participation, especially in rural areas. Poor not able to afford fees at various levels. (e) Public disillusion: poor employment prospects for school leavers and others, made worse by civil service retrenchment and closure/collapse of industries; education considered as not worth the investment if it does not lead to paid employment; leads to poor participation. (f) Much brain drain as qualified individuals, especially teachers and academics, sought better prospects outside the country.

*Other Educational Developments during the SAP period:* (a) Privatization, liberalization and government withdrawal from direct involvement are central to SAP; result is encouragement of private, grant-aided and community schools; efforts to return responsibility for primary schools to churches; greater involvement of private enterprise in production of school materials (books, etc.); transfer of responsibility for management of education (and to some extent, of financing) to districts and institutions through decentralization. (b) Increased dependency on donor aid for many of the non-salary costs of providing education; result is that aid donors have significant impact on policies and future direction of education.

*Methodological Problem:* To what extent is SAP responsible for the developments outlined above? *Did SAP cause them or did they just occur during a period of SAP?* Would the situation have been better or worse if there had been no SAP?

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### Readings

In the *first reading*, the World Bank examines why it was that in Sub-Saharan Africa, the region most in need of growth to reduce poverty, economic growth has been so weak. According to the Bank's analysis, the only way forward for African countries was that of structural adjustment.

The factors that led to Zambia's more whole-hearted adoption of a structural adjustment programme are briefly summarized in the *second reading*.

The *third reading* gives a short analytic account of a structural adjustment programme, and then examines the impact on health, education, agriculture and social assistance programmes in Zambia.

The *fourth reading* gives the Government's own view on the progress made up to 1996 in implementing Zambia's structural adjustment programme and on the way such progress has been bought at high social cost.

In the *fifth reading*, an educational economist analyses the impact of structural adjustment on education and concludes that the long-term socio-economic benefits of public investment in areas such as education are being sacrificed to short-term macroeconomic goals.

### *First Reading*

## Understanding the Stagnation and Decline in African Economies

by

The World Bank

There is no single explanation for Africa's poor economic performance before the (structural) adjustment period. The main factors behind the stagnation and decline were poor policies—both macroeconomic and social—emanating from a development paradigm that gave the state a prominent role in production and in negotiating economic activity. Overvalued exchange rates and large and prolonged budget deficits undermined the macroeconomic stability needed for

long-term growth. Protectionist trade policies and government monopolies reduced the competition so vital for increasing productivity. In addition, the state increased its presence in the 1970s, nationalizing enterprises and financial institutions and introducing a web of regulations and licenses for most economic activities. More important, the development strategy had a clear bias against exports, heavily taxing agricultural exports, one of the largest suppliers of foreign exchange.

The choice of poor policies may be understandable in light of conditions in Africa after independence. Because of the lack of domestic capital and entrepreneurs, the unwillingness to rely on foreign capital, and the underlying distrust of the market, almost all African countries chose (with the full support of aid donors) to rely on the state. They had the company of countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and South Asia—and the encouragement of many development economists.

Industrialization was believed to be the key to rapid growth, because of declining prices for primary commodities and because of the benefits of reducing reliance on imported manufactures. Agriculture, rather than being stoked as the engine of growth, was taxed to provide the resources to build a modern industrial sector. Governments drew up five-year plans, created public enterprises, and enacted regulations to control prices, restrict trade, and allocate foreign exchange in pursuit of social goals. At the same time, countries were struggling to establish themselves as nations and put new governmental structures in place. But governments became overextended, particularly relative to their weak institutional capacities, as they tried to build national unity and deliver on the promises of independence.

Factors outside Africa contributed to the decline of the 1970s and 1980s, though their importance is too often exaggerated. Non-oil exporters suffered falls in the terms of trade, but the losses, which actually began in the 1960s, were no larger than those for other developing countries. But the volatility of export receipts—and thus of foreign exchange earnings and fiscal revenues—complicated macroeconomic management. Depending on the availability of foreign exchange, imports went through cycles of compression and decompression, as did growth. Investment budgets and public sector employment expanded rapidly in boom years, hampering adjustment in bust years. Poor policies failed to encourage export diversification and increase international reserves to smooth the impact of adverse shocks.

**Source:** World Bank (1994) *Adjustment in Africa. Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead (A World Bank Policy Research Report)*, pages 20–21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### *Second Reading*

#### **The Background to Structural Adjustment in Zambia**

by

**M. J. Kelly, P. Stoye, B. Lindahl, J. Z. Banda, and E. N. Phiri**

When the Zambia Educational Materials project (ZEMP) started in 1984, the situation in Zambia, as in many other African countries, was as follows:

- Most of the major industries had been nationalized and were being run as parastatals, with little competition, at low levels of efficiency, and with low capacity utilization. The kwacha was greatly overvalued, thereby making imports cheap and exports of locally produced goods virtually impossible. Large trade deficits were therefore the rule, leading to increased foreign debt and lack of foreign exchange.
- Allocation of foreign exchange was made by the Bank of Zambia with a preference for the parastatals. This made it possible for them to survive, regardless of their extremely low efficiency levels, while private industry found it difficult to survive because it could not import the necessary inputs. In many other ways also, trade and industry were affected by excessive government regulation and interference.
- The abundance of local currency and the lack of goods led Government to impose numerous price controls, thereby further aggravating the shortage of goods, since the controlled prices did not always cover the production costs.
- The reduced economic activities led to reduced GNP and thereby to reduced government income. This forced Government to finance its social and other programmes with increased debt and increased money supply, thereby further increasing the inflation pressure and reducing the GNP.
- To ensure cheap food for the urban population, agricultural products were either price controlled which often made it unprofitable for the farmer to produce cash crops, or large subsidies were paid for such products which often made it more profitable for farmers to sell all their produce and to buy their foodstuffs instead. This caused either increased dependence on imported food or increased government debt.

This situation could not continue indefinitely. Countries which have experienced similar situations felt obliged to introduce austerity programmes, with the help of the IMF, the World Bank, and donor countries. The measures adopted normally included:

- wholesale devaluations of the local currency,
- reduced government spending and reduced deficits,
- trade liberalizations and reduced price controls,
- increased supply of foreign exchange at commercial rates.

Normally also, a social action programme was introduced in order to ease the impacts of the austerity measures on the vulnerable sectors of society.

Zambia started on such an austerity programme when foreign exchange auctioning was introduced in November 1985, but the programme was discontinued in 1987. It was resumed in 1989 and with help from the international community Zambia has been able to clear its arrears with the IMF and World Bank. The donor community has consequently been able to pledge further aid, which will guarantee the resources needed to support the Structural Adjustment Programme and the Social Action Programme which includes an important component of support to the educational system.

**Source:** Kelly, M. J. and Others (1991) *Zambia Educational Materials Project (ZEMP). Evaluation of Phase II*, pages 11–12. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.

*Third Reading*  
**Zambia's Structural Adjustment Programme and its Impact in Key Social Areas**  
by  
**P. J. Henriot**

**Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)**

Zambia began entering into economic reform agreements with the IMF as far back as the mid-1970s. More formal Structural Adjustment Programme efforts were undertaken in the mid-1980s, but were not fully implemented by the UNIP government. Since the 1991 transition to the MMD government, Zambia is fully into SAP, and by the end of 1995 has signed agreements called an "Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility" (ESAF), involving additional responsibilities and advantages.

SAP is an approach to managing the economy based on an economic theory or model guided by certain classic economic principles. These principles of neo-liberal capitalism include:

- the uncontrolled free market
- the primacy of private control of capital
- the minimal role of the state.

Structural adjustment involves a two-part approach to economic reform, each part setting down certain 'conditions' (or 'conditionalities') that must be met through agreements between the Zambian government and the IMF and World Bank. If the conditions are not met, Zambia becomes isolated from the international donor community.

*First* comes the *stabilization* of the country's economy through short-term monetary and budget arrangements that aim to calm things down by curbing inflation rates and curtailing enormous budget deficits. *Second* comes the *restructuring* of the country's economy through long-term market and trade arrangements that aim to make the economy more efficient through market operations, privatization and liberalization. The elements and purposes of SAP include:

**I. Stabilization**

*A. Monetary*

1. Devalue money (encourage exports, discourage imports)
2. Increase interest rates (encourage savings)
3. Curtail credit supply (slow down inflation)

*B. Budget*

4. Cut services (trim budget; impose fees in health, education sectors)
5. Retrench workers (increase efficiencies)
6. Privatize state companies (promote productivity)

**II. Restructuring**

*C. Market*

7. Decontrol prices (effect market forces)
8. Restrain wages (prevent wage spiraling)
9. Remove subsidies (save money spent on consumption)

*D. Trade*

10. Eliminate trade barriers (introduce competition)
11. Promote export orientation (earn foreign exchange)
12. Invite outside investment (promote diversification and competition).

Zambia is experiencing the implementation of a complete SAP.

### Monetary Arrangements

The first action of stabilization in the monetary area has been the devaluation of the Kwacha. In 1973, at the height of post-independence prosperity, the Kwacha was stronger than the US dollar. But the 1980s and 1990s tell a different story:

1973	US\$1 = K0.65
January 1984	K1.60
June 1989	K42
October 1992	K300
October 1993	K660
October 1994	K750
October 1995	K950
(July, 1998	K1,950)

Another monetary effort at stabilization in Zambia has been the increase of interest rates. For example, in 1993, Meridien BIAO Bank was offering 89% annual interest on a savings account—a high figure that did not, however, match the triple digit inflation of the day. But while the high interest rates did encourage savings, cheap loans became difficult to secure and this has negatively affected farmers and small business people. For example, the Zambia National Farmers Union (ZNFU) has complained that many farmers have gone into bankruptcy because of inability to pay back loans that have accrued such high interest.

### Health and Education

In the area of SAP-mandated budget reforms, Zambia has reduced budget deficits by imposing fees in the health and education sectors, retrenching workers in the public sector, and privatizing the large government corporations (parastatals). Thus it is now necessary to pay user fees at hospitals and clinics. A pre-payment plan was introduced in 1994, whereby a small monthly fee (K700) enrolls a person in the scheme and provides free access to health facilities. Studies done in the past twelve months show that there has been a decline in the use of health facilities because of the introduction of fees. While in some areas, health facilities have improved, in other areas the perennial problems of lack of drugs, lack of trained and/or courteous attendants, etc., continue as factors discouraging use of facilities by people.

Similarly, there is evidence of decline in school enrollment because of the introduction of fees. While there had always been some payment expected for schooling, this was minimal and hence affordable even by the very poor. But expenses have risen sharply in the past two years—boarding fees from K1,500 in 1992 to K8,000 in 1994, and primary school fees from K20 in 1992 to K1,000 in 1994. This steep increase has occurred at the same time that the income earning capacity of many has been reduced, through retrenchments, agricultural sector decline, etc. Total annual expenses (including various fees, supplies and school uniforms) add up to K30,000 for boarding schools and K20,000 for non-boarding schools.

An additional factor influencing enrollment is simply the lack of places available for the number of applicants, especially in large urban areas like Lusaka and Ndola. In some areas there are even quadruple shifts for students. In one urban community, 2,000 children applied for Grade 1 at the start of 1994, but only 160 could secure places. Nationally, progression from Grades 7 to 8 and 9 to 10 is severely limited by available places. The situation has gotten worse in the past few

years, with less than 30% of the children who sit for examinations at these levels being allowed to move on with their education.

The figures for enrollment of the girl child are particularly disturbing. Almost half of the girls of school-going age are not in school and this is higher in rural areas. In a significantly large number of areas, less than half the girls enter primary schools, and of those that do only about half complete the primary cycle. Many factors account for the decline in girl child enrollment, including a cultural bias favouring education of boys over girls. When money is scarce in a family to pay school fees, boys are sent to school instead of girls.

Civil service reform is another SAP budgetary feature in Zambia. An overstaffed public sector was greatly inefficient. As one government minister was heard to say, "I don't need four women to make my cup of tea every morning, just one woman will be enough!" So three women were let go. Hence retrenchment has been the order of the day, slowed down only by the government's lack of funds for retirement packages.

### **Agriculture**

The agricultural sector has experienced great shocks during the implementation of SAP. Despite abundant natural resources of good land and abundant water, Zambia's agricultural potential has been very poorly developed, with only 14% of the available arable area presently cultivated and minimal irrigation developed. Of the approximately 700,000 farmers, 75% are 'peasant farmers' cultivating mostly for subsistence; 17% are 'emerging' farmers producing marketable surpluses; and 8% are large commercial farmers who account for about 60% of the marketed output. Among peasant farmers, women invest more time in agriculture than men and play a major role in both farm management and in the provision of labour. Maize accounts for 78% of the cropped area.

SAP has meant the quick withdrawal of the government from its heavy intervention in every aspect of agricultural activities: subsidizing of inputs of seeds and fertilizers, supplying credit, providing facilities for marketing and storage, etc. There would be few defenders of the Kaunda government's inefficient handling of agriculture. But few would defend the Chiluba government's rapid and ill-planned movement into a liberalized agricultural economy.

While it is true that the severe drought of 1991/1992 devastated maize crops in the south and east of the country, it is also true that recovery was made difficult, if not impossible, by premature market liberalization, credit squeezes, exorbitant interest rates (from around 60% to a peak of 148%), and payments in 'promissory notes' at critical moments when cash was needed. Harassed farmers, large and small, lost both productive capacity and business confidence. As a result, the planting of maize for the 1994/1995 season was down by approximately 30%. More drought that season withered what maize had been planted, and less than 8,000,000 bags were produced, just over half of national requirements. Drought and famine relief is now taking up a major portion of government and donor funding.

In an effort to respond to the critical agricultural problems, the government is working with the World Bank and other international donors in the design of an "Agricultural Sector Investment Programme" (ASIP) that is set to go into operation in early 1996. ASIP coordinates several policies, aiming to promote research and extension and increase crop production and diversification. Rural households, and especially women farmers, are focused on. The outcome of ASIP is still to be seen.

## Cost of Living

The introduction of a free market as a major tool in the stabilization process has had a dramatic impact on the cost of living in Zambia. Under the previous government, there was a "Prices and Incomes Commission". But today all prices and wages are set by market forces. Subsidies for basic commodities, such as maize meal, fuel and fertilizer, have been removed, causing a spectacular increase in the cost of living. For example, a basket of commodities for a family of six living in Lusaka (including only foodstuffs, charcoal and soap) has been increasing in price each month over the past few years.

### *Cost of Food Basket of Commodities (for six people)*

April 1991	K6,365
January 1993	K31,075
April 1993	K49,360
June 1994	K104,800
December 1994	K137,556
April 1995	K146,125
September 1995	K153,100
November 1995	K165,273
(March 1998	K194,550)

The basket does not include housing, water, electricity, transport, clothes, education, health care, etc.

What are the wages of average Zambian workers? An office orderly, cleaner, security guard or day labourer might earn K30–35,000 per month; clerks may receive around K50–60,000; teachers upwards from K60,000. Obviously, the average wage earner simply cannot meet the expenses for this basket. Hence, restrictions, substitutions and omissions occur. Meals are skipped and alternative ways of earning are found—not all of them legal.

## Social Assistance Programmes

This point about the difficulty of meeting basic needs brings up the issue of 'social safety nets' and welfare programmes to alleviate the suffering caused by SAP. As early as 1990, the government introduced a "Social Action Programme" designed to improve health, education, water and sanitation facilities, and to cushion vulnerable groups against the short-term effects of the economic reform programme. This social action programme did not take off well, as budget allocations were not forthcoming and the imminent elections meant a heavy politicization of the whole process. A study commissioned by the World Bank revealed major constraints to the social service delivery, including, for example, budgetary restrictions, lack of administrative capacity, ineffective policy coordination, inappropriate organizational structures, lack of current statistics and other necessary information, and limited community participation.

In 1993, a "Social Sector Rehabilitation and Development Programme" was initiated, which included a 'social safety net' approach providing efforts such as a very limited Public Welfare Assistance Scheme, Programme for Prevention of Malnutrition, Small Scale Labour Intensive Public Works Programme, and Training Programme for Retrenched Public Workers. To be honest, the 'social safety net' has had great difficulties because of inadequate funding, ineffective management, and heavy politicization. An example of this would be the "Food for Work" programmes that have involved many—mostly women—in projects such as road

maintenance and clean-ups in urban compounds. Who gets hired, how much they are reimbursed, and what gets done, often reflect political expediencies more than practical demands.

Community development efforts, aimed at building community capacity for self-reliance, are supported by the Social Recovery Project supported by the World Bank and the Microprojects Programme supported by the European Union. Some 740 activities are currently being supported. These include construction and rehabilitation of schools, classrooms, rural health clinics; safe water supplies; sanitation; markets and rural roads; and the establishment of revolving funds.

Of considerable significance, especially because Zambia was the first country to sign such an agreement, was the "Social and Economic Reform Credit" (SERC) arrangement agreed to by the government and the World Bank in 1993. In effect, SERC provides a set of 'social conditionalities' in the sectors of education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation. Targets were set for the 1994 budget (e.g., for education 15–17% of total discretionary expenditures; for health 13%). Reform measures (e.g., decentralization) were also set down. It is important to note that the negotiations currently underway between the government and the World Bank include a similar SERC for the future budget.

As significant as the SERC arrangements may be on paper, it must be admitted that there is a difference between *budgeted authorization* (what is found in the approved budget) and *budget allocation* (what actually is disbursed). Allocation problems are myriad, since many health and educational and health institutions have reported that they have not been receiving their officially authorized payments. The policy of maintaining a 'cash budget' (spend only what you receive each month) tends to hurt the social sectors more severely than other sectors such as defence and foreign affairs.

#### **Impact of Macro-Economic Changes on Education and Health**

Most of the Christian Aid Partners mentioned the impact on people of fees being introduced into the education and health sectors, as a result of the government's following of SAP requirements.

According to Sr. Lynn Walker (of the Copperbelt Health Education Project), an increasing number of people are not even attempting to get treatment at hospitals and clinics because the medical fees are beyond what they can afford. Mixed messages are being communicated, since the Ministry of Health has in fact officially exempted many from paying fees. But still the expectations are there; as Sr. Lynn notes: "Many of our peer educators (mostly street kids and commercial sex workers/prostitutes) find they cannot get treatment for STDs without paying a fee first—even though treatment should be free. Some mothers are not bringing children for post-natal care and vaccinations as they *think* they have to pay fees."

Dr. Peter Reijer of the Ndola Diocese AIDS Department makes the point that in the 1980s the hospitals were full of people with routine illnesses and accidents. But now he estimates that, even with the great number of AIDS patients, the hospitals are half empty. He draws the conclusion that this can only be because of the costs of care.

Within the education sector, a burning issue cited by the Partners is the decline in enrollments because of costs and shortage of places. Dr. Reijer estimates that the percentage of non-school attendees is higher among children affected by AIDS, that is, single and double orphans, than among other children. Perhaps 50–60% of the orphans drop out of school because of the costs. Reijer notes that "families are being bitten by the dog and the cat at the same time: the

SAP and AIDS.” According to Sr. Lynn, in Kitwe this past year 21,000 children applied for Grade 1 places, but there were only enough places for 9,000 children. What happens to the other 11,000-plus? And the figure does not include the many children who did not even bother to apply.

Educational costs are increased by the requirement for purchases of school uniforms. This requirement was lifted at the national level in early 1995 by the Minister of Education. Nevertheless, many heads of schools, teachers and even parents, are resisting this order at the local level. Sr. Lynn Walker states that there appears to be little change in the numbers of children going to school without uniforms. This would probably also mean little change in the numbers staying away because of lack of uniforms.

**Source:** Henriot, P. J. (1996) *Zambia: A Case Study of Economic Reform and the Impact on the Poor*, pages 4–9, 18–19. Study Prepared for Christian Aid, London. Lusaka: Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection.

*Fourth Reading*  
**Structural Adjustment and Reform**  
by  
**GRZ–UNDP**

**Structural Adjustment in Zambia**

Structural adjustment and economic reform are not new in Zambia. As early as the 1970s, when copper prices collapsed, the Government sought assistance from the IMF to rectify imbalances in the balance of payments. However, in the past the Government demonstrated little commitment to the reforms or to compliance with the associated IMF/World Bank conditionalities. Implementation of reforms was half-hearted and opportunistic, and the programmes were repeatedly suspended whenever they were no longer politically expedient.

Since 1991 the MMD Government, with support from the IMF/World Bank and the donor community in general, has adopted a ‘fast-track’ approach to implementing structural adjustment reforms. Considerable progress has been made with macroeconomics stabilization. By mid-1994 inflation was being brought under control, the exchange rate was market-determined, domestic prices had been liberalized, virtually all subsidies had been removed, and the government deficit had been eliminated. The structural adjustment programme (SAP) has also included the adoption of discipline in monetary and fiscal policies; stabilization of the economy; privatization of the parastatal sector; and reform of the civil service.

As a device to encourage overall fiscal discipline, the Government has adopted a cash budget. This limits the level of public expenditure to the amount of revenues that are at hand, and has effectively eliminated the budget deficit. It has also proved useful in controlling inflation. The main drawback has been that the cash budget has necessitated considerable cutbacks in real public spending, which has adversely affected the delivery of public services. Government has also had to reduce disbursements to ministries in order to reallocate domestic revenues to service debt.

The main emphasis of the SAP and the economic reforms has been on promoting the role of markets in efficiently allocating national resources and reducing government intervention in the economy. The Kwacha, which stood at an average of K180 = US\$1 in October 1991, had

depreciated to around K800 = US\$1 by early 1995. Though this has been favourable to exporters, it has had detrimental effects on the general living standards. Zambia is highly import dependent and therefore movements in the exchange rate have a major impact on the general price level.

Urban consumers have been especially vulnerable to deteriorating terms of trade. The rural population is also affected, since few people live exclusively from subsistence production. Because of the very low incomes in rural communities and in the urban shanty towns, many people cannot afford the cost of their basic food requirements.

Although civil service reforms have been the subject of considerable discussion, the pace of implementation has been slow. A major reason has been inertia and resistance from within the civil service. While salaries in the civil service are alarmingly low, there are few other sources of employment and most civil servants understandably want to retain their jobs. Another problem has been the shortage of budgetary funds to pay retrenched workers. An important consequence is that progress has been slow in re-orienting public sector roles to complement the functioning of liberalized markets. This is particularly evident in agriculture where the efficient functioning of markets is hampered by lack of institutional reforms to bring about improvements in such areas as extension work and supply of agricultural inputs and credits.

Though the Government has been advocating decentralization of responsibilities to local authorities, it has not yet relinquished centralized control over most of the administrative structures. There continues to be a high degree of centralized control over funding. For example, councils still need to apply to the Minister of Local Government and Housing if they want to increase rates in their area.

The councils suffer from a series of problems and weaknesses that hamper their performance. As part of civil service reform, Government has indicated its intention to assist councils to improve their financial management, expand their revenue base, strengthen management skills and increase community involvement in decision-making at district level.

### **The Social Costs of SAP and Economic Reforms**

Because the economy was already badly decayed when SAP and economic reforms were commenced, and because of the pace and severity of the reforms, these have been at enormous social cost. The majority of the population is living in poverty and there are no indications that an upturn in employment and incomes is in prospect. In spite of some recent attempts to introduce social programmes to lessen the severity of the social impacts, the resources and capacity available for such work have been small in relation to the scale of the problem.

The Government has established a Social Sector Rehabilitation Task Force (SSRTF) to plan the rehabilitation of social services and social infrastructure. Its five sub-committees cover Health, Education, Water and Sanitation, Social Safety Net, and Finance. However, to bring about any significant change in the situation of the poor, the SSRTF needs much firmer political instructions about what it should aim to accomplish and a much larger commitment of domestic and donor resources to make this possible.

Social sector conditionality is now incorporated in adjustment loans from the World Bank. The conditionality includes measures to decentralize the education and health sectors, to develop anti-poverty programmes such as PAM (Programme against Malnutrition) and PUSH (Programme for Urban Self-Help), improve provision of basic education, and formulate water and sanitation

policy. However, this social sector focus remains an appendage to the core programme of adjustment, rather than a central feature of the overall philosophy and approach to adjustment.

**Source:** GRZ–UNDP (1996) *Prospects for Sustainable Human Development in Zambia: More Choices for Our People*, pages 90–92. Lusaka: GRZ and UNDP

#### *Fifth Reading*

### **The Effects of Structural Adjustment on Education**

by

**J. B. G. Tilak**

*The attention of national and international policy makers has shifted from long-term goals to short-term financial and adjustment concerns. The international community is more interested in ensuring the timely payment of debts and interest rates than in seeking to eradicate poverty and in strengthening the human dimension of development. Thus, anti-poverty and human development programmes have been pushed aside. Poverty can wait, the banks cannot! (Haq, K. & Kirdar, U. [eds.], 1986, *Human Development: The Neglected Dimension*. Islamabad, North-South Roundtable)*

#### **Adjustment and Education**

Macroeconomic adjustment and education are closely related through the budgetary mechanism. The level of resources available for education may be linked in principle to the success of the macroeconomic reforms, and lack of success may lead to further deterioration in spending on education. Economic adjustment and budget restructuring reduce public spending on education; and declining budgets for education may affect the quantity and quality of the graduates of the education system, which will have a negative effect on macroeconomic growth and adjustment. Not only the macroeconomic choices, but also the meso and micro choices, were significantly influenced by adjustment policies, and the influence has, on the whole, been negative.

To predict the effect of adjustment policies on education is difficult. However, given the international experience, the prospects for education in India appear to be bleak, if not dismal. In general, early evidence of success of structural adjustment policies was confined to middle-income countries, and countries whose own capacities for negotiation and policy analysis were adequate, but this was not so in the poorer and weaker countries, notably the sub-Saharan African countries. The adjustment policies that do not explicitly take into account the education sector tend to treat education not as an investment activity in human capital that raises productivity, but as a sector of public spending, and public spending has to be reduced in all sectors, including education. In fact the adverse impact is found to be 'heavier' on education than on other sectors.

The isolation and measurement of the effects of adjustment are difficult and problematic, not to speak of the differentiation between the effects of World Bank structural adjustment policies and those of the IMF stabilization policies, as they are most often presented as a package of reforms. Some of the research reviewed here, however, adopted sophisticated methodologies and attempted to isolate the effects of adjustment on education. Decline in public investment, in gross enrollment ratios and in quality of education, particularly at the primary level, have been found to

be strongly associated with adjustment policies. Adjustment leads to squeezes on public budgets in most sectors, including education. The effect on education may indeed be heavier than on others.

Total public expenditure on education in current and, more specifically, in real prices is found to have declined in some countries during adjustment. The declines are more pronounced in terms of per student expenditures. The relative priority given to education in the development framework—expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP, and as a percentage of total government expenditure—has been found to decline in a large number of countries.

Within education it may be easier during the adjustment process to reduce public spending on primary education than to reduce that on higher education, for familiar reasons. Hence basic education and mass education programmes, such as literacy programmes, may be more severely affected than higher education. Higher education may receive 'protection' from the government, the bureaucracy, and politicians.

Further, within education, the capital budgets may be sacrificed in favour of recurrent budgets. Buildings, furniture, equipment and so forth may be traded off in favour of additional teachers. Within the recurrent budgets, because of the pressure of teachers' unions, etc., teachers' wage bills tend to be less affected. Even when fiscal retrenchment is effected, the salaries of teachers and other staff cannot be cut for various reasons—in fact they may even increase (in current market prices, at a rate less than inflation), and schools and colleges may even be opened without the necessary buildings and equipment.

#### **Adjustment and Quality of Education**

The most serious casualty may be quality of education, and investment in those inputs that have a stronger relationship with quality, such as textbooks and other teaching-learning materials. The axe falls on the petty amounts being invested in teaching-learning materials, including classroom materials in primary schools, books and journals in libraries, consumable materials in laboratories, and other quality-improvement programmes in secondary schools, colleges and universities. There is reason to believe that the provision of materials and supplies will drop more than the overall budgets, and this will cause more damage to educational development. Efforts to increase recurrent spending on textbooks are stymied at times by overall spending ceilings negotiated with IMF or World Bank economists. Quality of education may deteriorate with an increased number of students per teacher, reduced number of books, etc. Dropout and repetition rates may increase. During the process of adjustment, short-duration education and crash courses may be preferred to long-duration education programmes, short-term training programmes to long-term training, untrained teachers to trained teachers, etc. The proportion of young, inexperienced, temporary and untrained teachers may increase. All this will have serious negative effects on the quality of education in the long run.

#### **Adjustment and Equity in Education**

An equally important concern should be equity in education. Given the tendencies of increased cost recovery, equity will also be affected. An important outcome of the adjustment policies is the introduction of more measures for cost recovery. Measures such as student fees have been introduced even at the primary level (for example, in Malawi and, recently, in Tanzania), although recent discussions on cost recovery are confined to post-primary levels of education. Student fees and student loans are the two most favoured measures of cost recovery. Some even suggest full cost recovery, particularly at the tertiary level of education. As such measures are introduced, and direct and indirect subsidies in education are subject to cuts, access to education

may be seriously restricted, and inequities may increase in terms of lower enrollment rates for women and other weaker sections of the population.

Adjustment policies directly and indirectly contribute to restoration of the market mechanism in general and privatization of education in particular—directly, as adjustment policies specifically include privatization and marketization, and indirectly, through a reduction in government subsidies. As public budgets for education shrink, privatization will increase, with all its ill effects. Private enrollment and private investment will increase, but the increase will not balance the decrease in public investment, and as a result social investment in education will be less than optimal. Governments and private enterprise feel that this is the best time to sell any argument in favour of privatization. As a result, even ethically and constitutionally illegal institutions—for example, the capitation-fee colleges in India—may find support. There may be forces with vested interests that try to exploit the situation characterized by adjustment policies, and the growth of capitation-fee colleges may be attributed to these forces. Secondly, similar forces also help in the growth of private education institutions that rely mostly not on private finances but on those from the public exchequer: this can be described as 'pseudo-privatization'. Voluntary or non-governmental organizations that rely heavily on government funds also belong to this category. Adjustment policies play a catalytic role in all this.

Under restructuring, enrollment rates, school quality, and priority for educational investment suffer, and there are obstacles to an increase in internal efficiency. At the same time there is a need for purposeful effort to preserve the allocation to education, for the reallocation of resources—including the targeting of public subsidies and for cost recovery. The role of the private sector will increase.

It is not only the human and financial inputs into education and the learning process that are sacrificed: the output of the education system may also be affected, given the high level of educated unemployment. This may result in a greater 'brain drain'—an outflow of an educated work-force and an escalation in the qualifications demanded for jobs.

#### **Short-Term and Long-Term Implications of Adjustment**

In all, short-run expediency seems to dominate public policy-making during the adjustment process, and the long-term socio-economic benefits of public investment do not seem to carry any weight.

All these effects may be only in the short term. In the long term, economic growth may help education, improving (among other things) efficiency in education. But *education is a long-term activity, and perhaps cannot be brought back on to the rails in a short period of time when funds are available, once it has gone off the tracks owing to paucity of funds*. Furthermore, the world's experience of these matters is very limited, and the long-term results of adjustment policies are yet to be observed. Some of the adverse consequences may be due to the fact that policy changes under adjustment are guided by political rather than efficiency considerations.

However, it may be that the cuts inflicted on education budgets would be even more severe but for the adjustment policies, as these policies are resorted to because of severe economic problems. In other words, one may argue that the severe economic difficulties may have forced the government to cut its spending on education drastically, that the adjustment policies helped in reducing the cuts, and that without some form of adjustment the situation would only have been

worse. This is only a hypothesis, still to be empirically checked. However, it may be tenable to argue that while adjustment may not be the cause of the problem, it may not be the solution either.

### Prospects

The most fundamental weakness of the structural adjustment policies is in the underlying assumption that not only short-term macroeconomic stabilization but also, more importantly, long-term structural adjustment of the economy is possible without education; that the education sector can be ignored, or the investments in education can even be reduced during adjustment. This goes against the World Bank's own policies favouring human development in general, and the development of education in particular. This structural weakness needs to be corrected. *The orthodox adjustment policies cannot succeed. An alternative model of adjustment is needed.*

The undesirable consequences of adjustment policies on social sectors could be reduced if a two-pronged effort were made: (a) by the adjusting countries, and (b) by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

From the point of view of the adjusting countries, it is necessary that legal and fiscal protection is guaranteed to sectors like education, so that drastic cuts in educational expenditure are not inflicted on it; that the political mobilization of groups interested in education takes place, so that they become an organized force that is more vocal and more powerful 'when the threat of adjustment' is 'seen to be serious'; and that a well-trained bureaucracy is built up in vulnerable areas like education, so that budgets for education are defended competently.

Reductions in the severely adverse effects of adjustment policies on social sectors requires structural adjustment policies to include explicitly the protection of social and human development sectors. In fact, the World Bank seems to have understood this, and has exhibited considerable, though not sufficient, flexibility in its lending strategies. There has been considerable change, but the persistence of the problems, for instance in the form of the adverse effects of structural adjustment loans on human development, shows that the change is not adequate. The World Bank failed to design new educational approaches to poverty alleviation during the 1970s, and during the 1980s it failed to adjust to a sufficient extent its theoretical understanding of education and development.

If government spending on education is low, the World Bank should support higher levels of spending through sector loans or sectoral adjustment loans, which are preferable to specific investment project loans. Only then is 'adjustment with a human face' possible. As the World Bank has noted: "priority social and poverty programmes must be protected at the expense of other alternatives". Adjustment policies should allow an increase in public spending on human development sectors like education. Education, particularly elementary education, should receive a 'protective package' in the adjustment programmes. This is also reflected in the changing policies of the World Bank in financing education.

The World Bank's programmes include not only structural adjustment loans for macroeconomic adjustment but also sectoral adjustment loans specific to a sector; these include social sector and 'safety net' programmes, which may be more appealing, politically acceptable and feasible, and which in fact protect a particular (social) sector from budget cuts in addition to addressing macroeconomic problems and increasing efficiency at sectoral level. Sectoral adjustment policies in education clearly favour an increase in enrollments in education (particularly at the primary level), quality of education and the allocation of resources to primary education, and

the 'safety net' programmes protect the poor under the adverse circumstances created by structural adjustment and external shocks. A proper mix of structural adjustment and social sector adjustment policies, along with programmes such as the 'safety net' ones, is necessary.

The adjustment policies, including the sectoral adjustment policies in education, encompass a variety of policy reforms relating to costs, financing, quality, equity, access, and the internal and external efficiency of education. The adjustment policies clearly insist on increased cost recovery in education (higher education in particular), a policy that is difficult to implement in many countries, notably the poor sub-Saharan African states. Without huge public subsidies, the higher education system may collapse in some of the poor countries. What is the optimum mix of public subsidies and cost recovery? This is yet to be identified. It needs to be determined according to prevailing socio-economic conditions, as well as the education situation within the economy. However, it should be noted that there is no case either theoretically or empirically for the total withdrawal of public subsidies, for 100% cost recovery in education.

Lastly, adjustment policies also clearly involve an increased role for the market and privatization, and a reduced role for the state, while human development in developing countries requires state intervention and support. This tendency is also seriously questioned by many. The World Bank is aware of the problem, openly admits that markets alone generally do not ensure that people, especially the poorest, receive adequate education, and (agrees) that "government intervention is necessary for development". Adjustment policies have yet to reflect this change in outlook. Structural adjustment policies should embrace, where appropriate, "policies to expand the economic role of the state" (Mosley et al., 1991). In conclusion, the World Bank's investment and lending strategies have evolved over the years; they have responded to various changing situations. But the changes do not seem to be adequate. There is a need for more dynamism and more flexibility in the World Bank's policies to match the various existing socio-economic, cultural and political contexts.

**Source:** Tilak, J. B. G. (1992) "Education and structural adjustment." *Prospects*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pages 407, 414-419.

