EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, THEORIES, STRATEGIES AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT.

The paper attempts to show what kind of theories have been dominant in the study of education and development in Africa. The paper also attempts to show the educational policies and innovations which emanate from these theoritical frameworks.

The theories which are discussed in the paper are categorised into equilibrium and conflict paradigms. Under the broad category of equilibrium paradigm, theories of structural-functionalism, modernisation and human capital are discussed. The influence of these theories in the study of education and their practical implications to education planning and social policy are then explored. Under the category of conflict paradigm, Marxist theories and theories of underdevelopment are discussed. The implications of these theories to the study of education are briefly explored utilising examples of work done from this framework.

The paper is in many ways exploratory and it is hoped it will lead to discussions on future research priorities in the area of education and development. The paper approaches this question from the underlying theoritical influences as a means uncovering the ideological, economic and political implications of educational policies followed in Africa and Kenya in particular in the last two decades.

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
THEORIES. STRATEGIES AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATION*

1. INTRODUCTION·

It hardly needs to be said that the meaning of development, and indeed that forces and factors that bring or hinder development in the Third World is a matter of serious and continuing public and academic debate. One has only to examine the numerous conference and commission reports, declarations, resolutions; academic journals, papers and books which have emerged in the sixties and the seventies to realise the extent of the divergent and conflicting views, theories and ideologies prevailing in this field.[1] Indeed the deep crisis of development facing most of the Third World countries is manifested in the crisis of development thinking that is noticeable the world over.

It is within this atmosphere that the study of education and development has been carried and analysed. Given this context it is therefore difficult to come up with a definitive statement on the relationship between education and development in Africa. This question remains problematic, not simply because of the difficult of measuring the specific contribution education makes to development as a whole, but mainly because of the complexity of the process of development and conflicting approaches to it.

When going through the literature on development and the debates that have been ranging in this field in the last two decades, I was reminded of a story I read when I was in primary school. This is the story of four blind men of India who had an ongoing debate on what an elephant looked like. The four old blind men thought they were very clever and in the council of elders they were quick to express their opinions on all sorts of issues. One day when they were walking a long the road, they heard

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* A short version of this paper was given at the Afro-German Conference on Higher Education for Dev., September 22-27, 1980 Nairobi Kenya. I am very grateful to Amos & Chege my Graduate Research Assistant who has given me valuable assistance on this project.

1. Literature in this field is so numerous to be listed here. Some of it will be reviewed in the discussions that follow in the paper. A bibliography of some of the literature is also included.

footsteps of an elephant and then decided to take the practical step of touching the elephant so that they could resolve their debate. When the elephant approached, the blind men sat down on the road-side and one after the other went and touched the elephant. Each person touched a different part of the elephant from the other. When each one of them had taken his turn, they decided to relate their experiences.

The first person to touch the elephant then stood up and declared: "An elephant can be compared to a wall of a house". He said this because he had touched the side of an elephant. He then sat down very satisfied with his view of an elephant.

The second person then stood and said "An elephant is like a big tree". He said this because he had touched the leg of an elephant.

The third person then stood up furious at what he had heard. He then declared: "You people know nothing! An elephant looks like the neck of a tea pot". He said this because he had touched the trunk of an elephant.

Fourth blind man found it difficult to hold himself. He burst out: "Even you do not know anything!" Then shaking his walking stick he said, 'An elephant looks like a tree without a bark". He said this because he had touched one of the tusks of the elephant.

Thereafter, the four blind men started to argue vehemently once again, and not a single one who would keep quiet or listen to what was being said by the others because each one of them thought he was wiser than the rest.

After reading this story in my primary school we were requested to answer a few questions. One of these questions went like this: "If not a single person agreed with the other, and nobody told a lie, how then is an elephant like?"

The story of the four blind men is in many ways, the story of those working in the field of development. Although not a single one of us will admit we are blind, essentially we behave like the four blind men when it comes to analysis and prescription of solutions to underdevelopment.

A survey of literature on development clearly shows that many working in this area have only very limited understanding of what development means or how it comes about. Even when we have carried out research and investigations on this subject, we find that we are not agreed, and what is worse we do not even respect views that are different from ours. Our approach to this problem often shows the bias of the angle from which we approached the problem. The biases we exhibit stem from our historical, political and class backgrounds as well as our education and training. This often colours and influences what we see, our interpretation of it and the prescriptions and solutions we offer. In this way we remain blind to the whole picture and deaf to what others have to say.

This paper is an attempt to show the kind of theoritical frameworks that have been utilised in the study and analysis of education and development in Africa. The paper also attempts to show the policy and practical implications of the theories.

The paper is divided into six sections. The first section introduces the main theoritical frameworks in the study of education and development. Section two and three deals with the main theoritical framework that has influenced the conceptual framework and the study of education in Africa. Then section four and five deals with theories of underdevelopment and education. Section six then attempts to locate the role of education in the development of peripheral capitalism.

The paper concludes by pointing out the urgent challenge African educators and researchers still face in the area of education and development.

1.1 Social Science Theories, Development and Education

Most of the theories which have dominated the development of social science and hence the study of development in the West can be categorised under two broad paradigms. These are the equilibrium and conflict paradigms.[2]

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2. Thomes Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962 (2nd Edition); Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment, World Development, Vol. 4, No. 3(March, 1976), pp. 167-180; Alvin W. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, Basic Books, New York, 1970, pp. 20-60.

The dominance of the equilibrium paradigm, under which theories of structural-functionalism, evolutionary, neo-evolutionary and systems theory fall is well-acknowledged in most of American and Western European social science.[3] Structural-functionalism has been by far the most influential social theory in this category. Theories that have challenged structural-functionalism have fallen mainly under the category of the conflict paradigm, which is heavily indebted to the Marxist tradition in the social sciences. Of late, there has been a resurgence of this tradition.

These two paradigms, although exhibiting variations and emphases, have had a remarkable influence, not only in the development of social sciences, but also in studies of education and the society. In the fifties and sixties, most of the studies in education in the United States and most of the underdeveloped countries were carried out from a structural-functionalist perspective with its various modifications.[4] Studies carried from this perspective have mainly focused on education as an instrument of social mobility, inculcating values necessary for system maintenance and of influencing change in the society. Equality of educational opportunity in the society which has figured strongly is therefore seen as a means of opening channels of mobility to underprivileged individuals in the society and reducing overall inequality. The emphasis here is on school as an instrument of equalising opportunities through its inputs and effects.

In the seventies, however, there has been an upsurge of interest in studies of education utilising theories that fall under the conflict paradigm. The political and economic context in which this upsurge has

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3. Gouldner, ibid; Rolland G. Paulston, "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Framework," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 2/3 (June-October, 1977), pp. 370-395; Talcott Parson, Structure and Process in Modern Societies, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960, Talsott Parsons "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29 (Fall, 1959), pp. 297-318.

4. For instance, see Coleman et al., op.cit.; Jencks et al., op.cit.; Adam Curle, Educational Problems of Developing Societies, Praeger Publishers, 1973; Don and Bjork M. Adams, Education in Developing Areas, David McKay, New York, 1971; and an earlier contribution in this field, A.H. Halsey, Jean Houd and C.A. Anderson, eds., Education, Economy and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education, Free Press, New York, 1961.

In the seventies, however, there has been an upsurge of interest in studies of education utilising theories that fall under the conflict paradigm. The political and economic context in which this upsurge has flowered will become obvious later on in our discussion. We would, however, like to point out that studies of education which come under this category place less emphasis on education in the process of change, mobility and alleviating inequality in the society. Rather, the emphasis here is on the role of education in reproducing the unequal relations of production in the society. Thus, the school cannot be an instrument of equalising opportunities as long as inequality in the production process is the main feature of the society. In such a situation, the school can only reflect and reproduce the unequal relations of production.[5]

Below we are going to focus on theories that fall within these two paradigms and see how they have been utilised in the study of education and development in Africa. We shall start with two theories which are offsprings of structural-functionalism. These are the modernisation theory and the human capital theory. In our discussion, we shall treat these two theories together. In addition to a detailed discussion of these theories, we shall provide a critique of the theories. In this way, we shall enter into a discussion of dependency theory and its treatment of education in the process of development in Africa. Dependency theory falls into the category of the conflict paradigm. As in the equilibrium paradigm, the conflict paradigm has a number of theories under which underdevelopment theory falls. We shall briefly review some of these conflict theories as a way of placing underdevelopment theory in its theoretical context. We shall also attempt to provide a critique of this theory as it is utilised in the study of education.

1.2 Modernisation Theory and Development Education

Until about ten years ago, the dominant theoretical framework utilised in the description and analysis of problems of underdeveloped countries was the modernisation theory, an offspring of structural-

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5. For this type of analysis and conclusion, see Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, Basic Books, New York, 1976; Martin Carnoy and Henry M. Levin, eds., The limits of Educational Reform, Longman, New York, 1978; and Henry Levin, "The Limits of Educational Planning," Paper prepared for the International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO, Paris, 1977.

functionalism.[6] Although there are numerous variations in the definition of modernisation,[7] the essence of the concept and, indeed, the underlying assumption of all the existing variations, is a developmental model which envisages the transformation of underdeveloped countries into the images of Western industrialised societies in values, norms, institutions and political orientation. Daniel Lerner, one of the leading proponents of this school of thought, has defined modernisation in more explicit terms of Westernisation, where he says modernisation is "the process of social change whereby the less-developed societies acquire characteristics common to the more developed societies." He also gives the rationale for why this term has to be used when he argues that "we need a new name for the old process /imperialism/ because the characteristics associated with more-developed and less-developed societies and the modes of communication between them have become in our day very different from what used to be."[8]

The concept of modernisation is deeply rooted in the structural-functionalism of American social science, which has developed in the concrete historical, political and ideological context of the United States becoming the dominant Western power and using its dominant role in attempts at containment of communism and in maintaining its hegemony in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These power imperatives must be understood if we are to grasp the concrete context of the rise and flowering of theories of modernisation in the fifties and sixties. In other words, what we want to point out is that social theories not only evolve out of existing bodies of theory, but also in social, economic and political contexts. The evolution of theories of modernisation attest to this observation.

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6. We should, however, note that structural-functionalism is not new to underdeveloped countries. In the heyday of colonialism, functional anthropology, which emanates from the equilibrium paradigm, was the dominant and fashionable method of studying the colonised people. See Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 125-134.

7. The variations in modernisation theories range from those which emphasise critical variables or dichotomy between tradition and modernity, or stress economic, political, social and/or psychological dimensions. See Dean C. Tipps "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective," Comparative Studies in Society and History 15, January, 1973.

8. Daniel Lerner, "Modernization: Social Aspects," in International Encyclopedia of Social Science, New York, 1969, p. 387.

The end of the Second World War left the United States economically and politically in a dominant position, which not only made it possible for American capital to play a leading role in the reconstruction of war-ravaged Western Europe, but also to step into positions formerly occupied by the retreating colonial powers in the face of nationalist struggles. To rescue the newly-independent countries from the state of underdevelopment (it was argued) and usher them into the industrial-technological age was the task of American and Western capital, armed and arrayed with academic theories of modernisation and human capital. Human capital theory, which became popularised in the early sixties, emphasised the importance of viewing the process of education as an investment which is vital to economic growth.[9] In the Third World countries, the emphasis was placed on the need to invest in the development of human resources as a means of overcoming underdevelopment. As Karabel and Halsey have pointed out:

> The nations of the Third World, the theory suggested, were not poor because of the structure of international economic relations, but because of internal characteristics -- most notably their lack of human capital. As with the poor within the advanced countries, nothing in the situation of the Third World countries called for radical, structural change; development was possible if only they would improve the quality of their woefully inadequate human resources.[10]

The rapid recovery of Western Europe (West Germany in particular) with American capital through the Marshall Plan was partly attributed to the existence of a ready pool of qualified manpower. This was what was lacking in the Third World countries and thus, the need for investing in the development of skilled manpower. The international agencies (World Bank, ILO UNESCO) and foundations (Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation) responded to this perceived need by channelling their funds into educational and training programs in the underdeveloped countries.

In short, what American capital had done in Western Europe was expected to happen in underdeveloped countries if they invested more in the development of their human resources and more foreign capital was channelled into these countries. Theorists of modernisation and human capital thrived on this historical and political atmosphere.

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9. Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth Strategies in Human Resources Development, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964.

10. J. Karabel and A.H. Halsey, eds., Power and Ideology in Education Oxford University Press, New York 1977, p. 15.

Although these theories have been questioned and criticised on the basis of their ideological orientation, empirical usefulness and explanatory ability,[11] the most devastating and far-reaching challenge has been the events and concrete reality of the Third World countries as they emerged on the world stage in the sixties and early seventies. The failure of economic growth orchestrated in the so-called first development decade, coupled with the failure of foreign aid and Western technology to transform the fate of most of the Third World peoples,[12] the rising unemployment of the educated, and above all, the challenge posed by the struggles of the peoples of Vietnam and Cuba in conjunction with the positive images that the Chinese model of development evoked, demonstrated in unmistakeably clear terms the shortcomings of the Westernisation model of modernisation theorists.[13] It is not our intention here to go into the specific criticisms leveled at theories of modernisation and human capital; suffice it to say that their impact and influence is very much noticeable in the studies of education carried out in Africa in the sixties and early seventies.

Without attempting to offer a comprehensive survey of the studies of education carried out the modernisation and human capital theories perspective in Africa, we shall mention some of the well-known and, indeed, representative studies dealing with the process of educational change and development. As it will be evident below, the role of education in the modernisation process is not viewed as distinct from that of the development of human resources. Indeed, the two are complementary.

In his book, Education and Political Development (1965), James S. Coleman set the tone for interpretation of education in the process of modernisation. Coleman started by asserting the crucial role education played in the nationalist struggle and the subsequent emergence of elites in the post-colonial societies. He also pointed out how education

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11. Andre Gunder Frank. Latin America: Underdevelopment of Revolution, Monthly Review, New York, 1969, pp. 21-94, and Tipps, op.cit.

12. A. Shouries, "Poverty and Inequalities," Foregin Affairs: American Quarterly Review, January, 1973, pp. 340-352: Samir Amin, "Growth Without Development," UN Development Forum, June, 1973: and Dudley Seers, "The Meaning for Development," International Development Review, Vol. II, No. 4, December, 1969.

13. Aidan Foster-Carter, "Neo-Marxist Approaches to Development and Underdevelopment." Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 3, 1. 1973.

which was perceived as a prerequisite for economic growth coincided with education being a highly visible commodity, putting it in great demand in post-colonial societies. Then he went on to argue that political development revolved around the notion he termed "development syndrome" which is subsumed under three principles of differentiation, equality and capacity. Coleman defines these principles in the following way:

> ". . .differentiation, as the dominant empirical trend in the historic evolution of human society: equality, as the core ethos and ethical imperative pervading the operative ideals of all aspects of modern life; and capacity, as not only the logical imperative of system maintenance, but also the enhanced adaptive and innovative potentialities possessed by man for the management of his environment (human and non-human) through increasing rationality, applied science, and organized technology."[14] (Italics in the original)

According to Coleman, political development involves counterbalancing the forces and processes geared towards differentiation, equality and capacity, thereby containing the social conflicts, tensions and forces that are generated in the social system. The role of education in this development is to provide skills and training required for the society to cope with the process of differentiation and inevitable specialisation. The development of education provides the political system with political capacity for communication and the changing of attitudes, something that is necessary for the rulers to maintain their control. The ruling class, which Coleman calls bureaucratic, managerial professional cadres, is produced and equipped through the educational system. Finally, Coleman argues that

> . . .education is unquestionably the master determinant in the realization of equality in a modernizing society dominated by achievement and universalist norms. In short, an impressive array of prima facie evidence points to the critical role of education in societal adaptation to increasing role specialisation and structural differentiation, in the achievement of political capacity, and in the progressive attainment of equality.[15] (emphasis added)

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14. James S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965, p. 15.

15. Ibid., p. 17.

David Abernathy's study of the development of education in southern Nigeria[16] illustrates the use of Coleman's notion of development syndrome in the analysis of the role of education in the process of political development. This case study provides us with an insight on the application of some elements of Coleman's concept of modernisation in an African situation. In this study, Abernathy's concept of political development as an aspect of modernisation is summed up in three notions. First, the notion of capacity, which is the ability of the political system to achieve its major goals. The role of education in this process is to provide literacy skills and manpower for government to penetrate and reach a wider audience. The second notion is that of integration, which means the ability of a political system to hold together despite vertical and horizontal tensions and social differences. Education is supposed, in this respect, to integrate the society, particularly in the situation where ethnic and regional tendencies may be strong. Equality is the third notion utilised in this study. In the society this is brought about by efforts to level incomes, extension of franchise, rule of law and in provision of education. Abernathy stresses this point of view where he says that "in a society stressing equality, education becomes one of the 'welfare' items that all people should receive, "and" moreover, it becomes not simply an end in itself, but a means to equality-related ends."[17]

An interesting point to note is what Abernathy calls the dilemma of educational development which results from 'unforeseen' consequences of education. In the colonial period, the unforeseen consequences of education led to confrontation between the British administrators and Nigerian nationalists, while in the post-colonial period expansion of education had a disintegrative impact on the north and the south and, on the whole, contributed to the overthrow of civilian political leadership and a civil war in

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16. David B. Abernathy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education, An African Case, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1969.

17. Ibid., p. 8.

the sixties. This leads Abernathy to the conclusion that "herein lies the dilemma of popular education: It is both a necessary condition for political development and quite possibly a sufficient condition for political decay."[19]

Two other important studies which have utilised the structural-functionalist approach in the analysis of African education are Philip Foster's Education and Social Change in Ghana (1965), and Remi Clignet and Philip Foster's The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (1966). Foster's study in Ghana is concerned not with the role of schools in creating social consensus and cohesion, but rather with the functional consequences of educational transfer from the metropole to a colonial situation. Thus, he points out that "the emphasis of study shifts from individual socialisation studies to structural-functional analysis of form education institutions in the relationship to processes of elite formation, social differentiation and the distribution of political and economic status."[20] Foster, therefore, see Western education as initially dysfunctional to the pre-colonial social structure, but extremely functional in promoting social mobility and in the creation of social status in colonial and post-colonial situations.

In their study of secondary schools and students, Clignet and Foster point out that their "task is to see how it /the school/ actually operates and what its functional relationships with other aspects of the contemporary social and economic order of the African states."[21] They have, therefore, attempted with a host of empirical data to show how the secondary

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19. Ibid., p. 281

20. Philip Foster, Educational and Social Change in Ghana, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Illinois. 1965, pp. 6-7.

21. Remi Clignet and Philip Foster, The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast, Northwestern University Press. 1966, p. 201.

schools in the Ivory Coast have been effective instruments in facilitating occupational and social mobility. Foster had done the same in his Ghanian study.

Although the two studies differ in scope, quality and depth of analysis of the role of Western schooling in the colonial and post-colonial societies of Ghana and the Ivory Coast, they nevertheless have a few salient features which we need to bring out. First, these studies have attempted to show a differentiated reward system and, indeed, the economic and occupational structure that influenced the structure and type of schooling that was demanded in these societies. Secondly, the Africans understood well the reward structure in the colonial situation and responded accordingly in seeking the type of schooling that was appropriately rewarded. There is thus an attempt to see some form of functional equilibrium between the schools and the economic and occupational structure. As the pre-colonial social structure was transformed through European penetration, the schools played an important role in responding to the changing occupational and social status.

According to Foster, there are a number of ways in which schools were also dysfunctional in the colonial situation. First, they undermined the traditional social structure which was tied with the system of having chiefs. Secondly, the rise of unemployment among school leavers, which resulted from the inability of the economy to create enough positions for rising school output, was an unintended consequence of schooling. This had another unintended consequence, that of fostering the growth of nationalism. These unintended consequences of transfer of the metropolitan schooling system to the two West African countries had the effect of creating disequilibrium in the colonial situation. But these unintended consequences of schooling did not alter the fact that schools responded positively to the occupational structure, thereby making it difficult to introduce the agricultural and technical education which was inconsistent to the occupational and social status of the colonial society. The demand for academic education among the Africans and the importance it assumed in the society can only be understood in the context of its usefulness for social mobility and acquisition of social, economic and political status.

The two studies also concentrate on the study of regional and ethnic variation in provision of education. The existence of these variations is attributed to the uneven impact of European overrule, creation of an occupational structure which Africans aspire to and the

introduction of a cash economy in the country. As Foster rightly says: "these factors, singly or in combination, provided a social situation in which Western education could 'take'." [24]

Although Foster and Clignet make this correct observation in respect to uneven development of African education in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, they fail, nonetheless, to analyse the forces that led to the emergence of this picture. Our contention is that an analysis of the relations of production that emerged as a result of the incorporation of pre-capitalist modes of production into the dominant colonial mode of production is necessary for an understanding and explanation of this uneven development. Secondly, it is necessary to bring into the analysis the class formation in this process which also affects differentiation in access to education. The ethnic analysis adopted in the two studies obscures the class aspects of the way education developed in Africa. This can also be said of Abernathy's study of Nigerian education, which has excellent historical data, but fails to capture interaction between the pre-colonial modes of production and the increasingly dominant capitalist mode of production which promoted the emergence of class differentiation and conflicts.

An influential theory in the development of African education in the sixties was the human capital theory. The emphasis in this theoretical formulation is on the development of knowledge, skills and capacities of the population in the society. The human capital theory was popularised in the United States by the economist Theodore W. Schultz in the early sixties.[25] The task of translating this theory for application in underdeveloped countries was strongly influenced by the work of economists like Mark Blaug, M.J. Bowman, Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers.[26]

In their well-known study, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (1964), Harbison and Myers stressed the belief that the appraisal of human capital was a logical starting point for analysis of growth and modernisation in the underdeveloped countries. Their emphasis was on human resources development as being possibly a more realistic and

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24. Foster, op. cit., p. 281.

25. Theodore W. Schultz, Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and of Research, The Free Press, New York, 1971, Chapter 3, pp. 23-47. (Presidential Address, 23rd Meeting of the American Economic Association)

26. Mark Blaug, Economics of Education: Selected Readings, Penguin Books, Hammondsworth, 1968; Mary Jean Bowman et al., Readings in Economics of Education, UNESCO, 1968; Harbison and Myers, op. cit.

reliable indicator of modernisation or development than any other single measure" and "one of the necessary conditions for all kinds of growth — social, political, cultural, or economic."[27] This approach to development was reechoed in African countries in the years immediately after independence and, to a large extent, accounts for the rapid expansion of higher education in the sixties. Attempts by African governments to plan the expansion of their educational systems and manpower development were a common feature of most policy statements and development plans.[28]

The human capital approach to educational development was questioned by writers like Foster and Clignet in the studies we reviewed above on the grounds of the questionable quality and limited findings on the role of human resources in economic growth. Further to this, they cautioned against generalisation of Western experience on this question to the underdeveloped countries, and therefore stressed the possibility that contribution of education may vary at different stages of economic growth. This cautious approach has been indicated by the experience of the Third World countries, where manpower development had often outstripped the economy ability to provide employment for the educated. Furthermore, the analyses of human capital theorists have failed to come up with convincing evidence on the contribution of education to economic growth.[29]

But for our discussion, the most crucial weakness of this approach is its inability to address itself to structural problems of underdevelopment. This approach tends to ignore the importance of structural changes at political and economic levels in the process of development. Thus, we find that the human capital theory does not address itself to inequality in the society or in the provision of education.[30] It is therefore clear that human resources development can be carried out

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27. Harbison and Myers, ibid., p. 14; see Harbison's Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations, Oxford University Press, New York, 1973, where this argument is forcefully projected.

28. See, for instance, Richard Jolly, Planning Education for African Development: Economic and Manpower Perspectives, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969; and Kenya, Development Plan, 1964-1970 and 1970-1974.

29. Karabel and Halsey, op. cit., p. 14; and Irvin Sobel, "The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development: Its Current History and Status," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 22, No. 2 (June, 1978).

30. Harbison, 1973, op. cit., p. 137.

without altering the general level of inequality in the society. Indeed, this approach, despite encouraging expansion of the educational system, can legitimise and perpetuate inequalities in the education system.

In continuing our review of the influence of theories of modernisation and human capital in the study and analysis of education in Africa, we wish to extend this discussion briefly to the Kenyan scene. In the academic studies and government reports of the post-colonial period, two themes are predominant. First, there is emphasis on the importance of education as an instrument for creating national unity and universal values.[31] This approach has tended to see education as an instrument of creating values that are necessary in creating a modern nation. When faced with the problem of unemployment of school leavers whose aspirations are oriented to urban jobs and way of life, this approach has tended to be critical of education for being dysfunctional in inculcating wrong values. While still critical of education in this respect, there is faith that it can be used to re-orient the students to acceptance of rural life and unemployment.[32]

Reports and studies which take this view of schooling in Kenya are many. One example of this approach is the position taken by James Sheffield's study of the historical background to the development of education, where he outlines the main concerns of education in the period after 1964.[33] One of the two concerns that he sees in this period is the creation of national values. This view is also evident in the Kenya Education Commission Report of 1964, the 1970-1974 Development Plan, the Report of the Salary Commission of 1971, and in the recently published Report on Educational Goals and Objectives (1976).[34] H.C.A. Somerset's study of the Certificate of Primary School Education (CPE) examination (1974) and subsequent item analysis of this exam are oriented towards

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31. Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

32. See, for example, the recent Report of National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, op. cit. Chapter 3, pp. 27-33.

33. James Sheffield, Education in Kenya: An Historical Survey, Teachers' College, New York, 1973.

34. Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 38-60; Development Plan, 1970-1974, pp. IV and 450; Salary Commission (Ndegwa) Report, 1971, Chapter XVI, pp. 146-152; Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, 1976, op. cit., p. 1-12.

manipulating the items used in CPE in view of changing the values of pupils and teachers in primary schools.[35] Admittedly, Somerset's work has equity implications, but the main orientation is to change the content of primary school teaching and inculcate values that are favourable to the rural environment. Another study oriented to changing the attitudes of school pupils is J. Mugo Gachuhi's research on population. Gachuhi is interested in population education as a vehicle for creating values that are conducive to population planning.[36]

But despite the fact that changing of attitudes and cultural values of the school products has been stated as an educational objective, clearly the overriding goal of post-colonial Kenya educational development has been production of skilled manpower.[37] The manpower approach has, however, been modified to deal with what Philip Foster called the dysfunctional aspect of educational development, namely, the emergence of unemployment of school graduates. The concern here is that in addition to inculcating graduates with values that would make them committed to rural pursuits, the school and related institutions should provide school leavers with the skills and knowledge that would encourage them to move into agricultural employment or to become self-employed.[38] Hence, the concern of human capital theorists has been widened to include not only production of high-level manpower which is still needed in some sectors of the economy, but also the whole question of productive employment.[39] The task of the educational system was therefore not only to produce skills and knowledge needed by high-level manpower, but to teach skills needed by thousands of school leavers for settling down, and production in the countryside.

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35. H.C.A. Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," in Court and Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development. New Perspectives from Kenya, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1974, pp. 149-184.

36. J.M. Gachuhi, "Population Education for Our Schools," in Court and Ghai, ibid., pp. 311-323.

37. Kenya, Development Plan. 1966-1970, pp. 44-50 and 305-313; Kenya, Development Plan, 1970-1974, pp. 8-9 and 456-480; Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-1978, pp. 10-14, 102-107 and 404-448; Kenya, High-level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya, 1964-1970, NAirobi, 1965.

38. National Christian Council of Kenya, After School What? A Report on Education, Employment and Training of Primary School Leavers, Nairobi, 1966.

39. International Labour Organisation, op. cit.

This concern is exemplified by the studies edited by James Sheffield in 1967 under the title Education, Employment and Rural Development.[40] This concern stemmed from the realisation that mere development of human resources without the development of the agricultural sector could not be the answer to the pressing problems of underdevelopment, and especially unemployment. Subsequent goverment policy reports and research monographs tend to emphasise the importance of relating education to rural development. The ILC Report (1972) expressed this view very strongly and the Kenya government reciprocated by issuing a white paper on the issue of employment which embraced the general view outlined here.[41] David Court and Dharam Ghai's book, Education, Society and Development, 1974, incorporating research studies carried on in Kenya on education, shows the preoccupation with the problems posed by expansion of the educational system and attempts not only to make that system efficient but also able to cope with the challenge of unemployment of school graduates in the context of rural development.

What can be observed in Kenya and in Africa in general is that the initial concern and emphasis on manpower development through the expansion of the educational system was modified to cope with the emergence of school leavers' unemployment. The preoccupation with manpower planning and educational expansion per se was revised to include programmes for rural development to cater for the rising unemployment which 'modern' sector could not cope up with. The aim of this policy and indeed the innovations which were initiated to deal with unemployment, was to inculcate values, attitudes, knowledge and skills which would lead school graduates to be committed to opportunities in the rural sector. Hence this approach did not deviate from the modernisation and human capital framework. The modifications adopted were therefore meant to deal with limitations and problems faced by underdeveloped economies of Africa.

40. James Sheffield, Education, Employment and Rural Development (proceedings of a conference held at Kericho, 1966), East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1966.

41. Kenya, White Paper on Employment, Nairobi, 1973.

The Tanzania's experience which has received a great deal of attention in academic and social policy forms all over the world falls very closely within this framework.[42] Education for self-reliance was essentially an attempt to deal with the results of an expanded educational system in the context of a predominantly agricultural country whose limited industrial sector could not produce enough employment opportunities for its educated.

It is in light of these dominant theories that the development of Higher education in Africa should be understood. The development of university education in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and many other African countries is closely tied with the need for trained manpower which was experienced in period just before independence and immediately thereafter. Thus the dominance of theories of modernization and human capital found fertile ground in the concrete reality of African countries at the time proceeding and after independence.

The expansion of secondary and post-secondary education in this period was therefore backed by the theoritical thinking dominant at this juncture, as well as the practical usefulness of the educated manpower in the process of decolonisation. Policy statements and government plans in the sixties in any African country is a witness to the faith placed on manpower development as an instrument of economic growth.

1.3. A Critique of Theories of Modernisation and Human Capital

There are, of course, numerous other less well-known studies on African and Kenyan education which are carried out from the perspectives of modernisation and human capital. The few studies reviewed above are, however, intended to be representative and to focus on the main characteristics and concerns of this approach. The intention here is to offer a few general criticisms of modernisation and human capital studies as a whole, rather than formulate a critique of each of the studies reviewed above. Criticisms specific to some of the individual studies have already been voiced in the discussion above. The critique that follows is therefore of a general nature and, while it might be applicable in its entirety to some of the studies, for others only some aspects are relevant.

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42. Nyerere, Julius K., Freedom and Development Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam 1973, and H. Hinzen and V.H. Huuds dorfer, (ed) Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzania Experience UNESCO, Institute for Education Hamburg 1979.

The first major problem of modernisation and human capital theories is their failure to put the problem of development of the Third World countries in the international context where this process is taking place. The role of imperialism, colonisation and neo-colonial domination in the emergence of these countries and their problems tend to be ignored or to be given little attention. Consequently, studies carried out from this perspective tend to be a historical, and a political -- although political in other senses. In the works reviewed above, the international context in which education develops is not given the emphasis it deserves. The international inequality which results from the process of colonisation and capitalist domination of the world economy has consequences which affect the politics and economics of the Third World countries. These consequences are also noticeable in education, and for the purpose of our analysis, the internal dynamics of emergence of uneven development and class formation. To explain these phenomena as results of a specific internal situation which is isolated from the international dynamics is to obscure the reality. This reality affects the total context in which education and other developments take place in the Third World countries.

On the whole, the theoretical framework utilised in these studies fails to understand the essence of the development of capitalism as a world phenomenon that has had far-reaching consequences to the development of Third World countries and their institutions.[43] The theoretical framework, therefore, to a large extent fails to capture the dynamic relationship and interaction between the international economic structure and national economies, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the implications of this politico-economic system to the resultant educational system. Secondly, this theoretical approach tends

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43. Samir Amin, Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment, vol I and II Monthly Review, New York 1974, and Inimanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in Sixteenth Century, Academic Press, New York, 1974.

to abstract education from its context and to give it an existence and role independent of the political and economic situation. Thus, education becomes the key to development, and the development of human resources becomes the main factor in economic growth.

Although these studies address themselves more to the general issues of education and development, they do focus in passing on issues of educational inequality. However, the focus is mainly on the description of inequality rather than an explanation of its origin. Thus, for example, these studies are oriented to the description of the relationship between education and society, the role of education in inculcating values, education as a source of individual mobility, and education as an agency for creating human resources. Very little attempt is made to explain how education maintains or reinforces structural inequality in the society, or to show how vested interests in a society maintain control, access and distribution of educational resources and opportunities, and thereby reproduce what has been termed 'cultural capital.' These issues will be the subject of our discussion later on.

1.4 Theories of Underdevelopment

In the late sixties a school of thought termed the theory of underdevelopment or dependency emerged with a focus on what Andre Gunder Frank (1969) termed the "development of underdevelopment." [52] The main focus of the underdevelopment theory has been on two levels. First, the external relationship which exists between the Western industrialised nations and the less industrial Third World countries. The unequal relationship which exists between these countries has been characterised as that of domination and exploitation of the satellite countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the metropolitan capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America.[53] The second area of concern of underdevelopment theory has been the internal conditions which prevail within the Third World countries. Although most of the writers who have written in this area agree that the external relationship between the metropolitan countries and the satellite countries has fundamentally conditioned the internal structure of these countries and thereby affected

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52. Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, op.cit.

53. See, for instance, Pierre Jalee, The Pilllage

the whole process of internal development, there have been major disagreements and controversies on how to characterise the existing modes of production, and secondly, how to explain the dynamics which account for the internal structure which exists in each national economy.[54]

The emergence of the underdevelopment theory was a reaction and, indeed, a much deserved critique of the theories of modernisation, economic growth and human capital. Most of the criticisms and analyses carried from this perspective have been from a Marxist standpoint, but in many respects a standpoint which has used the marxist tradition creatively and innovatively. Thus, while this approach has provided a critique of the modernisation theories originating mainly in the American social science, it has also rescued orthodox Marxism from the uninformed application of concepts developed in Europe without serious regard to the different and concrete situations prevailing in the underdeveloped countries.

Since the late sixties, a great deal of work has been done and controversies have emerged regarding the meaning of underdevelopment and the dynamics of this process. However, despite the many differences that surround this concept, underdevelopment has come to mean the historical process in which the social, economic, and political conditions of the Third World are directly or indirectly controlled and stunted by the dominant position of international capital from the industrial countries. From this perspective, the underdeveloped countries are not in an original, or underdeveloped, state, but their development has been historically conditioned (first under direct colonialism and later through indirect forms of political and economic domination) by extraction of their resources and surplus value initially by merchant capital and subsequently by industrial and finance capital. The outcome of this process is that the economies of these countries are now subordinated to the developed economies of Europe and North America.[55] Hence, the path of an autonomous

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54. This is evident of writers such as Andre Gunder Frank, E. Lachau, Walter Rodney, Colin Leys, Geoffrey Kay, Aidan Foster-Carter, Jairus Banaji and Immanuel Wallerstein.

55. Geoffrey Kay, Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist Analysis. MacMillan Press, London, 1975; Colin Leys, "Underdevelopment and Dependency Notes," Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1977); and Ian Roxborough, "Dependency Theory in the Sociology of Development: Some Theoretical Problems." West African Journal of Sociology and Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1976).

capitalist development has been blocked and distorted by the predominant and unequal relations that have emerged from this world-wide phenomenon, by the fact that international division of labour allocates these countries the role of producers of raw materials and/or semi-manufactured materials and a market for industrial goods. Although the situation in the Third World countries is complex and the level, extent and nature of each country's involvement in the capitalist world economy differs, in essence the development process is conditioned and shaped in such a manner as to be an appendage of developed economies. These conditions of underdevelopment do not disappear with the achievement of political independence, since an indigenous capitalist class emerges after political independence to manage and aid the continuation of this process by acting as the intermediaries of metropolitan bourgeoisie interests. Underdevelopment, therefore, embraces the totality of political, economic, and social relations that are established at the international level and which in turn penetrates and incorporates in diverse and complicated ways the societies of the Third World countries.

The dependency theorists, particularly those from Latin America, where this school of thought has flourished, have emphasized, to a large extent, the structural problems of underdevelopment as those of metropolis satellite polarization.[56] A global perspective has, therefore, been the dominant mode of this approach, thereby paying less attention to problems within each country, such as class formation, nature and extent of capitalist penetration and articulation of different modes of production which are critical internal dynamics in shaping the nature of underdevelopment in each country. Foster-Carter has observed a major weakness of the dependency theory in the early years in his criticisms of Frank's formulations as extremely crude. Frank, argues Foster-Carter, "sees capitalism everywhere, because he does not distinguish a mode of production from a social formation, and he wrongly assumes that exchange relations dominate production relations and that metropolis-satellite structures come before classes."[57]

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56. Andre Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review Press, New York. 1967.

57. Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment." World Development, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March, 1976).

The fact is that these problems have of late received the attention they deserve as a result of the debates and controversies which have surrounded the concept of underdevelopment.[58] Today, we can therefore say that despite the fruitful debates that have emerged in the last ten years, there is not a single formulation of dependency theory. The field is characterised by revisions of earlier positions (Frank 1977) and attempts to come up with theoretical formulations which explain the peculiar aspects of the development of capitalism in the Third World countries.[59] Ian Roxborough has spelled out the major area of debate regarding the peculiar internal conditions which distinguish dependent countries from advanced capitalist countries, where he says:

> It is when we attempt to conceptualize these differences in structure that difficulties occur. There seem two basic choices: either there is a mode of production in dependent countries which is different from that of capitalism; or, while the dependent countries have a capitalist mode of production, the articulation of the capitalist mode of production with the other modes of production in the social formation and with the economies of the advanced countries results in a different manner of function of that mode of production.[60]

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58. For a recent article which attempts to summarize some of the major theoretical issues in this debate, see Foster-Carter's "The Modes of Production Controversy," New Left Review, No. 107 (January February, 1978), pp. 47-77.

59. Andre Gunder Frank, "Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: An Answer to Critics," World Development 48, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1977), pp. 335-370.

60. Roxborough, op. cit., p. 129.

Underlying these two conceptualisations of the nature of internal social formations in the Third World countries is the problematic issue of explaining the dynamics behind the development of Europe and North America and why these forces did not have the same impact in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which were incorporated in the world economic system. Alvi and Banaji have sought the explanations of this phenomenon within the context of what has been termed a colonial mode of production which stipulates that the social formation in the colonial and post-colonial societies represent a distinct and different mode of production from the capitalist mode of production which emerged in Europe and later spread to North America.[61] This argument does not deny the relationship between the colonial mode of production and the capitalist mode of production as it has developed in Europe. Indeed, the latter mode of production has emerged and taken its distinct characteristics as a result and consequence of the expansion of Western capitalism. Banaji argues this point where he says that the "integration of a given area into a world market dominated by capitalism/local installation of the capitalist mode of production --can only be established in terms of a theory of colonialism" and "must be understood in terms of a specific mode of production, neither feudal nor capitalist though 'resembling' both at different levels."[62] On the other hand, development theorists like Kay (1975) and Amin (1976), to mention only two, have argued that the predominant mode of production in the Third World countries is capitalism which has developed differently from that of Europe. Kay has emphasised the role of merchant

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61. Hamza Alavi, "India and the Colonial Mode of Production," Socialist Register, London (1975); and Jairus Banaji. "For a Theory of Colonial Modes of Production. "Economic and Political Weekly. Bombay, Vol. VII, No.52 (1972), and "Backward Capitalism. Primitive Accumulation and Modes of Production," Journal of Contemporary Asia. Vol. 4 (1977).

62. Banaji, "For a Theory of Colonial Modes of Production" ibid.

capital and later industrial capital and how it affected the development or productive forces which were essential for capitalist development.[63] Amin's argument revolves around the concept of unequal international specialisation and exchange between the central economies and the peripheral economies. The unequal development which exists in the international capitalist economy is dictated by the "Autocentric" economies of Europe and North America on the extraverted Third World economies. This process hinders the emergence of inward-oriented markets with the potential of capitalist development in the Third World countries.[64] Hence, capitalism in these countries takes a clearly distinct form from that of autocentric economies. Amin has termed this peripheral capitalism.

Other theorists have argued that the predominant mode of production in the underdeveloped countries is capitalist, which on one level articulates with the pre-capitalist modes of production in the social formation where it is situated and conditioned and incorporated into the advanced capitalist mode of production.[65] Thus, while rejecting the argument that there is a distinct colonial mode of production, it does, however, accept the point that penetration of capitalism in the peripheral countries produced different results from those experienced in developed countries. To account for these differences, however, remains one of the areas of major controversy in the under-development debate.[66]

In recognizing that the incoporation of pre-capitalist modes of production into the world capitalist system did not involve mere simple distinction of the pre-existing forms of production, we are in essence accepting the complexity of the social formations which emerged in colonial and postcolonial societies. By admitting, therefore, that the capitalist mode of production is dominant in these social formations, we are also saying that the nature of capitalist penetration in

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63. Kay. Development and Underdevelopment, op.cit.

64. Amin, Unequal Development, op. cit.

65. For a recent summary of the major formulations in these terms, see Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," op.cit.

66. Ibid., pp. 75-67.

these societies and the resultant mechanisms and relations of production thereof are conditioned by the articulation of the capitalist modes of production and the pre-capitalist modes of production. This process of articulation sets into motion complex economic and social relations which are mediated through the state and evident in the organisation of state apparatuses, including the educational system.

1.5. Education and the Underdevelopment.

Despite the recent interest in the internal dynamics of peripheral capitalism, the underdevelopment theory has, on the whole, inspired very few studies on education. This phenomenon might be attributed to the fact that this approach has been dominated by Marxist or the so-called Neo Marxist theories which are strongly oriented to the analysis of the economic structure, thereby paying scant attention to the superstructures and, in particular, the educational sector.[69] We therefore find that there is no definitive study of education utilising the insights that have been gained in the recent debates on underdevelopment theory. Carnoy (1975) attempts to do this but fails because his analysis of underdevelopment in the Third World is mainly limited to the level of the interaction of the capitalist world economy and the national economic structures and does not adequately address himself to the analysis of internal dynamics of a given social formation and how it affects the development of education.[70] In general, therefore, his analysis of the development of education is not linked to the internal development of a capitalist mode of production and

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69. A clear example of this approach is Colin Leys' Underdevelopment in Kenya (1975), which leaves out education in the discussion of the underdevelopment process in Kenya. This is not unique, as most of the literature on underdevelopment is characterised by this neglect.

70. Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, David McKay Company, New York, 1974.

how this mode of production articulates with other modes of production to produce different patterns of education within the underdeveloped countries. The internal structure education in India and West Africa, as analyzed by Carnoy, is not well linked to the internal linkages which developed as a result of the establishment of the capitalist mode of production. Analysis that links education and development in the politico-economic structure, we believe, is essential if it is to go beyond mere assertions of the interconnections. However, Carnoy's observation that the development of Western education was involved in bringing a few of the colonised people out of the traditional hierarchical structure, while at the same time incorporating them into a capitalist hierarchy, is important [71] but needs to be demonstrated in each specific context of colonial and postcolonial social formation. As we shall attempt to show later on, the concept of incorporation can be utilised and developed to show how in concrete and specific instances the educational apparatuses mediate and facilitate the articulation of different modes of production in a social formation. In attempting this type of analyis in the Kenyan context, we shall be attempting to show the interconnections and linkages between the production process and the development of education.

One scholar who has attempted to show the linkages between the development of Western education and the underdevelopment of Africa is Walter Rodney in his book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.[72] In a short book (281 pages) that covers a wide period of African history (pre-colonial and colonial periods) and attempts to capture the total impact of foreign domination on the politics, economy and culture of the whole continent, Rodney devotes about one-seventh of the book to show how "colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment".[73] The argument and evidence

71. Ibid., p. 43.

72. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., 1974.

73. Ibid., p. 241.

utilised to support this contention revolve around three elements of colonial education. First, and this figures prominently in the argument, it was the economic function of education in the colonial division of labour. The second element was the way education encouraged and implanted capitalist individualism, thereby destroying collective ethics which existed in the pre-capitalist communal societies of Africa. This individualism is contrasted with that which developed in Europe, leading to entrepreneurship and adventurism, which was ultimately realised in conquest of the rest of the world. "In Africa," he argues, "both the formal school system and the informal value system of colonialism destroyed social solidarity and promoted the worst form of alienated individualism without social responsibility" thus delaying the political process of regaining independence.[74] The third element of colonial education was that it was an instrument of cultural imperialism. This was done through the language of instruction, the content taught and generally the values and behaviours rewarded and encouraged. In some of the colonies, Christian missionaries played a leading role, through the schools and outside the school system, in the systematic destruction of local culture and inculcating the metropolitan culture. It is important, however to note that these factors were not independent of one another, but were rather closely intertwined and interacted in producing the superstructure of underdevelopment.

We need to look more closely into the ways Rodney argues the linkage between the economic role of education and the process of underdevelopment. We think this to be important in view of the discussion we are carrying out on Africa. He argues forcefully that

> The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. It was not an educational system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist.[75]

74. Ibid., pp. 254-255
75. Ibid., pp. 240-241.

The main points here are that colonial education was intended to make the process of extraction of surplus value from the African workers more efficient and orderly. The emphasis on training of Africans was esentially geared to this end. It was not intended to give skills that would use African resources for autonomous development of African societies, but rather to reinforce the destruction of the autonomy of African economies and re-orient them toward production for the dominating metropolitan capitalist economies. And since the international division of labour that was emerging at this period relegated the colonised peoples to the lowest ranks in the production process, the education given to them had to impart skills that were deemed to be essential for fulfilling that role. In this way, colonial schooling was part and parcel of the totality of the forces of underdevelopment. Western education, like political and economic structures planted in the colonies, was an essential part of the expansion of the Western capitalist system. As part of the superstructure of the capitalist system, it had the double task of incorporating the colonised peoples into that system and reproducing the emerging relations of production.

Hence, Rodney sees the development of colonial education as severely limited by the nature of capitalist underdevelopment (politico-financial limitation which affect quantitative aspects, and the qualitative orientation that related to the social structure of colonial society), as well as guided, where it occurred, by the process of unequal capitalist expansion. This is important in explaining the regional variations in development of Western education in the African countries. He therefore argues that "generally speaking, the unevenness in educational levels reflected the unevenness of economic exploitation and the different rates at which different parts of the colony entered the money economy." 76

[76] Ibid., p. 243.

The spread of commodity production for the export market in African countries corresponds to the areas where colonial education spread widely and rapidly.[77] Rodney argues that this was no accident but was associated with economic exploitation by the colonists. This point shall be closely pursued when we analyse the data from Kenya on this issue.

But the picture of the development of colonial education that Rodney has painted cannot be complete without an analysis of the conflicts and contradictions inherent in the colonial system. The conflicts were related to issues of the quantity, content and quality of education given to Africans. Clashes related to these issues were many and widespread and had far-reaching implications to the social structure. Take the case of the contradictions that emerged between the interests of the African masses and the colonialists. This led the educated to spearhead the nationalist struggle for independence. The contradiction was partially resolved by the attainment of political independence, but the major contradiction remains intact. The fact that education became an instrument in the struggle for independence was an unintended objective of colonial educators. As Carnoy has pointed out, this contradiction has the potential for social change, not only in colonial societies, but also in post-colonial social formations. On this point he writes:

> .... schools are organized to fit children into predetermined roles in the pyramidal structure, but education is also committed to teach children to question. When the questioning cannot be controlled, the pyramidal structure and the

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77. Rodney gives the example of Tanganyika to illustrate this point where he says, "Inside Tanganyika, a map showing the major cotton and coffee areas, virtually coincides with a map showing the areas in which colonial education was available. It means that those whom the colonials could not readily exploit were not offered even the crumbs of education," ibid., p. 243.

> international system come under scrutiny too. Colonial institutions may raise consciousness in spite of themselves and those whose consciousness is raised require increased rewards to stay in the roles assigned them.[78]

In the African situation, Rodney has observed, when it was realised what avenues education opened for advancement in the colonial society, the colonists were confronted with African demands and initiatives which they could not handle. The African initiatives in this field ran contrary to the intentions of the colonialists. As we shall see in the Kenyan case, these initiatives had positive as well as negative implications for the overall development of education.

Thus, Rodney sums the role of education in African underdevelopment in the following manner:

> There was a definite correlation between the degree of colonial exploitation and the amount of social services provided. That applied to education in particular, so that urban, mining, and cash crops areas had a virtual monopoly of schools. That was partly due to the capitalist policy of enhancing the labor power of workers, but it was also a consequence of efforts made by Africans inside the cash economy. They made demands on the colonial administration, and they also went through a great deal of sacrifice and self-denial to get more school places.[79]

The link between education and underdevelopment in Africa, according to Rodney, was that it was an instrument of colonial exploitation. It provided the labour power that capitalist firms needed to make their investments productive and profitable. The colonial state used the educated in its control of the colonised populations. However, there are two problems connected with Rodney's formulation. First, he does not show how the entry of Africans into the cash crop economy was related to education. Was entry into commodity production the result of acceptance of education or vice versa? It seems to us that in most African countries peasants entered into commodity production even without the benefits of formal

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[78] Ibid., p. 278; and Carnoy, op. cit., p. 72.

[79] Rodney, op. cit., p. 263.

education and once that occurred, or simultaneously, the demand for education emerged. In such cases, the exploitation associated with commodity production was instituted, regardless of whether formal education was introduced. We would like also to argue that even in situations where commodity production occurred at the same time as the introduction of colonial education, it was not the educated who were involved in the growing of cash crops.[80]

Secondly, Rodney does not deal with the question of how to interpret the African initiatives in education in the context of the underdevelopment process. Here we see the problematic issue of how to reconcile the school of thought of African history which in the sixties stressed African initiatives in the colonial period,[81] and the underdevelopment school of though of the seventies which stresses the exploitative relations between the metropolitan powers and the colonies. These two approaches are evident in Rodney's work, particularly in the section dealing with education. The attempt to see African initiatives as part of the colonial contradiction is laudable, but it is necessary to go further and see the implications of these efforts to the underdevelopment process. The stress on initiatives tends to ignore that local initiatives can have the same exploitative consequences as those initiated by the colonisers or foreign capital.[82] A realisation of this kind is necessary, especially when interpreting the policies carried out by African countries in the post-colonial period. For instance, it is necessary to make an analysis of who were the beneficiaries of the initiatives that occurred in the colonial period. A class analysis of the initiators and beneficiaries of initiatives in education will help us

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80. Poly Hill, Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa, Cambridge University Press, 1970.

81. Terence Ranger, ed., Emerging Themes of African History East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968.

82. Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya, op.cit.

to locate these programs in the proper perspective of African underdevelopment.

This leads us to make a final comment on Rodney's work. His level of analysis is very general and lacks the specificity that is associated with the micro-level. Although the study deals with the development of capitalism in Africa, it deals in such a general way that it glosses over the concrete forms in which this mode of production articulated with the pre-colonial modes of production. The generalist nature of the work makes it difficult to deal with the complex reality of the development of Western education and its linkages to the nature and extent of capitalist penetration in different societies. The ways in which the capitalist mode of production became interrelated with the existing modes of production and the implications of that relationship need analysis at the concrete micro-level, which Rodney's study can hardly pretend to have addressed itself.

Rodney's approach to education and underdevelopment is followed by Hirji in his analysis of education in Tanzania.[83] There are a number of ways in which Hirji's analysis complement and go beyond Rodney's. First, his analysis deals with the concrete situation of Tanzania and provides a detailed historical analysis which connects colonial education policies with those of the post-colonial period. Secondly, his analysis deals with some of the contradictions of the development of education in the postcolonial period, such as the unemployment of school leavers. His attempt to locate this problem within the context of under-development is one of the strong points of this essay. Thirdly, his analysis has incorporated class structure and the nature of the colonial and post-colonial state in the formulation of the linkages between school education and underdevelopment. To do so, Hirji has utilised Althusser's theoretical scheme which distinguishes the character of the state, state power and the apparatuses of repression and ideological control.[84] Using the concept of

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83. K.F. Hirji, "School Education and Underdevelopment in Tanzania," Maji Maji 12 (September, 1973), pp. 1-22.

84. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in R. Cosin, ed., Education: Structure and Society, Penguin Books, Hammondsworth, 1972.

state ideological apparatuses, Hirji characterises the educational system as one of the ideological apparatuses and proceeds to analyse it as such. This, combined with insights gained from Shivji's class analysis of Tanzania's society, provides the basis on which education in the context of underdevelopment is discussed.[85] The analysis, however, concentrates too much on ideological aspects, to the exclusion of other issues, such as class and regional disparities in education. This is dictated by the need to contribute to the debate on Tanzania's education and confront the idealistic tendencies in the conception of education policies.[86]

The studies reviewed above on the whole do not adequately address themselves to the problem of education and development in peripheral capitalism, which is of interest to this discussion. As we have already pointed out, the analysis of education, and educational in-equality in particular, has remained the most underdeveloped area in the prevailing debates on underdevelopment. The area lacks clear theoretical perspectives, as well as concrete studies. Indeed, the studies which have made their mark in utilising the conflict paradigm in education have not come from the existing studies of underdevelopment, but rather from studies of education in advanced capitalist countries.[87]

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85. I.G. Shivji, Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle, Monthly Review, New York, 1975.

86. Althusser's discussion of the state and ideological state state apparatuses must be seen in the overall context of his "Scientific Marxism," which attempts to deal with economic determinism tradition in Marxism. Hirji takes Althusser's formulation wholesale without subjecting it to any criticisms on the grounds that it overemphasises the role of ideology in reproduction and leaves out any active role of men in the reproduction of their conditions of existence. See Michael Erben and Denis Glee-son, "Education as Reproduction: A Critical Examination of Some Aspects of the Work of Louis Althusser," in Michael Young and Geoff Whitty, eds., Society, State, and Schooling, The Falmer Press, Surrey, England, 1977, pp.73-92.

37. Recent theoritical discussions in developed countries have dealt with the problematic issue of the relationship between the superstructure, particularly the education sector, and the economic structure. The mechanisms for creation of legitimation, reproduction of ideological outlook, the 'cultural capital' and maintenance of hegemony in class society have figured prominently in these theoritical debates. The works of Bowles and Gintis, Althusser, Bourdieu and Bernstein and Antonio Gramsci have been influential in these debates.

1.6 Education in the Development of Peripheral Capitalism

Having already pointed out the mechanism under which the Third World countries were incorporated into the world capitalist economy and have continued to operate within that structural framework despite the attainment of political independence, it is necessary therefore to understand how the process of penetration and incorporation of colonial and post-colonial societies is related to education or education related to it.

At the international level, the incoporation of a country into the world economy means the subordination of the people and the economy of that country to the economic, social and political needs and influence of the dominating power. Within each incorporated nation or territory, there are set in motion fundamental changes and relations which are meant to translate the international economic and political relationships involve firm and irreversible reality. This involves the establishment of political, economic and cultural structures which become instruments of the imperial power, whose whole main task is to subordinate and condition and, in some case, subjugate the pre-colonial economic, political and cultural structures. The imperial expansion was indeed the expansion of capitalist world economy.

The establishment of capitalist forms of exchange and production in the incorporated country was therefore the priority of the dominant interests in the imperial nation. And once this sector is established in part of the country, the expansion into other parts becomes an internal feature of its development. There are hence two aspects of the same development that are taking place within the incorporated country. In some sectors the capitalist mode of production develops in depth, while in other areas it developd in breadth. Inevitably, the two processes lead to social differentiation and uneven development. The sector where capitalist development has strong roots becomes dominant and tends to condition the rate and nature of expansion into new areas.

But the expansion of capitalism into the colonies was not only conditioned by the dynamics of the metropolitan development, but also by the prevailing modes of produ ction in the colonial countries. The resistance to capitalist penetration and incorporation was mixed, depending on the societies concerned. The degree of resistance, violent or passive, however, depended on a host of factors ranging from military, political and economic organisation to the cultural structure of the societies encountered. The penetration of the capitalist mode of production in the pre-capitalist economy leads to the process of conservation and dissolution. The pattern taken in each area or society is governed by the internal dynamics of the existing society as well as the historical mode of expansion of the capitalist relations and forms of exchange. The mode of expansion here implies timing, spatial spread and the mechanism of imposition. The educational system is one of the instruments in the arsenals of the dominating power used to batter the resistance of other cultures, and to incorporate them into the international capitalist economy. The interaction of the dominated pre-capitalist societies and the dominant capitalist mode of production leads to social and spatial differentiation which is manifested in economic, political and educational development.

When the role of education in underdeveloped countries is examined from the theoretical perspectives reviewed above, two tasks become clear. First, education helps the transfer of the metropolitan cultural capital, ideology and skills (know-how) to some segments of the people in the underdeveloped countries. The existence of foreign cultural capital in the midst of indigenous cultural heritage was necessary for the establishment of the hegemony of the colonial power. In some cases, Western education was established before formal colonisation, but once formal colonisation was accomplished, education became an important instrument of in-

culcation of foreign cultural capital and know-how that was needed for the functioning of the colonial enterprise. The educational system, once established in some areas of the country, like the other institutions in the colonial situation, develops vertically as well as horizontally. In the situation of vertical development, it penetrates its roots into the society, thereby undermining the previous cultural heritage. At the same time, it spreads its branches to other areas where its shape might not have previously been felt. The two aspects of development of education are features of the colonial, as well as the post-colonial, period. The articulation of this process with political and economic developments can only be grasped by analysing each historical conjecture. The conflicts manifested in the total process of the spread and entrenchment of capitalism and the development of education become clear when the independent and dependent nature of the educational system is grasped and analysed.

The second role of education emerges when the dominant sector within the country is established. In this situation, metropolitan cultural capital is already established, and the primary task of education is to reproduce the cultural capital, ideological outlook and skills among the social groups which have accepted the imported cultural capital and are politically and economically incorporated in the dominant mode of production. As this sector becomes entrenched and expands, with the aid of international and domestic capital, economic and political opportunities increase, necessitating quantitative expansion of education and the reproduction of the relations of production. In this respect, education becomes an instrument of consolidation and reproduction of conditions for social production.

The expansion of education experienced in African countries since independence therefore embodied the incorporation of social groups, regions and communities not previously integrated into the dominant sector, and the reproduction of the social division of labour in the dominant capitalist sector. The outcome of these two processes is spatial and social differentiation of educational development, which is closely tied to the structure of political and economic development of each country.

1.7. Conclusion

The theories of structural-functionalism and human capital which dominated the planning and thinking about education in the fifties and sixties, have continued to dominate this field despite the challenges that have emerged from theories emanating from conflict paradigm. While the seventies have witnessed the resurgence of studies carried out from conflict theory perspective, the impact of this developmental thinking - in terms of policy implementation and studies carried out remains very limited. Limited is also reserch on education utilising this theoritical perspective.

What this paper has done is to highlight the theoritical perspectives which have dominated thinking and research on education in the last two decades. The attempt is by no means exhaustive in terms of the period covered, literature reviewed or ideas discussed. The aim of the paper is therefore to generate debate and comments which will enrich the analysis and understanding of the dynamics of education and development in Africa. As a follow up of this work, we have embarked on an exercise that will indentify critical research areas in African education. Initially we intended to carry out the task of analysing theoritical frameworks dominant in African education, together with an analysis of research gaps and priorities. The task was however found to be too wide to be accomplished in one paper. A paper on research gaps, priorities and possible orientation of education in the eighties, which in a way is a sequel to this one is now in preparation.

In conclusion we would like to point out a challenge which President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in 1974 said faced African educators and researchers. He said:

> African has not really given much thought to the problem of education. We know, or we think we know, that something called "education" is a good thing. And all African states therefore spend a large proportion of government revenue on it. But I sometimes suspect that, for us in Africa, the underlying purpose of this because education is to turn us into black Europeans or Americans. I say/ our educational policies make it quite clear that we are really expecting education in Africa to enable us to emulate the material achievements of Europe and America. That is the object of our a activity.
>
> We have not begun to think seriously about whether such material achievements are possible. Nor have we begun to question whether the emulation of European and American material achievements is a desirable objective for Africa. I believe that these two matters

are now in urgent need of our consideration.[88]

This paper is an attempt to face up to this challenge, which is essentially a challenge of overcoming underdevelopment in Africa.

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88. Julius Nyerere, "Education and Liberation" an opening address to the seminar on Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African countries, May 20 1974, Institute for Development Studies Dar es Salaam and Dar Hammerskjold Foundation.

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