This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see: http://creativecommons.Org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: TOWARD ALTERNATIVE PARADIGMS



ans grang

By

Kabiru Kinyanjui

WORKING PAPER NO. 424

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
P.O. Box 30197
NAIROBI, KENYA

August 1984

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of Institute for Development Studies, or the University of Nairobi.

This paper is not for quotation without the permission of the author, as specified in the Copyright Act, Cap 130 of the Laws of Kenya.

IDS Information Resource Unit University of Sussex Falmer, Brighton BNI 9RE, UK

PLEASE RETURN BY

African development and indeed how that process has been perceived and interpreted in the last one hundred or so years has been to a large extent been shaped by external forces, both Consequently, the study and analysis colonial and postcolonial. of African condition has been dominated by the needs of and theoritical frameworks developed in the metropolitan countries and institutions of learning. Resistance and challenge to this Euro-centric approach to African reality has been at the periphery of the dominant western scholarship, and has mainly been part of African nationalism and struggles for national liberation. 2 This counter-hegemonic movement in African development has been manifested in cultural nationalism, independent schools and churches, liberation movements; and in most of the countries have led to political independence. However, this change has not led to any substantial transformation of the structure of superstructual institutions, . forms and consciousness. The challenge for transformation at this level remains real in post-colonial Africa as it was in colonial period two and a half decades ago.

This tendency to challenge the dominant forms and consciousness fostered by inherited cultural institutions is particularly notable in African literature. The novels and poetry of leading writers on the continent today portray this counter-hegemony and have a great deal of influence on what is broadly defined as education. This

^{2.} Many African nationalists and intellectuals have challenged this perspective. Among them are Jomo Kenyatta, Kwome Mkrumah, Leopald Scughor, Julius Nyerere, Franz Fanon, Almicar Cabral, Chinua Achebe and others.

is particularly notable in the more recent works of Ngugi wa Thiong'o where he takes the position that:

... literature cannot escape from the class power structures that shape our everyday life. Here a writer has no choice. Whether or not he is aware of it his works reflect one or more aspects fof the intense economic, political, cultural and ideological struggles in a society. What he can choose is one or the other side in the battle field: the side of the people, or the side of those social forces and classes that try to keep the people down.

This position is also taken by many other African writers like Ayi Kwei Armah of Ghama, Sembene Ousmane of Senegal, Chinua Achebe of Nigeria, Alex La Guma of South Africa and Nuruddin Farah of Somalia. These writers not only challenge the way the dominant forces view and interpret and perpetuate the African situation, but have also remarkably influenced the teaching and content of literature and theatre in universities and in schools. In some instances, this influence has gone beyond classroom to rural communities.

The recent resurgence of interest in writings in the national languages of the African people, as well as introduction of oral literature into school curriculum, is part and parcel of this movement for transformation at superstructural level which has profound and far-reaching implications to the ongoing debate and struggle for change of the content, methodology and orientation of the education enterprise.

^{3.} Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Writers in Politics, Heinemann Nairobi, 1981 preface.

^{4.} See Wonjiku M. Kabira, The Oral Artist Heinemann, Mairobi 1983 and Akiraga and Nandwa, Oral literature: A School Certificate Course. Heineman Educational Books. Hairobi 1982.

But it is not only in literature that this movement is observable. In education sector alternatives to inherited colonial education have been experimented in Tanzania with Education for Self-Reliance and the highly innovative adult education. In Guinea-Bissou the ideas and approaches of the Brazilian educator. Paulo Freire have been experimented on a widescale. Elsewhere Freirean methodology have been tried and interesting results have been noted. The recently launched programme of Education with Production in Zimbabwe follows from this continental wide search for alternative structures and forms of incolculating skills and consciousness among the people. 8 The liberation novements have been strong carriers of this tradition, especially in phase of struggle for liberation. Once these movements assume political power, the implementation of lessons and ideas learnt during the struggle tend to become problematic and in some cases entirely ignored.9

Nicholas Kuhanga, "Education and Self-Reliance in Tanzania:

A National Perspective", Development Dialogue No.2, 1978.

pp. 37-50; and also Jeff Unsicker, "Revolution by Adult
Education: A Survey of the Literature on Rural Adult
Education in Tanzania". (nineo); and Joel Sanoff and
Suleman Surura, "Revolution by Education in Tanzania:

A Reassessment" (nineo), Jan. 1984.

^{6.} Carlos Dias, "Education and Production in Guinea Bissau", Development kDialogue, No. 2, 1978. pp. 51-57; Paulo Freire, Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau, Seabury Press, New York 1978.

^{7.} Christian Development Education Service (Kenya) The Major Evaluation of Development Education in Kenya, Whairobi 1983.

^{8.} Patrick van Rensburg, "Education and Production as a Lever for Another Development", Development Dialogue No. 2, 1978, and "The Foundation for Education with Production - a New Force for Educational and Social Transformation", Journal of the Foundation for Education with Production, Vol 1, No. 1, 1981. pp. 7-19.

^{9.} For analysis of Tanzanian experience in this respect see Ergas Zaki, "Can Education be Used as a Tool to Build A Socialist Society in Africa"? The Tanzania Case "The Journal of Modern African Studies Vol. 20 No. 4 1982. pp. 595-612.

proof a theoretical and practical operspective, questions may be raised as to whether these attempts to change the education system and the related innovations in cultural field are based on alternative paradigms founded on a fundamentally different social, economic and political structure. From the available evidence these alternatives seem to be articulated and tried out within the same theoritical framework and in context of a socio-economic structure which is hardly transformed. The second question that need to be addressed to is why these experiments fail and the inherited systems tend to overshadow them. This is clearly noticeable in countries like Tonzania and Mozambique. The conflict between these 'two' educational systems has been observed in liberated countries like Guinea-Bissau, where Carlos Dias wrote:

After the complete takeover of power in our country in 1974, there existed two educational systems that were completely antagonistic, namely the colonial system, totally divorced from the process of the development of our productive forces and the system practised in the former liberated zones, which was oriented wtowards our reality and the objectives of national liberation. 10

A critical evaluation of these experiences is needed, and although this paper does not intend to go into these issues, it needs to be pointed out they have an important bearing on the search for alternative paradigns in the development and analysis of education in Africa.

The concerns which are shown in literature and education in Africa are also shown in other cultural institutions like the media and Christian Churches. The Churches are particularly important in this respect because in the colonial period they

^{10.} Carlos Dias, Op.cit, p. 53.

formed important institutions for incalculating new values, attitudes, morality and ideology which often was carried through the education system dominated by missionaries. This dominant position of Christian Churches was often challenged by independent churches and schools. The independent churches movement have not only creatively married African culture and Christian teachings, libut has inspired and intellectually has been enriched and complimented by the emergence of liberation theology. This trend is particularly strong in South Africa, and tend to be informed by similar intellectual movements in Latin America, and Afro-American scholarship. Here, it takes the form of Black Theology and emphasises a strong concern afor the liberation of Africans from white racism and oppression.

This paper does not intend to explore and evaluate these tendencies within cultural institutions in Africa. Suffice to say that these trends represent an important critique and at the same time a search for alternative paradigms for analysis of cultural and education development in Africa. By mentioning these broad counter-hegemonic movements we are in essence indicating the broad spectrum that a comprehensive study of alternative paradigms in analysis of education (defined broadly) should concern itself. The discussion which follows here is therefore for from complete.

^{11.} Harold Turner, "African Independent Churches and Economic Development" World Development Vol. 8 No. 7/8 July August 1980. pp. 523-533

^{12.} Adrian Hastings, "A History of African Christianity 1950-1975", Cambridge University Press, London, 1979;
Allan A. Boesak, Farewell to Innocence: A Socio-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Power, Orbis Books, New York, 1981; and Gayrand S. Wilmore and James H. Cone, Black Theology Documentary History, 1966-1979, Orbis Books, New York, 1982

The paper starts by discussing the dominant theoritical frameworks in the social science and education in particular, and then discusses marxist and Neo-marxist approaches . which utilise conflict pardign. A few studies utilising conflict paradign in the study and practice of education change in Tanzania and Kenya are then briefly discussed.

2. Social Science Paradigns:

The development of social science and the study of education in the West in general and Africa in particular hassbeen dominated by two broad paradigms. These are the equilibrium and conflict paradigms. 14

The dominance of the equilibrium paradigm, under which theories of structural-functionalism, evolutionary, neo-evolutionary and systems theory fall is well-acknowledged in most American and Western European social science. 14

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

^{13.} G. Burrell and Gareth Morgan, Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis, Heinemann, London, 1979; Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962 (2nd Edition); Alvin W. Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, Basic Books, New York, 1970, pp. 20-60; 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.

^{14.} 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, Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", Marvard Educational Review, Vol. 29 (Fall, 1959), pp. 297-318.

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 Africa and most of the underdeveloped countries were carried out from a structural-functionalist perspective with its various modifications. 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 society. Equality of educational opportunity in the society which has figured strongly is therefore seem 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 was an upsurge of interest in studies of education utilising theories that fall under the conflict paradign. 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 cone 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 unequal relations of production.

^{15.} All Halsey, Jean Houd and C.A. Anderson (eds.), Education, Economy and Society: A Leader in the Sociology of Education, Free Press, New York, 1961. Adam Curle, Educational Problems Societies. Praeger Publishers 1973; and James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965.

^{16.} Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in kCapitalist America, Basic Books, New York, 1976; Rachel Sharp, Knowledge, Ideology and Politics of Schooling, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980; and Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London, 1977.

Below we focus on theories that fall within these two paradigms and attempt to show how they are utilised in the study of education in Africa. We start by a brief analysis of the theories of modernisation and the human capital, which are offsprings of structural-functionalism. Then we shall discuss conflict theories and particularly dependency theories and their influence on research and analysis of education. Since this paper would like to emphasize studies of education carried out from the perspective of conflict paradigm, a review of these theories will be attempted as a way of placing underdevelopment in its proper historical context.

The paper shall then review a number of studies on education which have utilized some elements of conflict paradigm and see their practical and theoritical implications to development in Africa. We have chosen to review a few research studies done in Kenya and Tangania as an illustration of this approach. The limitation of time makes it difficult to attempt a more comprehensive review of the available materials and literature.

3. Modernization Theory and Studies on Education:

Until about fifteen years ago, the dominant theoritical framework utilised in the description, study and analysis of education in the underdeveloped countries were various variation of theories of modernization and human capital which are offsprings of structural-functionalism.

^{17.} We should, however, note that structural-functionalism is not new to underdeveloped countries. In the heyday of colonialism, functional anthropology, which emanates from from the equilibrium paradigm, was the dominant and fashionable method of studying the colonised people. See Gouldner, op.cit., pp. 125-134.

Despite the numerous variations in the definition of modernisation, 18 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 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."19

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.

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

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

In other words, what we want to point out is that social theories not only evolve out pf existing bodies of theory, but also in social, economic and political contexts. The evolution of theories of modernisation attest to this observation.

After the Second World War, the United States became the dominant economic and political power in Western Europe and in the former European colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The dominance of American and Western Finance capital in the emerging politically independent countries was reinforced by academic theories of modernisation and human capital. In the late fifties and early sixties, human capital theory was popularized to such an extent that it was a guiding and dominant principle in drawing up of the development plans and educational policies. The emphasis at this juncture, and particularly in the newly independent African states, was that of viewing education as an economic investment which had a vital contribution to economic growth. Investment in the development of human resources was seen as critical to overcoming underdevelopment. As Karabel and Halsey pointed out:

The nations of the Third World, the theory suggested, were not poor because of the structure of international economic relations, but beacuase of internal a characteristics - most notable 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.

^{20.} Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies in Human Resources Development, McGlaw-Hill, New York, 1964.

^{21.} J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey., Power and Ideology in Education Oxford University Press, New York, 1977, p.15.

The international agencies (The World Bank, ThO, UNDP, UNESCO), private foundations the Ford, the Rockefeller, Carnegie Foundations, etc. and aid agencies respond to this perceived need by channelling their resources into educational and training programmes in the underdeveloped countries and by provision 22 scholarships and fellowships for advanced training overseas.

In short, what American capital (Marshall Plan) had done in the Western Europe in the years immediately after the war! was expected to happen in the underdeveloped countries, if they invested more in the development of their human resources, and allowed hore foreign investments and technology to be channelled in their countries. Each of training manpower at this stage was viewed as a serious obstacle to proper utilisation of: foreign aid for development. Theorists of modernization and human capital on the whole thrived during this historical, ideological and political conjecture.

and criticised on the basis of their ideological orientation, empirical usefulness, and explanatory ability the most devastating and far-reaching challenge has been the events and concrete socioeconomic reality of the underdeveloped countries in the last twenty-five years. First, the failure of economic growth orchestrated in the so called first and second development decade coupled with the failure of foreign aid and technology to transform the fate and reality of most of the people in these countries. Secondly, the

^{22.} Edward H. Berman, "Foundations, United Nations Foreign Policy and African African Education, 1945-75", Harvard Educational Review, Vol.49 (May 1979), pp.145-155; and "The Extension of Ideology: Foundation Support for Intermediate Organisations and Forums", Comparative Education Review, Vol.26, No.1, Feb. 1982, pp.48-68.

^{23.} This position has been restated on several occasions. See for instance Sir Bernard Braine, "A Marshall Plan for the Third World", Third World Quarterly, Vol.1, No.2, April 1979.

^{24.} Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment of Revolution, Monthly Review, New York, 1969, pp.21-94 and Tipps, op.cit.

A. Shouries, "Poverty and Inequalities," Foreign Affairs: "Growth Without Development," UN Development Forum, June, 1973: and Dudley Seers, "The Meaning for Development", International Development Review, Vol. II, No. 4, December 1969.

struggles of the people of Vietnam and Cuba in conjunction with the positive images that the chinese model of development evoked in the seventies, posed a challenge to the Westernization model which post-colonial states were following. Thirdly, the current economic crisis which is manifested by massive foreign debts, runaway inflation, and stagnation, and the ever rising unemployment of the educated, casts serious doubts to modernization model of development. Finally, the upsurge of religious movements like that of Iran has unleashed social forces which are opposed to Westernization, and which in the past tended to be glossed over by enthusiastic modernizers.

It is not our intention here to go into the specific criticisms which have been levelled at theories of modernization and human capital, but we need to point out the tremendous impact and influence these theories have had on African social sciences scholarship and imparticular studies of education in the last two and half decades.

- Aidan Poster-Carter, "Neo-Marxist Approaches to Development and Underdevelopment". Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 3, 1, 1973.
- 27. Mohammed Ayoob, "The Revolutionary Thrust of Islamic Political Tradition", Third World Quarterly, Vol. 3. No. 2, April 1981; Ibrahim A. Ragab, "Islam and Development" (pp 513-523) Maming Nash, Islam in Iran, Turmoil, Transformation or Transcendence" (pp 555 562) Saleem Oureshi, "Islam and Development: The Zia Regime in Pakistan" (pp 563 576) in World Development, Vol. 8, Nos. 7 8 July/August 1980.
- 28. Peter C.W. Gutkind and Peter Waterman (ed.) African Social Studies. A hadical Reader Heineman 1981 (see the article in Periodicals by Jean Copons).

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 development of human resources, educational change and socio-economic and political development from the perspective of modernization theory.

Studies on education from this perspective have been dominated by Western social scientists particularly those from North American universities. In the sixties and to some extent in the seventies these scholars produced some of the best studies and which had a remarkable influence on scholarship in this field. Some of the outstanding works in this field are James S. Moleman, Education and Political Development (1965), Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghama (1965), Remi Clignet and Philip Foster,

The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (1966), David B. Abernathy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (1969), and Richard Jolly, Planning Education for African Development: Economic and Manpower Perspective (1969). In addition there are numerous articles on education which follow this theoritical approach.

In the late sixties two changes were observable in the works in this field. First, the Africans started to make contributions in this field, which is a reflection of the developments which were taking place in the education sector, and in particular at the university level. The following works, James Sheffield, Education, Employment, and Rural Development (1966), Idvian N. Reswick (ed) Tanzania:

Revolution by Education (1967), James Sheffield and V.P. Diejoman, Non-formal Education in African Development (1972), and David Court and Dharam Ghai (ed) Education, Society and Development (1974),

F. Champoin Ward (ed) Education zand Development Reconsidered (1974), represent this transition where dominance of expatriate scholars start to give way to contributions of African social scientists. The second development that can be discerned during this period is the rethinking and reformulation of the role of

education in the society which led to emphasis on rural development, second chance training institutions, and adult education. In essence this is the period when need and search for new alternatives in African education started to emerge, as a consequence of unemployment among school leavers. Education for Self-Reliance and Adult Education in Tanzania, Village Polytechnic Movement in Kenya and Botswana Brigades are some of the well-known experiments in this direction.

Africa has had tremendous impact on the development of human resources in the years immediately after independence and to a large extent account for the rapid expansion of education achieved at all levels in the last twenty five years. Attempts by African governments to rationalise the planning and expansion of their educational systems and increase manpower output stems from this theoritical perspective and is clearly evident in most policy statements and development plans of the post-colonial period.

In the seventies it can however be observed that the initial concern and emphasis on manpower development through the expansion of the schooling system was modified to cope up with the emergence of school leavers unemployment. The pre-occupation with manpower planning and education expansion per se therefore tended to be revised to include programmes for rural development and technical education to enter for the rising; unemployment which the 'modern' sector could not gainfully absorb. The aim of this policy aid the innovations which were initiated to deal with these problems was to change values, attitudes and provide useful skills for rural sector, but not for any fundamental change to education or the social structure. This approach did not deviate from the modernization and human capital framework. Modifications which were adopted were essentially meant to deal with the limitations and problems experienced within African Economics but not to challenge the conditions of underdevelopment.

4. Conflict Theory Paradigu:

From this perspective, the society and developmental process : is characterised by conflicts and struggle between nations, and within each nation: between social classes and fraction of various classes, each with opposed aims, economic and political interests, and ideologies. Conflict paradigm has developed mainly within Marxist tradition and to a limited extent under Weberian sociology.

Conflict theory as developed and utilized in Western sociology broadly shows three main tendencies. First, the tendency which attempts to incorporate some aspects of Marxists conflict theory with the 'order' theories. This approach is typified by the work of Lewis Coser (1954 and 1967)²⁹ and Rolf Dahrendorf (1959). The major flaws in this approach is what Barry Smart has termed 'fragmented reading of Marx' which concentrates on elements of conflict theory which are only portions of the total Marx's theoritical framework for analysis of the society. The second tendency attempts to synthesize the Marxist methodology of dialectics with structural functionalism. This approach is

²⁹ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, The Free Press, New York, 1959 and Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict, The Free Press, New York, 1967; and Max Gluckman, Custon and Conflict in Africa, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois 1955.

³⁰ Ralf Dahnendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1959.

^{31.} Bary Smart, Sociology, Phenomenology and Marxian Analysis:
A Critical Discussion of the Theory and Practice of a
Science of Society: Routledge and Kegan Paul (London)
1976.

observable in an article by Pierre van den Berghe entitled "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoritical synthesis". This approach however fails to understand Mark's dialectics and the controversy that surrounds that concept, and especially the important dimensions of class and class conflict. A third approach attempts to marry Markists conflict theory with Weberian concepts of class, status and power. Randall 'Collins in his persuasive book, Conflict Sociology: Towards and on Explanatory Science (1975) sees this as the real basis of scientific sociology. He has also utilised this approach innovatively in the study of educational stratification. 33

While these three tendencies attempt to be critical of some aspects of 'order' theories, they nevertheless fail to make a fundamental break with theories of structural-functionalism or grasp the essence and totality of Marxist theory and nethodology. These tendencies in various forms have influenced and contributed to the study of education and development in Africa. 34

At this juncture it is necessary to point out some salient points of Marxist theory and how it relates to study of education in in society. In classical Marxism analysis of education starts from the theory of the superstructure (consciousness and related institutions education, culture, politics, law, etc.) and its relationship to the economic substructure (means of production and relations of production).

^{32.} Pierre van den Berghe, "Dialetic and Functionalism: Towards a Theoritical Synthesis", American Sociological Review XXVIII, 5 October, 1963, pp. 695-705.

^{33.} Rondall Collins, "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification 1971", in B.R. Cosin (ed) Education Structure and Society, Penguin Books, Hammondworth, 1972, and "Some Comparative Principles of Education Stratification", Harvard Education. Review, Vol. 47, No.1, Feb. 1977.

^{34.} Although it would be interesting to follow up some of the Works which have been done within the framework of Weberian doublist sociology, we have not done so because of time constrainsts. For example of this approach see John Anderson, The Struggle of Longman. 1970; Michael G. Schaltzberg, "Conflict and Cultum African Education: Authority Patterns in Cameroonian Lyce", rative Education Review, Vol. 23, No.1, Feb., 1979; and Turnell & Morgan, op.cit p. 365-377.

This position is empressed in the fauiliar passage in the preface to a contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1959). The relationship between the superstructure and the base in the process of societal transformation as stated in this and other Mark's writings has generated considerable debates and controversies; the key issue being whether the superstructure is 'determined' by the sub-structure. This mechanical interpretation of what is essentially a dynamic process interaction of between forces of production and cultural institutions, consciousness, and practice, has tended to make this theory sterile and deterministic. In this way the superstructure is robbed of its anatomy to influence, even in a limited way, the reconomic structure of the society. The reality is however, more complex than this and cannot be reduced to this deterministic formulation.

Without going into this whole historical debate of the interaction and relationship between forces and structures and superstructural institutions, ideologies and consciousness, it is nevertheless necessary to point out some recent contributions which have become more prominent in sociology of education in the West. 35

The important contributions of Louis Althusser, Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci have attempted to abandone the use of the concept of a 'determined' super-structure and instead used the concepts which convey the rather complex interaction and net work of relations between economic structures and superstructural institutions, forms and ideas. For instance, Althusser uses the concept of 'deterministic in the last instance of the base' to convey the meaning of the relative antonomy and reciprocal native of

^{35.} See for example Michael F.D. Young, Knowledge and Control:
New Directions for the Sociology of Education, Collier
MacMillan, London, 1971; Leu Barton and Roland Meighan (ed)
Sociological Interpretation of Schooling and Classrooms: A
Reappraisal, Nafferton Books, 1978, Michael Apple, Ideology
and Curriculum, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979.

the superstructure. 36 He however goes beyond this, to show the role of the state and state apparatuses in the reproduction of relations of production at economic level. This formulation is however limited to ideological forms of interaction and reproduction. According to Althusser, the state maintains its control not lonly through direct instruments of coercion, but also through ideological state apparatuses such as the Church, the educational system and other cultural institutions. Antonio Grausci has developed and refined this concept of domination, through what he terms hegemony. According to Gransci the dominant class exercises its means of control not only through political and economic institutions and mechanisms, but also through the process whereby the people experience and consciously accept that control. 37 This acceptance of domination is legitimised through superstructural institutions and forms of consciousness. The concept of dominant ideology therefore goes beyond the narrow definitions of Althusser and others to include the totality of cultural, political as well as economic, factors which shape the consciousness and processes of knowing in the society.

This control is however not always total, particularly among the subordinate classes and at some historical moments. The dominant hegemony is always contested through class struggles and through attempts to establish a counter-hegemony (consciousness, ideology, values, attitudes etc.). This counter-hegemony is often manifested within the education system.

^{36.} L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological state apparatuses' in Michael Young and Goff Whitty, (eds.) Society, State and Schooling, The Falmer Press, Surrey, England, 1977, pp. 73-92.

^{37.} See Quintin Hoard and Nowell G. Smith (ed.) Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gransci, International Publishers, New York 1971. See for instance pp. 2, 375-377 and and 407 and 408. For criticism of Althusser see Goran Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, Versco editions London 1980.

The Marxist tradition emplored briefly above indicate three important tendencies regarding relationship between education and a given social structure. First, the tendency to view the superstructural institutions and activities such as education and politics as a reflection of, or determined by, the economic base of the society. This approach has been critised as mechanistic and deterministic and thereby unable to illuminate the complex reality of education in society. The second tendency, views the state as having both repressive as well as persuasive (ideological) apparatuses for maintaining its economic and political power. The education system is one of the ideological state apparatuses for inculcating dominant values, moves and attitudes, as well as knowhow and skills necessary for production process. The emphasis here is the role of ideology in education in its relation to economic structure. The third tendency views cultural institutions and activities - education included - as integral parts of the forces of and relations of production under the control of the dominant group, and through which the dominant values, attitudes, ideology, morality and meanings are exercised in the whole society. This hegemonic task is therefore carried out by the whole range of specialised societal institutions. In this respect Williams 38 notes:

Hegemony is then not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology', nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination'. It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values constitutive and constituting which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute bacause experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society

^{08.} Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature, Oxford University Press, London 1977, pp. 110.

to move, in most areas of their lives. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a 'culture', but a culture which has to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes.

And further points out an important aspect of the concept where he writes:

The reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in the society. 39

Hence, within each country, domination and subordination can be manifested in terms of class, race, ethic groups or regions. All these forms of domination are part and parcel of African developmental experience. Gramsci points at this important dimension where he says "every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and worldwide field, between complexes of national and continental civilizations". This international dimension is particularly a critical point of departure in the theory of underdevelopment which has emerged as a critique of structural-functionalism as applied in the developing countries in form of modernisation and human capital.

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

^{79.} Ibid. p. 113.

exploitation of the satellite countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the netropolitan capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, and Japan. 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 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 mational economy. 40

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 Marxist 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, under-

^{40.} This is evident of writers such as Andre Frank, E. Lachau, Walter Rodney, Colin Leys, Geoffrey Kay, Aidan Foster-Carter, Jairus Banaji and Immanuel Wallerstein.

development 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 undeveloped, state, but their development has been historically conditioned (first under direct colonialism and later through indirect forms of political and economis 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 and Japan. 41 Hence, the path of an autonomous capitalist development has been blocked and distrorted by the predominant and unequal relations that have energed from this world-wide phenomenon, by the fact that international division of labour allocates these countries the role of producers of row materials and/or semi-manufactured materials and a market for industrial goods. Although the situation in the Third World countries is complex, differentiated and the level, extent and nature of each country's involvement in the capitalist world economy differs. 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.

^{41.} Geoffrey Kay, Development and Underdevelopment: A Markist Analysis. Pacmillan 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).

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 s large extent, the structural problems of underdevelopment as those of metropolis satellite polarization. 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 nodes 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 modes of production f from a social formulation, and he wrongly assumes that exchange relations dominate production relations and that metropolissatellite structures come before classes."43

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. 44 Today,

^{42:} Andre Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review Press, New York. 1967.

^{43.} Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment." World Development, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March, 1976).

^{44.} For an 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.

we can therefore argue that despite the fruitful debates that have energed 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. ⁴⁵ Tan Roxborough has spelled out the major areas of debate regarding the peculiar internal conditions which distinguish dependent countries from advance 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.

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 conomic system. Hamza Alavi and Jairus Banaji have sought the explanations of this phenomenon within the context of what has

^{45.} Andre Gunder Frank, "Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: An Answer to Critics", World Developme 48, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1977), pp. 335-370. World

been termed a colonial mode of production which stipulates that the social formation in the colonial and post-colonial societies represent a distinct and fdifferent mode of production from the capitalist mode of production which emerged in Europe and later spread to North America. 47 This argument does not deny the relationship between the colonial mode of production and the capitalist mode of production as it was developed in Europe. Indeed, the latter mode of production has energed 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 capitalist 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."48 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 capitalist which has developed differently from that of Europe. Kay has emphasised the role of merchant capital and later industrial capital and how it affected the development or productive forces which were essential for capitalist development. 49 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

^{47.} 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).

^{48.} Banaji, "For a Theory of Colonial Modes of Production".

^{49.} Kay, Development and Underdevelopment, op.cit.

"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. 50 Hence, capitalism in these countries takes a clearly distinct form from that of autocentric economies. Amin has termed this peripheral capitalism.

Other theoriets 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. Thus, while rejecting the argument that there is a distinct colonial mode of production, it is accepted that the 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 underdevelopment debate. 52

In recognizing that the incorporation 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

^{50.} Amin, <u>Unequal Development</u>, <u>op.cit</u>. For a critical view on Samir Amin | see Jonathan Schiffer, "The Changing Post-War Pattern: The Accumulated Wisdom of Samir Amin," <u>World Development</u>, Vol 9 No. 6 June 1981 pp. 515-537.

^{51.} For a summary of the major formulations in these terms, see Foster-Carter, "The Hodes of Production Controversy", op.cit.

^{52.} Ibid, . pp. 75-67.

dominant in these social formations, we are also saying that the nature of capitalist penetrotion in 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.

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. 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

^{53.} 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.

social formation and how it affects the development of education. 54 In general, therefore, his analysis of the development of education is not linked to the internal development of a capitalist mode of production and how this mode of production articulates with other modes of production to produce different patterns of education -1 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 55 but needs to be demonstrated in each specific context of colonial and postcolonial social formation. Proposals for any alternative development or education should emerge from this concrete analysis and not generalities.

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 fromation. Marjorie Mbilinyi in her analysis of education reform in Tanzania has attempted to show the inter-connections and linkages between the production process

Martin Calnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, David Mackay Company, New York, 1974. However, a more recent article attempts to come to terms with this problem. See Hartin Carnoy, "Education for Alternative Development", Comparative Education Review, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1982. pp. 160-177.

^{55.} Ibid., (1979) p. 43; and also Dickson A Mungazi, The Underdevelopment of African Education. A Black Zimbabwean Perspective, Washington D.C. University Press of America, 1982.

and the development of education. ⁵⁶ We shall say more about her work later on.

At this juncture it is important to mention two African scholars who have been repioneers in utilising the conflict paradigm in analysis of the development of Western education in colonial and post-colonial Africa. They are Abdou Moumouni in his pioneering work, Education in Africa (1968) and Walter Rodney in his popular book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1974). The two scholars have attempted to show the linkages between the development of education and the underdevelopment of colonial Africa. They have emphasised the need of analysing the totality of foreign domination on the economy, politics and culture of subordinated people.

Rodney has argued that the "colonial schooling was education for subordination, emploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment". ⁵⁸ His contention revolves around three key elements of colonial education. First, and most important, is the economic function of education in the colonial division of labour. The second aspect 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 Equapse, leading to entrepreneurship and

^{56.} Marjorie Shbilinyi, "Contradictions in Tanzania Education Reform" in Λ. Coulson (ed) <u>Λfrican Socialism in Practice:</u>
The Tanzania Emperience, Nottingham, England Spokesman, 1979, pp. 217-227,

^{57.} Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa, Andre Deltsch, London, 1968 and Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Howard University Press, Washington D.C. 1974.

^{58.} Rodney, Ibid., p. 241; See also A Bujra and T. Mkadawire, The Evolution of Social Science in Africa: Problems and Projects African Development, Vol. V, No. 1, 1980.

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. 59 The third element of colonial education was that it was an instrument of cultural imperialism. This was done through the language of instruction, the curriculum content 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 for our now not independent of one another, but were rather intertwined and interacted in producing the superstructure of underdevelopment.

6. An Analysis of Tanzania Education Experience:

Walter Rodney's approach to education and underdevelopment is followed by Hirji in his analysis of education in Tanzania. 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 post-

^{59.} Rodney Ibid., p. 254-255

^{60.} K.F. Hirji, "School Education and Underdevelopment in Tennalis, Maji Maji 12 (September, 1973), pp. 1-22.

colonial period, such as the unemployment of school leavers. His attempt to locate this problem within the context of underdevelopment 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 scheue which distinguishes the character of the state, state power and the apparatuses of repression and ideological control. 61 Using the concept of 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. 62 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. We need however to point out that Hirji takes Althusser's formulation wholesale without sujecting it to many criticisms on the grounds that it overemphasises the role of ideology in reproduction and leaves out any active role of people in the reproduction of their social conditions of existence in a given social formation.

Recognising this problem, Marjorie Mbilinyi has located the analysis of education reforms in Tanzania in the context of an underdeveloped capitalist social formation which is characterised

^{61.} Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in R. Cosin, (ed.) Education: Structure and Society, Penguin Books, Hammondsworth, 1972.

^{62.} I.G. Shivji, Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle, Monthly Review, New York, 1975.

by heavy dependency on peasant household production of agricultural commodities. She attempts to avoid what the calls 'functionalism' of ideological determinism that is evident in Hirji and her earlier writings 4 and which is heavily indebted to Althusser. She argues:

Although the economic level ultimately determines the very conditions of existence which 'allow' for political or ideological level to be determinant at a given moment, the political and ideological levels are never simple reflections of the economic level. The relationships between the three levels must be examined at the specific level of the given social formation conceived of in a dynamic sense.

...the ruling class struggles to establish and reproduce its hegemony with respect to all levels of the social formation, and these struggles are obviously against the 'opposite' struggles of the exploited classes.

From this theoritical perspective Mbilinyi analyses Tanzania education reform policies since 1967, their implementation, and the outcomes. She observes how these reforms on one hand enhances capitalist penetration in the countryside, while at the same time sharpens contradictions within the education system and in the relationship between education system and other societal. institutions and processes. Her analysis shows the nature of

^{63.} Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Contradictions in Tanzania Education Reform", op.cit.

^{64.} In particular see, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", nimeo, 1977. Also see E.S. Kisanga, "Ideological State Apparatus Reproduces Existing Production Relations: The Case of Ndonda Educational Institution" in Papers in Education and Development, No. 5, University of Dar es Salaan, 1978.

^{65.} Mbilinyi, op.cit., p. 217.

conflicts and struggles which have energed in schools and the education system as a result of the reforms articulated and implemented by the post-colonial state of Tanzania. In conclusion she observes:

Tanzania policy statements are clearly contradictory given the structure of decision-making, power and control developing within the schools and within the production system and the fundamental relations of production between capital and peasant labour which appear to be strongthened by the implementation of the very same policy statements. The ideas of mwongozo, of Decentralisation, of Musona and Education for Self Reliance have contributed to the growing struggles by workers and peasants and students for control over state instruments like . schools and over production and distribution enterprises, and over a greater share of the surplus produced by themselves.

Tanzania is one of the few African countries that attempted at transforming education and the society in general. This experience need to the critically evaluated not only from the standpoint of practice and implementation, but also from theoritical perspective which guided its formulation and practice. The debates which have ranged in Tanzania since the Arusha Declaration in 1967 form a good basis of a search for the analytic paradigm that can distill lessons from this tantalizing but frustrating developmental experience. The class basis of Tanzania development strategy and its supposed failure has unfortunately not been analysed as critically as it should be. Teff Unsicker surveying the situation in adult education has indicated what perhaps stifles this attention, that

^{66.} Mbilinyi, op.cit., p. 226.

^{67.} For an interesting analysis of why Tanzania Socialism has failed see James H. Weaver and k/lexander Kroneuer, "Tanzania and African Socialism" World Development, Vol. 9 No. 9/10 pp. 839-849, 1981.

is the predominance of "the ujamaa ideology of the national leadership that authors most of the literature" and "the functionalist social science models of western consultants and academics who have authored most of external literature. This points at the question of the way research environments (internal and external) can have tremendous implications to the pradigms utilised in the analysis of education and development process as a whole not only in Tanzania but in Africa. 69

7. Challenges to the Dominant Hegemony in Kenyan Education:

Kenya offers interesting experiences—which challenge the dominant, begenony, and at the same time attempt to provide an alternative paradigm for the analysis of formal and informal education. This phenomenon is particularly striking in that it does not come from the narrow confines of scholarly discipline of education or research and studies thereof, but has rather energed from literary writings and community development efforts at the grassroot level. The contributions here have developed despite and inspite of the state position on education. This is an instance of counter-begenony, which reinforces Raymond Villiams' observation that "the reality of any begenony...while by definition is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive..lforms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture—exist as significant elements in the society". 70

^{68.} Jeff Unsicker, "Revolution by Adult Education?: A Survey of the Literature on Rural Adult Education in Tanzania", mineo, 1984; and for writings which represent these two tendencies see, Fapers in Education Development No s. 1-5 (1975-1981), Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaga.

^{69.} Sheldon Shaeffer and John A. Nkinyangi, Educational Research Environments in the Developing World, IDRC, Ottowa, 1983.

^{70.} Raywond Williams op.cit. p.113.

The Granscian concepts of hegenony in analysis of the society is therefore pertinent in this situation.

Two broad trends are notable in the way these educational experiments have energed in the literature. The first thrust is represented by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and has had its intellectual base at the Department of literature of the University of Nairobi. This thrust has manifested itself on the levels of social analysis, teaching and involvement at grassroot level which has produced a socially committed literature and theatre movement in Kenya.

The contribution at the analytical level owes much to the essays 71 and novels by Ngugi wa Thiong to. Through characters like Munira, Karega 22 and Gatuiria, 73 in Petals of Blood (1977) and Devil on the Cross (1980). Ngugi provides a powerful critique of the dominant (colonial and post-colonial) education and attempts to indicate a radical nationalist type of education. At times analysis become poleuic almost to the extent of robbing his novels their literary qualities which he and displayed in earlier works like A Grain of Wheat (1964). These works, however, display a radicalised writer who is disillusioned by various forus and institutions, neo-colonial education, which he would like to see transformed in the interests of subordinated classes. The contribution in form of teaching has occured at the Literature Department and then diffused ' into schools. It is also possible that works emanating from these sources have had an educational value in the society for beyond what is sometimes realised. It

^{71.} Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Writers in Politics Heinemann Nairobi, 1981 and Education and Culture, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1982.

^{72.} See Petals of Blood, for these two characters see pp. 52-53, 116-173, 192-200, 228, 236 and 246-247.

^{73.} See Devil on the Cross - for Gaturia's on education. see pp. 35, 56-68, 132-134, 204-205, 208-209 and 224; and Waringa pp. 184-190.

is difficult, though interesting, to assess the impact of the writings offered in national languages of verious ethnic groups. The educational and cultural value of these works is still to be realised. And so is the resurgence of African oral literature which has been incorporated in the secondary schools literature curriculum. Equally important is the emergence of theatre at grassroot level and in the schools. The experience of Kamirithu Educational and Cultural Centre, the University Travelling theatre and the Secondary Schools Theatre activities are educational experiences which are inspired by a different world view based more on conflict rather than 'order' paradigm.

The energence of the Development Education Programme (1972-1983) within the framework of the Roman Catholic Church is another interesting education phenomenon in Kenya. There is limited scholarly materials on this programme, ⁷⁴ although it is by far the most successful, interesting and far-reaching education innovation at the grassroot level in the last ten years.

The Development education programme has been action-oriented community based education programme which has been inspired by and indebted to the writings of Paulo Freire. There have been also limited influences from theories of human relations, organisations and Gramscian analytical model. These influences have come through church related institutions and have been creatively utilised to develop a conscientization process for peasants and rural workers.

The Kenya experience, like that of Tanzania, is represented briefly and in general terms, but left at this juncture with the hope that a detailed analytical work will be forthcoming.

^{74.} Two M.A. theses have been written on this programme, and a Major Evaluation was completed in 1983. These efforts have not yet received wide attention outside religious circles.

A book which tells the story of this programme is in preparation.

We are of the view that a systematic and detailed analytical work of educational experiences of these two countries in terms of the energing alternative paradigms would go along way to inform and provide an important interpretative model for education and development in Africa.

8. Conclusion

There are some interesting experiments and innovations in education process which are going on all over Africa, from Botswana to Ethiopia and from Mozambique to Senegal. These alternative forms of schooling and education are in some instances fostered by the state while in others they represent a movement of the subordinate classes to change the dominant hegemony. These efforts are at the same time challenging social scientists in the way they study, analyse and interprete the prevailing reality. Increasingly this challenge is being posed from a Neo-Marxist standpoint and thereby challenging the dominance of the structural functionalism in African social sciences. This search is inspired by both internal and external circumstances which have conditioned and stunted African development.

This paper is therefore an exploratory attempt to locate the study of education and development in the social science paradigms. We have noted the dominance of theories emanating from 'order' paradigm, and thereby have attempted to bring out the energing studies—influenced by conflict paradigm. We have utilised some of the current formulation of conflict theories which we feel have a direct relevance to our situation. The search of alternative paradigms, we have observed, has to go beyond the narrow confines of education to fields like economics, political science, sociology, theology and literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1. Abernathy, David B. The Political Dilemma of Popular Education:
 An African Case. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1969.
- 2. Achebe, Chinua Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays: Heinenann Educational, London, 1975.
- 3. Alavi, Hanze. "India and the Colonial Mode of Production." Socialist Register, London, 1975
- Ake, Claude. "The Political Economy Approach: Historical and Explanatory Notes on a Marxian Legacy in Africa." Africa Development, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1983
- 7. Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," In R. Cosin (ed), Education: Structure and Society.

 Penguin Books, Hannondsworth, 1972.
- 6. Anir. Unequal Development: An Essay on Social Formations of Pheripheral Capitalism. Harvester Press, England, 1976.
- 7. Imperialism and Unequal Development. The Harvester Press, England, 1977.
- Anderson, John. The Struggle for the School: The Interation of Missionary Colonial Covernment and Nationalist Enterprise in the Development of Formal Education in Kenya. Longuan Group, London, 1970.
- 9. Apple, Michael M. Ideology and Curriculum. Routledge & Kegan Faul, London, 1979.
- 10. Ayoob, Mohaamed. "The Revolutionary Thurst of Islamic Political Tradition." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2 April, 1981.
- 11. Babu, Abdul Rahman M. African Socialism or Socialist Africa? Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaan, Tanzania, November 1981.
- 12. Banaji, Jairus. "For a Theory of Colonial Modes of Production." Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 52, 1972.
- . "Backward Capitalism: Primitive Accumulation and Modes of Production." Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 4, 1977.
- 14. Barton, Leu and Roland Meighan (ed). Sociological Interpretation of Schooling and Class-rooms: A Reappraisal. Nafferton Books.

 New York, 1978.

- 15. Benghe, Pierre Van Dden." Dialetic and Functionalism: Towards a Theoretical Syrethesis." American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVIII,
- 16. Bergan, Edward H. "Foundations: United Nations Foreign Policy and African Education 1945-1975." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 49, May, 1979.
- 17. "The Extention of Ideology: Foundation Support for Intermediate Organizations and Forums." Comparative Education Review. Vol. 26, No. 1, Feb., 1982.
- 18. Boesak, Allan A. Farewell to Innocense: A Socio-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Power. Orbis Books, New York, 1981.
- 19. Botchway, Kwesi. "Marxish and the Analysis of the African Reality". African Development, Vol. II, No. 1, 1977.
- 20. Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean Claude Pessen. Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, Sage Publishers, London, 1979.
- 21. Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America. Basic Books, New York, 1976.
- 22. Braine, Bernard. "A Marshall Plan for the Third World." The Third World Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2, April, 1979.
- 23. Bujra, Abdalla S. and Thandika Mkandawire. "The Evolution of Social Science in Africa Problems and Prospects." Africa Development, Vol. V, No. 1, 1980.
- 24. Burrell, G. and G. Moran. Sociology, Paradigms and Organisation Analysis. Heineman, London, 1979.
- 25. Carnoy, Martin. Education as Cultural Imperialism David Mackey Company, New York, 1974.
- 26. "Education for Alternative Development." Comparative Education Review Vol. 26, No. 2, 1982.
- 27. Christian Development Education Service. (Kenya). The Major Evaluation of Development Education in Kenya. Nairobi, 1983.
- 28. Clignet, Red and Philip Faster. The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in Ivory Coast. North Western University Press, Evanston, 1966.
- 29. Coleman, James S. Education and Political Development. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965.
- 30. Collins, Rondall. "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification, 1971." in B.R. Cosin (ed), Education Structure and Society. Penguin Books, Hammondworth, 1972.

- 31. Conflict Sociology: 1. words and on Explanatory Science. Academic Press, New York, 1975.
- 32. Coser, Lewis. The Function of Social Conflict. The Free Press, New York, 1956.
- 33. Continuities in the Study of Conflict. The Free Press, New York, 1967.
- 34. Coulson, A. (ed). African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzania Experience. Nottingham, England Spokesmand, 1979.
- 35. Court, David and Dharam Ghai (ed). Education, Society and Development, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1974.
- 36. Cosin, B.R. (ed) Education Structure and Society. Penguin. Books, Haumondworth, 1972.
- 37. Curle, Adam, Educational Problems of Developing Societics: ...
 With Case Studies of Ghana and Pakistan. Praeger Publishers,
 New York, 1969.
- 38. Daedalus, "Black Africa: A Generation After Independence."

 Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Science, Spring,

 1982.
- 39. Dalmondorf, Ralf. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1959.
- 40. Dias, Carlos. "Education and Production in Guinea Bissa."
 Development Dialogue, No. 2, 1978.
- 41. Entwistle, Harold. Antonio Gransci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics. Lowe and Brydone, London, 1979.
- 42. Ergas, Zaki. "Can Education be used as a Tool to Build a Socialistic Society in Africa? The Tanzanian Case."

 Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1982.
- 43. Fanon, Frantz, The Wretched of the Earth. Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1967.
- 44. Foster-Carter, Aidan. "Neo-Marxist Approaches to Development and Underdevelopment." Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 3, 1, 1973.
- New Left Wing Review No. 107, Jan./Feb. 1978.
- Paradigus in the Analysis of Under Development". World Development Vol. 4, No. 3, March, 1976.

- 47. Foster, Philip. Education and Social Change in Ghana. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1975.
- 48. Frank, Andre Gunder. Capitalisa and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967.
- 49. Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution. Honthly Review Press, New York, 1970.
- 50. "Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and Class Struggle: An Answer to Critics." World Development. 48, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1977.
- 51. Freire, Paulo, <u>Pedology</u> in <u>Process</u>: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau. Seabury Press, New York, 1978.
- 52. Glunckman, Max. Custous and Conflict in Africa. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.
- 53. Goulder, Alvin W. The Two Marxisus: Contradictions and Anomalies in the Development of Theory. Oxford University Press, New York, 1980.
- 54. The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology. Basic Books, Inc. New York, September, 1971.
- 55. Gutkind, Peter and Peter Waterman (ed). African Social Studies:
 A Radical Reader. Heinemann, London, 1981.
- 56. Habernas, Jurgen. Knowledge and Hudan Interest. Unitarian Universalist Assoc. Toronto, Canada, 1971.
- 57. Hastings, Adrian. A History of African Christianity 1950-1975. Cambridge. University Press, London, 1979.
- 58. Halsey, All, Houd, Jean and C.A. Anderson (eds). Education, Economy and Society: A Leader in the Sociology of Education. Free Press, New York, 1961.
- 59. Harbison, Frederick and Charles A. Myers. Education,
 Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies in Human Resources
 Development. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964.
- 60. Hinzen, H. and V.H. Hundsdorfer (Ed). Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience. Unesco Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1979.
- 61. Hirst, Paul Q. Social Evolution and Sociological Categories. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1976.
- 62. Hirji, K.F. "School Education and Underdevelopment in Tanzania." Maji Maji 12, Sept. 1983.

- 63. Hoars, Quintan and Nowell G. Smith (ed). Selection From the Prison notebooks c. Antonio Gransci, in antional Publishers, New York, 1971.
- 64. Hope, Anne and Sally Titmel. Training for Transformation:

 A Handbook for Community Workers (Vol. 1-3). Manbo Press,

 Gweru, Zintabwe, 1984
- 65. Jolly, Richard. Planning Education for African Development:
 Economic and Manpower Perspective. East African Publishing
 House, Nairobi, 1965.
- 66. Kay, Geoffrey. Development and Underdevelopment: A Marxist Analysis. Macmillan Press, London, 1975.
- 67. Karabel, J. and A.H. Halsey, (eds). Power and Ideology in Education. Oxford University Press, New York, 1977.
- 68. Kisanga, E.S. "Ideological State Apparatus Reproduces Existing Production Relations: The Case of Ndanda Educational Institution," in Papers in Education and Development, No. 5, University of Dar es Salaau, 1978.
- 69. Kubi, Kofi Appiah and Segio Torres. African Theology en Route. Papers from the Pan African Conference of Third World Theologians, December 17-23, 1977. Accra, Ghana. Orbis Books, Marykmoll, New York, 1979.
- 70. Kuhanga, Nicholas, "Education and Self-Reliance in Tanzania: A National Perspective," Development Dialogue, No. 2, 1978.
- 71. Kuhn, Thomas. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962. (2nd Edition).
- 72. Laclan, Ernesto, Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory. Lowe & Brydon Printers, London, 1977.
- 73. Lerner, Daniel. "Modernization: Social Aspect," in International Encyclopedia of Social Science, New York, 1969.
- 74. Leys, Colin. Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Meo-Colonialism, 1964-1971. Heinenam Educational Books, London, 1975,
- 75. "Underdevelopment and Dependency Notes."

 Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1977.
- 76. Luleau Georg. History and Class Consciousness Studies in Marxist Dialectics. Herlin Press, London, 1971.
- 77. Mbilinyi, Marjorie. "Contradictions in Tanzania Education Reform," in A. Coulson (ed), African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzania Experience. Nottingham, England Spokesman, 1979.

- 78. Mills, Wright C. The Sociological Imagination. Oxford University Press, Inc. New York, 1959.
- 79. Moumouni, Abdou. Education in Africa. Andre Deutsch, London, 1968.
- 80. Mungazi, Dickson A. The Underdevelopment of African Education. A Black Zimbabwean Perspective. Washington D.C., University Press of America, 1982.
- 81. Nash, Manning. "Islam in Iran, Turnoil, Transformation or Transcendence?" World Development, Vol. 8, No. 7/8, July/August, 1980.
- 82. Parson, Talcott. Structure and Process in Modern Societies. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.
- 83. "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29, Fall, 1959.
- 84. Paulston, Rolland G. "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Francework." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, No. 2/3, June-October, 1977.
- 85. Pring, Richard. Knowledge and Schooling. Open Books Publishing, London, 1976.
- 86. Qureshi, Salcen. "Islam and Development: The Zia Regime in Pakistan." World Development, Vol. 8, No. 7/8, July/August, 1980.
- 87. Rajab, Ibrahim A. "Islam and Development". World Development, Vol. 8, No. 7/8, July/August, 1980.
- 88. Rensburg, Patrick Van. "The Foundation for Education with Production A New Force for Educational and Social Transformation." "Journal of the Foundation for Education with Production, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1981.
- 89. "Education and Production as a Lever for Another Development." Development Dialogue, No. 2, 1978.
- 90. Rodney, Walter. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Howard University Press, Washington D.C., 1984.
- 91. Roxborough, Ian. "Dependency Theory in the Sociology of Development: Some Theoretical Problems." West African Journal of Sociology and Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 2 1976.
- 92. Sanoff, Joel and Suleman Sumra. "Revolution by Education in Tanzania: A Reassement." Mineo, January, 1984.

- 93. Schaltzberg, Michael G. "Conflict and Gulture in African Education: Authority Patterns in Camerocalan Lycee." Comparative Education Review. Vol. 23 No. 1, February, 1979.
- 94. Seers, Duddley. "The Meaning for Development." International Development Review, Vol. II, No. 4, December, 1984.
- 95. Schiffer, Jonathan. "The Changing Post-War Pattern of Development: The Accumulated Wisdom of Samir Amin." World Development, Vol. 9, No. 6, June, 1976.
- 96. Shaffer, S. and J.A. Nkinyangi. Education Research Environments in the Developing World. International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, kCanada, 1973.
- 97. Sharp, Rachel. Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of School: Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980.
- 98. Sharp, Rachel and Antony Green. Education and Social Control:
 A Study in Progressive Primary Education. Routledge & Kegan
 Paul, London, 1975,
- 99. Sheffield, James. Education, Employment and Rural Development. East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967.
- 100. Sheffield, James and V.P. Diejonah. Non-formal Education in African Development: Micro Solutions to Macro Problems. Columbia University Press, Columbia, 1971.
- 101. Shivji, I.G. Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle. Monthly Review, Press, New York, 1975.
- 102. Shouries, A. "Poverty and Inequalities." Foreign Affairs, June, 1973.
- 103. "Growth Without Development." U.N. Development Forum, June, 1973.
- 104. Suart, Bary. Sociology, Phenomenology and Markian Analysis: A Critical-Discussion of the Theory and Practice of a Science of Society. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976.
- 105. Stein, Maurice and Arthur Vidich. Sociology on Trial. Prentice-Hall, Inc. United States of America, 1963.
- 106. Stevens, Phillips Jr. (ed). The Social Sciences and Development Planning. Crossroads Press, United States of America, 1978.
- 107. Stifel, Laurence D., Rolph K. Davidson, and James S. Coleman (ed). Social Sciences and Public Policy in the Developing World. D.C. Health and Coupany, Toronto, Canada, 1982.

- 108. Thiong'o, Ngugi Wa. Writers in Politics. Heinemann, Nairobi, 1981.
- 109. Education and Culture. Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1982.
- 110. ______. Potals of Blood. Heinemann, Mairobi, 1977.
- Devil on the Cross. Heinemann, Nairobi,
- 112. Therborn, Goran. Science Class and Society: On the Fortation of Sociology and Historical Materialism. Redwood Burn, London, 1980.
- 11.3. . The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, Redwood Burn, London, 1980.
- 114. Tipps, Dean C. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." Comparative Studies in Society and History, 15, January, 1973.
- 115. Turner, H.W. "African Independent Churches and Education."
 Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1975.
- in the Modernization of Africa.", Journal of Religious Movements Africa, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1968.
- 117. Unsicker, Jeff. "Revolution by Adult Education: A Survey of the Literature on Rural Education in Tanzania." Mineo, 1984.
- 118. Ward, F. Charron (ed). Education and Development Reconsidered:
 The Bellagio Conference Papers. Praeger Publishers, New York,
 1974.
- 119. Weaver, James H. and Alexander Knoneuer "Tanzania and African. Socialism." World Development. Vol. 9, No. 9/10, 1981.
- 120. Whitty, Geoff and Michael Young. Exploration in the Politics of School Knowledge. Cheshire Type setters, Chester, 1976.
- 121. William, Raymond. Marxism and Literature. Oxford University Press, London, 1977
- 122. William, Gayrand S. and James H. Come. Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979. Orbis Books, Maryknoll. Hew York, 1982.
- 123. Young, Michael F.D. Knowledge and Control: New Direction for the Sociology of Education. Collier-Machillan Publishers, London, 1971.