A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION IN THE THIRD WORLD AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

by

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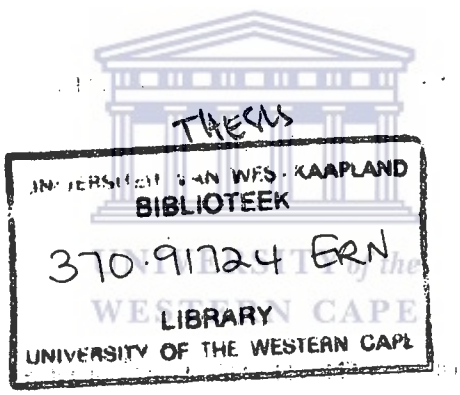

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SUBJECT AND IT'S CHOICE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation sets out to clarify three issues:

(a) the relevant concepts applicable to rural development and education;

(b) alternative theories relating to rural development;

(c) the aims and objectives of education as a component of the process of rural development.

The greater part of the analysis relates to the needs of the Third World, with an emphasis on Africa (as opposed to the entire Third World). Within the African context, these needs should be seen against a background created by political, economic and demographic changes. Throughout the educational process the concept of education as learning, and not simply as schooling, has had important implications for development, in particular rural development. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to trace the relationship between life and work by citing various education programmes within the rural context. Here, emphasis will be placed on Zimbabwe which serves as a case-study to

illustrate the conceptual context on which the analysis is based.

1.2 WHY THE THIRD WORLD?

The origin of the term "Third World" stems from Alfred Sauvy, who in 1956, used it for the first time. At the time, it was considered to be analogous with the French interpretation of the Third Estate (Nogueira, 1967:30). Today, the term is used to illustrate internal development and progress (or lack thereof) in less developed countries.

The model of the three "worlds": the First World of advanced industrial capitalism; the Communist (industrial socialist) "Second" World of the U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe, North Korea, Cuba and North Vietnam; and the "Third" World of less developed, poor primarily rural countries became commonly accepted after the Second World War. For the purpose of this dissertation, a clarification of these terms are necessary.

Giddens (1989:55) draws a distinction between First, Second and Third World societies:

First World Societies: are based on industrial production and free enterprise. Only a small percentage of the population works in agriculture and the majority of people

live in towns and cities. Major class inequalities exist within the First World.

Second World Societies: traditionally, these societies have an industrial base, but the economic system is centrally planned. Only a small proportion of the population works in agriculture, and most people live in cities or towns. Major class inequalities exist, although the aim is to create a "classless" system. However, with the collapse of communism in the former East bloc countries during the 1990's, this situation has changed.

Third World Societies: in which the majority of the population works in agriculture, and lives in rural areas. A large proportion of agricultural produce is sold on world markets. Some Third World countries have free enterprise systems, whilst others are centrally planned.

However, further delineation of the "Third World" is provided when examined in an international context, especially when viewed as (a) claimant; and (b) accuser. The Third World is claimant, i.e. it claims that its members, when fulfilling certain stages of development, training and adaptation, will enable them to achieve parity with the highly industrial nations. An illusion is however

created, as these countries are aware of the fact that they do not possess the resources and the means for attaining their objectives. In turn, the Third World is also accuser, in the sense that it holds the West responsible for the predicament of underdevelopment which is experienced in most cases. This is illustrated by three aspects:

(a) by implementing policies of colonialism (and thereby preventing development), the highly developed countries of the West are responsible for the backwardness of the Third World;

(b) the West exploited and extorted for their own use the natural and human resources of the Third World;

(c) as a source of reparation and indemnification, the West now has a moral obligation to provide economic and financial aid to poor and backward countries.

(Nogueira,1967:34-39)

Various characteristics of the Third World can be cited:

(1) poor quality of life are indicated by:

- extreme poverty
- poor housing
- malnutrition
- low levels of education
- high mortality and morbidity rates
- low GDPs and GNPs

(2) low levels of productivity because of:

- low levels of skills (managerial and technical skills)
- lack of capital and technology.

(3) the Third World has a high population growth rate.

(4) a high level of unemployment and underemployment exists.

5) Third World countries tend to have a larger agricultural than industrial workforce. 80% of the Third World is dependant on subsistence agriculture.

(Todaro, 1977:24-23)

Despite the afore-mentioned classification, some countries characterized as "Third World" countries do not traditionally share all the same features. As with new industrializing countries, only one or two of these features may exist. The "Third World" is not a neutral term and therefore it should not be treated as a homogenous or uniform bloc. Rather, it has political implications because the way it is used "always implies a certain relationship between the regions and the segments of the population thus designated" (Sharp, 1988:111).

It should also be borne in mind that despite the distinction being drawn between the "three" worlds,

(merely for analytical purposes), a dialectical relationship exists. Hence, the "three" worlds are interconnected and closely related. Industrialized countries depend on raw materials and manufactured products coming from Third World countries. Conversely, the economies of Third World states depend on trading networks that "tie" them to the industrialized countries (Giddens, 1989:56) and (Sharp, 1988:112). This exposition relies heavily on dependency theories, as is evident in the centre-periphery argument presented in chapter 2. Therefore, the choice of the Third World as a topic of discussion is important for the analysis of conditions prevalent in Africa.

1.3 WHY RURAL DEVELOPMENT?

Since the selected problem is at the very base of research "it is important to work out .... what the research questions are one wants answered and to design the research design accordingly" (Simon, 1979:2). Therefore it is of sociological importance that the topic should contain "sociological theoretical relevance" and perhaps further stimulate studies in this direction. With reference to the relevant rural development situation in general, the research problem has been formulated as "a socio-historical analysis of education in the Third World with it's

implications for rural development", thereby concentrating on the period 1960-1985.

Since the 1960's there has been an international focus on 'development'. The goal of the United Nations First Development Decade (1960-1970) was to "accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economy in individual nations (and) to obtain a substantial increase in the rate of growth" (Karl, 1983:61). Nonetheless, the emphasis on research on less developed countries during the 1960's was prompted by political events which marked the end of old colonial empires as Third World countries struggled for national independence with the key theme being "democracy, prosperity and self-rule .... (as) the vision of African independence" (Sandbrook, 1985:1). However, 30 years later, another 'historical epoch' appears to have replaced the original 'vision'. The socio-economic development that had been anticipated for Third World countries did not materialize, nor did education produce the desired results. Development first pre-occupied Africanist literature, but 'crisis' is now the dominant theme. Ravenhill (1986:2) thus provides a bleak analysis of conditions in Africa when he speaks of Africa "suffering an economic crisis (i.e. stagnation) of a magnitude unprecedented in its recent history". Hence, this dissertation concentrates on the

period 1960-1985, as it highlights a shift in the debate over development and the deepening crisis in Africa.

In addition, this period also highlights a shift in the debate over capitalist development from emphasis on the First World to that of the Third World. The 1950's marks an era when the dominant approach was synonymous with modernisation. However, the 1960's marked a period when scholars searched for alternative theoretical tools to trace the relationship between developed and Third World countries. This new model of development focused on dependency and aimed at analyzing the development process and the relationship of education to that process. These two perspectives, on the debate over development in the Third World will be discussed in chapter 2.

From a review of relevant literature on the topic, it becomes clear that rural development involves much more than economic aspects. It refers to helping the poorest of the rural poor to produce enough food to meet their basic needs. It also means improving their basic health conditions as well as opening up new employment opportunities, thus building more equitable rural societies. However, for many parts of Africa there is no evidence that "development" is taking place. Rather, the

quality of life for the majority of Africa's inhabitants has been declining. Therefore, in order to explore the context of the crisis (as economies stagnate), rural structures will be examined to analyze how members of specific rural communities draw upon their own resources (educational) in order to survive.

1.4 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

1.4.1 Details of Research Design

The sources of data that are available to social scientists are numerous and varied. Generally the sources can be divided into documentary and field sources :

(a) Field Sources: this method includes interviews with people who have knowledge of social conditions. These people are in a position to describe not only the existing state of affairs but also observable trends in the social process. Such people are regarded as direct sources. Although this kind of information would have provided valuable insight into the development of education and rural programmes in the Third World, the alternative source of information, namely, a documentary study of relevant literature was used.

(b) Documentary Sources: "Most books are not based on

information gathered for the purpose, but are collections of material often first published in articles that have been organised by the author to present a new perspective on an issue" (Shipman, 1972:107). Articles based on primary sources, and books based on secondary data have become the basis of this research.

1.4.2 Method of Analysis

The most appropriate research design chosen for the topic selected is that of a documentary study.

(a) Choice of Research Design

Documents can be classified in terms of diverse characteristics and appear in a variety of types. The chosen design also provides the criteria for the scientific evaluation of documents.

The choice of a documentary study was further determined by the fact that it enables the researcher to do research on subjects to which physical access is not freely available. (For example, a case-study of "work with production" in Zimbabwe). A documentary study of secondary sources was appropriate so that the process of longitudinal analysis could be applied. This type of analysis enables us to determine a trend in the past 20 years of the development

of education and it's effect on the people concerned.

(b) Types of Documents Used

(i) Official Documents: these are usually accepted as authentic and mostly considered as primary sources, insofar as they are published by the same official departments that collected the data. In the search for references to legislative measures pertaining to education and rural development, the following documents were consulted:

(1) Parliamentary Reports (Annual Reports of various departments)

- Zimbabwean Presidential Circular, Community Development Division.

(2) Reports from local authorities and commissions of enquiry:

- The de Lange Report (South Africa)
- World Bank Reports
- Preliminary Reports of The Commercial Farmers Union in Zimbabwe.

(3) Statistical Yearbooks published annually by the department of Census and Statistics in South Africa.

- Educational Statistics Handbook, Ministry of National Education, Zimbabwe.

(ii) Non-Official Documents: there are also large groups of organisations who publish documents from time to time,

thereby supplying information. These documents were consulted since it is highly unlikely that official documents would acknowledge the discontent of the people concerned, or acknowledge various reports conflicting with government ideologies.

For an in depth study of adult education and rural development in Africa, and criticisms of various policies and tendencies, publications of manuscripts and reports have been consulted.

Other non-official documents of importance were :

(a) Reports of Organisations: SALDRU Reports on Farm Labour; Learn and Teach Annual Reports; Reports of the Foundation for Rural Community Development.
With reference to Zimbabwe: UNESCO Report on Education in Africa in the Light of the Lagos Conference 1976; UNESCO Report on Project Results, Conclusions and Recommendations (WOALLP); The World Bank Report of the External Advisory Panel on Education - 1978, 1986, 1989.

(b) Magazines and Journals: these include the Community Development Journal; Journal of Modern African Studies; East Africa Journal; Southern Africa

Political Economy Monthly.

1.4.3 Sample Frame

An adequate sample frame is one that ensures reliable results. The first aspect considered in this study was "a universal frame of reference" which consisted of magazines, newspapers, journals and the above-mentioned list of official and non-official documents. The universal frame was then modified according to the dates of publication, thus referring to the post-1960 era until 1980.

1.4.4 Content Analysis

Simon (1979:56) states that content analysis falls within the "realm of interpretive sociology" because the researcher has to take into account the "purpose of the specific communication, the situational context of the communication, speaking to whom and under what circumstances". Furthermore, the researcher must consider the time and place of the communication and events preceding or accompanying it.

After the data collection had been scrutinised, it was possible to draw up a list of categories in terms of which the data was analyzed. Categories constructed without the prior consultation of documents would undoubtedly be

superfluous. It is therefore possible to refer to a list of categories with reference to adult education in the rural context which were analyzed:

(i) life-long access to education

(ii) development of skills

(iii) linkage of work and life

(iv) participation in rural development processes.

The focus of the study is to illustrate that throughout the stages of the educational process, the concept of education as learning and not simply as schooling, has important implications for rural development. Therefore, the nature of the relationship between rural development and education is highlighted.

Since education and rural development cannot be dealt with in isolation, this dissertation can be divided into two distinct parts:

PART I (Chapters 2-3) provides a theoretical analysis of education in the rural context; and

PART II (Chapters 4-5) attempts to examine the socio-historical context of education in Africa by reviewing existing literature and thus highlighting the strengths and limitations of existing projects are examined.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Conceptions, definitions and approaches relating to rural development and adult education can be classified in various ways. Each classification has its own advantages and disadvantages and, therefore, each one is unique for its own purpose. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to give an overview of various definitions and theoretical approaches relevant to the study of rural development.

2.2 DEFINITIONS OF THE CONCEPT 'RURAL DEVELOPMENT'

"Development" is a term with both a specific and a general meaning. On the one hand, it may be used in a neutral sense to cover general social, economic and political aspects. In this sense development is generally conceptualized as "a process of directed change leading to economic growth, political autonomy and a broad basis of social reconstruction" (Varma, 1980:15). On the other hand, the term "development" is increasingly being used in a more specific sense to refer to the promotion of the well being

of individuals and societies.

Despite the various meanings attached to the concept "development", it is "doubtlessly related to progress or improvement". Although it is acknowledged that development "can lead to the erosion of existing structures, development thought can never be separated from the elements of directed change and progress - no matter how it is interpreted" (Coetzee, 1986:7). Development must therefore be viewed as "a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty" (Todaro, 1977:70).

As development is inevitably linked to societal change (i.e. inter-related economic, social and political improvements), the concept "development" includes :

(1) Economic growth to provide for the material needs of the people, mainly through diversification of the production process and expanded opportunities for the people to participate and contribute to the process of economic growth.

(2) Political development, i.e. the creation and strengthening of institutions and the provision of

opportunities for the people to participate in the process of decision-making at national, regional and local levels.

(3) Social development, i.e. to improve the quality of life of the people at the educational, cultural, spiritual and recreational levels. (Jeppe, 1986:35)

Seen as social reform, development then not only involves material resources, but it also involves those people whose participation is vital to the development process. People are thus the targets as well as the instruments for development. On the other hand, an underdeveloped country, as defined by Ferrinho (1986:22) could be "one whose people suffer a relative cultural disadvantage". This disadvantage is caused by the lack of two things: firstly, the lack of values that are necessary to drive people towards modernising change, and secondly, the lack of skills to exploit the opportunities science and technology offer universally for the rational exploitation of their eco-systemic potentialities. Like Jeppe (1986:35), Ferrinho (1980:22) concludes that to "initiate development in a country, it is not enough to have adequate material resources ... development also requires persons who are capable of using such resources". Hence, people's expectations, the technology and the material resources are all key factors of development.

When considering the above explanation, the term "rural development" may be used to describe several aspects of development. For the purpose of this study, the concept "rural" could best be explained as "those parts of the country which show unmistakable signs of being dominated by extensive uses of land ... (that) might have had domination over an area which has now gone, because this allows us to look at settlements which still appear to be rural, but which, in practise, are merely an extension of the city" (Wibberley, 1972:2).

In general, rural development consists of national programmes designed to improve the standard of living. Thus, Mlambiti (1976:1) describes rural development as "a combination of specific aims directed towards a broad horizon - all intended to create a deeper satisfaction and expanded opportunities for all, now and in future, for people both in rural and urban areas". Furthermore, rural development implies any clear and consciously applied strategy designed to restructure the economy in order to satisfy the material needs and aspirations of the rural masses, and to promote individual and collective incentives to participate in the process of development (Ollawa, 1977:402).

In this dissertation "rural development" is used as defined

by Uma Lelé (1976:257) as "improving the living standards of the mass of the low-income population residing in the rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining", thereby implying socio-cultural and economic development. Basic to this analysis are three core values sought by all individuals, namely life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom. These components relate to fundamental human needs that find their expression in almost all societies and cultures at all times (Todaro, 1977:70).

2.3 THEORIES RELATING TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Two main schools of thought currently dominates the literature on development and change. Within the rural development framework reference will be made to two contrasting theories, namely the modernisation approach which came to prominence in the 1950's and 1960's, as opposed to the Marxist and neo-Marxist analysis of underdevelopment which occupies a central place in the development debate from the 1970's. Within a broader context too, the role of 'women and development' will be looked at because "...inadequate conceptions of women profoundly affect both women's struggles and development strategies generally" (Ong, 1986:91).

2.3.1 The Modernisation Theory

Over the years the concept "modernisation" has been used in various ways:

(1) as an attribute of history;

(2) as a specific historical, transitional process; and

(3) as a certain development policy in Third World countries (Smith, 1973:61).

Although the latter interpretation (no. 3) appears to be the most relevant to development theory, the three ideas are actually inter-related. Modernisation policies (implying a utilization of socio-economic structures) are seen as elements of a development strategy and the functioning of universal historical forces (attribute of history) which is similar to the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Western history (specific historical transitional period). Modernisation theorists see development as a repetitive and endogenous process by which the inherent potential of all societies are realized. Modernisation is thus considered to be a "universal" process found in all societies, and is not a "particular" historical process which only occurs in specific societies during specific periods. The modernization approach therefore "accepts that the identified components ... will come to the fore in more or less the same way as was the

case in the history of Western development" (Coetzee, 1986:25).

A central concept in the modernisation approach, as propagated by Neil Smelser, is that of structural differentiation. Structural differentiation is a process "whereby one social role or organization ... differentiates into two or more roles or organizations which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances. The new social units are structurally distinct from each other, but taken together are functionally equivalent to the original unit" (Smelser, 1968:129). Differentiation is therefore a "process of imminent change", whereby change in one system (structure) causes change in all the others (Smith, 1973:16). Change (development) is generated by social, economic and political systems. This indicates society's ability to accommodate and adapt to change within its institutional framework. Structural differentiation is then employed "to analyze ... the marked break in established pattern of social and economic life in periods of development" (Smelser, 1968:129).

It is however claimed that this theory does not take economic determinants into consideration. It is rather a description of social changes that accompany development and thus affect the social structures of traditional

societies. This takes place in two ways:

(i) through structural differentiation and

(ii) through a process of integration.

Development then proceeds as "a contrapuntal interplay" between differentiation (which is decisive in established society) and integration (which unites differentiated structures on a new basis) (Smelser, 1968:138).

In later years, this process has been refined by the theorist Eisenstadt, who took into account the variety of types of society that falls under the concept of "traditional society", thus making a distinction between modernisation processes. This process of modernisation

> may take off from tribal groups, from caste societies, from different types of peasant societies, and from societies with different degrees and types of prior orientation. These groups may vary greatly in the extent to which they have resources, and abilities, necessary for modernization. They may differ in their capacity to regulate the more complex relationships between different parts of the society which are attendant on social differentiation and in the extent to which they are willing or able to become integrated into new, wider social frameworks.
>
> (Eisenstadt, 1970:25)

From a critical viewpoint, the terms "traditional" and "modern" are too vague to classify specific societies. They do not give any indication of the variety and types of societies that do exist. Rather, "traditional" is used to cover all pre-industrial societies that have different

socio-economic and political structures (eg. feudal, tribal). In addition, hardly any explanation is provided for the way in which a society develops.

Another major tenet of the modernisation approach is that the economic development of rural areas depends primarily on the transfer skills and technology from modern sectors, just as national development demands that diffusion of techniques and expertise from the more advanced industrial countries. Therefore, the modernisation theory appears, on the surface at least, to be compatible with economic dualism. This process of "modernization by diffusion should encourage the development of certain features in the Third World such as urbanization, educational growth for literacy and training, increased political awareness and participation in a democratic system. Here, the essential weaknesses of the traditional-modernity thesis is revealed. The linear conception of modernisation as a movement from traditional (underdeveloped) to modern (developed) societies is rejected. With constant reference to generalizations, it should be remembered that all countries do not develop according to universalistic tendencies, but rather function in a particularistic manner, resulting from a specific situation, at a specific period.

To summarize: modernisation theorists argue that Third

World economies move along the same linear and universal paths of development as First World countries. Economic development would only "take off" through industrialization which would produce "large-scale" benefits and in the process eventually lead (trickle down) to assist in the development of the poor traditional rural sector of the economy. In retrospect, socio-economic development in the Third World did not materialize as anticipated and this in turn led to the downfall of the modernisation theory.

2.3.2 The Structural Dependency Theory

In recent years a major challenge to the modernization theory was in the form of the structural dependency approach and the modes of production controversy.

(a) **Structural Dependency**

Developing from the Marxist theory on imperialism and the ECLA dependency approach, a new Marxist orientated trend on dependency was propagated by Paul Baran and other theorists of the Monthly Review School.

Baran has argued that the West is fundamentally opposed to the industrialisation of underdeveloped countries, since the latter supplies them with raw materials and investment outlets. However, the lack of development should not be ascribed to (the) blocking of capitalist development by the imperialists, but rather of the total integration into the

world capitalist system and the dominating effect of capitalist production relations (Vorster, 1986:64). The ties of economic dependence are matched by a concentration of political power and social resources in metropolitan areas. "The internal configuration of vested interests in the periphery was such that the bourgeoisie was integrated with foreign capital and reactionary domestic elements in an economic and political amalgam which effectively blocked all possibilities of economic growth" (Baran, 1958:78-80).

The growth of satellite countries is dependent upon the activities of more powerful nations, as well as a similar process operated for lower-level satellites tied to national or regional levels. Therefore, the pattern of rural economic exploitation and dependency in the Third World is associated with a sharply differentiated class structure which separates the owners of the means of production and middle classes from the mass of poor peasants (Long, 1977:73).

(b) Development of Underdevelopment

André Gunder Frank's well known dictum "the development of underdevelopment" is a combination of Baran's view of dependence and the centre-periphery perspective. For Frank, it was the "incorporation into the world capitalist system (characterised by a metropolis structure) that led to

development in some areas and underdevelopment in others" (Blomström and Hettne, 1984:67). Likewise, Webster (1986:85) contends that poor societies should not be regarded as "immature" or "underdeveloped". "Given time", their growth will occur, as long as they are subject to the dominance of the economic imperialism of the West their poverty will persist.

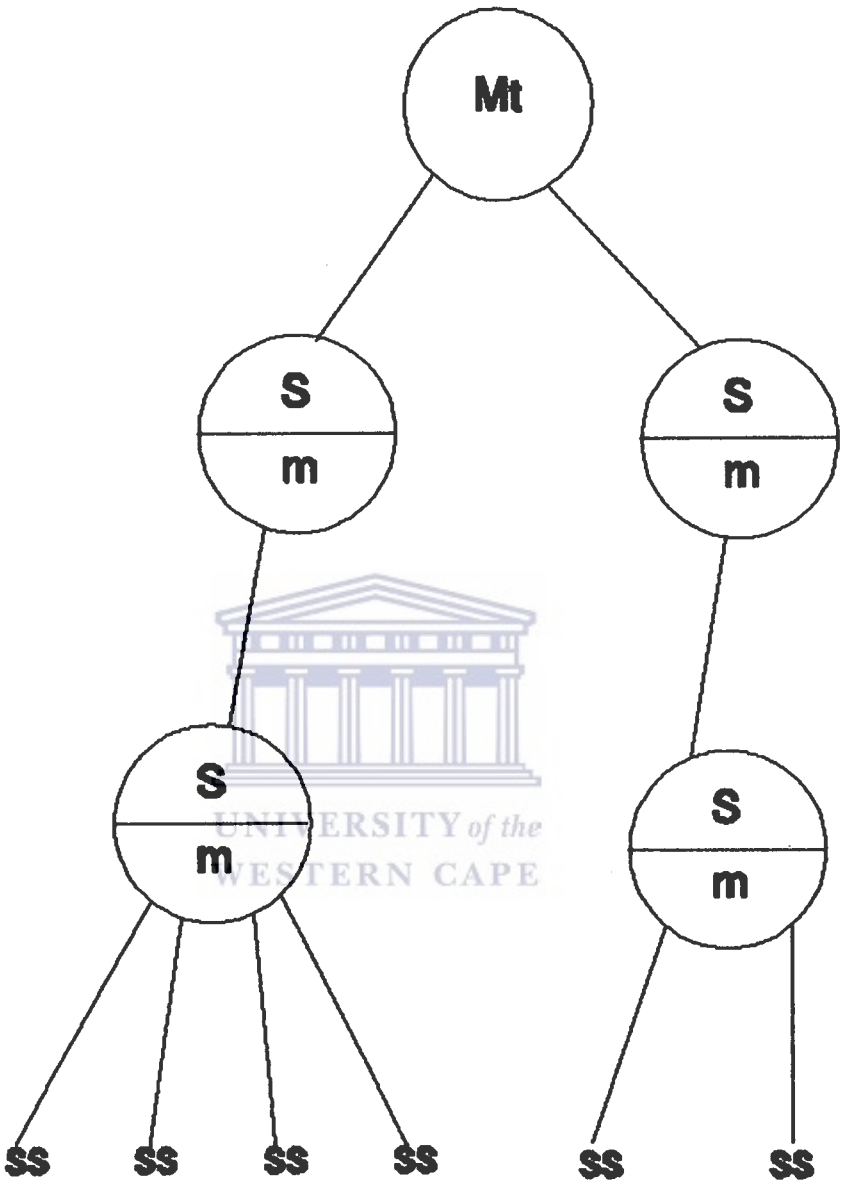
According to Frank, this monopoly structure is evident on all levels (international, national, local). Hence, the dependence structure extends from the macro-metropolitan centre of the world capitalist system "down to the most isolated agricultural workers, who, through this chain of inter-related metropolitan-satellite relationships, are tied to the central world metropolis and thereby incorporated into the world capitalist system" (Frank, 1969:16-17).

Figure 1 illustrates Frank's metropolis-satellite model. The metropolis (m) - satellite (s) relations (found at all levels of world capitalism) are indicated by the lines drawn between the circles. This circle shows that an agent may act as both a metropolis and a satellite (depending on the chosen perspective).

The exploitation process starts at the bottom of the diagram. Here the satellites (ss) comprising of peasant producers (landless labourers) are exploited by the small landowners. These small landowners which Frank calls the "comprador elite" act as "agents" of the metropolitan centre. Since they can appropriate part of the surplus, the other part of the surplus "flows" upwards and outwards through the system. Because the small landowners are exploited by large landowners and traders, they (small landowners) now assume the role of satellites.

New metropolitan centres (metropolis) are found at the higher levels in the hierarchy, who in turn exploit the traders and large landowners (who now become satellites). Therefore, the economic surplus flows upward until it eventually reaches the world metropolis. For dependency theorists, the exploitation of the surplus can only be stopped by breaking the chain of dependency by which it (the surplus) is transferred. It is then argued, that "the only people who can do this ... is the Third World working class and the only weapon strong enough is (a) socialist revolution which removes the comprador elite, (which is) the weak link in the chain (Webster, 1986:86).

FIGURE 1 : METROPOLIS - SATELLITE MODEL



(Adapted from Blomström and Hettne, 1984:68)

A theoretical weakness of Frank's concept of "dependency" is his failing to clarify sufficiently the sense in which Third World countries are dependent on metropolitan centres (Webster, 1986:86). Similarly, O'Brien (1975:24) states that Frank provides "... a circular argument: dependent countries are those which lack the capacity for autonomous growth and they lack because their structures are dependent ones". Frank rejects the notion of economic "dualism" (an economy consisting of two separate sectors: modern and traditional). Rather, the world capitalist system includes the entire economy of each country. This approach maintains that the penetration of the capitalist market tends to produce changes in the existing system (e.g. tribal, feudal, peasant) so that features that are compatible with the newly evolving structures, are eventually eliminated. In turn, this has led to the destruction of traditional economies in the Third World and the impoverishment of the rural people.

In his book Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism, Bill Warren challenges Frank by arguing that aspects of underdevelopment is actually a typical feature of any society undergoing a socio-economic transition to capitalism. Third World societies are therefore not destined for destruction but rather generates its own capacity for growth. Despite the fact that Third World

societies rely on advanced industrial societies for advanced technology, "the distribution of World economic power is becoming less concentrated and more dispersed, and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are playing even more independent roles, both economically and politically" (Warren, 1980:170). By aligning himself with the Marxist-Leninist view of the progressive role of capitalism, Warren implies that as capitalist penetration becomes deeper and more successful in the Third World, it creates conditions for progress and growth.

The relevancy of dependency theory is apparent in studies of other areas outside Latin America. Samir Amin (1970 and 1972) writes about underdevelopment and dependency in Africa. The emphasis is placed on how the dialect reveals itself between the major colonial policies and the structures inherited from the past. Completed forms of dependence, he argues, appeared when Africa was made the periphery of the capitalist system in an imperialist stage (Amin, 1972:505).

Amin employs at least three different conceptualizations of the peripheral social formations. One coincides exactly with dualism of the bourgeois type (criticized by Frank). The co-existence of separate sectors, often expressed as an export enclave and a subsistence sector. "Two sectors

coexist without interpenetrating and the economy does not form an integral unity" (Amin, 1972:271). The second conforms to the ideas of articulation of modes of production. In the peripheral formations "the capitalist mode, which is dominant, subjects the others and transforms them of their distinctive functioning in order to subordinate them to its own, without, radically destroying them" (Amin, 1976:22). Finally, despite their different origins, "the peripheral formations tend to converge toward a pattern that is essentially the same" (Amin, 1976:333). This phenomenon reflects, on the world scale, the increasing power of capitalism to unify.

Basic to this analysis, is the role played by history (in a linear sense). The content of this history is always the domination of the periphery by the center, the exploitation of the former (surplus drain), and the reproduction of underdevelopment. Hence, it is a history of successive "forms" (linear for Amin and circular for Frank) which is only an expression of a basic continuity. Frank (1969:12) illustrates this contradiction in capitalist economic development and underdevelopment by stating that there is "the continuity and ubiquity of economic development and underdevelopment throughout the expansion and development of the capitalist system at all times and places". Likewise, Amin (1976:187-188) states "at every stage in the

development of the world capitalist system the commercial and financial relations between the center and the periphery thus serve the same twofold function: on the one hand, to facilitate, by extending the capitalist market at the expense of the pre-capitalist systems, the absorption of the surplus, and, on the other, to increase the average rate of profit".

Hence, in his critique of the theory of underdevelopment, Amin notes that economic growth is an uneven process which analyzes the inequality of international specialization, and assess the consequences of the international flow of capital for the center and the periphery. This attempt to generalize the structure of underdevelopment is useful as it makes explicit an effect of the mode of conceptualization of underdevelopment theory that remains implicit in other analyses. It is because the "development of underdevelopment" is posed as a unitary process as the necessary consequence of a particular structural position in the world economy.

2.3.3 Modes of Production[1]

The main concern of the modes of production (MoP) theory and what has recently been referred to as its "articulation", constitutes an attempt to advance beyond the dependency theory. The articulation of the MoP tends to explain the phenomenon of underdevelopment in terms of relationships among and between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production (Ruccio and Simon, 1986:211).

The conceptual differences between the "dependency" and MoP approaches is illustrated by Laclau's critique of Frank's interpretation of "homogenous capitalism". Laclau does not suggest a "dualist model" but rather refers to "a structured and differentiated whole, (meaning) the economic system (also referred to as social formation), which is capitalistic" (Foster-Carter, 1978:50). Laclau (1971:33) therefore defines the concept of an "economic system" as "the mutual relations between the different sectors of the

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[1] The mode of production is a particular constellation of the means of production (the tools and equipment appropriated from the natural world or constructed from its products for purposes of producing subsistence and material needs), of the forces of production (the means together with the ways people organize themselves to use them), and the relations of production (denoting how people stand in relation to productive means and therefore to each other). (Stamp, 1986:29)

economy, or between different productive units, whether on a regional, national or world scale ...". Hence, the starting point of the MoP controversy is capitalism.

The basic premises of the approach are as follows:

(1) different modes of production co-exist in the same social formation;

(2) at a particular point in time, different modes of production "articulate" and new modes of production develop during transition periods;

(3) the different modes of production never dissolve, but co-exist within one social formation, that is, remnants of feudal modes are carried over to capitalism. The rural traditional social structure may persist and eventually adapt to the requirements of capitalist markets.

This approach emphasises the significance of the role which the capitalist mode of production has over traditional or non-capitalist modes of production. The transformation of rural structures are therefore best analyzed in terms of the exchange which take place between the capitalist and non-capitalist mode of production.

To summarize: dependency theorists believed that the way in which metropolitan (First World) capital benefitted the

periphery (Third World) was more beneficial to the metropolis than the periphery. Hence, development in the Third World was uneven, ridden with social and economic inequalities and geared towards the needs of the metropolis. Furthermore, development was not a universal and inevitable process (as modernisation suggests) but rather one of power and dependency relations.

Dependency theorists have been criticised for conceptualizing the metropolis and the periphery in a simplistic manner. Although they analyze metropolis-periphery relationships, they ignore the conflicts between and within the metropolis and periphery. Without this analysis McLean (1976:70) maintains that dependency theorists have made the same mistakes as modernisation theorists by presenting a linear view of development. Thus, he reiterates that the "dependency theory .... has been seen to have universal applicability and cannot therefore accommodate variations. It assumes that there is only one inevitable path to underdevelopment".

2.3.5 Similarities between Modernisation and Dependency

Although theoretically and ideologically opposed, the modernization and dependency models share various assumptions. Based on the western model of growth, the modernization approach claims that all Third World

countries follow the same or similar developmental paths. However, the West experienced an industrial revolution from "within", whilst the Third World experiences a revolution from "outside", caused by the impact of modern technology and commercial agriculture. Hence, Third World countries are made up of two sectors: the traditional rural sector which is economically backward and the source of obstacles to modernization; and the urban, industrial sector which provides the dynamic for modernization and change.

Dependency theorists also adopt a similar point of view by emphasizing the importance of external forces in promoting change. Following a similar pattern in various Third World contexts, underdevelopment is seen as the logical outcome of the development of capitalism. As is evident in Frank's work, traditional structures are destroyed by capitalism. Therefore, economic backwardness of the Third World and especially the rural sector is a direct result of colonization and the expansion of capitalism.

Both models portray a centralist view of development. Changes in socio-cultural activities and skills in traditional societies are seen as a response to externally initiated change. However, neither models emphasizes how local groups and processes can contribute to patterns of development within a society. The interplay of local and

national forces are neglected, whilst socio-economic change is highlighted.

2.4 STRATEGIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to understand patterns of development it is important to have a short discussion of the rural development strategies used by Third World governments in promoting economic development and social change. Within the general development approaches of modernisation and/or dependency, strategies for rural development can be broadly classified according to their main emphasis.

To clarify the issues involved it is however useful to make a distinction between broad categories of planning strategies based on either modernisation or dependency models of development. Falling within the realm of modernisation theory are the 'improvement', 'transformation' and 'integration' approaches; and within the dependency theory category is the 'basic human needs' approach.

2.4.1 The Improvement Approach

In 1960 the World Bank described the improvement approach as "aiming at the progressive involvement in peasant methods of crop and animal husbandry by working on the psychological and technical planes to induce an increase in

his productivity without any radical changes in traditional social and legal systems" (Long, 1977:145). Briefly, this approach makes provision for the continuation of social institutions and land usage arrangements.

Development takes place through new extension work methods, which will promote new methods of production, and in turn develop new marketing organisations. Accompanying this is the hope of improving guidance methods. These 'guidance' programme usually form part of a general programme of community development (including better health, home industries and level of literacy), thereby focusing on an integrated approach to rural development.

Basically, the "improvement approach" is closely linked to the modernisation approach of improvement or change. This process is one which slowly increases productivity and market orientation. Most governments, when formulating their national plans, have relied mainly on this approach, as it promotes the use of better techniques for production, as well as the attainment of basic needs. Due to improved smallholder agriculture, economic growth is stimulated because a low input level is required from peasant farmers. However, this policy has one shortcoming, namely that it gives rise to the development of socio-economic disparities in rural areas. This inevitably leads to a distinction

between the commercial farmer and poor peasant (including the landless categories).

2.4.2 The Transformation Approach

This approach illustrates that the kinds of structural changes considered depend on the nature of existing land tenure systems and on the prevailing political ideology. It is an approach based on the transformation of existing social and economic structures.

In countries with high levels of land concentration, the aim is primarily to introduce a more equitable distribution of land. In other cases, the restructuring of agrarian systems may be seen as a means of exercising greater political control. This transformation of socio-economic structures together with socio-political objectives has led to active government intervention in development. In this way, settlement programmes could serve as an example of this type of transformation. For example, in Western Nigeria agricultural resettlement programmes were implemented to counteract the drift of school leavers to towns. Another example is the people's commune of China, which established a unit covering the full range of economic, social and administrative activities in rural areas.

The following practical measures are appropriate when referring to the transformation approach:

(1) there is a need to develop increasing political control over a population, and to create a larger awareness of rural development amongst people;

(2) an attempt to create new technical, social and legal systems which make provision for the development of modern agricultural techniques and a higher scale of capital investment. This in turn encourages economic growth;

(3) the establishment of new settlements which would lead to a large scale movement of the population;

(4) the implementation of land reform programmes.

This, therefore, clearly illustrates that the transformation approach requires certain structural changes. This approach is also a more radical one in the sense that it results in a number of non-intended or unplanned consequences, one of the reasons being that such an approach requires complicated planning which involves various economic sectors as well as an extensive administrative structure.

In conclusion, it can be ascertained that the two theoretical models are differentiated in terms of their interpretations of socio-economic development in the Third

World. The modernisation theory of change is illustrated by the improvement approach which focuses on the diffusion of modern technology, skills and resources to the (underdeveloped) traditional sector. In contrast, the dependency critique of Third World development problems is linked to the transformation approach which emphasises the break with existing systems of peasant production and the elimination of exploitation.

2.4.3 The Integrated Approach

Rural development is approached as "a series of integrated measures promoting the economic (basically agricultural) institutional and social development of the rural population" (Jeppe, 1986:35). It is essential that every rural development project gives priority to measures which provide the target population with productive employment and additional income. Therefore, the use of the term "integrated rural development" refers to improved production and incomes of farmers as well as the improvement in facilities of all kinds, such as education, health and local industry, for all those living in the rural areas, as well as improvement in participation in decisions of local government and local development", thereby implying rural/urban interaction (Gaitskell, 1976:65).

These objectives can be achieved with the assistance of various sectors in development policies which are labour intensive, introduce suitable technologies and help exploit local resources. It is therefore also necessary to ensure that the principle of self-reliance and mass participation be applied.

This model claims that the essential feature of the success of rural development planning is that the community must play an important role in making decisions and formulating plans which affect their lives. However, a problem still remains, namely that (i) the community cannot always diagnose their problems, or (ii) determine their needs and (iii) local administrative structures cannot implement development plans. Nonetheless, a partial solution is that, (i) techniques must be simple; and (ii) planners must have analytical tools and local techniques which will help the decision-makers to analyze their basic needs and problems and from this build a viable development plan.

Despite the added values of this approach, an integrated rural development plan has limitations, especially as far as "potential" is concerned. This, says Harrison (1980:84), is because it is not "integrated enough [since] one or other of the factors that influence production and incomes is still left out". A further fallacy of this approach is

it's "concentration" on certain areas and schemes only. Suppliers of aid such as multi-national corporations and foreign investors in the Third World prefer to see rapid results on projects funded by them. This limits the distribution of benefits to everyone and only provides a small group with "exceptional treatment". Thus, the only true egalitarian rural development project and approach would be one that covered and benefitted the whole nation.

At this stage it would be appropriate to focus on the **modernisation approach and women**. Ester Boserup's book Women's Role in Economic Development documents in detail the negative impact of the development process on women. She illustrates the impact of the modernisation model and how colonialism and the forms of modernisation that came with it diminished women's status. This is explained in terms of how new techniques raised the productivity (and credibility in society) of men, whilst women's productivity (and social worth) decreased. Boserup (1989:53) therefore states that "the corollary of the relative decline in women's labour productivity is a decline in their relative status". The way in which the modernisation model had been implemented worsened the position of women by ignoring their central position in the rural economies of Third World countries.

As a solution to the 'problem' Boserup suggested that modernisation models be adapted to include women. In so doing women were encouraged to portray greater roles in the industrial workforce. The recognition that women's work was not recognised as part of the national economy, created the idea that they should be encouraged to move into the market economy. This could only be achieved if women were 'educated' for the necessary employment and in so doing would lead to greater participation in the development process. It would seem that education and employment are the most important means required for income generation.

It should be noted that these arguments would later lay the foundations for demands for the 'integration approach' i.e the integration of women into development. Women would be educated to fill job slots created by investments [of multinationals] and learn to manage advanced technology. Karl (1983:61) emphasises that the motive behind this "was to improve economic growth and modernise agriculture".

Various theorists have been critical of the attempt to integrate women into (modernisation) development. On the issue of participation for example, information supplied by the World Bank indicates how women have been invisible to them (World Bank) as development agents. Whilst Roodkowsky (1983:19) argues that "the developing world is still one

that needs to be acted upon by external agents for change, the World Bank explains what its projects are doing for women overseas, with little sense of women's presence in these projects".

Another criticism levied at the "integrated approach" is the fact that these theorists did not see women as already participating in the development process, and therefore they (women) had to be integrated into the process. This approach denies the fact that "women are already integral to African development as producers of food, procurers of fuel and water, assistants to export-crop production and reproducers of labour" (Allison, 1985:136). By denying the economic role (non-integration) of all the labour that rural women were engaged in, this approach suggested that they should become "more economically productive".

Mies (1986:188) states that "by defining women as housewives and breeders, it is possible to obfuscate the fact that they are subsidising, as unpaid family workers and as low paid production workers, the modernisation process". Similarly Sen and Grown (1987:16) reiterate that "with few exceptions, women's relative access to economic resources, income, and employment has worsened, their burdens of work have increased, and their relative .... status has declined". The limited success of the

integrationist approach is due in part to the difficulties of overcoming traditional cultural attitudes and prejudices regarding women's participation in economic and social life.

2.4.4 The Basic Human Needs Approach

Traditionally development has been viewed as a "narrow" economic issue, with economic growth as the prime instrument by which development achievements were measured. However, the failure to reduce or eliminate absolute poverty during the 1960's and 1970's called for a redefinition of economic development.

Le Roux (1986:4) sums up three responses to the failure of traditional (conventional) policies to alleviate poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World:

(1) conservative economists saw the failure of institutions (such as the World Bank) to stimulate development as "a vindication of their position" and felt that "planners should not interfere in the problems of Third World countries";

(2) radical economists claimed that meaningful development could not take place as long as the dependency relationship between the First and Third World remains intact. Only when "the poorer classes ..... succeed in taking charge of development efforts ..... would their

situation improve significantly";

(3) a third response was to argue "that the attempts to improve the situation of the poorest countries failed because they were misdirected".

The basic human needs approach (BHN) stemmed from the work of the World Bank and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). With the launching of the publication Employment, Growth and Basic Needs : A One World Problem, the main objective was the achievement of basic needs. Here the ILO (1976:191) suggested that strategies and national plans and policies should include explicitly as a priority objective the promotion of employment and the satisfaction of the basic needs of each country's population.

The basic needs strategy to development is defined by Tollman (1984:1) as an economic approach (programme) which "has it's aim the provision of a particular bundle of goods (basic needs) to the population lacking these; and it's intended outcome the eradication of absolute poverty, as measured by improvement in quantifiable indices".

Like Tollman, representing the ILO, Burki and Ul Haq (1981:170) admits that although "the content of the bundle of goods and services that satisfy basic needs varies from one country to another, there is a common core (of basic

goods) that includes nutrition, education, health, water, and sanitation and shelter". In addition, the ILO also defines labour force participation and political participation as a basic need. However, some theorists would claim that "participation in the definition of basic needs is a basic need in itself". This viewpoint suggests that "basic needs represent a basic human right" (Møller, 1986:9). The basic needs strategy could therefore be seen as a combination of material and social needs which encourage greater participation by the community in the economy and culture.

Despite attempts to provide a clear definition of BHN, Keeton (1984:279) maintains that no distinct theory or set of policies can be isolated and defined as the basic needs approach. Instead, the approach represents a broad outlook on development, which focuses on combating poverty and raising the productivity of the poorest sections of the population.

Furthermore, Sandbrook (1982:7) makes a distinction between two basic human needs approaches, which he terms "conservative" and "radical". This distinction, says Sandbrook, "will obviously rest upon the depth of change envisaged". A conservative "anti-poverty programme would propose piecemeal reforms within the existing national and

economic orders" (Sandbrook, 1982:7). Basic needs were defined to include food, shelter, clothing, household equipment, and public and educational facilities. Basic needs satisfaction "can be achieved within the existing socio-political structure" (Møller, 1986:9-10). To achieve this, strategies may include capital investment in socially appropriate technology; attempts to decrease differentials in the consumption patterns of social groups; and the creation and support of institutions to promote people's participation.

The radical approach would "prescribe a mutually reinforcing set of politics entailing structural change at that national and international level" (Sandbrook, 1982:7). Hence, this version of the basic human needs approach is considered as a means of providing structural change in Third World countries. Therefore, says (Møller, 1986:10), "a revision of the existing structural framework" is a prerequisite "to achieving basic needs".

According to the radical version of the basic human needs approach, poverty is seen merely as the symptom rather than the cause of underdevelopment. The main concern is to empower people to participate in the development process so that they are also involved in directing the process. (This marks the possible similarity with 'people's education', as

discussed in chapter 3). Before development can "become a way of life" it is necessary to satisfy the basic needs of the poorest members of society. But basic needs satisfaction "is a necessary (but not always sufficient) condition for economic development" (Keeton, 1984:292).

In retrospect, few proponents of a basic needs approach would profess to possess either the final answer to the development problem, or all the instruments to overcome it. The approach represents a perspective on development which endeavours to learn from the mistakes of the past, and no doubt, will learn from the lessons of the future (Keeton, 1984:289).

Nonetheless, the basic needs approach has been confronted with three types of responses :

> to some, it conjures up the image of a move toward socialism. To others, it represents a capitalist conspiracy to deny industrialisation and modernisation to the developing countries and thereby to keep them dependant upon the developed world. To still others, it is a pragmatic response to the urgent problem of poverty in their midst.
>
> (Ul Haq, 1981:135)

Once again it would be appropriate to discuss the **basic human needs approach and women** within the dependency framework. By commenting on the approach Maguire (1984:2) maintains that "power entails control over ones' life and

body as well as an ability to gain access to and control over the allocation of crucial material and non-material resources". People need to have more direct access to resources whilst women need to be extra vigilant. The fact that is highlighted here is that the very basis of BHN does not address women's needs. Anand (1983:20) consequently demands "something of development for women, rather than claiming that women must serve development for their own good". This is especially emphasised when considering agrarian reform. Women should be critically aware of the web of interconnections of all aspects of their lives.

2.5 A PROPOSED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPMENT

In breaking with conventional development policies which focus on economic growth, some features are drawn from the basic needs strategy with its emphasis on people and their needs. Basically three criteria could be employed when making an evaluation of the main objectives of a development strategy for planned change in the rural situation:

(1) the economic criteria, which would include the utilization of available manpower in the rural areas; means of improving agricultural technology; and the capacity of the rural community to achieve a sustained increase in rural incomes and consumption.

(2) the social criteria should seek a continuing increase

in the employment opportunities to absorb not only the pool of unemployed and underemployed workers, but also the future increases in the rural labour force. This will lead to the improvements in income distribution in rural areas, the provision of health, education (formal and non-formal) and other necessary social services and a gradual process of social development in which each member can begin to have a sense of participation - thus improving the quality of life.

(3) the political and administrative criteria must consider whether the system is effective in providing leadership and guidance from "above" without curbing local initiative and participation. These criteria also call for the creation of organizational and institutional links which will relate and integrate the rural economy with the national goals and programmes.

The application of these relevant criteria can be developed, but will depend on the degree of decentralization achieved in the process of planning and implementation. Generally, educational programmes are aimed at developing human potential and change in Third World countries. The most important outcome of the educational process will be to emphasize the individual's attitudes and expectations and the inter-relation between education and

society. Thus, in developing countries, if formal and non-formal educational programmes are to be effective and productive, they must be tailored to meet the real needs (as determined by popular participation) of the rural people and not their presumed needs. Popular participation in development, i.e. consultation with the people and their leaders in their community to ascertain what problems and needs are regarded as significant by that community, is the cornerstone of this strategy.

2.6 CONCLUSION

In collating data from literature covering rural development theories and strategies it is evident that developing countries have formulated their rural development objectives in different ways. Quite often, the main emphasis is on the technical and economic aspects of rural development, but in many cases the policies that are formulated seldom support the proposed objectives. It is often quite difficult to put these policies into practice especially when the lack of finance, shortage of trained personnel and foreign intervention play an important part.

The most important sources of potential capital and of increased productivity is (i) the surplus of manpower available in the rural areas; (ii) entrepreneurship; and (iii) natural resources. However, the utilization of this

surplus is closely linked to the pattern of land ownership. If a quarter of the rural population are landless, they can hardly benefit from an irrigation or fertilizer subsidy. Similarly, the income distribution objectives are seldom an integral part of the overall development strategy. In some countries, redistribution of income has been achieved through specific policies and programmes. These provide special services for the rural poor such as education, training and special development schemes for backward areas.

Development takes place on different levels:

(i) employment of the poor;

(ii) changes in the system of land ownership, or

(iii) the redistribution of land.

Therefore, the fulfilment of the basic needs of the poor will not be attained until these people have a more equitable access to land and other rural assets.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO EDUCATION AND IT'S IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the contribution that education can make to the goals of national development especially in the Third World. The low standard of education of rural workers can be partly explained by the difficulties inherent in the rural environment, but also by the widespread belief that economic growth can be achieved without educating the rural farm workers. On the other hand, there is an indication that the standard of education and the degree of modernization in agriculture complement each other.

Education, it is generally believed, must be considered as one element in an integrated complex of socio-economic development. Hence, for a school to operate effectively as an agent of change, it must co-operate closely with rural development workers in various disciplines in an attempt to reach all members of the community. Therefore, it would be suggested that in certain situations there are aspects of

the formal education system that could be integrated into a community development programme. This could be just as effective in attaining goals as an entirely new programme of non-formal education.

This chapter highlights different theoretical approaches regarding the relationship between education and rural development. It refers to education in a rural setting, educational programmes, and the role of national planning pertaining to rural development and education. And in all this, the reciprocal relationship between education and society should be kept in mind (McCollum, 1964:173).

3.2 CONCEPTS RELEVANT TO EDUCATION

Education as an applied field of study is characterized by a lack of agreement on basic concepts and terminology. This section attempts to define the basic concepts that form the lexicon of the educator.

3.2.1 Education

At the outset, it should be stated that all education involves learning, but not all learning involves education. This is clearly portrayed by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:6) when they state that "education" is the "deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit, evoke or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values and skills".

Viewed in this manner, "education is considered to be purposeful (deliberate) organized (systematic) and of consequential duration (sustained)". Learning, on the other hand, can be non-deliberate or incidental, unorganized and of short duration. The defining characteristic of education however remains the element of deliberateness and not that of the teacher/educator.

As opposed to a structural approach, a more functional view of education will be made use of in this dissertation. Generally speaking, the concept "education" is equated with "learning", irrespective of when, where or how learning takes place. Therefore, it is a continuous life-long process involving a variety of sources and methods. The formal system provides an important basis upon which the provision of non-formal education can develop.

3.2.2 Non-Formal Education

In recent years attempts have been made to provide a comprehensive definition of "adult education". Thus Liverlight and Haywood (1969:9) proposed that adult education is "the process whereby persons who no longer (or did not) attend school on a regular basis and full-time basis undertake sequential and organized activities with the conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skills,

appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or community problems".

Coombs and Ahmed (1974:8) describe "non-formal" education as "any organised, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children". As opposed to formal education which is institutionalised and hierarchically structured, non-formal education such as literacy and support programmes is seen as an essential complement to formal education. This serves as "a second chance for those who either never entered the formal system or left it early". In addition, non-formal education contributes to the "upgrading of individuals with inadequate educational levels so that they can re-enter the formal system" (HSRC, 1981:93).

The term "non-formal education" embraces all post-school education under one title, resting on the notion that adult education is purely concerned with what was once regarded as non-vocational activities. Non-formal education therefore covers all forms of educative experiences required by individuals according to their varying interests and requirements. For this reason, it can be "convenient to regard full-time higher education as a

separate field" (Ruddock, 1981:1).

Since adult education by this definition excludes all full-time higher education, it is possible to incorporate the three levels of non-formal education described in the De Lange Report (1981:25) namely:

First level:	(i)	literacy programmes;
	(ii)	general primary education for adults (compensatory education);
	(iii)	basic adult education (life and occupational skills, including community education and development).
Second level:	(i)	general secondary education for adults (compensatory education at junior secondary and senior secondary school level);
	(ii)	occupational programmes at semi-skilled and skilled levels.
Third level:	(i)	advanced educational programmes;
	(ii)	continuing professional training;
	(iii)	part-time courses at university degree level;
	(iv)	public non-formal cultural education programmes at advanced levels.

It is evident that in most Third World countries there will be a large proportion of the population who will never have the privilege of formal education. In these cases non-formal education as an alternative for formal education especially falls within the realm of education as illustrated by the afore-mentioned "second level". Non-formal education is, however, not a substitute for what is taught in schools (literacy, etc.) but rather what is not taught in schools and thus supplementary to formal education.

3.3 CHANGING DEFINITIONS OF EDUCATION

Much controversy surrounds the changing notion of education. Over the past few decades the term "alternative education" has been used frequently in educational circles where it refers to forms of oppositional or counter-hegemonic educational programmes and approaches. In Focus on Alternative Education, it is described as "the educational process by which people are socialized for an alternative society, and inevitably an alternative education would require the development of leadership, the right to question authority and to make decisions for all individually" (SACHED, 1985:1). Today, the term "alternative education" has been replaced by the term "popular" or "people's education".

Although this analysis does not directly imply formal or non-formal education, the idea is to explore the emancipatory and/or liberatory effects of education - hence the terms "people's" and "popular" education come under the spotlight. Nonetheless, this interpretation (though not strictly pedagogical) could be incorporated into an education analysis as well. Access to education in whatever form, can serve as a catalyst and alternative force in society. As this specific interpretation affects the very nature of society today (and by no means restricted to Third World countries), the central question remains whether these objectives of liberation and emancipation can or have been achieved.

3.3.1 Clarification of Concepts

Any broad distinction between "popular" and "people's" education" embraces the following:

(a) Popular Education refers to educational strategies which take place after liberation from whatever form of political domination is prevalent in society. (This could be capitalist social relations or colonial control). It also includes a more accessible form of education after liberation.

(b) People's Education depicts the need for a new system of education and a change in the socio-political system.

Therefore people's education is "a precursor of, or catalyst to liberation" with the aim of invoking social development (McKay & Romm, 1992:xiii).

It should however be noted that a clear distinction cannot be made between the two concepts. A definition of people's education can include the broad definition or aspects of popular education hence, a combination of the two terms. The complexity in providing a universal definition of people's education is reflected by Van den Bos (1986:2) who defensively states that "the slogan of people's education defies precise definition, not because it is vague and lacking in direction, but because the notion has been intentionally kept open for debate". Likewise, Vio Grossi (1984:304) reiterates that people's education "is still in the process of definition and is more a social and political fact .... than a coherent method".

These aspects then illustrate that a straightforward definition cannot be reached because different people have different views. People's education must be viewed as a process which can be adapted to and applied in varying contexts. Therefore, the definition or "decoding" of the term will depend on the set of prevailing circumstances (Freire, 1985:xvix).

3.3.2 Framework of Analysis

When attempting to formulate a conceptual framework for analyzing people's education, it is imperative to take note of the work of Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire. Both Gramsci (whilst making a analysis of Italian society) and Freire (whilst making an analysis of Brazilian education) formulated their educational theory in the framework of a historical and social understanding of the classes within modern society. Their objective is not "to empower the individual to take a secure place within democratic society .... but to transform society itself to meet the collective needs of the individual" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986:12).

Freire and Gramsci consider the following underlying factors as central to the process of people's education and education for liberation:

(1) the relationship between political action and education is dialectical. Therefore, education and politics are integrated.

(2) The exact format of people's education will be determined to some degree by the prevailing material and historical conditions. Hence, a direct relationship between the macro content and the micro educational practices exists.

(3) The difference between "education for domestication"

and "education for liberation" is based on the ability to think critically. Both Gramsci and Freire believe that without the development of critical thinkers, manipulation rather than education will occur.

(4) Education and organization are integrated, since both process and content form an integral part of "education for liberation". This includes participatory democratic relationships amongst learners and teachers.

(5) Gramsci and Freire emphasize the means and the ends of education. They stress the importance of participation in popular or working class organisations in order to learn through the experience of participatory democratic forms of organisation.

(6) Finally, both illustrate the need for consciousness-raising through development of a critical understanding of society.

Theoretical and historical knowledge is a pre-requisite for understanding the most important intellectual traditions of society (Gramsci, 1971:33-37); (Freire 1973:50-80).

When analyzing these characteristics of people's education, it can be ascertained that popular democratic power "resides in the appropriation .... of past knowledge as well as knowledge of one's own creative powers" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986:12). Similarly, to discover "a truth

oneself, without external suggestions or assistance, is to create - even if the truth is a old one" (Gramsci, 1971:33).

3.3.3 The Aims of People's Education

The broad goals of people's education reflect a free, compulsory, unitary, democratic system of education. As previously cited, "democratic power" is obtained from the "appropriation of knowledge", the dialectic between "education as the transmission of cultural values and knowledge and the new knowledge produced by the creative acts of the people themselves" is the guiding educational principle of people's education (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986:12).

For the purpose of this dissertation people's education is education that:

(1) eliminates capitalist norms of competition and individualism and encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis;

(2) eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of any person by another;

(3) equips and trains all sectors of the population to participate actively and creatively in the struggle for social change.

The afore-mentioned points enables a further distinction to be made i.e. people's education having a liberatory aim in which the "conscientisation" (i.e. the raising of consciousness) is a contributing factor. For the purposes of this analysis the term "liberation" refers to the need for socio-political change which invariably includes a new system of education as well (see Definition of People's Education 3.3.2).

Vio Grossi (1984:307) therefore states that people's education implies that the oppressed [members of society] must "tackle the causes of their problems" by "struggling for liberation from problematic social practices". This is achieved through the process of what Freire calls "conscientisation", i.e. "the process of generating a critical consciousness able to participate in the dialogue about social reality" (McKay & Romm, 1992:9). This in turn requires the oppressed to "be mobilised and conscientised to become aware of their oppression" (Vio Grossi, 1985:106). According to Freire (1985:107) this is a process which occurs "at any given moment, [and] should continue whenever and wherever the transformed reality assumes a new face". Once again, the link between knowledge and power is evident - as the emphasis is placed on the ability of the population to "appropriate knowledge" about social reality (the social reality of oppression). In order to define

reality "laboratories of freedom" (education) will provide the necessary skills to participate in the struggle for human emancipation or "the lived experience of empowerment for the vast majority of the population" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986:xi).

3.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO EDUCATION

Since the 1950's, the relationship between education and development in the Western World, and in Africa in particular, has been the centre-point of the educational planning problem. The reason for this is an increase in educational demand caused by political, economic and demographic changes especially since the Second World War. But these needs of the individual could hardly be met, since education systems everywhere were faced with shortages of teachers, schools, text books and funds.

By the 1960's, a shift in emphasis has taken place, as the dominant development model now centred around the "equation" between development and economic growth. Education was therefore seen as an "economic good" since the function of the educational system was to improve manpower and skills. To increase the rate of economic growth, the expansion of formal education was encouraged at secondary and tertiary levels. This inevitably led to the creation of a professional or middle-class elite.

However, by the end of the 1960's, it became evident in Africa that the desired effects had not been reached because people living in rural areas had been stagnating, thus becoming poorer. This was accompanied by rising unemployment thereby hindering development goals. Since formal education could not provide for the development needs, alternative forms of education had to be considered to meet the complex national needs.

3.4.1 Functionalist Approach to Education

For proponents of this theory, the major function of education is to transmit society's norms and values. The basis of the functionalist approach to education is to place educational institutions in relation to the wider social structure and the needs of the society. Within the social structure, the economy is of paramount importance, thereby determining the complexity of skills required according to the level of technology. This is illustrated by Durkheim (1956:122) in Education and Society, when he states that "the man whom education should realize in us is .... as the society wishes him to be; and it wishes him such as its internal economy calls for".

For functionalists, education teaches specific skills necessary for future occupations. The school provides a context where these skills are learnt. Education must

"arouse .... a richer diversity of occupational aptitudes" as this transmission of skills by the educationally system should provide individuals with the requirements for being acceptable to society (Durkheim, 1956:71). Education therefore transmits "both general values which provide the 'necessary homogeneity' for social survival and specific skill which provide the 'necessary diversity' for social cooperation" (Haralambos & Holborn 1990:231).

The functionalist approach has come under criticism because it is assumed that the norms and values that are transmitted are of those of society as a whole rather than those of the ruling class. Furthermore many changes in educational systems tend to encourage individual competition and to train people for particular occupations.

Over the past 15-20 years, the functionalist approach has been the most popular, as a result of it's emphasis on manpower and cost-benefit techniques and needs. In emphasising the relationship between educational forms and development goals, education systems in the developing world were designed to produce educational changes in a small number of individuals, that is, to produce an "educated elite". Notwithstanding this feature, educational goals in most countries were changing due to two factors: firstly, there seems to have been dissatisfaction with

earlier patterns of development; and secondly, socio-political pressure to change educational systems in order to provide more job opportunities. Education now had an economic motive.

3.4.1.1 Human Capital Approach

Stemming from the modernisation theory of development and the functionalist approach to education, the human capital theory laid the foundation for linking education's contribution to economic growth. Education was considered to be an investment in the economy because it improved the quality of human resources and generated skilled manpower in the labour market. Economic growth depended on higher productive skills and in turn education increased individual productivity. The term "modernisation" (i.e. social and cultural advancement) has always been synonymous with development. Hence, it was believed that education had a "modernising" function in the sense that it provided more skills to participate in the "modern" developing sectors of the economy.

One of the main criticisms of the human capital theory is that it focuses on what Simkins (1977:22) refers to an "an elite formation" which usually dominates the educational process. Education is seen as the main variable that influences individuals skill attainment. However, this

analysis neglects to take into consideration other contributing factors (such as socio-economic background, environmental influences and political linkages to education) which shape people's skills and this can either reinforce or undermine the impact of education. Like modernisation theorists, proponents of human capital treats education as if it were politically and ideologically value free, and therefore see all aspects as separate entities.

3.4.1.2 Manpower Planning Approach

Linked to the economic growth and education thesis is the view that education differentiates between people. Like human capital, manpower planning concentrates on the economic value of education. This theory tries to figure out what the economy will need in the future i.e. the number of educated/qualified people that will be needed in different occupations or sectors of the economy in future. Viewed from this perspective, education reinforces patterns of socio-economic inequalities. Education differentiates between people by disseminating different types of knowledge to people according to their position in society and in their future places in the social division of labour.

As stated in chapter 2 within the modernisation trend, education falls within the same conceptualisation that all

economies follow the linear and universal path of development irrespective of their socio-political histories. In turn, it implies that Third World countries will plan and follow the same development path as First World countries. Therefore First World countries are used as models and Third World countries would follow suit. Education systems likewise were to be designed to answer the manpower needs of the economy. The needs would be "estimated" on the basis of occupational structures of the First World. Hence the content and methodology employed would be a replication of those of First World countries. In reality this did not occur. The Third World was "overdeveloped" and the education system produced an "educated elite" that was too metropolis-centred to deal with local problems. In return high rates of unemployment and underemployment could be traced since the absorption into the "undeveloped" economies were virtually unlikely.

3.4.1.3 Status-Conflict Approach

An alternative view is the status-conflict approach which indicates that credential requirements associated with specific jobs are determined by competition within the labour market, because then individuals struggle to reach and maintain levels of socio-economic status closely related to high rewards. This approach claims that there is no correlation between educational qualifications and

productivity. Therefore the functional role of education becomes more problematic.

However, the main aim of the education system is socialisation through "the conferring of elite status, and attitudes appropriate to it, on some and the instilling of respect for such an elite status in others" (Simkins, 1977:24). Such a "contest-mobility" system of education developed without taking the needs of the community into consideration. Therefore the level of educational attainment required to obtain elite status is constantly increased. The status-conflict approach maintains that stratification in a society is based on qualifications obtained through schooling. This analysis is particularly evident in societies that began the development process rather late (Simkins, 1977:25).

In contrast to the afore-mentioned structural-functionalist approaches to education, towards the end of the 1960's and early 1970's alternative theoretical frameworks emerged. By tracing the relationship between First World and Third World countries (as illustrated in chapter 2 under "dependency theories"), a need arose to trace the process of development and the relationship of education to that process. The major thrust of the dependency approach was to locate development issues in the context of power and

dependency relations and to draw the differences (inequalities) between the metropolis and periphery OR urban and rural dichotomy. Because development was now evaluated as a process of uneven development or underdevelopment, the major contention was 'what kind' of education contributed to 'what kind' of development?

3.4.2 Dependency Approach to Education

This approach explains how the education system inherited from the First World contributed to the decline and dependency of the Third World. Accordingly, educational methods and knowledge was "carried over" from the First World (metropolis) to the Third World (periphery). This was one of the most effective ways in which Third World underdevelopment was perpetuated.

Carnoy (1972:56) explained that education in colonial countries was "introduced by the advanced countries .... to bring people into a social and economic structure in which they can be more effectively exploited by the advanced countries' monopolies. Hence, colonial education was designed to promote compliance with colonial rule by concentrating on a minority elite which would remain loyal to the metropolis (even after independence).

Irrespective of this analysis, educational dependency

theorists were criticized for their monolithic view of cultural and educational domination. In addition, theorists were accused of analyzing educational 'transfers' in the same way as an analysis of the transfer of capital or technology would be made. Obviously recipients would vary according to their social and geographical context. McLean (1976:108) therefore points out that analyses of educational transfers should pay attention to "the social, cultural and political values in which foreign values are introduced .... the degree to which it is accepted and the circumstances in which this acceptance takes place".

3.4.2.1 Education Reproduction Theory

Falling in line with the mode of production analysis of development, educational institutions must be understood in terms of their relationship to the state and the economy. This implies that education in capitalist societies reproduces the capitalist mode of production.

Louis Althusser, the main theorist behind the education reproduction theory, showed how education perpetuated and re-inforced socio-economic inequalities. Institutions play an ideological role in reproducing class and social divisions in society. The school, says Althusser (1971: 132-158) contributes to two forms of reproduction: "the reproduction of skills and rules of labour" (which include

scientific, literary, manual, technical and managerial skills); and the reproduction and reinforcement of the capitalist relations of production".

In the same vein, Bowles and Gintis argued that education created a differentiated labour force which would fit in with the existing division of social and technical labour. Hence, they maintain that a "close correspondence between the social relations which govern personal interaction in the work place and the social relationships of the education system" (Haralambos & Holborn, 1990:241). This implies that schools imparted different skills and knowledge to different students which in actual fact prepared them for their future ascribed positions in society.

The reproductive model of education can thus be summarized as:

(a) the economic-reproductive model of education: the school provides different social classes with the knowledge and skills they need to occupy in the labour force. This is stratified by class within exploitative economic relationships.

(b) the cultural-reproductive model of education: the school is functional in that it distributes knowledge, values and language thaat represents the dominant capitalist

culture and its interests. (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986:70)

In conclusion, as can be derived from the above discussion, the main thrust of literature concentrates on education as a pre-condition for development as it "promotes economic growth and enables the socialisation of new members of society into the dominant political and cultural value system" (Webster, 1986:113). The direct correlation between educational growth and development is clearly reflected in the functionalist view of adult education, which is closely linked to the modernisation theory.

The basis of the functional approach to education is to place educational institutions in relation to the wider social structure and the needs of the society. According to this approach, education amongst other things, provides individuals with the skills required by the economy. Education in such a society is geared especially towards the needs of the economy. However, it can be argued that much wider social and economic changes are needed than mere educational reform to significantly improve the position of the rural poor.

However, for the purposes of this dissertation preference will be given to the **education reproduction theory,** but not without moderation. Instead of broadly accepting the

analysis above of the theory, various aspects can be added. It is undoubtedly accepted that education is the basis for cultural and social reproduction, but it is also the terrain for much conflict and contradictions. Education reproduces structures of domination and exploitation, but at the same time education also reproduces, and is the subject of conflict. Education continues to be seen as an instrument of the ruling class to reproduce the social order BUT not without challenge and opposition.

3.5 THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Education is not just a system of formal schooling. It is a life-long process. Therefore, within the rural situation, education aims at "transmitting or creating skills, habits or knowledge, either with regard to specific limited situations, or with the general intention of helping the individual to master life" (Boesch, 1970:35). In order to realise this aim, the whole educational system must be "ruralised", i.e. related to the rural world and local community. Harrison (1980:274) believes that although the development of new life skills will only reach 10% of the rural population, non-formal education is "a real tool for individual and community development" because failure to "exercise the right to education in [early] life disenfranchises an individual for life" (Morrison, 1979:30).

Most rural development programmes stress the importance of education and training. Moulton (1977:8) indicates that "education of the masses and socio-economic structures that provide for the equal distribution of national resources are complimentary". Both are necessary in a development strategy that aims at both equity and growth. Hence, rural development encourages the rural population to modernise their living conditions and in so doing, new modern and political structures are developed.

Another central aim of education within the rural framework is to ensure the popular participation of the community as a whole. "Participation in modern economic and political structures can be the very basis for training people to operate within these structures" (Moulton, 1977:8). It is not the aim of rural community development "to restrict participation to the traditional or accepted local leaders .... but to stimulate .... the different levels and interest groups in a community as a whole. Acting upon the real needs of the community thus becomes a very important pre-requisite for community-wide participation" (Chekki, 1979:17-18).

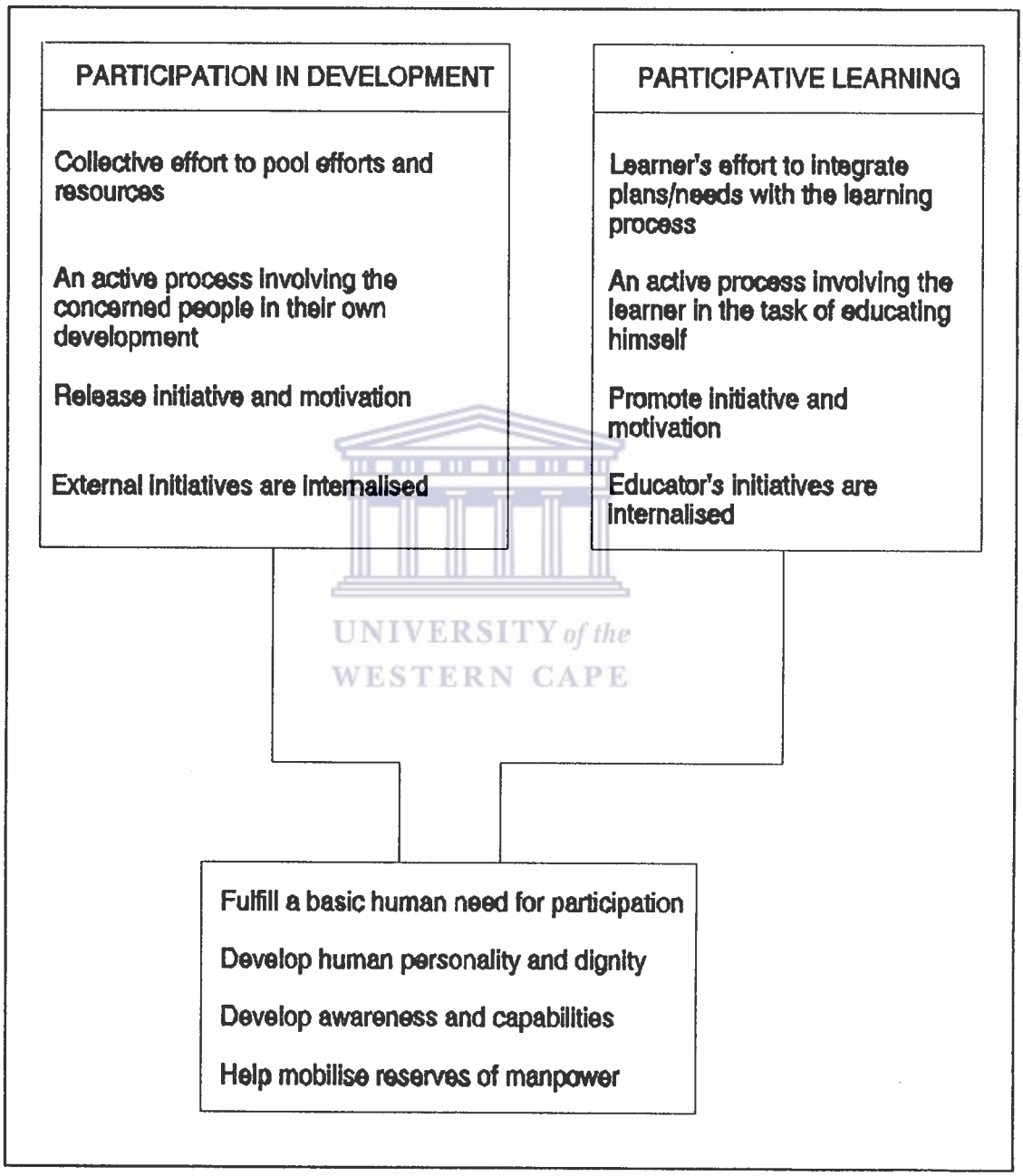
Closely linked to the concept of popular participation is the striving towards social equity. A distinction must however be made between "social equity" and "social

equality". Social equity is a concept of "distributive justice holding that social organisation should provide appropriate opportunities to all individuals to participate in social life, to develop themselves, and to ascend in social rank according to their uniqueness and their personal merits and efforts" (Ferrinho, 1980:51). Social equality on the other hand, is "the process of reducing the more eminent to the level of those who are at the bottom of the social scale or vice-versa" (Jeppe, 1986:30). Rural community development as a social movement is therefore directed "towards individual self-realisation of autonomous persons integrated in communities, must be founded upon equity, not equality, and must strive, not against inequality/equality, but against inequity" (Ferrinho, 1980:52).

Although participation by the community is widely encouraged, Chekki (1979:40-42), Ferrinho (1980:49-50) and Jeppe (1986:30) conclude that participation of all or even most members of a community is, seldom, if ever, a reality. "In practice it is the national or traditional leaders and minority groups who offer themselves or are amenable", who actually participate in institutions and projects promoted through rural community development (Jeppe, 1986:30).

Education has to be viewed in the context of the general development theme. From Figure 2 it can be seen that the objectives of both education and rural development are essentially the same. Educationally there is a shift from the teaching of literacy towards concern with socio-economic and political matters, and a more active participation in these areas. Development, in practical terms would also involve these strategies.

FIGURE 2 : THE OVERLAP BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING



(Mehta, 1978:9)

** I have refrained from tampering with references to "himself" and "manpower" as used by the author.

In 1978, the World Bank appointed a panel of experts to advise it on the future education policy to be adopted by the Bank. From this Report, two aspects deserve special attention:

(1) more education in rural areas would serve equity objectives, but it would also contribute to more rapid adoption of improved agricultural methods, the development of rural industries, and higher incomes in rural areas.

(2) greater equity would be served by increasing educational access for females .... National development is also fostered by a better qualified female population - through changes in the nature of labour-force participation and through gains in family welfare and the health capabilities of succeeding generations. (World Bank, 1978:8)

As can be determined from this quotation, the equity issue is of great importance. The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (Articles 26 & 27) includes the right of every individual to education, and national plans frequently state the aim of promoting greater equality of educational opportunities. However, there are those people who receive no formal education at all, because they live in areas where insufficient schools are provided, or because they are too poor to afford the fees and education is not

encouraged. Therefore, an educational system of which the rural world forms part, must be introduced.

3.6 EDUCATION : WHO PARTICIPATES?

Lowe (1975:16) identifies three types of needs in education, namely:

(i) the improvement of individual competencies;

(ii) social and community education; and

(iii) self-fulfilment.

For this reason, participants in (non-formal) education programmes can be classified according to three levels:

(a) <u>Classification by Level of Education</u>

This category refers to those individuals with no formal qualifications that could be utilised on the labour market. Generally they only have a minimal knowledge of basic literacy and numeracy. This group usually comes from the poor and disadvantaged section of the population who have experienced failure during their school years or have not been to school at all. At the other end of the educational ladder, are those who have a considerable amount of formal education but who have been compelled to live and work in partially literate environments.

(b) <u>Classification by the Level of Motivation</u>

When classifying participants in education programmes, it

is necessary to look at the individual's motive for learning. This includes adults, primarily from deprived sectors of the community, who would welcome the opportunity to learn new skills and train for new jobs, but dislike the formal classroom atmosphere. Therefore, according to Coles (1978:21) educational studies are undertaken for the following reasons:

(1) the qualification is essential for a better job;

(2) the qualification is a pre-requisite for further formal studies;

(3) the work for the qualification is of interest and use;

(4) the work involved will enable the person to keep abreast with his children and fellow-workers' informal education.

Non-formal education programmes can therefore be formulated and adapted according to the motivations of people.

(c) **Classification by the Needs of Various Disadvantaged Groups in a Rural Setting**

There are certain groups who are unable to satisfy their educational needs through the formal educational system. Kaye (1982:14-15) has identified the following groups:

(1) "working adults wishing to re-train for new jobs, and requiring some pre-vocational help and guidance before embarking on specialist training programmes;

(2) members of rural communities, far from the necessary

facilities for education;

(3) women who are about to return to work after taking care of their young children;

(4) families without a wage-earner in the household and likely to remain so during years of unemployment".

Apart from the above-mentioned groups the following target groups could also be added:

(1) migrant workers in need of language instruction to participate fully in society; and

(2) those, who by the nature of their work may have to be provided with special arrangements;

(a) women engaged in domestic duties (and thus only have limited time for study purposes); and

(b) farmers who have to work according to a special time-table and programme in rural areas. Thus, educational programmes are dictated by their daily and seasonal obligations.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Bearing in mind the various methodological and theoretical approaches to rural development and education, this chapter sought to illuminate the various themes which surround the contentious issue of changing development plans and educational goals. Education cannot be separated from the broader societal sphere. Just like any other sector,

education promotes the articulation and transmission of social values and interests. Education is a process and therefore development, education and social change are inextricably linked.

It has been argued that this study fits under the broad rubric of the political economy, therefore the education reproduction theory (with variations) and the dependency theory of development will be employed in analyzing the Zimbabwean situation. In addition, special mention will be made of the usage of "people's" education and the implementation thereof. An assessment will also be made as to whether the principles of "education with production" falls within this category as a possible solution of educational problems and land settlement patterns in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

> What is African education? asked a sceptic. It is the second-rate education imported from France, Britain or Spain - the imperial powers that dominated the political and commercial life of the African continent for well over three hundred years. (Fafunwa, 1982:9)

Every society has its own system of training and education for its people, and education for the betterment of an individual has been one of the universal concerns throughout history. However, the goal of education and the method of approach may differ from place to place, nation to nation and people to people.

This chapter explores the interaction between Western and traditional systems of education, which is as much a process of intermingling as of conflict. From this something new emerges. Western education has been considered as an "artificial implant" in developing countries. This Western education is inappropriate to the "real needs" of developing countries because it is a system which functions to provide socialization and cultural innovation in the West.

4.2 PHASES OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Historically, education in Africa can be divided into three distinct phases, each with its own characteristics: namely (1) the pre-colonial phase, (2) the colonial phase, and (3) the post-colonial phase.

4.2.1 The Pre-Colonial Phase

Since education was adapted to local needs, pre-colonial education is characterised by a close relationship between stratification systems and educational practices. The degree of stratification affected the development of education to such an extent that it was seen as a "specialist activity" with schools, students and teachers. Historically, the type and amount of education received was determined by: (1) the degree of stratification (classes of slaves, religious leaders, teachers, bureaucrats, craftsmen and traders); and (2) the roles the particular person was to play in adult life. This meant that as a society was stratified, so the educational system was stratified. Even in relatively simple societies where there was little or no formal education, people have to be trained for adult roles. In a sociological sense, education includes both formal and non-formal processes of learning. In modern Africa, these processes are separated.

In Africa, traditional informal education attempts to make

the individual pass from "absolute individual to that of an integrated member of the society, to make him lose the illusion of happiness in the state of isolation ... (and) create with everybody a new reality transcending individuals, namely, the community" (Fafunwa, 1982:16). African education is, therefore, centred on communal life, which helps the individual to adapt to the environment.

As a social institution, African education plays a role in providing the moral and practical teaching that will enable young members of the community to take their rightful place in society. The role of the community in the education of the young child begins at an early age. Almost any adult member in the village could play father/mother roles in instructing, advising or rewarding children. This type of village life illustrated an extended family role played by the local community in the educational process.

In non-literate societies, as a replacement for reading and writing, numeracy was taught by means of the beanboard game, well-known in Africa. Therefore, through demonstration, imitation and storytelling, the younger child was gradually incorporated into the community at large - thereby maintaining the educational process on a very informal level.

The aim of African education is basically the same in all societies, namely, to provide an individual with a useful skill, which illustrates that their form of education is vocationally orientated. Three distinct types of skills/professions can be illustrated:

(1) agricultural education (farming, fishing);

(2) trades and crafts (weaving, soap-making, pottery-making); and

(3) professions (priesthood, chieftainship).

In the pre-colonial village, the link between work and education was learned by imitating the elders in society. Today many of the skills needed for employment are learned within the context of formal education. There are special schools in certain African countries for specific types of education. The method of training is through the apprenticeship system, irrespective of the level of training. The period of apprenticeship, however, depends on the trade/profession to be learnt.

Datta (1984:13-14) identifies various characteristics of traditional (pre-colonial) education in Africa:

(1) traditional societies (with the exception of Islamic education) emphasised informal instruction as a method of general education;

(2) in comparison to modern education, traditional

education in Africa was limited to specialised training;

(3) instruction was of a practical nature and "geared to specific situations". However, abstract theories and generalisations were not made use of;

(4) religion, ethics and education were integrated; and

(5) experimentation with new ideas and techniques were hardly utilised.

When analyzing this type of society, it can be ascertained that pre-colonial African Society was technologically backward with a low level of scientific knowledge, limited specialisation and a simple division of labour.

4.2.2 The Colonial Phase

The colonial period in Africa lasted from the late 19th Century to the mid-20th Century. The relatively brief period of formal colonial rule, predominantly by Britain, Portugal and France's control over the African continent, was one of rapid social and educational change, and it was during this period that the European presence was directly and indirectly felt by the African population. However, the impact of colonialism was experienced differently within African countries. This implies that areas which had fallen under the influence of the Europeans, had experienced the progressive development of an economic infra-structure,

urban growth, Christianity and Western education.

(a) Characteristics of the Colonial System of Education

Four characteristics of the colonial system of education in Africa can be listed:

(1) Foreign Missions (Christian and Islamic) dominated the educational scene for many years. The colonial authorities shared the missionaries belief in the "superiority" of European over African civilization, a factor which is clearly portrayed in the colonial policies. The French claimed to be the "civilizing mission" in Africa, while the British "took it upon themselves to carry the white man's burden, that is, the responsibility to lead the backward native to a higher level of civilization" (Blakemore & Cooksey, 1981:34). Therefore, education for the propagation of, and in the name of the gospel, was the main objective of mission education.

(2) In later years of colonisation, the colonial governments began to take an interest in education as such. Hence, education was dualistic in structure in the sense that missions and governments were the two main operational agencies. The close understanding between the Church and the State in Europe extended to Africa. In so doing, "colonial powers were ... relieved of the administrative and financial burden.

On the other hand, the character of missionary society conditioned, in effect, the type of schooling offered" (Datta, 1984:16).

(3) A tendency commonly experienced in the colonial system of education in Africa was to "educate the African away from his culture" - a practise followed by foreign missions and later by colonial governments (Fafunwa, 1982:21). Consequently, colonial education had a strong European bias. Teaching was usually conducted in the mother tongue of the colonial power. In this manner, a type of African "elite" developed. This was especially evident in the French colonies where an attempt was made to "frenchify" the African, and in so doing break all ties with his/her traditional roots. All curricula were "heavily Europeanized". In history or geography, literature and culture, examples and materials were drawn from Europe. African history was either not included or was looked upon as an extension from Europe (Datta, 1984:18).

(4) The colonial period also marked a shift in interest by colonial governments, from a religious to a semi-religious form of education. Due to the metropolitan-satellite relationship with Africa, the "interests" of the metropolis (mother country) and education as such was geared towards the socio-economic needs of the

> colonial world. The central aim was to exploit the primary agricultural and mineral resources for colonialist expansionist ventures. Education was therefore adjusted to its objectives: it was not intended for the society at large but for a minority of the population (Fafunwa, 1982:22).

Ironically, African colonial society was composed of two different categories of people whose approach and attitude to education varied. The first category consisted of isolated tribes who were "unexposed" to the modernisation process. They felt that modern education was not a necessity and therefore still made use of traditional education. The second group were those who contributed to the "emergence of a non-traditional sector in the colony, endowed with a money economy, a more complex division of labour and a new status" (Datta, 1984:20). It was this group that was later able to exert pressure on the colonial administration for improved educational provision. These included the diversification of courses and the Africanisation of contents.

(b) <u>The Results of Colonial Education</u>

The Africans were by no means "passive" recipients of colonial schooling. On the contrary, they were active in the educational process by contributing to the building and

staffing of their own schools. On the negative side, colonialism could be viewed as a mechanism for gaining access to Africa's mineral wealth and developing cash-drop agriculture. Therefore, in a sense, education was unnecessary for some Africans. On the positive side, education was necessary for the job opportunities created by economic development and occupational mobility. In some areas a small class of educated "elite" developed, since they were the first to benefit from secondary and higher education.

A fact closely associated with the emergence of an "educated elite", is the decline of the traditional community setting, since it reduced the power of the traditional rulers and chiefs. Traditional leaders opposed Western education in many cases, as it was seen as a threat to their authority. However, those chiefs who accepted education at an early stage, stood a better chance of surviving than those who opposed it. Nonetheless, the most educated eventually replaced the chiefs, that is, the "elite". It was "these willing disciples who at independence received the political office of leader granted by outgoing colonial administrations to govern the newly 'independent' states" (Webster,1986:119). From the beginning of the colonial period, the educational systems of the governing powers have been the main avenue by which

Africans could move from the traditional to the modern sector of the economy in their countries. The educational system in most African countries was therefore not only viewed as the avenue to a better job, but also as a means of escape from peasant life.

It can be concluded that conflict between the interests of traditional and colonial education existed. Since education is concerned with changing attitudes and the development of the individual, to be effective it must start from the existing traditional basis, in a situation open to encourage change. If education is to have its base in the local community, then its nature should be decided within the community itself.

4.2.3 The Post-Colonial Phase

By the end of the Second World War, it became increasingly clear that more and more countries were demanding independence. As part of the strategy of decolonization there was the formation of an administrative elite who participated in the civil service. It should however be noted that this phenomenon had started earlier in the colonial period already. On the other hand, one of the major challenges to colonial power came from the educated - as these young Africans began asking for more education and the redefinition of goals and purposes of education.

Morphet and Miller (1981:17) and Coombs (1967:22) characterized the 1960's as a period when education was linked to the general development theme. During this period, there was a strong investment in and expansion of formal schooling. Formal education was therefore seen as the basis of economic growth and development. Under Western influence, the following principles refer to an approach followed by most countries in Africa throughout the First United National Development Decade (1961-1970):

(1) as a pre-requisite for development, an attempt should be made to industrialize;

(2) development should be based in the urban areas;

(3) agriculture should be mechanized through capital-intensive farming methods;

(4) the means of measuring progress should be through economic growth;

(5) there should be an increase in private foreign investments and the transfer of technology from developed countries;

(6) aid from industrialized countries should be increased;

(7) there should be an increase in exports;

(8) priority should be given to formal education to train the appropriate manpower for development projects. Formal education was thus seen as the key to economic growth and development (Omo-Fadaka, 1982:261).

However, as the 1960's progressed, it became increasingly clear that formal schooling systems did not always fulfil all development aims. Despite huge investments by governments in education, those living in rural areas rarely benefitted. Consequently, the socio-economic gap between the urban and rural areas widened. This inevitably led to imbalances in the pattern of national development and education, as technical skills as well as leadership skills needed for development could not be promoted. It should be noted that it was the population living in the rural areas who suffered the most. Coombs and Ahmed (1980:4) provide three main reasons for this:

(1) urban areas had been strongly favoured in the allocation of scarce educational resources;

(2) the incompatibility between what schools were teaching and what the people needed to learn was most severe in the rural areas;

(3) educational policies had equated education largely with formal schooling; hence the important learning needs of children and adults outside school, who constituted the great majority of the rural population, were being seriously neglected.

Contributing to the educational crisis were two factors noted by Coombs (1967:22) namely that (i) "the increasing uneasiness about the relevance of what was being taught to

the real needs of the students and their life prospects"; and (ii) "the growing imbalance between the rapidly expanding 'output' of educational systems and the capacity of employment markets to provide appropriate jobs for the newcomers". Thus, a large number of the population living in the rural areas were excluded from any form of education.

In most African countries, 70-90 per cent of women live and work in rural areas. They perform up to 90 percent of subsistence production and are expected to contribute to cash-crop production although they rarely reap the full benefits of this. Nonetheless, they perform these duties without any significant education or training. The 1970's and 1980's have however seen an increasing number of girls in Africa enroled in schools and a growing minority of women completing university courses, but the majority of women in Africa remain illiterate and completely lack any educational experience. Hence it is acknowledged that educational provision for women should be upgraded but Allison (1985:144) warns that there are various problems associated with the provision of education for women:

> the process of challenging values associated with 'appropriate education' for women is long and painful .... the tendency is for the majority to be educated in more or less the 'traditional way' and a minority to be engaged in areas which were hitherto considered as totally male .... Sometimes these education patterns are less reflective of perceived

> needs than of the policy preferences, or those engaged in 'technical co-operation' and skill upgrading projects designed by Western women's groups.

The task of most African countries would be to define new objectives which the national educational system would help to attain, thereby calling for some form of educational reform.

4.3 EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The World Bank has expressed the significance of education for development as "a basic need in its own right; a way of meeting other basic needs; and an activity that sustains and accelerates overall development" (Fowler,1985:153). In order to achieve this, and to 'correct the wrongs of the past', three fundamental reforms are illustrated in a UNESCO survey on Africa:

(1) the transition from an elitist education to mass education, that is, there should be a tendency to move away from the more conventional system of education. The reason is that these systems produce fragmentary results - either catering for students with a formal education or those with non-formal education. In addition to this, the situation was aggravated by competition between local bodies. Therefore, the educational effort falls short of objectives set. But any attempt to devise a form of mass education to meet

the needs of all those who aspire to learning, is of great relevance today. The United Republic of Tanzania portrays a clear example of the mobilization of all efforts in order to achieve this aim.

(2) Another characteristic of African reforms is that they seek to link school with life. This covers a variety of areas: curriculum content, training for employment opportunities and the needs of economic development. This involves the idea of self-fulfilment, since the linking of education with work means that learners associate the act of learning with the act of producing.

(3) Finally, the strengthening of cultural identity is another major aim. In many countries, there has been a tendency for young people to question the merits of education, not only because it served little purpose in preparing them for active life, and obtaining employment, but mainly because it inculcated different values and references than those which they encountered in their own social environment. Therefore, the linkage between education and the community would be one method of achieving this result. (UNESCO, 1977:14-17)

During the 1970's there was a definite change in educational policy. Influential educational planners were

urging the adoption of, amongst others, rurally based non-formal approaches to education. Various experiments in non-formal education were undertaken. Educational activity during this phase is therefore characterized by the direct provision of educational opportunities for adults, ranging from secondary school courses and literacy classes to radio learning group campaigns (as illustrated in the subsequent sections).

4.4 GENERAL TRENDS IN EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Education in Africa tended to develop around mass education campaigns. Generally speaking, three main elements are evident:

(1) community development

(2) mass literacy campaigns

(3) agricultural extension programmes

(1) The initial impetus for **community development** was found in educational policies which were aimed at conserving "(as far as possible) all the sound elements in the fabric of social life and social structure" (Omo-Fadaka, 1982:266). As a basis for social education and community welfare, the importance of family and kinship ties, age group, work place and neighbourhood, had to be emphasized.

As schools had to be integrated in society, various policies of education for community development have been formulated. The Tanzanian concept of "Education for Self-Reliance" sees the purposes of education "to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare young people for their future membership of a society and their active participation in its maintenance or development" (Morrison, 1976:255). In a social campaign to combine education and community development, the Ujamaa villages were established. In a "work and study" programme of education, the curriculum was designed so as to integrate classroom and traditional craft techniques, including village responsibilities. This encouraged the creation of communities "with a sense of togetherness and shared achievement" (Omo-Fadaka, 1982:266).

(2) Non-formal education programmes also centred around **mass literacy campaigns**. As an integral part of community development it was maintained that "the general health of the whole community, its general well being and prosperity can only be secured ... if the whole mass of people had a real share in education and had some understanding of its (education) meaning and purpose" (Cameron and Dodd, 1970:37). This meant that the emphasis now fell outside the realm of formal

school education, and was rather directed towards all members of the population, including adults.

In most African countries it was believed that literacy classes should be the central focus of adult education in rural development. Therefore, when teaching the illiterate adult, instructional programmes differed from those designed for the literate population. Recently, a new "functional" literacy or "work orientated literacy" approach to teaching to teaching illiterates had been implemented in Tanzania. This was called the "Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project". In this functional literacy programme, adults were taught the skills of reading, writing and simple arithmetic, as well as vocational skills. Thus, literacy and vocational training "are not taken as parallel activities bur are fused together ... in a work-oriented approach to literacy" (Rydstrom, 1973:8).

(3) **Agricultural extension programmes** may also be regarded as an important ingredient of mass education programmes (that is, life-long education) for farmers. According to Malassis (1976:68) agricultural extension programmes play a threefold role in the process of agricultural growth:

(i) to keep farmers up to date and help in the process of innovation by establishing

machinery which will involve the farmers themselves in this process;

(ii) with the aid of specialized departments, to assist in functional training, whether in the sphere of literacy work (i.e. enabling farmers to read invoices, weigh their produce) ... or improving their way of life (i.e. planning of work);

(iii) to detect the 'real leaders' ... who will be able to assume responsibility in farmers' organisations, particularly in co-operatives.

When extension programmes are put into practice, they could provide information and training on a regular basis. This encourages farmers to observe the changing conditions of production as well as the effect of technical changes.

Agricultural extension programmes also play an important role in "community development". Its aim is to train individuals to play their part in society and to make decisions especially in land reform programmes. The aim of these programmes is not only to increase production, but to establish various institutions to promote long-term rural development.

During the 1970's, a new model for extension work was

developed by Daniel Benor, and is now being put into practice in World Bank projects. The programme is designed to reach large numbers of small farmers, cheaply and quickly.

> At the base is the village extension worker, covering 800 farmers. Out of these he selects about 80 'contract farmers' chosen in consultation with villagers - adaptable, trusted people whose example is likely to be followed by their neighbours. These contract farmers are formed into groups of 10. One day each fortnight, following a fixed schedule, the extension worker visits one of the groups and teaches them about the cultivation techniques that will be required in the following few weeks of the farming year. The worker himself/herself attends training sessions one day a week, when he/she is taught ... what he/she will be teaching the following week. The 'contract farmers' in their turn, act as the unpaid bottom level of extension work, and undertake to try out the recommended techniques and to explain them to their neighbours.

The impact of this type of extension service can be considerable. Increased agricultural production is likely to take place, and according to the Indicative World Plan (IWP), extension programmes will amount for "78% of increased population in Asia, and 45% in Africa" (Malassis, 1976:58). However, agricultural extension in many African states continues to bypass women farmers. "Typically agricultural extension is still oriented solely to export crops or relatively large-scale production of cash crops, which are in turn the domain of men" (Lewis,1984:177).

As illustrated by these three developments, education and non-formal activities are vital contributions to development, on both a personal and national level. It was only during the post-independence period that the different governments began to transform education to promote national awareness, economic productivity and political consciousness.

4.5 RURAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

The past decade has been characterised by a debate surrounding the school and education in community development in the Third World. Efforts are continually made to relate the work of the school more closely to the life of the community. On the other hand, greater emphasis has been placed in the last 20 years on the development of specialised agencies and extension services to introduce modern agricultural methods, and to produce individuals with skills appropriate to the community. An attempt will therefore be made to provide an overview of possible rural education programmes, which could assist in alleviating the situation.

4.5.1 Basic Training (Functional Literacy)

In a Ford Foundation study of literacy, the authors differentiate between "conventional literacy" and "functional literacy". Conventional literacy refers to "the

ability to read and write and understand ..... what is necessary to get along in one's environment." Functional literacy refers to "the possession of skills perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfil their own self-determined objectives ... " (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982:204). Functional literacy therefore links reading and writing skills to vocational training, rural development and family life. This also aids a specific country's social, economic and political development. Thus, training schemes should take the learning needs of the community into account. When programmes are constructed, the following "ingredients" as recommended by Coombs should be kept in mind :

> the acquisition of positive attitudes; sufficient functional literacy and numeracy to read with comprehension a national newspaper or magazine; .... to write a legible letter; a scientific outlook and an elementary understanding of the processes of nature; functional knowledge and skills for earning a living; and functional knowledge and skills for civic participation.
> (Coles, 1978:35)

These recommendations therefore suggest that basic education should make "all people sufficiently literate participants in the communities to be able to play their role in the development" (Fox, 1977:9). The starting point of functional basic education will vary according to the motives and interest of the learners. In this case, functional literacy, that is "the possession of skills

perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfil their own objectives", would be training offered only to those who are motivated to learn (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982:204). As motivation in this respect is usually connected to an occupation, the individual is encouraged to do his work more effectively.

Numerous literacy experiments are being carried out in different countries. In most countries these literacy programmes are closely linked to national development and national participation in social, economic and political life. Here an example can be cited in Tanzania with the implementation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Development and literacy programmes are formulated through the Ujamaa village concept. The Ujamaa village is a small rural unit based upon the co-operative principle (i.e. living and working for the good of all). The Ujamaa village is responsible for planning and implementing literacy activities - thus contributing to the national literacy effort.

However, as Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:208) suggest, efforts to eradicate illiteracy have been hampered by:

(1) multi-lingual populations;

(2) lack of trained teachers;

(3) lack of co-ordination and articulation between

national and local bodies, and school-based programmes; and

(4) the lack of reading materials and follow-up campaigns aimed at preventing newly literate adults from slipping back into illiteracy.

4.5.2 Vocational Training

Much of adult education in the Third World reflects the needs of rural, agriculturally based economics. For this reason, most adult vocational education in the Third World is of a non-formal nature, and serves the needs of a developing society. Vocational training, which is basically practical, can take several forms. It has been provided on "an experimental basis immediately after completion of the primary course; it can almost be considered as life-long education when agricultural extension work is sufficiently concentrated and effective; it can also be provided in special educational institutions" (Malassis, 1976:92). Since the aim of vocational education is to teach some form of useful skill, vocational training in Third World countries is implemented by a variety of methods.

The most comprehensive non-formal educational system, says Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:217-220), is found in Columbia. SENA (Servicio Nacional de Apredizaje) is an organization which forms part of the Ministry of Labour.

SENA services include: "providing classes in over 100 training courses, consulting to business, conducting labour needs assessments, training within business and industrial settings, and dispatching mobile training units to urban and rural centres". Thus, SENA concentrates on "training persons already employed" and in so doing does not compete with the formal school system. It should be noted that SENA-type programmes are promoted by the International Labour Organisation which operates in most Latin American countries.

Within the African context, the Botswana Brigade Movement provides another example. In the Central District of Botswana, Brigades are formed on local demand, and take the form of practical skills training and on-the-job production. These provide a member with up to three years training culminating in projects which create a "network of factories, farms and workshops, educational and recreational facilities and quite substantial infrastructure including water supplies, electricity and housing. A wide range of goods and services were produced in the project" .... which were responsible for "some significant technical and educational innovations" (Van Rensburg, 1974:1).

Despite the effectiveness of some programmes, vocational

education in the Third World has been faced with various obstacles:

(1) some people receiving training for which there are no jobs, thus increasing the rate of unemployment;

(2) often no training is provided for jobs where shortages exist;

(3) there is often a lack of trained teachers;

(4) the quality of instruction varies from place to place;

(5) the evaluation of programme effectiveness is generally lacking (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982:220).

However, as a possible solution to these obstacles, the enhancement of vocational skills, as well as the participation of workers in policy formation, could have a major impact on national development ideals.

4.5.3 Specialised Training

In recent years, the general trend in developed countries has been to integrate technical training for agriculture within the overall educational system. But to implement this within Third World structures could create a problem since it is a gradual process. The position is further complicated when training is provided in a (foreign) language and culture which is alien to the pupils, as is evident in colonial situations in Africa.

In order to overcome transitional problems, Malassis (1976:97-98) suggests possible lines of action:

(1) Progressive integration of technical training for agriculture within the overall educational system by increasing the general educational content of the course and thus enabling the diplomas of agricultural education to be the equivalent to those of the corresponding stages of general education;

(2) the establishment of experimental general comprehensive schools with departments specialising in rural studies;

(3) the organisation of full-time agricultural training courses providing access to higher education;

(4) coherent organisations of full-time agricultural training, both as part of the school system and for adults;

(5) the introduction, at all levels of education, of teaching designed to set agricultural development against the background of overall development;

(6) the introduction of teaching methods involving team work and pupil participation (leaders of rural communities);

(7) the formation of inter-departmental co-ordination committees to consider ways in which technical agricultural education could be made part of the overall education system while at the same time

catering for the specific needs of agriculture.

Putting these propositions into practice, many Latin American countries have, with some success, amongst others, set up agricultural experiment stations, formed farmers clubs, sponsored short courses and produced technical publications. This was based primarily on the US Co-operative Extension Service Model.

Besides these techniques, other approaches to agricultural education and training can be cited. In use in Ecuador, for example, is a "simulation game designed to replicate the economic and social realities of the peasant situation. 'Hacienda' sensitises villagers to questions of land reform, modernisation and power structures" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:216). Agricultural education and specialised training in the Third World is thus an important aspect of overall development.

4.5.4 Civic and Social Education Programmes

Aspects of civil and social education should be incorporated into any form of rural education programmes. As Coles (1977:41) observes:

> both civil and social education are concerned with change : with the acquisition of new attitudes based on an understanding why the world today is different from that of yesterday but without too recklessly allowing all of the

> traditional forms and structures to disappear. But change everywhere is now the norm and whilst both general education and vocational training will also be helping people to adapt to the revised circumstances in which they are living, it is the special aim of informal civic and social education to enable people to become willing and sensitive co-operators in the process.

The central idea that comes to the fore is that educational topics should include matters of political and economic importance, necessary for the development of the country. These issues should, however, also centre around regional and international affairs thereby achieving some balance between the outside world and the importance of traditional structures of the local community. Here, one example comes to mind, namely, that of Paolo Freire's literacy programmes in Brazil, Chile and Guinea-Bissau which deliberately involved the development of "critical consciousness" to bring about social and political change. Another example, is that of Senegal where the idea of animation has been used. This refers to both the state organisation and a network of local community leaders designed "to initiate and support a direct dialogue between organised communities and state and institutional authorities", thus promoting social cohesion and a new sense of civic responsibility (Cisse, 1978:56).

In addition to organised civic and social programmes,

informal programmes pertaining to social education should be implemented. These programmes generally include the improvement in the quality of life and is therefore of great importance and interest to women and family life. In this sense, extension programmes play an important part, especially when emphasis is placed on health and household management in a rural environment.

An aspect of civic and social education is "role education" which deals with "assisting people to perform better their roles in society" (Coles, 1979:41). It focuses on the idea of leadership which should be applied to every aspect of life. These leadership roles cover various fields, for example, representatives of local assemblies; trade union organisers or social workers. They are what Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:209-210) and Coles (1979:41) refers to as "les animateurs", that is, people who infuse ideas into the community and are thus considered to be the leaders in various spheres of life who assist in development.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the development of a country involves civic and political awareness which is integrated with aspects of community development.

4.6 CONCLUSION

For the purposes of this analysis, a vital aspect of civic education is community development. Community development takes place when the basic community assumes responsibility for it's own development. K.R. Hope (1980:112-113) defines community development as "a process", since it involves "an understanding of the basic social and economic problems of the community. It is a process of social and economic action for solving community problems. It combines the efforts and resources from governmental and non-governmental agencies for effective and purposive change". Within the rural framework this implies that community action is seen as "helping farmers to help themselves" (Malassis, 1976:95).

Basic to rural community development, is participation. Participation of the rural poor refers to the active and willing participation of rural people in the development of the area in which they reside. What makes up rural development for a community is not to be decided upon by a powerful few. It is the participation of the people which shapes the development process and therefore defines the development of the community. In this way, emphasis is placed on the principle of self-reliance, which not only encourages people to identify the problems in their society, but also ways to overcome them.

Although the conventional application of rural development techniques do not have an explicit political aim, it could be used to foster political or ideological objectives. One school of thought highlights the influence by political leaders on rural development programmes and workers to promote certain aims at grassroots level. For example, acceptance by the people of governmental or administrative ideals. If such action fits in with community development and is directed at development in general, such action may be beneficial in the interest of development and encourage co-operation between rural community development programmes and governmental authorities.

Non-typical uses of rural community development programmes for political, ideological or revolutionary purposes may be applied in a variety of ways and may differ in their goals and intensity from "less extremist aims of inducing social change by mobilising community support against what are regarded as unjust or discriminatory practices or authority, to the other extreme of promoting militant or revolutionary action through community based organisations possibly linked up with regional or national militant or revolutionary organisations" (Jeppe, 1986:43).

CHAPTER FIVE

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION : THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In virtually all societies policies aimed at economic development and social transformation make provision for the expansion and restructuring of education. However, many newly independent states are faced with a two-fold problem: the need to redress the inequalities produced by the colonial system; and how and in what way the colonial system of education should be replaced by a system directed at socio-economic transformation.

The vast majority of Zimbabweans live in the rural areas. Before the Liberation War, they were deprived of their land; many were forced to find work in the cities, many became unemployed, and those that remained barely managed to subsist on the barren and overpopulated land they were given. Since the division of land becomes the primary aspect and the role it plays in the economy is taken into consideration, it will be easier to evaluate the changes that have taken place since independence. Of course, a contributing factor would be to examine the inter-

relationship between education and rural development.

The object of this study is to examine the historical background of Zimbabwe in relation to:

(1) rural development (land policies) and the educational system before independence; and

(2) post-independence land resettlement policies and the development of the "Education with Production" network.

MAP 1 : PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES AND MAJOR TOWNS OF ZIMBABWE

(Stoneman & Cliffe, 1989:xxi)

5.2 GENERAL ORIENTATION and BASIC DATA[1]

Official Name : Republic of Zimbabwe

Population : 8.6 million

population density	: 23 per sq.km.
population growth	: 2.9% per annum
urban population (%)	: 26
total labour force	: 2.5 million
formal employment	: 1.06 million
ethnic groups	: Shona 75%; Ndebele 19%; Tonga,Venda and Shangaan 4%; whites 1.5%; "coloureds" and Asians 0.5%

Capital : Harare (formerly Salisbury)

Land Area : 390,580 sq.km. of which 17% is arable

Official Languages : English, Shona, Ndebele

Monetary Unit : Zimbabwe dollar (Z$)

Administrative Division : 8 provinces: Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masivingo, Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South, Midlands.

Political Structure : constitution agreed at Lancaster House conference in London, 1979; radically revised in 1987.

highest legislative body :	House of Assembly: 100 elected members, of which 20 were reserved for whites on a separate roll 1980-7, but are now chosen by other members. Senate: 40 members, of which 10 reserved for whites 1980-7. Abolished in 1990.
highest executive body :	until 1988 the Cabinet, headed by Robert Mugabe as Prime Minister; now

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[1] This dissertation covers the period 1960-1985. All data is based on 1985 facts and figures.

Executive President with Cabinet.

ruling party : ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front); from 1988 incorporating the former Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Education and Health

school system	:	7 years primary, compulsory	
primary	:	819,000 (1979);	2,260,000 (1986)
secondary	:	79,000 (1979);	540,800 (1986)
university	:	1,873 (1980);	4,742 (1985)
other tertiary	:	6,466 (1980);	26,605 (1985)
adult literacy	:	72,7% (1985)	

Economy

GDP	:	US$4,944 million
GDP shares	:	manufacturing industry 30.2%, distribution 13.0%, mining 6.9%, agriculture 11.4%
GDP expenditure	:	private consumption 58.5%, public consumption 18,7%, gross fixed capital 16.6%

Trade and Balance of Payments

exports	:	US$1,305 million; 26% of GDP
imports	:	US$985 million; 20% of GDP
main exports	:	gold, tobacco, cotton, ferro-alloys, asbestos, nickel, steel
main imports	:	machinery and transport equipment, chemical, petroleum products, manufactured goods
foreign debt	:	US$2,143 million

Main Natural Resources : gold, chromium, nickel, copper, asbestos, coal, iron

Main Crops : tobacco, maize, sorghum, cotton, sugar, cane, soya beans, wheat, coffee

Land Distribution : 50% communal areas (individual tenure rights with common grazing); 40% commercial (private free holdings); 10% former commercial holdings now resettled, of which 1% are cooperatives.

adapted from
(Stoneman & Cliffe, 1989:xiii-xvi)

5.3 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

For any analysis of rural development in Zimbabwe, the land issue will remain a central theme, since elements of this controversial issue has its roots in developments emanating from the previous century.

It is difficult to analyze the pre-colonial period with "any precision". The reason for this is that "Zimbabwe was not a single state before white settlers created the arbitrary boundary in Southern Rhodesia in the 1890's. It is therefore highly misleading to speak of a Zimbabwean tradition as if it were singular and static" (Batezat, Mwalo & Truscott, 1988:153). Yet, Dorsey (1981), Jacobs (1989) and Zinyama (1992) amongst others, trace Zimbabwean colonial history to 1890. In keeping with tradition, the political history of Zimbabwe from colonization in 1890 (?) to the present has had a controlling influence on state policies.

Colonial state policies favoured white settler areas, thereby creating and perpetuating a dual socio-economic structure which is characterized by racial and spatial inequalities. In tracing the current debate on the land question, it is necessary to look at the historical background which "has been the main issue in Zimbabwe ever since the coming of the colonists" (Herbst, 1991:269).

Feltoe (1992:9) traces the historical background to this contentious issue. "Mineral rights and land were obtained from the inhabitants first by trickery and stealth (the Rudd Concession of 1888 and the Lippert Concession of 1891) and then by force, (the Victoria Agreement) following the conquest of Matabeleland." In 1895 the local inhabitants were forced into the Native Reserves, while settlers were allowed to peg farms for themselves.

Chung (1989:8) explains - during the colonial regime "the best half of agricultural land, comprising over 14 million hectares, was reserved for 6,000 commercial farmers giving an average of 2,500 hectares per farmer, whilst 60 000 peasant[2] farmers had to share the other half, acknowledged by all as the worst half". By 1910, "23.4 per cent of the land had been appropriated by whites, and 26 per cent had been declared Native Reserves - later to become known as Tribal Trust Lands" (Herbst, 1991:269). For Makamure (1992:3) colonialism "has mischievously taught [us] to call and regard 'Reserves' as Homes".

The 1931 Land Apportionment Act (LAA) divided the country

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[2] The peasantry is not portrayed as the "traditional' and "implicitly backward" sector , but rather as an impoverished class created by the relations of production that were imposed on precapitalist societies in the colonial era.

into racial areas, thereby enforcing racial segregation. The LAA legalized the division of the country's land and prohibited members of either racial group from owning land in areas assigned to the other. The segregation of all land into White or Black areas not only dispossessed black farmers of the most fertile land but also undermined their economic self-sufficiency. At the time, 50,8 per cent of the land had been declared "European", while 30 per cent had been reserved for the African population (Herbst, 1991:269). These factors which were designed to protect white fledgling farmers from competition have, according to Dorsey (1981:211), contributed to the "pauperization" and "proletarianisation" of the peasant black population. This opinion is shared by Palmer (1977:243) who maintains that by the end of the 1930's, the agricultural economy of the Shona and the Ndebele, like that of the Kikuyu and most South African peoples, have been destroyed.

The 1951 Native Land and Husbandry Act was an attempt to create a relatively well off class of African peasant farmers that would form a buffer against the rising tide of African nationalism. However, the Act ended the land rights of urban blacks. Plots of land in the reserves could no longer be distributed by the chief, instead they could be purchased. Once again, unable to acquire land the increasing population in the reserves was compelled to seek

work in the urban areas. It can be concluded that this was an attempt to protect fledgling white farmers from competition. Yet, this appropriation of land has become one of the most important grievances in Zimbabwe.

5.3.1 Rural Development : The Pre-Independence Period

Throughout the colonial period, a variety of legislative and socio-economic impediments had been used to formulate discriminatory policies, thereby creating structural imbalances which cut across economic sectors, geographical regions and racial groups. These imbalances related to levels of technological development, ownership of productive resources, the availability of social and economic goods, and levels of participation in the production process.

5.3.1.1 Land Distribution Policies

Under the United Federal Party an attempt was made to address the land question and abolish the LAA. However, when the Rhodesian Front (RF) won the elections in 1962 with an election victory promise to preserve land segregation. (Initially, this sparked off the War of Liberation). In 1969, the government passed the Land Tenure Act which divided the country "equally" between blacks and

whites[3], with each group getting 46.6 per cent of the total land area. However, this provision totally disregarded the population differentials of 96 per cent black and 4 per cent white members of the population (Zinyama, 1992:37). More than half of the total land area had been allocated to the white population and the rest allocated to the black population.

Land distribution can be defined as follows:

(i) White Farmers: regions I, II, and III was allocated to white commercial farmers and was the most suitable for intensive farming. These areas were largely made up of privately owned land, farmed either by small individual farmers or by local or multi-national companies. Commercial farms depend on the labour of over 300,000 blacks. Farm labourers fell under the Masters and Servants Act and could be dismissed without notice. However, they were never unionized to any significant extent.

(ii) Communal Farmers: were allocated land in the less productive regions IV, V, and VI. The land in the communal sector (previously the African Reserves) was held under communal tenure. As the government instituted legislative

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[3] These terms (blacks and whites) are preferred to African and European, the categories (along with Coloureds and Asians) used by the previous regime.

measures which restricted access by black farmers to agricultural markets and support services (credit facilities), productivity from impoverished soils diminished. This compelled black farmers to sell their labour on the white-owned farms and the "communal areas henceforth served as cheap labour reserves for the modern white-controlled sector of the national economy" (Zinyama, 1992:38).

(iii) The Purchase Areas (PA's): situated between the Tribal Trust Lands and commercial farms, form approximately 9 per cent of the black farming area. These farms can be purchased by individuals who constitute a black middle-class of 'master farmers'. Needless to say, the land was under-utilized, and catered for only 1 per cent of black farmers. In many cases, the farms were too large to be cultivated by family labour, so many Purchase Area farmers hired labourers for cheap wages. Women in the PA's were exploited to a large extent: many came from the Tribal Trust Lands and were forced to marry wealthy PA farmers. These women had to work under harsh conditions in the fields and children were often uneducated.

(iv) Tribal Trust Lands (TTL's) which were impoverished and over-populated were situated next to the under-populated white farms. The land was 'owned' by chiefs or

Tribal Land authorities who collaborated with the Rhodesian regime. The TTL's were divided into communal grazing land, and individual arable plots. As the population increased, the land became barren and overgrazed, resulting in heavy reliance on food produced by commercial agriculture. As a result, rural peasants became migrant labourers whilst others joined the liberation struggle. The war further decreased production, destroyed the rural infra-structure and left peasants starving and homeless.

In 1977 the land laws were amended and racial classifications were abolished, except for the 47 per cent of the lands reserved for blacks (Communal Areas). Since few blacks could afford to buy white farms, the racial division of the land at Independence in 1980 was not significantly different to what it had been.

5.3.1.2 Pre-Independence Gender Relations

Land redistribution and resettlement cannot be analyzed outside the context of gender relations[4]. Conflicting opinions on gender relations and the role of women in Rhodesian and subsequently in Zimbabwean society are derived from various sources. Three "ideologies" (i.e. a set of beliefs and practices) have been of particular

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[4] Gender is used here to refer to socially created identities.

influence:

(1) deriving from pre-colonial society, it stresses women's role in biological reproduction and the social reproduction of lineage. (In most pre-colonial patriarchal societies, all labour was gender differentiated, with women performing the bulk of menial, labour-intensive tasks. Men were the main decision-makers, traders, controllers of accumulated wealth, and directors of family [especially women's] labour);

(2) a Western model of the nuclear family with women as mother and partner (albeit a subordinate one) (Jacobs, 1991:163);

(3) a version of Marxism in which women's subordination is conceptualized as stemming directly from capitalism and/or colonialism and in which the key to female emancipation lies almost solely into bringing women into production on an equal basis with men.
(Roberts, 1983:183) (Batezat et.al., 1988:153-157)

It should however be noted that women's position in Zimbabwean society was clearly determined by the codification of Customary Law, which applied to matters concerning marriage, the family and associated property

rights. The status of a black woman[5] became governed by "custom", as she was then deemed a "minor" for the whole of her life, under the "jurisdiction" of a man (Batezat et.al., 1988:155). When taking these "ideologies" into consideration, it becomes evident that none of these models however, offers a critique of women's subordinate position in most households. Therefore, it seems as if several ideologies exists which tend to influence any form of policy making.

The enforced racial division of land which created the TTL's, currently known as the Communal Areas (CA's) had a devastating effect on gender relations too. Black men were forced to engage in forms of migrant labour in towns, mines and commercial farms. Due to the absence of men, the TTL's became areas in which women were forced to engage in subsistence agriculture. In 1973, for example, nearly 65 per cent of women were engaged in commercial agriculture, of which women constituted 23 per cent of the agricultural workers.

The "worker-peasantry" established in Rhodesia was predominantly male. Most of these women work for low wages and are often employed on a casual basis. Formal wage-

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[5] In this context, "Black" excludes "coloured" or "Asian".

labour opportunities were virtually non-existent for women. This implies that the peasantry, comprising of rural producers dependent on remittances, is mainly female. This is in itself self-defeating, because women make up a significant part of the agricultural labour force, yet they are not "empowered to make decisions concerning agricultural production because of the continued strength of male authority" (Mubi, 1983:44).

With so much focus on the current political and academic debate that surrounds the lack of women's social power, it is hard to trace the very roots of the problem. Does this stem from the pre-colonial or colonial era; or is it the basis of tribal versus lineage society? There are some elements which can be traced to pre-colonial society, but then these ideologies often also refer to 'African custom and tradition', in which women play a central role. At least, traditions change over a period of time and it is best to analyze the 'present tradition' as it applies to circumstances (be it historical or changing societal factors and influences).

5.3.1.3 Social and Economic Infra-Structure

The development of the rural communal sector, which provides livelihood for the majority of the population was generally neglected, while the modern money economy, owned

and controlled by a minority (largely influenced by international capital) enjoyed all the benefits of development. Its link with the peasant sector was in the form of a cheap labour reservoir provided by the peasants. To some extent the peasants also provided a market for cheap quality goods.

Due to differentials in patterns of development, productivity differentials also existed between the rural peasant sector and the modern money economy. Income differentials between the two sectors were further aggravated by discriminatory policies in education and training which resulted in a white monopoly of skilled and technical jobs. The majority of black workers were classified as unskilled.

The provision of social and economic services was also divided along the modern versus rural peasant sector. For instance, most of the road and rail infra-structure in the rural areas was situated, and more developed in the commercial farming areas. This ensured easy marketing and access to the modern economy to the exclusion of the rest of the rural sector. It was these imbalances in the economy that was the basis upon which the War of Liberation had been fought.

During the 15 years preceding independence, economic development policies were primarily designed to cope with the "isolation" of the country and the economic sanctions imposed in 1965. Fuelled by the import substitution and export promotion strategies adopted by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) government, the economy grew rapidly up to 1974. However, due to the escalation of the War of Liberation and the strengthening of economic sanctions imposed against the Smith regime, an economic decline started in 1975 - having a devastating effect on Rhodesia.

The impact of the **Liberation War** had far-reaching and devastating results for the rural areas. Palmer (1990:166-167) explains:

> around one-fifth of the entire rural population had fled their homes. Nearly half a million had flocked into the towns to escape the war; a quarter of a million had left the country; while some three-quarters of a million had been rounded up into so-called 'protection villages' by the Smith regime. In addition, various anti-disease control measures had broken down and the people had lost perhaps a third of their cattle. The result, inevitably, was a very severe dislocation of peasant production.

Subsequently most rural infra-structure was either partially or totally destroyed at the time of independence. Military targets included water supplies, schools, clinics, roads and bridges. Similarly, agricultural extension

services had become minimal, thereby having an adverse effect on agricultural performance. The end result of this historical process was that at the time of independence, "population densities were over three times greater in the black than in the white areas, and some 42 per cent of the country was owned by 6 000 white commercial farmers, most of whom had fought tooth and nail to prevent Rhodesia becoming Zimbabwe" (Palmer, 1990:164).

5.3.2 Rural Development : The Post-Independence Period

The first two years of independence (1980 and 1981) consisted of major policy formulation. Major socio-economic policies included the Economic Policy Statement "Growth with Equity", and the Three-Year Transitional National Development Plan, as well as the holding of the ZIMCORD Conference (the Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development). The philosophy of ZIMCORD was one that implied a gradual transformation to socialism (i.e. the basic objective of the new Government).

The ZIMCORD conference concentrated on three major areas of development: post-war recovery programmes; training and technical assistance; and land settlement, redistribution and rural development. Yet, the new socio-economic stance, namely, "Growth with Equity", that was to emanate from the ZIMCORD conference must be seen against the background of

the Lancaster House Conference.

Zimbabwe's strongest case for seeking international support concerned the land issue, regarding which Britain, in the Lancaster House Constitution, had given an undertaking to financially assist and to mobilize international financial resources for solving the land problem. The British Government agreed to assist financially, as it was convinced that "an orderly and planned" programme of land resettlement would promote "political stability" and allow people "to normalise their lives as quickly as possible" (Cusworth & Walker, (1988:iii, 1).

Furthermore the Constitution introduced extensive provisions on property rights, which made it almost impossible for the Government to change existing ownership patterns. It also ensured property protection from compulsory acquisition without adequate immediate compensation. In the case of land, the provisions of the Constitution compelled the Government to acquire land only on a "willing-seller"-"willing-buyer basis", thus imposing a constraint on the resettlement program. This further guarantees the right of remittance of proceeds without any deductions in respect of compensation for land acquisition, and ensures that all compensation is not affected by any depreciation of the land in question prior to the land

acquisition. Taking these factors into account, the Constitution deliberately obstructed any meaningful changes in land distribution for the first ten years of independence at least (Feltoe, 1992:9).

It is against this background and stemming from ZIMCORD that the new philosophy of "Growth with Equity" was formulated and documented in February 1981. This meant keeping in line with the new Government's commitment to "radical land reform" and promise to "re-establish justice and equity in the ownership of land" (Palmer, 1990:165). The objectives of the policy statement include the following:

- the establishment of a socialist society;
- rapid economic growth;
- balanced development and equitable distribution of income and productive resources;
- economic restructuring;
- development of human resources;
- rural development;
- worker participation;
- development of economic infra-structure and social service. (Government of Zimbabwe, 1981:9-11)

It could however be argued that "Growth with Equity" and its provisions and objectives appear to be a necessary pre-requisite for socialism, it should not be considered to be

the only option, as some of these objectives must rather fall within a long-term strategy for development.

At Independence in 1980, the Government indicated that the "redistribution of land was a central element in their vision in Zimbabwe" (Herbst, 1991:270). Zanu-PF's **election manifesto** stated that:

> it is not only anti-people but criminal for any government to ignore the acute land hunger in the country, especially when it is realized that 83% of our population live in the rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihood.
>
> (ZANU-PF,1979:9)

A major priority of the new Government was the development of the rural areas. Present intensive programs to resettle refugees and displaced persons, to relieve starvation, encourage production and rebuild the rural infra-structure are vital. To alleviate the land shortage problem, the Government has attempted to implement large resettlement schemes and pay more attention to peasant farming in the communal areas. Yet, upon a closer analysis, Mumbengegwi (1986:23) claims that resettlement had been "limited", and often involved "little more than **post facto** validation of spontaneous land seizures". In what follows is a discussion of these policies and its consequences.

5.3.2.1 Resettlement Policies[6]

The seriousness of the issue of land reform is undeniable in Zimbabwe. The liberation movements exploited land hunger among rural peasants to mobilise the masses against the illegal Ian Smith regime (1965-1979). This fact, combined with the socialist, indeed Marxist-Leninist rhetoric led many to expect radical redistribution of land after 1980 (Moyo, 1990:14).

In September 1980, the Zimbabwean government launched an extensive resettlement program on land purchased from large-scale commercial farmers. Originally the program envisaged the resettlement of "18,000 families on 1.1 million hectares over 5 years and at a cost of Z$60 million. This target figure was tripled to 54,000 in 1981, and was again multiplied threefold in March 1982 to reach the highly ambitious figure of 162,000 households to be resettled on 9 million hectares by early 1984 at an estimated cost of Z$500 million" (Leistner, 1991:3). The British "thought this figure totally impracticable and unrealistic" and it has "continued to be a millstone ever since" (Cusworth and Walker, 1988:4, 19). Similarly Mumbebgegwi (1986:212) states that "at the most, 5% of the peasant farmers in the Communal Areas has been resettled,

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[6] See map 2: Distribution of Land in Zimbabwe at the end of this section (5.3.2.1).

a rate which does not match, let alone outstrip population increases in those areas". Moyo (1986:183) expresses the same sentiments by adding that "most of the land distributed .... has been of low quality, under-utilized, abandoned, or already subject to ....'squatter' occupation".

Qualitatively, four types of resettlement schemes were introduced:

(1) Model A: to which about 80 per cent of all settlers have moved, provides for individual households to be allocated a 5 hectare arable plot, a residential stand in a nucleated village, and grazing rights on a common pasture for 5 to 15 cattle depending on the ecological region (Leistner, 1991:3). The official aim of Model A farming is an attempt to end the migrant labour system within resettlements and to establish a permanently settled peasantry. In granting heads of households five hectares of land, the intent is "presumably that households/males should at least be able to attain the positions of self-sufficient 'middle' peasants [petty-commodity producers] or even to become .... small capitalist farmers" (Jacobs, 1991:179). The land however, is not owned by the settlers, but is held by a number of permits that are retractable by the government. The state retains the

land title, which in turn tends to discourage investment. This presents serious problems in the light of any form of economic initiative.

(2) Model B: consists of farms taken over and run as a single unit by co-operatives. Having strong ideological considerations, this system encourages the maintenance of highly capitalized units for producing cash crops. By 1984, approximately 41 producer co-operatives ranging from 30 to 100 settlers each, had been established on 35,000 hectares (Leistner, 1991:3). These farms lack state support, and rely instead on welfarist independent aid agencies. Because of the nature of this model, co-operators face greater tenure insecurity than Model A farmers, and as a result get no credit (Moyo, 1986:193).

(3) Model C: has a model A type-village grouped around a core estate run by a parastatal, to which participants provide labour in return for social services. Only two such schemes have been established (Leistner, 1991:3).

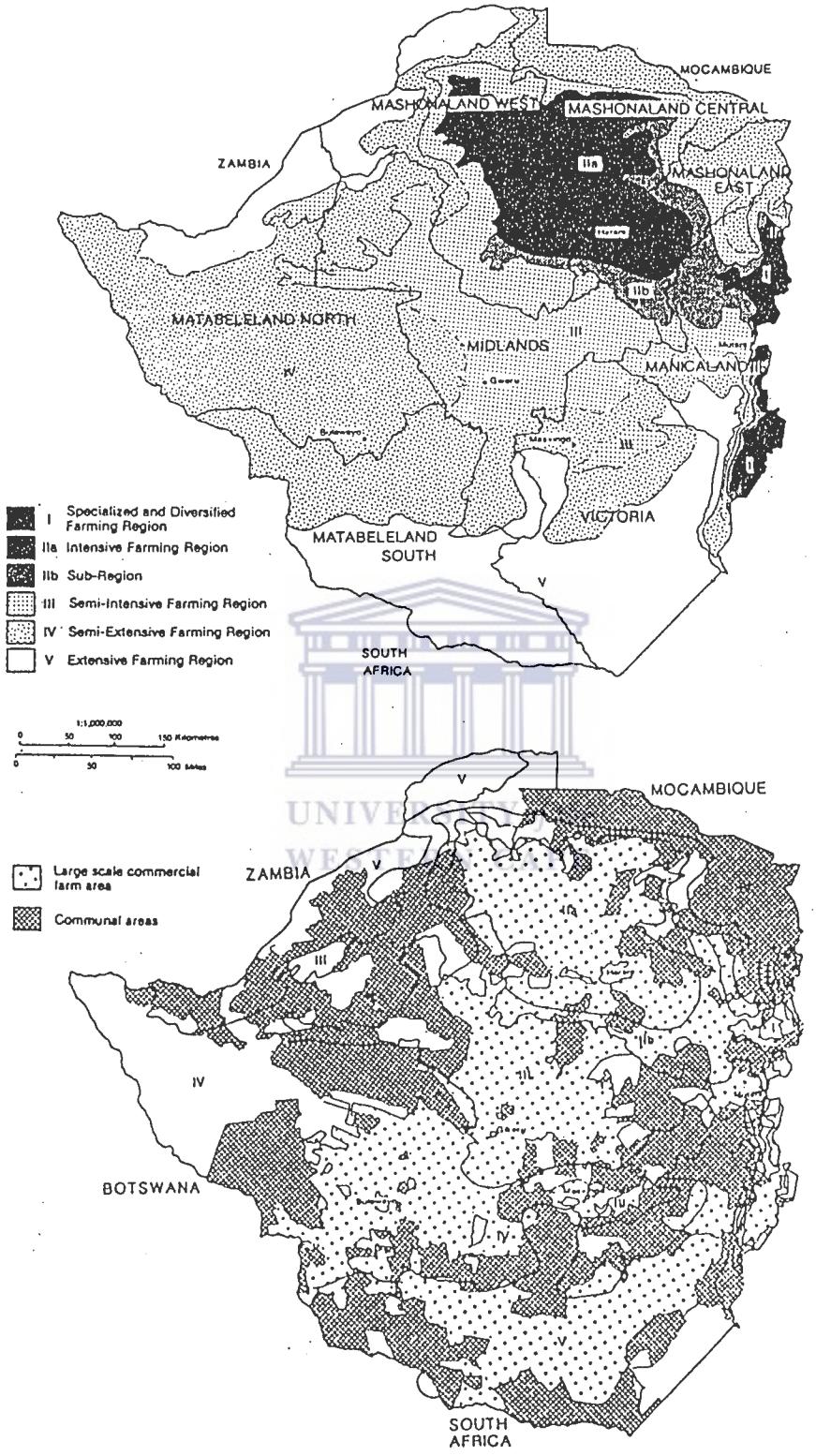
(4) Model D: utilizes recently purchased commercial ranges as 'holding grazing' areas (extended grazing areas), whilst neighbouring Communal Areas are demarcated as arable, grazing and residential areas.

> The one experimental plot which has been established shows no promise of success (Leistner, 1991:3).

Accelerated resettlement (in both Models A and B) was an attempt to respond to the urgent needs for land, especially land required by rural squatters. Farmers were given land, but no infra-structure was provided.

Despite the Zimbabwean Government's ideological preference for Model B, "the majority of would-be settlers much preferred Model A, and this has encompassed over 80 per cent of those resettled during the 1980's" (Cusworth & Walker, 1988:74). It appears that Model A farms have been given priority above Model B co-operatives despite the repeated call for socialism in rural development (of which co-operatives would have been the most viable method). This once again indicates that "a petty capitalist road in agricultural reform is being pursued" (Moyo, 1986:187).

MAP 2 : DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN ZIMBABWE



(Stoneman, 1988:65)

5.3.2.2 Resettlement and it's Influence on Women

The impact of the resettlement programme has had diverse effects on the socio-economic circumstances of Zimbabwe. "Increasing differentiation" according to Stoneman and Cliffe (1989:134) can be traced "along class[7] and gender lines". What becomes of great importance is the question whether women are included in these resettlement programs, and if so what are the effects on women (if any)? It must be borne in mind that 57% of the population live in the Communal Areas (Moyo, 1986:187) of which 82% consists of women and children under the age of fourteen (Jacobs, 1991:164), whilst 76% of female labour is also to be found in the agricultural sector (Jirira, 1990:21).

Upon closer examination of the models concerned various factors come to the fore. With the Model A resettlement program, land assigned to heads of households (by implication - males), automatically excludes married women. In Zimbabwe, unless a woman is "unmarried, widowed or divorced .... the head of the household is always considered to be the husband". Since Model A resettlement schemes allow certain groups to become wealthy peasants,

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[7] Class is conceptualized here not as occupational stratification or socio-economic differentiation but as a set of historically determined relations forged in the sphere of production - relations that are essentially contradictory and potentially in conflict.

"women are excluded from entry into these strata of the peasantry because they do not hold permits; they remain dependents of men" (Jacobs, 1991:171). This type of settlement schemes have not "considered them [women] as anything more than providers of labour on a husband's plot" (Allison, 1987:137).

In the case of divorce, the female settler loses any right to stay on the Model A scheme. This implies that gender issues structure male and female class positions differently. The class position which a woman holds could therefore be of a temporary nature because the possibility exists that she could loose her position as a wife. Hence, class positions are not only determined by capitalist market forces, but also by individual relationships between male and female.

The Model B co-operative program provides a better deal for women. Women are usually regarded as "equal participants" in the scheme. Regardless of marital status, membership in production co-operatives is on an individual basis. Similarly, a divorced woman maintains her place on the co-operative.

5.3.2.3 Effects of the Resettlement Program

Data on the economic performance of resettlement schemes

have not as yet provided conclusive evaluations. Yet Stoneman and Cliffe (1989:116) suggest that in productivity terms, resettlement schemes are "a clear, though unheralded, success". Unfortunately, they do not provide evidence to substantiate the validity of the statement. In contrast Palmer (1990:174) claims that resettlement had made little impact on alleviating problems in the communal areas; some settlers had benefitted far more than others; the position of women gave cause for concern; and insufficient productive services had been provided to settlers.

The issue of resettlement versus enhanced support for peasant farmers is difficult to resolve with the available data. The early years of resettlement had been hampered by a lack of experience, shortage of personnel to assist new settlers, and inadequate infra-structure. In selecting settlers, preference was given to former insurgents, returning refugees and the landless poor, while little attention was given to farming aptitude and to education and training in agricultural practices (Leistner, 1991:4).

Class differentiation within resettlement areas (especially Model A) is an indirect consequence of state policy encouraging petty-capitalist agriculture. Class relations has developed between resettled households, but

resettlement has not created rural differentiation - it already exists in the CA's. Differentiation is caused by the fact that landholdings are not of equal size within the settlements. As a result land is being rented out, usually by settlers who experience a shortage of lack labour, to those who are able to provide this source. The extent of the husband's resources and size of the tract of land will largely influence women's class positions within the resettlement villages.

Despite women's inclusion in the co-operative model, various negative features also hold true as farmers following this model complained of extreme poverty and although this method encourages the partial pooling of resources, few resources merely exist. It is argued that many of the problems are caused by inefficient planning and a shortage of management and technical skills, the most important reason for poverty in this sector is the lack of government funding.

Another aspect negative aspect of the co-operative is that of "democracy" (i.e. the perceived or real lack thereof). Presumably this is caused by two contrasting phenomena: the "fear of state controls and state appropriation" and that of domination because of a family's numerical predominance [extended family] which is sometimes tied to the "founding

of the organization" or because of "it's control of the co-op Committee". Such domination provided some families with more access to resources, better types of work or more powerful positions within the co-operatives. Thus, it could be argued that this combines a "patriarchal / pseudolineage form of control with a more modern collectivist form" (Jacobs, 1991:177).

A prominent actor in the whole land question is the post-independence boom in peasant production which "misled the government into believing that a sustainable increase in communal area production capable of meeting welfare needs might be possible without extensive resettlement. In fact, the boom masked huge inequalities" (Palmer, 1990:171-172). Moreover, Stoneman and Cliffe (1989:134) point out that "the success of peasant surpluses has tended to be trumpeted to counter arguments for more land redistribution and for any restructuring of the Communal Area system of farming".

There have been a number of academic assessments of resettlement of which the most notable is that of Bratton (1987:187-193) and Moyo (1986:183-187) who states that the incentives for people to move to the resettlement areas were not that attractive. The new settlers often only received a conditional permit and head the disincentive of

losing the right of access to land in the communal areas. The resettlement areas were reminiscent of past colonial schemes as they were characterized by strict bureaucratic control or inadequate staff to support the programs. Likewise, government reaction to resettlement schemes should also be noted. Government officials involved in the resettlement program "have generally been self-critical both privately and publicly about the initial problems and about the lack of adequate ongoing infrastructural and staffing support for it ...[as well as] the need for continuing technical assistance. But they reject the ideological criticism .... that the whole programme is fundamentally misconceived" (Palmer, 1990:173).

On the contrary, in an address to the Government of Zimbabwe in November 1989, Lynda Chalker (British Minister of Overseas Development), said that the "British Government's current official position is that the programme has been 'broadly successful' so far". This appears to endorse Cusworth and Walker's views that "the whole exercise has been a very worthwhile investment from the perspective of the national economy as well as the settlers". They then continued, that it would be "both equitable and economically sound to continue with further resettlement provided such resettlement is directly linked to Communal Area rehabilitation" (Cusworth & Walker,

1988:2-3, 37-40).

5.3.3 Rural Development and Local Organizations

The Government's efforts to develop the rural areas (as explained in the afore-mentioned sections) indicates a "development from above" approach. However, this section focuses on the ways in which farmers themselves contribute towards the improvement of agricultural production - a process of "development from within". The latter should be seen as a complementary approach rather than a supplementary one. The key component of "development from within" being "participation". Participation is defined here as "the organised efforts to increase control over resources and groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control" (Taylor, 1992:236).

5.3.3.1 Local Farmer Organizations

One of the strategies for rural development used by farmers to raise their production levels is "participation in voluntary organizations for collective action" (Zinyama, 1992:47). Since the process of rural development entails increasing participation of the rural population in the decision-making process, local groups or local farmer organizations can enhance this process.

The distinguishing feature of these collective local farmer

organizations is self-management. Zinyama (1992:48) explains: "where the group is formally structured, management will be done through a committee which is elected by the farmers". Self-management sets these groups apart from externally sponsored organizations which rely on government advice and financial support. The principles governing such farmer groups are "voluntary membership, government by agreement, and social control through peer pressure" (Bratton, 1987:200). Based on a study conducted in Zimbabwe, Bratton (1987:226) argues that farmer groups are most likely to succeed in those parts of the country where "effective state and market institutions provide stimulation and support. It is vital that the policy regime allows sufficient 'space' for unaffiliated and autonomous organizations to exist".

5.3.3.2 Farmer Training Groups

Given the poor ratio of farmers to extension staff, it has become the general policy of the agricultural extension staff to work with groups of farmers rather than train them on an individual basis on their landholdings. Farmers in the area organize themselves into groups that meet regularly with the local extension worker for training and information dissemination. These are called Master Farmers' Clubs. A "master farmer" is someone who has successfully completed a prescribed program of on-farm training under

the supervision of the agricultural extension staff. Although farmers receive technical support from government extension staff, the formation of the group is initiated by the farmers themselves. By 1983, in the Mhondoro region, there were 96 farmers' clubs with 4 671 members with an average of 49 members per group, comprising of both males and females (Zinyama, 1992:51). It must be noted that these two contributing strategies have been individual attempts (in Communal Areas) at alleviating the rural poverty that currently persists in Zimbabwe. Although the government has undertaken measures to improve agriculture and general living conditions in the communal areas, other "internal" measures have been undertaken by the local population themselves. Local-level participation in the identification, articulation and implementation of development projects within the communal areas have facilitated levels of agricultural production and established incomes from the sales of crop surpluses.

These two aspects illustrates that human potential must not be underestimated. A basic objective of the "development from within perspective" is to allow local people to become the subject, not the object, of development strategies. In a case-study of local farmer organisations in Zimbabwe, Zinyama (1992) argues that the government is not "retreating" but is supportive of local initiatives in

the rural areas thereby encouraging local participation (Taylor, 1992:225). Despite production increases in some areas, spatial inequalities and intra-community differences of gender and status still continue. Zinyama (1992:43) concludes that

> the benefits from the new rural development thrust are largely accruing to the small number of peasant farmers who are fortunate enough to be located within the better agro-ecological regions. Elsewhere, farmers continue to be handicapped by the constant threat of drought and food shortages, by increasing land shortages, by infertile soils and by low agricultural productivity.

The challenge facing Zimbabwe today is to balance a higher level of productivity with a more equitable distribution of land. However, some writers argue that the rural development and land reform initiatives by the Government was slowed down due to the possibility that Zimbabwean peasants may be motivated by concerns other than a hunger for land. Education is much treasured among peasants (as a means of escaping form the rural areas) and lack of access to inputs into production often constitutes as much a constraint upon production in the view of the peasants themselves as does land scarcity. Therefore, when the Government shifted emphasis from land redistribution to supplying better agricultural services and more education, it could do so without risking much in political terms (Moyo, 1990:16).

5.4 EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

As earlier stated (chapter 3) emphasis on People's Education is always placed within a socio-political context. The objective of providing universal education within the People's Education framework, is in some instances reinforced by the provision of compulsory education. This is precisely the case of post-independence Zimbabwe - of which Gwarinda (1985:91) applauds the principle of universal education as "a positive manifestation". However, this was not always the case. In order to understand the debates and policies in post-independent Zimbabwe, the pre-independence situation must be examined.

5.4.1 Education : The Pre-Independence Period

Successive colonial governments practised a policy of curtailing educational opportunities for black children. This can be illustrated by tracing a brief history of educational developments in ex-Rhodesia:

- since 1899, a separate and elite system of education for the white minority had existed;
- in 1930, education was made free and compulsory for white children, while the education of blacks was left mainly in the hands of missionaries and qualified them for subordinate roles in society;
- by 1940, the missions had established over 1,216

schools, while the state had only established two;

- during the post-Second World War boom the need for more skilled workers meant more money was channelled into black education and secondary schools were expanded. However, educational facilities remained inadequate;
- in 1971, many missions refused to accept the restrictions placed on black education, and relinquished control of most of the schools; the state then implemented direct control over urban African schools and indirect control over the rural schools who were now controlled through a system of African Councils;
- in 1979, under the Muzorewa Government, an Education Act was passed, more to preserve than change the pattern of education outlined above. (To be discussed later in this section.)

Differential access to schooling in the formerly white dominated society of Rhodesia which was based on race had vast implications for the life chances of black pupils. Prior to independence (1980) the educational system was based on the "inequality of opportunity" for the four main racial groups of which the most disadvantaged 'minority' group has been the numerical majority: the blacks constitute 96% of the population; whites make up 3.5% of the population; asians and coloureds constitute the

remaining 0.5% (Dorsey, 1981:211). The main criterion for social stratification in Rhodesian society was 'race', which in turn affected all forms of social relations. The "dual" education system which developed appropriately resembled this structure of Rhodesian society.

The "dual" education system can be outlined as follows:

> Even though the 'European' and 'African' Education Departments were administered by a single Ministry of Education, each department developed as a separate and distinct system. Asian and Coloured pupils were administered by the 'European' department; however, they attended different schools from those of white pupils.
>
> (Dorsey, 1981:213)

Viewed from another perspective, this implied that the "dual" system of education promoted "dual" interests. The European system was designed to promote white interests and to ensure white domination. African education, on the other hand, was really an education designed to perpetuate the subjugation of the blacks by the whites (Zvobgo, 1986b:27).

The unequal provision of education was further facilitated by the quantitative and qualitative regulations and provisions for the two systems. This is illustrated by:

(a) cost disparities; and

(b) quality of the curriculum

(a) Cost Disparities

In 1962 the Smith Regime attempted to control the black educational system by instituting a new fiscal policy relating to expenditure. The budget for black education was limited to 2% of the GNP. Differential expenditure per racial group indicates that the government spent "over 12 times more per primary school pupil in the 'European' system than in the 'African' system and nearly three times more per pupil at the secondary school" (Dorsey, 1981:213). In monetary terms the colonial unit cost $44.70 per year for a black child as compared to $490.90 for a white child (Chung, 1988:118).

(b) Quality of the Curriculum

The content of the curriculum is also reflected by the racial division of society. Chung (1988:118) explains the position as

> a mainly British curriculum and a low teacher-pupil ratio of 1:22 for whites, and a rather outdated curriculum for blacks with undue emphasis on rote-learning.

Primary education broadly provided basic literacy and numeracy skills which in turn served the purpose of providing an unskilled workforce. At the end of primary school, black pupils were distinguished on the basis of final examination results as to whether they would attend academic secondary schools or vocational secondary schools.

White pupils automatically proceeded to secondary schools. The secondary school curriculum was rather heavily biased towards the academic field or technical and practical subjects. A four year study course culminated in final examinations set by an external board of examiners, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. However, comprehensive secondary schools catered for all white pupils, whilst only the "best" black pupils entered F1 secondary schools which focused on an academic curriculum. "Second" best students entered F2 schools which focused on technical and practical subjects.

This division caused by the educational system guaranteed whites secondary, technical and university education. In contrast, only a minority of blacks had access to secondary and tertiary education. Strachen (1989:1) indicates that in 1969 only 50% of Africans in employment had any education at all; 80% of the rest had education below Grade Seven. Technical education remained a white preserve with only 1,556 blacks as compared to 6,292 white students and apprentices in 1976 (Chung, 1988:121).

Since the primary aim of education is to eradicate illiteracy and to provide skills, education also creates new problems:

(1) the increased numbers of educated young people is not

necessarily matched by an increased number of jobs for them;

(2) education leads pupils to expect certain types of jobs when they leave school - mainly skilled or white-collared jobs;

(3) the country needs skilled and educated people in the rural areas, but (colonial) education leads pupils to resist those very areas where they are most needed.

Hence, (Chung, 1988:118) concludes that the unequal provision of facilities (especially secondary school) was related to job reservation for whites, and created a scarcity of higher and middle-level skills amongst blacks, even though many secondary school-leavers were unable to find employment. This is substantiated by Dorsey (1981:218) who states that black pupils "perceived racial segregation as a significant factor frustrating the attainment of their aspirations. Initially they saw this operating at the educational level, with Blacks being provided with inferior schools and limited access to further education; but ultimately they saw this discrimination extended to their preclusion from many of the best jobs for Whites". Likewise, Murphree (1975:259) reiterates that white policies left the blacks largely undertrained, unskilled, underpaid, underemployed and the consequences for them has been "a cumulative economic underprivilege".

It can be concluded from these statements that education increased self-consciousness, social awareness and aspirations of black pupils: but education was also the underlying cause for much antagonism and tension towards the existing social order.

In 1978 a Coalition Government was formed which comprised of various black political parties. The Muzorewa Government was instrumental in formulating the **Education Act of 1979.** At the administrative level, the Act provided for the integration of the "European" and "African" systems of education and the gradual integration of schools. Schools were divided into three categories:

- private schools (i.e. non-state schools including mission schools, district council schools and farm schools), which constituted 72% of the total amount of schools;
- Group A (previously schools of the European division), Groups B and C (previously African division schools);
- community schools could be purchased by a group of people in the community and were to be administered by a Board of Governors.

In defense of this categorization of schools the Rhodesian Government argued that controlling boards could not

discriminate against pupils on "the grounds of race or colour alone: provided that, in determining the persons who may be enroled as pupils, the board shall have regard to the religious or cultural identity of the school" (Rhodesian Government, 1979:182). On the contrary, Chikombah (1980:2) concludes that the classification of schools into these groups and the zoning of Group A schools "were determined more by political considerations which are discriminatory and ethnocentric in nature than by educational considerations".

The 1979 Education Act also caused more problems. Although Grade A schools were open to blacks, they were only open to those who could afford to purchase property in former white areas. In additions, these schools maintained their racial exclusivity by charging higher fees - hence only the wealthy could attend some of the schools indicated in Group A. This structure nonetheless contained the seeds of discontent, "not only because it deprived a large sector of the population of a scarce commodity, but also because it encouraged class stratification and divisions within Black society" (Dorsey, 1981:222).

In 1980 the Zanu-PF Election Manifesto was aimed at dismantling the colonial heritage of education. The Party manifesto promoted a wide-ranging educational system which

would:

(a) abolish racial education and utilise the education system to develop in the younger generation a non-racial attitude and common loyalty to the state;

(b) establish a system of free primary and secondary education;

(c) abolish sex discrimination in the education system;

(d) orient the education system to national goals;

(e) give every adult who had little or no educational opportunity the right to literacy and adult education;

(f) make education play an important role in transforming society. (Zanu-PF, 1980:12-13)

The Party Manifesto maintained that the Government would support an educational system of high quality organization and content, and that it would "abolish racial education and sex discrimination in the education system" (Dorsey, 1981:223). In addition, Zvobgo (1986a:333) maintains that a radical restructuring in the form and content of education was necessary to bring about a social and economic revolution in Zimbabwe. Therefore, educational reform was seen as part of the struggle against capitalism and socialism was the effective weapon for dismantling it.

5.4.2 Education : The Post-Independence Period

At Independence, the Government of Zimbabwe declared that "education is a basic human right and a basic human need" (Government of Zimbabwe, 1981:11). This implies that education is an important instrument for affecting an individual's access to basic human needs. Education is also an "economic investment" (human capital theory) in people, who are, in turn the means and the ends of all economic activity.

The Government's view that "education is a central and pervasive element in human resources" indicates that:

(a) education must cover a wide spectrum with both the content and form adopted responding to the imperatives of excellence and relevance .... [and] at the same time imbued with local values and combined with practical knowledge of concrete conditions;

(b) investment in education be rationally planned and fully integrated with investment in other socio-economic activities .... so that the output of the system can become involved in productive economic development activities;

(c) education is an important Government instrument for achieving equity; this means relatively more educational opportunities should be created in the rural areas .... [which] will contribute to .... improved agricultural methods and higher productivity of the rural people.

(Government of Zimbabwe, 1981:11)

In order to achieve these goals the Government introduced free and compulsory primary education for all children. In 1985 the estimated population size of Zimbabwe was 8.4

million and approximately half of the population was under 16 years of age (Chung & Ngara, 1985:23). Within the first five years of independence, primary school enrolment increased from 819,000 in 1979 to 2,229,000 in 1985. Secondary school enrolments increased from 79,000 in 1979 to almost half a million in 1985 (Chung, 1988:121). It should however be noted that by 1990, free education at secondary school level had not yet been achieved (although this was one of the pledges of the new Zimbabwean Government in 1980). Similarly, state capital expenditure averaged about $18 million per year between 1980-1985, as compared to $8.9 million in the period 1979-1980 (Chung, 1988:121). By encouraging a policy of expanding private schools rather that state schools, the Government was able to subsidise rather than carry the full cost of providing universal education.

Two major **achievements** in the educational field (after Independence) come to the fore:

(a) the democratisation of educational opportunities; and

(b) the desegregation of education.

(a) <u>The Democratisation of Educational Opportunities</u>

A number of progressive government policies laid the foundation for the democratisation of educational opportunities. These included, amongst others, local self-

help for capital investment; free tuition at primary school level; the establishment of day schools thereby replacing the demand for boarding schools; a teacher education program which allowed approximately 10 000 partially qualified teachers to do in-service training by means of distance education; and low-cost educational materials were provided to schools.

(b) The Desegregation of Education

Prior to Independence, the zoning system prevented pupils from enroling in schools outside their residential zones. Through the policy of re-zoning, i.e. the procedure of placing black townships within the same zone as the former white areas, black pupils were now allowed to be integrated into these schools and racial integration was achieved.

Despite these achievements, major setbacks were also encountered:

(a) Shortage of Qualified Teachers

One of the most serious problems which the Government failed to solve was the shortage of qualified teachers. The primary cause of this can be attributed to the fact that there was a lack in the number of suitably qualified candidates with five O-levels (the minimum qualification for entry to a teacher-training course). Furthermore, a contributing factor was the financial situation, which

implied that if more teachers were qualified it would necessitate an increase of 50% in budgetary allowances. Added to these constraints is the fact that 4.2% of the teachers are university graduates, and 1.7% have O-levels plus two years of training (Chung, 1988:124).

(b) Curriculum Changes

Despite new curricula at primary and secondary school level, much of the teaching emphasis remains in the pre-independence mode. Although official emphasis is on science, technology and education with production, actual classroom learning is often restricted to rote-learning of abstract facts. "There is an over-emphasis in Zimbabwean schools on the accumulation of knowledge useful for passing examinations at the expense of the development of pupils problem-solving capacities" (Dorsey, 1981:224). Perhaps, this problem is also linked to the first setback, i.e. the shortage of the qualified teachers, because if teachers remain unqualified, the quality of education will remain questionable.

(c) Adult Literacy

A major feature in the field of adult education was the implementation of the National Literacy Campaign (using indigenous languages) which was launched in 1983 by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs. This

campaign, although good in its intentions, was beset with bureaucratic problems since its inception since it was inadequately staffed and lacked sufficient funds to implement such a major program.

The Literacy Campaign boasts of statistics that indicate 84.8% of the participants were women. However, very little had been done in adapting the curriculum to the special needs of women. The legal rights of women and the position of women in society was not featured as part of the course content. There is, nonetheless, an obvious need for the inclusion of the role of women in the development process.

(d) Unemployment Prospects

Although rapid educational expansion was noted, major criticism had been waged against the state for concentrating on the quantity of education and not the quality of education. Quantitatively student numbers soared. In 1982, 16,416 students completed the O-levels (i.e. 4 years of secondary school education). In 1989 this figure had risen to 153,439. In 1989, job generation capacity was 30,000 annually and the unemployment rate set at 30% (Chung, 1988:130). With a large number of school-leavers available on the job market, companies tend to recruit school-leavers with a minimum of five O-level passes - which left school-leavers with less than five O-

levels unemployed.

The Zimbabwean set-up illustrates that educational expansion without social and economic restructuring does not necessarily lead to job creation. Castles (1982:7) warns that "the 'diploma disease' (the pursuit of formal paper qualifications with little or no relevance to production) is self-defeating, for the growth in education is simply not matched by a parallel growth in the number of white-collar jobs". The Government will need to adopt decisive new policies for economic expansion if it is to find a solution to the problem of unemployed school-leavers. High rates of unemployment will mean a waste of a valuable resource for development, i.e. human labour power and it will eventually be an underlying force for political and social destabilisation.

For Castles (1982:8) the solution is two-fold:

(1) the reshaping of schooling at all levels to make it relevant to the needs of development; and

(2) the development of new forms of education and training which actually create employment, in the form of co-operatives engaged in agricultural or industrial activities.

In 1982 at a seminar on "Education in Zimbabwe - Past,

Present and Future", the task was set about for devising new educational strategies for Zimbabwe. The expansion of the existing form of education to the masses through universal education was inadequate. People's Education movements re-opened pedagogical debates of which one of the main concerns was the transformative role of education in relation to the **content** it provided (Chung & Ngara, 1985:20). As earlier stated, the educational reforms had to be in line with and based on the ideology of scientific socialism and Marxist-Leninist principles - the objective being to establish an egalitarian and democratic society through education (Zvobgo, 1986b:30).

Socialist principles and new methods of education were examined, and how these could be adapted to the aims and aspirations of the Zimbabwean people. It was then decided that the new form of education was to be based on the linking of **education with production,** on community control and participation and on the Zimbabwean languages and culture (Castles, 1982:8).

5.4.3 Education With Production

Chung (1988:128) states that "Education with Production" (EWP) "has been the official Government policy since independence". It should however be noted that EWP has never been universally implemented. Between 1978-1986 only

eight EWP schools had been established and primarily based in the rural areas. The EWP program is controlled by a non-governmental organisation the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP) which had been established by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

5.4.3.1 Origin of the Concept "Education With Production"

Education with production "has a long history" says Hoppers (1991:37) as it has been "applied in educational experiments in 19th century Europe". Conversely, the theory of productive education and practise can be traced to the 17th century. It has however undergone significant changes since the idea of combining work and education in the school situation was first advanced in the 17th century. Therefore, a comparative analysis of the different conceptions will shed some clarity on the sources of productive education.

A general historical account of the idea of education with production is hard to come by, yet the concept has support from many sociological thinkers. Indeed, as von Borstel (1991a:20) points out, "most treatises of the history and philosophy of education overlook [the idea] completely .... [yet] it has been advocated by many of the best educational philosophers of the West - Rousseau, Dewey, Pinkevitch, Pestalozzi".

In a theoretical analysis von Borstel (1991a:24-47) argues that productive education evolved from the romantic movement in education, a movement which stressed that education should proceed according to the designs of nature and that activity should replace passivity as a method of teaching. Locke was the first to suggest the idea that education and work could be combined advantageously. It was Rousseau however that introduced the implications for human development inherent in combining education with work. Building on this notion, Pestalozzi and Froebel suggested the use of various occupations as focal points for the integration of various disciplines.

Falling within the Marxist analytical trend, Marxist philosophy provided the theoretical structure for productive education. The first distinguishing feature of Marxism is the influence of historical and dialectical materialism. The "implication" says Price (1977:70) "of Marxist theories on the dialectic between social consciousness and social being is the suggestion to link education with production". This implies that a human beings are part of nature and as they attempt to change it, they change themselves. The second distinguishing feature of Marxism important for education is the linking of theory and practice. Hence, a combination of "manual work with theoretical learning as a means for the acquisition of

knowledge" is important because knowledge is vital for an individual's practical life. This corresponds with Rousseau's ideas of the 17th century (von Borstel, 1991a:26).

"Education with Production" is not a Marxist invention, and the concept is not exclusively Marxist, nor is education with production programs only instituted in socialist countries. In the 1950's and 1960's productive education no longer had an experimental connotation attached to it and was seen as a viable alternative to traditional formal systems of education. Its implementation was favoured by Ghandi who "added a mystical quality to the basic tenets and hoped that the future India's development could be guided by means of imparting to its young an education centred on production .... Nyerere saw it as the only type of education congruent with his aims of self-reliance and self-determination" (von Borstel, 1991b:32).

5.4.3.2 Definition of the Concept "Education with Production" (EWP)

Differing opinions and interpretations of EWP are influenced by the particular socio-economic and political situation of relevant to the country concerned. In Africa, the conception and definition of EWP is associated with:

> the incorporation of an element of practical training and of production into the activities of an primary and general secondary education; and/or the integration of production and skills training, especially in non-formal programmes for out-of-school youth.
>
> (Hoppers, 1989:93)

Upon a cursory look at possible definitions of the term EWP, it appears to be synonymous with the concept of 'vocational education'. However, they are not identical concepts nor do they have the same philosophical traditions. The major distinction can be made on the basis of the fact that vocational education (which falls within the realm of the pragmatist tradition) aims at making education more practical which will ensure better preparation for working life after school. EWP on the other hand, (falling within the realm of marxist and populist traditions) is more concerned with the "educative value of work as such and its potential to make schools practice self-reliance, to develop socialist attitudes and values, and to make the school part of the community" (Hoppers, 1989:93).

Further distinctions can be made on the basis of:

- vocationalisation focusing on the economic sphere, whilst EWP focuses on social and moral aspects as well;
- vocational education includes practical subjects in the curriculum, with EWP the structure of the

curriculum is so designed as to make work activities central to basic life and school situations.

Theoretically speaking, it is easy to delineate such distinctions but in practice these distinctions are not clearly indicated.

In the Zimbabwean context, the concept "education with production" (EWP) refers to "a situation whereby productive work is an integral part of a programme of general education" (i.e. an integration of production into the curriculum of primary and secondary schools). The "common understanding of this productive work is that is concerns the actual production of goods and services that are useful to the school and surrounding community" (Hoppers, 1991:37).

Similarly, Zvobgo (1986:56) defines the concept as "a philosophy of educational experience which seeks to integrate theory and practice not just in the so called practical subjects but in every aspect in the school curriculum". EWP is thus "a learning process which combines academic learning with productive work" (Chung & Ngara, 1985:102). Central to the learning process are the cognitive and affective dimensions of EWP. The cognitive dimension encourages pupils to develop a range of skills and to learn about the application of science and

technology in the processes of production. The affective objective is to develop an interest in manual work and instill social values and habits into pupils. This in turn will link education to the realities of everyday life. EWP therefore becomes a philosophy which penetrates the whole curriculum and has an impact on the methodology of teaching as well.

5.4.3.3 Methodological Approaches of Education with Production

Working with in the People's Education framework of which education is considered to have an "emancipatory" aim, the "qualitative dimension" of education movements of this nature is "aimed at the revitalisation of the methods and content of schooling" (McKay & Romm, 1992:12). The notion of linking theory to practice has been one of the cornerstones of People's Education movements. This has also been the official policy of ZIMFEP, with much emphasis on "doing". The combination of "education with production" is the most effective means of linking theory with practice because "it reinforces learning [and] it helps reverse the socially divisive separation of mental and manual labour which has historically been imposed on schooling" (FEP, 1990:2).

Traditional or conventional pedagogical methods are

rejected by ZIMFEP, as it is argued that course content is highly abstract and separated from real life. The main shortcoming of traditional methods is the fact that it lacks the essential components which are required for social life and the realities of production.

Hence, FEP (1990:30) stresses the inter-relationship between schooling, the community and economic production so that pupils will be "capable of acting with others to change [society] for the better". Production processes make use of subjects such as mathematics and science in the use of skills and resources. In moving away from the conventional methods of teaching (for example, by rote learning), pupils are encouraged "to make critical and discriminatory judgements" (FEP, 1990:3). In the teaching of mathematics, for example, ZIMFEP suggests that it is imperative to teach "an awareness that mathematical ideas have not suddenly emerged, but are .... rooted in historical contexts". This will assist pupils to "demystify mathematics" and in so doing will see mathematical applications as the starting point for critical thought (FEP, 1990:54).

However the conception of EWP has, in many instances been misinterpreted to the extent that it has been viewed as a form of child labour. EWP is often implemented "as an hour

at the beginning or end of the day when children are required to clean the school-yard or water the garden while teachers attend to more serious matters like marking or preparing lessons" (Zvobgo, 1986b:53). Rather EWP should be seen as activity which produces either goods or services (eg. making bricks) and these activities should be incorporated into the normal school time-table. This in turn will make pupils aware of reality and thereby become critically aware of their environment. In so doing, "education will be closely related to the concrete reality of the participants" (Vio Grossi, 1984:308).

Methodologically, the main emphasis of the ZIMFEP curriculum is to integrate mental and manual work or in Freirean terminology to "overcome the dichotomy between mental and manual labour" (Freire: 1978:105). By linking theory with practice it would "reverse the divisive separation of mental and manual labour" which has been historically created by class distinctions (FEP, 1990:2). It should also be noted that this emphasis on mental/manual labour is a central tenet of most models of People's Education. Vio Grossi (1984:308) therefore argues that there "is no mental category which does not have its origins in some concrete practice". Chung and Ngara (1985:108) therefore conclude that "unless education is linked to production there is a strong possibility that the

educated will be alienated from the people and from ordinary work".

5.4.3.4 The Aims of Education with Production

Under the auspices of the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP), the main objectives of EWP have been:

- to rehabilitate displaced Zimbabwean children who had returned from the liberation struggle;
- to ensure that ex-refugee school-leavers are employed;
- to encourage resettlement programs for people displaced by the Liberation War, as well as to cater for people who were forced to leave the communal lands by pressure of overpopulation;
- to establish schools where pupils are involved in both education and productive activities; and
- to utilize curricula involving education and productive activities.

(Chung, 1988:12) (Castles, 1982:8-9)

As discussed in the previous section, methodologically the main aim of EWP is the attainment of analytical skills which will lead to pupils being able "to critically examine and evaluate different experiences so that they can take a realistic approach to solving the problems of development

.... to participate meaningfully in community efforts to eliminate poverty, exploitation and other forms of injustice" (FEP, 1990:30).

5.4.3.5 Implementation of Education with Production

ZIMFEP in conjunction with ZANU-PF has established the various schools spread across Zimbabwe. In citing an example of EWP in practice, reference will be made to the Rusununguko School. The school, based on self-reliance and on the linking of education with production, has helped to reabsorb and relocate teachers and students who were in Mozambique during the Liberation War.

One problem that remains central in this analysis, is the distinction between Production Units (PU's) and Production Activities. Conradie (1989:64) illustrates the difference: Production Activities "are carried out as an extension of classroom learning under the direct control of the responsible master, and have a specific relation to one subject in the curriculum".

Production Units "are groups of students who combine to engage in production (a) often outside school hours; (b) directed by themselves as primary initiators, planners or decision-makers although often in close conjunction with a teacher who has relevant technical skills; and (c) students

in a production unit do not necessarily all need to come from the same class or subject". In this exposition, it is production activities that is being analyzed.

With the main emphasis on job creation, education and training the Rusununguko School project is considered a vital aspect for rural development and resettlement as it falls within the socialist economic framework of the Zimbabwean Government. Similar to the Brigades of Botswana activities include farming, building, carpentry, sheet-metal work, carpentry, weaving, dressmaking, motor repairs and printing. The trainees are primary school-leavers or school drop-outs who have no opportunity of entering secondary school and lack the necessary qualifications for finding employment.

A three year training period is offered during which time pupils are also given a subsistence allowance. In addition to trade theory, the academic curriculum covers English, mathematics, development studies and cultural studies as these are "closely integrated with the world of production" (Chung & Ngara, 1985:108). The integration of mental and manual labour (education with production) attempts to trainees' general level of education and help them understand their position in society.

Castles (1982:8) maintains that the location of training centres are a vital aspect. Establishment in rural areas could provide appropriate training for rural youth, while also supplying the community with useful service and products. In addition, this process could prevent rural-urban migration - even reverse it by bringing back skilled artisans who could serve as instructors and administrators at these schools.

Education with production further contributes to the democratic socialist alternative for rural development, for EWP programs are run by the local community. Graduates of these programs will have the necessary skills to participate in rural development, and the courses themselves will assist in stimulating growth by providing jobs for trainees.

Another variant model of EWP is the educational co-operatives which not only trains and educates its members, but also provides them with employment at the end of the training period. While the Brigade system allows for trainees to find their own employment after completion of a course, the education co-operative method allows its trainees to maintain and own the co-operative. Once training is completed, the instructors on the other hand, move on to a new project (Castles, 1982:8).

In conclusion it appears that ZIMFEP has made a significant contribution as an alternative form of education. Although it's programs are still on an experimental basis, unfortunately, it does not have the recognition of a large-scale government program. The impact of EWP on mainstream education is of limited success, as it continues to run concurrently with formal education programs. Chung (1988:129) therefore concludes that "unless ZIMFEP's important innovations are incorporated into the mainstream, they will remain a counter-culture".

5.4.3.6 Prospects and Constraints of Education with Production

In the last two decades EWP has been accepted as educational policy in many countries in Africa, notably Zambia, Ethiopia, and Mozambique. But in differing circumstances of course, and this does not imply that EWP is only adopted in countries with a socialist orientation too. Whilst in the afore-mentioned countries, the emphasis on production is an enhancement of the general learning process, and to prepare the youth for future self-employment, the case of Zimbabwe sheds a different perspective. In Zimbabwe, the ideological motive is more emphatic. With the intention of ensuring a greater balance between academic and practical work, attention to social objectives of the program depends on the political

environment which EWP has to contend with. Populist sentiments are often derived from most forms of socialist thinking - hence the moral aspects of labour education and the inter-relationship between theory and practice.

The practice of EWP is however fraught with **limitations.** Implementation problems are the most evident when it is introduced throughout the system of general education. According to Hoppers (1991:42) most weaknesses are indicated in:

- the conceptualization of EWP;
- a lack of clear policy guidelines;
- the lack of management and technical skills in the schools;
- the lack of adequate curriculum materials;
- insufficient support for procurement of tools and materials and for the lack of marketing of produce;
- and difficulties in working out suitable assessment procedures.

These problematic areas in turn have affected the process of EWP, especially the integration of production into the curriculum, the production of useful items, the involvement of pupils in decision-making and the interaction with the local community. With this in mind, Conradie (1989:63) states that the following questions must be addressed:

(1) how to relate production to the rest of the school

curriculum, and to integrate it into the time-table and how to ensure mobilisation of staff, students and parents to accord equal weight to production activities; and

(2) how to use production units to establish closer relations, or pioneer new relations between schools and the wider community.

Another major issue of concern is how to combine education and work without the one undermining the other. Students have indicated that "inherent contradictions between conventional learning through school subjects with their distinct structures, sequencing of concepts and controlled instructional settings, and learning through [production] practice which follows the tenets of experimental learning and is by definition less amenable to manipulation" (Hoppers, 1991:44). Hence, more experimentation would be necessary to overcome this problem.

Another problematic area relates to the nature of productive work. A question which is often asked is how is work linked with local activities or to what extent are students exposed to work activities of which they have less knowledge? In some cases choice is influenced by philosophical or educational considerations, in other cases not. A contributing factor could be that of sex-role

stereotypes in the allocation of work and this would further question the educative value of work.

The proponents of EWP assume that education with production, as utilized by the individuals of society, will become the instrument of transformation and emancipation. This conception totally ignores the nature of bureaucracy and the private sector into which these individuals will enter. These factors impose constraints on the process of transformation and limit the possibilities that education could contribute to the whole process.

In conclusion, this analysis of literature indicates that EWP tends to consist of isolated efforts, which focus on limited issues, often divorced from the broader context of social and economic development. Perhaps this is the reason why EWP is often considered a 'counter concept' "that is at variance with established practice" (Hoppers, 1989:104).

Despite its limitations, the **prospects** for EWP seem encouraging. In the light of educational reform, EWP continues to be a popular form of alternative education especially in socialist societies. The expectations of various EWP programs would depend on the desired goals of the project which would largely be determined by the socio-economic structures of the country. This is based on the

fact that the underlying assumption is that schools have a certain amount of autonomy in society, and this in turn would be influential in developing skills, attitudes and values.

Furthermore, since EWP has its main focus on the content of courses, even if curricular objectives are achieved, it does not necessarily imply that school-leavers will find employment. What is significant of the Zimbabwean model is that follow-up assistance with non-educational inputs are provided for school-leavers, thereby providing employment security to a large extent. The basic aim of any educational system should be to prepare an individual to actively participate in the productive life of society. Therefore, the inter-linkage of education with work is not intended to substitute on-the-job training or for in-depth specialized training. Rather, its purpose is to provide an added dimension to academic and vocational subjects by relating them to life problems and situations.

Finally, von Borstel (1991a:26) maintains that EWP can be a means of social reform, not "as an education exclusively for the poor .... rather as a general system of education suitable for any, or better, socio-economic levels".

5.5 CONTRADICTIONS OF POST-INDEPENDENCE POLICIES

Contemporary Zimbabwe is riddled with contradictions which can be traced to political, ideological, social and economic relations. Zimbabwe has undergone a political transformation (revolution) but this has not removed the contradictions of capitalism - in most cases it has enhanced them.

In the Zimbabwean Government's search for a radical transformation from colonialism, the economy and educational systems have come under attack. Peasants and landless agricultural labourers may favour the redistribution of land but not the accompanying loss of opportunities. Likewise, the promise of material benefits for all and the material reality open to a small group within Zimbabwean society remains to be questioned.

One problematic area involves the expansion of the education system, the "first step" on the road to freedom and democracy. According to Chung (1988:118-132) Zimbabwe has made "impressive strides" in this regard. Literacy and numeracy make it possible for people to be more productive and to broaden their horizons, but also provide the tools with which to criticise the existing social order more fully. On the contrary, it has been estimated that almost 100,000 school-leavers will be unemployed annually. They

will, neither desire nor find access to agricultural land or employment (Stoneman and Cliffe, 1989:127). This once again indicates that the basic productive force of human labour-power in Zimbabwe is proceeding in an uneven and contradictory manner.

What has become apparent is that various limitations are imposed on the argument that education alone can be the instrument of social transformation. In particular, the transformatory nature of the achievements of Education with Production can be questioned. Curriculum changes in themselves do not play the most significant role. However, the social conditions in which these changes are made determine the extent to which they can advance the process of transformation. The problem still remains one in which the educational system is linked to broader society - so as to incorporate all members of society including women. A contributing factor nonetheless would be the promotion of the status of women via consciousness-raising, and the train women in economic skills and other production activities such as income-generating projects. There is obviously a need for greater emphasis in the content of education on the possible role women can play in the process of development.

Chung (1988:131) therefore concludes that the "failure to

use the education system to underpin [the] drive towards socialist development" is due to the fact that "Zimbabwe has so far not been able to take full control of its economy or to plot its future socialist growth in sufficiently concrete terms. Instead the economy remains dominated by the private sector. In this situation it is difficult to expect the educational inputs to contradict the general direction of society".

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The initial aim of this dissertation was to illustrate that throughout the stages of the educational process, the conception of education as learning and not simply as schooling, has important implications for rural development. Therefore, the nature of the relationship between rural development and education was highlighted.

In this study the emphasis was on the socio-historical aspect of education and rural development in the Third World, covering the period 1960-1980. As education and rural development cannot be dealt with in isolation, this dissertation can be divided into two distinct parts, namely:

PART I (Chapters 2-3) provides a theoretical exposition of education in the rural context; and

PART II (Chapters 4-5) refers to a socio-historical analysis of education in the rural context in Africa, thereby describing the implementation of Education with Production in Zimbabwe.

6.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

This study was an attempt to illustrate the role of education programmes within the rural context. The focus must therefore be seen within the social context and transformation of the Third World. As stated in chapter 2, the analysis of education and rural development in Third World societies cannot be seen within the dependency model of development.

In contrast to the modernisation theory which stresses the internal causes of underdevelopment (such as the shortage of entrepreneurial skills and financial investment), the dependency theory emphasised external factors (such as capitalist penetration) as the main cause of underdevelopment in the Third World. This implies that the peripheral colonies (see Figure 1: Metropolitan-Satellite Model) were unable to break the dependency links connecting them to the metropolis, i.e. Western capitalist colonial powers. Subsequently Blomström and Hettne (1984:146) state that since the periphery is "deprived of it's surplus, development in the centre implies underdevelopment in the periphery". Hence the dependency model stresses that the only viable development strategy should be one whereby the periphery strives to disassociate itself from the metropolis and then work towards a policy of self-reliance.

When an examination is made of educational developments in the Third World during the past two decades it has been argued that there has been a degree of metropolitan power and influence. Likewise, as reflected in the Education Sector Policy Paper of the World Bank (1980), it can be argued that an effort has been made to improve the role of education in development, thereby attempting to improve existing educational systems.

The term "education" like the term "rural development" means different things to different people. Therefore, most programmes of education are broad, multi-facet approaches. Rural community development programmes have to take two factors into consideration: namely, (i) the scarcity of land; and (ii) individual participation in the cash economy of the society in question. Closely linked to this situation is the fact that opportunities for further formal education is also scarce.

Because of the different approaches to the concept "development", there seems to be no clear cut answer to the analysis of development. Although the integrated rural development approach had been opted for, it does not eliminate the need for other approaches which are necessary for growth and modernisation. The integrated rural development strategy emphasises the expansion of the

economic base in rural areas by utilising human and natural resources. In so doing, the less privileged would be assured of access to the means of production.

Development, however, is a slow process where the basic pre-requisites is the development of the community and the involvement of it's members. This process focuses on an understanding of the basic social and economic problems of the community. Thus, it is a process of social and economic action for solving local problems. It combines the effects and resources from governmental and non-governmental agencies for effective change.

Basic to the rural developmental process is participation by the people of the community in question. Development cannot take place if participation "by the people" of the community does not exist. Participation of the rural population refers to the active and willing participation of rural people in the development of the area in which they reside. Such participation demands that the population not only share in the distribution of material and other benefits that will enhance the quality of life, they should also share the task of negotiating the benefits.

The function of rural development institutions should therefore be to formulate the objectives, and also assist

with the implementation of projects and policies. In this regard the provision of incentives and security on the economic and socio-political levels is of basic importance. Through such strategies people can develop their abilities and recognise the opportunities. Along these lines, participation by the people and genuine rural community development can be achieved.

6.2 A RE-EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING

> An effective system of education requires careful planning; it cannot consist of a collection of 'ad hoc' arrangements. Nor is it sufficient to write into national development plans a statement or two about the crucial contribution of education.
>
> (Lowe, 1971:152)

Educational planning must be related to development planning in general. For practical planning purposes Schiefelbein (1980:69-70) refers to four dimensions which help to organise information and actions relating to educational planning:

(1) Goals: these are not merely 'educational' in the narrow sense, but include cultural, political, civic, economic, professional, technical, religious, recreational and personal goals.

(2) Outcomes: stated in terms of the psychological properties of the people experiencing the process of life-long education, the following outcomes are hoped for:

(a) cognitive (knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, evaluation);

(b) affective (valuing, responding, feeling);

(c) concerned with 'marketable' attitudes (punctuality, discipline, socialization, responsibility, competitiveness, loyalty).

(3) Means: these include the educational agents (professional and non-professional teachers, informal helpers); learners (children, teenagers, adults and older age groups); the learning activities (learning by listening, learning by doing, self-directed learning) and teaching processes (formal instruction, educational media).

(4) Organization: this aspect includes schedules (full-time, part-time, recurrent, self-paced); conditions of participation (voluntary, socially controlled, coercive); out-of-school learning activities (work experience, group work, inter-action with adults).

From this multi-dimensional perspective, the following strategies in education planning seem necessary :

(1) centralised control is usually essential;

(2) co-ordination at all levels especially between the departments of Health, Social Services, Education, Community Development, Agriculture and Information;

(3) the active participation of community leaders.

6.2.1 The Identification of Educational Planning Problems

Although developing countries may differ greatly in size, cultural and socio-economic spheres, they do share certain common educational problems. These problems are:

(1) the widening gap between educational needs and available resources. Despite the large amounts of money allocated to education both by the public and private sector, the demand for education has been greater than the supply of finances, and large numbers of children and adults still lack access to formal education;

(2) there is an increases in unemployment with a rise in the percentage of school leavers who cannot find suitable work;

(3) lack of skilled manpower is frequently mentioned in the national plans of African countries. Originally much emphasis was placed on the need for vocational education in formal education. Today, there is a new emphasis on "project-related" training based on the needs of a particular sector.

6.2.2 The Creation-Dissemination Planning Approach

The process of creation-dissemination is the basis of economic growth and development. Therefore development methods encourage an awareness of the importance of education, research and information and their role in the

process of development. Although the process of creation and dissemination are separate entities, the system must be evaluated as a whole. As indicated in Figure 3, Malassis (1976:102-104) illustrates the creation-dissemination system at work in education.

A creative approach to education must be based on methodological research, case-studies and experimentation. The dissemination of these methods may be based on various demonstrations or put into immediate use at certain educational institutions (schools, universities or adult education centres). Each of these sub-systems may make use of public initiative or the initiative of the (individual) "users" themselves. Educational institutions form part of the "learning society" in which training and information may be imparted by other educational bodies. This socio-cultural complex is made up of, amongst others, the family, cultural associations, political and socio-political organizations. In addition, the educational system can help to bring about a society which can invent, innovate and partake in various situations. Therefore, in this process of evaluation, the "feedback" mechanisms play an important part in contributing to change - with the introduction of new methods to meet the objectives of developing countries.

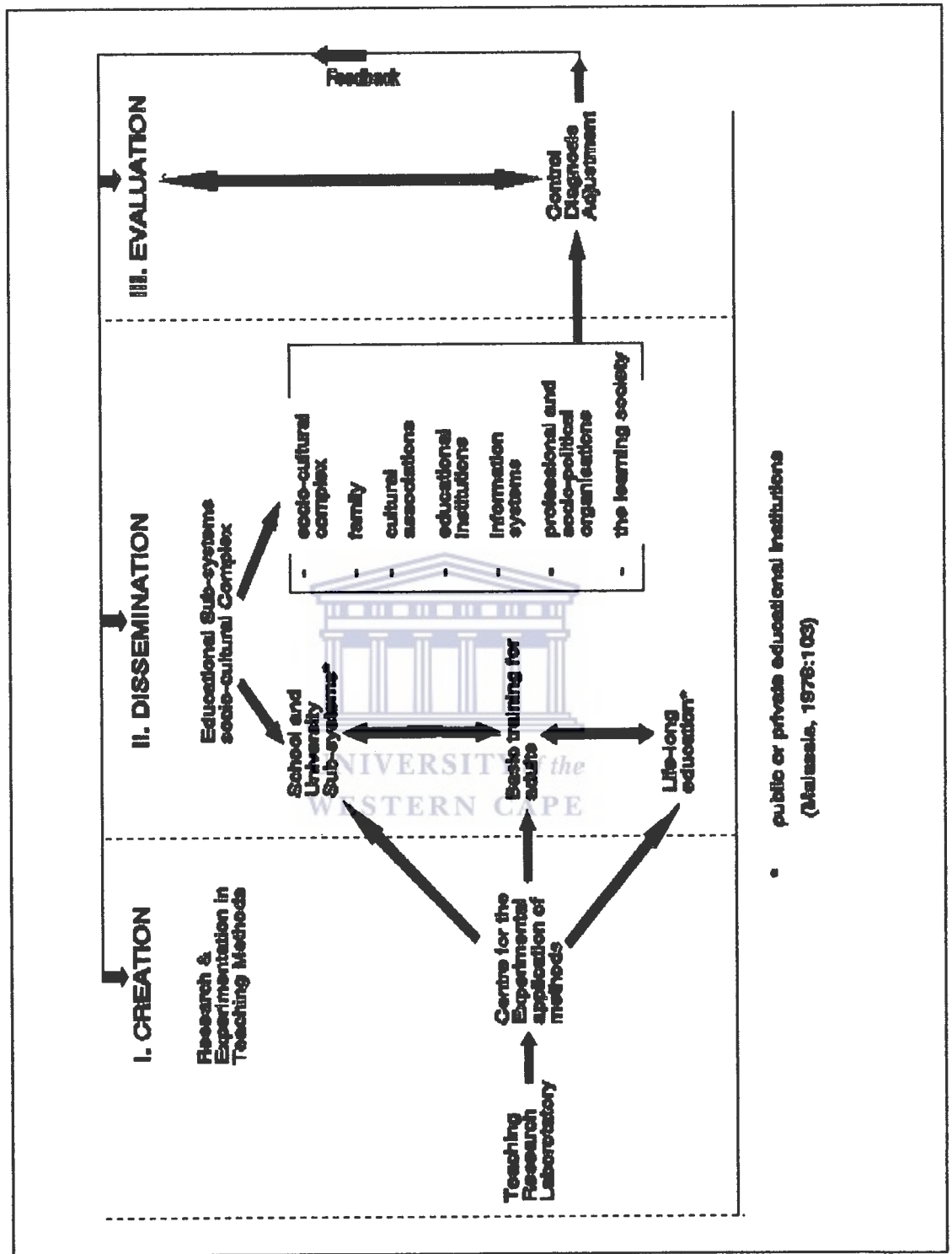

FIGURE 3 : THE CREATION DISSEMINATION SYSTEM IN EDUCATION PLANNING

Today there remains a need for formulating plans in relation to the needs of the situation in specific countries. Too many plans have been prepared by foreign experts without a thorough knowledge of the country's situation and needs. The resulting plans lack reality and are never likely to be implemented. Therefore, with careful research and the co-operation of various institutions, educational planning will be in a better position to make a valuable contribution to development.

As can be derived from the afore-mentioned discussion, the main thrust of literature concentrates on education as a pre-condition for development as it "promotes economic growth and enables the socialisation of new members of society into the dominant political and cultural value system" (Webster, 1986:113). The direct correlation between educational growth and development is clearly reflected in the functionalist view of education, which is closely linked to the modernisation theory.

The basis of the functional approach to education is to place educational institutions in relation to the wider social structure and the needs of the society. According to this approach, education amongst others, provides individuals with the skills required by the economy. Education in such a society is geared especially towards

the economic needs of society. However, it can be argued that much wider social and economic changes are needed than mere educational reform to significantly improve the position of the rural poor.

Education is not just a system of formal schooling. It is a life-long process. Therefore, within the rural situation, education aims at "transmitting or creating skills, habits or knowledge, either with regard to specific limited situations, or with the general intention of helping the individual to master life" (Boesch, 1970:35). In order to realise this aim, the whole educational system must be "ruralised", that is, related to the rural world and local community. Harrison (1980:274) believes that although the development of new life skills will only reach 10 per cent of the rural population, non-formal education is "a real tool for individual and community development". Therefore, it has become necessary to combine formal and non-formal educational opportunities, since "failure to exercise the right to education in early life disenfranchises an individual for life" (Morrison, 1979:30).

6.3 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Education within the rural context must be seen as a development process. Within Third World countries, the age-old debate of development being a process of modernisation

or economic growth have recently been seen as economistic and therefore unacceptable to Third World plans. The reason for this being that "some people" benefitted from rapid growth whilst a large section of the population, especially those in the rural sector were deprived of self-betterment.

Henceforth, new approaches to development tend to focus on a more holistic approach. As illustrated in the previous chapter on Zimbabwe, development stresses the role of people, participation, self-reliance and the mere meeting of basic human needs. It is within this framework that education must contribute to foster the rural population's participation in the development process and thereby reduce any inequalities, be it socio-political or economic, which may exist.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation attempts to explain that throughout the stages of the educational process, the conception of education as learning and not simply as schooling, has important implications for rural development. Therefore, education should be seen as an integral part of the process of rural development. With this in mind, an attempt is made to trace the relationship between life and work as is indicated by the case-study of Zimbabwe.

In this study, the emphasis is placed on the socio-historical aspect of education and rural development in the Third World, covering the period 1960-1980. As education and rural development cannot be dealt with in isolation, this dissertation covers two distinct areas: (i) a theoretical exposition of education in the rural context; and (ii) a socio-historical analysis of education in the rural context in Africa. To illustrate this aspect, the study focuses on the historical background of Zimbabwe in relation to: (i) land policies and the educational system before independence; and (ii) post-independence land resettlement policies and the development of the "Education with Production" network.