

# Peace Education in Post Colonial Africa.

by Birgit Brock-Utne.

## Introduction

The central questions which this paper will try to illuminate are the following: Are the efforts of donor agencies and third world governments towards achieving basic education for all likely to lead to a further development of peace education programmes in Africa? Are the outcomes of the Education for All (EFA) conference in Jomtien, Thailand from 5 - 9 March 1990 likely to lead to positive peace<sup>1</sup>, that is a situation where violence is not built into the structures, where equality of opportunity is strived for and self-fulfilment and self-worth enhanced? Is the new EFA strategy likely to lead to a "self-reliant development" for third world countries? The expression "self-reliant development" is being used in the preamble of the World Declaration on Education for All. (p.3).

That expression was also being used to describe the aim of the educational system the first President of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, wanted to build. In his well-known essay, "Education for Self-Reliance", Nyerere (1967) sees education as the tool to combat oppression and further equity in the World. At the end of this article we shall also pose the questions: What are the special challenges to peace educators in the newly independent countries of Africa? What would an alternative to the current EFA strategy look like, a strategy that would lead to empowerment for the people in the South?

## Successful attempts at changes made in Jomtien in the draft declaration.

Some 1500 participants met at the EFA conference in Jomtien, Thailand. There were delegates from 155 governments, 20 intergovernmental bodies and 150 nongovernmental organizations. 48 roundtables were arranged along with some 70 exhibits. There were cross-regional caucuses amongst NGOs, donor agencies, and national delegations. There were South-South caucusing, as well as North-South. Delegations were actually encouraged to propose changes in the Draft C of the WDEFA (World Declaration on Education for All) and the Framework for action which were circulated before the meeting. But what came out of this last round of consultation and lobbying? What major changes were proposed and accommodated in the final version?

Norrag News (June 1990) documents that significant changes were made in the document during the conference. For instances: the disabled were accepted as important beneficiaries of education for all, and stronger emphasis was put on education for girls and women. Here a whole new section was adopted to emphasise the need for the programming of aid to be much more gender conscious. This section now constitutes point 45e of the Framework for action which now reads:

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<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of the peace concept, see Brock-Utne,(1989),p.39-68 with further references to Galtung (1969) and Wiberg, (1981), Wiberg, (1990) For a discussion of the positive peace concept as it relates to education see Brock-Utne,1995 (in press)

*Education programmes for women and girls.* These programmes should be designed to eliminate the social and cultural barriers which have discouraged or even excluded women and girls from benefits of regular education programmes, as well as to promote equal opportunities in all aspects of their lives.

An aspect of positive peace, that of promoting equal opportunities for women, has here come into the official Framework for action. The problem remains: What are the possibilities of following up this point in actual practice?

Groups coming from the countries in the South, especially from Latin-America and the Caribbean, but also from Africa and Asia together with signatories from Europe and IDRC, were successfully lobbying for more explicit safeguards for higher education. IDRC was also instrumental in introducing into the final text an emphasis on traditional knowledge and indigenous cultural heritage. We shall return to these last two points.

### **The reluctance to deal with the effects of the debt servicing and the structural adjustment policies on the education sector - an unsuccessful attempt at change.**

By far the most contentious issue at the Jomtien conference was related to the trade-off between the debt burden and the search to extend education to all. No fewer than 13 Latin American countries along with France and the Ivory Coast were signatories to a recommendation that targeted debt as the main problem, presenting debt-servicing or attending to basic needs, especially those of education as alternatives, and placing responsibilities on the North to take the initiative. A different version of this dilemma about debt versus education for all was prepared by World University Service (WUS), and the International Coalition for Development Action, along with 20 other NGOs. In a proposal for the preamble they argued the need for rethinking debt in the context of macro-economic relations maintaining that:

"A resolution of the economic crisis associated with debt and North-South economic relations is a necessary precondition for the achievement of Education for All. Resources currently flowing from South to North in debt service, if reoriented to the service of education and development, could provide the debtor countries with an enhanced capacity to ensure the survival of children to school age, and release families, communities and nations from the poverty which prevents universal participation in pre-school, school and adult education."(Norrag News, June 1990,p.7)

Even stronger than this was the set of proposals from the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) and the association for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), supported by several other NGOs. These too set the responsibility solidly in the North for the conditions that constrained the South. We shall here quote an excerpt of the proposal by AALAE (here taken from Norrag News, June 1990, p.7)

"We call on all governments of the North and all international financial institutions to cancel all existing debts as these are an intolerable burden on the people, make it impossible for them to mobilise the resources necessary for basic education, and ferment revolt and strife. It is necessary further to put an end to structural adjustment programmes and attendant conditionalities which have caused so much suffering to the people and undermined their capacity to mobilise resources for their basic needs."

AALAE also suggested that a special development fund be set up into which all cancelled debts would be deposited in local currencies and to which they would make additional contributions to finance development activities in the South, including basic education.

When we now read what the final text says about the debt burden, we are safe concluding that the African and Asian countries behind the proposal quoted above were not paid much attention to. The development fund is nowhere mentioned, neither is the responsibility of the North for the sad state of the social sectors in the South. In the final text it is no longer only the North that has to act and it is no longer a straightforward trade-off between debt service and educational development. This is how the debt problem is treated in the WDEFA:

"Creditors and debtors must seek innovative and equitable formulae to resolve these burdens (heavy debt burdens), since the capacity of many developing countries to respond effectively to education and other basic needs will be greatly helped by finding solutions to the debt problem." ( WDEFA, Article 10, last part of point 2)

AALAE held a workshop in Mauritius from the 28th of October to the 10th of November 1990 to assess the outcomes of the EFA conference. After the workshop the Second General Assembly of AALAE adopted a declaration giving their views on EFA. Here it says in the Preamble:

"Though the Declaration on "Education for All" is positive in its aims, its broad and universal framework fails to take specific account of the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the different parts of the world, Africa in particular." (AALAE,1990)

One of Thailand's leading papers, the Nation, ran a special supplement each day of the EFA conference called the "Jomtien Journal". The editorial of the "Jomtien Journal" of March 10 was called: "After the World Conference on Education, what next?" This editorial raised some very critical comments about the way the conference had been organised and the failure sufficiently to address the question of debt.

In particular, the editorial reported on the intervention of Errol Miller of Jamaica on the tendency of the Conference to lean too much towards Northern research findings, and Northern advice about the means of reaching Education for All. Applications of many suggestions made by Northern experts made his country's situation worse, not better, he maintained.

The editorial holds that all delegates agreed that the debt crisis has had a major impact on the quality and quantity of education in the South. But banks and aid agencies maintained that structural adjustment was for the large part not responsible for the general deterioration of the education sector in most of the South over the 1980s, arguing that Southern delegates were

"confused" about the cause of their problem. Structural adjustment is the medicine not the cause of the disease, and Africa's economy will improve during this decade as a result of it they said. African and Latin American delegates however repeatedly expressed doubts about these sorts of predictions. They complained that charging school fees caused parents to pull their children out of school - bringing down the enrolment rate; that increasing class size and introducing double shifts in rural areas affected the quality of teaching - causing the literacy rate to drop.

It is easy to understand that the WDEFA could not contain an appeal to the North to cancel the debts in the South or to abandon the structural adjustment program. The representatives from the North meeting at Jomtien had no mandate from their governments to alter the macroeconomic policies even though that policy, and here I agree with my African colleagues, is of the highest importance for the education sector in the developing countries. We shall here give an example of how the liberalization of the economy and the so-called structural adjustment policy meted out for a poor country like Tanzania

means a threat to the prospects of obtaining positive peace. How the reintroduction of school-fees, so-called cost-sharing policies along with privatization means building up structures to the benefit of the children of the affluent and to the detriment of children of the poor.

### **The effects of the structural adjustment policies on the education sector in a country like Tanzania.**

#### **Debt servicing.**

The structural adjustment policies with the liberalization of the economy, building down of the public sector and increased privatization is the special medicine meted out by the IMF/World Bank and now supported also by bilateral donors. They seem to believe that the application of this medicine will increase the likelihood that poor countries will be able to repay their debts to the North. Some main items on the national budgets of Tanzania for two different years are given below:

#### **Percentage of the national budget used for:**

	<b>1966/67</b>	<b>1987/88</b>
<b>Education</b>	14.2	5.3
<b>Health</b>	4.9	3.9
<b>Cultivation</b>	10.4	7.3
<b>Transport</b>	12.1	6.0
<b>Debt servicing</b>	8.0	33.2

**Sources:** Economic Survey 1970-71 and Hali ya Uchumi wa Taifa katika miaka 1983-1988

The situation in Tanzania comes easily to mind when we read the warning words from the Economic Commission of Africa:

"Reductions in budget deficits must not be accomplished at the expense of expenditures on the social sector, i.e. education, health, and other social infrastructure ... efforts must be made to ensure that the annual average of at least 30 percent of total government outlays is devoted to the social sector and that in any case, the annual rate of growth of social investment is significantly higher than the population growth rate." (African Alternatives, 1989,p.03.)

One can easily see that the suggestion from AALAE at the Jomtien conference of cancellation of debt and the creation of a special development fund into which all cancelled debts would be deposited to finance starved sectors like education, would mean a New Deal for Tanzania, a chance to follow her original policy of Self-Reliance (kujitegemea) and her special type of African socialism (ujamaa).

### **The reintroduction of school-fees.**

During the colonial period the issue of school fees was one of the issues around which mass discontent was mobilised against the colonial authorities. Soon after Tanzania got her independence school fees for all educational levels were abolished as one of the measures to ensure the legitimacy of the post-colonial state. Through the Arusha Declaration and the policy of Education for Self-Reliance the whole country was mobilized to eradicate illiteracy, to provide universal primary education and to change the content of the inherited educational system. After twenty-six years of independence, Tanzania - with a population of 20 Million - could boast of 3 500 000 children in over 10 000 primary schools, with at least one primary school in every village. (Roy-Campbell, 1992, p.147). The achievement of universal primary education, where all Tanzanian children have access to a basic education, was commendable for one of the poorest countries in the world. As a result of its vibrant Adult Education Program and because Tanzania had succeeded in having its own national language, Kiswahili, as the language of instruction both in primary school and in adult education, Tanzania had achieved a literacy rate of 90 percent in 1984, (33.3 percent in 1970) the highest in Africa. However, with the liberalization of the Tanzanian economy in the 1980s, culminating in the signing of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreement in 1986, the very essence of Education for Self-Reliance is being threatened. The illiteracy rate which by 1984 was only 10 percent had gradually risen to the region of 20-30 percent in 1992.(The Tanzania Education System, 1993, p.6.) Universal access to education is being undermined by the reintroduction of school fees. This policy has been advocated both by the World Bank and the IMF as part of the structural adjustment program.

According to the newest report on Tanzania's educational system Universal Primary Education (UPE) was supposedly attained in 1981 with a gross enrolment ratio of about 98 per cent. However primary school gross enrolment ratio has gradually declined to 70 per cent in 1992.(The Tanzania Education System, 1993, p.6.)

The reintroduction of school fees in Tanzania has been received as an extremely unpopular measure by the Tanzanian population. The heated debates in Parliament and discontent of parents and students at the recent raising of the secondary school fees is an indication of such discontent.

Difficulty in payment of school fees is a class issue as well as a gender issue. An African research group which has been concerned about this issue is the group Women, Education, Development (WED) at the University of Dar es Salaam. (For more information about the group see Brock-Utne,1991) The WED researchers Suleman Sumra and Naomi Katunzi (1991) found that the reintroduction of school fees in secondary schools affected girls more than boys and girls from the middle and lower classes much more than girls from the upper classes. Their sample consisted of 235 girls and 84 boys drawn from three locations, one in Dar es Salaam, one in Kilimanjaro and one in Handeni. Sumra and Katunzi found that the reintroduction of school fees was of no consequence for the relatively few children of well-to-do parents. Here are the results for children coming from less well-to-do homes:

#### **Difficulties in paying school-fees.**

	Percentage of girls	Percentage of boys
Students coming from middle class families	20.6%	12.1 %
Students coming from lower class families	53%	30.3 %

If students come to school without fees, they are sent home. In Handeni Secondary School, of the students not reporting during the first week, 68% were girls and of those who were sent away, 80% were girls. (Sumra and Katunzi,1991,p.27) As one girl stated:

" I have been sent home three times, twice this year. Last year I was sent away once. This year when I went to collect money, my father informed me that the money was spent to pay my mother's hospital bill. My brother was given the fees first and I was asked to wait till my father could sell his coffee again." (Sumra and Katunzi,1991,p.27)

While students are looking for school fees, the lessons continue at school.

"I remain behind my colleagues because I waste lot of time going back home to collect school fees. Teachers are unwilling to offer compensatory classes. I copy notes from my friends without understanding what they mean." (Sumra and Katunzi,1991,p.27)

The nice words in the WDEFA about "promoting equal opportunities in all aspects of the lives" of girls and women (here especially pertaining to education) are of little value if the

reintroduction of school fees forces parents to choose whether the little money available will be used for educating a boy or a girl.

### **Control of the publishing industry**

The rapid development of communications both for travelling, listening and keeping in contact which is going on in the last part of this millenium has made other parts of the globe accessible to us in an historically unparalleled way. Within some hours we can physically visit any place on the globe - provided of course that we have money to travel. If we don't, we can at least meet people from other parts of the planet indirectly but in our living-rooms daily through television. If they and we are linked to Internet, we can communicate cheaply and swiftly.

But those who say that the rapid development of communications have made us all into a global family often forget to add that this is a capitalist and patriarchal family where the power is very unevenly distributed. The power to define the news and our images lies with a small group of white people, mostly men in the affluent countries of the North. The market economic principles this group adheres to and has forced the whole world to adopt make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 reports the following distribution of income for the years 1960 and 1991

	<b>1960</b>	<b>1991</b>
The income of the 20% richest people in the world as percentage of total income.	70 %	85 %
The income of the 20% poorest people in the world as percentage of total income.	2,3 %	1,4 %

Most of the affluent who are becoming even richer live in the northern hemisphere, in the industrialized west. They are the creators of the news, which others just receive. Some pople in this world have ample publishing opportunities, others hardly any. Books originating in the developing countries, especially in Africa, are highly underrepresented in the world to-day. According to the 1988 UNESCO's Statistical Yearbook Norway (with 4 million inhabitants) in the years 1984 to 1986 produced 3031 new titles which was greater than the number of book titles produced in Nigeria (1260), Tanzania (166), Zimbabwe (157), Mozambique (66), Ethiopia (227), Angola (14), Mali (160), Madagascar, (321), Gambia, (72) and Malawi (75) put together in the same years.

The writing, publishing and distribution of text-books is of vital importance for the

educational and cultural survival of a nation. About 50 per cent of the total turnover of the publishing industry in developed countries is derived from educational publishing. In poor countries the percentage of educational publishing is upwards of 90 per cent of publisher's turnover. (World Bank/ODA, 1988) It is from the profits made in educational publishing that investments can be made to publish other categories of books - fiction, biographies, poetry, plays and so on. When, therefore, textbook publishing, for one reason or another suffers, all publishing suffers.

In their guidelines for a popular alternative to the "Education for All" strategy from Jomtien the AALAE warns against:

"the use of imported technologies which in the majority of cases are inappropriate and reinforce foreign domination" (paragraph 31) and

"aid packages which include foreign personnel" (paragraph 33)

And AALAE recommends:

"Loans, grants and donations should be accepted only when it is clear that they have no disadvantageous strings attached and that they will be for the benefit to the receiving organization and country." (paragraph 42)

We shall now take a look at what is happening in the school book sector in Tanzania and relate those events to AALAE warnings and recommendations. The events are in line with the World Bank policies and the structural adjustment program but threaten the very concept of positive peace since they reduce the chances of self-reliance and self-fulfilment for the people in the South. They also go counter to the emphasis on traditional knowledge and indigenous cultural heritage which IDRC was instrumental in introducing into the final text of the WDEFA.

During the paper crisis in Tanzania in the early eighties, for example, printers in Tanzania were forbidden from printing magazines and other light reading matter as to conserve all paper for text-book printing. (Bgoya, 1990, p.6)

There was no model of publishing left in Tanzania at the time of Independence that could be perpetuated or improved upon. The one that a number of African countries adopted - the early joint ventures with Macmillan, in Tanzania, Ghana and Zambia was the first "state" model only that, ironically it was the one that a private transnational company was proposing. As long as the partnership venture benefited the foreign transnational publisher, there was no criticism of the state publishing model where books were written by a state institution - Institute of Curriculum Development, published by a state publishing house - Tanzania Publishing House and distributed by a state owned company, Tanzania Elimu Supplies. Walter Bgoya, (1990) the former Director of Tanzania Publishing House, tells that this model has fallen out of favour, not because it could not have been made to work. In fact it worked well for a number of years and Bgoya holds that when it is questioned to-day, it is because it does not favour the transnationals.

The contribution of Nordic countries was a critical input in the formal education sector as

well as in the literacy campaign that was launched in 1970. Swedish SIDA support was given in form of paper and other inputs to the printing industry relieving the foreign exchange shortage that printers faced. Walter Bgoya claims that:

"One of the unfortunate outcomes of that support, however, was that in time the Ministry of Education and other institutions involved in formal and informal education developed such dependence on SIDA that other efforts to find a solution seemed unnecessary and even undesirable. As it was, support was given to the Government through the Ministry of Education. In turn, the Ministry gave the paper and other inputs to the parastatal printing firms; and publishers, parastatal and private alike were bypassed because, it was argued, they were unnecessary middle men."(Bgoya,1990,p.9)

At the moment there is a desperate need for text-books in Tanzania. There are hardly any books in the schools. According to a World Bank book sector study, (1988) a survey made in 1987 suggested an average textbook availability of one book per 13 students.

When I, in the spring of 1992, was doing my interviewing of Tanzanian officials responsible for the education sector

the people at the Institute for Curriculum Development (ICD) told me about the first o-level examinations being made in Tanzania in 1971. They had helped with the examinations, saw that they were based on a Cambridge curriculum:

" We could not use the curriculum from the UK. That curriculum did not promote the socialist values we want to promote. The books came from Britain. Nyerere talked about us becoming self-reliant, using our own curricula, our own books. We got the ICD Act.13. 1975 where it said in point 4. what the functions of the Institute should be. Point 4a) says that the Institute shall assume the responsibility for the development of educational programmes within the United Republic having regard to objectives specified by the Government and to undertake the evaluation of courses of study and practices on the basis of such objectives.

In a discussion with Adama Ouane at the Unesco Institute in Hamburg, Germany he told me that exactly the same process of undermining local curriculum development and the local textbook industry is at the moment going on in Mali. After Independence Mali has for many years had indigenous publishing of school-books. Through educational reforms in 1962 the content of the text-books was completely revised. A National Pedagogical Institute (IPN) was established to develop curricula and teaching material of relevance for Mali. Before this period the books had been written in France and were highly irrelevant for the context of Mali. In the late eighties, while implementing its fourth educational project, financed by the World Bank and conceived within the Structural Adjustment Policy, it was decided that local development and production of school textbooks by the IPN was too expensive. The responsibility of IPN was restricted to small-scale experimental work and the textbooks are now being developed by EDICEF in France or Tunisia and later sent to Mali.

The former Director of Tanzania Publishing House, Walter Bgoya, with whom I had several talks about the book sector in Tanzania, though he would open up for private publishing

companies in Tanzania shared the same fears that the staff at ICD had namely that, unless special provisions were made to support publishing in Tanzania by Tanzanians, liberalization of the text-book industry would only mean that the profit would go to foreign multinationals. He reminded me of what happened to textbook publishing under the English Language Support.

The objective of that particular project, which was introduced in Tanzania in 1987 through British development aid (1.46 million pounds sterling), was to increase the competence of English-language teachers and to provide books for that purpose. Nine specialists from the UK were brought to Tanzania to implement the project. In the early days of the project it was realized that there was a great need for relevant books in English, preferably written by Tanzanians in place of books written primarily for English students. Such books had already been given for free in large quantities to many secondary schools.

Through the English Language Teaching Support Project (see Brock-Utne,1993b) it was proposed that Tanzanians be invited to write books or, where such books already existed with publishers in manuscript form, that they should be submitted to the project for approval, editing, and eventual publication. Walter Bgoya tells that a number of Tanzanian publishers thought Tanzanian publishing industry might benefit from the project, which would buy no less than 20 000 copies of the English supplementary readers if published under the project. (Bgoya,1992,p.179) They had books in manuscript form in which they had already invested a lot of time and work but had not been able to publish because of lack of funds. But the Tanzanian publishers were not helped to survive through the project. On the contrary:

"As it turned out, the agreement stipulated that the first edition of all books published under the project had to be published in the UK and by either Longman, Macmillan, Oxford University Press or Evans. Only a reprint could be published in Tanzania under a copublication arrangement between the UK publisher and a local one. But even this was revised, and no book was published in Tanzania..British publishers, it is said, insisted that they should publish the books in the UK even if the manuscripts originated in Tanzania. English-language teaching is also good business for publishers in the UK." (Bgoya,1992,.p.179)

In a recent Promemoria written in SIDA about Swedish support to school book provision in Tanzania the role of the Institute of Curriculum Development seems to be non-existent. In the same Promemoria the Swedes also admit:

"The proposed new policy represents a 180 degree turn in emphasis away from a government led system towards a market oriented approach."(Wickmann,1993,p.3)

it would be interesting to know how many of the degrees of the turn have been made under the pressure of not getting support if the turn is not being made.

In all fairness it has to be mentioned that while the World Bank is only concerned about African school-children getting school-books wherever they are being developed and published the Swedes have been concerned about helping Tanzania to develop their own publishing industry. Yet this concern does not seem to be followed up with the necessary

rigour. In the above-mentioned Promemoria from the Education Office of SIDA the following questions are raised:

" \* Is it desirable that school book publishers are indigenous local firms? What bearing could that possibly have on developing local authors of fiction? What bearing on the production of post literacy reading material? Or could all these aspects as well be taken care of by foreign publishing houses?" (Wickmann,1993,p.3)

Indigenous publication of school-books is important not only because the content of the school-books should be locally conceptualized and developed but also because developing a local school-book industry will help the publication of other books, for instance books within African peace education. Certainly the school book publishing should not be taken care of by foreign publishing companies. Even the posing of the question by the Swedes seems disconcerting.

If the aim of indigenization of the school book industry should have any chance of being fulfilled, however, regulations have to be passed allowing the Government to regulate the import of school-books to Tanzania in order to protect a very fragile publishing industry, be it private or parastatal. Foreign interests in private Tanzanian publishing industry should also be severely limited to say 20-30 %. According to the liberalization policy which forms part of the Structural Adjustment Program such protective measures seem not be allowed.

May we end here by lending our ear once more to one of the recipients of aid to the education sector, the former director of Tanzania Publishing House:

"One cannot emphasise enough that what is at stake is institution building and that African publishing will not develop unless publishing houses, both private or parastatal, are able to command adequate resources to finance, train staff and equip them so that they may be able, in the next ten to fifteen years, to produce books that meet their countries needs.

Unless this is done, what is likely to happen given that book production is being managed from Ministries of Education, is that when loans such as the one Tanzania has just signed with the World Bank are finished, there will be no publishing industries left in place and countries will go back to importing books." (Bgoya,1990,p.12)

### **The effects on higher education of a concentration of resources on basic education.**

A Tanzanian colleague wrote to me recently.:

"My own view is that education for all is fine as a goal. Who is against education for all? All wish to achieve that. But the problem is **how** to achieve it? What is the opportunity cost of achieving it? Reduced expenditure on higher education?"

My colleague voices the opinion held by most African statesmen and educationists before the Jomtien conference. They were afraid that the cry for basic education would not mean that

more money would be coming to the education sector for instance through a transfer from military to educational expenditure as suggested in article 9 of the WDEFA, but would rather mean that scarce resources would now be shifted from higher education to basic education.

Knowing the attitude of the World Bank to higher education in Africa there is certainly reason to fear that the renewed emphasis on basic education will indeed lead to a further starvation of higher education and intellectual life in Africa. This also means a starvation of the possibilities of developing an African peace education based on an African understanding of the reasons for the conflicts raging within Africa and research into traditional African ways of problem-solving. At a meeting with African vice-chancellors in Harare in 1986, the World Bank argued that higher education in Africa was a luxury: that most African countries were better off closing universities at home and training graduates over-seas. Recognising that its call for a closure of universities was politically unsustainable, the Bank subsequently modified its agenda, calling for universities in Africa to be trimmed and restructured to produce only those skills which the market demands. Such was its agenda for university restructuring for instance in Nigeria in the late 1980s. (Mamdani,1993)

At the Jomtien conference a whole series of countries were lobbying for more explicit safeguards for higher education, research and access to high technology. The thrust of this concern was from Latin America with other signatories coming from Africa and Asia, the Caribbean and Europe. Norrag News (June 1990,p.6) claims that IDRC was also instrumental in successfully inserting a parallel recommendation which argued that:

"..sound basic education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education and of scientific and technological literacy and capacity and thus to self-reliant development" (WDEFA, preamble, p.3)

Once the spirit of the Latin American resolution had also been accepted, there was secured a dual justification of the need for higher education in relation to basic education:

"Societies should also insure a strong intellectual and scientific environment for basic education. This implies improving higher education and developing scientific research. Close contact with contemporary technological and scientific knowledge should be possible at every level of education." ( Article 8, point 2 p.8 in the World Declaration on Education for All)

In an evaluation of the outcomes of the EFA conference from an African perspective, the programme specialist in education and planning in UNESCO's regional office in Dakar, Senegal Aimé Damiba (1991) concludes:

"We must avoid the danger of limiting ourselves to basic education and neglecting high level manpower training and research. It is not possible to solve the problems of Education for All without a national pool of expertise and without an indigenous capacity for research."(Damiba,1991, p.11)

Yet third world countries seem to interpret the results from the Jomtien conference as a wish from the donor community to

limit their renewed effort within the education sector to basic education and telling developing countries to do the same.

When I, in the spring of 1992, interviewed Tanzanian educators and officials in the educational task force which had been set up after the Jomtien conference, one of them told me:

"Instead of limiting ourselves to basic education, which was a wish from the Jomtien conference, we in Tanzania wanted to look at the whole educational sector. Each country after the Bangkok conference was to set up a committee to work with the implementations of the conference. We made this modification that we included other levels than basic education."

Universities and institutes of higher learning in Africa are of the greatest importance if Africa shall develop its own counter-expertise capable of evaluating and criticizing aid packages being offered and capable of building their own science and technology using local sources and based on local traditions. Research going on in the institutions of higher learning should also be of an empowering kind concentrating on the rewriting of history from an African perspective and building on indigenous knowledge.

### **"The universality of values"**

As peace educators we shall have to be beware of the tendency of the West to claim universality for values that are particular to western history and culture. Yash Tandon (1995), former minister in Uganda, now living in Zimbabwe, in a recent article criticizes the way the concept human rights has come to mean civil rights embedded in western liberal and individual expression. To create intercultural awareness, we need to acknowledge that the universality of values should not be taken for granted. Yash Tandon writes about the tendency of the West to claim a universality for their definition of human rights and worse applying them as conditionalities for aid. In doing so

"the West commits the classic error of transposing its values on weaker populations who pretend to share those values for the sake of aid or development assistance."  
(Tandon 1995:11)

It is not so easy for us who live in the affluent West to start questioning our own values, our own behavior and to approach the culture of other people with an open mind and a willingness to learn from them. How much are men willing to listen to and learn from women? How much are we in the West willing to listen to the indigenous peoples of this world? John P. Synott (1994) states that indigenous peoples could well claim that their knowledge is as marginalised by the peace education movement as by any other group.

"Omission and silence are strategies of oppression as much as active oppression, as well the feminist movement has shown us." (Synott 1994:75)

In his article on the Australian aboriginal constructions of humans, society and nature John P.Synott (1994) explains the Tjukurppa - the holistic knowledge system of the Australian Aboriginal people. He shows how the indigenous people of the world whose societies the West continues to oppress and destroy are struggling to preserve and assert the very values and form of social organization which peace educators are trying to promote.

### **African methods of conflict resolution**

It is important that African peace educators do not derive their theories mostly from Western peace educators but search in their own heritage for an African way to deal with conflicts. The African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, which is a pan-African association, has outlined a three year research project in peace education. Among the main objectives we find the following:

- To research into the African concepts and terms of conflict, as well as into African methods, techniques and processes of conflict prevention, management and resolution.
- To establish and articulate a philosophy, principles and world outlook which underline African concepts of conflict, conflict prevention, management and resolution.
- To promote and generate public interest in African concepts of conflict, and methods, techniques and processes of conflict prevention, management, and resolution as a resource for managing and solving contemporary conflicts. (AALAE 1994:19)

The action component of intercultural awareness would be a training in listening to and learning from people from other cultures.

### **The politics of reconciliation**

In the above-mentioned UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 we saw how the discrepancy between the "haves" and the "have-nots" in this world is getting bigger and bigger. It is an important task for peace educators to follow up statistics like those published by UNDP.

In the most recently independent country in Africa, the Republic of South Africa, a policy of reconciliation between the "historically deprived population" - the majority population of blacks and the "historically advantaged population" - the minority population of whites has been adopted. This is how the Board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation was composed until one year before Independence:

### Composition of the Board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 1988 - 1993:

	<b>Black</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Sum</b>
Men	1	61	62
Women	0	1	1
Sum	1	62*	63

\* Of these 57 were Afrikaaners

**Source:** Minty, 1993: South Africa: From Apartheid to Democracy. *Security Dialogue*. Vol.24 (1): 69-84.

It is important to be aware of the fact that SABC controls 23 radio stations as well as the main television channels and is the most important form of mass communication. It is important to follow up the composition of this board after Independence. What does reconciliation mean? Reconciliation to what? If it should mean to the status quo, this would be highly unjust. Reconciliation must have to do with repaying for the sins committed against the black population and must have to do with the redistribution of resources. Another example of the uneven distribution of resources within the education sector in South Africa is given below:

#### Percentage of South African children in state-supported pre-schools:

<b>Black</b>	<b>White</b>
5 (N:5.200 000)	33 (N:500 000)

#### State subsidy per child in state-supported pre-schools in South Africa:

<b>Black</b>	<b>White</b>
US\$ 33	US\$ 520

*Source:* Liddel and Kemp:1995:71

In a seminar recently held within the Education in Africa seminar series at the University of Oslo<sup>2</sup> we discussed the effects within the education sector of the reconciliation policies of

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<sup>2</sup> The seminar series called "Education in Africa" has been running for three years (fall 1992 until the summer of 1995) - six consecutive terms with an evening seminar of two to three hours every Tuesday. Four week-end seminars have been arranged within the seminar. The first one was called "*Indigenous Education in Africa*" and took place on Friday 15 and Saturday 16 October 1993. A report containing the main contributions has been published.(Brock-Utne ed.1994) The second week-end seminar took place on Friday 29 April and Saturday 30 April 1994. The topic here was "*States or markets? Neo-liberalism in the educational policies of Sub-Saharan Africa.*" A report containing the main contributions has been published.(Brock-Utne ed.1995) In the fall of 1994 we arranged a two-day seminar on Tuesday 11 and Wednesday 12 October. The topic was: *Building up a new system of education after Independence*. The cases of Palestine,

Zimbabwe (which got its independence ten years ago) Namibia (which got its independence five years ago) and South Africa (which got its independence a year ago) Representatives from Zimbabwe and Namibia talked about the white resistance against a more equitable distribution of resources within education as well as when it came to land.

Feminist analysis of the concept of peace and of the development theories most commonly adhered to shows us the necessity of including the micro level in our analysis. (see e.g. Blumberg, 1989, Brock-Utne 1994b, Brock-Utne 1995) The distribution of resources going on at this level - the family level - will often determine the fertility rate as well as the nutritional status of the family. Such data aggregate and becomes the fertility rate for a whole community, a country.

### **Education for empowerment and self-reliance as an alternative to the EFA strategy.**

The African Association for Literacy and Adult Education is critical to the WDEFA partly on the grounds that the initiative to the EFA conference was spearheaded by the World Bank which:

"has repudiated education as a public responsibility through its "Structural Adjustment Programmes" forced upon most African countries. Indeed there is every reason to believe that this broad framework is intended to give the World Bank and its allies a free hand to determine the detailed, specific education agenda on a country-by-country basis, and in particular apply the Bank's "Structural Adjustment Programmes" on the education sector....Even the participation of UNESCO and the African governments would seem to have been used merely to give legitimacy to positions already taken by the Bank." (AALAE,1990,preamble,p.1)

I am afraid AALAE's scepticism is warranted. There is all reason to monitor the implementation of the WDEFA and the Framework for Action.

After having analyzed the current foreign aid patterns and policies on education in developing countries in some Western bilateral aid agencies the Danish historian Lene Buchert (1993) concluded that the Jomtien emphasis on cost, efficiency and effectiveness is likely to reemphasise a Western curriculum rather than a locally adapted curriculum based on indigenous knowledge systems, socialisation methods and locally identified needs for specific skills and, thereby, impede locally designed innovative experiments in recipient countries.

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South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, and Somalia. Friday 24 and Saturday 25 March 1995 we arranged a week-end seminar with the title: *Educational consequences of the politics of reconciliation - the cases of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa*. The number of regular participants vary between 12 and 20 but more than hundred people have attended the seminar at one of the evenings. A third of the participants in the seminar are Master degree students in education, another third are African students from various faculties and a last third are people outside of the University who just participate out of interest. The seminar will not be running in the fall of 1995 but will be running again from 1996 through 1998.

AALAE claims that:

"there is a need to articulate and elaborate practical alternative strategies to develop policies and carry out educational programmes based on the basic needs of the African peoples and to identify and propose the areas and strategies through which we can act at the regional, sub-regional, national and local levels to achieve our ideal of basic education for empowerment and self-reliance." (AALAE,1990, follow-up, p.4)

This ideal is an ideal built on positive peace, on the absence of oppression and structural violence, on a high degree of equality and self-fulfilment. One might need to look for quality in education, a quality which comes from commitment to the peoples of the South, respect for indigenous culture and the building up of sustainable education which does not rely on external sources. The following example is a recent example of quality education in Zimbabwe:

"In a remote school in Matabeleland there was a young student teacher whose working conditions and social background were just as poor as that of any other student teacher and as that of the fifth grade children he was teaching. The children were busy doing different things. They seemed interested in what they were doing and smiled friendly to us, the intruders. Often children in these remote areas used to stare at foreigners with a frightened look. They would hardly understand what you asked them, let alone try to answer. Not so with these children.

In one corner of the class-room there was a book-shelf made of old bricks and planks wrapped up in newspaper. There were a few booklets and some magazines which the teacher had collected together with the children. In the windows, some with broken panes, big seeds had been threaded on strings and were waving happily as decoration in the light breeze from the broken windows. In one corner the organization of SADCC was illustrated by means of empty coke-tins and stones. Newspaper pictures were glued to the boxes, symbolizing different SADCC departments.

On the floor maps of different countries were shaped with pebbles. There was hardly an empty space on the mud-floor. But children stepped carefully around the creations not to destroy them. In another corner was a "spelling tree"- just a few branches with cards hanging on strings like a Christmas tree. Children worked in pairs, asking each other to spell the difficult words. In another group some children were playing with a set of home-made math cards.

To honour the guests, the children picked their self-made costumes from the hooks on the wall, one drummed and the others performed a joyful and very rhythmic dance. To teach children about traditional handicraft techniques, like how to build a proper hut or how to make a hob-kerry, elderly people from the village were invited to the school to share their wisdom and knowledge with the children.

This wizard of a young teacher had also taught the children, boys and girls, how to knit and had just started to teach them sewing, but this was a problem since material was scarce. His wisdom lay in seeing the future for these children, how hard it would be for them to get a job, like any of the other 200 000 pupils leaving school every year.

Therefore he wanted to teach them useful things which they could make and which they would need, for their own use, hopefully for sale as well as for consumption." (Nagel, 1992,p.xviii)

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