

**THE DISCONTINUITY BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL POLICY  
AND IMPLEMENTATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOL  
EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA: 1964-1998**

by

**KWESI ATTA SAKYI**

Submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: PROF D J BRYNARD**

**JOINT SUPERVISOR: DR CA THEUNISSEN**

**NOVEMBER 2000**

## DECLARATION

I declare that

### THE DISCONTINUITY BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA 1964 – 1998

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. Furthermore, this dissertation has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other University.

Full name:..... KWESI ATTA SAKYI

Signature:..... 

Date:..... 9/03/01

Supervisor:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Joint Supervisor:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

## DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this dissertation to the memories of my late parents, Mr James Sackey and Madam Esi Prabah who passed away in 1971 and 1997 respectively.

It is also to the memory of my younger sister Victoria Sackey who passed away this year, 2000.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When this dissertation was started in 1998, little did I realise that I had embarked on a gargantuan enterprise whose conclusion seemed interminably receding into the distance like chasing a mirage on the desert. The more I worked at it, the more I discovered I had not put in as much as was required. It has been stressful, nerve-racking and tedious. In my own small way, it had been an Odyssey with herculean tasks to perform in order to scale the Olympian heights. No wonder the ancient Greeks remarked that the way to the stars is steep and rough. Sleepless nights, economic deprivation and time constraints come along within the bargain of this academic adventure.

In the attempt to wear this academic diadem, numerous people have been of immense assistance in smoothening my path to success. No wonder that Isaac Newton, the renowned English physicist, remarked in his time that if he had seen further than other men it was because he had been standing on the shoulders of giants (paraphrase mine).

First and foremost, I will like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my wife, Faustina, who despite all odds, still urges me to press on for more laurels. I owe her a big chunk of gratitude for putting up with my academic selfishness. Equally, I owe much to my entire family (brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews) who have had to endure my absence from the hearth in Ghana for the past 20 years in the diaspora. I sincerely thank all of them for their words of encouragement through letters and other means.

I should at this juncture point out the superb supervision I have enjoyed under my Supervisor, Professor Dirk Brynard, Head of Department, Public Administration, University of South Africa. I owe much to him for his uncompromising and meticulous approach to issues. Indeed I have added more to my stature by learning under his tutelage, especially in the area of planning and paying attention to detail. On the human side, he has done other things to egg me on which I cannot express in words.

My Joint-Supervisor has been Dr Christopher Theunissen who has also greatly contributed to this enterprise. His vigil put me through my paces as he constantly acted to me as a devil's advocate. His acidic criticisms are borne in the outcome of this noble but humble academic enterprise. I must say I was fortunate to be supervised by these giants in the department.

The support staff at the Department in Pretoria deserve special mention here. In particular, I will like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Departmental Librarian, Ms Hlezepi Napaai, the Secretaries, Ms Brooks and Ms Raman. These ladies, through their routine administrative work, helped me in no small way to ensure that I had access to the Library and to show me around whenever I visited the Department.

My lecturers deserve special mention. In this regard, I salute Prof Wessels, Prof Pauw, Prof Uys, Prof van Westhuisen, Dr Auriacombe, Dr Ströh, Dr Odendaal, Ms Bernhardt, Dr Ferreira and Prof Donovan Marais (retired)

I want to express gratitude to the entire staff of Nkumbi International College (Zambia) for the wonderful opportunities they offered me to work with them and study at the same time. I cherish the good working relationships they offered and the assistance the staff at their libraries offered me to access reading material.

At the University of Zambia (UNZA), I thank the staff at the special collection Library for the informative documents they showed me which facilitated this enterprise. I must also not forget the services I enjoyed from the staff at the Planning and Purchasing Units of the Ministry of Education Headquarters, Lusaka. They provided me with most of the statistics.

I thank Prof M. Kelly at UNZA for the interview he granted me and the authoritative insight he offered me as he has been an eminent consultant on educational matters in Zambia for the World Bank. I also thank the UNESCO office in Lusaka for allowing me the use of their Library. I am grateful again to the British Council Library, Lusaka City Council Library, and the American Centre for their support during the years of my post-graduate studies.

Last but not least I want to thank some of my fellow Ghanaian teachers in Zambia who in one way or another assisted me. These include Messrs S.O.Nyame, Azane Cudjoe, Lawyer Frank Ebo Mensah of Achimota Chambers, Mr and Mrs. Hughes Larrey, Mr. Kojo Larrey, (MBA candidate at CBU), Mr. Kwesi Amisah (MCD candidate at UNZA) and Mr. Harry Swatson (PhD candidate at University of Natal).

Finally, I should like to mention Shariffah Business Bureau Investments Limited as the people who provided exceptional secretarial services to make this work come to fruition. I doff off my hat to Miss Annie Komeki, Miss Mwiche Songwe and Mrs Chalwe Mbewe. If I had not met these hardworking and friendly secretaries, this work will not have seen the light of day. I am forever indebted to their friendliness, encouragement and sense of mission.

To all those who deserve mention but have been inadvertently left out, I say a big thank you.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title page .....	i
Declaration .....	ii
Dedications .....	iii
Acknowledgements .....	iv, v
List of tables .....	6
List of figures .....	7
Abbreviations .....	8,9
Abstract .....	10
<b>Chapter 1: Background .....</b>	<b>11</b>
1.1 Background to the research problem .....	11
1.2 Research problem .....	12
1.3 Hypothesis .....	14
1.4 Reasons for selecting this problem .....	15
1.5 Major objective .....	16
1.6 Specific objectives of the study .....	16
1.7 Scope of the research .....	16
1.8 Research methodology .....	17
1.9 Assumptions .....	18
1.10 Outline of chapters .....	19
1.11 Exposition of chapters .....	20
<b>Chapter 2: Global perspectives in secondary school education .....</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	21
2.2 Comparative analysis of secondary school education in selected developed countries .....	21
2.2.1 The case of Belgium.....	21
2.2.2 The case of France.....	22
2.2.3 The case of the Scandinavians.....	23
2.2.4 The case of the United Kingdom.....	32
2.2.5 The case of the United States of America.....	24
2.2.6 The case of the former USSR.....	25
2.2.7 The case of the former West Germany.....	25
2.3 Educational development in developing countries with reference to secondary education .....	27
2.3.1 The case of Ghana.....	27
2.3.2 The case of Namibia.....	28
2.3.3 The case of Nigeria.....	28
2.3.4 The case of East Africa.....	29

2.4	Different eras of education in Africa .....	29
2.5	Innovations in education .....	30
2.6	Global trends in equalisation of educational opportunities .....	31
2.7	The New Right Movement – Definition .....	35
2.7.1	Privatisation of education and the global New Right Movement with reference to South Africa .....	36
2.7.2	Pre-New Right Movement in South Africa .....	37
2.7.3	Impact on education in South Africa of global New Right Movement ...	38
2.7.4	Some economic implications of the New Right Movement .....	40
2.7.5	Critique of the New Right Movement .....	41
2.8	Consolidation of global trends in developed and developing countries .....	42
2.8.1	Some trends in education in developed countries .....	43
2.8.2	Multiculturalism in schools in developed countries .....	44
2.8.3	School leavers and unemployment in the developed countries .....	45
2.8.4	Background history of education in Africa .....	46
2.8.5	Pre-independence education reforms .....	48
2.8.6	Addis Ababa educational master plan for Africa (1961) .....	50
2.9	Summary and conclusions .....	51
<b>Chapter 3: Origins and meanings of the terms public administration, policy and policy-making .....</b>		<b>54</b>
3.1	Introduction .....	54
3.2	Definition of the term policy .....	54
3.3	Policy-making process .....	57
3.4	Policy process analysis .....	60
3.5	Policy models – descriptive and prescriptive .....	60
3.5.1	Descriptive policy models .....	61
3.5.2	Prescriptive policy models .....	62
3.6	Public policy accountability problematics in France: Lessons for Zambia ...	63
3.7	Participation and consultation in policy-making .....	65
3.7.1	Policy and interest group participation in a polarised society – Lessons for Zambia from South Africa .....	66
3.7.2	Policy-making under uncertainty with reference to South Africa and Israel – Associated lessons for Zambia .....	67
3.7.3	Policy-making values and norms .....	69
3.7.4	Policy-making participation at the grassroots with associated lessons for Zambia .....	69

3.7.5	Role of information on policy-making – Lessons for Zambia .....	70
3.7.6	Organisational power and conflict in the policy-making process .....	72
3.7.7	Origins of policy-making and policy analysis in Germany – Lessons for Zambia .....	77
3.7.8	History and origins of public administration in Britain, France and the United States of America .....	79
	3.7.8.1 Continental public administration .....	79
	3.7.8.2 Practice of public administration in Britain .....	80
	3.7.8.3 Practice of public administration in the United States .....	81
3.8	Some approaches and attitudes to policy-making by public officials .....	82
	3.8.1 The incremental approach .....	83
	3.8.2 Mixed scanning .....	84
3.9	Policy-making as being Prometheus .....	84
3.10	Policy implementation research – Showcase from Britain for Zambia .....	86
	3.10.1 Outcomes of educational policy implementation research in Britain – A case study for Zambia.....	87
3.11	Case study of educational policy implementation outcomes in the United States .....	90
3.12	Policy-making models in Zambia .....	92
3.13	Policy succession and termination .....	98
3.14	Summary and conclusions .....	101
<b>Chapter 4: Spatial and time-based models of global educational systems .....</b>		<b>103</b>
4.1	Introduction .....	103
4.2	Three approaches to educational planning .....	103
	4.2.1 Social demand approach .....	104
	4.2.2 Manpower requirement approach .....	104
	4.2.3 Cost-benefit approach .....	105
4.3	Statistical modelling in education .....	105
4.4	Education triangle models .....	108
4.5	Educational policy cycle model .....	113
4.6	Policy anecdotes .....	117
4.7	Policy model-rectangle or cycle? .....	119
4.8	Time dimension of educational models in Africa .....	124
	4.8.1 Pre-colonial or traditional educational model .....	124
	4.8.2 Colonial era educational model .....	125
	4.8.3 Post-independence socialist educational model .....	126



4.9	Summary and conclusions .....	127
<b>Chapter 5: Development of secondary school education in Zambia .....</b>		<b>130</b>
5.1	Introduction .....	130
5.2	Background, geography and history of Zambia .....	130
5.3	Pre-independence secondary education in Zambia .....	132
5.4	Post-independence secondary education in Zambia .....	132
5.4.1	Theory-based education and rural-urban migration .....	135
5.4.2	Expatriates in the Zambian education system .....	136
5.5	Education Act 1966 Cap 134 .....	137
5.6	Structure of secondary education in Zambia .....	141
5.7	Educational reforms in Zambia .....	142
5.8	Dependency in education in Zambia .....	144
5.9	Education planning and donor aid recycling .....	145
5.10	Performance indicators of the quality of education in Zambia .....	147
5.11	Contemporary issues on education in Zambia .....	153
5.11.1	Personnel problems in Zambian education .....	154
5.11.2	Social-economic challenges in Zambia .....	156
5.12	Summary and conclusions .....	157
<b>Chapter 6: Comparative analysis of global education <i>capita selecta</i> with Reference to Zambia .....</b>		<b>160</b>
6.1	Introduction .....	160
6.2	Educational reforms in transitional economies .....	162
6.2.1	Educational transition in Zimbabwe and lessons for Zambia .....	163
6.3	Globalisation and education reforms in selected countries and associated lessons for Zambia .....	164
6.3.1	USSR and educational reforms in the globalisation process and associated lessons for Zambia .....	165
6.3.2	Reforms in education in the USA in the eighties and lessons for Zambia .....	169
6.3.3	Educational reforms in Sudan and associated lessons for Zambia .....	171
6.3.4	Decentralisation and local capacity building as a lesson to Zambia .....	173

6.3.5	School and community experience in Trinidad and Tobago and Lessons for Zambia .....	174
6.3.6	Non-Governmental Organisations and local capacity building in South Africa with lessons for Zambia .....	175
6.4	Phenomenon of street children and lessons for Zambia .....	177
6.5	Education of exceptional and gifted children .....	181
6.6	Problems of out-of-school youth, school drop-outs and problem children .....	182
6.7	Western education and traditional African values – lessons for Zambia .....	184
6.8	English language as a medium of instruction and its inhibiting effect on Traditional language – lessons for Zambia .....	188
6.9	Evaluation of past educational policies in Zambia .....	189
6.10	Summary and conclusions .....	195
<b>Chapter 7: Summary of chapters, findings and suggestions .....</b>		<b>198</b>
7.1	Introduction .....	198
7.2	Summary of chapters .....	199
7.2.1	Global perspectives in secondary school education – a literature review .....	199
7.2.1.1	Belgium .....	199
7.2.1.2	France .....	200
7.2.1.3	Scandinavia .....	201
7.2.1.4	UK .....	201
7.2.1.5	USA .....	201
7.2.1.6	Former USSR .....	202
7.2.1.7	Former West Germany .....	203
7.2.1.8	Trends in developing countries .....	203
7.3	Origins and meanings of the terms public administration, policy and policy-making .....	205
7.4	Spatial and time-based models of global educational systems .....	209
7.5	Development of secondary school education in Zambia .....	211
7.5.1	Historical trends in secondary education in Zambia .....	213
7.6	Comparative analysis of global educational <i>capita selecta</i> with reference to Zambia .....	214
7.7	Conclusions .....	217
7.8	Findings, conclusions and suggestions .....	219
List of sources .....		225
Appendices .....		247
Terminology .....		248
Tables and Charts .....		261-287

## LIST OF TABLES

- Table 2.3.1 Ghana Ministry of Education – Ghana Secondary School-leavers and admission to tertiary institutions
- Table 2.6.1 Distribution of working classes in selected European Classes and their absorption rate in high institutions
- Table 2.8.3 World Welfare indicators by country group
- Table 3.11.1 Median family incomes in the USA
- Table 5.10.1 Secondary School enrolment in Zambia – selected years
- Table 5.10.2 Public expenditure on education in Zambia
- Table 5.10.3 Public expenditure on education in Zambia at different levels
- Table 5.10.4 Comparative expenditure per pupil in Zambia
- Table 5.10.5 Zambian Government expenditure as percentage of total on education
- Table 5.10.6 Zambian Education budget allocation
- Table 5.10.7 Average class sizes for different categories of schools
- Table 5.10.8 Distribution of number of secondary schools in Zambia
- Table 5.10.9 Age distribution of pupils in Zambia 1990 – 1994
- Table 5.11.1 Inspector/Teacher ratio in Zambia
- Table 6.9.1 Degree of educational policy implementation success in Sub-Saharan Africa

## ABBREVIATIONS

AIEMS	-	Action – plan for Improvement of English, Mathematics and Science
APU	-	Academic Production Unit
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BESSIP	-	Basic Education Sub-Sector Improvement Programme
BOZ	-	Bank of Zambia
CBU	-	Copperbelt University
CDC	-	Curriculum Development Centre
DIDO	-	Drop-In-Drop-Out
ECZ	-	Examination Council of Zambia
IBRD	-	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
JSS	-	Junior Secondary School
MOE	-	Ministry of Education
MMD	-	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAGE	-	Programme of Action for Girl – Child Education
SHAPE	-	Self Help Action Plan for Education
SSS	-	Senior Secondary School
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

- UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency fund
- UNIP - United National Independent Party
- UNZA - University of Zambia
- UPE - Universal Primary Education
- VOA - Voice of America
- WEF - World Education Forum
- WBI - World Bank Institute
- ZCAS - Zambia Centre for Accountancy Studies

## ABSTRACT

**KEY WORDS:** Secondary school policy-making, participation, implementation, decentralisation, privatisation, cost-sharing, donor-aid dependency, time and spatial policy models, globalisation, comparative *capita selecta*

---

This dissertation focuses attention on the trends in secondary school education globally, with the Zambia backdrop providing a platform for a comparative study of the global scenario. Research results reveal that analysis of education planning and the process of policy formulation may be hinged on different ideological, economic, technological and social premises.

Shifts in regimes and ideologies have often left behind paradigm shifts and discontinuities in the educational sectors of countries. The processes of globalisation and internal accommodation of national forces have conjoined to impact heavily on educational policies. Be it in commandist Russia or neo-liberal USA, there has always been the felt need to use education planning as a leverage to score multiple points, including the gaining of national competitive advantage on the frontiers of knowledge and intelligence.

There is strong evidence in this dissertation to suggest that exhaustive policy analysis is cardinal to the successful implementation of education policies in Zambia, more especially in this post-modern age of information sharing.

# CHAPTER 1

## 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Education is one of the many services provided for by the government to the community. Educational systems and standards vary from country to country and from time to time. Be it in Ghana, Nigeria or Zambia the aims of education have been the same to impart knowledge and skills to improve the quality of life and to increase the productivity of the human resource. Be that as it may, many people have expressed reservations about the falling standards of education, especially in the secondary schools. It is in this light that the need arises to carry out an investigation into the policy-making processes and to establish the educational factors which often lead policies to produce quantitative outcomes. One of the aims of this study is to put into a clear perspective the mitigating socio-politico-economic factors which underlie and affect the policy-making processes.

It is hoped that in this particular study, an attempt will be made to analyse past legislation on education in Zambia in order to find out whether loopholes exist or not. Also statistical data will be collected specifically on the educational sector to enable comparative analysis to be carried out in order to put to rest the generalised and unqualified assertion that educational standards have been on the decline. It is hoped that through such analysis, the discontinuity between perceived policy objectives and actual policy outcomes would be clearly established and exposed.

It must be noted that this research work is not the first in the field nor will it be the last. Hopefully, the aim of this research is to heighten awareness in the field of policy-making and also to contribute to the academic discourse aimed at achieving the *summum bonum*.

In a previous model postulated by Thomas Dye (1975:passim), he attributed three variables as most important in determining policy. These he identified as

urbanisation, income and education. It is the aim of this study to show that these variables have since become secondary as they have been overtaken by other contending variables such as technology, globalisation, politics, geopolitics and the information revolution

## **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

In Zambia today, as in other emergent Third World Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda, there are Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) going on involving rationalisation, transformation, reconstruction, reform, re-engineering and change. Education as a service industry and a merit good is undergoing tremendous reforms to keep it in line with objective and pragmatic realities such as democratisation, empowerment, affirmative action, market-driven education, action learning and interactive education, outcome-based education, user-friendly education, gender-sensitive education, equal-access education, qualitative but affordable education, self-sustaining education, community relevant and community conscious/sensitive education, environmentally conscious education and finally morally-correct education for social integration. It is also recognised that formal education should move away from rote-learning.

Life-long learning was recognised centuries ago by educationists such as Comenius who advocated for the creation of an enabling environment for second-chance education. Continuing education should be a bedrock and integral part of any educational policy. In the case of Zambia there is a perceived mismatch between educational policy and what actually occurs on the ground. This is seen to be as a result of conflicting interests on the part of stakeholders, policy actors, practitioners, co-ordinators and other intervening factors. More importantly, educational policies have been made in some instances from top-down instead of from bottom-up, as it were, putting the cart before the horse. Policy implementation has been hampered by policy resistance, policy obfuscation, wrong timing, cultural barriers, inadequate resources, lack of proper focus or planning or prioritisation. In some instances,



foreign concepts and values such as nuclear family, urbanisation, among others have been wholly transplanted without proper pre-assessment of local needs. Instead of building synergies, educational policies have been made which conflict and pull in diametrically opposed directions. Educational policies in Zambia tend to stand alone instead of being made part of overall national development plans.

The problem of the educational policy implementation discontinuity will be studied with regard to the generic administrative and management approaches which focus on personnel, policy, planning, finance and organisation. Also the systems approach of controls, feedback and feed forward will be employed in studying the educational structure and the policy-making process.

The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) ruling Government of President Chiluba came to power in Zambia in October 1991. This government succeeded the one-party regime of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) led by the former first President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda. The incumbent government of Chiluba has since 1991 embarked upon free market ideology of liberalisation, deregulation, decentralisation, delinkage, privatisation and the introduction of user-fees in schools, thereby moving from mass-based education to a predominantly elitist education. Education Management Boards are being set up to manage and administer schools at the grassroots level, thereby decentralising the system. (*Educating our future* MOE.1996:36-40)

The effect of these changes has been the sending of confused signals to the general public who fear that the moves will lead to dichotomisation of society, polarisation, elitism, disenfranchisement and disorientation of a unified school system. It is obvious that the MMD government aims at bringing decision-making to the grassroots and closer to the areas of need, thereby making for direct local participation and cost-sharing. There is therefore a movement away from cost-shouldering by the government to a middle -of- the- road position of cost-sharing. This is as it should be if social equity is to be achieved and also if it is to realise the

attainment of universal basic education (Mwaipaya 1980:46-62). Cost-shifting, the third option, can be used in exclusive schools where the full cost of education is borne by those who have the means. It is a laudable move to make communities owners of their own destinies and to remove the bug of over-bureaucratism associated with the old order. It is also laudable to remove the old mentality of "humanism" which made people perpetually over-dependent on government largesse under the previous regime (Mwanakatwe 1974:64). However, the perennial problem of education funding needs careful study so as not to come up with nostrums that may look like the government abdicating and abandoning its responsibility to the public as per the *Social contract*. The move of the MMD government from cost-shouldering to cost-sharing may be noble and pragmatic but it has been received with mixed feelings by political agnostics, sceptics and the marginalised in society as they have the fear and hunch that cost-sharing may eventually metamorphose into total cost-shifting. Be that as it may, a donor-dependent economy such as Zambia needs to chart new frontiers if it is to survive as a sovereign state. The current educational reforms in Zambia are having hiccups as the donors have withheld aid, citing cases of misgovernance and political graft as reasons for their action (cf. Kelly 1985:passim; Kanbur *et al* 1999:passim).

In summary, the research problem can succinctly be stated that educational policy implementation in Zambia has been dogged by policy slippages thereby leading to a discontinuity between policy intentionalities and policy actualities.

### 1.3 HYPOTHESIS

Null hypothesis (Ho:) That there is an implementation discontinuity between educational policy objectives and the actual policy outcomes as seen in the secondary schools in Zambia.

Alternate hypothesis (Hi:) That there are no policy implementation problems in the educational sector of the secondary schools in Zambia.

#### 1.4 REASONS FOR SELECTING THIS PROBLEM

The problem of the educational policy implementation discontinuity is seen as a universal problem by both theorists and practitioners of public administration as well as the electorate. It is more critical in the Developing Countries such as Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, among others. The Developing Countries have low per-capita income and are caught in the low equilibrium trap or the vicious circle of poverty. They require a big push for take-off through a modernised, efficient, economical and effective educational delivery system. These economies are plagued with chronic balance of payments deficits, weak and unstable currencies, persistent budget deficits, rapid population growth, mass unemployment of school-leavers, rapid urbanisation and its attendant social ills, acute housing shortage, undue stress and strain on the capacities of social infrastructure, heavy losses of trained human resource through the HIV/AIDS pandemic and brain-drain, political and social instability, low competitive edge of local industries on the global markets, bad political leadership, mistrust among ethnic/racial groups, competition and nepotism, corruption, among others.

In view of these problems, the study of educational policies should be seen as a step forward to arrest these ills and to promote the production of end-products which can transform society towards socially desirable ends. Education should be an instrument of change to produce useful and productive citizens who can innovate to solve society's multifarious problems. Educational policy studies must address both the immediate and remote needs of society with a view to mapping out strategies for dealing with them. As Dr Aggrey of Africa (c. 1920) once said, education should aim at the heart, head and hands of the learner so as to produce a round education and a whole person.

This study will try to establish whether educational policies have been threadbare, chaotic, adhocic, myopic, short-termist, piecemeal or not. This study was occasioned by the fact that Zambia, like the former Soviet Union (1990), South Africa (1994)

among others, has been in transition since 1991 and it is pertinent to look back for hindsight in order to correct the mistakes of the past.

## **1.5 MAJOR AIM OR OBJECTIVE**

The study of the educational policy implementation discontinuity will hopefully lead to a model of educational policy that will be relevant to developing countries in that it will enhance their capacity to set up think-tanks to formulate, analyse, implement and evaluate policies that can see the light of day.

## **1.6 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- This study is aimed at enabling donor agencies to become aware of some of the problematics of implementing educational policies in Developing Countries.
- It is also aimed at informing public officials and all those interested in promoting education to be conscious of the fact that educational policies have far-reaching effects and as such, all stakeholders must take keen interest in the process of policy-making.
- It is hoped that this study will enhance the capacity of career guidance officials in schools to hone their skills and to gain insight into their work.
- Furthermore, it is hoped this study will come up with apt suggestions that will mark a paradigmatic leap in the field of educational policy-making and policy analysis.

## **1.7 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH**

This study is expected to be carried out between April 1998 and November 2000. As this is a universal problem, the literature review will draw from sources outside Zambia as well as from historical documents to give it a global view and a historical

antecedent. However, this endeavour will deliberately be limited to giving only broad outlines and policy guidelines.

Secondary education must not be seen as a discrete aspect of the whole educational system. It would have been germane to consider the whole spectrum of the educational system in Zambia as unified and holistic but that is beyond the remit of this study in terms of time, cost and logistic constraints. Be that as it may, occasional references may be made to the other sectors as they are all conjoined in a processional whole.

In this particular study, the cultural group to be examined will be the indigenous Zambian population as Zambia is by and large a homogeneous cultural entity with only a small percentage of non-nationals. Compared to South Africa, it is not pronouncedly a multicultural or multi-racial society. Despite the existence of exclusive and elite secondary schools, this study will focus attention on the predominantly public schools which account for the majority of the secondary school population and which directly lie within the remit of the government and for that matter, of interest to the theory and praxis of public administration.

## **1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In a dissertation of limited scope, time and logistic constraints make primary data collection difficult. This being the case, reliance on secondary or published data will be resorted to as a proxy. That notwithstanding, this study will neither be a mere narrative nor a historical report but rather attempts will be made to make it analytical and comparative. The elements of research such as control, comparison and manipulation will be employed to select relevant data and literature to adduce evidence to support or refute disputations regarding relationships. The main tool of research in the social sciences or in the non-experimental disciplines has been comparison through action research or participant observation. This is not possible in this particular study because of time constraint. However, secondary data shall be

relied upon to draw inferences and to establish arguments. It must be noted that the educational sector is one of the most rapid-changing and volatile line ministries as day in and day out new trends are coming up and existing policies are forever undergoing adaptations.

The research methodology shall partly be a pseudo-case study and partly based on unobtrusive observation through reliance on secondary published data sources. Resort to personal introspection may be used where appropriate. The use of published tables and figures will be an attempt to establish internal and external validity and to reduce or diminish the domain of ignorance.

In this study, the input variables may consist of items like budget allocations to education, numbers of trained teachers, numbers and qualities of school infrastructure and equipment, among others. The dependent or output variable shall be deemed to include items such as examination pass rates, employability of school leavers, adaptability of students to social, economic and national development demands, among others.

Secondary data or published data on secondary education shall be accessed from institutions such as the line ministries, university libraries, Central Statistics Office, UNESCO offices and publications such as educational journals, newspapers, books, among others.

## **1.9 ASSUMPTIONS**

From empirical data, experts believe that the trio of education, income and urbanisation do significantly determine and influence policy-making (see Dye, Henry). It is the view of this study that that has changed as other critical variables have entered the fray e.g., regional integration, global trade, information super-highway, technology, geopolitics, among others.

## 1.10. OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 is the research proposal, which outlines the contents of this study.

Chapter 2 is part of the literature review that gives an overview of global trends in secondary school education. Chapter 2 is an attempt to contextualise the Zambian experience in the global milieu. The chapter delves into the history of educational reforms in both developed and developing countries. The literature spans those for both liberal and centralist economies such as the United States of America, Belgium the former Soviet Union, former West Germany, among others. It also gives a broad overview of education-related issues.

In chapter 3, the Literature review is carried a step further by probing into the kernel of policy analysis. Various aspects of policy-making are considered in that an exegesis of policy-making is carried out to lay bare both the theoretical and practical manifestations of policy-making. The various approaches to policy-making are examined. Chapter 3 closely examines the processes, structures, throughputs and other relevant aspects of policy.

Chapter 3 merges into chapter 4 where new models of policy making in education are mooted. These are attempts in this study to come up with original ideas which can contribute to the already existing large corpus of knowledge in the field. Hopefully, it is believed these new models will throw more light on the practical aspect of the study.

While chapters 3 and 4 are on theory, chapter 5 encompasses the crux of this study by examining the practical situation on the ground in Zambia. Here, data is examined, analysed and converted into valid information through arguments, discussion and critical evaluation. However, the case is presented objectively in the scientific tradition of verification. Statistical data on secondary school education is adduced as evidence to cover the period of this study from 1964 to 1998.

In chapter 6, the reality of the situation as presented in chapter 5 is compared and contrasted with some selected countries which happen to have hindsight to share transitional teething problems with Zambia. Chapter 6 is an attempt to use the inferential approach or the indirect deductive approach, which are hinged on comparison, association and contrast.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter which contains a summary of all the foregoing chapters plus final conclusions and suggestions.

## **1.11 EXPOSITION OF CHAPTERS**

Chapter 1 - Introduction/ Research proposal

Chapter 2 - Literature review - Global perspectives

Chapter 3 - Literature review - Nature of policy

Chapter 4 - Theoretical modelling

Chapter 5 - The Zambian situation

Chapter 6 - Comparative analysis from global trends

Chapter 7 - Conclusions, summary, findings and suggestions

List of sources

Appendices -Terminology

-Maps

-Statistical abstracts

-Graphs



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The objective of this chapter is to try to lay a solid basis for the comparison and subsequent analysis of the situation in Zambia. The chapter forms the first part of the Literature review which is in two parts.

Global trends in secondary school education are reviewed for both selected countries in the developing and the developed countries. Brief outlines are given for each selected country. The literature review is focused on aspects such as the historical evolution of education, relevant legislation enacted, reforms carried out, among other things.

It would be idealistic to presume that the developed countries do not have problems in the delivery of education as a public service. In this vein, the peculiar problems of education in the developed countries in general are juxtaposed alongside those of the developing countries. Furthermore, those problems which are universal are given a separate treatment. An effort is also made to highlight some of the attempts made on both sides of the global divide to innovate and come up with solutions which are tailored to specific environments and needs.

It is hoped that these comparative disquisitions will give insight into the subject of this study and in the process, help to divest the topic of much of its seemingly obscure ambience.

#### **2.2. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN SELECTED DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

The countries from the developed countries covered in this comparative analysis include Belgium, France, Scandinavia, UK, U.S.A, former USSR and former West Germany.

##### **2.2.1. BELGIUM**

Educational reforms in primary and secondary schools in Belgium took place after the 1968-71 constitutional reforms (Owen 1985:86). The objects of the reforms were to achieve the fullest possible development of the individual in order to be able to integrate him or her into the multicultural society and also equip him or her with vocational skills to survive in a competitive global environment (Owen 1985:86). The reforms were necessitated by the wind of democratic change, which emphasised individual rights and liberties. The reformers in Belgium also took notice of pressures and influences from regional and international governmental organisations such as the European Union (EU),

UNESCO and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Not unconnected were the effects of the Second World War (1939-1945) that informed educational planners to aim at integrating people of diverse ethnic backgrounds into a holistic whole (Owen 1985:86).

The premise of the reforms to make education compulsory up to age 16 was to be able to preserve some cultural imperatives (Owen 1985:67). That decision was informed by the democratic revolution of the Enlightenment of 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Age of reason and individualism). In Belgium, the ideal education envisioned by the reformers was one that was culturally acceptable, economically feasible and egalitarian in a multicultural setting(Owen 1985:83). However, it was not possible to achieve upward social mobility and social stability all at the same time. Furthermore, the reform process could not achieve one of its major aims of equalising education opportunity for all.

In 1831, Article 17 of the Belgium Constitution made education free of all restraints except when given at state expense (Owen 1985: 68). The Poulet law of 1914 followed later to make education free for all and compulsory for children aged between 6 and 14 years (Owen 1985: 68). In 1963, a state decree introduced mixed ability comprehensive schools to bring uniformity in the hitherto morass and mosaic of schools which were controlled by different authorities such as the central government, churches, ethnic communities, private owners, among others (Owen 1985:72). Belgium was and is multicultural with ethnic communities such as the Flemish, French, German and Dutch. Religiously, there are sharp divides between the predominantly Catholics and the minority Protestants (Owen 1985:72). In France, a different scenario unfolded. France, a unitary state, is noted as a land of contrasts where conservatism is juxtaposed with novelty.

### 2.2.2. FRANCE

Education reform in France received a shot in the arm during the regime of Napoleon Bonaparte towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Napoleon introduced the *Code Napoleon* that revolutionised education in France. In 1959, General de Gaulle ushered in the most comprehensive educational reforms in France (Markland 1985:120). He raised the school leaving age to 11 years and brought about general secondary education. De Gaulle implemented the 1947 Langerin-Wallon Plan to produce an unprecedented number of technical and higher calibre scholars (Markland 1985:120). It was de Gaulle's reforms that ended the previous elitist system in France, that favoured the aristocrats and the privileged classes. However, the introduction of the across-the-board comprehensive secondary school system created problems in the mixed ability classes. Those classes spawned a nest of malcontents as vandalism, truancy, hooliganism and other juvenile vices escalated in French schools (Markland 1985:122). The lack of trained teachers, an ill-advised curricular and the direct administration of schools through ministerial circulars were identified as some of the causes of the poor performance of the reform movement in French schools. In the event, private

schools mushroomed to provide parallel and alternate avenues for those who wanted qualitative education and who could afford it. (Markland 1985:122)

### **2.2.3 SCANDINAVIA**

While reform initiatives in Belgium and France were in a top-down fashion, the reforms in the Scandinavian Countries was a two-way affair of top-down and bottom-up approaches. Specifically, the Scandinavian countries of note in the reform exercise were Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. These were among the first in Europe to adopt comprehensive secondary education, ahead of countries such as Germany and Switzerland (Markland 1985:113). The Scandinavian experience was facilitated by their early acceptance and adoption of the concept of the welfare state which provided for the individual from cradle to grave. To make that possible, heavy taxes were slapped on the working and privileged classes in order to bring about equitable distribution of wealth and to make basic public services affordable to the lower classes. The Scandinavians saw education as a social glue that would bind and integrate society and that would help achieve social and economic equality, stability and development. The role of civil society in promoting education in the Scandinavian countries is a shining example of how community participation and support can be galvanised, mobilised, utilised and channelled towards noble causes such as the provision of qualitative education. Backed by civic movements in the churches, labour unions, co-operatives, women's groups and entrepreneurs, it was easy for the state and its public institutions to provide fee-free education up to the university or tertiary level (Markland 1985:121). That shows to the world how joint compact between the state and its component units can help to undertake ventures without creating mistrust, suspicion or alienation. The value system of the people in Scandinavia made it manifest that it does not require extraordinary economic and material well-being to be able to afford a comprehensive school tradition (Markland 1985:121).

### **2.2.4 UNITED KINGDOM**

The English approach to education was to a large extent different from the Scandinavian experience. In history, France and the United Kingdom (UK) have been arch rivals in many aspects of human endeavour. While the French are noted for their rigidity, excellence and exactitude, the English have long been noted for their pragmatism, conservatism, national pride and diplomacy. (Deutsch 1974:passim)

British educational reforms have as long a history as any other European country. Most reforms in education in the UK have come about as a result of public criticism and reaction. This is not unexpected as the policy-makers in the UK are noted for their gradualism and pursuing the middle-of-the road approach. British education has been described as bookish, sedentary and abstract (Higginson 1985:16 & Warnock 1988:57).

Some notable legislation enacted to reform British education include the Spence Report of 1938 and the Butler Education Act of 1944. In the sixties and seventies, many experiments were conducted in comprehensive secondary education which aroused a lot of debate and apprehension. Issues centred on the freedom of parents to opt for different types of schools, provision of school transport, closure and merger of declining schools, provision of technical and vocational education, control of schools by local authorities and schools boards, among others. James Callaghan's Speech in 1977 at Ruskin College (UK) about the future of British educational system triggered the "Great Debate" which made people sit up to review the appalling standards created partly by the class-conscious British society (Halls 1985:107). If in the UK liberal-centralised education was the norm, in the United States of America (USA), the emphasis was on a federal, pluralistic and market-oriented system of education that was made unique and flexible to suit peculiar local needs.

### 2.2.5 USA

The USA has had the stance of Woodrow Wilson who in a paper delivered in 1883, admonished that uncritical importation and wholesale application of foreign systems could be suicidal for America. The USA educational system is therefore one which is the most varied, flexible and innovative (Grant 1985:137).

The credit accumulation system of drop-out-drop-in (Dodi) allows students to take their own time to complete their programmes (Grant 1985:140).

The flexibility of the American system is also shown by its ability to provide for outreach education to those in inaccessible areas and also to provide for a combination of both part-time and full-time education (Grant 1985:142). The credit accumulation system was designed to serve that end. However, its drawback is the problem of equivalence as curricula differ from one state to the other, from county to county, especially in the junior colleges. American education is observed to be demand-driven, context-bound and resources determined (Grant 1985:142).

In 1896, a Supreme Court ruling held that separate schools for Negroes was constitutional, provided they were equal. In 1954 a reverse ruling was made to the effect that segregated schools were unequal and unconstitutional (Holmes 1985:48 cf Brown Vs Board of Education Federal Supreme Court 1954). Parallel and stratified schools were subsequently abolished to bring about harmonisation and the introduction of comprehensive schools (Markland 1985:112). To democratise education, the USA set up in 1913 the Committee on the Reorganisation of Secondary Education. The Committee's Report of 1918 was known as the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. It became the Magna Carta of education in the USA (Markland 1985:112). In 1958, the then Soviet Union stole a march on the Americans by launching the 'Sputnik' satellite.

Americans were forced to go soul-searching and to radically reform their secondary schools by emphasising the teaching of science and mathematics (Markland 1985:111).

Up to the end of the Cold War in 1990, the former Soviet Union (USSR) remained the counterpoise of the US in geopolitics. The two super-powers were rivals in all things, including education.

#### **2.2.6. USSR**

Up to 1990, before perestroika and glasnost were implemented, the USSR was a democratic centralist federation that was based on the communist ideology and a command economy. Decisions were centrally made by the politburo and Supreme Soviet/Duma (parliament). Decisions were centrally made in a top-down manner in the huge monolithic administrative machinery. There was no room for revisionists, reactionaries, reformists and renegades. All agreed decisions had to be steamrolled throughout the Federation with no regard for local foibles or idiosyncrasies. The ruling apparatchiki represented both the party cadres and the lumpen-proletariat (Deutsch 1974: passim). However, since 1990, there have been gradual reforms and decentralised decisions as a result of a new wind of change which has promoted openness and liberalism.

In 1918, the Council of Peoples' Commissars adopted a declaration of the concept of united labour schools throughout the USSR. All schools in the USSR became nationalised and state-controlled (Markland 1985:111). The schools became open to all without discriminating as to class, sex and nationality. Tuition, textbooks and meals were provided for freely by the state.

All Soviet schools were made uniform except for the medium of instruction which allowed the use of the native language in the early stages of learning (Markland 1985:111). Compulsory education for beginners was introduced in 1930 and it was for a minimum of 4 years. In 1938, that was extended to 7 years and again in 1958 to 8 years. Students were required to devote two days out of six schooling days to community service. In that scenario, parents' choices were stifled and the individual interest was subjugated to the paramount interest of the state. That was against the spirit and letter of Article 26(3) of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which stated that parents shall have the right to choose the type of education their wards shall have. Compulsory education and its regimentation in the late fifties and early sixties was part of the Khrushchev school reform programme (Markland 1985:111).

#### **2.2.7. GERMANY**

When it comes to the concept of the welfare state or the administered state, it is questionable and difficult to assume that the former Soviet Union model was one of such. Be that as it may, West Germany, Canada and the Scandinavian

countries have emerged and come through as true models or icons of the welfare state as they exemplify the quintessence of welfarism.

West Germany, until her integration with East Germany in 1989, was a good example of an administered state. The concept can be traced far back into history where it could be seen that in old Prussia, there was *cameralism* which allowed the ruling classes to employ professionals to administer their estates for them. The component states or Landers of the German Federation had autonomy over educational issues, even though they and the central government had concurrent powers over certain overlapping areas (Smart 1985:99).

The structure of education in each state (Lander) is laid down by state laws. There are large numbers of rules and regulations which are copiously outlined in school manuals. They show in minutest detail how to administer school affairs (Smart 1985:100). Despite the rigmarole and over-bureaucratisation, the German system allows participation by all stakeholders, including teachers, parents, professionals, legislators, among others. For example, teachers make input to the school syllabi and examination procedures. Teachers serve on relevant committees and councils which draw up syllabi and examination standards. Teachers are full-time civil servants on twenty-four hours service call (Smart 1985:100). The control of education in Germany is highly decentralised and in the hands of professionals and permanent public officials and institutions. There are numerous checks and balances from the various tiers of government as well as the observance of the principle of *trias politica*. However, the rising tide of democratisation in Germany has led to the politicisation of the educational sector as legislators are frequently called upon to make normative declarations in their parliamentary debates (Smart 1985:100). The Federal Government's relationship with the local governments is also well co-ordinated. The whole system of inter and intra-governmental relationships is so clear-cut and co-ordinated that there is no room for conflict, ambiguity or suspicion (Smart 1985:92). State responsibility for education is deeply rooted in Germany where in Prussia of Frederick II, a solid foundation for educational reform was laid and continued by people like Humboldt, Hardenburg and Fische (Smart 1985:93). In 1860, the free city of Hamburg declared in its constitution that: 'The state exercises supreme conduct and supervision of the whole provision of instruction and education'(Smart 1985:93). This is an example of the autonomy of the numerous German states, municipalities, enclaves and autochthones.

During the Weimar Republic from 1933 and the Nazi rule up to 1945, the educational system in Germany was methodically politicised by the Nazi regime so much so that students and academics alike were made to back the Nazi-Fascist orientation (Mann in Smart 1985:103). After the defeat of the Nazis, the Allies rejected the French-style centralised form of government imposed by the Nazis and they reverted the system to its former decentralised structure (Smart 1985:90).

By Article 91 of the Basic Law of 1949, the Federal Government was made responsible for concurrent legislation for pre-university education (Halls 1985:118). In 1969, the Vocational Training Act made post-secondary vocational and technical education the responsibility of the Federal Government.

Each of the countries mentioned thus far has something positively novel to contribute to global education.

## 2.3 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH REFERENCE TO SECONDARY EDUCATION

From the developing countries, the countries covered are Ghana, Namibia, Nigeria, East Africa and South Africa.

In the case of South Africa, the impact of the New Right Movement of the mid-eighties is highlighted.

### 2.3.1. GHANA

Ghana, the first African country to gain independence from a colonial power in 1957, has a long history of education dating back to 1472 when the first pro-Catholic Portuguese explorers landed on the coasts of present Ghana and established castle schools under the aegis of Capuchin, Franciscan and Jesuit Friars. These were followed by the Dutch, Swede, French and the English. (Fage: 1962:44, Adu Boahen 1966:passim).

There was a rapid acceleration of education in Ghana in the fifties and sixties. Free education in Ghana was introduced in the early sixties (1964). It is reckoned that the expansion of secondary school education in Ghana has reached its limit. According to Djangmah (1997:Chronicle p.10), for every school-leaver admitted to the five Ghanaian universities, there are three or four equally qualified students who are not admitted due to lack of university places. The following data suffices.

Table 2.3.1

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Secondary school Enrolment '000	200	220	250	240	220	260	244	-	300*	-	360*
Absorbed by tertiary Institutions '000	37	36	41	41	57	40	65	-	68*	-	70*

Source: Ghana Ministry of Education (figures rounded to nearest 1000)

\*Estimates

It is suggested that to cope with the increasing number of secondary school-leavers, diversification in education should be sought by having open universities, franchised institutions affiliated to the core universities, opening up more polytechnics and encouraging distance-education (Djangmah 1997: Chronicle p.10). Compared to Ghana, Namibia (South West Africa) attained independence recently in 1990 and therefore its education for the majority is in the formative stage.

### **2.3.2 NAMIBIA**

According to Rotberg (1985:100-101), the surrogate government of South Africa which was administering Namibia under United Nations mandate, did not take adequate steps to desegregate schools or to remove the colour bar that led to separate schools for the different racial groups. Under the 'apartheid' system, education of the black majority in Namibia was marginalised, neglected and underfunded (Rotberg 1985:100-101). The most marginalised region of Namibia was the northern part where the majority black lived. However, before South Africa gained majority rule in 1994, the situation in Namibia had been normalised with education being made accessible to all without discrimination. Education in Namibia was started by missionaries under the German colonials up to 1918. Namibia and Ghana are unitary states while Nigeria, like Germany, the USA and the former USSR, is a federal state.

### **2.3.3. NIGERIA**

Nigeria, the largest populated country in Africa, operates a federal system of government that is reflected in its administrative structure of education. Education in general is controlled by the federal state and local governments.

In the 1840s, schools were set up by Christian missionaries. In 1882, the British Colonial Government made the first Education Ordinance to set up the inspectorate division (Musaaazi 1982:149). From that time, the schools came under dual control of the Christian Missionaries and the Colonial Government. The control, regulation and financing were made through ordinances.

At independence in 1960, the four regional governments of Nigeria were given control of all secondary and primary schools. The Federal Government controlled some federal secondary schools located in all the four regions. In addition, universities were also placed under federal powers.

In 1967, more states were created and the federal powers were extended to control all levels of education. The Federal Government played an advisory role on overall matters relating to planning, policy, financing, regulation, human resources and co-ordination (Musaaazi 1982:149).



The National Universities Commission (NUC) was set up in 1962 to co-ordinate policies relating to the universities while the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) was set up to conduct joint university entry examinations. There were several schools' boards to oversee the staffing, inspection and control of primary and secondary schools. The State Schools' Boards and Local District Boards were all under the central direction of the Federal Ministry of Education which set standards and ensured quality control (Muaazi 1982:150).

#### **2.3.4. EAST AFRICA**

As in other former colonial territories, Uganda like Nigeria, received formal education from the Catholic missionaries. The early missionaries ran schools in collaboration with the native chiefs (Jolly 1969:50). In 1925, following the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the Colonial Government set up a department of education to control and direct education. However, ownership was left in the hands of the missionaries.

Elsewhere in the former Congo and Rwanda, the Belgians left the entire running of schools to the Catholic missionaries.

In 1927, settler schools were set up in Uganda for Europeans and Asians . From 1947 to 1951, three commissions on education were set up. The early black school-goers were children and relatives of chiefs, converts, merchants and catechists. These formed the elite (Jolly 1969:51)

#### **2.4. DIFFERENT ERAS OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA**

Education in Africa in general can be broken into three main distinctive eras of the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the post-independence era. The pre-colonial era was the era of African traditional education which was informal. In the colonial era, education was a joint venture between missionaries, private providers and government institutions. It was a cost-shifting and fee-paying system, which was targeted at certain people and particular objectives. It was a selective kind of education. The third and last era is the post-colonial or post-independence era which can further be subdivided into early post-independence era and the post-modern reformist era. The early post-independence era was dominated by nationalist ideologues and demagogues who wanted mass education at any cost and to be seen to be delivering the goods and further, liberating the masses from ostensibly colonial mental enslavement. When the unbridled mass education policies of the early nationalists started floundering on the murky waters of geopolitics, pragmatism set in and new lines and approaches had to be sought, hence the reformist era of the seventies and eighties. Not unconnected were both internal and external pressures for change in order to be abreast with the information revolution and technological advancement.

Mass education in the post-independence era followed blindly the socialist ideological model of centralist planning. Issues of efficiency, quality, relevance and affordability became secondary to the centralist ideology of development at any cost. In the end, there was the paradoxical situation of development without growth (see Arthur Lewis c. 1970). In the process, the social fabric was stretched to tearing limits as many half-baked school-leavers became disillusioned when on completing school they could not meet their aspirations. The policy-makers adopted Herbert Simon's 'just-good-enough' or 'satisficing' approach in their 'bounded rationality' attitude to planning. Many disappointed parents who could afford it sent their children to good schools overseas. They were disappointed with the heavily ideologically-loaded and indoctrinated school curricula.

Free education became the norm in most post-independence Africa so much so that it lost its competitive edge and its value. Education was no more a means to an end but an end in itself in that it was 'education for further education' or alternatively, education for killing time and filling a vacuum. Students who were not prepared to learn were forced to stay on in school because of mass promotions and the cheapness of the system. It is often said that some free and cheap things can in the long-run be expensive. Free education is one such that has created its benefits but it has also created its costs such as devaluing traditional cultural values, creating mass unemployable youth and diverting or misallocating scarce national resources which could have been invested profitably in other essential national demands such as health, housing, rural industries and capital infrastructure.

## **2.5 INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION**

The pressure on educational providers in the heavily populated areas of Africa and elsewhere, has led to innovative ideas such as the school-shift system, part-time classes, volunteer teachers, radio and TV broadcasts, among others. These measures have become necessary as there is shortage of school places, capital structures and teaching staff. In South-East Asia, parateachers and itinerant community teachers are utilised.

The television is being extensively used in rural areas in countries like Canada, Colombia, Mexico, USA, Pakistan, Thailand and Ivory Coast (Watson 1985:179). Despite the success of television, it is still realised that the use of radio and audio cassette tapes is still the most effective electronic distance-education medium. Be that as it may, global disparities still persist in the funding of education as the poor countries can hardly afford these educational aids. While the developed countries have considerably overcome distance-education problems with advanced technology, the developing countries are grappling with issues of overpopulation and their attendant problems of inadequate funding.

The problem of overpopulation has compounded the wide disparities in per capita educational expenditures between the developed and the developing countries.

The World Bank Education Sector Paper of 1980 showed that in 1975, the per capita educational expenditure for OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries was \$1238 and for the developing countries it was less than \$40 (Watson 1985:179). That works out at a ratio of 30:1.

To overcome some of their problems, some developing countries like China and Tanzania have restructured their curricula at all levels to make each segment of the education ladder to be self-containing and examinable for a full certificate of proficiency (Watson 1985:181). In other countries such as Thailand, Philippines, Cameroon and Colombia, schools are being used as focal points of development. Local communities are asked to provide financial and material contribution towards the maintenance of physical structures, salaries and the provision of instructional materials such as textbooks. This is to ease the burden of the central government whose responsibilities keep mounting while its capacity to earn revenue dwindles (Watson 1985:181)

The move of cost-sharing has also built strong bonds of commitment and responsibility in the local communities as they are seen as partners in development. In this light, the old mentality of seeing central government as a far flung entity that doles out government largesse from the national bowl is fast eroding. The above-mentioned approaches are practical means which are gaining currency globally in the pursuit of equalising educational opportunities.

## **2.6 GLOBAL TRENDS IN EQUALISATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES**

In parts of the world, the equalisation of opportunities in education had been touted as a means for rapid economic growth and entrenchment of democracy. Practical reality shows this view to be idealistic (Halls 1985:117). In Britain and France for example, the Callaghan Ruskin College Speech (1977) and the students riots (1968) respectively triggered the much-awaited educational reforms.

The origin of the idea of equality of opportunity in education can be traced to Condorcet in his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progress de l'esprit humain* (French 'philosophies' c. 1779). He quoted that there is a tendency among individuals and nations to move towards equality of freedom and rights through the popular instrument of education. He also said that education could iron out differences in society but that it could not entirely achieve absolute equality (Halls 1985:118). This approach is in use in post-apartheid South Africa where education is being used as a vehicle to heal the wounds of racial divides.

T.H. Green of Oxford, in 1879, alluded in a lecture that every child has a right to knowledge (Halls 1985:118). Before Green, Will Thorne, founder of the Gas Workers Union had said in 1895 that "Our educational system should be

completely remodelled on such a base as to secure the democratic principle of equality of opportunity " (Halls 1985:118) ( cf. Ford II In Fenster 2000: 187)

Green and Thorne were futuristic at their time in seeing beyond their time. More than a century after the expression of those noble sentiments, some parts of the world are still struggling hard to maintain a semblance of democratisation in education. This is because economic and social barriers still divide human societies into 'haves' and 'have-nots'. Equalisation of education in its entirety will remain as elusive as a mirage on a desert. The reason being the fact that equalisation must be relative and not seen as an absolute.

In contrast to the egalitarian and futuristic views of Green and Thorne in England, Nietzsche in Prussia was of a contrary opinion. He was reported to have observed in a lecture 'on the future of our educational institutions' that ..... "not the education of the masses can be our goal, but the education of individually selected people. To extend education would destroy "the natural order of the rank in the kingdom of the intellect" (quoted in Halls 1985:119) (cf. Marinoff 1999: 284 see concept of "ubermensch" or superman)

Those views were typical of the elitism, authoritarianism and chauvinistic parochialism of the aristocrats of his time in Germany. Such ideas and philosophies as espoused by Nietzsche and Hegel became the cornerstone of ideologies such as Nazism, Fascism and Apartheid. Be that as it was, education is a selective exercise but not in the class-conscious manner as expressed in the Nietzschean or Hegelian fashion. Views like those of Nietzsche, Hegel and Malan (South Africa) can still be found among some pockets of people in every country now who feel they are the cream of society and that they have 'divine rights' to have themselves highly placed as 'top-dogs'. These minority but powerful elite feel that their children must be taught in exclusive high fee-paying schools. These schools must be tastefully and selectively designed to exclude the children of the underprivileged. Be that as it may, Darwinian and Hobbesian natures are inherent in most humans especially where privileges are concerned. The animalistic instinct of territoriality and playing 'top-dog' is heavily ingrained in the genetic codes of some people. Politics of protecting interest and 'turfs' are behind the many racial, tribal, ethnic, national and group conflicts currently engulfing the world. It will take high moral philosophy to make people altruistic and accommodating. Of course, good things are scarce and cannot go round those who desire them. There must be a rational method of rationing.

History is replete with the consequences of minority oppressive rules which ended up in revolutions, counter-revolutions and anarchy. The French revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 are but few examples of oppressive rules that ended in disaster for the oppressive and exploitative classes. This may be termed the 'natural consequence of things' as put forward by the French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Statistical data provided before the educational reforms in Europe in 1961 indicated that the educational systems in Europe were heavily-biased in favour of the elite.

**Table 2.6.1**

**Distribution of working classes in selected European countries**

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>WORKING CLASS %</u>	<u>% IN HIGH INSTITUTIONS</u>
Britain (1961)	55	25.0
Sweden	55	14.3
France (1959)	50	1.6
Germany	55	6.0

Source: (Halls 1985:119-120)

For example, in France in 1959, only 1.6% of the intake in higher institutions came from the 50% majority working class.

The failure of the system and incessant criticisms of education in the seventies and eighties led to several commissions of enquiry being set up to investigate the causes of the atrophy. In the United Kingdom, Her Majesty's Inspectorate was involved while in the United States, it was the Carnegie Commission which was set up. Elsewhere in the Third World, the World Bank and the Willy Brandt's *Independent International Commission on North-South issues: A Programme for survival* (1980 Washington D.C) and its sequel *Common Crisis: Co-operation for World Recovery* (1983 Washington D.C), helped to highlight the problems of education in the global milieu.

Among the various criticisms were:

- Schools were failing to prepare pupils adequately for society and for social change.
- Education was increasingly becoming an expensive luxury.
- The curricula were unrelated to basic needs and skills.
- Academic standards had declined.
- Schools were being used as instruments to maintain the political and social status quo.
- Huge investments in education had not resulted in improved access to education nor had they improved efficiency and economic growth (Watson 1985:175).

Some of these criticisms have since been addressed. There are, however, some areas where performance gaps still need to be closed. The first Willy Brandt Report (1980 Washington D.C), commented on 'educated unemployment' as nations spend lavishly on education, creating more unemployable youth (in Watson 1985:176). The issue of education has been politicised by political parties, leading to much propaganda and sloganeering for the sake of winning votes and not to address the critical fundamental issues which often are the genesis of long-term social and economic problems. For example, the pursuit of the 'wrong' type of education has led to many social and economic ills such as racial intolerance, greed, unstable families, crime and lack of respect for time-tested cultural norms.

The Carnegie Commission Report in the United States noted that the decline in education in the USA was due to poor teaching skills, inadequate teacher preparation and overcrowded curricula. Since the 1960s, the Report noted that schools had been under pressure to add on topics such as ethnicity, career education, culture, sex and family education, desegregation, among others (Watson 1985: 176-177). The various factors impacting on education in different countries prompted educationists to develop some new approaches.

King, for example, came up with the idea of contextualisation of the educational system while Hans harped on factors common to many nations. Kandel focused on forces affecting education. Mallinson drew attention to determinants of education (Watson 1985: 176). Mallinson noted that all over the world, the provision of education is determined by social, demographic and economic determinants. This view is correct to the extent that the various stages of education in places like Africa and South East Asia could be traced to the levels of development determined and shaped by socio-economic and demographic parameters (See World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle, Economic Growth and Public Policy*: Washington D.C 1993). South-East Asian economies have shown phenomenal growth due to their entrepreneurial abilities and their innate spirit to achieve through extreme hardwork and moral restraint. On the contrary, many countries in Africa have not made many inroads in economic development because of the political instability, impoverished management and lack of proper direction. Moreover, Africa is yet to receive the massive investments which the West have made in South-East Asia as well as find the right kinds of leaders who can make the strategic interventions which the Asian leaders adopted (see *New Africa Magazine*, January 2000, London: passim). Statistics made available through the United Nations and World Bank suggest that 50-60% of the population in developing countries are under 15 years and that by the year 2000, this will rise to 65-70%, putting more pressure on education provision (Watson 1985: 178). The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26(3) proclaims basic education as a human right. Evidence from a country such as Ghana has however, shown that demand for education is bound to decline as education has failed to be a vehicle for upward social mobility. This is due to the endemic corruption which makes nonsense of formal education so far as earning

capacity is concerned. Yet research in other parts of the world suggests that there is a high correlation between earning power and level of education (Begg, Dornbusch & Fischer 1991:199). The question to ask is: why has massive investment in human capital in South-East Asia yielded good returns but in Ghana in particular and Africa in general, there seems to be the reverse trend. The more one stays in school in Africa, the worse off one becomes. This is a generalised view though pockets of exception can be found. The bottom line suggests that value systems in Africa are warped so far as education is concerned. The Ghanaian experience quoted here (see Blackmore in Watson 1985:178-179) is common to many African countries such as Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, among others. All the same, earning capacity should not be the only yardstick for measuring the social benefits of education. Education as a merit good has positive externalities which may be difficult to quantify.

The target in most developing countries is to achieve 100% Universal Primary Education by the year 2000. This target that was set by UNESCO in the 1980s has not been realised because of mitigating factors globally. These factors include rapid population growth, the oil crisis of the 70s, the global economic recession of the 80s, heavy external debt burden and the inequitable structure of the global economy which favours the rich countries (Watson 1985:179).

The World Bank, through its micro-project unit (MPU), is helping some of the heavily-populated countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to attain acceptable standards of universal basic education. Zambia is a beneficiary of this ongoing programme (Watson 1985:179)

## 2.7.0 THE NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT – DEFINITION

It originated from the right label given to the political view of the ultra-rightists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century France where the monarchists opposed the radical views of the revolutionists. The monarchists favoured authority, patriotism, tradition, property, church, government and the army. They also had aristocratic or elitist proclivities in that they supported the maintenance and continuance of the *status quo ante* (Reilly In Bullock & Trombley 1999: 758–759; 731; 864 cf. Bosanquet 1983 : *After the New Right*)

The Rightists opposed egalitarianism and socialism as they rather favoured individualism, independence, liberalism, minimum government, free market, among others. They abhorred centralist tendencies. The New Right Movement developed after the First World War and its extreme version was Nazism in Germany. A variant of the New Right Movement came up after Second World War in the form of Keynesianism, Welfarism (Reilly In Bullock & Trombley 1999: 758 - 759)

internal adjustments to accommodate the demands of diverse claimants and constituents from the multicultural and polyglot South Africa society. There was a lot at stake for the stakeholders in that the global milieu was changing very fast and it affected the socio-politico-economic landscape in South Africa, especially in the area of achieving racial balance, economic equity and macroeconomic stability.

This section examines critically the events and trends in South Africa as regards how the various think-tank preferred approaches were to be adopted in line with the global New Right Movement. Specifically, the spotlight is focused on how privatisation impacted on education service provision.

## 2.7.2 PRE-NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Reform trends in education in the former USSR, USA, Britain and other countries offer interesting insights. However, the impact of the New Right movement on the educational policies of transitional economies such as South Africa is revealing, especially the policy on privatisation of education.

In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa and they adopted the ideology of separate development for the different racial groups. In 1955, the Freedom Charter was produced, calling for equalisation of opportunities for all and the creation of a social welfare state (Kallaway 1989:passim). Before the declaration in 1993 by the former President, de Klerk, that there was to be a unitary educational system for South Africa as part of the political transition process, there had existed a bi-polar education policy in South Africa comprising Bantu Education on the one hand and Christian National Education (CNE) on the other hand (Kallaway 1989:253)

On a more refined note, the English-speaking whites of South Africa had also demanded to have their own English-style schools different from those provided under Christian National Education (Kallaway 1989:270). To meet the needs of the English-speaking whites, a private sector initiative was made to establish *The Industrial Fund for Assistance to Private Schools* in 1959. The aim of the Fund was to support and preserve some English cultural imperatives in the English-schools in South Africa (Kallaway 1989:270). That scenario was one of nations within nations fighting for narrow group interests rather than the overall interests of nation-building.

The separate educational policies that were pursued in South Africa were seen as measures aimed at social stratification and consigning the majority blacks to specific roles in the society, thus negating the UN Human Rights Charter of 1948. Be that as it was, each country had sovereignty at the time to accept or reject the tenets of the Charter if those tenets were at variance with certain national interests.



### 2.7.3 IMPACT ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA OF GLOBAL NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT

The history of South African education has travelled a long and tortuous road from absolute state domination (1948 to 1970s) and then to the era of devolution and deconcentration, whereby education was made an 'own affair' of the provinces, though subject to structures and parameters determined at the centre. In the eighties, the private sector was invited to participate in the provision of education (Kallaway 1989:passim)

The De Lange Committee Report (1981) on urbanisation, housing and integration of blacks in the mainstream political economy, marked a significant watershed in the policy scenario in South Africa. In 1987, the *Privatisation and Development in the Republic of South African Report* came out. It was based on the advocacy of the New Right movement found in the Anglo-American Think-Tank led by Clem Sunter and Leon Louw (Kallaway 1989:266). Then came the Free Enterprise White Paper that trumpeted that privatisation would benefit the majority poor as it would free resources for expansion of employment and the creation of wealth in the private sector. However, the critics of privatisation were quick to point out that divestiture of educational institutions in particular and government enterprises in general would only benefit the rich as the majority poor could not be empowered to buy out the divested government property (Kallaway 1989:268).

The privatisation era of the eighties followed after the Riekert and Wiehan Reports which had recommended new approaches to labour relations and reforms of the constitutional basis of education (Kallaway 1989:266). The advocates of privatisation argued that privatisation would defuse black demands and allay the fears of whites in that education would be commercially available to all on the basis of need and affordability and not anymore on racial grounds.

As was the trend world-wide, the sixties had seen the manpower planning approach being applied in South Africa as the basis of educational planning. At the time, Hurwitz's *The Economics of Bantu Education and Educational Panel Report* (1961) had linked the provision of education to the demands of industry (Kallaway 1989:253). It became apparent that for South Africa to gain a competitive national advantage in the global economy, it had to have a large educated and skilled labour force. In that sense, the Christian National Education fashioned on the Nazi and Fascist philosophies of Hegel and Nietzsche were found wanting (Kallaway 1989:253 cf. Badenhorst *et al.* 1997:434-444)

Before the transition period in the 1990s, policy debate on education in South Africa was confined to a few circles among leaders in the church, industry and government establishments. The situation was similar to the 1976-78 reform debate in Zambia that was confined to the elite because the majority could not

participate actively as a result of lack of formal education (Kallaway 1989:254)(Lungu 1983:passim)

The pressure for change in the bi-polar system of South Africa came from both internal and external sources. Internally, the captains of industry in the private sector wanted changes to be made to enable them stay competitive in the global milieu. That was based on the fast developments in the new technology industries and the greater inroads being made at the frontiers of knowledge. The multinational companies needed highly educated and skilled labour force as well as a sophisticated consumer population that would offer the market for their products. The captains of industry found out that the South African Government depended heavily on them for tax revenue so they had a leverage to apply the pressure (Badenhorst 1997:434-444).

Externally, there was the call in international fora for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Added to that was the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) insistence that countries with serious economic problems had to reform and embrace Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in order to qualify for their loans. Externally, there was the global economic crisis of the eighties which resulted in economic depression, huge budget deficits and balance of payment deficits, among others (Kallaway 1989:passim)

The South African economy was badly hurt by the UN imposed trade embargo, the oil crisis and the heavy military expenditure on the liberation wars on its borders. It was estimated that the wars cost 2 billion dollars annually (Rotsberg 1985:103). Its opportunity cost was the underfunding of education, especially for blacks. With all those multiplicity of economic woes, the National Party Government had no alternative but to bow to the internal and external pressures to privatise education. This goes to prove Thomas Dye's thesis that in policy-making, economic considerations hold sway and are foremost in dictating the direction of policy. In the case of South Africa, the policy direction was shaped by the state of the parlous economy at the time. A welter of socio-polico-economic forces combined with geopolitical forces to shape and direct domestic policy on education (Brynard 1995:27-39).

In 1986, the Business Enterprise Charter was put forward by the New Right advocates as an alternative to the pro-socialist Freedom Charter of 1955 (Kallaway 1989:234). While the Freedom Charter was for Peoples' Education (education for all), the Business Charter of 1986 borrowed heavily from and was premised on the neo-classical monetarist ideology which was dubbed Thatcherism or Reaganomics (Kallaway 1989:234). The New Right advocates linked education to productivity, efficiency and market demand. They called for more private sector input into the policy-making process (Kallaway 1989:255). In essence, the policy-makers were following the trend in the USA and Britain, their traditional leading trading partners and financiers. The New Right's approach of deregulation and privatisation introduced a new trend and a break from the former

ultra-rightist and state-controlled approach. It marked a great departure and a major policy shift to the New Right paradigm. The dilemma that had to be faced by the policy-makers in government was: Should populist demand for 'education for all' be accepted irrespective of its relevance and cost or should a privatised, narrow-based, vocationalised and market-driven education be preferred? What would be the economic gains and political costs of each option? (Kallaway 1989:255-256).

The New Right won the day as they worked hard to reorder the social order and to end decades of the Long Boom (1945-1985) (Kallaway 1989:253). The New Right stepped in to end the period of Keynesianism and demand-managed economics. They came to end the era of big government expenditure, budget deficits, bloated government departments and the 'crowding out' effect of big government expenditure which often stifled the growth of private sector enterprises (Beardshaw 1989:231). The rise of neo-classical monetarism/supply-side managed economies was a restoration of capitalist hegemony. In South Africa, it meant the silencing of the unionised and pro-political Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the opening of the money and capital markets to private enterprise borrowers (Kallaway 1989:257).

#### **2.7.4 SOME ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT**

Elsewhere in the world, the New Right movement in the USA and Britain translated into the escalation in military expenditures and heavy investment to curb global terrorism. Thus the cuts on social welfare services such as education were diverted into private sector enterprises that were contracted out by government to supply items such as military hardware for the Stars War, among others.

According to Margaret Thatcher, (see Kavanagh, D. 1987:passim), the New Right movement was based on the conservative protestant ethics of frugality, diligence, family life, law, justice, duty, patriotism, individualism and free market ideals (Kallaway 1989:257). It was a 'moral onslaught' against sloth, indolence and inefficiency.

The New Right 'big deal' or 'new deal' began rubbing on and catching on fast, even in the core of the former communist enclaves. In the former USSR, it took on the form of 'perestroika' or 'glasnost'(Liebenberg 1994:73-80).

The New Right movement of the eighties was seen by critics as creating a dual labour market for a highly-paid professional elite and a majority marginalised group of lowly-paid workers. It also created rigidities in social mobility as well as creating the 'two nations, separate but unequal syndrome' (Kallaway 1989:258).

Already, the signs of the privatisation exercise in Zambia point to this phenomenon of a dual labour market and the concept of 'two nations'. This is confirmed in a socio-economic survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office (see *Daily Mail* of Zambia 28 January 2000). Poverty levels have worsened since the privatisation exercise started in 1991. About 77% of the Zambian population have been declared as very poor.

Critics say that the New Right sought to undo all the welfare gains made by the working classes over the decades through unionised struggle and that the motive for the New Right was to capture the ground which capitalists had lost earlier on to the unionised workers (Kallaway 1989:258). The New Right's new deal model has spread all over the world under the aegis of the multilateral institutions such as the IMF and European Union (EU) (Kallaway 1989:258). The new paradigm is determining the social order for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and worsening the income gap between the rich and poor.

#### **2.7.5. CRITIQUE OF THE NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT**

The question arises whether or not the New Right model is not a conspiratorial condominium to re-enslave the poor majority of the world. With regard to the thesis of this study, it is clear that the New Right model of market-based education derives its premise from the user-benefit approach or utilitarian approach. Should that be the case, it would be sad in the sense that it would debase the essence of education and give it a narrow definition as education would be seen as a means of increasing one's earning power on the labour market. It must be noted that the profit-motive is important but it must not be allowed to be the major basis for determining policies that affect the destiny of individuals, societies and humankind in general. Education is a life-long process whose direct and indirect benefits cannot be quantified. It has both intrinsic and extrinsic values. The privatisation and commercialisation of education should not be allowed to narrowly confine education to only vocational and professional pursuits.

Pring *et al* analysed the New Right approach to privatisation of education and concluded that they sought to run down and erode the benefits of public maintained schools so that in the process, parents would be forced to seek qualitative education in the fee-paying private schools (Kallaway:1989-263).

Pring *et al* worry about the democratic accountability of the privatisation exercise in Britain where about 400,000 students are in independent public-assisted schools which enjoy public subsidies (Kallaway 1989:263). Moreover, the creation of the vocational-oriented private schools in Britain has created division and social stratification between the grammar/comprehensive schools and the private schools (Kallaway 1989:264). According to Pring, the New Right deal has undermined the 1944 Butler Education Act which stated that 'primary and secondary education would be provided for all on the basis of age, ability and

aptitude' (Kallaway 1989:262). Has the state run away from its mandatory and statutory obligation or has the state abdicated its responsibility to the citizens via the *social contract*? What is the rationale for paying taxes if taxes would not be used to provide collective and merit goods which through prior consensus had been agreed upon to be centrally provided through state institutions? Is the Scandinavian experience an exception to the rule or a freak on the global scene? These questions need more answers than ever before. These questions must be seen in the light of the new policy direction being charted by the Zambian government and which is the focus of this study. They must also be seen in the light of the fact/value dichotomy which ranges realists against the idealists.

## 2.8. CONSOLIDATION OF GLOBAL TRENDS IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Evidence adduced empirically from global trends in education suggest that both developed and developing countries sometimes do have common teething problems in education and that such problems are not unique or peculiar either to one geographical area or the other. For example, the problem of influx of immigrants from other nationalities to the primate cities of destination countries is a global phenomenon which knows no borders(see *magweregwere* or guest-workers in South Africa).Such influx had often created educational problematics for metropolitan planners and policy-makers who have had to accommodate such multicultural and unsolicited imports. In urban areas of the world, urban phenomena such as urban implosion, decaying urban central business districts(CBDs),urban concrete jungle, urban crime, urban juvenile delinquency, inter-alia, have escalated as a result of break-down in primary social relationships consequent upon the dilution of cultures by the presence of the importees. The city had become a virtual melting pot of cultures and the cosmopolitan had become an *anomie*. While the advanced countries have, in some cases, had to confront the problem of declining school enrolments on the one hand, the poor developing countries on the other hand, have been constrained by facilities, especially in accommodating teeming numbers of students in the urban areas, where influx from rural-urban migration and cross-border migration converge.

School teachers on both sides of the global divide have shared a commonality of carrying heavy workloads and having to earn relatively low perks. In other scenarios, both of them have been called upon to be innovative in coping with novel situations such as devising or improvising teaching aid or achieving environmental fit by adapting their curricula to suit students from different cultural milieu. In other situations, educational service delivery has had to be fashioned to meet the needs of the students who are marooned in remote and inaccessible areas. Such exceptional demands have led to creative methods of delivery such as e-learning or online education, home-based education, itinerant teaching, community-run school, among others. Where child prodigies are discovered, so-called 'smart schools' have been set up to provide those child prodigies with conducive learning environments to enable them realise their full

potential. In certain exceptional cases, the rich in the poor countries have sent their children abroad to school in elite secondary schools because of falling standards in local schools. Where linkages between schools and communities have been weak, efforts have been made to integrate schools with their communities through joint partnership projects and formation of linkages with civil society, employers, churches, among others. All these efforts aim to build strong bonds between education delivery on one hand and the real world of work and community life on the other hand.

In the ensuing sections, these trends in the global milieu are explored and contextualised by adopting a holistic rather than a particularistic or piecemeal approach.

### **2.8.1 SOME TRENDS IN EDUCATION IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

It would be simplistic and unrealistic to assume that the developed countries do not have problems in their educational systems. Their problems, however, differ in magnitude and content from those of the developing world. However, in certain areas, the problems are found to be universal.

While the developing countries were having their educational lowdowns, the developed countries were equally assailed by different but equally disturbing phenomena. Schools in the developed countries were facing declining enrolments because of low-birth rates, small nuclear families and the effects of economic depression in some disadvantaged places which made marriage and childbirth remote possibilities (Watson 1985:181). Some primary schools in Europe had to be merged or closed to reduce cost. Teachers had to be redeployed or alternatively they were given short contracts.

In England, for example, some secondary schools faced low enrolments in the entry grade eight. In addition, morale among teaching staff was at its lowest because of heavy workloads and relatively poor conditions of service (Warnock:1988). Less-qualified staff were attracted to teaching as a result of the poor conditions. In heavily-populated parts of Europe, schools were understaffed and teachers had pastoral and extra-curricula loads to carry in attending to the needs of students. In some cases, teachers were called upon to cope with areas of teaching for which they had not specialised (Watson1985:182). Similar problems were noted in Germany, Canada, France, Sweden and the USA. In the USA and Canada, there were calls to 'basics' whereby core subjects were to be retained and those newly-added subjects or 'frills' were to be dropped. Those included subjects like art, music and physical education (Watson 1985:182). The move was to reduce cost and the workload of teachers as well as ensure uniformity in curricula.

In urbanised areas of both developed and developing countries, the cosmopolitans find themselves engulfed in crime and other social ills. In that scenario in those multicultural societies, the affluent in places like the USA and South Africa have taken home-based education seriously (*Voice of America* programme, November

1999). The home-study option through either itinerant teachers or distance correspondence/interactive learning, has become a serious competitor to formal classroom learning. Affluent parents in the middle and upper classes fear for their children who may become prey to gangsterism, drug-addiction, hooliganism and other juvenile delinquents in their peer groups. The inroads in computers and information technology have made self-tuition user-friendly, interactive and safer. If this trend continues, the future points to a decentralised formal education whereby many teenage students will learn in the informal home atmosphere. Teachers will then be self-employed by giving home tuitions or preparing computer packages for their students on the Internet. Teachers will teach on the Internet in a virtual borderless global classroom without one physical location but rather scattered around the globe. In that event, parents will be called upon to supervise more and more work of their children and charges. Distance-education institutions such as the University of South Africa will gain more prominence. Knowledge-based industries will boom.

### **2.8.2. MULTICULTURALISM IN SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

Another universal problem common to all countries is that of multiculturalism in schools. This phenomenon is found in the urban centres rather than in the rural areas. Immigrants from the rural areas and immigrants from other countries swell urban populations. They are also swelled by the natural rate of increase.

Immigrants from other parts of the world tend to settle in the urban centres. They add to the urban pressure as they come with their families. Their children may speak different languages and have different cultural and educational backgrounds (Watson 1985:184) These immigrants from outside the national frontiers create numerous problems in urban schools. The presence of large immigrant children in urban schools has caused the authorities in those schools to tinker their curricula to cope with and accommodate the multicultural subjects (Watson 1985: 184). The provision of school places in urban areas for immigrant children has been politicised as there have been accusations and counter-accusations of racism, discrimination and urban 'pollution' by unwelcome illegal immigrants. Authorities have been caught in a dilemma of having had to balance their act between maintaining academic standards and accommodating the contentious issues of minorities (Watson 1985:184).

The European Union and the Council of Europe have favoured bi-lingualism and culturally-plural curricula (Watson 1985:186). However, such ventures have entailed extra workload for teachers. The French, via their policy of assimilation in their ex-colonies, have adopted a pragmatic approach to the immigrants by integrating them as fast as possible in order to reduce cost and also to avoid unpleasantness resulting from their non-acceptance (Watson 1985:186). The French approach is to be highly commended as it removes all traces of discrimination.

### 2.8.3 SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS UNEMPLOYMENT IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Just as multiculturalism is a universal problem, so also is that of youthful unemployment among secondary school leavers.

In Western Europe, 60% of all secondary school leavers are unlikely to find jobs (Watson 1985:188). The heavy unemployment rate among secondary school leavers in the United Kingdom, for instance, has led to a rethink of the curricula and the replacement of the advanced level academic-oriented examination by the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) (Warnock 1988:57). The move was precipitated by the 'Great Debate' initiated in 1977 by former Prime Minister James Callaghan's Ruskin College Speech that opened up a can of worms. Secondary education in Britain has since undergone tremendous change, leading to a demand-driven and job-oriented type of curricula. Some developing countries had to initiate community and national service schemes for the school-leavers. Those were initiated in Botswana, Ghana, Iran, Nigeria, China and Tanzania, among others (Watson 1985:188). To overcome youth unemployment among their secondary school leavers, countries like Germany, Switzerland and Austria have adopted a practical orientation to their curricula by increasing the practical content of the courses offered. That approach was meant to bridge the gap between school and work. The state authorities provide vocational classes to school leavers to equip them with transferable skills. These training centres are heavily subsidised by central government.

In the former Soviet Union and other former communist countries, state policy led to automatic employment for school leavers. Many of those jobs were said to be sinecure jobs as there were signs of overstaffing and low productivity. Elsewhere in the world, various solutions have been devised to solve the problem of secondary school unemployment. These have included the establishment of community colleges, sixth-forms and vocational institutions, craft villages, among others. Some of these institutions are formal while others are informal (Watson 1985:189). In Sweden, the problem has been tackled by involving employers in designing curricula (Lane 1983:518-565). Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Japan have tackled the problem differently by introducing vocational courses in their schools. Those courses include bricklaying, metalwork, plumbing, electrical training, housecraft and catering (Watson 1985:189). Those courses have been designed to de-emphasize examination-based curricula and to lay more emphasis on equipping students with self-sustaining, productive and entrepreneurial skills.

To overcome the problems of youth unemployment, the First Willy Brandt Report, published in 1980 in Washington D.C., called for an integrated approach to educational planning by bringing in all the stakeholders.



Table 2.8.3

**World welfare indicators by country group.**

	Low Income 177	Middle Income 1105	Rich Industrial 8800
Per capita GNP, 1987 (Pounds)			
% of age group in secondary school, 1986	35	54	92
Population per nurse, 1984	2150	980	130
Life expectancy at birth, 1987 (years)	61	65	76
Annual growth of per capita real GNP (%)	3.1	2.5	2.3

Source: World Bank Development Report, 1989 in Begg, *et al* 1991 p. 634

In table 2.5.1, the global disparities in welfare standards between the rich north and the poor south are glaringly indicated. For example, only 35% of children of secondary school-going age in the poor countries are in secondary schools while in the rich industrialised countries, the figure is 92%. Furthermore, the per capita income for the low-income countries in 1987 was 177 pounds and 8800 pounds for the rich countries. This works out to a ratio of 50:1.

The Report also called for the removal of global disparities in education between the rich northern countries and the poor southern countries. The Report called for restructuring the global economy by creating global synergies among regions, continents and sub-continents (Watson 1985:190). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that is based in Paris, has also called for the need to remove educational disparities within and in sub-regions so as to reduce potential for tension and revolt (Watson 1985:191). It called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

Against the backdrop of global trends, it is pertinent to state that educational problems in Africa can be understood better by going back into history.

#### **2.8.4. BACKGROUND HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA**

While the developed nations have been able to overcome most of their educational problems, the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa has been worsening. The genesis of this deterioration can be traced to the past history of Africa. Starting in the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese explorers to the coastal regions of Africa started to introduce Africans to western education through the Catholic Jesuit priests who came along with the explorers. Their mission was multipurpose as they sought to evangelise and win converts as well as form allies and forge trading links (Makulu 1971:102-103 ;Page 1962: 44-47). Following the Berlin Conference of 1885, the European powers that colonised Africa saw education as a vehicle for consolidating commerce as well as providing lower

African clerical and administrative staff who could assist in maintaining law and order (Flint 1965: 359-404). Thus, the original motive for the introduction of western education in Africa was, to all intents and purposes, selfish, parochial and borne out of purely ecclesiastical, imperial and exploitative commercial tendencies. This is so because the target group, the Africans, had no say nor active part to play in the colonial policy-making process. Be that as it may, even the colonial representatives, the resident governors, took instruction from their metropolitan parliaments and sovereigns.

Had western education been introduced genuinely as one to help Africans develop their culture, there would not have been a backlog of problems in the educational system in Africa today. Western education firstly alienated the African from himself or herself by being made to feel inferior and to renounce his or her age-long traditional beliefs. Secondly, he or she was alienated from the society, from the land and from his or her God.

Africans were made to look through western jaundiced glasses when interpreting events relating to themselves. They were made to feel depersonalised, culturally attenuated and sequestered from their ethnic roots and socially, spiritually and politically disoriented by aping and whole-heartedly adopting western standards. The whole scenario of the slave trade, colonial rule and subjugation speak volumes for the current plight of Africans, be they in the Diaspora or in their ancestral land (Fage 1962:193). Zambia is no exception and she is infact an archetype of a country that has lost much of its rich culture. Educated Africans were often caught between two worlds, neither of which they could claim full acceptability in (Fage 1962:193).

In the early stages of the European incursions into Africa, the Portuguese started carrying away to Europe young sons and relatives of African chiefs. These were educated and returned to assist in the promotion and propagation of the gospel among their tribes. Examples which readily come to mind include Philip Quaquo, Ajayi Crowther of Nigeria, Olaida Equino, Jacobus Capetein, Joseph Amo and J.E.K Aggrey, all of Nigeria and the former Gold Coast (Ghana)(Makulu 1971:3). These early experiments at externalising education of Africans did not succeed very well as the educated African returnees found it hard to integrate (see the novels by Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Beautiful (sic) ones are not yet born & Fragments* (1968). See also *The Blinkards* by W.E.G Sekyi c. 1925).

The returnees were frustrated, alienated and caught between two stools. Those early experiments revealed that for education to be relevant, it must have a solid foundation in the local lore and crafts. These observations were made by the Phelps-Stokes Commission of the USA that toured Africa in 1922 and 1925 (Makulu 1971:23), (Makgoba 1996:114-118)(Sono 1996:passim).

## 2.8.5 PRE-INDEPENDENCE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The catalysts to the rapid expansion of formal education in Africa could be grouped as:-

- (i) the pre-independence movement by the irredentists and proto-nationalists
- (ii) the Phelps-Stokes Commission's (1922-1925) tour of Africa
- (iii) the Cambridge Conference of 1952
- (iv) the Addis Ababa Conference on African Education in 1961 under the aegis of the United Nations
- (v) the neo-nationalists of the late fifties and sixties following Ghana's independence in 1957

The agitation for higher institutions in West Africa by the proto-nationalists received a boost when the Phelps-Stokes Commission (including a black African, Dr Aggrey) was despatched from the USA on a fact-finding mission to Africa (Post 1965:450-460). The Commission's recommendations were many, among which were:

- The use of the native language in teaching at the early stages of schooling
- Incorporating of traditional lore, music, art and craft in school curricula
- Emphasis to be laid on character formation and moral values
- Reform of the existing curricula to meet the unfolding technological challenges
- Improvement of teacher-education and the methods of teaching
- Proper planning of education
- Paying attention to the education of girls (Makulu 1971:19-22; cf. McCartney 1949:passim).

The Commission's extensive tour of the length and breadth of Africa gingered up a lot of interest in education in Africa. Many colonial governments were made to sit up and to come out with concrete educational plans to meet the aspirations of Africans who were thirsty for knowledge. The upshot was the setting up of central and local schools' boards to oversee education and the creation of educational departments, which were backed by appropriate legislation in the form of ordinances, orders-in-council, proclamations and promulgations.

The outbreak of World War Two in 1939 and the onset of the Great Depression in the thirties brought a lull in the plans of the colonial authorities. However, in 1952, delegates from the British colonies in Africa were invited to attend the Cambridge Conference, which for the first time, included some black Africa educators who for a long time had been sidelined in the policy making process (Makulu 1971:23). The Conference concluded with a number of pertinent recommendations, among which were:-

- Greater efforts should be made to improve the education of girls

- The standards of secondary and teacher training education should not be neglected through too great a concentration on expanding the primary school system
- Primary education should largely be financed through local education rates
- Sufficient numbers of men and women of the right type should be attracted to the teaching profession and thereafter they should be given the right kind of guidance and training
- The high drop-out rate in the primary school system should be controlled

It was often observed that during the colonial period, there were, in most instances, disparities between the stated goals and plans of education and what was actually achieved in the field. Education planning had little relevance to the African way of life because the target groups (Africans) were not allowed much participation in the framing of policies or plans (Makulu 1971:27). The legislative assemblies which were in place in the colonies were not democratic and they had to take instructions from the colonial resident governor or the metropolitan parliament in Europe (Fage 1962:170). They were mere rubber-stamps of the governors. Be that as it may, the stiff opposition from African nationalists and intellectuals made the colonial masters review their act and gradually inroads were made (Rodney 1972:238-281). Before political independence in the early 60s, education in Africa was under the monopoly of the Christian missionaries and the colonial governments (Boahen 1966:142). In the Sahelian regions, the Arabs from across the Sahara Desert had established Islamic schools in mostly the former French Sudan. Majority of the schools in the rest of Africa were predominantly western and Christian-oriented. As there were different Christian denominations with their different credos, the education system lacked uniformity. The missionaries were constrained by lack of financial resources to meet the increasing demands for education. The colonial governments which were in place in Africa lacked the mandate to raise revenue and make experiments on expenditure. Progressive colonial governors who tried to improve black education were either chided or recalled. That happened to Governors Guggisberg in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Governor Cameron of Tanganyika (Tanzania) (Rodney 1972:248).

The question can be asked whether or not the colonial governments had the financial muscle to provide adequate levels of education to the residents of the colonies. Evidence from archival records confirm that they could have done far much better than what they did. By 1951, there were 1,295,000 children in schools in British West Africa while in French West Africa it was only 106,000. Colonial education was moving at a snail-like pace, especially in French colonies where education was selective (Boahen 1966:142)

The revenue from exports in the colonies was substantial but the proceeds were not meant for black African education. A very insignificant amount of that revenue trickled back to the colonies in the form of colonial grants (Rodney 1972:149-200, 241-243). At the time of independence in the early 60s, the then

Belgian Congo was in acute shortage of skilled manpower so much so that about 500 civil servants with barely secondary school education were rapidly promoted to middle level positions (Makulu 1971:30). Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) was relatively better off when at independence in 1964 it had about 100 university graduates and a 1000 people with some form of secondary education (Makulu 1971:30). Such scenarios of paucity of skilled manpower contributed immensely to the ineptitude and gross inefficiency of the post-independence leaders. They found themselves promoted to their levels of incompetence, following Peter's principle (Koontz & Weihrich 1990:239).

## **2.8.6 ADDIS ABABA EDUCATIONAL MASTER PLAN FOR AFRICA**

The history of the development of education in Africa will be incomplete without the mention of the 1961 UN sponsored Addis Ababa Conference on African Education. That conference stands as a landmark in the great strides Africa has made in the area of second-cycle education. The Conference, attended by government ministers, global experts on planning, educationists, among others, must be given credit for the stupendous impact it made in sensitising African governments to reform education.

The Addis Ababa Plan of 1961 was a masterplan, which provided a blueprint for the way forward in secondary and tertiary education. It served as a catalyst for propelling forward the hitherto stagnant frontiers of education. The strategy adopted at the Conference was to make a medium-term plan (1960-1966) and a long-term plan (1966-1981). According to the plan outline, African countries were to achieve targets set for primary, secondary and higher education. The short-term plan envisaged a secondary school enrolment of 816,600 in 1960 and that was to rise to 1,833,500 in 1966 and by 1980 to rise to 5,905,400 (Makulu 1971:52). The plan also projected that 45,000 teachers should be produced each year in Africa with fifty percent of them being university graduates.

Countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and Malawi met and exceeded their targets, leading to the paradoxical phenomenon of the 'educated unemployed.' In most cases, there was a mass exodus of the trained graduates who joined the Diaspora in the brain-drain syndrome. The biting economies and poor political leadership in several African countries forced the much-needed manpower/human resources to flee their own countries in search of greener pastures elsewhere. The forces behind that negative trend could be traced to both external and internal factors. Externally, the adoption of IMF-led Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and the global crises in the oil and commodity markets led to economic depression, political instability and loss of patriotic sentiments for one's country. Added to that, the perfidy and corrupt practices of politicians and top government officials made those who were less privileged but in essential services such as teaching, nursing, medicine, among others, to flee their countries to seek solace in viable economies.

The question could be asked whether or not the Addis Ababa Conference was a bane or a blessing in view of its unintended outcome of causing the brain-drain. The Conference settled on points such as making education relevant to the immediate needs of Africans. It also recommended that development should be endogenous by adapting western education to African conditions and culture. No more should western education be looked upon as a means to escape from tribal discipline, manual labour or rural life (Makulu 1971:18). The Conference recommended that 20% of the secondary school leavers should be absorbed into vocational, technical and teacher training institutions and a further 5% should proceed to the universities with the other 5% going for professional training in law, accountancy, among others (Makulu 1971:64). There was also an additional recommendation that the production of literature and textbooks should be taken seriously by the various governments. It remains to be seen whether or not Zambia and other African countries ever met those benchmarks. Therein would lie whether or not an implementation gap existed.

## 2.9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Experience of educational development in Belgium shows that education can be used as a tool for ethnic integration and for preserving certain cultural imperatives. The report on Belgian secondary education points to the fact that secondary education must be sensitive to regional and global demands as well as aiming at total education of the learner.

In France, reforms in education often came about through decrees and under military leaders such as Napoleon and de Gaulle. Those leaders laid down the foundations for egalitarian education and helped to remove the duality in education that existed between the elite and the underprivileged masses. The introduction of mixed ability classes in the comprehensive secondary schools posed many administrative problems. The French ministerial cabinet system created problems, as ministerial circulars became the norm for directing the affairs of schools. Dissatisfaction by the public with the public school system led to the emergence of private schools in France.

Unlike France and Belgium, the Scandinavian experience informs policy-makers that the bottom-up approach is still possible in a welfare state where a partnership is struck between the central government and organisations in civic society. The values of the Scandinavians helped them to accord priority to education, seeing it as a social glue.

In the UK, the middle-of-the road approach to education left grey areas of uncertainty, leading to public criticism and reaction. The liberal British education came under heavy criticism in the Callaghan Ruskin College Speech of 1977 for being 'bookish', sedentary and abstract. Thereafter, attempts were made to introduce some practical aspects into the curricula and to promote efficiency

through decentralisation. Attempts were also made to remove the barriers that prevented having classless schools.

The trademark of education in the USA has been flexibility, innovation, contextualisation and self-sustainable education. Moreover, the observance of the concept of *trias politica* has enabled checks and balances to be observed in the educational system. The Cold War and the geopolitics of the Superpowers helped to put education in the USA in its right perspective.

Unlike the USA, the former USSR had a highly centralised system of education that was compulsory and free. However, in the late eighties, the closed economic and political system gave way to liberal ideals as a result of external pressures on the global scene.

Glasnost and perestroika opened the floodgates to liberal education in the former USSR. Former Federal Germany had a tradition of regional autonomy and a respected local government system that worked in tandem with the central government. It provided a shining example of good inter-governmental relationship. The rigmarole of German efficiency was extended into the bureaucratic set up in the educational institutions. Teachers were regimented and made to follow strict procedures laid down in official manuals. However, they and parents were made to have inputs in the system by sitting on educational councils and boards. Attempts under the Weimar and Nazi regimes to centralise education in Germany misfired as in 1945, the victorious Allied forces restored Germany to its *status quo*. Responsibility for education in Germany is provided for by the Basic Law of 1949 which shares responsibilities between the Federal Government and its component parts, the Landers

In the developing countries, the age of discovery and exploration in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century introduced western education to Africa through the missionaries who accompanied the explorers. The Berlin Conference followed later in 1885 whereby the European powers stepped into Africa in the scramble for territories. The involvement of the European colonial governments brought into Africa the dual economy and the control of education by colonial governments. There existed a dichotomy as ownership of schools was by the missionaries while the control of schools was by the colonial governments.

Colonial education was narrow in scope and selective in its objectives. Formal education was concentrated on proficiency in the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic). Colonial education aimed at producing clerical manpower for commerce and middle-level administrative staff.

Phases of educational development in Africa include pre-colonial traditional education, colonial era education, post-independence education and the reformist era of the seventies and eighties. The reforms were necessitated by the overproduction of secondary school graduates leading to youth unemployment. It

became necessary to diversify education and to introduce a practical content to education. It was also realised that education should be made productive, demand-driven and relevant to national needs. Credit goes to the British who at least made education in their former colonies to be more Afrocentric than their counterparts in the French, Portuguese and Belgian colonies where they adopted an Eurocentric approach.

Analysis of the educational sector in the reform era showed that many African countries had neglected agriculture and traditional values so much so that the provision of Western education alienated the school leavers from their communities.

Despite heavy investments in education in Africa, the expected returns have not matched the inputs. Compared to South East Asia, Africa has not made economic progress from investing in human capital. Furthermore, higher education in Africa has lost its attraction as paradoxically, higher education correlates lowly with earning ability. In Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria, among others, targets set for educational outputs were exceeded in quantitative terms. However, it is doubtful whether or not qualitative outcomes were also exceeded.

In the reform era, it became clear that to contain the greater demand for education, it would be necessary to adopt novel and practical methods. To make education accessible, affordable and cost-efficient, revolutionary methods of delivery have been introduced. These include the setting up of radio and T.V broadcasts, introduction of community schools, introduction of night schools and continuation schools, distance learning, among others.

The problems of education are legion and in most cases they transcend national boundaries. This calls for global collective efforts in addressing the pertinent issues, which threaten the future of humankind. The banishment of ignorance must be the goal of all those who seek the light to free the world from the clutches of abysmal darkness.

In chapter 3, the second part of the literature review will be devoted to examining the various aspects of policy analysis as well as examining in detail the nature of education as a public service.



# CHAPTER 3

## ORIGINS AND MEANINGS OF THE TERMS PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, POLICY AND POLICY-MAKING

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The word 'policy' is difficult to pin down as belonging to a specific usage as it is used in many disciplines and in many contexts. It is the aim of this chapter to expose the various aspects of the word 'policy' and its associated connotations in the policy-making process. An attempt will be made to look at the origins of the word as well as the processes involved in policy-making. The exposition will confine itself to the usage of the word policy in an organisational or institutional setting such as at the central government level or the government line ministry level in the public administration arena. By extension, the macro-manifestation of the phenomenon can be applied to the micro-level as it affects the microcosms at the school level or even at the classroom level.

An attempt will be made to provide empirical evidence of the evolution of the policy-making process as it evolved over time and space in countries such as France, Germany, Britain, the United States, South Africa and Israel. These countries have been chosen because of the efficiency of their public administration as shown by their progressive economies, high per capita income and high standards of welfare of their citizens. Above all, they have long established policy institutions. Models of policy will be examined with regard to content, process, context, implementation strategies, participation levels, policy analysis, evaluation and termination.

### 3.2 DEFINITION OF THE TERM POLICY

Reid and Barrington (1995:211) state that the word policy is derived from the Greek word *polis* which means city and from another Greek word *politeia* which means citizen. In the early city-states of Greece, city life was associated with urbane manners, civilisation, enforcement of law and order, among others. From that premise, the terms *police* and *police-state* came into being. The word policy is therefore etymologically linked to a law and order state. Policy furnishes an organisation with a broad framework for its planning. Policy may be explicit or implicit, written or unwritten, public or confidential, covert or overt (Reid & Barrington 1995:211).

Policy has been defined as 'a matter of either the desire for change or the desire to protect something from change' (Miller in Barber 1972:51). Thus policy is concerned with change or the preservation of the *status quo*. Barber (1972:51) states that in a modern democracy, policy-making involves arguments and criticism, both internally and externally by those within the ruling party caucus and by the opposition, media, interest groups and public officials. External pressure is brought to bear on policy-making by the party conventions, public opinion, pressure and interest groups, among others.

From the management perspective, policies are general statements or understandings or directives which guide managers' thinking in decision-making (Koontz & Weihrich 1990:88). Policies are implied actions of managers that define the domain of decisions and ensure that there is consistency in achieving objectives (Koontz & Weihrich 1990:49). Policies provide frameworks for the conduct of individuals within an organisation (Appleby 1994:95).

Henry (1980:297) states that policy, from the Public Administration perspective, deals with public affairs of substance and that public affairs deal with the solving of problems or protecting the public interest whereas Basu (1994:24) states that policy is a proposed course of action which is laid down to realise particular objectives within a given environment and time period. Within the time framework of policy, organisational goals are achieved.

From the public administration perspective, Hall and Quinn (1983:9) state that public policy involves the use by a regime of its resources to intervene into the accustomed behaviour of some of its citizens to produce more or less of that behaviour. This view of policy accords with the Keynesians who advocate for government policy intervention in the economy as opposed to the ideas of the classicals led by people like Jean Baptiste Say, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, Adam Smith, among others (Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopaedia 2000 via Lekachman).

According to Deutsch (1974:192), from the systems perspective, policy is goal-setting and goal-definition. Deutsch (1974:192) further states that policy is made through a sequence of actions aimed at the same goal. It is the duty of the policy-maker to articulate and harmonise the various disparate goals of the stakeholders into a coherent super-goal. Deutsch (1974:192) goes on to state that policy spawns legislation, which is a task entrusted to technocrats such as lawyers and constitutional experts. Thus political leaders give direction and set values or goals while public officials determine the practical means of attaining them.

According to Easton (quoted in Henry 1980:302), public policy is formulated by the authorities in a political system and these may include elders, paramount chiefs, executives, legislators, judges, administrators, councilors, monarchs, among others. Thus policy actors in policy arenas vary along a continuum. The spectrum of policies could be viewed from the micro personal policy to the macro-organisational or public policies.

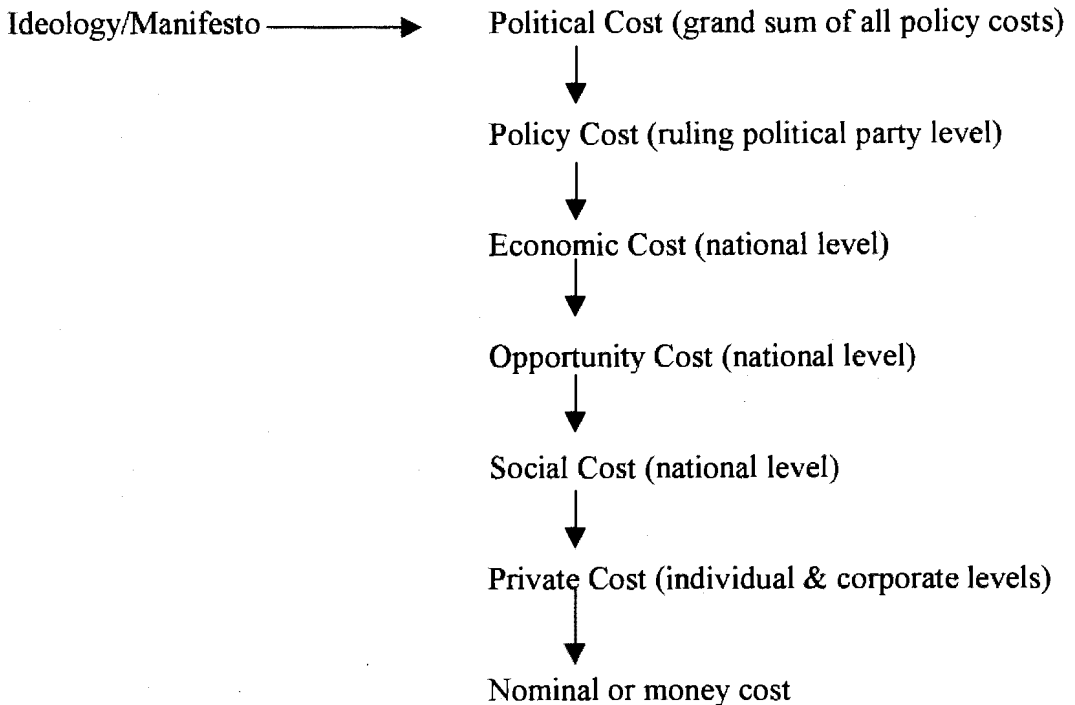
Public policy is a set of standardised, automated, ordered and manipulative behaviour expectations, written or unwritten which are designed by political leaders to match given situations in a one-to-one correspondence so as to ensure ideological consistency, systems coherence and institutional hierarchical stability. Within the public spheres, policy is fashioned to preserve some aspects of the public spheres and at the same time effect changes in some other spheres. In that sense, public policy itself has internal contra-distinctions that reflect its dynamism, functionality and equipoise in order to progress and to conserve some cultural imperatives needed for continuity, stability and national identity.

Public policy is the outcome of a convergence of micro and macro policies which are distilled from many microcosms operating in the body polity and which all engage in continuous self examination, information gathering and processing and prioritisation of needs. All these components of the system operate at different levels to hone their knowledge-acquisition capabilities so that they gain the adaptive intelligence needed for them to survive in a turbulent environment.

Public policy therefore furnishes a means of having national standards that will control and guide actions of individuals, corporate bodies and public institutions towards predetermined ends which are considered germane for the attainment of the maximum public good. Public policy is the declaration of national intentionalities by the command group who have manipulative authority. The command group lays down the parameters that will articulate, clarify and integrate disparate values and translate them into manifest statistics so that the objectification of those values validate and legitimise their value premises as well, as consolidating their rule. The command group will design to furnish the ordinary person with choices from national priorities and to help minimise the *political cost* of any choice.

(Political cost is the ultimate cost as it is a function of financial cost, opportunity cost, social cost, private cost, national sovereignty, political party's fortunes in forthcoming elections, image of the political leaders and the cost to posterity of past mistakes of political leaders). Since politics is said to be the art of the possible and the science of influence and the influential, political cost is the weightiest of all costs and as such fashioning of public policy needs careful analysis. The economic successes of countries like USA, Germany, Japan, Canada, Britain and France were attained through policy analysis think-tanks.

The cost hierarchy can be arranged thus:



Current political cost = present costs + past opportunity cost – policy benefits

Be that as it may, public policy is to the nation as a central processing unit (CPU) is to a computer or nuclear fuel is to a space rocket or a compass is to a ship's captain or energy is to the chores in the house. Without public policy there is no motion or if there is motion at all, it will be disordered motion that can lead to traffic jams, accidents and system paralysis.

It is imperative therefore to have the best and the bold at the helm of affairs in a nation. Or as Lenin once noted that if the then communist system was honed to perfection, even a cook could steer the affairs of state (Deutsch 1974:passim). In that scenario, the cook is only a symbolic figure who is guided by the brains and technocrats behind the throne. In that vein, rulers reign but do not rule as policies are made in their name (apologies to Metternich of Prussia). While public policies have longer life-span and they span many broad national issues, decisions are ephemeral and instantaneous with narrow coverage of issues.

### 3.3 POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

Barber (1972:50-57) opines that ministerial responsibility at the political level is policy-making by determining values while a seemingly neutral public administration administers the policy, making inputs of their own through offering background expertise. However, with the growth of the welfare state and greater public demand for delivery of public and merit goods, the public

officials have been drawn strongly into the political vortex, losing much of their much-touted neutrality and anonymity (Barber 1972:50-51).

The policy process is highlighted and formally begins at the ministerial level by considering issues which have reached agenda status and which need to be attended to. That requires identification, diagnosis, prioritisation of the issues, derivation of alternative solutions and comparisons through analysis and choice-making. When a choice has been made out of the policy menu, the political and social worth of the policy is assessed in terms of costs and benefits. Also, attention is paid to methods and strategies for effective implementation, and control measures are put in place to minimise resistance or marked deviations from the set norms. (Barber 1972:52).

After agreement has been reached in a ministry or government department on a proposed policy, public officials look up to their ministers to use their political acumen to pilot the draft policies through cabinet and the legislature. The success or failure of the minister in presenting the proposed policy will depend on many variables such as the timing, his or her personality, the internal support from his or her department, and the clout the minister has in the government.

Barber (1972:53) states that though in theory public officials have no policy-making authority yet in practice they are more often than not the ones formulating and crafting the policies as well as implementing them. They do not rule as such but then the administrative aspect of governance is delegated to them. Public officials, by virtue of their work, are strategically positioned to influence, to a large extent, the contents of policy. This is because ministers often have a loaded itinerary (Barber 1972:52). If a minister is *au fait* (well-versed) with his or her duties, it is a matter of respect for his or her public officials who are likely to lend full co-operation, instead of ganging up through interdepartmental coalitions and networking to torpedo his or her plans, especially when he or she is away on a mission (cf. *Yes, Prime Minister* BBC Comedy series). Within the ministry or department, policy can be viewed at different hierarchical levels.

Gladden (in Barber 1972:52) identifies four levels of policy namely:-

- (1) political or general policy which deals with broad objectives as found in the ruling party manifesto;
- (2) executive policy which reduces the broad political policy into strategic and concrete terms at the cabinet level;
- (3) administrative policy which is operational and it is at the action or implementation stage of the public officials; and
- (4) technical policy which is day-to-day policy discretion adopted by officials in working out the administrative policy.

Gladden's categorisation of policy shows the various hierarchies of policy and it confirms with the management science theory of levels of decision making at the

strategic, tactical and operational levels in the organisational set-up. (Koontz & Weihrich 1990:88)

Lord Bridges (in Barber 1972:53) states that the initial stage of a policy is where influence can be exerted, after which it becomes difficult to effect any change. At the presentation stage, a post-research action is carried out by the public officials who proffer alternatives. The choice of which submission is germane for a purpose rests with the political authorities who call the shots (Bridges in Barber 1972:53).

Barber (1972:56) identifies that policies are influenced greatly by institutions such as the “evening sauna” of the Swedish Minister, the French Ministerial Cabinets, the “Kitchen Cabinet” of the US President, the US Congressional Committees of Inquiry, the British Treasury over financial matters, the regular Tuesday briefings of the British Monarch by the Prime Minister, among others.

Barber (1972:56) observes further that in some instances, public officials tend to compromise their stand due to factors such as their weakened positions, pressure of work, lack of time and out of deference to political authority. In other cases, their weakened influence at the policy arena is due to their desire to hide under the façade of remaining non-committal or apolitical. This is where the public official is seen to betray the public interest and to be acting variously as a conduit pipe, an *agent provocateur* (provoking agent) and an impotent spectator at the policy arena. It is a sad commentary for the public if public officials, to whom much have been entrusted via the dictum of *cui multum datum* (to whom much is given, much is desired), to betray the trust reposed in them. This is typical in developing countries in Africa where public officials have compromised their professional morals and have been corrupted by the endemic and systemic corruption (Blunt & Popoola 199 :25-34 cf. Gloeck 1996:7-22). They can be exonerated somehow on the grounds of their low subsistence wages as compared to those paid in private companies.

Public policy is seen as purposive rather than random behaviour. It is directional, rational, deliberate, universal, authoritative and binding on all citizens (Basu 1994:429, Dye 1978:20). Public policy is interventionist in nature and has ideological undertones. According to Dye (1980:20), public policy is legitimate, coercive and comprehensive. Public policy is what government does or does not do and it can be positive where action is taken and negative where no action is taken. It involves the allocation of values where choices are made from alternate courses of action (Henry 1980:307-311). Policy-making is political as it involves variables of power, influence and the art of the possible. According to Paul Valery, politics is the art of excluding people from participation in affairs that affect their welfare (source unknown). This is the type of policy-making practised in Africa and in some organisations by some selfish leaders. It is the cause of ethnic conflicts, political violence and racial tensions in countries like Rwanda, Angola, Sierra Leone, among others.

### **3.4 POLICY PROCESS ANALYSIS**

Hogwood and Gunn (1984:passim) break the process of policy analysis into the following areas:-

- (1) issue search - information needs, agenda setting
- (2) issue filtration - procedures and roles at different hierarchy
- (3) issue definition - values in policy-making
- (4) forecasting and policy planning
- (5) objectives and priority setting
- (6) options analysis - identifying and generating options by considering the economic, financial and budgeting analysis.
- (7) Implementation - monitoring and control
- (8) Policy evaluation-review through feedback and assessment of policy impact.
- (9) Policy succession and termination

The list forms the chapters in their book and it clearly shows the scientific and systematic approach to policy-making and policy analysis. Analysis of the policy is descriptive while the analysis of the outputs and outcomes is prescriptive or normative. The descriptive approach of the process is positive and more scientific as it deals with cause and effect. The normative or prescriptive approach is value-laden and subjective. The two approaches should be seen as complementary towards each other.

In this dissertation, policy analysis is important in the sense that the discontinuities in educational policy implementation in Zambia could have been minimised in order to be more effective in delivering secondary school education as part of the public service delivery system.

### **3.5 POLICY MODELS - DESCRIPTIVE AND PRESCRIPTIVE**

Models are mental concepts which simplify complex phenomena and help gain clear insight into difficult problems. Models are made to explain, predict and map on onto real situations in a one-to-one correspondence. In the light of this, it is important to devise models which can explain the Zambian context and provide knowledge for future policy-makers.

Policy models can be categorised into two broad groups, namely, the descriptive process models and the prescriptive output models (Henry 1980:298). However, this classification is too general and it is only for convenience sake. Policies can be further classified on the basis of whether one is an advocate of structural functionalism or systems approach or the contingency school, among others.

### 3.5.1 DESCRIPTIVE POLICY MODELS

The descriptive models consist of the functional process model, elite-mass model, the group model, the systems model and the institutional model (Henry 1980: 298).

The functional model looks at policy-making in different functional areas within an institution. These areas can be the generic administrative functions such as finance, personnel, planning, controlling, among others. It can also be in diverse functional areas such as foreign affairs, home affairs, trade, education, defence, environment, among others. The functional approach treats policy-making as discrete instead of a holistic activity or a gradation along a continuum.

The elite-mass model is the classical model whereby a select few hold monopoly over the policy process and they assume the divine right (*arcana imperii*) to impose their will on the supposedly uninformed mass or majority. Henry (1980:299) refers to the elite-mass model as a situation of those who have power and those who do not have. The minority but powerful elite derive advantaged positions of social class, their high levels of income, their levels of education and above all, their shared values and network centrality. The apathetic majority mass are viewed as passive and ignorant. In that scenario, power flows in one direction from the top to the bottom with a lot of distortions in information flow (cf. See George Orwell's novel, *Animal Farm* c. 1955).

To a large extent, this model is still extant, especially in developing countries where political participation is confined or limited because of military dictatorship or because of gross political apathy. This applies to the Zambian context where a middle class is lacking while the poor low class is growing (cf. Rigg's prismatic model; Almond & Verba in Heady 1991:223; 292).

The group model epitomises the cross-currents underpinning the political process whereby powerful interest and lobby groups with vast economic power do influence the political stakes through their dominant power coalitions. The group model of policy-making is pertinent in that in any given society, there are diverse interest groups jostling for power and outdoing one another for the spoils of government. It is the group with the dominant coalition, network centrality and the largest network of contacts and connections to the corridors of power which wins in the fray. It is a zero-sum game of winners and losers. The group approach can relate to the haves and have-nots, the central government and its component parts, the ruralites versus the urbanites and all identifiable interest and pressure groups. This model is also very pertinent to Zambia as it is a universal model. The liberalised economy has created a very small class of entrepreneurial plutocrats.

On the systems model, Easton (quoted in Henry 1980:300) perceives the system as being made up of inputs, the conversion process in the political arena and the outputs in the form of authoritative allocation of values by the powers-that-be. The outcome of the outputs refer to policy impact and this becomes a feedback for



re-energising the system or helping it to steer itself on course. The systems model is rational, comprehensive and all-embracing as all other models can be explained in it. Within the system can be found structures, processes, steady-states, value clarification, exchanges and flows. The systems model is operational and dynamic and it is quite more complex in an advanced country than in a developing country such as Zambia.

The last of the descriptive models is the institutional model which looks at the institutions from which policy outputs are churned. This is the last of the process models. These institutions can be the ruling political party caucus, the cabinet, legal arrangements for policy administration, among others. In a multi-party democracy or pluralistic society such as Zambia, these institutions tend to multiply to confuse the choice of the laity in making their preferences known.

### 3.5.2 PRESCRIPTIVE POLICY MODELS

The prescriptive approaches to policy-making are content theories which are said to be value-laden and normative as they deal with what ought to be. They focus on the output and impact of policy. They belong to the means-end and fact-value dichotomies. The three prescriptive approaches are the incremental, the rational-comprehensive and the mixed scanning approaches (Henry 1980:303-309).

The incremental model was first put forward by Charles Lindblom in his famous article, *Muddling Through*, published in 1959. In his work, Lindblom preferred to make limited successive increments to existing policies in order not to have marked departures from the right-of-centre nor from the left-of-centre. Lindblom's thesis was based on gradualism or sedate policy-making as found in a stable, predictable and conservative political environment such as found in the mature political systems in the United States and Britain. Lindblom perceived policy-making as essentially a process of limited incrementalism by adding surreptitiously to existing policies and which was based on imminence and practicality (cf. Basu 1994:440).

Another model in the prescriptive group is the rational model. The rationalists perceive that policy is made under a condition of perfect knowledge and using the logical and empirical methods of scientific investigations to arrive at valid conclusions. Herbert Simon, realising the impracticability of the rational method, introduced the concept of bounded rationality or 'satisficing' as a viable alternative. According to Simon, policy-makers, constrained by time, resource and other factors, go for 'just-good-enough' or satisfactory results (Basu 1994:440; Koontz & Weihrich 1990:109). The rational process of inductive and deductive logic through theoretical and empirical verification was found to be too tedious.

The rationalists have been criticised as being rigid and not paying much attention to values. Furthermore, they have been criticised for not being realistic in seeing that limited human capacity cannot meet their requirements.

Amitai Etzioni offered a third and integrative approach in his famous work in 1967 titled, *Mixed scanning: a 'third' approach to decision-making*.

His approach sought to integrate the incremental and rational approaches into his mixed scanning approach which he called zeroing in on specifics and also taking a wide general view of the larger policy environment (Basu 1994:440). Incrementalism and mixed scanning will be looked into in more detail in a latter part of this chapter (*infra* 3.8.1 & 3.8.2)

### 3.6 PUBLIC POLICY ACCOUNTABILITY PROBLEMATIC IN FRANCE: LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA

The necessity for public policy accountability often calls for policy analysis and evaluation. Scholars are constantly searching for ways of dealing with public policy evaluation in forms such as political oversight and administrative accountability (Quermonne and Rouban 1986:397 cf. Gloeck 1996:7-22; Brynard 1996:23-37).

In France, openness in the public sphere of governance has been increased by the public access to administrative data and the establishment of the Ombudsman (Le Mediateur). (Quermonne and Rouban 1986:397 cf Koontz & Wehrich 1990:77). France is therefore a good example of a country where administrative justice has deeply taken root. Other countries of note in that direction are Canada, Sweden, Britain and South Africa. With the increasing demands on the administrative state, it has become necessary for the executive arm of government to assume more responsibilities, sometimes leading to the rule of the executive monarch, over-regulation and the infringement of the sacred doctrine of *trias politica* (separation of powers). According to Quermonne and Rouban (1986:397), the role of parliament in the Fifth Republic was diminished, especially in its roles of policy-making and oversight. This was because of the 'presidentialisation' of the French political system which removed the locus of control from parliament to the executive for reasons which were technical and based on expediency. Quermonne and Rouban (1986:397) observed that as there was a multiplicity of institutions and a wide spectrum of public interventions, it became necessary to devise better systems of verifying the impact and methods of delivery of public programmes (Quermonne & Rouban 1986:397). In this age of a plethora of public demands against scarce resources, the public is demanding more and more the need for public managers to improve their policy-making capacities and to justify their choices. Pressure is mounting from the media and a better-informed and politically-conscious public (Quermonne & Rouban 1986:397). The policy-making process in the top hierarchy in France is described as being less analytical as it is assumed that the ruling elite are *au fait* with policy issues. It is also assumed that there are institutional and legalistic norms in the system to ensure checks and balances (Quermonne & Rouban 1986:397). With many tasks to perform, the public officials find the process of policy evaluation a tedium. The process of evaluation in France, in particular, is made dicey because of the practice of **cohabitation** or sharing of executive powers between the President and the Prime Minister who come from different political parties (Quermonne &

Rouban 1986:405). In that bicephalous scenario, Quermonne and Rouban call for more public management systems to ensure that more doses of principles of managerial efficiency and effectiveness are introduced from the private sector into the public sector (Quermonne & Rouban 1986:405). This call parallels the New Right Movement in Britain and the USA in the mid-eighties which sought to denationalise and demystify the once arcane and inscrutable public administration. Already, Public Management Science is an established discipline in many universities worldwide and it is in great demand. High doses of the rigid tools of economics and business management are being taught to public officials. In that scenario, Public Administration as a discipline has become eclectic and it is leaning much on others and borrowing from them in the process of give-and-take, as well as adopting a multidisciplinary approach to issues.

The oversight functions in the public administration can be financial, juridical, normative and administrative. For example, administrative controls can be in the form of Weberian bureaucratic reporting relationships and the elaborate procedures required before any intended action is given a green light by a supervisor or overseer. That may slow down efficiency. But then the notion of efficiency in the private sector is quite different from that in the public sector as the pitfalls in the public sector have wider implications than in the private sector. Oversight in public policy-making can also be strengthened by the process of changing existing structures and staffing them with competent officials. In this light, the situation in Zambia where the officials of independent commissions and agencies are appointed by the executive arm of government does not augur well for accountability and probity. These commissions include the Human Rights Commission (HRC), the Electoral Commission (EC), the Anti-Corruption Commission, among many others. To ensure public accountability, these commissions must be depoliticised by having the various positions taken through open competition. This is so in an era of market-based reforms which require the need to avoid avenues for self-gratification or abuse of office. In Zambia, the French example can be emulated by having Administrative Courts. Also, there is the need to strengthen the Auditor-General's Department to ensure proper husbandry of public funds. Furthermore, the public officials in Zambia need to carve a niche for themselves after the manner of the prestigious *Grand Corps* of France. Those French top public officials are highly professional. In that light, there will be less need for oversight functions as their professional associations will apply the sunshine rules and gate keeping functions to sift the chaff from the grain (cf Quermonne and Rouban 1986:404). In France, it is assumed that there is pre-audit of all actions emanating from the public administration (Quermonne and Rouban 1986:404).

It must be noted that the French *Grand Corps* (top public officials) have become a law unto themselves and are given to holding their Cabinet Ministers to ransom. This is not in consonance with the public administration tenet of deference to political authority.

The existence in France of the *Cour des Comptes* (Court of Auditors) ensures public accountability. In Britain, the equivalent is the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee which is headed by an Opposition member. Measures of accountability, feedback and evaluation are achieved through question-time in parliament and through leaks to the press by moles in the government. This is however, not acceptable in principle but it happens, especially in this globalised age of the internet where hackers can get access to classified information.

### 3.7 PARTICIPATION AND CONSULTATION IN POLICY-MAKING

While accountability in policy-making is much sought after by both theorists and practitioners, the purists will go further to require that legitimacy should be ensured through effective participation in the public policy-making process by the target groups of the perceived policy. The problematics of this approach border on impracticability and unsoundness of the idea. Public policy-making is an onerous exercise which requires only experts and those with sufficient authority to deal with.

Dion (1973:352) argues that to legitimise their rule, those who govern must make prudent use of consultations so that they stay in control as coordinators and facilitators. Consultations enable the government to test its ideas and to be able to govern with the people (Dion 1973:352). In Britain and Sweden, the cabinets used to consult with behind-the-scenes experts who are not from the public administration so that they obtain alternative views (Dion 1973:351).

In the process of globalisation, the dynamic environment changes at net speed so there is need for continuous conferencing and consultations. Dion advises policy-makers not to rely on their one mandate given to them at the last general election but that governments must act according to the dictates of the prevailing economic, social and political moods. Dion (1973:342-343) states that the process of consultation varies from one political culture to another. In some situations, public views can be gauged from the media reports, from demonstrations, public opinion polls, by-election results and from memoranda submitted by pressure groups to government. Dion (1973:343) acknowledges that modern parliaments have lost some of their power as real power lies with the policy think-tanks within and outside the public administration. In this case, parliament is a mere token or ceremonial body with powers to delegate technical functions to extra-parliamentary institutions or agencies. Dion (1973:337-338) states that consultations take many forms such as private, public, secret, personal, among others. Dion (1973:347:348) acknowledges that public officials do greatly influence the policy-making process as they have complex and devious means to manipulate policies to their own departmental, institutional and personal advantage.

### 3.7.1 POLICY AND INTEREST GROUP PARTICIPATION IN A POLARISED SOCIETY – LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA FROM SOUTH AFRICA

While public officials are viewed as implementers of policies and interpreters of policies, they are also seen in most politicised public administrations as being hand-in-glove with the political actors or politicians. This is the case where public officials' interests are best served by toeing the ruling government line in order to partake in the spoils and lucre of governance.

Pretorius (1982:2) writing prior to the 1994 transition indicated that, an attempt by the minority regime in South Africa to involve interest groups in policy-making was highlighted by the then Prime Minister's Carlton Conference Speech of 1979. P.W. Botha, the then Prime Minister, made a landmark speech which was a watershed for interest group representation in the policy-making process in South Africa. He acknowledged that government interacted with institutional representation of interest groups on an *ad hoc* basis (Pretorius 1982:2). The breakthrough came to be termed **corporatism** (Pretorius 1982:2). For example, Botha's predecessor, B.J.Vorster, felt that the prerogative of policy-making was that of the elected government and that the involvement of the private sector created problems for the ruling party (Pretorius 1982:3). Be that as it may, it is said that you do not bite the finger that feeds you. Events later proved Vorster wrong. Every economy is propped up by many interest groups, notably the business community who provide the funds for election campaigns. A case in point is the USA where the rich Jewish, Italian, Hispanic and Irish Lobbies are very powerful and influential. Vorster believed in a strict 'hands-off' or arm's-length approach to politics that was not pragmatic enough as latter events proved. To him and his ruling party, there was the politics/ business dichotomy, just as some time back, there was a similar situation between public administration and politics as well as between church and state. All these are part of the fact/value problematics which are in the real sense two aspects of the same coin. Facts and values co-exist and are inseparable. Human beings are facts but they have different values which is a fact. Without values, facts are irrelevant. Without facts, there can be no basis for having values.

The new approach of corporatism towards policy-making in South Africa, adopted from the Carlton Conference Address of 1979, was prompted by the enlightening and comprehensive findings of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions of Inquiry (see Kleyhans and Giliomee) that gave a new direction to policy-making in South Africa, by recognising the clout of the business community and the need to have an inclusive, rather than an exclusive approach to policy-making if South Africa was to have a global competitive advantage (Badenhorst *et al* 1997:passim). It was indeed a big policy about-turn and a policy of gradual disengagement in order to focus attention more on economic issues which were wrecking havoc. From this scenario, it can be seen that policy-making also depends upon the leadership style and personality of the leader involved, as well as the major players and general followership. Bad followership always makes a worse leader. Leaders are not demi-gods or titans. They are

human and they need to be guided by the followers. In this regard, the intellectuals in the universities in South Africa must be highly congratulated for offering expert advice to the then minority government to change its policy stance which was against the grain and which was heading in the eye of the maelstrom. In this light, it can safely be said that public policy-making is inter alia, dependent on inputs from the academic community. However, in Zambia, the current government has a stand-off with the academics who are demanding better conditions of service. Over the past decade, it is estimated that about 250 university dons, with a minimum of masters' degrees have emigrated for greener pastures outside Zambia. This is a big loss in terms of input to public policy-making in Zambia. When the brains of a country are creamed off, the country behaves like one of the fearful Greek gods who went about decapitating a lot of people until one bold person rebuked it by exclaiming to it that it had no head and so it had no right to chop off other people's heads. Upon hearing that, it instantly dropped dead. So it is with a country without its cream of university dons.

Public policy is always the outcome of a welter of actors and interplay of forces, both covert and overt (Pretorius 1982:3). Pretorius (1982:7) further writes that policy-making in general is affected by the nature of the constitution in existence, the nature of promulgations and permits granted, among other restrictions. Thus, where state emergency powers are invoked, it is difficult for many actors to participate in the policy-making process as the process is made exclusive, inaccessible and closed-ended for a particular purpose.

According to Salisbury (in Pretorius 1982:6), authoritative policy-making is by parliament, cabinet and top public officials. In a situation where there is a powerful ruling political party with awesome instruments of state for suppression, strong party discipline precludes outsiders from swaying policy-making or the policy outcomes (Salisbury in Pretorius 1982:7). In Africa where incumbent democratic governments often sweep the polls at general elections, public policy-making is mere rubber-stamping and in most cases, it is devoid of in-depth policy analysis. South Africa offers a shining example of a country which has established advanced institutions of policy research and which has a balanced democratic culture. It may be too early to speculate, but then there is much to learn from South Africa. Zambia must emulate South Africa in setting up viable policy institutions to back up the decision latitudes of the policy-makers.

### **3.7.2 POLICY-MAKING UNDER UNCERTAINTY WITH REFERENCE TO SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL – ASSOCIATED LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Apart from issues of legitimacy and participating in policy-making, there is also the important issue of the policy-making environment. Policy-makers may be acting under pressure from the environment or they may be reactive where a stable environment exists.

Hanekom and Sharkansky (1993:95) posit that governments under threat, uncertainty and both internal and external pressure, may not make much use of the legitimacy of popular public participation. A case in point was the pre-1994 South Africa where the minority regime faced political turmoil internally and international sanctions externally. Under such a scenario, policy-making becomes a matter of **'muddling through'** or sometimes operating by hunch. Nevertheless, even under extreme uncertainty, political leaders have their close confidants in their **'Kitchen Cabinets'** who may be official or unofficial, covert or overt.

Israel, on the other hand, presents an interesting scenario slightly different from South Africa in that Israel is fairly and relatively advanced in terms of technology, per capita income and other socio-politico-economic indicators. Israel has also a more homogenised society than South Africa (Hanekom and Sharkansky:passim). Under threat from its hostile Arab neighbours, Israel has had to cope with uncertainty in its arena of policy-making. Policy-making becomes a dogged game of probabilities, speculation and using the best intelligence to make gains in a zero-sum game of winners and losers. (cf Cournot's prisoner's dilemma in which the two prisoners are uncertain of the moves of each other and as such they play by the rules of minimising losses and maximising gains. This is similar to the black box transformation parallel or the anecdote of dancing chairs). Hanekom and Sharkansky (1993:95) posit that where the internal and external variable factors in the policy equation are many and highly volatile, it is difficult to have any kind of universal ready rule-of-thumb in guiding the crafting of policies.

According to Hanekom and Sharkansky (1993:95), policy-making itself is the activity which precedes the statement of a goal that is characterised by thought processes of actions of problem identification and diagnosis, development of problem-solving alternative solutions, comparison and selection of the optimum policy and the implementation and evaluation of the selected policy. According to Hanekom and Sharkansky, the policy of the minority regime in South Africa prior to 1994, was elitist and centrist in that it was perceived as preservation of certain philosophical imperatives, based on the ideology of exclusivity and separatism. In that scenario of political uncertainty, policy-making became one-sided (Hanekom and Sharkansky 1993:98). In the case of Israel, its profile as a homogenous political entity, encircled by hostile nations, gave leverage to the centrist policy-making tendencies of the regime (Hanekom and Sharkansky 1993:112). Zambia enjoys a relative stable political environment with little threat from its neighbours. The unresolved issues of Angola and Congo DR are worrying though. Even though Zambia is a landlocked country, unlike Israel it is not surrounded by hostile neighbours. Furthermore, the element of multiculturalism that makes policy-making dicey in South Africa is not present in Zambia. All the same, that is no cause for complacency as events in Angola, Congo DR, Sierra Leone, among others, are eye-openers to policy-makers elsewhere to be inclusive in their policies.

It is important for Zambia to pursue policies of fence-mending and good neighbourliness in the light of its geopolitical position of having to share borders

with eight countries. Internally, political stability can be achieved if the policies of the ruling elite are not made to marginalise, alienate and disenfranchise certain ethnic groups or social classes. Currently, the income gap between the rich and the poor is ever widening as reported by the economic indicators of the Zambian Central Statistics Office.

### **3.7.3 POLICY-MAKING VALUES AND NORMS**

In both periods of uncertainty and stability, policies are guided by certain held values. These social, political and economic values are the cardinal drivers of policy. Normative considerations cannot be ruled out in the scientific process as advocated for by the rational-comprehensive and positivist school of thought. Herbert Simon, in his *Administrative Behaviour* (in Subramaniam c.1980s: 232), stated that ethical or value propositions can never be reduced to factual propositions and vice versa. Hence, policy-making is seen as both a scientific exercise and also a normative value-laden exercise of prioritisation of values. The scientific aspect quantifies while the normative aspect sets the parameters for the appropriate behaviours required to achieve specific outcomes quantitatively or qualitatively. The normative aspect of policy-making is subjective, idealistic and ethical. Public values are set by the cabinet and the legislature while the public administration engages in fact-searching and value-interpretation and implementation (Subramaniam c. 1980s:233). The roles of the policy-makers and policy implementers in real life are not clear-cut as there is possibility of interchanging or interposing the roles.

### **3.7.4 POLICY-MAKING PARTICIPATION AT THE GRASSROOTS WITH ASSOCIATED LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

While norms and values predominate in the policy arena, it can also be that the values of the ruling elite may or may not have been distilled from those values held at the grassroots level. After all, the political and public administrative elite come from the grassroots and therefore their values cannot be so much different from their subjects.

According to Brynard (1996:39), there needs to be a balance between public management and popular participation if legitimacy is to be maintained. Brynard (1996:39) offers a continuum of participatory positions from one extreme of the governing body dominating its environment to the other extreme of the governing body being dominated by its environment. The first scenario is complete totalitarianism while the second scenario is one of *laissez-faire* (let things be as they are) leadership, anarchy and a free-wheeling style like a rudderless ship adrift on a tempestuous ocean. Brynard (1996:40) is of the opinion that individual citizen participation poses its logistical and practical problematics and as such a sensible compromise is the use of representative interest groups at the policy agenda level. Even in that case, it is the prominent or vociferous interest groups that get invited to the policy agenda table. Be that as it may, the ideal of citizen participation through interest groups stifles creativity which is often found in



individuals and not in groups which often act on group-think or *consensus ad idem* (meeting of the minds)(Brynard 1996:40).

Public participation is seen as the act of allowing the public to take part in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies by interest groups through established institutional channels. Brynard (1996:44) posits that the ideal of public/citizen participation in the policy-making process is to have continuous dialogue and interaction in a two-way process.

On grassroots participation, Catanese (1984:121) writes that it is assumed that planning implementation success is based on participation by the target groups. The issue of citizen participation in planning and policy-making was at the fore in the sixties in the USA when Gunnar Myrdal made known his Scandinavian model of the welfare state which the then American President, Lyndon B Johnson adopted and christened as the Great Society (Catanese 1984:123). Citizen popular participation is an ideal as it could be costly, wasteful, trying and boring. The need for secrecy and the demands of modern representative democracy make it imperative to avoid what former American Senator, Moynihan, coined as '**maximum feasible misunderstanding**' as contrasted with the perceived and vaunted concept in the Great Society model of '**maximum feasible participation**' (Catanese 1984:122). Popular citizen participation should not be allowed to degenerate into mob-rule. It must be limited, selective, organised and based on constitutional and technical imperatives.

With the arrival of the information age, citizen participation is enhanced through the myriad of avenues for airing citizen views. These include the radio, television, print media, internet, among others (Catanese 1984:143). In Zambia, the policy-makers must encourage the public to utilise these media to inform government of their views in order to realise acceptable results. They must be able to exercise their rights of voice and exit to resist capture of state scarce resources by those in power (Paul in Gloeck 1996:10)

### **3.7.5 ROLE OF INFORMATION IN POLICY-MAKING - LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Every public official is a manager of information of some sort. The policy-making arena is often inundated with a plethora of information which has to be organised and managed properly to avoid information overload. In establishing guidelines to guide the behaviour of citizens, policy-makers want to ensure conformity with and uniformity of these desired behaviours. That requires communication of the policy in a White Paper which is issued by the government as official government line or stance on a particular issue. It is often compiled by public officials. The White Paper is backed by a relevant legislation to give it teeth (Pauw 1998:vii).

According to Quade (in Theunissen 1996:10) the process of public policy-making requires the uncovering of large volumes of data and information which need processing to sift through and select the germane facts which are relevant for a

particular purpose. In that light, policy-making is dependent very much in this technological age on having timeous information at the policy arena and decision-making points. (Weissman in Theunissen 1996:10). Information of the relevant type is a valuable resource in the policy-making equation. This is because policy-making is a function of information, actors, institutions and structures, capacity of actors and institutions, culture, finance, technology and demands from both internal and external sources. Chong Yah (in Theunissen 1996:11) offers the example of Singapore where the ruling elite saw the need to liberalise information flow after the country's terrible financial market crisis in the eighties. The South East Asia financial crisis of 1997 led to countries like Malaysia asking the press to apply self-censorship and to be circumspect in their reporting as one false fact printed multiplies ignorance and reverberates around the globe in nanoseconds (Dixit 1998:41, cf. Sakyi 1998:4) In this age of gigabytes of information whizzing around the globe, it is important that policy-makers select carefully their items of information as well as taking pains to produce policies of quality which meet not only the aspirations of the domestic constituency but also the expectations of the international community. The globe has actually shrunk in size through the information revolution. Time and physical barriers are no more impediments to man's progress.

The role of germane information in policy-making is of utmost importance. It is recently reported that the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, met his cabinet and gave each one of them a copy of a book written by an economic guru, Anthony Giddens. The book is titled '**The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy**'. It is said to be a favourite economic model of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair (*Daily Mail* Monday, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2000: front page). The book postulates that unfettered free market system must be tempered with a heavy hand of state intervention in domestic policy in order to give austere economic reforms some modicum of human feeling (cf. Sakyi 1998:4). From this example, it is evident that policy-makers must be *au fait* (well versed) with new paradigms in the developmental process and they must be ferreting for correct information through overt and covert means, using official and unofficial channels. This even calls for sleuths and moles to be attached to diplomatic missions abroad to literally '**share**' knowledge for transfer and transmission to their home countries. Data is gathered, processed and converted into information before the user determines which aspect of the knowledge to use as special intelligence for interest protection or for problem-solving (Theunissen. [http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/8.3 managing % 20 intelligence.html](http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/8.3%20managing%20intelligence.html))

According to Simon (in Theunissen 1996:11), information scarcity is sometimes caused by lack of capacity of policy-makers to process and utilise the overabundance of information. Another aspect of information management in the policy-making process is that of avoiding information distortion through communication gaps and breakdowns as well as through deliberate manipulation.

In Zambia, there is talk of press freedom but in reality, the press is not all that free as the two main leading newspapers and the electronic media are owned and

controlled by the state. The press is literally a praise-singer *ad nauseum* (to boring point) of the government as news items most often concentrate on political functionaries rather than on candid and objective issues. It is a pity that governments in developing countries often view the press as an *enfant terrible* (terrible child) that must be gagged and brought to heel. Such a lop-sided press hardly helps in crafting good policies. However, the current political dispensation in Zambia is an improvement over the pre-1991 one-party totalitarian regime.

### 3.7.6 ORGANISATIONAL POWER AND CONFLICT IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS

It is often said that knowledge is power (see Francis Bacon in Marinoff 1999: 275). Control of information as a resource is a source of power within an organisation. An organisation can always have a competitive edge over its rivals if it has the right information in the right format at the right place at the right time (cf. Henry 1980:100-104) (see Wilensky in Henry 1980:95). There is however, a move away from controlling to sharing information in this IT age. All the same, the use of passwords and classified files still show that certain information should be closely guarded from falling into wrong hands.

According to Long (1949:258), those who perform public functions must gain acceptance, legitimacy and power-base through image-building and public relations. Long (1949:260) further states that victory at the polls does not yield clear-cut grant of power or a unified majority support but that the task of the president is to sort out the policy alternatives which help him or her to cling to power. Long (1949:260) further observed that during peace time, it is hard for the president to gain unanimity of action unless he or she resorts to coercion, cajoling and bribery. This scenario is based on the experience in the USA and it applies to many countries, including Zambia. In that case, the executive arm of government may steamroll their policies through parliament and they may use presidential prerogatives or emergency powers to achieve their policy objectives. That borders on Rousseau's enlightened despotism. According to Sigmund Neumann (in Long 1949:260), where traditional institutions break down, dictatorship takes over to supply the power necessary to make a system tick. Hence, the rise of situational leaders who emerge as *deus-ex-machina* (gods out of machines) to save desperate situations. Consider the rise of national leaders such as Napoleon, Stalin, Hitler, Mao Tse Tung, Churchill, General Smuts and Roosevelt, among countless others (cf. Koontz & Weihrich 1990:335)

According to Long (1949:262), Karl Marx and John Maynard Keynes at different points in time, saw the need for authoritative allocation of power and deliberate interventions to bring about certain changes to contain some nagging national problems. This may be the case where politicians find public officials putting spanners in their works and dragging their feet in implementing Government policy. They may be engaged in intra- and inter-agency rivalries. (see Wilensky in Henry 1980:95-97) (cf. Theunissen [www.iss.co.za](http://www.iss.co.za)).

Positive intervention is the rationale for authoritative policy-making. In contrast to these centralists and interventionists are the liberals and *laissez-faire* exponents such as Say, Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, Spencer and the New Right Movement of the mid-eighties. It is evident that policy-making styles vary directly with styles of leadership, differences in ideologies and the exigencies for a particular situation. Authoritative policy-making varies jointly and inversely with the health of the economy and with the political consciousness of a people, and directly with the power-distance between them and their leader (cf Hofstede 1983:42-63) The worse the economy (shrinking economy), the more authoritative the leadership. The better the economy (expanding economy), the less authoritative the policy-making process. Consider this new paradigm or postulate:

$$APM = \sqrt{\frac{10D}{(PCI) \times L}} \quad \text{where}$$

APM = authoritative policy-making index ranging from 0 to 1 where 0 means the least authoritative and 1 or more represents absolute authoritative allocation of power

PCI = per capita income of the particular economy concerned

D = represents the power-distance between the leaders and the people which is measured ranging from 1 to 10 where a lower figure means a shorter distance and a higher figure shows a longer distance between rulers and followers. This can be measured by assessing how free the press is, the number of political detainees and the degree of plurality of the society in terms of freedom of association, speech and movement. Also the income distribution skewness can be considered (cf. Hofstede 1983:42-63).

L = Literacy level of the country in terms of percentage.  
For example, a hypothetical advanced country with per capita income of 30,000 dollars and a literacy rate of 90 percent and a power-distance of 1 will achieve the following result:

$$APM = \sqrt{\frac{10 \times 10 \times 1}{30\,000 \times 9}} = 0.019$$

Another example for a hypothetical developing country with per capita income of 300 dollars, a literacy rate of 40% and a power distance of 8 will achieve the following result:

$$\text{APM} = \sqrt{\frac{10 \times 8 \times 10}{300 \times 4}} = 0.816$$

It is obvious from the postulate here that poor countries with low literacy levels and low per capita income will have high authoritative policy-making tendencies while the advanced countries with high literacy rates and greater equity in income distribution will have shorter power distance as well as have low authoritative policy-making tendencies. This is a rough-and-ready rule of thumb which is subject to empirical verification for validation. In the above hypothetical examples, the APM index for the advanced country is 0.019 or about 2% while that for the developing country is 0.816 or 82%.

1. The model can be based on Isaac Newton's model of the force of attraction between two bodies

$$F = \frac{g M_1 M_2}{d^2} \text{ (see Encyclopaedia Britannica)}$$

- Where F is the force of attraction between the two bodies
- g is a gravitational constant
- M<sub>1</sub> is the mass of one of the two bodies and M<sub>2</sub> the mass of the other
- d is the distance between the two bodies.
- This model is called the gravity model.

The model can be modified thus,

$$\text{APM} = \sqrt{\frac{10D}{\bar{y} L}}$$

Instead of APM, let us have P' so that  $(P')^2 = P$ .

In which case

$P = 10D$  where P is the

$$\frac{\bar{y} L}{\bar{y} L}$$

authoritative policy-making and D is the power distance between the ruling elite and the masses so that  $D = (M_1 - M_2)$  where M<sub>1</sub> is the elite and M<sub>2</sub> the masses.

$\bar{y}$  is per capita income of the country concerned and L represents level of literacy of the country concerned.

Matching the model to Newton's, we have

$$F = \frac{g M_1 M_2}{d^2} = \frac{10 (M_1 - M_2)}{\bar{y} L}$$

$$= \frac{10D}{\bar{y} L}$$

The formula is of utmost importance to this dissertation with regard to the educational policy-making process as the variable L, representing literacy rate, is of cardinal importance in the formula. If literacy rate is high, it shortens the power-distance between the rulers and the ruled and it increases the earning capacity of the people who become empowered socially, economically and politically to contribute to national development. Developing countries with high populations and substantial high levels of educational attainment are going to rule the world. India, China, Indonesia and Pakistan, among others, are examples. Human capital investment via education and health schemes are veritable engines for economic growth and development (cf. Sakyi: 1978: passim). African countries such as Zambia need to increase literacy levels by equipping their people with specifically targeted type of education and not general education as the case is now. Empirical evidence show that there is very high positive correlation between levels of specific educational attainment and earning capacity (Begg *et al* 1990:199 cf. *Infra* p 36). Higher levels of education also ensure self-sufficiency and reduces the dependency ratio. It also reduces the power-distance between the rulers and the ruled and as such it reduces the ability of political leaders to engage in corrupt practices by way of manipulating the people so as to continue clinging on to power.

The variable D, which is the power-distance between the ruled and the rulers is a function of factors such as the type of political ideology being practised, the type of social organisation with regard to family values or affinities such as extended family; the type of constitution; the type of political party arrangements, among others. In countries such as Japan, Sweden, United States and France, the power-distance is far shorter than in countries such as Zambia, Ghana and South Africa. This is because in the USA for instance, literacy levels are high and people are conscious and aware of their legal rights under the constitution. They also have a pluralistic society which allows them to have various avenues to exercise their rights of voice, capture and exit. Furthermore, they have well-developed local governments which allow them proper participation in local and national affairs. The significance of the variable D is to call on poor countries such as Zambia to improve their governance records by creating more political space.

Authoritative policy-making may also depend upon other variables such as the level of corruption in a system, the rate of inflation present and the nature of

social organisation, whether there are nuclear or extended family relationships. In a case where a country experiences high levels of inflation, the tendency is there to have high levels of corruption. The high levels of corruption make the citizens highly susceptible to political manipulation by the ruling elite. In that scenario, authoritative policy-making becomes less democratic and highly centralised in the hands of an oligarchy. Countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Pakistan, Cameroon, India and Zambia do face high levels of corruption because of the extended family systems, high levels of inflation and the relatively high population growth rates. In contrast, countries like Singapore, Germany, Japan, Britain, USA and Sweden do have low levels of inflation and they have nuclear types of families. Hence the level of corruption is low, thus making authoritative policy-making more democratic and diffused rather than manipulated or captured by an oligarchy. (cf. Heidenheimer *et al.* 1990: *passim*). As poverty levels escalate and inflationary levels soar high, the electorate becomes politically apathetic and more and more withdrawn from participating effectively in the political process in order to concentrate on basic issues of finding bread and butter. In that event, the political leaders have a field day making all the policies in conjunction with public officials and their kitchen advisors. This is the case in most poor developing countries such as Zambia. A way forward out of this morass is the empowerment of the masses through mass employment, mass literacy drive and both fiscal and monetary measures being taken to check hyperinflation. It also requires reducing the external debt burden so as to free resources for domestic development. Presently, the levels of unemployment in Zambia are unbearable, hence high levels of despondency, crime and other social vices.

Be that as it may, authoritative policy-making occurs at the micro-level within the organisation or the institution where inter-and intra-organisational power struggles are fought. Dyson (1976:131-151) draws attention to the fact that within the organisation, both internal and external interest groups do influence policy outcomes. He writes that within professional bodies, there are two schools of thought such as the outwardly-minded cosmopolitans and the inward-looking localites (Dyson 1976:139). At the national level, the same classification can be made of political leaders who consider themselves as statesmen who are tuned to global consensus on the one hand, and those leaders whose attention is held by domestic concerns on the other. Dyson (1976:134) further alludes to the fact that in the policy arena, there are two groups of policy advisors. One group is the elitist advisors who hold on to values which ensure stability, order, predictability and efficiency (the gradualists or conservative rationalists) and the other group is made up of the humanists who embrace concepts of the liberals and socialists such as self-actualisation, effective participation and social ownership of social overhead capital. In the policy-making process, a milieu of paradigms co-exist. David Easton in his book, *A System Analysis of Political Life* (1955:21), states that politics (policy-making) is the allocation of values in the process of social interaction. In this light, Zambian policy-makers should consider measures to increase the levels of social interaction by observing the rules of law and democratic tenets in the policy-making process.

### 3.7.7 ORIGINS OF POLICY-MAKING AND POLICY ANALYSIS IN GERMANY – LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA

In Germany, policy analysis has long been institutionalised. According to Meltsner (in Wollmann 1989:233), policy analysis is governmentally-sponsored work to collect and produce information and knowledge for the use of policy-making and public administration. Wollmann (1989:233) in his analysis of policy, concentrates on the central/federal government levels from the empirical, historical and comparative perspectives. He identifies four factors as having given rise to the need in Germany for the creation of policy analysis institutions. In the first place, the information needs of the government increased as public demands increased and the environment became more complex. The rise of the interventionist welfare state meant a need for a lot of valid information for policy-making and planning purposes. In the second place, the traditions and mores of the classical German public administration required them to be efficient and *au fait* with administrative matters. Thirdly, the need for policy analysis stemmed from the regime shifts which occurred at different points in time. For example, in 1919, the Weimar Republic toppled the Kaiser Reich and ruled until 1933 when it was itself toppled by the Nazis who ruled from 1933 to 1945. The Nazis were replaced at the end of the Second World War in 1945 by the conservative and right-of-centre Federal Government of the Christian Democrats led by Konrad Adenauer, who ruled from 1949 to 1969 (Wollmann 1989:233). From 1969 to 1982, a left-of-centre coalition of the Social Democrats was led to power by Willy Brandt and from 1983 to 1997, Helmut Kohl once again led the Christian Democrats back to power (Wollmann 1989:234). Apart from these regime shifts, the existence in Germany of many social scientists was also a contributory factor for calling for the creation of policy analysis institutions. Nevin Johnson (in Wollmann 1989:234) states that the modern professionalised civil service/public administration is a German invention. These were the offshoots of the **cameralism** of the Prussian State of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and also they emerged from Max Weber's idea of bureaucracy. Prussia in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century was a mercantilist state that delegated the affairs of state from the ruling aristocrats to officials employed from the middle classes. Prussia was an administered state as the monarch reigned but did not rule (Wollmann 1989:234). The interventionist state was called the *Polizeystaat* or 'police state,' as affairs of public administration were organised on the basis of law, order and justice (Heidenheimer Maier & Beyme in Wollmann 1989:234). In contrast with Germany, public administration in Britain during the mercantilist period of Adam Smith's Britain of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was one that was spearheaded by an entrepreneurial and bourgeoisie class of respected gentlemen who were commissioned or chartered to provide public services on behalf of the absolutists and monarchs. In contrast, the public administration in Germany was an instrument and creature of the monarchy or the many princely rulers who delegated their authority to the public officials (Wollmann 1989:234).



The German princes required the public officials to generate sufficient knowledge for policy-making and to develop the requisite professional skills needed to deliver, promote and protect public services for prosperity, posterity and in the public interest. To that end, the universities in Germany were charged with developing the policy sciences (*Kameralwissenschaften or Staatswissenschaft*) which was to include germane knowledge for effective public administration. Subjects considered appropriate on the courses for prospective public officials were statistics, economics, botany, chemistry, experimental physics and technology (Wollmann 1989:235 cf Prussian Instruction of 1808). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Prussia of Otto Von Bismarck, the mercantile era came to a close with its place taken by the industrial capitalist era which reduced the status of the German Federal state from one of interventionist to one of a regulatory body ensuring law and order (Wollmann 1989:233). A shift from the absolutist-mercantilist state to the capitalist state in the 19<sup>th</sup> century made *Kameralwissenschaft* defunct and moribund and its place was taken by a legal approach to administration known as *juristenmonopol*. The public official was to be above social and political partisan interests in order to administer the law by being neutral, professionalised and anonymous. He or she was to be seen and not heard as he or she worked behind the scenes and presumably, working as a surrogate of an unseen mystical state or supremo. They were to maintain a faceless, nondescript and impartial public administration/bureaucracy.

In effect, the public official was above partisanship of any kind (*Ueberpartlichkeit and Gemeinwohl*-Wollmann: 1989:235). Thus the early German public officials had legal training to assist them solve problems. That was a reactive and not a proactive approach. It was suitable for the stable environment of the time under Max Weber's form of bureaucracy. However, with time, increasing demands on the legally-trained public official became so great that in the 1860s, Bismarck's Reich established advisory councils (*Beiräte*) to give policy analysis support to the legal-minded classical public officials. The advisory councils were made up of academics from the universities and representatives from interest groups (Wollmann 1989:236). Thus the public officials were able to draw on outside sources to cope with the rapid changes brought about by industrialisation and urbanisation. From Bismarck's time, many federal policy analysis institutes sprang up, among them were the *Statistisches Reichsamt and Institut Fuer Weltwirtschaft* (Institute of World Economics at Kiel).

In Germany, the shift from the classical public official to the politically-minded public official led to the restructuring of the training content of public administration courses. After the shift, public officials in Germany were trained in subjects like economics, demography, public administration, sociology and psychology. (Wollmann 1989:250). In 1977, there were more than 350 advisory bodies in Germany with over 4000 members attached to federal ministries and agencies. In the mid-sixties, the Social Democrats called for more policy analysis, the introduction of management principles in public administration, and the introduction of neo-Keynesian economics, among others (Wollmann

1989:241). The German experience suggests that developing countries such as Zambia should consider setting up policy think-tanks to collect data for analysis and to research issues for policy-making. Advisors in the government departments should be brought up to date with modernised methods of policy analysis, using advanced statistical data processing techniques such as econometric models and linear programming. Further more, the German example informs developing countries to have continuity in their public policies despite regime shifts.

### **3.7.8 HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Having had a look at the origins of policy analysis in Germany, it is pertinent to take a look at the contrasting origins and styles of public administration in Britain, France and the United States of America.

Public administration as a praxis is involved with the practical aspects of carrying out the programmes and policies of government in an efficacious manner. Public administration focuses on the management aspect of government policies and as such, public administration as a practice is common to all forms of government as it deals with the execution, implementation, governance and evaluation aspects of governance. Public administration is therefore a profession with its own body of science and nuances of practice in the form of an art (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol.15 1975 pp 183-187).

#### **3.7.8.1 CONTINENTAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

France and Germany offer the archetype of classical public administration. The German experience has already been narrated and will not be repeated here.

In France, the continental approach is seen as having a core of officials who are a select group from the ruling classes. Public administration as a profession in France and Germany was influenced by the 1648 Westphalian notion of a nation-state that evolved in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The concept of the Westphalian nation-state led to the growth and centralisation of power and responsibility in the monarchy. In Prussia and Austria, for example, a corps of public officials developed under the cameralism system by which public officials were made trustees and guardians/administrators of the estates of their patrons, the princely rulers of the Laenders and principalities. The public administration became highly centralised and paternalistic with a lot of patronage from the rulers who decided the rules behind the scenes. While in Germany public officials were schooled in disciplines such as law, public finance, police science, agriculture and economics, their counterparts in France were to be *au fait* with technical and engineering sciences. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol. 15 1975 pp 183-187).

The advent of the codification of laws and the creeping in of the ideas of *laissez-faire* and respect of individual rights, among others, changed the praxis and theory of public administration, especially in France. The impact of the French

physiocrats and philosophers was great in shaping the outlook of public administration. Among the French philosophers were people like Diderot, J.J.Rousseau, Montesquieu, Say and de Tocqueville. Both in France and Germany, public officials were expected to be exceptionally loyal to the mystical state and to be proficient in their jobs. Their acts were to be beyond reproach and hence their need to be professional and to have the best possible education. Their actions were to be circumspect and to be guided by normative considerations such as integrity, diligence, impartiality, deference to superior political authority, reasonableness, fairness, legitimacy and administrative rectitude, among others. No wonder, in Germany, the emphasis was initially on legal training until the sixties when the success of the American model of policy analysis led to changes in the training of German public officials (**Encyclopaedia Britannica :1975 Vol. 15 pp.183-187**).

The early notion of public administration was based on the fact that regimes could change as often as possible but the state and its apparatus should remain unchanged for exigencies of permanence, stability and continuity. For unity of direction in the public administration, a corps of permanent public officials was developed in France and Germany.

If developing countries adopted the continental approach of a core of professionalised public officials, it would reduce the high level of corruption and the frequent political instability characterised by military interventions. It would also create a respected middle class of public officials. Zambia could gain from such a system as there would be checks and balances on the politicians.

### **3.7.8.2 PRACTICE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN BRITAIN**

The approaches to public administration in Britain and the USA followed different paths from the ones on the continent of Europe.

In Britain, public administration was initially chartered to appointed gentry from the mercantile and entrepreneurial classes who were well-educated and with repute in the public eye. Hence, trading companies such as the West Indian Company, for example, held charters and commissions to administer the affairs in the colonies such as India. Reform of the public service in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the public officials in Britain being drawn from a larger field from the middle classes, business and mercantile classes in the cities (**Encyclopaedia Britannica:ibid**).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, entry to the British civil service was made on merit through stiff public examinations for university graduates, mostly drawn from Oxford and Cambridge and from those with first class qualifications in the humanities and classics. The British did not consider specific professional qualifications such as law, technology or medicine in the selection of public officials. Unlike France or Germany, the British adopted a generalist approach as they felt that policy advisors should have a broad base and should administer by hunch, muddling

through and through discovery, creativity and maturity on the job. They did not want stereotypes as they felt that top public officials who needed expert advice could always do so by consulting the specialists.(Encyclopaedia Britannica :ibid).

The rationale of the British was to obtain non-partisan and non-narrow generalists who will not be bogged down by ideological commitments, professional ethics and stereotypes who could not manoeuvre in the murky waters of the political arena. (cf. Altshuler in Faludi 1988:206)

In 1968, the Fulton Committee of Inquiry recommended that the British Civil Service should broaden its recruitment base to include people from all walks of life and to streamline the various classes in the hierarchy to promote competition, efficiency, equity and social mobility. (Encyclopaedia Britannica: ibid).

In time, the practice of British public administration was exported to the former British colonies, now called the Commonwealth countries such as South Africa, Zambia, India, Canada, Ghana, Australia, Nigeria, New Zealand, Kenya, Malaysia, Zimbabwe, West Indies, among others.(Encyclopaedia Britannica: ibid).

In the case of South Africa, its public administration has been greatly influenced by practices in Germany, France, USA, Britain and India. The public administration in South Africa has been eclectic by borrowing the best from all over. This reflects the diversity and multiculturalism of the South African society and its history of tripartite legislature under apartheid.

### 3.7.8.3 PRACTICE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Since the USA has a written constitution and a federal system of political configuration, its own public administration became distinct from those of Britain and the classical continental models of France and Germany.

The concept of *trias politica* (separation of powers) greatly underpinned the practice of public administration in the USA. Unlike France or Germany, the USA followed Britain in adopting the view of political neutrality of public officials by enacting the Civil Service Act of 1883 (Santos 1969:214). That was followed later by the Hatch Act of 1940 which debarred public officials from covertly or overtly taking part in partisan politics (Santos 1969:215). Those structures had to be put in place to counteract the growing concern over the evils introduced by the 'rotation' and 'spoils' systems of President Andrew Jackson in 1860, whereby on his assumption of office, he retired all top public officials and replaced them with pro-government appointees. That led to the politicisation of the public administration and at the same time a bureaucratisation of the political policy-making processes. In 1949, Paul H.Appleby in his book, **Policy and Administration**, raised the delicate issue of the politics-administration dichotomy and he concluded that public administration is policy-making and hence political (in Santos 1969:214). Political and practical expediency show the notion of the

political neutrality of public officials as a fallacy of composition. Aristotle of old Greece said long ago that everyman is a *politikos bios* or political animal. Even within public administration structures, there are internal organisational politics among the various positional holders for control of influence, resources and power. The French adopt a practical and sensible approach to the issue by adopting an open-door policy to allow their top-officials to engage in political campaigns if they so wish (Santos 1969:217). However, the *trias politica* doctrine in the USA calls for strict separation of authorities/ powers. In practical terms, the three arms of governance cannot operate in discrete and watertight compartments as they are interdependent and complementary. Be that as it may, the USA approach to public administration offered many new directions in making the practice professionally recognised and to have it elevated into a distinct corpus of science taught at the universities. Recruitment to the public administration was done to cover graduates from all walks of life, especially for those who had analytical abilities.(Wollmann 1989: passim, cf.Encyclopaedia Britannica 1975 vol 15 pp183-187). It is observed that the work of the public administrator in policy-making is made easier in the United States than in Europe because political parties in the USA tend to be more pragmatic than their counterparts in Europe who are more ideological (Santos 1969: 220). In fact, it is the practice, research and theory of public administration in the United States which have immensely lifted the image of public officials worldwide. In the area of policy analysis for policy-making, America gave the world a lead in using advanced methods of statistical, mathematical and social research techniques in the decision-making processes and hence improving the quality of policy outcomes. Zambia's Third Republic ushered in multi-party democracy in 1991. Since then, there has been a marked drift towards the "spoils" system. The history of public administration in the USA should serve as a lesson to avoid repeating the mistakes of history such as the 1950s relentless MaCarthyism in the USA public administration. Furthermore, public officials should endeavour to be pragmatic like their USA counterparts in analysing public policies instead of blindly implementing directives which do not safeguard the public interest. The judiciary and legislative arms of government should assist public officials in their work of protecting public interest.

### **3.8 SOME APPROACHES AND ATTITUDES TO POLICY-MAKING BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS**

In this section, some theoretical approaches to policy-making are examined in outline forms, especially in their broad classification into prescriptive and descriptive policy approaches. An attempt is made to bring into focus Lindblom's incrementalism and Etzioni's mixed scanning paradigms. These models of policy are of significance to this study. Earlier on in this study, other models were evaluated. These included the group model, the institutional model, the rational-comprehensive model and partially the systems model (*supra* 3.5).

### 3.8.1 THE INCREMENTAL APPROACH

In Britain, public officials in the British Civil Service follow a gradualist, incremental and middle-of-the-road approach in order to strike a balance between the ultra-leftists and the conservative rightists. This is to ensure that a permanent public interest is safeguarded against the transient gains sought by an incumbent ruling political party. A public official's thinking on current policies is influenced by his or her knowledge of the incremental steps taken in the past ( Lindblom in Faludi 1988:168). The official will list all previous policy steps and also the current policy values and then weigh all of them for their administrative, political, social and economic values. According to Lindblom (in Faludi 1988:151), the rational-comprehensive approach is formidable and not realistic. At best, the limitation of human capacity may force officials to settle for just-good-enough or 'satisficing' or bounded rationality as advocated for by Herbert Simon (1958:4 cf. Henry 1980:106-107). Lindblom (in Faludi:1988:151) asserts that public officials rarely optimise values in that they try to focus and save time and resources by trying to follow precedents and slight policy shifts so as to stay with tradition and to be in control by not stepping on toes or touching sacred cows in the political spectrum. Thus, small incremental steps, taken at a time will cause the least rocking and fewer ripples in the policy arena and help to save the neck of the official and at the same time appease all the political contenders (cf. Dye 1975:31-33 Henry 1980: 303-305).

This requires subtlety, diplomacy and administrative cunning. By their training, public officials do go for policies which are legally correct, politically feasible and convincing to their own conscience and exposure (Lindblom in Faludi 1988:153). To justify their policy options, they may add a dash of analytical techniques such as operations research to add credence to their policy options or to scientifically back up their policy choices. They also do use advanced policy techniques to narrow down the variables. Lindblom (in Faludi 1988:154) states that modelling is not possible in all situations, especially in difficult areas such as foreign policy. Thus public officials may settle for **successive limited comparisons** at a time. He proposes the branch and root approaches. The root approach is the rational-comprehensive approach which is more technical, tedious and theoretical while the branch approach is less technical, more practical and easy to apply as it is based on successive limited comparisons. The root method is based on the means and ends nexus while the branch approach sees ends of successive limited comparisons. It is more appealing to public officials as it avoids long-winding theories and endless consultations with outside experts. Also, public officials are forced to make policies on the basis of relevance and realism. In that scenario, public officials are forced to adopt those policy options which differ incrementally from the existing ones and avoid those options which will lead to complete departures from existing ones. In mature political cultures such as found in the USA, Britain and France, most of the political parties in the political spectrum all agree on the ends of state policies but they differ

incrementally on the means or policy options for effectuating or realising those ends (Lindblom in Faludi: 1988:161-162).

In Zambia, the political parties are in their formative and embryonic stages so they tend to have divergent political goals. It is hoped that sooner rather than later, they will stabilise to have clear-cut political identities so that they can give clear vision to the public officials who guide them in the policy-making process.

### **3.8.2 MIXED SCANNING**

While the incremental approach can be identified more with the British system, Amitai Etzioni's mixed scanning approach is typical of the American approach to issues which focuses on critical analysis. This is not unconnected to the influence of the classical scientific management school led by people like F.W Taylor, Gantt, Gilbreth, Urwick, among others. The rise of capitalism in America in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century led to entrepreneurs and shareholders looking more closely at productivity and efficiency measurements to ensure fair returns on their investments. The efficiency movement in industry came to rub on on public administration.

Etzioni in his article, **Mixed Scanning (1967) – A Third Approach to decision-making (in Faludi 1988:229)**, put forward the idea that the rational-comprehensive method assumes that the public official has control over events whereas the incremental method assumed a passive posture of the environment dictating its will on the public official. Etzioni ventured to offer a third approach that could combine the best in the two approaches. Etzioni (in Faludi 1988:217) criticized the rational approach as too utopian and the incremental approach as conservative. His proposed third approach was the mixed scanning approach. Etzioni observed that a consensus of opinion is easy to achieve in a period of crisis but difficult to achieve in a heterogenous society in a developing country such as South Africa (in Faludi 1988:228). Etzioni observed that in societies with higher internal locus of control, they have greater capacity to do environmental scanning to know thier weaknesses as well as spot out external opportunities and threats. Mixed scanning is based on the concept of using micro and macro scanning to arrive at valid conclusions. Etzioni wrote that the mixed scanning procedure would involve a detailed close-range analysis of trouble spots as well as truncated view of the general atmosphere, thus isolating the trouble spots for detailed analysis (in Faludi 1988:224). In the mixed scanning approach, both the rational-comprehensive and incremental methods are applied in combination.

### **3.9 POLICY-MAKING AS BEING PROMETHEUS**

According to Hall and Quinn (1983:9) 'public policy involves the use by a regime of its resources to intervene into the accustomed behaviour of some of its citizens to produce more or less of that behaviour'.

The Greek story of Prometheus is told to show how higher authorities can intervene in the affairs of subordinates positively or negatively.

Prometheus was one of the Titans in Greek mythology. The king of the gods was Zeus whose wife was Hera Monetera and all the gods had their abode on Mount Olympus (Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia VIII pp 22-37 cf. Greek Classics 1939:47/230). Prometheus was known variously as the supreme trickster, god of fire and accomplished craftsman. His name, Prometheus, means '**fore thinking**'. He is therefore associated with intellectual activity or planning. The legends ascribed to Prometheus are attributed to the Greek poet called Hesoid. According to Hesoid's legend, Zeus, the chief god, was tricked by Prometheus to accept a sacrifice of bones and fat instead of the choicest meat and as such Zeus sought to punish him. Meanwhile, Zeus had hid the knowledge of fire from men but Prometheus stole it from Mount Olympus and brought it to earth to teach man how to use fire to do many things. In that event, he proved himself as a mentor, protector, facilitator and patron of mankind. As punishment to mankind and to Prometheus, Zeus created a woman called Pandora and gave her a covered jar (*vial*) to take to earth. Prometheus' brother, Epimetheus (meaning hindsight), saw the fair lady and fell in love with her, despite warnings from Prometheus. In no time, Pandora became neglected, distraught and restless. Due to lack of attention from Epimetheus, Pandora decided to open the jar to examine its contents. In the process, a lot of evils escaped into the world. These included diseases, hardwork, hatred and all vices. Zeus punished Prometheus by having him chained to a rock and sending an eagle to be pecking at his immortal liver. Prometheus was finally unbound by a Greek hero called Heracles (Hercules) who had been commissioned to accomplish some near-impossible tasks-hence the name herculean task (Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia Vol VIII pp 22-37).

The story of the Pandora vial or box is akin to a Ghanaian Akan mythology of the wise Kweku Ananse (spider) who tied all the wisdom of the world in a gourd (a container from the hollowed-out remains of a fruit) and decided to send it up a tree for safe-keeping. In the process of climbing the tree, the gourd fell and broke with the wisdom scattering to every nook and cranny of the world, hence wisdom not being the exclusive preserve of any particular race or tribe or social class.

The Prometheus mythology has parallels in the Bible in the accounts of Adam and Eve and that of Lot and his wife. These stories may be interpreted that while males think ahead and are idealistic and future-oriented, females on the other hand tend to be pragmatic and concerned with short-term solutions. Nature has its own way of achieving gender balance by creating equipollent forces. Be that as it may, fables are fables though they spice the harsh realities of life (cf. See Oscar Wilde's *A Florentine Tragedy*; *infra* List of Sources).

In an Akan mythology in Ghana, a story is told of a young king who, on immediate ascension to the throne, banished all old men from his kingdom. The next thing he did was to command his younger subjects to use their bare hands to hunt and catch a leopard. After many fatalities, the leopard was finally caught and brought to the



king who asked that he should be wrapped up in its skin to show his prominence as 'king of kings' (*negus negusta*). When the event of enskinning him was over, the subjects sought to remove the leopard skin but it would not peel off. They tried all avenues but to no avail. Secretly, one of the young men went to the exiled old men for consultations. He came back with one old man who took some herbs and rubbed them in his palms and put them in a basin of water. He asked the king to be immersed in it. Within minutes, the skin peeled off. The king saw his mistake and he made a royal edict to bring back the elders as his permanent policy advisors.

This story informs those at the governance level to respect the wisdom of experienced people and to incorporate them in their deliberations and policy councils. This is why the Queen of Britain has a Privy Council, the French have the *Conseil d'Etat* (Council of State), *Cour d'Compte* (Court of Auditors) and the Le Mediateur (Ombudsman) (Quermone and Rouban 1986:404). In the USA, there is the National Advisory Council, the National Security Council and the Foreign Relations Council (Porter 1980:245). There are other presidential advisory councils for trade, commerce, energy, education, labour, finance and all other areas. However, in a poor country such as Zambia, it will be very expensive to set up many of these councils. Besides, the calibre of people required to fill such vacancies may not be as high as required. Apart from that, each country has its own style of operation, according to its constitution and political culture. There is, however, no harm in adopting and adapting foreign systems that work. Mendeville (in Gunn 1969:320) in writing about the achievements of some societies, made the view that worldly greatness could be built on the vices of rulers and the unhappiness of others. That Michaelvillian view is too extreme and harsh for modern-day rulers to adopt. Mendeville (in Gunn 1969:xi) opined that the achievement of worldly greatness by rulers was the justification for the *arcana imperii* (divine rights) of kings or rulers to intervene.

### 3.10 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION RESEARCH – LESSONS FROM BRITAIN FOR ZAMBIA

Policy implementation research investigates the structures and processes in existence and by which policy objectives are put into practice (Fitz *et al.* 1994:53).

According to Fitz *et al.* (1994:54) policy implementation research became prominent in the 1960s in the United States when Federal funded programmes failed to deliver the goods. Sabatier (in Fitz *et al.* 1994:54) conducted research into top-down policies to ascertain why they failed at the execution stage. His results revealed that existence of a long hierarchical structure created room for policy attrition, resistance and manipulation between the policy formulators on the one hand and the policy implementers on the other hand (Sabatier and Mazimanian in Fitz *et al.* 1994:54)

The policy community was found to consist of different veto points, decision points and linkages in the hierarchical network. Sabatier (in Fitz *et al. ibid*)

concluded that top-down policy-making views policy as the preserve of the top hierarchy or the central authority. In the same study, Sabatier examined bottom-up policy-making approach and he concluded that the implementers of policy in that approach are the local governments and the grassroots non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who deal directly with the policy target groups. In another research, Hull and Hjern (in Fitz *et al* 1994:55) state that top-down policy-makers are authoritative and they view their actions as legitimate, authoritative and exclusive, hence their behaviour of excluding non-legitimate actors from outside the three arms of government. Such behaviour is unfortunate as political appointees and public officials are in office at the behest of the public and they must live up to their calling and to the needs of the electorate and they must listen to them continuously through constant and on-going dialogue. Hull and Hjern (in Fitz *et al* 1994:55) contend that the aim of restricting policy research to legitimate policy-makers is to determine those who populate that policy arena, their goals and resources and their modes of operation. That approach of determining the policy-making community was aimed at finding out the levels of interaction of those in the community with outsiders in the policy-making process. However, the approach was flawed as it viewed policy-making as a discrete activity instead of a synergistic activity. Porter (1980:243) states that centralised or top-down management of policy widens the gap between policy formulation and policy implementation as well as the gulf between the President (US) and his executive officials. Porter (*ibid*) suggests that to achieve true representation at the policy-making arena, it is necessary to decentralise and decongest highly centralised political systems.

Sabatier (in Fitz *et al* 1994:56) suggests that bottom-up policy implementation research is difficult in that it may mean an attempt to use the periphery actors to frustrate the central actors. Moreover, it leads to too much attention being focused on the minnows at the expense of the big fishes at the centre and also to the neglect of past policies and participants. Furthermore, a bottom-up research, according to Sabatier, tends to neglect legal, economic and social variables in the equation. Sabatier concludes that in similar democratic and capitalist environments, the winners and losers of policy implementation are the same set or class of people. Fitz *et al* (1994:57) suggest that policy implementation research should turn away from the linear pattern of analysis and focus more attention on the authority relationships among the various levels of governance.

### **3.10.1 OUTCOMES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION RESEARCH IN BRITAIN - A CASE STUDY FOR ZAMBIA**

Raals and others (in Fitz *et al* 1994:57) conducted research on the quality of education in Britain following the implementation of the Grant Maintained (GM) school policy. Their research involved a combination of interviews, action-research, participant observation, among other research methods. Their research covered both policy-makers, policy implementers and recipients or target groups (in Fitz *et al* 1994:57). Ozge (in Fitz *et al* 1994:57) advises that in analysing policy, it is better to locate policy sites in a wider social context so as to include

those powerful interests who are outside the policy arena and yet exert great influence on policy outcomes. These external power bases include the churches and NGOs. Ozge reveals that through their research interviews, they were able to observe a discerning pattern of a network of interacting actors. Ozge advises policy researchers to get into the policy process. Fitz *et al* (1994:58) state that it is actually difficult to draw the thin line of departure between policy formulation and policy implementation since the whole process is a continuum and a processional whole which cannot easily be desegregated.

In 1979, the Assisted Places Scheme in Education was embodied in legislation after rounds of negotiations among the stakeholders from both the public and private sphere (Fitz *et al* 1994:58). Ball and Bowe (in Fitz *et al* 1994:59) state that the policy process is complex and that it forms a cycle ranging from legislation, documentation and to implementation at the school by teachers. They note further that micro-political processes also take place at the grassroots level where practitioners on the ground recontextualise intended and actual policy outcomes. While central authorities want to impose limitations on schools, the practitioners on the ground also reciprocate by imposing their own limitations at the implementation stage (Ball and Bowe in Fitz *et al* 1994:60). A two-way process takes place whereby the policy crafted at the centre and disseminated to the periphery is adopted and adapted at the periphery by the practitioners who want to achieve a balance. Thus, policy-making and implementation become a creative process rather than a passive exercise of blindly carrying out instructions without rationalising them. The practitioners meaningfully interpret the policies (Fitz *et al* 1994:60).

In England, a study of the National Curriculum implementation suggested that the periphery had the power to reinterpret and frustrate policies from the centre, especially under the Grant Maintained (GM) system. Fitz *et al* (1994:60) suggest that successive governments try to drive their policies from the centre by flexing their financial muscle in withholding grants and resources from the unwilling implementers at the periphery. Resources are then channelled and directed to only centrally-defined initiatives at the periphery. For example, the Conservative/Tory government took steps to demobilise centres of influence by redefining the composition of governing bodies, empowering parents and taking the control of schools from the local governments or the Local Educational Authorities (LEAs)(Bowe and Ball in Fitz *et al* 1994:60). Thus it was that the 1988 Education Reform Act was about restructuring institutions of learning and delineating their fields of operation and reconstituting the policy community (Fitz *et al* 1994:60). It is clear from this British example that policy-makers make policies on how to strategise the maximum implementation and execution of their ultimate policies. Thus, there arises a situation of having a policy within policy. It is evident that the process of policy-making is creative as it leads to change management and total transformation of existing structures and institutions. Through the implementation of change, policy-actors seek to minimise resistance to policy changes and to seek to forstall implementation resistance by instituting

sanctions or providing incentives to newly-created institutions (Fitz *et al* (1994:61))

The Grant Maintained educational system in the eighties in Britain was considered to be an example of policy in motion. The system was aimed at enticing the secondary schools under the local governments to opt out and join the new scheme (Fitz *et al* 1994:61). The GM system was part of the New Right Movement to privatise schools and reduce central government portfolio and the tax burden.

According to Fitz *et al* (1994:61), the idea of setting up the GM schools was to encourage them to leave the Local Educational Authorities (LEAs) and it was due to '**policy loop**' linking the politicians and the public officials. Fitz *et al* (1994:61) contend that every policy has its political and public administration moments in the policy arena. These moments can be viewed in the Bourdieu and Wacquant fields, defined as comprising **positions** (parties, satellite agencies, the legislature, the executive, among others); **procedures** which are specific to each field; by **actors** who are endowed with particular habituses; by **struggles** or **competitions** for control over contrasting forms of **symbolic violence** and **coercive norms**. They also have their **symbolic capital**. It is further stated that the fields are consolidated by the logics employed by the actors in defining their objects, values and sustaining or promoting them (Fitz et al 1994:61). In truth, the GM (Grant Maintained) schools' scheme had the official approval and stamp of the public officials in Britain.

The GM scheme lends clear evidence to the fact that after being in close cooperation for long in the policy arena, the cohabitation of the politicians and the public officials leads to their developing common bonds which seek to promote their mutual interests. This may border on a conspiracy for spoliation. After all, they must know where their bread is buttered, regardless of the idealistic norms of running the gauntlet in the public interest. In this age of economic optimisation via the omnipresent globalisation process, politicians and public officials may be tempted to feather their nests to build economic empires through sophisticated networks so as to facilitate their wheeling and dealing. The *chaebol* or cronyism in South Korea is a case in point (Sakyi 1998:4). The reality of practical affinities cannot be lost on the policy-making process. In South Africa, for example, there is the *Broederbond* or solidarity among the Afrikaans-speaking people just as the Blacks have their *Amandla*. In such scenarios, parochial views create divides and crags in the social fabric and these can be papered over by adopting policy analysis methods or dialogue in the spirit of *ubuntu* (dialogue) or *insaka* (dialogue). (cf.Clapper 1996:42).

It is no secret that the public administration is engaged directly or indirectly in politics via the policy-making process (Santos 1969 *passim*). The degree of involvement, however, depends on variables such as the political dispensation in place and economic realities. Public officials will be unrealistic to remain pedestrian in the political process. If they are to be part and parcel of the

globalisation and development processes, they must not remain political eunuchs nor remain apolitical. They must enter the political domain as standard-bearers to effect changes and to use their strategic positions to intervene like Prometheus did on behalf of his proteges, mankind. They must use their foresight and hindsight to plan ahead and to assist in delivering the goods to the public. They must act like the Greek god, Janus, to integrate the past with the present. This is the challenge facing the public officials in Zambia who have become pawns to political vicissitudes. They have emerged from being acquiescent officials under a totalitarian one-party regime to being highly politicised officials in the era of 'political rhetoric and tribalised politics. The future direction of Zambia does not so much depend on the opportunistic politicians but rather on the time-tested public officials. The politicians in Zambia are suffering from the Oedipus Rex complex in that they are calling for reforms in the public administration yet they are the very ones the Delphi Oracle divines to be the culprits. While the politicians are suffering from political myopia and unbridled self enrichment, the public administration is suffering from the hangovers of the outmoded classical norms of yester-years. Practitioners should not think that ignorance is bliss and that theorising is for academics only. Governance is a proactive process and a joint effort between politicians and public officials. The politicians determine the course and the captains of public administration steer the ship on the course pointing out the obstacles and opportunities on the way.

### **3.11 CASE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OUTCOMES IN THE UNITED STATES**

Chubb (in Colander 1994:325) contends that Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores for American students dropped sharply from 1960 to the 1980s, necessitating the national report dubbed, *A Nation At Risk*. According to Chubb, the drop-out rate in the USA is 25% for high school students who do not finish school on time due, especially for those in the urban areas. Chubb (in Colander 1994:325) observed that the global SAT scores in mathematics and science indicated that US students fell last on the performance league when compared with the competitors of the USA. (cf. Carson & Murphey 1992:232)

In Chubb's speech, it was stated that from 1981 to 1986, expenditure per head for secondary and elementary school students went up 40% at all state levels. Teachers' salaries also improved relatively well to US\$29,000 per annum. In addition, there were programmes put in place to test teachers and to improve their competencies.

The study which was undertaken in the USA on the educational reforms of the 1980s involved a sample of 500 random high schools nationwide, involving 12,000 teachers and 12,000 students. The tests were conducted twice at different periods during the time students were in school and the time they completed school. The tests covered achievements in areas such as mathematics, science, reading, writing and vocabulary. The findings revealed a lot of insight into educational policy reforms. The tests revealed that educational achievements are

based on aptitude and that bright students tended to learn more in high school. The findings also indicated that achievement correlated highly with the type of school attended. It was revealed that the type of school attended was more significant on achievement than parental influence (Chubb in Colander 1994:326). The research also established the fact that the high-achievers or high-flyer high schools were those that had internal locus of control and did not have to follow bureaucratic controls often found in large administrative bureaucracies. The research also indicated that where state or external overseers established rules to govern accountability in the schools via a regime of rules, keeping records, conducting tests, among others, the school authorities often did not have leeway to be innovative or autonomous and such schools which were under remote control, tended to fare badly on the achievement league table (Chubb in Colander 1994:327). Chubb asserts that accountability that worked efficiently in the successful schools was that which was not top-down but rather horizontal and lateral and which was owed to parents and students and not to politicians or public officials. Thus, a lesson for Zambia via this research finding is to involve local communities more in the running of the schools as it is done in the USA, Sweden and most advanced countries. Chubb (in Colander 1994:326) also revealed that accountability in schools cannot be achieved much via regulations or high spending levels but through providing choice and competition. Chubb calls for open enrolment in schools and creating magnet schools through market mechanism of competition and openness. Chubb (in Colander 1994:326) calls for avoiding large bureaucratic organisations which often create apathy, inefficiencies and slowness of response to local needs. The research finding also revealed that the successful and good schools had good leaders of vision who had considerable autonomy over resources and recruitment policy of teachers and who were team-builders.

The unsuccessful schools were those which were part of huge organisations or bureaucracies with large numbers of employees. This confirms Schumacher's maxim that 'small is beautiful.' (in Evans 1990:222)

Chubb (in Colander 1994:327) also indicated that educational reformers tend to focus their attention on variables such as teachers' salaries, educational expenditures, amount of homework given, school policy, among others. The research came out with the finding that these variables may be important but then other variables were more significant than these in determining achievement in the schools. These were people-centred management in the schools, local autonomy, small bureaucracies and good leadership.

Chubb observed that since 1950, educational expenditure per student in the USA had increased four fold yet academic results had comparatively been bad in the USA. This observation contrasts sharply with the situation in Zambia where the declining per capita expenditure on education has correlated highly with the drop-out rate and low achievement in examinations. This contrast reflects the social, political, economic and technological contrasts between the USA and a developing country such as Zambia (Chubb in Colander 1994:328). The bottom

line in this case study is that to achieve good results in schools, they have to be decentralised, made small and manageable and answerable to local communities. They must be delinked from long chains of bureaucracy (cf. Peters & Waterman 1982:passim cf. ACCA 1998:399). They need to be focused, people-centred and driven by internal locus of control.

**Table 3.11**

<b>Years of education</b>	<b>Earning per annum (\$)</b>
Less than 8 yrs education	13,319
8 yrs of education	17,169
Less than 4 yrs high school	19,162
High school completion	26,528
Less than 4 yrs college	30,665
4 yrs college	40,724
5 or more years	46,656

(Source: US Bureau of Census in Gordon & Dawson 1987:402)

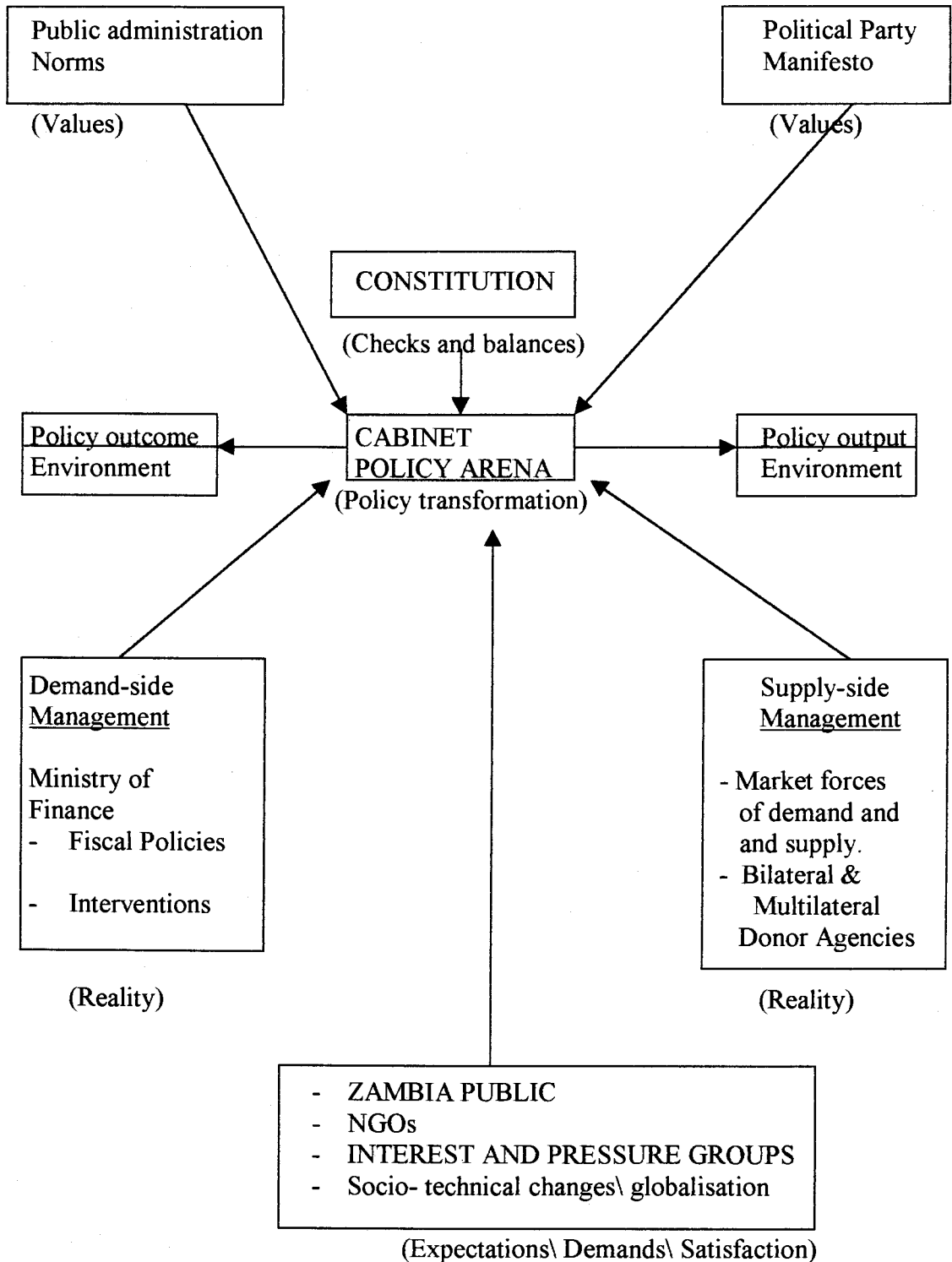
### **3.12 POLICY-MAKING MODELS IN ZAMBIA**

Under the totalitarian regime in Zambia from 1972 to 1991, the policy-making process in Zambia was in a monotonic direction from the top to the bottom. The then ruling political party, United National Independence Party (UNIP) had a monopoly in deciding all policy issues via their declared ideology of *humanism*, a variant of African socialism. (see Zambia in Brief 1981:2). In 1991, multi-party democracy returned to Zambia and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) came to power. Under pressure from the international community, they adopted and embraced pro-capitalist ideology of pluralism, market-centred economic policies, among others. Despite the rhetoric of practising open government and representative democracy, performance to date has revealed that the old tendencies of centralism are still prevalent in Zambia. There have been a spate of criticisms from the press and opposition political parties, who on different occasions, have boycotted calls from the government to enter into *insaka* (dialogue) in order to address some national issues and to map out common policies. In the real sense, the public policy-making process in Zambia has been one of policy of exclusion, manipulation and imposition. Many a time, leading members of the government have either resigned or publicly criticised the government for its dictatorial tendencies. For example, the current educational policy embodied in the document *Educating our Future(1996)*, was arrived at without consulting the teachers on the ground. Neither were there national surveys to receive opinions from the public. The document was produced by handpicked public officials, university dons and some consultants from the donor community.

Perhaps one can conjecture that the parlous state of the Zambian economy may be responsible for not carrying out national surveys to solicit for public opinion.

**FIGURE 3.12.1**

**PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING ENVIRONMENT IN ZAMBIA**

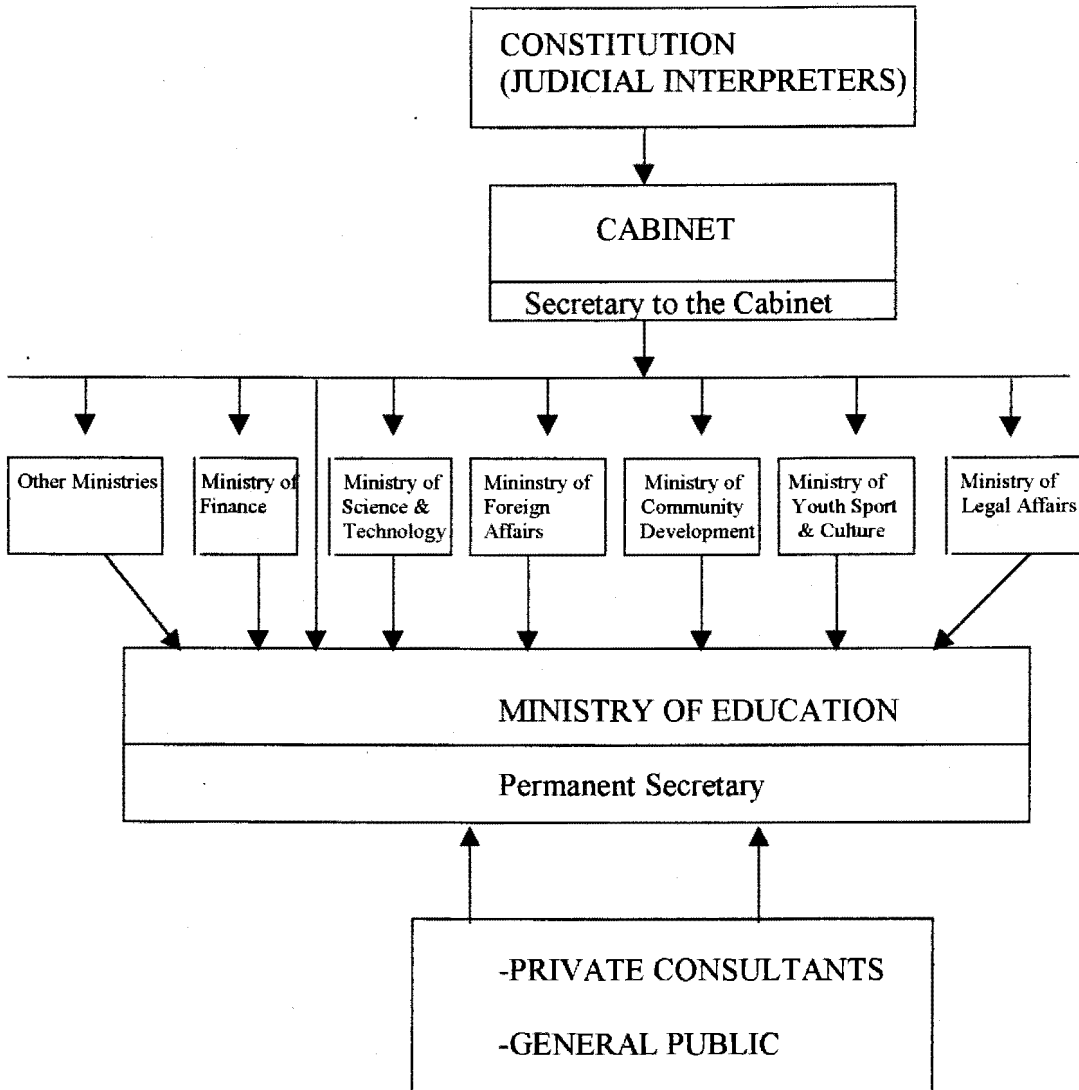




(Source: adapted from the systems model in Koontz & Wehrich 1990:30/216 cf. Hall & Quinn 1983:281-297).

**FIGURE 3.12.2**

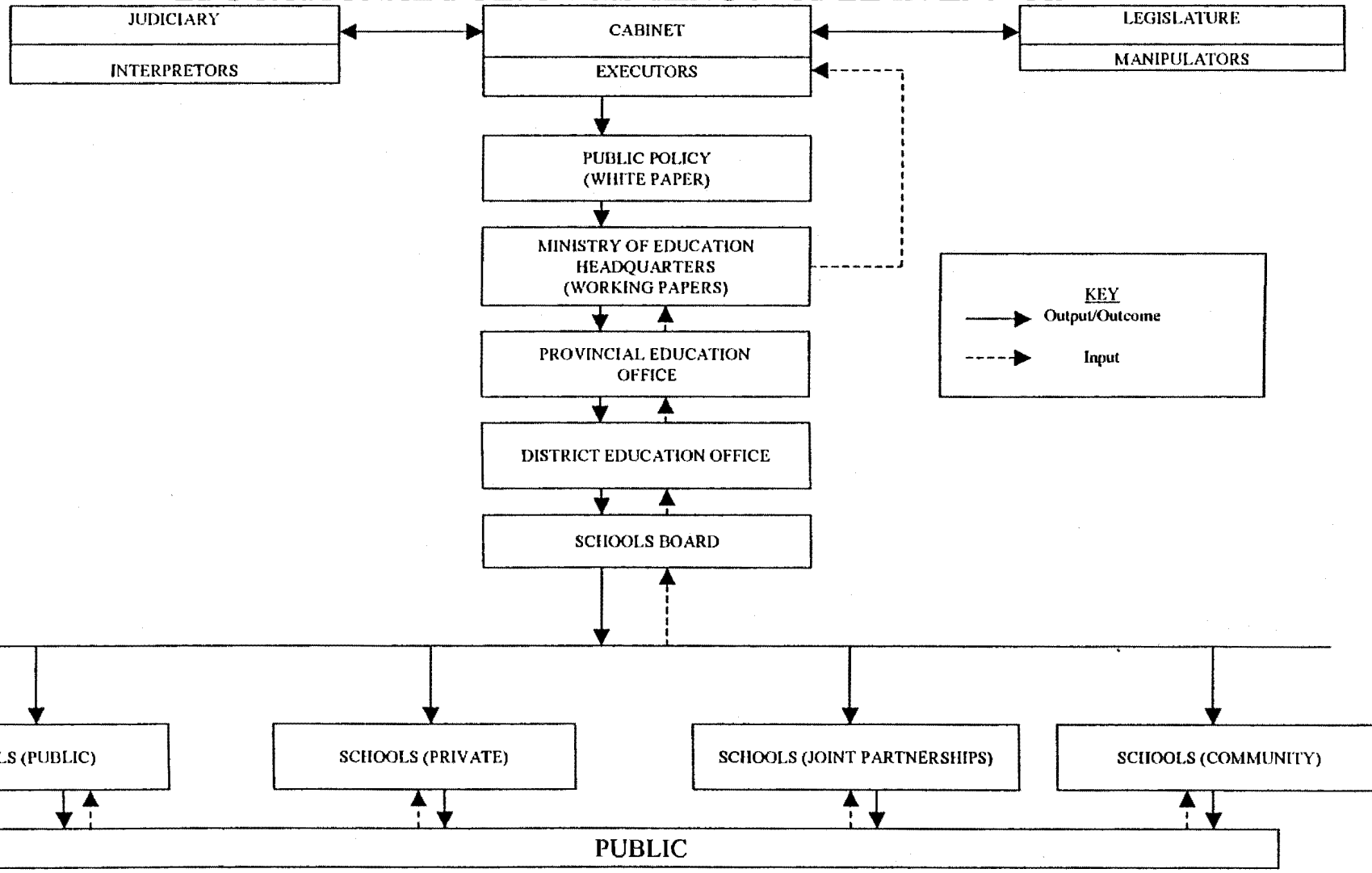
**LINKAGES AMONG EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING COMMUNITY**



(Source: Adapted from ideas of Rainey & Milward in Hall & Quinn 1983:133-146).

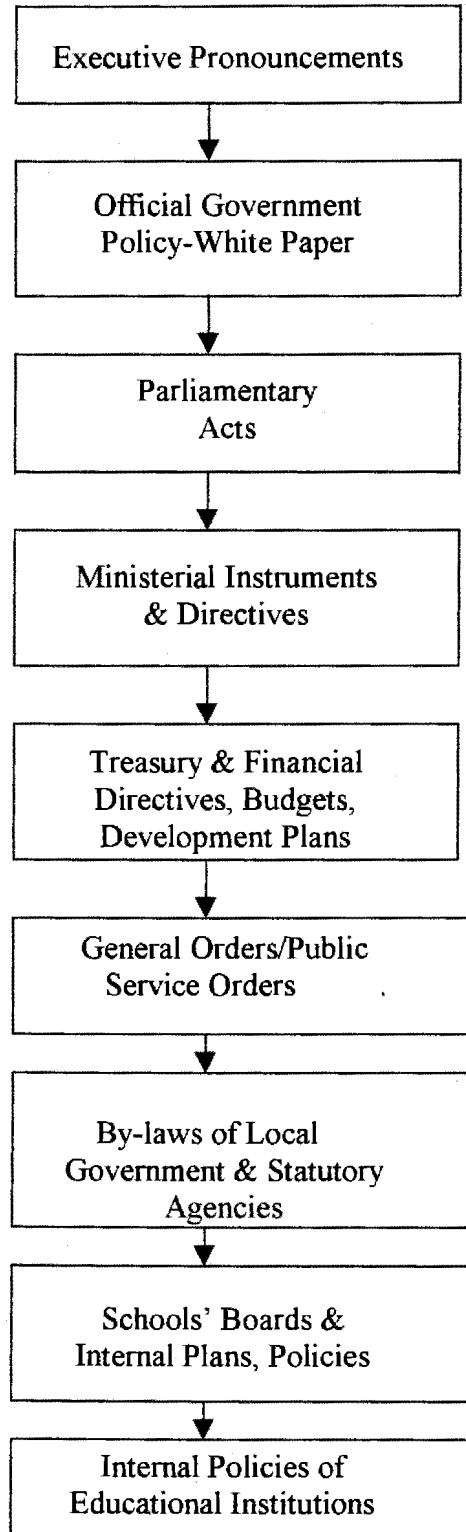
**FIGURE 3.12.3**

**EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING MODEL IN ZAMBIA**



(Source: Adapted from the Institutional model in Henry 1980:302 cf. Koontz & Wehrich 1990:51)

**FIGURE 3.12.4**  
**POLICY HIERARCHY IN ZAMBIA**



(Source: Adapted from ideas of Koontz & Weihrich 1990:51)

The preceding organograms are presented as policy-making models in Zambia. They are based on theoretical concepts adapted from subject fields such as Political Science, Management Science and Public Administration. In Figure 3.12.1, the policy environment in Zambia is seen to be influenced by the existing republican constitution as well as the manifesto of the ruling MMD. The formulation and implementation stages are influenced by values of the public officials as well as those of the politicians. Other policy inputs into the conversion or transformation process come from the economic environment, mainly the economic forces of demand and supply acting from within and without. These are the objective realities which set the limits to policy-making. If the economic base is weak, policies tend to become symbolic and unrealisable. From the public come demands and need satisfaction.

Figure 3.12.2 is the epitome of the policy cycle (cf. Hambleton 1985:6). Working papers from public officials in the Ministry of Education Headquarters are forwarded to the Cabinet through the Minister. After careful study and analysis, the Cabinet issues a White Paper which is announced by the Minister as official government policy on a particular issue. The White Paper is widely disseminated through the bureaucratic channels to all the relevant stakeholders until it filters down to the grassroots level at the schools.

In Figure 3.12.3, it is clear that the Ministry of Education has linkages with other line ministries. As such, the policy working papers which are presented to parliament and the cabinet are arrived at through wide inter-ministerial consultations. However, the level of consultations may depend upon the personality of the minister and the organisational culture of the ministry. The coordination is done by the permanent secretaries who head the public administration in each line ministry. Apart from consulting other line ministries, the Ministry of Education also consults private consultants who are contracted out to carry out some research. Informal meetings with the public also lend some inputs to the policy-making process.

The policy hierarchy in Zambia is like the hierarchy in any other country. In figure 3.12.4 it begins with executive pronouncements, promulgations, edicts and proclamations from the throne or orders-in-council or from the head of state who may be a ceremonial head or an effective head. The headship can be bicephalous or monocephalous, depending on whether a presidential or parliamentary system is in place. Apart from these executive acts or pronouncements, policy is contained in White Papers and parliamentary acts. Other policies are contained in ministerial directives. Policies are also contained in the various financial regulations, codes of conduct and numerous official guidelines as contained in plans, budgets and government gazettes.

Governmental agencies such as boards, local governments and departments also issue by-laws which serve as policy guidelines. Schools' Boards make policies to govern the schools under their ambit. Within the school, the school officials also make internal policies within the broad external policies. All these policies need

monitoring, controlling, evaluation and harmonisation to achieve an organic whole.

### **3.13 POLICY SUCCESSION AND TERMINATION**

Having had a look at some innovative policy models in education in Zambia, it is appropriate to look at policy termination as part of policy implementation and discontinuity. Bernhardt (1992:124) is of the opinion that the suspension of a policy is a drastic and extreme measure only taken in extraordinary circumstances. However, Hogwood & Gunn (1984:241) contend that policy termination becomes necessary due to adverse evaluation report or due to reduction of budget. Complete termination of policy is rare as in most cases, existing policies are either amended, modified or replaced with alternate policies.

According to Hogwood & Gunn (1984:253-257), goal change through organisational development may bring about policy succession or termination. Changes in resource base as well as changes in demand for a particular policy may also lead to policy succession. The policies of an organisation may be forced to be changed through external pressures. An organisation does not exist in isolation as it has to survive, grow and remain competitive by being proactive and adaptive to its external environment. If an organisation is not adaptive to its environment, it behaves like the phenomenon of the boiled frog or the unchanging Greek Temple (cf. see various management science sources on theories of change). According to Kurt Lewin (quoted in Koontz & Weihrich 1990:283), the field force theory suggests that within organisations, there are opposing forces of change and those supporting change. The change agent, preferably a catalyst from outside, must initiate change by unfreezing the current situation and then move the whole organisation forward to a desirable position before refreezing the new position to consolidate it.

Policy termination and succession should be regarded as natural consequences of the policy cycle as every policy has its time and purpose as it cannot remain permanent (De Leon quoted in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:255).

In Ghana, for example, the introduction of a new educational policy for junior and senior secondary schools in 1991 to replace the traditional British ordinary and advanced level-based education has brought a lot of resistance and resentment from within and without government. The newly-introduced junior secondary school (JSS) and senior secondary school (SSS) programmes have led to mass failures of students and as such, many are unable to proceed to higher institutions. Furthermore, the new programmes are not recognised outside the country for accreditation. Worse still, the government has put a ban on private institutions which conduct ordinary level and advanced level external examinations. (Anum: 1999 August – Interview, Lusaka).

Be that as it may, the Ghanaian experience suggests that people have entrenched interests in organisations as they require stability and permanence. Hence, policy

succession or change is seen as a threat to those interests (Hogwood & Gunn 1984:254). Policies may be terminated if their underlying premises are no more valid or legitimate (Hogwood & Gunn 1984:243). Programmes under a particular regime may be terminated and replaced, leading to partial policy termination or succession. Thus regime shifts automatically bring about policy shifts. In the case of Ghana, there have been at least five regime shifts since independence in 1957 (see Ayee *infra* chapter 6: *passim*)

In most cases of policy change, the contents of a policy-mix may be varied from time to time to suit particular segments of the client market. The basic policy document may be retained but its mix of programmes may be changed to match with the needs and changing scenario in the client market.

Bardach and DeLeon (quoted in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:247) give details of the factors which hinder policy termination. They consider that policy termination is made difficult because intellectually, people have vested professional, emotional and intellectual interests which make people reluctant to see the death of a policy designed initially to either solve problems or protect interests. Furthermore, politicians are unwilling to terminate their policies because they lack political incentives to do so. They may hurt the feelings of and jeopardise the support of valuable allies or constituents. There is also an in-built belief in organisations that organisations are permanent and as such, anything that threatens the very essence of their being is unwelcome.

Organisations therefore have the tendency to protect the very policies on which they subsist for their livelihood and also their attachment to the body politic. Within organisations, there is interest protection, organisational politics and the formation of dominant coalitions with extensive external and internal networks. These anti-termination groups and coalitions have extensive external and internal networks. These anti-termination groups can block the termination of policies which are germane to their entrenched interests. There are also legal restraints through the due process of the law which debar government agencies from acting in ways that threaten the freedoms, privileges and livelihoods of individuals and corporate bodies. In fighting anti-termination, the government has to muster considerable resources to do so at high start-up costs (DeLeon in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:247).

In some cases, there may not be suitable alternatives to replace existing policies. Furthermore, the consequences of termination of policies may be too monumental and adverse. People could lose their jobs or their business through displacement. A short-cut solution of terminating policy can create a long-term problem with more damaging consequences than maintaining the *status quo ante*.

Bardach & DeLeon (quoted in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:247) suggest that policy termination may not succeed even if the order for termination is issued because those to implement the order may delay or exploit the loopholes in the termination process. DeLeon is of the opinion that the political context be critically attended

to. He also suggests that the time horizon for the termination should be considered in terms of it being either gradual or immediate. Termination arrangements should be preceded by transitional arrangements to ease adverse distributional impacts on clients and staff (see Behn 1978:407-8).

Termination of policy can also be effected by *delegitimation* of the underlying assumptions of a policy (see Behn 1978:399-400 quoted in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:250). Policy termination can be successful if money saved in the exercise is allowed to be retained by the agencies which have had to abort their policies (see Biller 1976:144-5 quoted in Hogwood & Gunn 1984:249).

It can be observed that policy succession and policy termination are two different but interrelated concepts. There are instances where certain policies die from stillbirth as they remain in name and not in deed. These could be found in cases where either the policies are made for political expediency or for cosmetic reasons. In other cases, policy stillbirth comes about when envisaged resources to activate the policies are unavailable. Still more, the changes in government which are frequent in developing countries mean that new and incoming governments tend to abandon and desert some of the policies of their predecessors in order to stamp their authority or to swing the political pendulum to the other extreme to placate their supporters. There is no middle-road or overlapping area of common interest. This is as disastrous as it is expensive. It sends the clock of progress backwards.

In Zambia, the arrival of the present ruling party, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) on the political scene in 1991, led to many changes to the educational, trade and health policies of the previous socialist regime.

The economy has been liberalised and state-subsidised services have been discontinued. Analysts see this as a way to reduce government expenditure and to create avenues for the emergence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class. It is also meant to offload some public sector commitments to engender competition and efficiency. Be that as it may, and sadly enough, poverty levels have escalated so much so that the crime level has also risen astronomically. Many workers in parastatals have been retrenched without compensation. The commanding heights of the Zambian economy have been literally hijacked and captured by foreign entrepreneurs, mostly Asians who have the capital and business acumen.

There are many indigenous Zambians who are very critical of the new policies on health and education as these policies have become contingency-based. The perceived improvement in public service delivery still remains a pipedream. What with the many social, economic, political and global constraints.

### 3.14 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The chapter looked at the origins of the policy-making process and its manifestation from the classical continental approach to the British approach and on to the approach in the United States. The classical continental public administration in France and Germany was based upon the idea of bureaucracy, law and order and efficiency. The French approach, for example, was based on training technocrats while the German system laid emphasis on precision in interpreting the law. The British took a generalist approach, taking the line that public officials should be skilled in the classics, languages and the arts. In the United States, the approach was premised on the idea of having good grounding in the policy sciences or policy analysis. To that end, public officials in the United States were drawn from the social sciences and emphasis was laid on those with analytical skills. That approach soon began to grow and to cause faculties of Public Administration to be established in the universities.

It was also made clear in the disquisition that the type of political structure in existence in a particular country influenced the norms and practices in their public administration. For example, the 'spoils' or 'rotation' system influenced public administration in the USA while 'administration by hunch' or 'muddling through' or by the 'middle-of-the-road' approach took sway in Britain. In France, the policies of cohabitation, ministerial cabinets, administrative courts and deference to the Grand Corps, among many other variables, did influence their own style of public administration. It was made clear that despite general trends of public administration in all countries, peculiar nuances can be found in all countries and these have something to do with style, history, geography, technology and the constitutional provisos.

It has been shown that technological developments in information management have had great impact on the policy-making process. Public officials as well as politicians are now able to access large volumes of information which improve their policy-making latitude. However, to avoid information overload, they must be selective in the type of information to use and they must know how to convert data into information for effective use. South Africa, in the past, offered an example of a polarised society where policy-making was made under a climate of uncertainty. Israel also offered an example of an encircled state having had to make policies under extreme uncertainty. In both countries, policy-making was made under secrecy and by an exclusive body who monopolised authority. It was evident also that in any organisation, be it a nation or business enterprise, it is evident that interest projection and promotion will lead to divides and cleavages, causing tensions and struggles. Practical realities make it impossible to involve everybody in the policy-making process. This problem can be solved by increasing access to education and to the modern methods of communication such as telephones, televisions, computers, among others. Participation can also be improved through having respect for human rights and the process of democratisation, deregulation, plural politics, among others.



Britain offered an example of educational policy implementation in the Grant Maintained School System. It was evident that public policy-makers use their financial muscle to twist the arms of those who resist policy. The top policy-makers also create incentives, new institutions and new structures so as to ensure the success of policy implementation.

In chapter 4, the process of policy-making will be taken a step further by having a look at time-dimensional and institutional policy-making processes. The various policy models enunciated by the experts will also be examined with a view to evolving new paradigms in the quest for the *episteme* (knowledge).

# CHAPTER 4

## SPATIAL AND TIME-BASED MODELS OF GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 is an attempt to build a theoretical basis for analysing the subject of this dissertation. In Chapter 3, it was shown that the policy-making process is quite involving and requires analysis of various facets of the process. Some of the theoretical facets to be discussed in Chapter 4 will include the systems, institutional, incremental and the regression models. These models have been adapted from existing models in order to fit them into this particular enquiry. The models themselves have been simplified enough to give pictorial impressions as panoramic views of the spatial and time dimensions of various policies relating to education at the second cycle level. As models are explanatory, predictive and simplification of reality, it is hoped that valid conclusions can be drawn at the end of this enquiry by contextualising the models. Attempts will be made to place education in Zambia within the models.

### 4.2 RATIONALE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS AND MODELS

This research work is based on the hypothesis that inadequate educational policy analysis is the cause of the run-down educational system in Zambia, particularly in secondary school education. Policy-making is seen as a process of determining values, understandings and guidelines that will guide the means in attaining ends or objectives. Policies are statements, which serve as standards for guiding the conduct of public officials while means refer to plans for achieving objectives. Policies are made by politicians while planning is a technical exercise of laying down means of achieving objectives using the policy statements as normative guides for determining the conduct required to implement the means towards the ends (Koontz & Weihrich 1990:88, Appleby 1994:95). Policies set limits or boundaries within which conduct will be allowed (Musaazi 1982:125)

Building on the works of Dye (1975) on factors that affect policy making and the works of Jolly (1969) and Correa (1975), this chapter will postulate an educational model, which is slightly modified.

According to Musaazi (1982:127), educational planning is undertaken to bring about some specific changes in educational service delivery. The outcomes of these planned changes, Musaazi asserts, should be measurable quantitatively.

Musaazi (1982:130-140) states that the approaches to educational planning can be in three forms, namely, the social demand approach, the manpower approach and the cost-benefit analysis approach.

#### 4.2.1 SOCIAL DEMAND APPROACH

The social demand approach is whereby parents and pupils, to a large extent, determine the type of education they will like to have, based on their own value preferences. For example, an elite family with proud family tree connections to the professions like law, medicine, engineering, accountancy and career diplomacy, may want the type of education that can perpetuate those family traditions. This, according to Musaazi, is a traditional approach to educational planning which was characteristic of the 1960s and which was at the time, determined by political considerations as well as by market demand (Musaazi 1982:131-132). In the process, no regard was paid to the quality of education nor to the affordability and the overall developmental needs of the country.

The social demand approach tended to overestimate popular demand and to pay scant attention to cost (Musaazi 1982:133). However, it must be realised that the social demand approach is currently in line with concepts of democratisation, liberalisation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 (section 3) which states, 'parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.' In the light of this, it is imperative for governments to diversify educational service delivery by decentralising it and inviting partnership from the private sector in order to engender competition, efficiency, and effectiveness and also to give the consumer a wider choice. By decentralising and deregulating education, it brings about the law of subsidiarity which states that service provision must be decentralised such that it is closest to the point of need (Wessels 1997:34). Public schools notwithstanding, must continue to play significant roles by being provided at strategic central locations and at considerably subsidised cost to assist the underprivileged groups. Education, as a service, must be seen as a merit good whose consumption is based on need and whose provision is *non sponte acta* (not a spontaneous action) (Wessels 1997:147). Education is a promotional service as well as a prosperity service that enables its possessor to promote his or her quality of life. Education has positive externalities such as contributing to Gross Domestic Product via research outputs and providing a highly adaptable and innovative labour force. (Wessels 1997:124).

Education, in some respect, is a protective service as it helps to preserve our health, protect state security, the environment and our intellectual property. Education is like a net that catches all types of fish because it has wide social ramifications.

#### 4.2.2 MANPOWER REQUIREMENT APPROACH

The manpower requirement approach to education planning is based on future manpower needs. Projections are made by planners of future manpower needs and they take into consideration future economic trends. This approach has centralist tendencies and it smacks of a controlled system. Planners are often divorced from public officials, as they tend to have different premises and goals (Musaazi 1982:128). Planning premises may be faulty as the future is indeterminate and also projections into the distant future may be inaccurate, as the

labour market is volatile. The global business cycle is a function of many forces, some of which are yet to be isolated. That notwithstanding, there is rather need for planners and public officials to co-ordinate their efforts by forcing healthy professional relationships so as to make realistic educational forecasts.

Musaazi (1982:134) asserts that the use of the manpower planning method led to over production of graduates in the seventies and eighties in countries such as Nigeria, Malawi, and Ghana among others. The high levels of unemployment in these countries and the extent of the brain-drain of professionals from those countries attest to the fact that the manpower planning method had failed to match supply with demand. Under normal circumstances, planning is an exercise of using the best available intelligence to make forecasts in order to minimise future uncertainties and to establish close fits between supply and demand. The existence of large reservoirs of the 'educated unemployed' was a sign of manpower planning failure in one sense. Musaazi asserts that the planning exercise in those countries tended to be monopolised by an elite group who used the exercise to feather their political nests. This assertion was true to some extent as the politicians wanted to deliver on their pledges at any cost and they also wanted to show that they were better and different from their predecessors, the colonial masters. In another sense, the politicians felt that massive education was a way to catch up fast with the advanced world. In their estimation, they were wrong in going for general education and not customised education, which was needed to satisfy particular segments of the labour market. That was the point of departure between them and South-East Asia elite. Planning per se is a tedious and expensive exercise. However, planlessness is anti-Prometheus and reactive. A failed plan is better than no plan because failure is a royal road to success in the long run.

#### **4.2.3 COST BENEFIT APPROACH**

The third approach to educational planning is the cost-benefit approach, which is very popular in economics for assessing the worth of new investment (Musaazi 1982:137-140). This approach has serious drawbacks in the sense that it is very difficult to quantify the return on investment in human capital as education has spillover and multiplier effects, which can hardly be quantified. It requires imputing money costs to positive and negative externalities in the form of marginal social costs and marginal social benefits so as to obtain socially optimal outputs of educational service delivery. However, the consideration of Pareto optimality forces planners to weigh their alternative actions. Knowledge of the imputed social costs and benefits of any venture puts planners on their guard so that they do not leap headlong into the dark. This is the essence of investment appraisal and planning logic.

#### **4.3 STATISTICAL MODELLING IN EDUCATION**

According to Hector Correa's model (quoted in Musaazi 1982:127), the index of success of educational planning can be stated as

$$I = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{(A_i - P_i)^2}{P_i} 10^6$$

- Where I stands for the index of success of the educational planning process
- $A_i$  shows the achieved growth rate in a planned sector e.g. primary, secondary, tertiary sectors
- $P_i$  is the planned rate of growth of a particular sector
- $i$  runs from 1 to 'n' where 'n' is number of planned sectors

If a perfect match between  $A_i$  and  $P_i$  exists, I goes to zero, meaning absolute success. This model as it stands, is no more than finding the average of the sum of squared deviations from the planned growth. It is not far from finding the variance of a statistical distribution, which measures the variability. It is difficult to encapsulate in Correa's model all the gains achieved in a particular educational sector as a result of implementation of a deliberate planning process. Quantitative measures cannot be absolute indicators of a policy failure or success. This is because policy analysis itself is both prescriptive and descriptive at the same time. Values are not subject to quantitative valuation. In the light of this research, an alternative model will be offered, based on linear multiple regression and multiple correlation analysis.

A model is presented as:-

$$Y_t = f(X_1 + X_2 + \dots + X_n) + Y_{t-12}$$

- Where  $Y_t$  is taken as the dependent variable which stands for percentage pass rate in any particular year of the Grade 12 final examination assessed from 1964 to 1998. It is a proxy for policy outputs and outcomes.  $Y_{t-12}$  is the Grade 12 examination result twelve years ago. This is to say that the current year result  $Y_t$ , is affected by its lagged counterpart twelve years ago when the cycle began and that particular result informed policy makers on the need to take measures whose results would be manifest twelve years to come. Thus Grade 12 results are based on the incremental model.
- $X_1$  represents the state of the economy as measured by expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of total government expenditure at constant GDP prices.
- $X_2$  represents the calibre of personnel available in schools and the department of education to be measured by the percentage of university graduates to the entire staff.
- $X_3$  is the number of internal laws made and international conventions signed by the state in a particular year pertaining to education.
- $X_4$  represents the level of technology available to the country in a given year measured by using a proxy such as the number of computers per population or number of science graduates per population in a given year.

X<sub>5</sub> represents the ideological inclination of the government whether socialist or free market inclined. Dummy variables of 1 and 0 could be used.

X<sub>6</sub> represents the demographic characteristics of the population such as the rate of population growth

X<sub>7</sub> represents the per capita income at constant dollar prices.

In general, the model would be an input-output model just like the ones used in the United States by people like Leontiff, Solow, Schultz and Abrahamovich. The model would consist of seven independent variables and thirty-five equations. Eight beta estimates would have to be calculated in order to arrive at a linearised equation which could be used for prediction. The beta coefficients could be assessed for their levels of significance.

It must be noted that mathematical or statistical models are a means to an end but not an end in themselves as in all cases, there are some unknown and inexplicable variables which incorporate intangibles such as values. However, the model proposed here will benefit theorists and practitioners alike in the field of public policy making for them to note the significance of the variables proposed in the model. For example, at international fora, developing countries are being advised to devote at least 3 per cent of their GDP to education or approximately about 20 per cent of government expenditure. The model can be used to examine, for example, the relationship at any point in time between say the year and the per capita income or say the rate of population growth. As policy making is not done in a vacuum, this model underscores the need for policy makers to pay attention to the variables in the model as empirical evidence in advanced countries such as Germany, USA, Japan, among others shows that the basis of their stupendous economic growth lies in the fact that their policy makers have long paid attention to those variables.

The model, which is proposed here, is also beneficial and has great potential as it incorporates both exogenous and endogenous variables to reflect the impact of the globalisation process. For example, the incorporation in the model of the impact of international conventions or the use of information technology reflects how universal the model can be. The model is also universal in the sense that it examines the impact of the type of ideology practised in a country and its impact on education. In sum, the model proposed here incorporates economic, social, political, technological and legal components. Among the seven independent variables proposed, the fifth one, X<sub>5</sub>, may prove difficult to isolate as it would be difficult to put all the countries in the world into two straightjackets of socialist and non-socialist countries. This is because political dispensations come in different shades and combinations. However a criteria can be drawn up whereby two-factor classification can be made.

In general, the model could be stated as

$$Y_t = X_1 + X_2 + X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_6 + X_7 + Y_{t-12}$$

Similar work on input - output analysis has been done before by people such as Schultz, Solow, Leontiff, among others in the United States.

Since time and space in a dissertation of limited scope do not allow for detailed analysis, the model is presented here as food for thought. Instead of a vigorous analysis, a descriptive analysis of available data will be used. However, the model postulated here will serve as a paradigmatic leap in the field of education planning.

#### 4.4 EDUCATION TRIANGLE MODELS

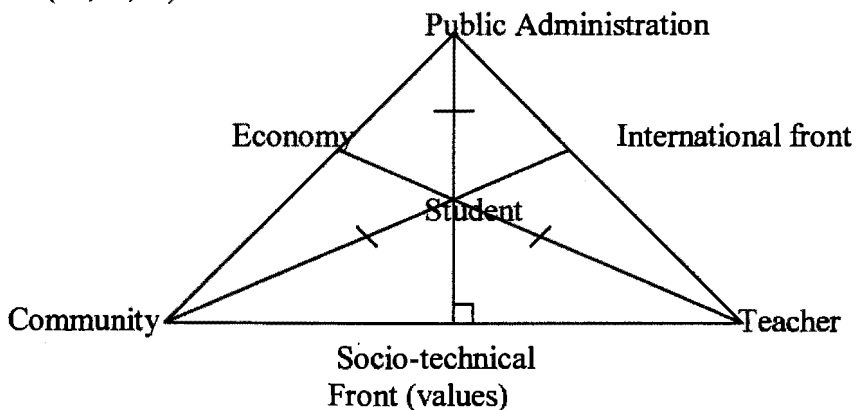
Statistical models are hardly in use in public administration as the field of study lives on and not by statistics. This being the case, mental constructs or organograms are ideal and preferred. Organograms portray logical reasoning and they illustrate order, consistency, flows and sequences. They are at the same time dynamic, static and rational. They are amenable to change and modification whenever occasion demands without losing much of their earlier logic.

Rainey and Milward (quoted in Hall and Quinn (1983:140) state that public service systems are subsystems of supersystems because of extensive networks and principal-agency relationships. These networks are referred to as iron triangles or policy community.

It is postulated here that education provision can be visualised as a representation of an equilateral triangle, which shows all features of perfect symmetry and simplicity. All the sides are equal as well as the angles. The medians converge at a centre of gravity equidistant from the vertices.

The ideal and pure educational system is represented by an equilateral triangle whereby the pupil is positioned at the centroid. On the vertices are the trio of the community, the public administration and the teacher. On the sides are the economy, the socio-technical normative world and the international front.

FIGURE 4.1  
CASE I(10,10,10)

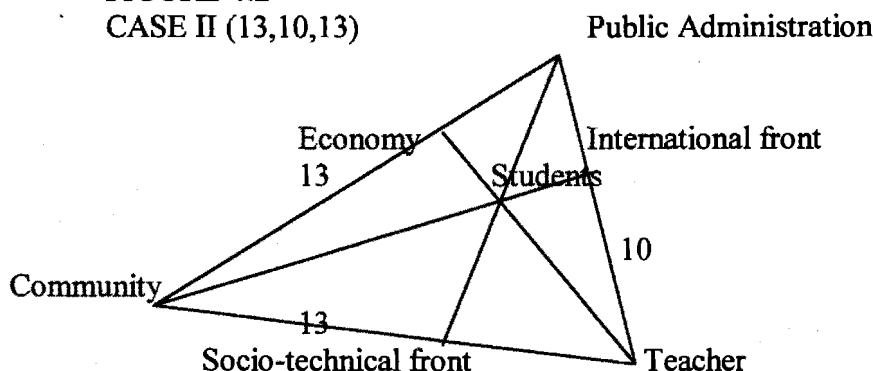


In the ideal world, the equilateral triangle represents an ideal situation whereby the educational system does not suffer from any imbalances as the student at the centroid is equally supported by the community, the public administration (department of education or ministry of education) and the international community.

Apart from this ideal situation, there are four other atrophied or deformed situations, which can be identified.

FIGURE 4:2

CASE II (13,10,13)



In case II there is an isosceles triangle with sides 13 (economy) 10 (international) 13(socio-technical). This triangle represents a situation where the economy is potentially vibrant because of its internal market and the potential vibrancy of its technology. Externally, the economy does not have much control on the international market and the educational system does not depend much on external support. However, the economy is dominated by the state through heavy taxation of the private sector as well as the state being a major shareholder in the industries. In this scenario, the student becomes heavily dependent on the public administration and the teacher for survival. This situation portrays the situation in countries such as Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Canada and South Korea (Beardshaw 1990:76, 236)

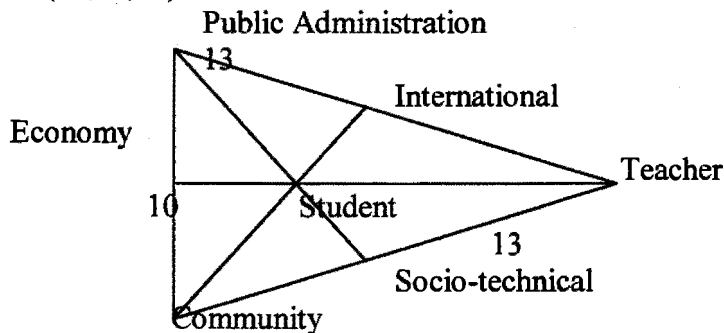
The student becomes teacher - dependent as well as public administration dependent. This system has some centralist tendencies as the administered state tries to capture as much as possible the means of sustenance for redistribution for the greater good of the greater number (Smart 1985:93, Markland 1985:113)

In a well-organised system of government, this arrangement frees the community of much of the responsibility of bringing up children in the sense that the capital and technical infrastructure are provided by the state.

Education becomes internally dependent rather than external. The community's input to policy is weakened but this is compensated for by their ability to resort to high level technology to assist their children at home.



FIGURE 4:3  
CASE III (10,13,13)

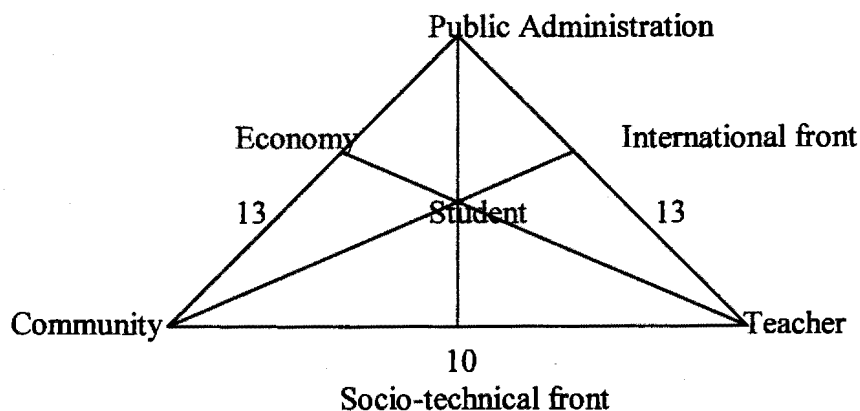


Case III(10, 13, 13) shows a weak economy which is heavily dependent on external trade, donor support and a broad socio-technical front. The pupil is distanced from the teacher because poor conditions of service alienates the teacher from discharging his or her duties effectively and efficiently. The teacher uses teaching as a front for his or her other businesses which may include non-teaching or private and informal economic activities such as running a private school, operating a retail shop or engaging in market gardening, among others. The 10, 13, 13 fits a developing country such as Zambia where the teaching service is not professionalised and teachers are the worst paid, earning less than 100 United States dollars per month for a senior lecturer in a tertiary institution. Teachers are therefore in a disguised form of unemployment. Paradoxically, learning is teacher-centred as a result of lack of textbooks and teaching materials. This leads to rote-learning and passive learning (Deroire 1997:137)

With a weak economy and a broad traditionally-steeped socio-technical front, the student becomes heavily dependent on the community and the international donor community. The economy being very weak, it makes the community rely on the government. The government in turn falls on the donor partners and the international community to assist. The donors do help but they complain of poor management of the economy by the ruling elite.

A vicious circle opens up. The weak economy, a distanced teacher and an impoverished administrative machinery combine to make the pupil take to easy short-cuts such as engaging in anti-social activities like hard-drug consumption, prostitution, smoking, vandalism, among others. The weak economy creates room for licentious behaviour out of frustration and unfulfilled dreams. The socio-technical front is exposed to all sorts of negative influences. In this scenario, the international community gains a leverage in dictating to the policy makers.

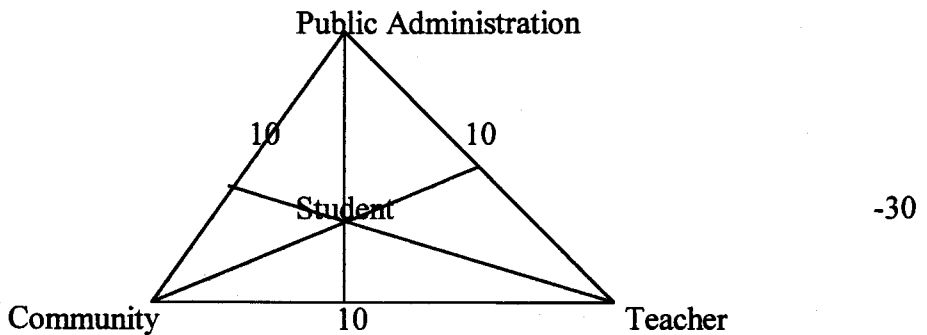
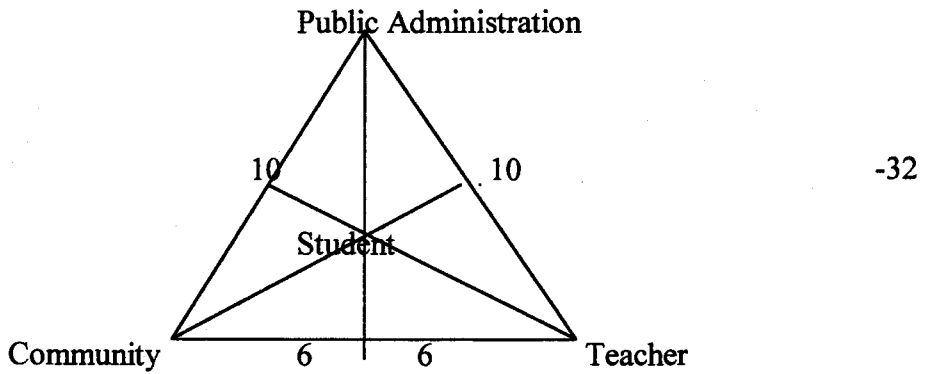
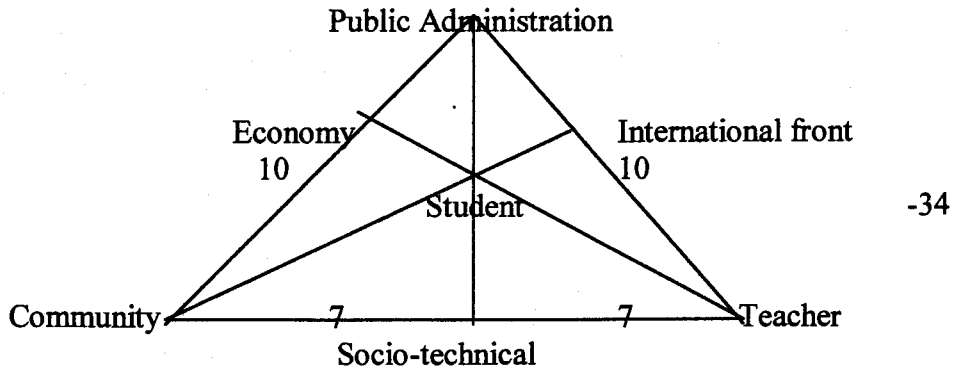
FIGURE 4.4  
CASE IV (13,13,10)



Here the pupil is both community and teacher dependent in the sense that the public administration is distanced. A strong liberalised, free market economy enables the community to provide most of their needs. The teacher is highly professionalised and committed as he or she is adequately rewarded. There is a booming economy, which is supported by a broad international market. The economy is export-dependent. The socio-technical front is not so broad because of weak social norms brought about by much wealth through trade and reliance on machines. There is individuality. However, the technological aspect of the socio-technical front outweighs the social aspect. This is the machine information society which is found in a country such as the United States. In this society, the student is heavily dependent on the community and the teacher. The public administration looms in the background as a facilitator and regulator. High personal incomes of parents tend to spoil the students. The public administration takes a back seat, intervening only by making broad national policies and setting standards. This scenario is evident in the New Right Movement which started in the United States and the United Kingdom in the late eighties (Kallaway 1989:253 - 278). Non-Governmental Organisations in the civil society carry much of the burden of the public administration as they advocate, lobby and provide means of realising the dreams of their members. There is much decentralisation so much so that education is highly commercialised and provided for on the basis of market demand and community interest. The danger in this scenario is that of proliferation of many standards and delivery systems, which makes it difficult to co-ordinate and superintend despite the broad policy guidelines from the central government. Each federal state has its own needs, ideals and means, which dictate the type of education they can afford to provide. This scenario applies to the affluent countries with decentralised systems such as the counties and boroughs in the United Kingdom, the component federal states in the United

States, the Landers in Germany, the Prefectures in Japan and the Cantons in Switzerland.

FIGURE 4.5  
CASE V (10,10,14)



Case V shows a strong economy balanced by an equally strong internationally based trade. The socio-technical front is wider, presenting the student with ample

technology. Much of the national wealth is invested in technology, hence the student is not spoilt by personal wealth of parents but rather he or she has to depend on the collective wealth of the community, which is provided via technology. The social base is broad because of not forsaking social norms, which is integrated with technology. Japan, South Korea, India and some of the Asian Tigers such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan and Indonesia are good examples. They are moving away from traditional-bound exams and school curricula to Smart Schools with computers, Internet and a lot of emphasis on innovating, creativity and discovery through projects. (Asia 2 February, 2000 p4-5)

It can be inferred that the ideal situation is where the sum of the sides of the triangle adds up to 30 (equilateral triangle of side 10). In the other scenario shown, they add up to 36. In the last case of Japan and Asian Tigers, the sum ranges from 32 to 34. This means that the ideal situation of a sum of 30 is being approached.

The lesson of this analogy is to have balance on all the three fronts of the policy triangle, for an imbalance in one of the three fronts leads to an unbalanced educational system which affects the performance of the student who is at the centre of the triangle. In the context of Zambia, the weak economic front indicates that before policy making in education can be fruitful, a deeper look has to be taken at other policy areas which affect issues such as economic performance, distribution and allocation of the national cake, allocation of adequate resources to the improvement of culture, science and technology and finally taking steps to be less dependent on donor largesse via the international community. Unless and until these underlying forces are critically examined and addressed, superficial policies targeted at the education sector will be an exercise in futility.

#### **4.5 EDUCATIONAL POLICY CYCLE MODEL**

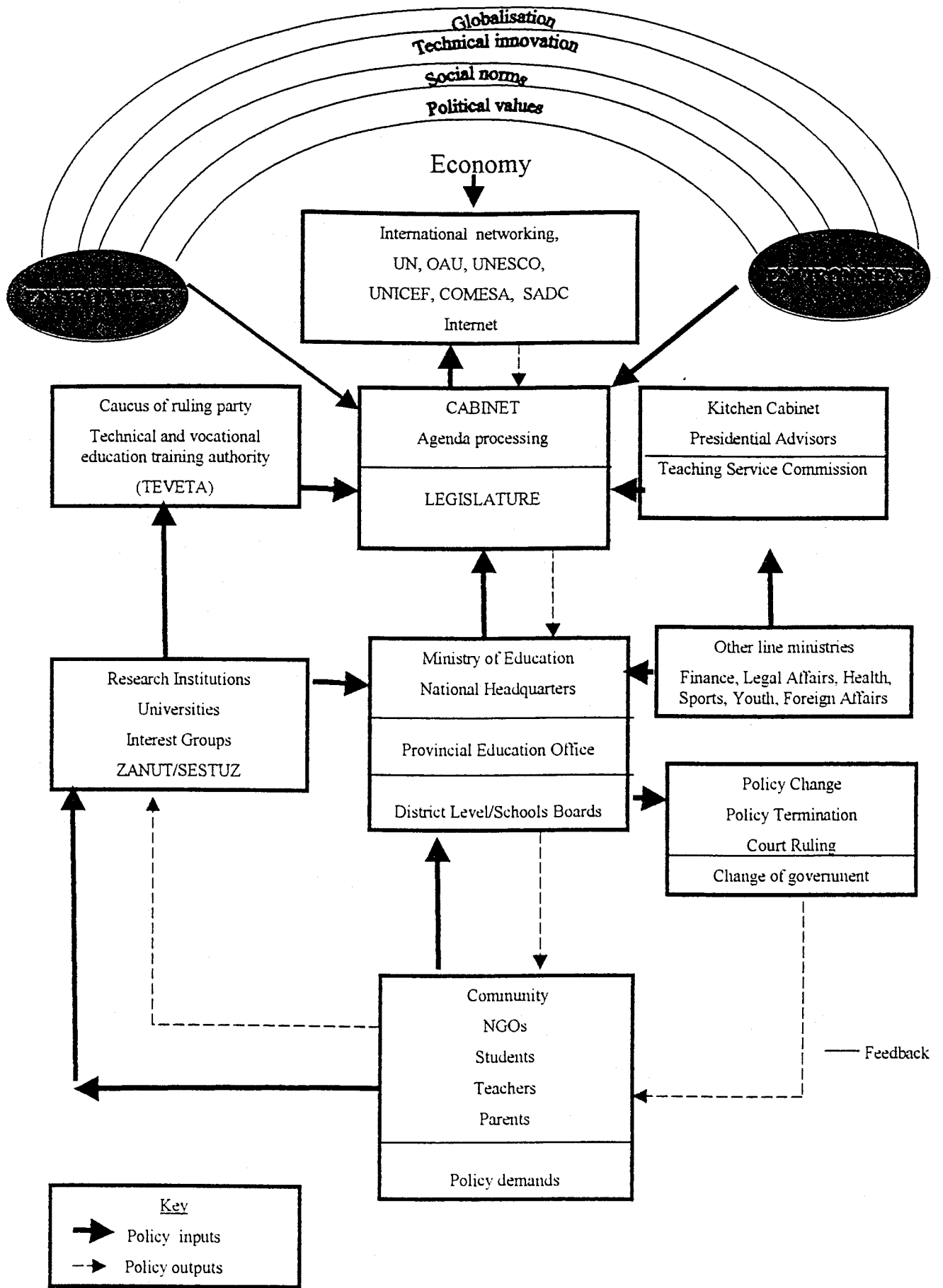
The model postulated here in the organogram is the systems, institutional and the elite - mass model of policy making and it relates specially to the Zambian situation. However, in general, it can be applicable to the policy process anywhere with modifications to suit the political arrangement or organisation of the country concerned. The educational policy making process begins at the bottom of the organogram with policy demands from the public. These demands are in response to stimuli from the environment. These are triggered by the drives and urges or motives for satisfaction as found in Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, namely physiological, safety and security needs, self-esteem and self-actualisation needs (Koontz and Weihrich 1990:322 Appleby 1994:199, Cole 1990:45) These needs come from the social, economic, technological and political environments. Teachers, pupils, employers, churches, parents and non-governmental organisations make demands on the system. These demands can be covert or overt and they can be addressed through media such as the press, books, political rallies, institutions, among others. Some demands go through NGOs who act as policy brokers and advocates. Other demands go indirectly through the

Parent Teacher Associations and the Teachers Unions (ZANUT, SESTUZ-Zambia National Union of Teachers and Secondary Schools Teachers Union of Zambia respectively).

District and provincial supervisors of schools receive routine reports from school heads as well as from their own field inspectors. These reports are forwarded to the Ministry of Education Headquarters where public officials work on them. The Permanent Secretary/Director-General of Education and his/her staff analyse the reports and seek opinions from researchers in the universities, NGOs or donor agencies. The Minister of Education is furnished with the findings of the public officials. The Minister may seek opinions from other external sources in the other line ministries on the implications of certain proposed policies. The Minister may even have an unofficial ministerial cabinet just like the one in France (Auriacombe 1996: passim). After much internal and external consultations, the policy papers are then tabled in parliament in the form of draft bills before a Parliamentary Committee on Education. The Minister's draft policy bill or amendment to an existing law, is then sent from the Committee to the Committee of the Full House of the Legislature for debate and adoption or rejection. Upon approval, a draft bill is sent to the cabinet for Presidential assent for it to become law. If the bill is not killed in the various stages of reading in the legislature, it emerges as a law. It is then the duty of the Minister of Education to announce the policy in a policy statement contained in a White Paper. The interpretation and implementation of the policy is left to the public officials in the Education Ministry. The operationalisation of the policy falls on the public officials who work under ministerial directives statutory instruments, among others. Further down the line, the policy law which is enacted is translated into action at the grassroots level in the schools and the classrooms. The output/outcome of the policy informs the public as to how to react to it by either asking for its continuation or its emendation or total withdrawal.

Major issues on education which border on constitutional issues may be decided through a referendum or a public opinion poll can be conducted. It is usual to set up commissions of enquiry to sound out the views of the public on policy issues but over the years, commissions of enquiry have become unpopular as these are used to buy time and for window dressing or publicity stunts. If after all the possible consultative/participatory measures have been exhausted and the public feel aggrieved, they can go to court, demonstrate, complain in the press or in the long-run, they will exercise their vote at by-elections and general elections to express their feelings. This is possible in a transparent democratic system that observes the rule of law and upholds the tenets of the *trias politica*.

**EDUCATIONAL POLICY CYCLE**  
**FIGURE 4.6**



The educational policy cycle organogram has been adapted from the works of various authors (Henry 1980:301, Appleby 1994:67, Koontz & Wehrich 1990:20,30,354; Dye 1975: 277-305, Nobert Weiner in Appleby 1994:18-20). The main role-players and elements in the organogram in figure 4.6 are the demands from the public which go directly to the public administration through the district, provincial and national offices and indirectly through the pressure groups and research institutions such as the universities, teachers associations, among others.

Policy inputs also come from other line ministries such as legal affairs or foreign affairs as they maybe consulted on legal matters or the protocol for assessing aid from donors. Policy inputs may also come from the kitchen cabinet of the President or from the caucus of the ruling political party. Finally, inputs also come from the international Community as Zambia is a member of these international organisations. The policy outputs emanate from the legislature and executive arms of government which are the sovereign and supreme authority as they hold the mandate in trust from the electorate to determine issues and outcomes. Going by the *trias politica*, policy outputs can also come from the judiciary through court rulings. A policy change or termination can also come about as a result of a change in government through a peaceful democratic transition or through an undemocratic radical means of a military take-over/coup d'etat.

Indirectly, policy inputs come from the larger external environment including the trends in the global economy, international geopolitics, revolutionary trends in technology and the demands for globalising through networking in a seamless global village. The organogram clearly depicts the elite-mass, institutional, systems and the group models of policy making. This organogram is simplified to fit the Zambian experience but it can be externalised and modified to fit any country.

#### 4.6 POLICY ANECDOTES

An anecdote which is well illustrated can give a lot of insight into real phenomenon. Aesop, the Greek legendary fable-teller, once told a story of two frogs who went about searching for water during a period of drought. They came across a deep well full of water. One of the frogs who was not circumspect suggested that they should jump into the deep well and enjoy themselves. The wiser frog pointed out that the idea to jump in was good in the short-run but in the long-run if the water dried up, how were they to jump out of such a deep well? So it is with making a policy. Policy can be perceived as a big river that flows from a big lake located in a highland area. The river flows over a very long expanse of desert underlain by porous rocks such as sandstone, limestone and shale. The policy makers upstream wish to establish an oasis in one part of the desert downstream. Obviously, the policy makers identify themselves as friends and helpers of the ordinary people in the cast of Prometheus who stole fire from Mount Olympus and taught mankind skills and the use of fire. The policy makers



upstream cause a large depression to be dug for the river to be diverted there to create a man-made lake. The big flowing river is diverted into a canal which leads to the depression. Unfortunately, the canal passes over permeable rock. Before the water reaches the depression, part of it is lost through evaporation and the other part disappears underground in a limestone formation. The water which goes underground forms subterranean features such as caves, caverns, vauclusian springs, stalactites and stalagmites, among others.

Those inhabitants downstream wait expectantly in vain for the promised goodies. They had spent a considerable amount of man-hours working to create the depression. After much waiting, they become exasperated and disappointed. They turn the depression into a refuse dump and a place of convenience. They accuse the policy makers upstream of deceit, neglect and greed. They threaten to secede if the issue is not redressed. Meanwhile, upstream, many powerful interests with connections to the corridors of power buy huge tracts of land near the only river for commercial farming, using sprinkler irrigation. Each farmer builds a dam to pond back a substantial amount of water. The ecosystem along the river basin and catchment area is thrown out of equilibrium. Birds, trees and fish begin to die. The ponded river begins to silt and to accumulate debris. Algae and water hyacinth begin to grow on the river surface, causing toxification to aquatic inhabitants. Fishing communities along the littoral begin to complain as floating vegetation obstructs their fishing activities. In the interim, the politicians and public officials spend huge sums of public money to bring in foreign experts to clear up the weeds. They enjoy neat ten-percent cuts on the contracts awarded to the foreign experts.

The original policy which was meant to benefit the majority poor downstream misfires as in the first place not much homework was done to ascertain the nature of the terrain and also the inputs of the local people. Secondly, the policy of sending water downstream may have had some political and economic agenda for the policy makers. As the original policy misfires, it creates opportunities for commercial elephantiasis for the minority elite who waste no time in cashing in on the majority misfortune to make their fortunes. A paradox of mass misfortune being a blessing to the minority. This is a clear example of policy malfeasance and policy slippage. Many policies go awry and they create multiple problems.

The Zambian context, viewed from 1964 to 1998 has had policy slippages in the area of educational policy reforms.

Policy can be linked again to a policeman who expects certain behaviours to be consistent with the law and other aberrant behaviours to be looked upon as public nuisance, constituting chargeable offences. Policy is therefore a watchdog of behaviour or conduct in the arena of public administration. Policy guides to achieve certain predetermined behaviours, which will show how means are to be used to achieve goals. Policy sets priorities and values while planning or the means deals with the technical details of what, when, how, where, among others. Both policy and planning overlap in the area of what, who and how, while policy alone answers the question why. (Musaaazi 1982:125)

Suffice to say that policy can again be likened to a powerful searchlight that illuminates the dark side of public administration or administrative behaviour. When public officials and technocrats professionals are at crossroads or in a dilemma, the policy searchlight is turned on to give direction. This light has a range and radius of its functionality. Within its domain, it is able to illuminate. Policy can also be likened to a trafficator that indicates to public officials the way the government wants to go in the traffic. Public officials have to act professionally, neutrally, anonymously, loyally and with complete equanimity.

Finally, policy as a principle or standard behaviour consistently exhibited over a considerable time period over a set of similar events, is like a compass or rudder of a ship. The ship has to set sail from one point to another within a time period on a certain course and for a particular purpose. The compass and the rudder both guide the ship to be on the right course. The captain has to navigate the ship adroitly, drawing on his or her vast knowledge and experience. He or she has a commission to deliver the goods and passengers to their destinations as per the social contract. The ship needs a medium to travel in. The sea represents the public administration which facilitates the delivery of public services. The ship represents a particular line ministry or government department while the captain represents the top public official, the Director-General or the Permanent Secretary, while the charterer of the ship is the Minister. The ship owner is the state. Policy is represented by the rudder or the compass. The goods and passengers in the ship represent public services which need to be delivered with efficiency, economy and effectiveness at the designated destination.

These analogies add value to this dissertation in the sense that they assist the mind's eye to view and reflect on the nuances of policy and policy making, thereby creating insights and banishing ignorance. A professor is an ignorance-remover just as a stain-remover does to a soiled shirt.

#### **4.7 POLICY MODEL-RECTANGLE OR CIRCLE?**

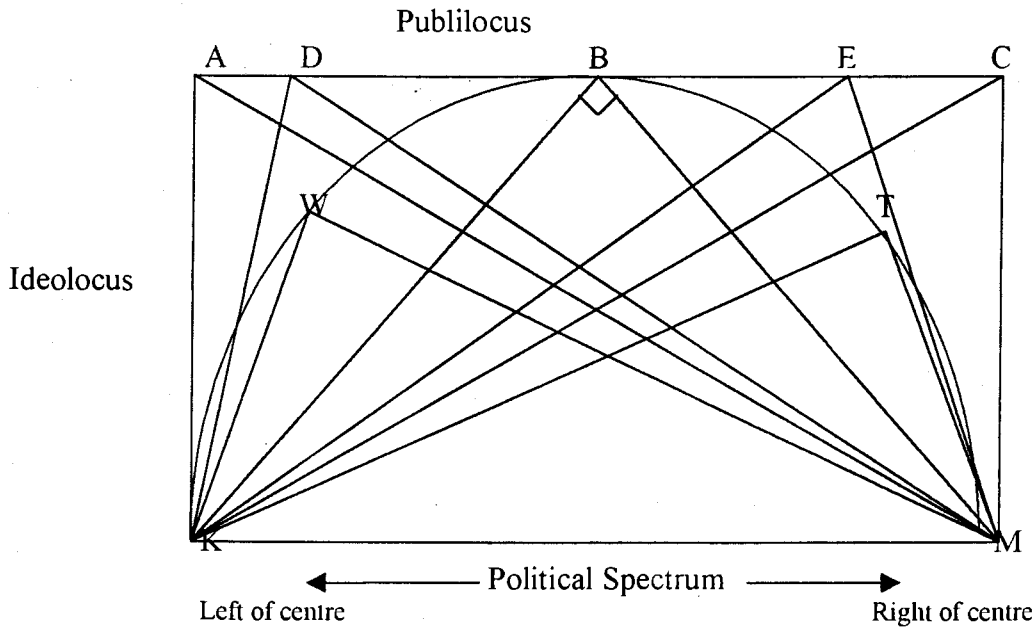
Policy optimisation is the process of arriving at the best policy option using available information and vigorous analysis of the values attached to the outcome with regard to effectiveness, efficiency and economy. An optimum policy is one which is efficacious in solving a problem, protecting an interest or promoting it.

Policy optimisation can be conceived as a situation whereby a semicircle is inscribed in a rectangle whose base forms the diameter of the semicircle. Policy optimisation can be conceived as a movement along the circumference or along the upper side of the rectangle. In the diagram, figure 4.7 the loci of such a movement is side AC of the rectangle and the circumference of the semicircle KBM.

The circumference of the semicircle can be perceived as an 'ideolocus' or ideological locus of the ruling party while the linear locus AC is the 'publiclocus' representing the public interest. The ruling party will want to present its policies as being optimum though in the real sense, they may not be optimum. This is

because within the party, policies are seen only in the light of the party ideology, to the exclusion of all sensible and practical options. The party policy preference is thus heavily weighted ideologically. There may be ultra-rightists and ultra-leftists even in the same party who may prefer extreme policy options. (Dogan Mattei 1975: passim, Bachrach & Baratz 1962: passim)

FIGURE 4.7



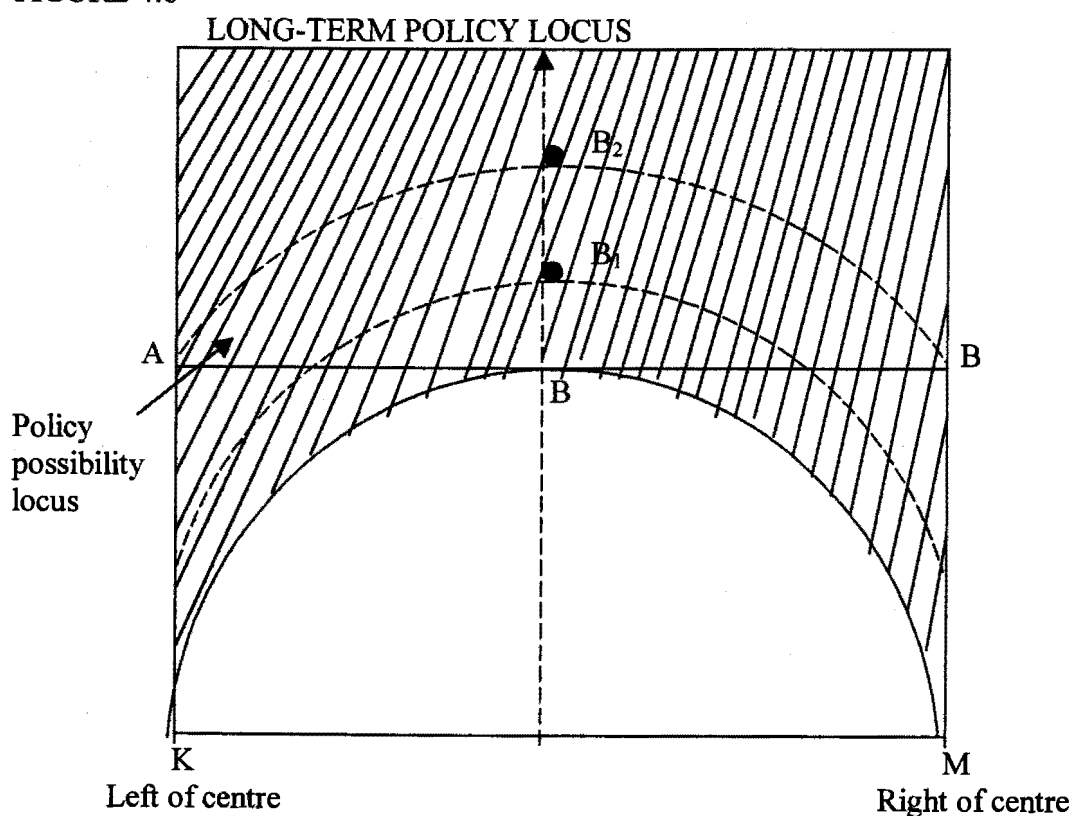
The circumference can be taken to be the limit of ideology of the ruling party. The rectangle can be perceived as representing public interest. Points W and T are on the ideolocus but they are not optimum since they do not yield the maximum area. On the rectangle, points D and E have maximum area but they lie outside the ideolocus so they are not politically preferred. Point D represents a policy which is to the left of centre and which is centralist and may not appeal to the moderates in the same party nor the ultra-rightists. Point E is on the right of centre and it represents a free-market, neo classical ideology. Points A and C are extreme cases. Point B is an optimum point as it lies on the ideolocus as well as the publilocus. It satisfies the mathematical properties which state that the angle subtended by a diameter at the circumference is 90 degrees. It also satisfies the principle that all triangles subtended by the same base of a rectangle and having their inner angle at the opposite side are equal in area. Point B is therefore superior to all other positions as it fulfils the interest of the ruling party as well as the public interest. It is at the centre of the centre and it can be looked upon as the optimum policy preference locus (OPPL). This coincides with the concept of the middle-of-the-road policy which British public officials follow (Dogan 1975: passim). Point B is an ideal which must be striven for to maintain internal equilibrium among opposing interest groups. In developing countries such as Zambia, there is always complete change in policy direction whenever a new government comes to power. These leads to sharp discontinuities in policy implementation rather than smooth transitions or gradual or incremental additions

to existing policies. Such sharp turns in policy directions are not only economically untenable but also they signal failure of the state to achieve growth and development.

Point B represents a situation that is reached through, for example, hard bargaining, referendum, consensus and trade-offs. Point B is feasible in a democratic environment where the public administration is politically neutral in the sense of serving any government of the day faithfully and not being subject to undue politicisation. Point B can also be achieved in a situation where the opposition is strongly represented in the legislature or where the civil society is highly politically conscious and motivated. It also calls for a well-informed public that has the means to make their views heard. In a sense, point B can be called a point of supper compromises or where all the differences among the pressure groups, political parties and interest groups are buried for the sake of national or public interest. It is said that governments come and go but the state remains a permanent entity.

Over time, as the body politic develops and the economy expands, the ideolocus can expand outwards along the axis B B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

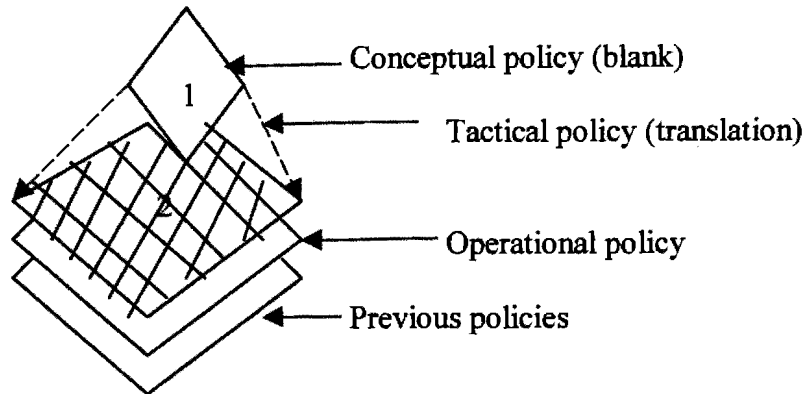
FIGURE 4.8



Source: Adapted from ideas of middle-of-the-road politics of UK public administration.

( Dogan Mattei 1975:passim)

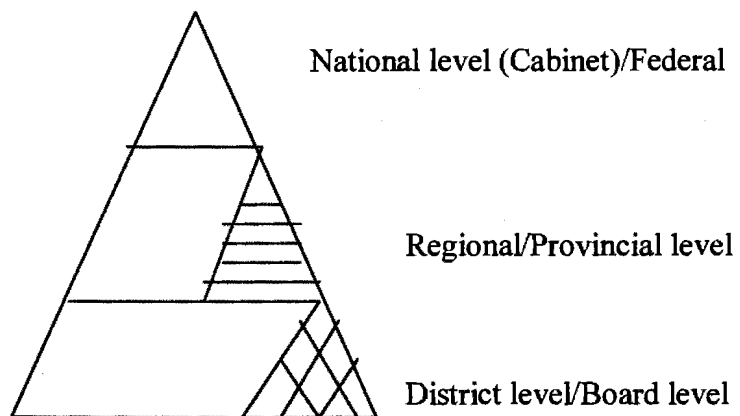
FIGURE 4.9  
POLICY SLIDES



Source: (Adapted from Lindblom's incrementalism in Faludi 1988:151-169 Henry 1980:304, Koontz & Weihrich 1990:49 Dye 1975:32)

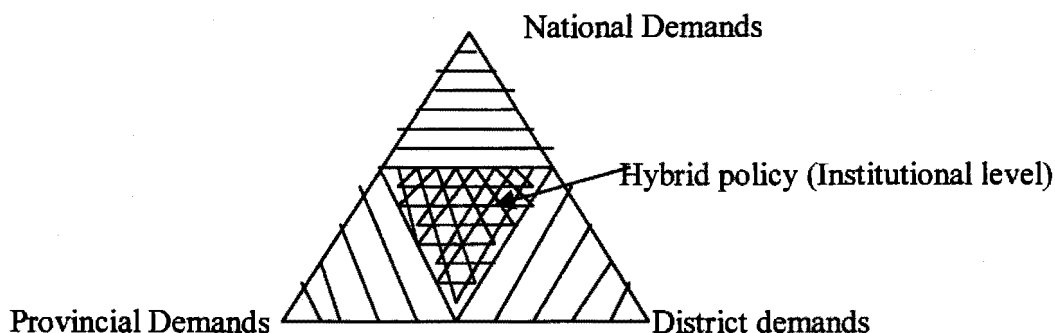
In the diagram in figure 4.9, policy is first conceived at the highest level as a blank outline. The cabinet leaves the public administration to translate the cabinet policy outline from its vertical/abstract position to its horizontal/concrete position. After this stage, the policy is refined at the grassroots level where it is operationalised by adapting it to the regional and district needs. Hence the criss-crossing of the rectangle showing the woofs and warps of the mesh.

FIGURE 4.10  
POLICY HIERARCHY



(Source: Adapted from Henry 1980:299,302 Dye 1975:25, Koontz & Weihrich 1990:51,64)

FIGURE 4.11  
HYBRID OPERATIONAL POLICY



In figure 4.10, policy descends from the top hierarchy at the national level to the regional or provincial level where it is adopted and adapted and then it filters down to the district or grassroots level. In figure 4.11, policy making is looked at in a horizontal manner as an organic whole or a co-operative effort involving all the stakeholders at the district, regional and national levels. This is a bottom-up approach which views the policy making process as a collective effort (Henry 1980:299). This model of policy making, based on the bottom-up and participatory approach, is now gaining wide currency because of the global democratisation movement. The participatory approach is even gaining currency among academics in research methodology whereby researchers are now shying away from the traditional questionnaire survey approach to the approach of the social anthropologists who for decades have done participant-observation or action research. In this way, the researchers do not impose their views on the target group who identify their problems through prompting and then devise their own solutions by crafting their own policies.

In the same way policy making demands an equally revolutionary approach using a combination of the group, elite-mass, incremental, Samoan circle, discourse and communitarian approaches.

FIGURE 4.12  
Policy interface

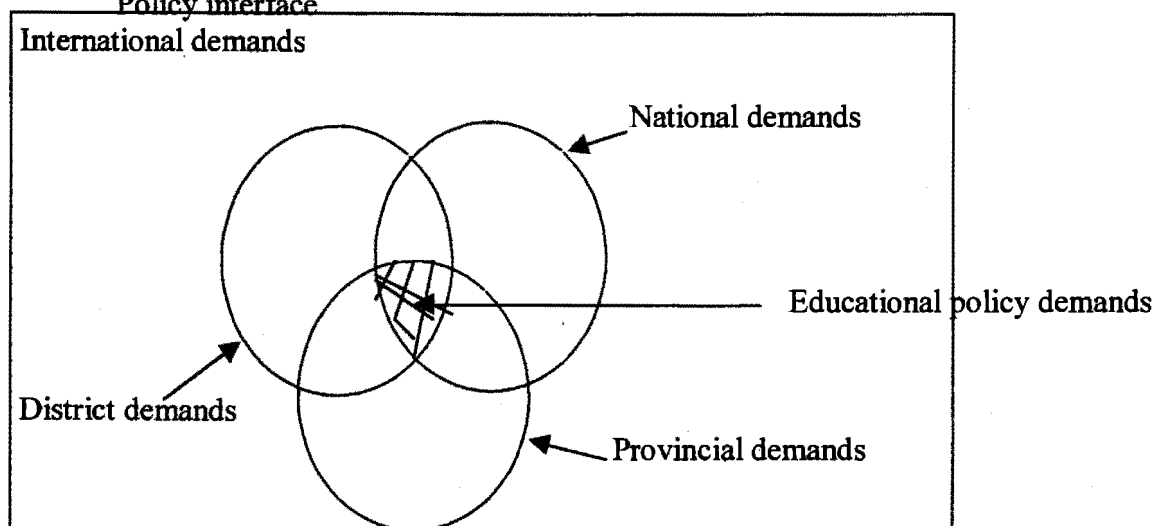


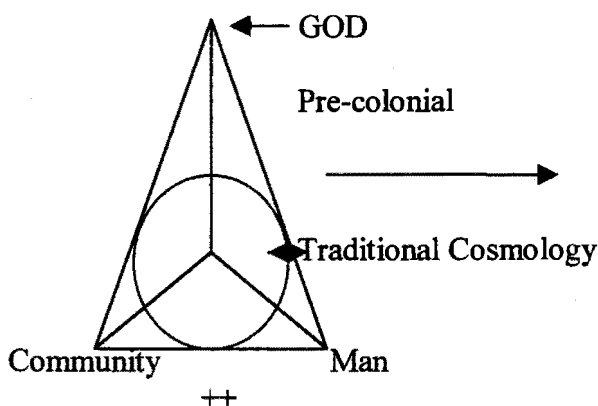
Figure 4.12 illustrates the fact that a national policy such as an educational policy is arrived at through an interplay of forces operating at the national, provincial, district and even international levels.

#### 4.8 TIME DIMENSION OF EDUCATIONAL MODELS IN AFRICA.

Thus far, policy making has been looked at from the static spatial perspective. It is pertinent to take a look at the time dimension. It will be true to state that education in Africa has never been in a vacuum and that before formal education came along with colonisation, there was pre-colonial traditional education. The time dimension models proposed here will therefore consist of five models namely:-

- The pre-colonial or traditional educational model
- The colonial era educational model
- The immediate post-independence model
- The neo-classical or New Right model
- The Post-modern or ideal model

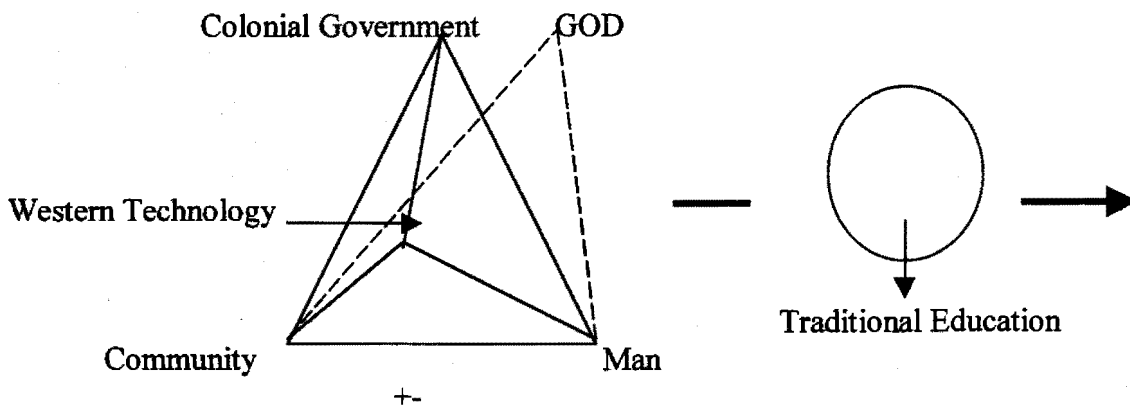
FIGURE 4.13



##### 4.8.1 PRE-COLONIAL OR TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The pre-colonial period of education was tradicentric or communocentric as it was based on African cosmogony with the African concept of God and man forming the basis of traditional informal education. It was an integrated life-long education which could be seen in the *rites de passage* and the community institutions of festivals, taboos, courtesies, among others. There was no division between work and traditional education (Tournas 1997:passim).

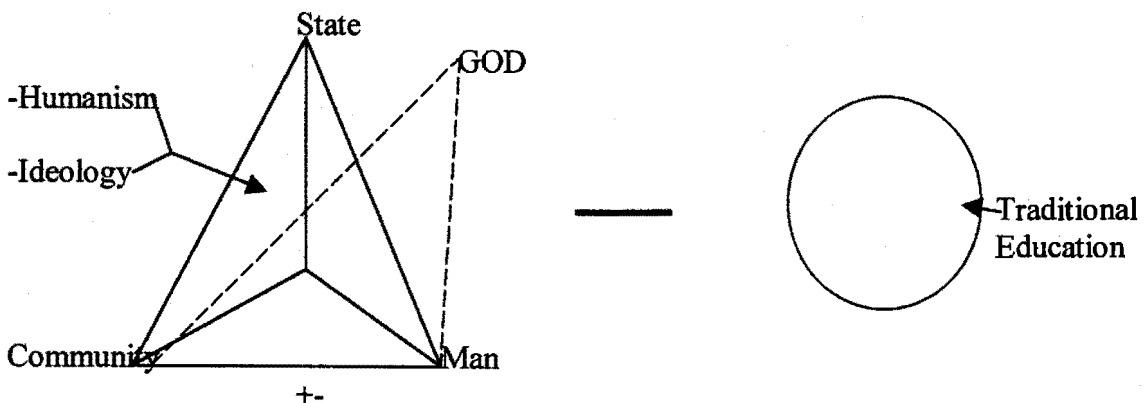
FIGURE 4.14



#### 4.8.2 COLONIAL ERA EDUCATIONAL MODEL

In the second stage of the time dimensional model, as shown in figure 4.14, the era of colonial rule, starting effectively from the Berlin Conference of 1885, saw the displacement of traditional African education from the centre of the triangle for it to be replaced with Western technology. In the same process, the place of God in the first triangle, figure 4.13, is taken by the colonial government. Thus, the concept of God which was held by Africans was externalised leading to the unfortunate situation of living in two worlds (see Chinua Achebe's novel 'Things Fall Apart'). It was a plus-minus situation instead of the plus-plus situation in the pre-colonial era. The colocentric era was a period of imposition and foisting of imperialism which led to the dichotomisation of the African psyche. While western education lays more emphasis on the practical and material, African traditional education is non-individualistic and it is based on community-sharing and integration with nature. However, had western education integrated with traditional education instead of neglecting it or externalising it, it would have been a happy marriage and it would have been more fruitful, stabilising and salubrious.

FIGURE 4.15



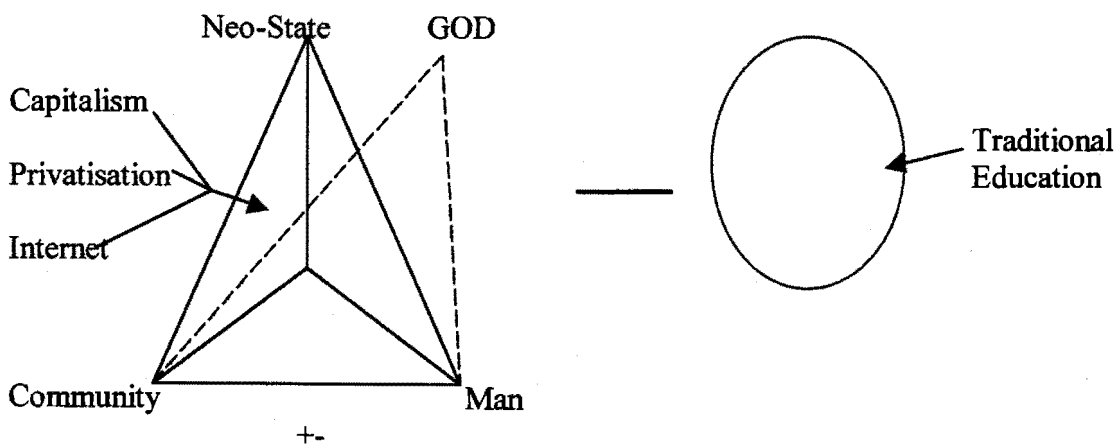


### 4.8.3 POST-INDEPENDENCE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The immediate post-independence era saw the replacement of colonialism with socialism in most African countries, Zambia included. Socialism and its extreme version, communism, appealed to the post-independence leaders who in their wisdom, felt that socialism or its extreme version, communism, would lead to accelerated development. In the process, they replaced one form of dictatorship with another and they became tin-gods and demagogues, declining all forms of good advice because of their hubris. Countries like Botswana, Senegal, Ivory Coast, among a few others, treaded cautiously and they did not embrace socialism. These countries have achieved reasonable economic progress.

In the case of Zambia, traditional education was displaced from centre-stage by the socialist ideology of *humanism*. Like its colonial predecessors, the African concept of God was displaced for its place to be taken by the state machinery, in the fashion of the former Soviet Politburo. In communist parlance, it was the rule of the apparatchiki and the Lumpen-Proletariat in a monolithic political dispensation. It was again a plus-minus situation. Ostensibly, the people were made to believe that they were ruling and yet it was a rule of an oligarchy at the helm of the only legal party, UNIP, as all other political parties were proscribed or driven underground.

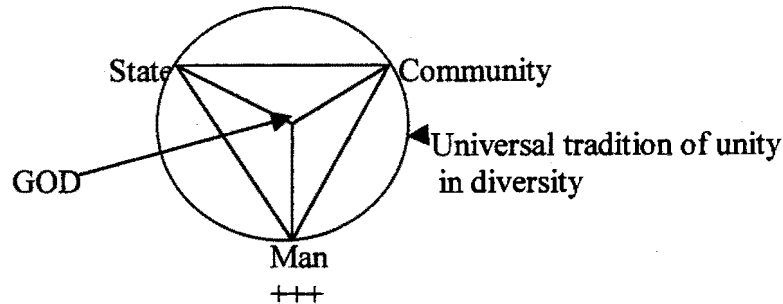
FIGURE 4.16



With the New Right Movement sweeping all over the world, transnationals and multinationals have literally taken over governments in the process of globalisation. From the late eighties, calls for leaner and efficient public administration have been the clarion call leading to cutbacks in government expenditure, downsizing and rightsizing. The process has led to cost-sharing and cost shifting, leading to privatisation of some public institutions such as educational institutions. In this scenario, the neo-state or capitalism has ousted traditional education from centre stage and the cabal of capitalism has taken over.

Quality education has become inaccessible to the majority poor. Unless interventions are timeously made, the situation can drift to a Hobbesian state of nature and a new mercantilism.

FIGURE 4.17  
IDEAL-THEOCRATIC MODEL/POSTMODERNISM



The ideal-theocratic model is based on the idea of postmodernism, which is based on the idea of 'otherliness' or 'unorthodoxy'(Clapper 1996:35-47). This model is the ultimate as it is the one which seeks universal education, based on the concept of unity in diversity. Through the Internet and information superhighway, God takes centre stage and all the traditional beliefs are united in a universal circle, which encompasses all men, all communities and all nation-states. This may sound utopian but it is the reality as seen in the concept of model international schools such as Waterford Kamhlaba in Swaziland, Maru-la-Pula in Botswana, among others.

Postmodernism is anchored in the idea of plurality, discourse and approaches from n-dimensions without a fixation with a 'one-best approach' (Clapper 1996:35-47).

The ideal theocratic model is a triple-plus model, as it does not discriminate in the type of education given with regard to race, nationality or culture. Whilst maintaining the culture and tradition of a nation, it borrows freely from the world without any one particular educational tradition dominating or supplanting the other. It is a commonwealth of education without borders (EWB).

#### 4.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, policy making has been defined as a process of determining values and understandings that will guide official conduct over a period of time over similar issues in achieving objectives. Planning has been defined as the means for achieving ends.

Three approaches to educational planning were considered. These were the social demand approach, the manpower planning approach and the cost-benefit approach. It was established that the social demand approach came from parents who had interest in particular lines of education so as to maintain certain professional traditions. That approach has resurfaced with the emergence of the

process of global democratisation and liberalisation. However, it was found that the social demand approach did not consider costs nor did it consider overall national interests and in that vein, it was called into question.

The manpower planning approach to education has been shown to have centralist tendencies and that it had shortcomings in the sense that the labour market is volatile. Moreover, the process led to the overpopulation of 'educated unemployed' that contributed to the brain-drain syndrome and mass unemployment in countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, among others.

The third approach to educational planning that was examined was the cost-benefit approach which often forces planners and policy makers alike to examine the external costs and benefits of certain investment decisions. Investment returns in human capital per se via education are difficult to quantify and as such, the cost benefit approach is found wanting.

As education is a merit good with many favourable spin-offs by way of promoting, protecting and increasing welfare, it is to be encouraged and provided at central locations to benefit the underprivileged. It is also suggested that the process of decentralisation is in the right direction, as it will help to provide quality education and as well encourage effective participation by the target groups.

Correa's model on educational planning was found to be a mere statistical entity whose predictive abilities were limited. As such, a regression model is suggested and it is based on the input-output model, which improves predictions considerably by establishing correlation and level of significance of critical variables included in the model. Some of the variables considered in the inputs were per capita income, percentage expenditure on education, number of graduate science teacher's per capita, types of political systems, among others.

Modelling is also done by using triangles. The ideal situation is found to be where the student who is placed at the centroid of the triangle, is supported evenly by the community, the teacher and the public administration. Various regions of the world are considered and the South-East Asia Region, including Japan, seems to be reaching the ideal.

The policy making process has been shown to be a compromise-making process that involves balancing political party ideology with the public interest. That was shown by the publilocus and the ideolocus.

The optimum public possibility locus (OPPL) is shown to be a middle-of-the-road approach between the extreme left and the extreme right. That position is seen to be the desired one as it ensures continuity of national policies, though there could be modifications through the incremental approach.

Finally, a panoramic view of a time model is presented showing the evolution of education in pre-colonial era through the colonial era to the post-modern period. A new paradigm is presented in the form of the ideal theocratic model, which

presents a borderless educational system that accepts all nationalities and cultures on an equal footing with a process of cultural diffusion taking place.

In Chapter 5, these models will be given practical content by examining the actual situation on the ground in Zambia. Educational statistics and economic indicators will be employed to substantiate the hypothesis of this research.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This Chapter traces the history of the development of secondary school education in Zambia. Before that is done, a brief background is given to the geographical, historical and economic setting of Zambia. This geographical, economic and historical background is pertinent to understand the peculiar problems of secondary education in Zambia. Pre-and post-independence scenarios are given as a matter of contrast to be able to see clearly the divergent policies of the colonialists and those of the post-independence nationalist politicians.

Some considerable attention is given to the examination of the 1966 Education Act Cap 134, which still continues to serve as the fulcrum of education in Zambia. Next, the structure of secondary school is examined with a view to seeing the need or otherwise for reforms. Furthermore, statistical indicators are given to substantiate arguments and to give indication of the levels of performance in the secondary school sector. These performance indicators are set against the backdrop of external multilateral and bilateral donor funding, rapid social and demographic changes, and global challenges in the economic, social, political and technological sectors, among others.

The aim of the Chapter is to be able to present substantive and factual data on secondary school education in Zambia so as to be able to arrive at some valid conclusions regarding policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Education have their statistics only up to 1996 as at the time of writing the chapter.

#### **5.2 BACKGROUND GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF ZAMBIA**

Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, is a country lying in South Central Africa with an area of 752,614 square kilometres. It is bound on all sides by eight countries, namely Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo.

Zambia is a land -locked country with no access to the sea. Exports and imports come in by air or by rail through the ports of Dar-Es-Salaam and those in Mozambique, South Africa and Angola (Natech 1998:285).

Zambia is a country richly endowed with natural resources. The main rivers are the Zambezi, Kafue, Luapula, Luangwa and the Chambeshi. There are large natural lakes like Lake Mweru-Wa-Ntipa, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Bangweulu. There is also the largest man-made lake, Lake Kariba. (Natech 1998:285)

The country is relatively sparsely populated with population density of 13 people per square kilometre. The population is currently (1999) estimated at 10 million.

The densely populated urban areas are along the line of rail in the central part and on the Copperbelt to the North-West.

There are nine provinces, each with its provincial capital. The country has a unitary political system with the seat of government in Lusaka, the capital. There are 73 districts in the country with 73 native languages, apart from the official language, English. The major tribes are the Bemba to the North, the Tonga to the south, the Lozi to the West, the Luvale, Kaonde, Lunda and Lamba to the north-West and the Nsenga, Tumbuka, Ngoni, Chirwa and Namwanga to the east. Many of these tribes trace their ancestry to some of the neighbouring countries. For example, the Bemba of the north claim they emigrated from Angola and Congo while the Ngoni of the east claim to have come from Shaka's Amazulu Kingdom in South Africa. The Barotse and Lozi of the west also claim to have emigrated from Swaziland in South Africa. (Tindall 1968:59-69, Sanger 1965:182).

Zambia is therefore an African microcosm. From 1911 to 1924, Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) came under the rule of the British South Africa Company (Natech 1998:299). That happened after the explorer, David Livingstone, had explored and discovered the land on behalf of Britain. Also the entrepreneur, Cecil Rhodes, had expressed his interest in the mining concerns of the country and had proposed the Cape to Cairo railway project. (Tindall 1968:264)

In 1924, Zambia came directly under the British Government (Natech 1998:299). Forty years later, it gained political independence and it became a sovereign, independent and unitary state within the British Commonwealth. Earlier on, Zambia had fought the colonial government in order to keep out of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. (Sanger 1965:182)

Zambia was led to independence in 1964 by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. In 1972, the ruling party declared Zambia a one-party socialist state through the Choma Declaration. From that year, many industries and utilities were nationalised and indigenised. Thereafter, Zambia experienced a host of severe political and economic hardships from the backlash of the liberation wars which were going on in Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Mozambique. Zambia was also a leader of the frontline states in the ideological war against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Zambia was therefore vulnerable at the time to economic blockage, aerial bombardment and political destabilisation. (Sanger 1965:184)

Zambia has a monocultural economy as 90 percent of its foreign exchange earnings come from copper (Nagle 1992:211-212). Other exports of note include cobalt, precious stones, coal, lead, zinc and some amounts of agricultural produce such as tea, coffee, tobacco and cotton. The agricultural sector is under-utilised as it holds great potential. Zambia is a net importer of food due to poor planning and management of its agricultural sector. (Nagle 1992:127, 214)

was it realised at the time that less than a decade to come, there would be an overproduction of secondary school graduates. Apparently, the newly installed government was out to impress and score political points rather than to consider down-to-earth economic realities and social implications of the huge investment in manpower. (cf. Carmody 1999: 99-105)

The crash programme led to the establishment of 16 junior secondary schools and 7 senior secondary schools in different parts of the country. In some instances, schools were sited at unlikely places as they were far removed from civilisation (Mwanakatwe 1974:64). It was the aim of the government to use such schools as growth poles and as means of creating settlements around them. According to Mwanakatwe (1974:64), it was government policy to balance the distribution of schools between urban and rural areas and also to spread urban ideas in the rural areas. These schemes were modelled on Ujamaa, Kibbutz and the Collectivist ideologies of the east. (cf. Carmody 1999: 128)

At the time of the Emergency Plan, secondary schools were instructed to admit day scholars in addition to the boarders and to expand class sizes from 30 to 35. Such policies considerably reduced the quality of education and increased the number of students who hitherto could not have gained access. It could be said that the current crisis in secondary school education in Zambia today had its origin from the policies undertaken during the immediate post-independence years. The vandalised infrastructure, crowded classrooms, unruly students and ill-maintained school infrastructure are some of the backlog of problems today whose genesis go far back into time. From January 1965 to June 1966, the Transitional Development Plan was implemented with a budget of seventy million kwacha. The first National Development Plan was launched to cover the period 1966 to 1970. Under those plans, it was projected that 33 percent of the pupils in primary schools would proceed to Grade 7 and that of the number, 66 percent would proceed to Grade 10. Evidence from the progression rates show that only 21 percent of the pupils go from Grade 9 to Grade 10 (Mwanakatwe 1974:62).

Despite some failures, the plans succeeded to diversify the senior secondary syllabus by including some practical subjects like agriculture, metalwork, technical drawing and home economics. It also abolished the university selection system, which was based on the Advanced Level examination results. Instead, the Ordinary Level certificate was introduced as the new requirement. Critics claim that that was a policy lapse as it cheapened university education and lowered the need to achieve in students (Mwanakatwe 1974:64). The university authorities put their foot down by raising the entry qualification to the first-degree course and extended its duration from three to four years to compensate for the loss of sixth form education

Furthermore, a unifying policy was introduced to integrate the fee-paying with the non-fee paying schools so as to end the practice of having one school for the elite and another for the poor. That policy step was also meant to end racism in education. It was felt at the time that fee-paying segregated on the basis of social class, race and economic means. However, it is interesting to note that after more than thirty years, the same fee-paying system has been reintroduced in Zambia. This is a policy turnabout and policy succession.

In the sixties, the government introduced the policy of sending a proportion of primary school pupils who qualified to the secondary schools away from their provinces. It was a measure to achieve national unity and to break tribal barriers. It was in tune with the National Motto of 'One Zambia, One Nation' (Mwanakatwe 1974:62). That policy has worked but at some cost to students who have had to travel long distances to school, away from their parents. In that scenario, schools took on a national bent instead of being locally-based or populated by students from the localities. Hence the school-community alienation.

The private schools which were ran by the missionaries were declared Grant-in-aid schools with government providing 75 per cent of their cost of operation. Government therefore forged a partnership with the private sector. However, the autonomy of the missionary schools was taken away by the government 'bribe' of the grants-in-aid. Large and unwieldy secondary schools became the norm with emphasis on quantity rather than on quality. From 1965 onwards, school populations ranged from 420 to 840 (Mwanakatwe 1974:64 cf. Carmody 1999: 127)

By January 1966, the target of 120 new form one streams had been reached and in 1967, the same number was achieved. Close supervision by the Public Works Department and the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education ensured the high rate of success.

To meet the high demand for graduate secondary school teachers, the Zambian High Commission in London was instructed to recruit and fly in expatriate teachers from Europe and North America (Mwanakatwe 1974:64-65)- a clear manifestation of adhococracy which has remained the trend ever since. The educational system became heavily dependent on external funding for sustenance. It was a bad start and a poor foundation in that it has created a donor-dependency syndrome in the Zambian psyche so much so that the spirit of self-help which is found in other African countries is virtually non-existent in Zambia. The donors in turn have grown weary and are suffering from donor-fatigue. Since the 1990s, they have devised stringent conditionalities for accessing their loans. (cf. Dollar, Kanbur & Lancaster 1999).

#### **5.4.1 THEORY-BASED EDUCATION AND RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION**

In the early years of independence, the policy-makers failed to make long-term capacity building plans, especially in the fields of funding, manpower development and expansion of secondary school infrastructure. It was believed that donor funds would be on stream *ad infinitum* (without end). Furthermore, no adequate plans were made to contain the army of lower secondary school drop-outs, nor were there plans to absorb the ever-increasing numbers of secondary school graduates who poured out into the labour market, ill-equipped and without requisite skills (Kelly 1991:120). These shortcomings persist to this day and they form the focus of this paper which aims to highlight the educational policy gaps.

The manpower projection approach which was adopted did not critically consider the costs and benefits of investing so much in secondary school education which



was, to say the least, non-skilled based. According to Kelly (1991:120), 75 percent of the secondary school graduates who left school were not adequately equipped to enter the world as adults, judging from the type of superficial learning they had acquired. According to him, the type of education offered was teacher-centred in that it required a throwing back of what was said by the teacher or what was given in notes. It did not create room for independent enquiry. Kelly further observed that the quality of teaching was as unimaginative as it was monotonous. Instructional material like books and exercise books were sourced from donor agencies such as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA) (Kelly1991:123). Zambia in particular, suffers from an acute shortage of books and as such books are very expensive. Books in existing libraries are very old, about 40 years behind the current ones. From the 1970s onwards, the secondary school expansion programme stalled as the co-operating partners, namely the World Bank and the Nordic donor countries began dragging their feet. That happened at a time when the global economy was reeling under the weight of the oil crisis (Mwanakatwe 1974:65).

From 1968 to 1969, the World Bank and UNESCO teams shuttled in and out of Zambia to discuss the modalities of the loan being sought by the Zambian Government. The teams discussed the existing educational policy as well as the school curricula. It took four years for the loan agreement to be signed. That was because the two sides had a lot of initial irreconcilable interests. (Mwanakatwe1974: 65)

While the quality and scope of education was improved on on the one hand by the inclusion of more liberal subjects, it was diluted on the other hand by the swelling numbers in the schools which led to shifts, over-enrolment, use of dining-halls for classes, among other problems (Mwanakatwe 1974:71). The government, in line with its policy of eleemosynary economics of providing fee-free education, supplied all the schools with instructional materials and other requirements. The newly opened schools had their supplies coming from the World Bank (Mwanakatwe 1974:69). From 1973 to 1976, the World Bank programme on secondary education was estimated to cost thirty million pounds. The amount was for capital expenditure on school buildings and supply of equipment. (Mwanakatwe 1974:69)

The acceleration of secondary education in Zambia added momentum to the rural-urban migration. It was noted that urban-type education was given in rural settings. That was a policy gap. It was an extension of the colonial type of education that was based on theory and not demand-driven or competence-based. Many school-leavers with theoretical knowledge could not fit into the rural setting. Zambia is therefore said to be one of the most urbanised countries in Africa with about 45 per cent of the population found in the urban areas (Mwanakatwe 1974:71). Despite the effort of the government to develop the rural areas, the influx to the cities increased at an alarming rate as there were no funds to develop rural areas. There was also the fact that secondary education heightened the expectations of the youth who had not had much skill training nor some guidance and counselling. Many of them found rural poverty unbearable

and they elected to go in search of the 'Golden Fleece' in the brightly-lit cosmopolitan areas (Mwanakatwe 1974:71)

In 1977, the Zambian Government introduced a compulsory national service scheme for secondary school graduates to assist them to provide national services such as fighting and protecting the country in the liberation wars, setting up settler farms, undertaking the construction of roads and bridges, among others. (Mwanakatwe 1974:68). Similar schemes were practised in Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania in the early sixties and seventies.

#### **5.4.2 EXPATRIATES IN THE ZAMBIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

The demand for experienced and trained graduate teachers far exceeds the supply. In the 1970s, efforts were made to upgrade the Zambian untrained teachers through conducting workshops, seminars and in-service training. In 1970, there were 541 expatriate teachers in all secondary schools in Zambia. Most of them were from the United Kingdom and the United States. There were others from African countries. Sixty-eight (68) of them were from the Soviet Union, Denmark and Norway (Mwanakatwe 1974:68). In 1994, ten per cent (10%) of all secondary school teachers were expatriates from countries such as Uganda, Ghana, Egypt and Nigeria (Zambia 1994:5). This suggests that since the early independence years, Zambia has not yet come out of its dependency syndrome. (cf. Carmody 1999: 101)

The World Bank and UNESCO noted in the 1970s that secondary school accommodation in Zambia was too lavish when compared to other African countries (Mwanakatwe 1974:70). It would seem to suggest that Zambians like big, showy and expensive things but they do not provide them themselves. This is part of the colonial neurosis created by the paternalistic rule of the colonials in pre-independence Africa. The colonials created the impression that every need of the African had to be planned for and budgeted for in the colonial metropolis for onward transmission of the donor dole-outs to the colonies.

From 1968 to 1972, the capital expansion programme lost momentum as a result of rapid growing population, financial constraints and a declining global economy which affected drastically copper prices (Mwanakatwe 1974:73). The hub of the post-independence expansion of secondary education was provided by the 1966 Education Act CAP 134.

#### **5.5 EDUCATION ACT 1966 CAP 134**

In April 1966, a bill was passed in parliament to enact the Education Act 1966 CAP 134, (In Zambia, relevant chapters of the law are referred to as CAP, Latin meaning capitulum or heading.). The bill became operational on 2 September 1966. The Act ended segregation in education which was the result of the dual-economy consisting of the subsistence and commercial sectors (Mwanakatwe 1974:197). It ended the segregation in school whereby one set of school was principally for whites, Asians and Coloureds and another set for Black natives. The 1966 Act replaced the 1956 African Ordinance which was enacted under the former Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. (cf. Carmody 1999: 100, 106)

The 1966 Act desegregated the secondary schools and designated them into fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools. They were also called scheduled and non-scheduled schools (Mwanakatwe 1974:196). The Act empowered the Minister to make changes to policy by issuing statutory instruments. The Act gave the Minister wide powers to exempt any school from the provision of the Act under certain laid-down conditions. The Act (1966) as amended, deals with school administration and organisation. However, it does not cover higher education. The first part of the Act deals with definitions, ministerial powers and the educational regions of the country (Mwanakatwe 1974:197). Part three of the Act deals with the establishment, maintenance and closure of government schools while part four regulates the registration and control of private schools. Part five covers the establishment and incorporation of Boards of Governors and their functions. Parts six and seven deal with general provisions and transitional provisions for effective operation of the Act as a whole.

The Act was in outline form as it was made flexible to accommodate the exigencies of an expanding economy (Mwanakatwe 1974:197). For example, through ministerial directives or statutory instruments, the minister can set up Parents-Teacher Associations, Private Schools, and Examinations Council, among others. The ministerial directives are backed by force of law. The Act stipulates fines for any infractions of the provisions of the Act with fines not exceeding one hundred pounds or imprisonment of not more than one year or both.

Section 4 of the Act states the Minister's duty as: -

‘...to promote education of people of Zambia and progressive development of institutions devoted for the purpose and to secure the provision of a varied and comprehensive educational service throughout the republic’.

The Act of 1966 states that pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents so far as it will not cause unreasonable public expenditure and is compatible with the general principle. This part of the Act is in consonance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 (3) which states ‘Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.’ (Dag Hammarskjold Lecture 1988:28)

Be that as it may, that right was tampered with in 1976 when through educational reforms, the pro-socialist government imposed an ideologically-based education, in line with its ideology of ‘humanism’. That was a policy contradiction and against the very spirit and letter of the Act.

The Act of 1966 empowers the Minister to cause schools to be inspected regularly and to cause associations of teachers, parents, among others to be recognised. The Act specified the conditions under which the Minister can cause the closure of a school or cause its location to be re-sited.

Part two of the Act established national, regional and district educational councils. The minister appointed the members of these councils. For example, the National Education Council was made up of representatives from the provinces, local council boards of governors, proprietors of private schools and four ex-officio members, including the Permanent Secretary for education (Director-General). The establishment of educational councils was meant to replace the colonial educational authorities whose designation made them sound as if they were autonomous and self-sufficient. The councils were made responsible for education of all races. For example, hitherto, there were native authorities of education for blacks and metropolitan authorities to cater to the needs of the ruling elite, namely the Whites, Asians and Coloureds.

Part four of the Act prescribed that no pupil should be refused admission in a secondary school on the basis of race, religion or any other reason. The Act required private schools to keep proper records of attendance, enrolment and calendar dates to ensure that a minimum number of contact hours is maintained between teachers and pupils in pursuing an approved syllabus of instruction.

Part IV of the Act focuses on school discipline. It debars heads of schools from exercising the right of summary expulsion or suspension of pupils under their care unless such an action is undertaken with written permission from the Minister through his/her representative, the chief education officer. This part of the Act was meant to safeguard the rights of students to have access to education. However, it weakened considerably the powers of school administrators and it created disciplinary dilemmas. All the same, it protected teaching staff and school administrators from unnecessary legal wranglings which could have arisen from their disciplinary measures. All in all, school discipline took a turn for the worse under the new Act and created a nation of permissiveness. This is unlike the situation in South East Asia where discipline is rigidly enforced and it is the success of countries like Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, among others. (*Asia* 21:2000).

The Act, however, made some concessions to heads of schools by giving them powers to suspend students who played truancy; students who refused to sing the national anthem or salute the national flag when they are lawfully required to do so; students who used bad language and whose behaviour endangered school discipline; and those students whose actions were prejudicial to the maintenance of discipline in the hostels. Much as the Act aimed at achieving a balance in educating modified behaviour from school authorities and students, it was difficult to draw the thin line between what rights the school authorities had and those conferred on the student. In that event, there was created a state of indecisiveness and *laissez-faire* which bordered on the anomalous.

Some of the powers given to the heads of schools contradicted the basic tenet of the Act, which stated that parents have the right to have their wards educated according to their wishes. For example, empowering a head of school to suspend a student who failed to salute the national anthem was incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Act, which purported to protect Universal Human Rights.

The Act requires a head of a school to notify the pupil and his/her parents about the intended action of the head and the grounds for such action. It allows parents and the pupil to make representations on the proposed punitive action within 10 days of such notice being served. The head was required by the Act to give proper consideration to the representations made by the pupil and his/her parents. This is seen as practising transparency and the dictum of *audi alterem partem* (listen to the other party).

It must be noted that for a developing country which had just attained independence, the 1966 Act was too liberal and superfluous in some parts, especially those aspects of school discipline. Instead of building up a citizenry of disciplined individuals for nation-building, the Act led to the pampering of students as the hands of school administrators were tied. The legal encumbrances in the Act led to long-winded and unproductive bureaucratic delays and inertia.

The Act stipulates that the Minister, through the chief education officer, may uphold or withdraw the suspension or direct the transfer of the pupil. In the process, stalwarts of the ruling party had a field day in bullying school administrators whenever their wards misbehaved. The one-party system led to a police state whereby state agents were planted secretly in all institutions of learning. School heads had to look over their shoulders any time they were called upon to administer discipline. They were extremely cautious. A parallel can be drawn by referring to the situation behind the iron curtain in the former USSR. By Statutory Instrument No. 293 of 1968, the power of the Minister was delegated to the provincial or district education officer, as the old arrangement was found impracticable. (Mwanakatwe 1974:197-209)

The 1966 Act, in some aspects, was not consistent with African culture which emphasises on reasonable punishment and moral uprightness. The Act was too westernised and it was enacted with a wrong timing. It over-protected students and made school administrators impotent spectators to student misdemeanour. However, some amount of hope was rekindled in the missionary schools where they still insisted on their moral standards. It was a good policy, however, to maintain a parallel system of education whereby grant-aided missionary schools ran side by side with the government institutions.

Mwanakatwe (1974:208) in his defence of the Act, states that at the time, there were many frequent mass expulsions of students in the secondary schools. To stem that tide of events, it became necessary to promulgate the Act. However, he does not provide evidence nor does he furnish reasons for those mass expulsions.

According to A.N. Whitehead (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1975:vol.19: 816-818), education is the purgation of the crudities of the mind. Confucius of China also remarked thousands of years ago that the type of leaders a country has is a reflection of the type of people in that country. He was therefore for the idea of giving a morally strict education that would produce good leaders and citizens. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1975 vol. 4:1091-1108)

In the light of these sayings, it can be said that the 1966 Act in Zambia debased moral education and therefore encouraged a permissive society. With an increase in moral decay in Zambia, exemplified by numerous youthful misadventures, it is

imperative to review the Act to bring sanity in schools. The recently developed *White Paper* (Educating our future 1996 MOE) is silent on moral education except blandly referring to the need to involve students in school activities. This is a serious policy lapse as discipline is the foundation of development and growth of a nation.

When education is administered wholesale to both willing and unwilling students, there is the tendency that tensions will build up in the school system as the unwilling and below-average students will make it impossible for the willing students to learn and achieve their objectives. Without discipline, the weaker students learn to survive by cutting corners or using underhand methods. The good student, on the other hand, becomes heavily dependent on book knowledge and in the process, he/she does not learn much about the practical skills of survival. In the end, the weak student graduates into society fully equipped with all tricks of survival through underhand tactics.

There is no shadow of doubt that the enactment of the 1966 Education Act reformed Zambia's education and continues in its amended form to determine the dynamics of the current system. The 1966 Act Cap 134 is therefore an important policy document that needs revisiting in any future policy formulation process.

## **5.6 STRUCTURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA**

At independence in 1964, secondary education in Zambia lasted for six years from Grade 8 to Grade 13. In 1967, that was reduced to five years (Mwanakatwe 1996: 62). That measure was part of accelerating the supply of middle-level manpower and changing the system from a 6-2-5 to a 6-2-4 system.

Again in 1986, the system was modified to a 7-2-3 model whereby the first seven years constituted primary education, the next two years from Grade 8 to 9 was junior secondary and Grade 10 to 12 was senior secondary (Zambia 1995:85 Education Bulletin. Ministry of Education). The first nine years of schooling from Grade 1 to Grade 9 was considered basic. It was in line with the attainment of universal basic education, which had been agreed to by all countries at international fora.

Some primary schools were therefore upgraded to Grade 9 basic schools. The new system of basic schools led to an army of Grade 9 graduates pouring into the labour market at tender ages of average, fifteen years. 76 percent of the Grade 9 pupils could not make it to the next grade (Mwansa 1993:62). There were neither continuing education schemes nor vocational-technical schools to absorb that category of students. The existing trade schools were only meant to absorb Grade 12s who could not go to the universities. In the process, a crisis situation was created leading to a large pool of half-educated, school drop-outs who swelled the ranks of squatters and unemployed in the squatter compounds surrounding the cities. The principle of targeting states that the optimum method to achieve a given objective is to use a policy that influences that activity directly without distorting other activities (Begg *et al.* 1991:595). The ad hoc policies which were adopted towards secondary education in the early sixties were not focused but rather used as a shotgun approach with multiple targets. ( cf. Carmody 1999: 105)

It was also observed that female participation at the secondary school level was low and it remained at an average of 36 per cent (Silanda 1988:62 quoted in Mwansa 1993:62). The low female participation rate is attributed to cultural attitudes and prejudice of men as family heads. Female participation is higher in the urban than in the rural areas and it reduces as they advance on the educational ladder. The low participation rate of females in the educational system is a policy lapse, which is being actively tackled in Zambia by the government and NGOs.

In the process of delivering cheap basic education, many unintended problems were created. In the first place, no capacity-building measures were put in place to absorb the army of grade 9 dropouts. In the second place, the programme was hastily implemented with no adequate qualified trained teachers.

In the event, some primary school teachers were upgraded to teach in the secondary classes. The upshot was the massive failures recorded at the grade nine final examinations (Mwansa 1993:63). The implementation of the basic education programme coincided, unfortunately, with one of the worst economic recessions of the 1980s and the Zambian Government was hard put to it funding the schools. (Carmody 1999: 105). These problems called for reforms and review which came in the 1976-1978 and 1986-1988 reforms.

## 5.7 EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN ZAMBIA

The ills created in the educational system caused two major reform movements to be launched. The first one covered the period 1976 to 1978 and the second one was from 1986 to 1988.

The 1976-78 reform movement was aimed at slowing down the downward slide in the quality of education (Kelly 1991:159-160). There was also a felt need to address the issues of poor examination results, shortage of teachers and changing the curricula to fit the aspirations of national development. It was observed that the old curricula were a legacy from the colonial era and therefore they needed to be indigenised. The ruling government also wanted to use the opportunity to politicise the curricula by introducing its version of African socialism, *Humanism*. The socialist government felt that the old system created social stratification as well as white-collar job mentality. It wanted to change the system to a skills-based education (Kelly 1991:160 cf. Carmody 1999: 97, 117-119).

The reform took a top-down approach in that the proposals were made and handed down to the people to debate on. 40,000 copies of the proposal manuals were distributed countrywide and the great national debate was conducted on television, radio and in the print media (Lungu 1985:294). It was not a genuine participation process as it was a form of pseudo-participation or a form of window-dressing. At the time of the debate on TV and radio, many Zambians did not have those facilities nor did they understand clearly the delicate issues at stake. Unfortunately, only the elite monopolised the debate as majority of people were illiterate (Lungu 1985:294). The aspect on political indoctrination of the curricula elicited a bitter opposition from the churches and the middle class. The churches argued that the concept of *humanism* put man at the centre of things and therefore it was a rejection of God, which in turn was also a rejection of man.

(Carmody 1999: 117-119). In the end, the government compromised by accepting incremental changes. Lungu (1985:294) states.

‘It is readily apparent that the elite or the well-to-do section of the Zambian society has the upper hand in the formulation of educational policy. Evident too is the preference for gradual reform strategies rather than the officially declared ‘radical changes....’

The situation of top-down policy-making and incrementalism is still prevalent in Zambia as can be seen from the relative docility of the people in not openly expressing their views when it comes to government policies. This behaviour of aloofness, apathy and indifference to authority is the bane of African politics (cf. Almond & Verba *ibid*). Civil society is yet to have its impact on national policy formulation. The reform movement of 1976-78 was an attempt to adopt a welfare state, based on a variant of African scientific socialism (Lungu 1985:293). Had pluralism been followed, civil society would have developed and made invaluable inputs into the process of policy-making. The onset of monolithic politics did a disservice to the democratic ethos in Africa in general and Zambia in particular. For 27 years, the culture of silence led to the rot and decay in educational standards. However, the monolithic era had its high points as corruption and crime were very minimal in those days as compared to the post-1991 plural politics era.

The outcome of the 1976-78 reform was to introduce an economically unrealistic policy of free public education comprising free tuition and free boarding and lodging. The policy was launched at the peak of the global oil crisis. At the time, education was considered a *conditio sine qua non* (absolute necessity) and a *desideratum*. It was viewed as a vehicle for upward social mobility. It was also viewed as a driver for rapid economic growth. However, little was it realised that general education is in fact no education, as it does not tailor its possessor to a particular niche in the labour market. The poet Alexander Pope, states that

‘...a little learning is a dangerous thing’ and that it is better to ‘drink deep or taste not the Pierian springs where shallow draughts intoxicate the brain and drinking deep sobers the mind once again’ (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1975 vol.14 p.796-798).

Education, per se, became a status symbol and it was pursued for its own sake rather than for its utilitarian benefits. Porter (1990:87) states that for nations to gain national competitive advantage, they must focus resources on specific educational institutions whose products are focused specifically on specific needs of the labour market. In short, education should be demand-driven, innovative and aimed at imparting rare skills needed in specific areas. The views of Porter must be taken seriously by top policy-makers in Africa if African countries are to keep abreast with the net speed of the globalisation process that is based on knowledge-based industries and the nurturing of *technopreneurs* who grow the sunrise enterprises.

The second phase of reform occurred in 1986. It was when the Education Reform



Implementation Interim Report 1986 was published by academics at the University of Zambia.

The report noted in part that the school and community were not well integrated and that the educational system was still bearing carry-overs from the colonial era. They noted that the school system existed as a discrete entity from the community. They also observed that the schools and communities did not share common facilities nor did they have good rapport. The observation pointed out that the secondary schools were ensconced from the community, as they constituted themselves into exclusive ivory towers. The symbiotic existence expected to exist between the two entities was lacking. The report blamed the situation on the centralisation of authority which could be found in the long hierarchical chain starting from the district to the national headquarters in Lusaka. The schools lacked the autonomy to respond to the immediate needs of their environments and also looked outwards to the Central Government for sustenance (Educational Implementation Reforms 1986:82). If education is to equip the pupil for work and life, then the community should have a hand in charting that direction. The recent trend in Zambia of creating community schools is a welcome development.

The report also charged that the curricula which had been unrevised for the previous 25 years was *theoretical-based* and it provided few opportunities for practical and independent thinking. The observation was that the system churned out school-leavers that had the barest minimum of grades to secure jobs in a choked labour market (Educational Implementation Report 1986:82-83). It was the contention of the Report that the curricula was biased in favour of the elite who had the means to reproduce themselves in their children by sending them to good private schools (Educational Implementation Report 1986:83). It was most unfortunate that the two reform movements did not address the issue of donor-dependency. The 1986 Report, however, did recommend to schools and institutions to maintain their capital infrastructure. ( cf. Carmody 1999: 105)

## 5.8 DEPENDENCY IN EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

Zambia's dependency on external aid is monumental as in 1977 the ratio of aid to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 10.2 per cent and in 1985, it was 24.9 per cent (Kelly 1991:64). The aid dependency per capita from 1980 to 1985 was put at US \$70. It was estimated also that about 23 percent of the total aid were in the form of technical co-operation (Kelly 1991:64. cf. Maipose 1997:28).

Since 1983, Zambia has been acquiring over \$500 million loans and grants (Natech 1998:297). Aid to education in Zambia has been given on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Bilateral aid has come principally from Japan, Britain, Norway, Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, Ireland, Finland and the United States of America. The multilateral aid agencies have been the World Bank, the European Union, the UNDP and UNESCO. Total aid from 1976 to 1978 was put at US\$24 million. From 1978 to 1981, it was US\$50.7 million and from 1982 to 1984 it amounted to US\$50 million (Kelly 1991:65).

Aid money was used mostly for manpower development and for capital infrastructure such as secondary school premises and the provision of instructional equipment. From 1977 to 1988, the donor agencies focused on secondary school and university education. However, from 1988 to 1991, the emphasis has shifted to primary basic education (Kelly 1991:66).

According to Kelly (1991:60), the donors had a soft spot for Zambia in view of the fact that Zambia is a landlocked country and it suffered a great deal from the effects of the liberation wars which were waged in the neighbouring countries. In the mid-1980s, the global recession caused copper prices to fall. That affected the foreign exchange earning of the country.

In the seventies and eighties, donor aid assisted a lot of Zambians to gain scholarships to study overseas in order to acquire the skills necessary for manning the schools. However, the scheme assisted in the initial stages but with time, most of the beneficiaries who returned decided to go to the neighboring countries where working conditions were better. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also taken a heavy toll on manpower in the schools.

The existence of a plethora of donor agencies created problems as each had its own demands, methods and agenda. It was difficult to co-ordinate and focus on a single line of action. Instead of having homegrown remedies, the donors foisted their programmes on the Zambian people (Kelly 1991:67. cf. Kanbur *et al* 1999:16). A pool of donor aid for participatory development is the approach advocated for by Kanbur and others.

At one point in time, the Zambian Government called upon the donor agencies to assist in financing recurrent expenditure for salaries and office logistics (Kelly 1991:67). That was going a bit too far with donor largesse. Had donor assistance been taken as a launching pad for take-off, the situation would have been different today. As it turned out, over-reliance on donor support created a permanent vicious cycle of dependency that is difficult to break. The aid packages were not used to build capacity building for future self-reliance or sustainable development. That was a serious policy lapse as policy-makers should have been visionary, proactive and entrepreneurial.

## **5.9 EDUCATION PLANNING AND DONOR AID RECYCLING**

The planning unit of the Ministry of Education was not functional because of some constraints. It lacked qualified personnel and office equipment. The personnel at the planning unit spent their time mainly on execution of donor projects and manpower projections (Kelly 1991:157). The planning unit was also saddled with reconciling central control with local initiatives which involved the rehabilitation of some schools in conjunction with donor support.

In the 1980s, the unit was revamped when it received donations of motor vehicles and computers from the donors (Kelly 1991:158). According to Kelly, the planning unit was involved in policy formulation and education reforms up to 1978. Thereafter, it became marginalised and it was relegated to the banal work of manpower forecasting. The unit did not have a proper database as records were poorly kept and handled in manual files. The unit had no facilities for

research and programme evaluation (Kelly 1991:158). In effect, policy-making was more a creative rather than a rational or scientific process.

To make matters worse, the staff in the planning units were frequently moved around, leading to lack of continuity in their work. With the onset of the global economic crunch in the eighties, the planning unit was affected adversely as resources were diverted from them and they were made to concentrate on quantitative needs instead of paying attention to quality and effectiveness (Kelly 1991:159). Their resources were overstretched as they were made to keep tabs on the various donor-sponsored projects in outlying parts of the country.

It was reckoned that much of the aid given to Zambia was recycled back into the donor countries in a reverse transfer fashion. The donors inserted in the aid clauses, the need to provide their own technical staff to man their projects and also awarding fellowships to Zambian staff to study in their countries. (Kelly 1991:73).

Kelly asserts that about 36 percent of money invested in education did not achieve its objective because of the high rate of wastage and dropout rate in the secondary school system (Kelly 1991:129). It was observed that prudence was sacrificed for politics. Boesen (1987:3 quoted in UNESCO 1995) stated that weak administrative capacity made donor support absorption difficult as there was need to train non-governmental organisations in the act of co-ordination, training and management. In Zambia's case, many policy-makers and implementers did not possess management skills and therefore they could not properly manage and account for donor money (cf. Lancaster 1999:24)

In 1986, the Education Reform Implementation Interim Report noted that the question of maintenance of secondary school infrastructure was a Zambian responsibility and that no more should people look up to the generosity of donors. The report called on the private sector to assist secondary education (Education Reform 1986:303). The Report called on parents, students and teachers to take preventive measures in preserving the infrastructure. Despite the massive donor support given to Zambia in the field of education, performance indicators posted poor results.

#### **5.10 PERFORMANCE INDICATORS OF THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA**

Between 1986 to 1995, secondary school enrolments rose by 27 percent (Ministry of Education 1995:iv). Since the eighties, no physical expansion has taken place in secondary school infrastructure. From 1982, government capital budget for the maintenance of secondary schools started declining and the funds, which were provided by the World Bank and the Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD), were no more forthcoming. However, NORAD agreed to assist in the maintenance of the schools through the Zambian Educational Planning Implementation Unit (ZEPIU) (Mwanakatwe 1974:294-295). At the time, the total cost of rehabilitation works was put at 38.7 million kwacha (Lungu 1985:298). The proliferation of secondary schools in the seventies and the policy

of free education put government in control of all schools. That put a big burden on the government for the maintenance of physical infrastructure.

The following table shows the enrolment in secondary schools for selected years.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Enrolment</u>
1964	13,850
1965	16,843
1968	42,388
1970	52,472
1973	65,750
1980	94,595
1995	178,209

Source: Ministry of Education 1995 Education Statistics Bulletin.

The 10-year fee-free basic education that was introduced in the 1976–78 Education for Development Reform also suggested the replacement of the Cambridge external examination by a local body. In 1978, the Examinations Council of Zambia (ECZ) was established with affiliation to Cambridge. In 1983, ECZ did not have the capacity to print and guarantee the security of papers. Moreover, at the time there were not many qualified examiners. ECZ was therefore set up as part of the Africanisation process without much consideration for the technical details. Examination papers up to this day have continued to be printed and to be set in London. ECZ has been dogged by examination leakages, which reached its peak in 1998 when almost all the examination papers leaked. It was attributed to complicity of its officials who have since been apprehended and prosecuted.

The abolition of sixth form in 1966 lowered educational standards, as it became easier to enter the University with ordinary level results. Students were not challenged enough to strive to overachieve as used to be the case in the past. In addition, the introduction of free education in the late sixties made the government take a tall order, as it could not cope with the increasing demand for education. In the process, standards fell.

In 1989, the Minister of Higher Education introduced fees in Universities. The announcement was made in the Economic and Financial Policy Framework Paper. It said, *inter alia*, 'In order to strengthen the financial resources base for education, Zambia has introduced user-fees for the beneficiaries of secondary and high education and instituted cost effective measures' (UNICEF 1994:23). That statement was made by a Minister in the same regime that had earlier on abolished school fees in 1967. It was a policy reversal which showed inconstancy and lack of continuity. It was also a sign of not having long-term planning. Kelly

(in UNICEF 1994:3) notes that the drastic reduction in funding for education resulted in parents feeling reluctant to send their children to school as cost-sharing stretches the ability of poor families who have no jobs or who are robbed of their breadwinners through HIV/AIDS - related deaths. The re-introduction of fees did not make a national provision for the vulnerable groups in society and that could be seen as a policy gap. One would expect loan schemes, endowment, education insurance and scholarships to be instituted to assist the poor. ( cf. Carmody 1999: 150-152)

In 1987, the National Development Plan set forth that the education of children was primarily the duty of parents and it is they who must ultimately provide the necessary resource for education (UNICEF 1994:26). That statement failed to realise that in a weak economy, the onus of educating the nation must be a partnership between the state and the parents. Education is a socially desirable good which if left alone will not be consumed in sufficient quantities. The table below shows the percentage expenditures on education for selected years.

#### Public expenditure on education

Year	%GNP
1985	4.5
1995	1.8

Source : Zambia-Education Bulletin 1995

In the Southern African Development Community (SADC), it is estimated that countries on average spend 25 per cent of government expenditure on education while in Zambia, the figure covers between 8 per cent to 13 percent (UNICEF 1994:9-10: Zambia National Policy 1996:172). It is estimated that 61 percent of Zambians are in absolute poverty while 77 percent of all rural inhabitants are extremely poor. It is also reckoned that 39 percent of all children are malnourished (UNICEF 1994:9-10). Such a scenario indicates that shifting the responsibility of education to parents through user-fees is a big burden and a negation of the policy of achieving universal basic education. A mechanism should be worked out through loan schemes or other means to avail secondary school education to all that need it.

In advanced countries, publicly-borne unit costs at university level are five or six times those in primary schools. In Zambia, it was 266 times that of the primary school in 1992 and 164 times in 1993 (UNICEF 1994). (See the appendix for comparative figures).

These figures show a misguided allocation of scarce resources. It is estimated that 65 per cent of all educational expenditure go to emoluments while 14 percent is spent on student bursaries and only 2 percent on instructional material. Despite the fact that 65 percent of expenditure is allocated to emoluments, teachers are relatively lowly paid so much so that they are demotivated. It is observed that in Zambia, teachers report to work drunk and in most cases there is a high rate of absenteeism and parents have expressed worry about contact time between teachers and pupils (UNICEF 1994:25).

UNICEF is of the opinion that if teachers' salaries are not improved, no amount of donor funding will yield any positive results in the educational system (UNICEF 1994:2).

Public Expenditure on Education at Different levels

	1985	1995
<u>Level</u>	%	%
Primary	43.9	41.5
Secondary	26.9	18.4
Tertiary	18.3	23.2

Source: Zambia-The Development of education 1994-1996 p.161

Comparing the figures for 1985 and 1995, it could be seen that the expenditure on secondary education fell from 26.9 percent to 18.4 percent while that of tertiary education rose from 18.3 per cent to 23.2 per cent.

The following data shows current expenditure per pupil as percentage of GNP per capita:

	1985	1995
<u>Level</u>	%	%
Primary	9	4
Secondary	53	9
Tertiary	441	160

Source: Zambia-The Development of education 1994-1996 p.161

The expenditure per pupil figures indicate that while expenditure on the primary pupil fell by more than half, that for the secondary student fell almost six times as before and that for the tertiary student fell about three times its previous level. Relatively, the secondary student is the worst off among the three.

Overall expenditure per pupil fell for all categories of students. This is an indication of lowering of academic standards. According to Fuller (quoted in Kelly 1991:105), there is a positive relationship between school expenditure per pupil and achievement. Thus the reduction of government expenditure on education as a result of dwindling incomes affected the quality of education. In 1994, Botswana spent 19.3% of government budget on education while that for Zambia was 6.2 %. Zambia's education therefore falls far short of standards in the southern region of Africa (Ronan 199. Seminar Kitwe).

Government expenditure as percentage of total on education

<u>Year</u>	1980	1982	1983	1985	1988	1989	1994
%	8.3	13.9	18.1	13.5	8.8	11.6	6.2

Source: Education Bulletin 1995:24

Much of the expenditure on education is devoted to recurrent expenditure with very little devoted to Capital expenditure. The following table shows the allocation in percentage.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Recurrent Expenditure</u>	<u>Capital Expenditure</u>
1991	89.76	10.24
1992	93.08	6.92
1993	94.67	5.33
1994	86.01	13.99
1995	92.60	7.40

(Source: Education Bulletin 1995:24).

The breakdown of government expenditure on education indicates that there is not much room to budget for capital expansion as much of the money is needed for emoluments and running costs. This does not augur well for the public in the sense that the future accessibility to secondary education is being stifled. In 1995, there was an estimated number of 666 secondary schools of various categories in Zambia for a population of 9 million people. That works out to about one secondary school for 13,000 people. It is also estimated that every one in three Zambians is of school-going age. Therefore, of the 13,000 people, about 4000 of them should be school-going children who have access to only one secondary school. These schools can absorb, on average, 300 pupils from grades 8 to 12. This means that about 3700 children will not have access to secondary schools unless alternate arrangements are made. The alternate secondary school arrangements could include correspondence education through distance learning, continuing education centres, community night schools, among others. (cf SA in resource base learning).

The tables below indicate class sizes and number of pupils in schools by ages.

Class sizes (average)-1995

<u>Government schools</u>	<u>Grant-aided schools</u>	<u>Private</u>
46	42	35

Source: Education Bulletin 1995:IV

The class size for government schools is bigger than for both the grant-aided and private schools. Since a majority of the schools are government schools, it shows how the quality of government schools is in terms of quality of teaching and administrative problems of control, logistics and teacher preparation.

### Number of secondary schools-1995

<u>Government</u>	<u>Grant-aided</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Total</u>
147	44	55	411	657

Source: Education Bulletin 1995:35

The basic schools are upgraded primary schools that end in grade 9. They are no more than glorified primary schools and their standards are not as high as those in the government or grant-aided schools.

### Age distribution of pupils 1990 to 1994

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Age group					
7-13	1,490,501	1,510,222	1,527,080	1,537,147	1,539,073
14-18	969,314	984,349	993,660	1,002,256	1,013,255
%Total	33.3	33.9	29.5	28.8	30.9
Population					

Source: Education Bulletin 1994:14

In 1995, there were a total of 7587 secondary school teachers for a secondary school population of 178,073 (Education Bulletin 1995:45). This works out to give 23 pupils per teacher. However, as there were 666 schools in 1995, this works out to about 12 teachers per school. There is a teacher-population ratio of one secondary teacher to 1200 of the population. Since one-third of the population is school-going, this works out to one secondary school teacher to 400 school-going children.

For every female teacher, there were 3 male teachers. In 1995, there were 5747 male secondary school teachers and 1840 female secondary school teachers (Education Bulletin 1995:45). This unbalanced sex ratio has an impact on the girl child in that she tends to have fewer role models than should be the case. To accelerate the pace of girl-child education, there are many programmes to assist her. For example, there is the programme for the Advancement of Girl-Child Education (PAGE). There is positive discrimination in favour of girls as their cut-off point for selection to secondary schools is often lower than that for boys (Education Bulletin 1994:18).

Available data indicates that the number of girls in secondary schools reduces from grades 8 to grade 12 due to factors such as pregnancies, early marriages, looking after families at an early age, lack of adequate boarding facilities for girls, failures at the promotional examinations, among others (Education Bulletin 1995:39).



In 1995, out of 178,000 secondary school students, 40 791 of them were boarders, constituting 23 per cent of the total. Of the 40 791, there were 15, 703 or about 40% female boarders. Boarding schools are expensive to run and they absorb resources which otherwise would have gone into creating more chances for day-release students. However, boarding schools have advantages, especially for orphaned pupils. They also help to inculcate discipline in students who are given the chance to live in groups and to exercise some form of self-direction, independence and the ability to get along in a regimented school atmosphere. For a student to be denied the chance of having boarding school education is a great social robbery that goes a long way to affect the social fabric and the perceptions of those denied the chance. Boarding schools may be seen as elitist and luxury institutions. Whatever they are, their merits outweigh their demerits. The 'bastardisation' of education through the state take-over of secondary schools in the mid-sixties affected the growth and quality of secondary boarding schools. In Britain, for example, people pride themselves on having attended famous secondary schools such as Eton, Rugby, Harrow, among others.

The current free market reforms of the Zambian Government should provide a platform for private entrepreneurs to establish qualitative boarding schools. The current boarding schools are no more than starving centres and empty shells of once glorious institutions. They need to be revamped and revitalised to their former glory. To do that requires research and identification of problems.

## **5.11 CONTEMPORARY ISSUES ON EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA**

Female education in Zambia has been recognised as a means of empowerment for national development. Females constitute 35 percent of enrolments in grade 12 in Zambia. The United Nations Fund for Population Activity (UNFPA) reports that half of all primary school-aged girls are not in school and also that teenage pregnancies are on the increase (*Daily Mail* 14 August 1999 p.4).

Despite the lobbying of NGOs and advocacy groups, there is still a low participation rate of females in education in Zambia. The Forum for African Women in Education in Zambia (FAWEZA) says that the high drop-out rates among girls is due to socio-economic factors, cultural beliefs and quality of schooling. Many girls drop out because of poor performance in the numerical and science-based subjects. The Government of Zambia, in conjunction with the British Government, has established a plan to improve these subjects. It is known as the Action to Improve English, Mathematics and Science (AIEMS). The programme has established networks at the district levels to provide teachers with resources.

In September 1997, the Government of Zambia made a policy statement that pregnant girls should be allowed to continue in school so as to reduce the high rate of illiteracy among women. However, that policy is yet to find its practical implementation as it raises a host of moral, social and administrative questions. It remains one of those symbolic policies which are used to score political points but which in reality are difficult to implement on the ground (*Daily Mail* 1999 p.4).

The Minister of Education in a policy statement on the closure of the University of Zambia declared, inter alia, that 'the Minister is the custodian of education policy on behalf of government and defends and answers on behalf of government in parliament' (*Daily Mail* 24 July 1999:8-9). That statement reflects the importance of government responsibility in protecting its interest by adopting policies that promote their own cause as well as that of the electorate. In this particular instance, the Minister was asserting the prerogative of the government as an elected and mandated authority to determine the direction of policy in pursuit of law and order, the public good, among others. The statement by the Minister also implied that the government has the right as trustee and custodian of the public interest, to advance policy direction that fulfils its obligation to the *social contract*. In the dispute and stalemate between the government and the university lecturers, the lecturers claimed they were under-paid and that government had failed to honour its earlier commitment to improve their perks. The government had countered that its commitment was tied to its ability to pay. The dispute caused the University to be closed for five months and it was the innocent students who suffered. This is an example of an unintended outcome of a government policy.

In a press statement, the Deputy Minister of education had agreed that basic education standards in Zambia had fallen since 1992 as a result of financial difficulties. Addressing NGOs, the Minister said that a year into office in 1992, they had found that the quality of basic education was below acceptable standards and that the motivation of teachers was at its lowest point. (*Daily Mail* 25 August 1999:2). The Minister attributed the situation to inadequate public expenditure on education, as one factor. He also pointed out that schools were overcrowded with rundown infrastructure, inadequate education materials and equipment, among others (also Nagle 1992:216). The Minister challenged stakeholders in civil society to assess whether the existing educational policies had been both adequate and supportive enough or whether they were effective in addressing the identified challenges. It is evident that government, in addressing issues such as girl-child education, conflicting interests, among others, will act within certain parameters determined by financial constraints, party manifesto and the manifest style of governance.

#### **5.11.1 PERSONNEL PROBLEMS IN ZAMBIA EDUCATION**

On a front-page lead story of the *Daily Mail Newspaper*, it was reported that the number of teachers who die per year is more than the number of teachers coming out of the teacher training colleges. In the same article, UNICEF reported that life expectancy in Zambia had dropped from 49 years to 37 years as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Infant mortality for children below one year was put at 109 per thousand of the population (*Daily Mail* 29 September 1999:1). These are worrying statistics which call for effective human resource policy to stem the tide of untimely deaths. Politicians need to take a leading role and actively committing themselves to support behaviour change programmes for the working population.

In a similar development, the *Daily Mail Newspaper* reported that the Minister of Education was worried that from 1998 to mid-1999, the Ministry had lost 1000 teachers through deaths. He was more worried when he observed that of the

number, 600 had died in the first half of 1999. He said that because of that sad development, the Ministry was hard put to it meeting the required number of manpower for the schools. The Minister said, ' this is worrying if within such a short period of time you have figures doubling. This has been one of the major causes of shortage of staff in school' (*Daily Mail* 4 August 1999: *passim*).

In the same issue of the *Daily Mail*, an educationalist at the University of Zambia lamented that teachers of civics in Zambia were so poor that they cannot afford to buy newspapers, television sets, radios, among others to keep abreast of developments. The educationalist further observed that in that kind of scenario, students from elite homes tended to be better informed than their teachers. He called for the improvement of teachers' salaries so that they can afford the basic needs of life. The ruling Government of Zambia has yet to honour its pre-election pledge in 1991 to improve the lot of teachers and to bring their conditions of service in line with standards in neighbouring countries.

From 1969 to 1986, 2060 professional graduate teachers were produced in Zambia, an average of 120 graduate teachers per year over the period (Kelly 1991:136). This number is grossly inadequate to meet demand. Government policy needs to be modified to encourage rapid training and development of teaching manpower. The current situation whereby only one University out of the existing two trains graduate professional teachers is inadequate.

The University of Zambia (UNZA) Faculty of Education can absorb only a small fraction of the annual intake of about 2000 students (Kelly 1991: Education Bulletin 1995). There is need to encourage the setting up of private Universities or distance-learning institutions. The government has to sponsor teachers in a staff development programme to undertake courses in educational methodology.

The inspectorate's role has gone down considerably due to shortage of inspectors and lack of finance and transport (Kelly 1991:156). During the period in question, only 1 out of 7 schools was inspected. Schools are located in forlorn and inaccessible places. The table below shows the Inspector-teacher ratios for different years.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Inspector/Teacher ratio</u>
1975	1 inspector to 150 teachers
1980	1 inspector to 220 teachers
1985	1 inspector to 360 teachers

SOURCE: (Kelly 1991:156)

With infrequent and inadequate inspections, teachers fail to obtain feedback on their performance as a way of motivation and an in-built controlling and correctional device. Without inspections, education officials fail to get information about the critical problems. They fall into the trap of making policies without concrete facts from the field. Inevitably, these policies invariably founder or fail to deliver.

The inspectorate unit needs to be activated by providing it with adequate funds, personnel and logistics. Armchair inspectors are no good to the system. As things are, there are many newly-appointed teachers whose work has not been inspected for years for them to be confirmed in their posts. These teachers have become disillusioned.

A Zambian computer technologist has pointed out that technological illiterate students risk being left out on the job market. He lamented that the 4040 primary schools, 201 secondary schools and two universities countrywide lacked basic computer skills and that that affected decision-making. He further observed that those leaders in government, commerce and academia would not be effective if they lacked technological insight. (*Daily Mail* 27 July 1999: *passim*)

These observations are pertinent to the level of computer illiteracy in Zambian secondary schools. Very few secondary schools have one or two computers. There is no policy yet on computer education in secondary schools in Zambia. In assessing the problem of availability of teachers, there is also need to critically examine the calibre of teachers vis-a- vis the social-economic environment.

#### **5.11.2 SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES IN ZAMBIA**

A report issued by the Auditor- General's Department exposed rampant misuse of project funds for the World Bank Micro Project Unit (MPU) in North-Western province of Zambia (*Daily Mail* 20 August 1999:2, author unknown). The report noted that several millions of kwacha had gone missing and that some parents and teachers in the Province were involved in the fraud.

This is just an example of the magnitude of corruption and turpitude rife in the education system. Funds designated for projects are diverted into personal accounts as the process of accountability is poor. There is a long and winding bureaucratic process of unnecessary documentation and also improper filing of manual records. Records get missing from the files in order to obliterate the possibility of tracing them (cf. Blunt & Popoola 1985:25-34).

Policies need to be put in place to tighten controls as well as improve the financial handling of public funds. Internal and external financial audits need to be carried out frequently. Blunt and Popoola (1985:35) suggest that systemic and bureaucratic corruption can best be combated through open communication and organisational development rather than through tight controls. Be that as it may, this herculean task of cleansing the system of corruption has to start first with the top policy-makers.

UNICEF has reported that there are 75,000 street children in Zambia of which 10,000 are in Lusaka, the capital. The report also commented that it is not a matter of making schools available but that there should be availability of quality teaching aid. It was also noted that the extended family system, which tended to support individuals was vanishing and that was as a result of the harsh economy. In the process, administrators of deceased persons tend to grab the property of the deceased and to throw out the surviving spouse and children. This makes children

to discontinue their secondary education and to take to the streets. (*Daily Mail* 27 July 1999:6)

The UNICEF 1999 Country Report indicated that there are 600,000 children in Zambia who do not go to school. Furthermore, the Report indicated that 70 percent of Zambians live in poverty with 55 per cent of people not being able to satisfy their nutritional needs. These scenarios suggest that the challenges of secondary school education in particular and overall education in general, need to be approached and analysed contextually. That also calls for addressing the fundamental socio-economic problems before taking on the superficial problems created in the educational sector. As it were, educational policies directed to educational problems merely have symbolic and cosmetic effects. A comparative study of *capita selecta* globally can reveal insights. These issues of *capita selecta* will be addressed in the next chapter.

## 5.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Eight years following Zambia's independence in 1964, the country was turned into a one-party socialist state by the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP). It led to a process of indigenisation, nationalisation, africanisation and the adoption of a centralist approach to planning. Free enterprise and competition were stifled. Zambia also took a political stance in both regional and global geopolitics, which affected her politically, economically and socially. With a monocultural economy in a landlocked country, it was hard to forge ahead without external assistance.

The first attempt to introduce secondary education in Zambia was in 1939 at the beginning of the Second World War. Colonial policy stalled on the introduction of secondary education in Zambia until external and internal factors made its onset inevitable. At the outset, the colonial government had wanted a federal type of set-up for the former contiguous colonies of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These attempts were fiercely resisted by the African nationalists who demanded separate secondary schools for each colony. The upshot was the first black secondary school in Zambia set up in 1939 as Munali Secondary School.

Before independence, demand for secondary school education was not high as the standard six certificate could easily secure the holder a good job in the dual-economy created by colonial rule.

The dawning of independence in 1964 marked a watershed in education policy direction in Zambia. The pre-independence system of separate racial schools under separate educational authorities was abrogated with the enactment of the 1966 Education Act. The Act Cap 134 unified all schools and made education free and accessible to all without let or hindrance. However, opening the floodgates of education created congestion in schools and ultimately it led to the lowering of the quality of education. Quality was sacrificed on the altar of quantity. Ideological considerations superseded rational and pragmatic considerations. The backlog of demand for further education could not be matched adequately on the supply side. There was insufficiency of educational inputs like classrooms, trained

public officials need to adopt a high profile approach in their leadership and behavior-change roles in the society. Chapter 6 which follows this chapter will examine some selected comparative *capita selecta* from different countries in order to be able to examine how educational policy implementation problematics in Zambia can be viewed from the global perspective.

## CHAPTER 6

### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL *CAPITA SELECTA* WITH REFERENCE TO ZAMBIA

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 attempts to undertake a comparative analysis of *capita selecta* from countries such as the United States, former USSR, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Ghana, Nigeria and Botswana. This is done in the belief that the Zambia experience can be contextualised in the global milieu and insights on the way forward can be gained.

The first part of the chapter begins by looking at what transitional economies are in terms of their characteristic features and their response to the need for changes in education. This is linked on to the ever-pervasive and omnipresent globalisation process. In examining the process in the former USSR, an attempt is made to examine the efforts made to build synergies between school and work and to integrate school and the community.

The former USSR experience is juxtaposed with the experience in the USA as the two countries, prior to 1990, were engaged in the technological superiority race as well as the geopolitics of the Cold War. The USA reform process offers an insight into how national policies can be adopted and adapted to local needs. This is of significance to a developing country like Zambia.

Next in line is Sudan which is chosen specifically as an African experience which provides hindsight. Sudan also shares many developmental problems with Zambia as regards heavy external debt burden, low per capita income, a monocultural economy, heavy dependence on external aid, among others. The reforms in education in Sudan met with many challenges which offer food for thought.

On the issue of decentralisation and capacity building at the grassroots, Trinidad and Tobago is chosen for the unique way the community was mobilised for participation and collaboration in the education promotion exercise. The Trinidadian experience was innovative in adapting her meagre resources to match with rapid increases in its youthful population.

Development is seen as a two-way process between the central government and its component parts as well as its co-operating partners such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). In this vein, considerable attention is paid to the work of NGOs, especially in South Africa.

The issue of street children is picked on as one of the *capita selecta*. It is seen as a spill-over effect of general social malaise and also a reflection of the paucity of official policy in addressing basic issues of need in a modern world gravitating towards the welfare state. The issue of street children is part of the failure of education policy to contain this segment of society. A critical review of the literature reveals that this is an inter-agency problem. Notwithstanding that fact, education policy has a bearing on the problem.

In this era of globalisation, no problem can be considered as being exclusively for the rich countries or exclusively for the poor ones. In this light, the issue of special education is tackled as it affects gifted children, physically impaired children, problem children and school drop-outs. The drop-outs are discussed in the light of policy failures.

Traditional education is also discussed vis-à-vis Western education and the special cases of Botswana, Nigeria and Ghana are looked at. The issue of traditional education is tackled from the viewpoint of cultural diffusion and the need to have endogenous development which is built on internal strengths and values.

Chapter 6 ends with a discussion of Zambia's past performance in education and its implications for the future. Of particular interest is the issue of the local languages and their rehabilitation.

All in all, educational policy analysis tends to have ramifications into other disciplines but in this chapter, an attempt is made to touch on the topical issues which often require politicians and top public officials especially in Zambia to take notice. Such issues can be encapsulated as issues bordering, on for example, improving the quality of life through appropriate education and that of ensuring the upholding of human rights. However, some of these issues raise ethical questions which are beyond the remit of this enquiry.

That notwithstanding, an attempt is made to objectively raise these delicate topical issues as normative considerations cannot be ruled out of policy-making. Some of the issues raised have political, social, economic, administrative, professional and methodological connotations which cannot be addressed in this paper.

These days, the process of globalisation is impacting on national policy-makers who are called upon to pay attention to internal and external lobby and advocacy groups who seek strategic interventions on narrow issues bordering on the welfare of their members and proteges. These bodies publish reports on issues such as gender parity, street children, youth unemployment, gifted children, juvenile delinquents, HIV/AIDS orphans, among others. Zambia is no exception to the searchlight of these NGOs.

It is the hope of this chapter that education policy-makers will devote more attention to these issues by sensitising their counterparts in other areas of



governance so that a collective effort can be made to roundly and diametrically deal with these social malaise. Policy-makers cannot wish these problems away nor can they pay lip-service to them and then become oblivious. Day in day out, the situation is getting out of hand as the problems worsen and the earlier something was done the better it would be.

## 6.2 EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIES

Transitional economies are those countries which formerly had planned economies and which after the fall of the Berlin Wall in October 1989, are transiting into the free market mode (Bannock *et al* 1998 (eds):414). Such countries include the former USSR and the COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Aid) countries. It grouped countries like Cuba, former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Vietnam and former German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Bannock *et al* 1998:84)

Countries in transition have highly educated populations and substantial run-down infrastructure with a large manufacturing sector. They have highly indebted parastatals or state-owned enterprises which often made losses and also experiencing high levels of inflation, unemployment, uncompetitive products, among others (Bannock *et al* 1998:414). Some of the countries have made advanced transitions. Examples are Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. These countries were made to pursue policies of deregulation, downsizing, liberal trade, removing subsidies and exchange controls, making cuts in public expenditure, among others. They received massive financial assistance from bilateral and multilateral donors such as the IMF, EU and OECD. They were advised to adopt 'shock therapy' or harsh structural adjustment programmes. However, that was thought to be politically unwise so they pursued gradual reforms.

The transitional economies can be contrasted with the emerging markets of the newly industrialised countries, mostly in South East Asia and Latin America such as Malaysia, South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, Brazil, among others (Bannock *et al* 1998:125-126). It is hoped that the transitional economies will graduate to the status of emerging markets where relocation of labour and creation of enabling environment can attract western capital inputs.

The former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) underwent such a transition during the *perestroika* era of the 1990s. So too did South Africa to a limited extent before 1994. In South Africa, transitional arrangements for the ushering in of democratic governance in 1994 led the former government of President de Klerk to announce in March 1993 that there would be a unitary educational system to replace the old system which hitherto was based on racial segregation (Lemon 1995:101). However, it must be noted that the economic transition programmes have had invariably to go hand in hand with political reforms. North (quoted in Bannock *et al* 1998:301) writes that new institutions are created when groups realise that certain perceived opportunities cannot be

fully exploited under the existing institutions. It is like the biblical case of putting new wine in old wineskins.

The new dispensation in South Africa came with its own hydra-headed problems of class distinctions, among others. The proposed reforms in education were part of the rehabilitation attempts for addressing past imbalances. The educational reforms in post-apartheid South Africa have however, been constrained by problems such as acute shortage of teachers in the heavily-populated black townships. Other problems include inadequate infrastructure for the large population concentrations as there are wide disparities between urban and rural areas (Lemon 1995: 104-105). During the apartheid era, social and capital infrastructure were heavily biased in favour of urban areas where most whites lived. As a result, black townships were neglected and the few infrastructure available were stretched beyond limits (South Africa: 1997:19 Government Gazette No. 18207; Lemon 1995:104-105; Pauw 1998:11,20; Tshwete in South Africa White Paper - Getting the Nation to Play)

A parallel situation can be drawn in the case of Zambia where the introduction of user-fees in 1991 has created class distinctions between the haves and have-nots. The introduction of Schools Management Boards (SMBs) has its parallels in South Africa and Zimbabwe where the institution of boards has taken root for a longer period of time. It is noted that the commercialisation of education in South Africa has restricted accessibility of education to the majority poor (Lemon 1995:104-105). It is however, impracticable to subsidize education heavily, given that the numbers involved are large and scarce resources have alternate uses.

### **6.2.1 EDUCATIONAL TRANSITION IN ZIMBABWE AND LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

In Zimbabwe, public expenditure on education as a percentage of the national budget rose from 9 percent in 1978 to 16 percent in 1981 and then to 22.8 percent in 1991 (Lemon 1995:105). From 1979 to 1990, the number of secondary schools in Zimbabwe rose from 177 to 1506 while the total enrolment climbed from 66,215 in 1979 to 670,615 in 1989 (Lemon 1995:105). Such phenomenal increases led to a dramatic fall in the school certificate pass rates with 39 percent of all students failing all examinations (Lemon 1995:105).

The experience of Zimbabwe and South Africa in the transitional periods should serve as a reminder to Zambia to redistribute educational resources equitably to reach all, especially providing quality educational infrastructure in the peri-urban and remote rural areas. This is because the introduction of Schools Management Boards helps to decentralise control of school on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity which states that service provision should be effectively provided for closest to the point of need. However, this is true in theory but in practical terms, some management boards cannot be viable as they operate in economically depressed areas and they cannot charge commercial fees for their operational costs. In this era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP), the ailing economies of developing nations have rendered the private business units

incapable of supporting noble ventures such as education service provision and promotion.

Be that as it may, decentralisation of education via management boards requires the central government to strengthen the partnership between itself and other stakeholders such as local government authorities, donors, private service providers, among others.

### 6.3 GLOBALISATION AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AND ASSOCIATED LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA

Van der Post (quoted in de Kock 1997:31) writes that globalisation is the tendency towards a global community that is constantly in touch with one another in a borderless world on a scale unprecedented in human history. He further observes that such a global community has no formal institutions. Hence the coming into being of terms such as 'global village', 'global commons', among many others. Jacka (quoted in de Kock 1997:6) suggests that the term globalisation has cultural and geopolitical undertones with both positive and negative implications. In the negative sense, globalisation is seen as the rise of American hegemony while in the positive sense, it is viewed as the flow of capital and technology from the rich economies into the poor and sick economies (Jacka in de Kock 1997:6). The positive spillovers are seen also as the possibilities of global interconnections via the internet, satellite cellular phones, among others. (Jacka in de Kock 1997:6). This is seen in the rise of smart knowledge-based e-commerce in the sunrise and footloose industries being started by technopreneurs, especially in South East Asia, USA, Europe and many parts of the developed world (*Asia 21*, Feb. 2000: passim).

Hamelink (quoted in de Kock 1997:6) states that globalisation is a process of transition in the the world system in which all transactions affect most world citizens. The process is seen as the 'erosion of the failed Westphalian logic of the nation-state and the rise of the utopain post-Westphalian rationality of globalisation in the era of rising expectations (Soderbaum 1998:86). The concept of globalisation can be viewed as a form of macrolevel conurbanisation or global implosion. It can also be conceived as a process of cultural diffusion similar to the biochemistry mechanism of osmosis whereby a weaker solution is sucked by a stronger one and in the end the two solutions, attain the same strength. It can also be likened to the other biological process of capillarity whereby at a border, liquid in one tube either rises or falls in reaction to liquid in another one.

Rosenau (in de Kock 1997:6) writes that globalisation has aspects of both integration and social fragmentation which are thesis and antithesis of a dialectical process. While globalisation leads to expanding markets, spread of new technologies and ideas, it sets in motion opposite tendencies towards isolationism, inward-looking nationalism, protectionism and ethnicity (Rosenau in de Kock 1997:6). That calls for balancing national and global needs. Bannock *et al* (1998:176) see globalisation as a shift in the domestic economic activity, away from the nation-state into the global centre-stage. In short , it is seen as the

externalisation of domestic economic activity (Bannock *et al* 1998:176). The OECD defines it as 'the geographic dispersion of industrial and service activities (for example research and development, sourcing of inputs, production of distribution) and the cross-border networking of companies (for example through joint ventures and the sharing of assets)'. This is a definition from the economic angle. It can also be seen that globalisation is the free flow of information and finance across borders without necessarily a physical presence (Bannock *et al* 1998:176; Balaam & Veseth in de Kock 1997:7). Thus globalisation has become a process of mutual global complementarity and interdependence with nation-states sharing global commons as well as global markets. According to Bannock *et al* (1998:177) the process is accelerated by the removal of trade barriers and deregulation, enabling the exploitation of the benefits of lower labour costs, factor endowments and tax havens and giving rise to transfer price arrangements. According to Ricardian theory of international trade, factor prices around the world, in the long-run tend towards equilibrium as comparative cost advantages ultimately become equalised (Beardshaw 1990: 496).

According to Hanrieder (in de Kock 1997:11) nation-states are moving away from the agenda of geopolitics and militarism to new concerns of distribution, social welfare and environmental concerns (cf. *SA White Paper on Science and Technology p5 infra*)

All said and done, critics like Fukuyama and Keohane (1984) see globalisation as the fall of communism and the triumph of the neo-classicals or neo-capitalists (New Right Movement). It is imperative for nation-states to move along at the speed of the globalisation process or else they may spin off at a tangent as a result of centrifugal forces or they may be swallowed up in a maelstrom by centripetal forces. The lacuna in policies need to be filled up by having strategic positioning of appropriate national, regional and sub-continental collective efforts (Soderbaum 1998:83). Zambia and other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa need more than ever before to take a cue from the transformation process of globalisation, whose effects and catholicity are not in dispute as they are objective realities (cf. *South Africa White Paper on Science & Technology p5- Preparing for the 21<sup>st</sup> century – Part one context and summary*). The information age and the post-industrial quaternary age has arrived.

### **6.3.1 USSR AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN THE GLOBALISATION PROCESS AND ASSOCIATED LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

A reform is a process of improving or making better an existing state of affairs. It is a process of diagnosing and identifying faults and problems in a system with a view to correcting the faults or addressing the problems by meeting particular identified needs. A reform implies a change but not all changes are reforms because a change can be for the better or for the worse. The process of reform requires coming up with novel or innovative ideas by seeing old problems in new perspectives and by devising new methods out of existing ones to approach the problem from new angles. In this sense, a reform will involve some aspects of change, innovation and transformation. A reform can be gradual or incremental

on the one hand and it can also be radical/revolutionary on the other hand. A transformation is a conversion process from one state to another and it is more profound than reform. In this chapter, the word reform will be used.

The early 1980s saw major education reforms in the leading industrialised economies, especially the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA).

In 1984, the Draft Guidelines for School Reforms were introduced in the USSR with a view to reforming education by encouraging young people to take up socially useful labour in the national economy. The objective of the reform was to overcome the labour deficit in industry and to maintain the role of the USSR in the global economy as a key industrial player (Sowtis 1991:23). The 1984 reforms in the USSR sought to shift education away from a service-orientation to a vocationally-oriented education in order to gain national competitive advantage.

The USSR had made heavy investments in heavy industry and it was the hope of the reform process to provide a sufficiently skilled labour force for the sector. The proposed reforms aimed at reducing the proportion of pupils from grade 8 to grade 9 from 55-60 percent to between 25-30 percent so that the rest go to vocational schools. The reforms further sought to achieve local synergies by integrating the products of schools with local industries in a vertical form of integration (Sowtis 1991:25). An 8 year basic secondary education was proposed and it was to be followed by either an additional two-year vocational training or a two-year academic training. The streaming was to be heavily biased in favour of vocational training. Critics of the system said that the reforms sought to perpetuate the social stratification of Soviet society. However, the reform had good intentions. Among other things, it aimed to reduce the cost of industrial training and to localise education by making it demand-driven (Sowtis 1991:26). The reforms sought to bring about strategisation and functionality of Soviet education. A similar development has started in South Africa where under the Rehabilitation and Development Plan, South African education is being transformed dramatically into a resource-based and outcome-based education. The reforms in the secondary sector have been designated Curriculum 2005. The rationale for reforms in secondary and higher education in South Africa is to extend education to all citizens, irrespective of their location, circumstances or racial group. It is also aimed at providing cost-effective, efficient and affordable education by maximising the scarce resources. In that light, new frontiers are to be broken in using advanced modern information technology to deliver interactive education through distance learning institutions (South Africa White Paper 3 1997:19, 37-39, 43).

The 1984 educational reforms in the then Soviet Union could not be implemented to the letter as a result of undue bureaucratisation, politicking and foot-dragging. There were no adequate trained teachers. Also, there was inadequate training equipment (Sowtis 1991:28). Fortunately for South Africa, the transformation blueprint for education which has been outlined in the White Paper (1997) are comprehensive and pragmatic as they are based on partnerships between the

government and the private sector on the one hand and that with the different lower governmental tiers on the other hand. Be that as it may, implementation problems are being experienced in the South African milieu similar to the Soviet experience in the sense that the top public servants of the former government are not zealous to implement policies. Secondly, there are constraints in implementation as there are not enough funds, trained personnel, equipment and infrastructure to assist in implementing the grandiose plan.

In the Soviet Union, the instructors that were coopted from industry lacked teaching skills. Moreover, they were factory instructors who lacked practical hands-on production skills. The planned reforms did not therefore make much impact as it was said to be imposed on young children who had no choice and moreover, the training given was superficial (Sowtis 1991:30). In contrast, the Draft White Paper which was produced for Higher Education in April 1997 in South Africa was arrived at through broad national consensus and wide consultations with all stakeholders (South Africa White Paper No. 3 1997:3). Critics pointed out that the reforms in the former Soviet Union created heavy loads for pupils and it stifled creativity in pupils. Ligachev, one of the fierce critics, said that the new system provided poorly trained graduates for a sophisticated economy and therefore he called for a reversal of the policy reforms (Sowtis 1991:30). Dneprov (1994:36-45) referred to the schools in the former USSR as prisons and instruments of state for perpetuating its reign. In the process, the teacher became a state official instead of a professionalised worker.

Dneprov (1994:37) referred to the conditions in the schools in the former USSR as 'triple alienation'. He observed that the schools were alienated from society, students from schools and teachers from their students. The reforms were implemented top-down, typical of totalitarian states, with no room for creativity. Standard behaviour was imposed on all schools regardless of local variations. Dneprov observed further that the state became a huge engine for national stagnation.

The 1984 reforms were heralded by sloganeering and they were said to have unrealistic goals which were not in tandem with global trends (Dneprov 1994:37). The reforms were chaotic and they were not anchored in a well-researched study. There were also not enough financial and human resources to back up the objectives (Dneprov 1994:37). Dneprov (1994:37) referred to the 1984 reforms as a repetition of the mistakes of 1958. The reforms lacked focus, strategy and direction as it was impossible to achieve zero drop-out rates in schools. He lamented the fact that the reform drive was towards the mass production of professionals for industry and it did not address global trends such as the scientific and technological revolution, informatics, urbanisation and the ecological crisis. Furthermore, Dneprov (1994:43) observed that the reforms were not forward-looking, as they were past-oriented. Moreover, the goals were not in consonance with the means of their attainment or implementation. Dneprov noted that in the era of 'perestroika', it was necessary to overcome ideological dogmas which hindered educational reform.

The reform implementation in the former Soviet-Union got lost in the corridors of power as in the first place, the die-hard communists were averse from pursuing liberal democratic ideals and in the second place, the failing Soviet economy could not afford the high cost associated with the proposed reforms (Ligachev in Sowtis 1991:29). Ligachev, the secretary for ideology, opposed the standardisation of education and the over-formalisation or rigidified approach that tended to deny people the choice to a varied education. Moreover, the vocationalisation of secondary schools meant that upward social mobility would be stifled and the lower classes would be condemned to reproducing themselves or over-reproducing themselves, thus perpetuating the social order and perpetuating the *status quo ante* (Sowtis 1991:27).

Dneprov was of the opinion that mechanisms for transmitting innovation should have been established instead of setting up unrealisable goals. This is one of the major problems of using the manpower planning approach to education instead of a dynamic mixed-bag approach based on the voluntary/*laissez-faire*, cost-benefit and the traditional social need approaches. Dneprov's misgivings can be viewed against Hall's assertion that change should be a sum of innovation, interventions and context (Hall 1992:882). Roles and outcomes should, as far as possible, be predetermined in a precise way. Be that as it may, this is not always practicable, given an ever-changing environment and unpredictable events.

In Zambia, a national policy on Education known as 'Educating our Future' has been launched under the Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Plan (BESSIP) (Zambia, Ministry of Education, May, 1996). The policy document has wide ranging plans, which provide a long-term blueprint for the next millennium. Its projections to the year 2015 envisage a total expenditure of about 549 million United States Dollars to be partially funded by government and the remainder to come from external donors. However, this well-crafted policy cannot take off if it is not strategically positioned on the market and funded.

To date, education in Zambia is still donor-dependent. The experience in the former USSR points to the fact that there is a difference between theory, rhetoric and intentions on the one hand and practical actualities on the other hand. The point of departure here is that externally-funded programmes are always subject to conditionalities and they can never be owned by the target group or beneficiaries who may prefer home-grown remedies. In such a scenario, implementation gaps are bound to widen as the donors and recipients may not have the same intentionalities or expectations. (cf Kanbur *et al* 1999:16) Arthur Okun (in Begg *et al* 1991:643) writes that aid given to poor countries is like a leaky bucket that lets off some water before it gets to its intended destination. This is because the ruling elite tend to siphon off some of the aid money into their personal accounts or that of the ruling political party or for unintended programmes. Dollar and Collier (1999:20) are of the opinion that donors in the past have tended to target aid to poor countries with bad policies so as to induce them to reform. Paradoxically, some of the elite in these countries, including Zambia in the late eighties, used the aid to support themselves in power while the policies got worse (Dollar & Collier 1999:21). Zambia's over-dependence on

external aid is reflected in her per capita external debt which is reckoned at US\$ 910 (Maipose 1997:25). The non-performance of aid money in Sub-Saharan Africa has been attributed to factors such as lack of aid-supporting systems, 'complex interventions' of a cocktail of aid, poor policy environment, among others. (Lancaster 1999:23)

### **6.3.2 REFORMS IN EDUCATION IN THE USA IN THE EIGHTIES AND LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

While in the former USSR educational reforms of the 1980s were undertaken nation-wide in a unitarian manner, in the USA, educational reform in the federal states was undertaken in a differentiated manner. Each individual state crafted its own reforms within the set federal parameters to improve the content, context and conduct of education. The reforms were specially aimed at improving standards in schools, especially in mathematics and science. Following the publication of the report 'A Nation at Risk' there was urgent need to raise standards of education in the High Schools of the USA. The standard setting exercise varied from state to state (Porter 1994:421-449). The standards referred to both course content and conduct. Schools, colleges and universities were to 'adopt more rigorous and measurable standards and higher expectations for academic performance and student conduct' (USA 1983:23 in Porter 1994:21). The exercise became necessary when it was discovered that American college students performed less better in mathematics and science when compared with other students from other countries (Porter 1994:424). It is 16 years since the reforms were made and the USA has maintained itself as the leading industrialised nation in the world with both economic and military clout. It must be noted that the USA has an education system which is backed by high level technology and a lot of wealth from a buoyant economy. In that scenario, policies can easily be implemented. The USA has improved her education by creating centres of excellence for precocious students who are spotted and put in special smart-centre innovative schools. However, on conduct, the increasing violence in schools and the issue of not allowing religious activities in schools are sticky points which have contributed to the waning of character formation in students.(VOA reports).

Other areas which attracted the attention of reformers were certification, teachers' remuneration and accountability mechanisms (Fuhrman *et al* 1988:237-257). Some of the reforms were comprehensive while others were incremental. The study, which was conducted by Fuhrman and others in the states of Arizona, Pennsylvania, Florida, Georgia, Minnesota and California recalled that the states differed in their approaches in the areas of legislation, instruments, financial incentives and mandates to local governments (Fuhrman *et al* 1988:237).

In some states, the reforms met with resistance while in the others, target groups adapted and adopted the reforms to suit their local needs. It is noteworthy that reforms must always anticipate the ability of local expertise and capacity to sustain such reforms. Thus, top-down reform policies must be made flexible so that local people can contextualise the reforms to suit their local capacities, needs and expertise (cf. South Africa White Paper 1997:36, South Africa Government



Gazette 1997 No. 18207:7,21). Some of the reforms in the USA were found to be symbolic, cosmetic and giving financial incentives (Fuhrman *et al* 1988:241). The reforms in the United States did not focus on students alone but they were also targeted at teachers who were to have career planning and professional testing. Such a system-wide approach is the one South Africa has embarked upon in its current transformation exercise (South Africa Gazette 1997:81).

In the USA, in each state, educational reforms descended in a top-down fashion from the governor's office and the state legislature. Politicians used the reforms to achieve political ends (Fuhrman 1988:244). They used the reforms to attract investors to the state and also to attract federal aid. To some extent, the reforms were also targeted at curbing the unbridled power of teachers' trade unions (Fuhrman *et al* 1988:244). The implementation of the reforms was left to departments, local authorities and educators. This is to be since education is a concurrent service delivered by professionals and not government or public officials (Pauw 1998:10-11). The successful rendering of educational services requires some autonomy and self-direction to be able to come up with creativity and innovation (Pauw 1998:7). Even though local people had little or no inputs in the policy formulation process, they showed substantial degree of compliance, especially where policy goals were acceptable to them and the implementation stage was left to them to manipulate. This goes to prove that top-down policy implementation is no threat to implementation, provided that the aims of the policies are widely circulated and are acceptable (Fuhrman *et al* 1988:253).

Zambia, a developing country experiencing a top-down policy-making process, lacks adequate mechanisms to bridge the administrative gap between the central tier of government and its other components at the provincial and local government levels. The attempt at decentralising education in particular and general governance in general requires providing a middle bridging system and also adhering to the parity principle of management which states that responsibilities assigned must be accompanied by adequate authority. In December 1999, the President of the Republic of Zambia announced the creation of the post of district administrators (DAs) to fill the middle bridging gap. The concept is not new as it is a revival of the then district governor post under the UNIP regime that ended in 1991. There is need for a complete restructuring and empowering of the regional and local governments so that they obtain the financial muscle to perform efficiently to complement central government efforts. (cf. South Africa White Paper 1997:37). Decentralisation and delegation of authority without financial capacity and authority being granted is like transplanting a tree and failing to water it until it can be on its own. The laws of Zambia on local government have to be reviewed to give more financial capacity to provincial and local governments so that they can function properly. There is a tendency for the Zambian Government to download responsibilities and running away from them. Judging from the parlous state of Zambia's economy and the degree of self interest protection and promotion in the central government, it will take time before an egalitarian or altruistic government can come to power to rectify the anomaly. Ghana's attempt at decentralisation by creating district assemblies and non-partisan local governments in 1992 offers Zambia food for

thought (Ayee 1997:89). According to Ayee (1997:86,94), decentralisation does not necessarily empower the local people as it may rather strengthen the power of the local elite and lead to more oppression of the weak. Furthermore, Ayee asserts that there is often competition and struggle for power between central government and its component parts, the local governments. Central governments want to be visible as cornucopia of the people's needs. This dilemma of power relationship can be settled by seeing governance as collateral, coplanar, collaborative and hinged on partnership or joint sharing (Schwella & Ballard 1996:47-53). In no way should decentralisation be seen by central government as a process of weakening or delegitimising its power and functions (Ayee 1997:86-94; Olowu 1997:75 Ademolahun 1997:52, London 1994:346).

In the foreseeable future, it is hoped that as the process of democratisation gains ground and the citizens become more and more educated and politically sensitised, they will agitate for more local autonomy to have greater control over the determination of their own destinies. This process is going to be accelerated by both external and internal pressures such as the demands of external donors, the state of the economy and the general pace of globalisation which dictates efficiency ratios of nations and their political configuration or structures.

### **6.3.3 EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN SUDAN AND ASSOCIATED LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Sudan, a far larger country than Zambia, offers hindsight on the proposed educational reforms in Zambia (see the document, 'Educating Our Future', May 1996, Ministry of Education). For the global compact of universal basic education to be realistic in Zambia, there must be established grassroots programmes to assist vulnerable groups and to achieve development in a system-wide manner. The experience of Sudan in sensitising and mobilising rural communities to provide school buildings is a shining example to Zambia to be self-reliant.

Education reform in Sudan in the 1970s provides food for thought. In Sudan, a National Education Policy Reform was initiated and carried out over the period from 1970 to 1975 to change the system from a 4-4-4 to a 6-3-3 system (Lynch & Omer 1998:257-261). In the 4-4-4 system, lower primary education lasted for 4 years. The next stage was the second cycle or secondary education which lasted for another 4 years. The 4-4-4 system was fragmented and not well structured to lead to provision of many educated people. In the 6-3-3 system introduced in the reform, basic education was extended from 4 to 6 years. That system at least guaranteed a longer period of basic education to those who may drop out. The post-primary level was divided into a bridging junior secondary level and a capping 3 year senior secondary level. The 6-3-3 system enabled the course content to be broadened, deepened and sharpened as the student progresses from one stage to the other. It was a far improvement on the 4-4-4 system as it also enabled students to prepare adequately in the last 3 years for advanced higher education or for professional training.

The reform programme regrettably, led to quantitative rather than qualitative outcomes (Lynch & Omer 1989:257). Under the reforms, examinations were regionalised and many community self-help projects were initiated under which fathers' councils built schools in their communities. According to Lynch and Omer (1989:257), the most difficult stage of educational planning is the implementation stage. In Sudan's case, the low rate of policy implementation was attributed to failure of planners to account for the complexity of policy, cultural processes, resource constraints and difficulty of changing school system practices overnight (Lynch & Omer 1989:257).

The economic background of Sudan showed a heavy debt burden and high dependency on a monocultural agricultural economy. Sudan had a life expectancy of 45 years, a per capita income of 45 United States Dollars, infant mortality of 140 per thousand and a literacy rate of 30 percent. It was observed that previous plans in Sudan were dysfunctional, formalistic and superficial in changing age-old ideas (Mohi Din Sober in Lynch & Omer 1989:258). According to Mohi, education policy should revolutionise society by putting to death unprogressive and anachronistic beliefs. Policy that fails to consider the prevailing circumstances under which it will be implemented has little chance of success as it is like a fish that is out of its element.

In Sudan, expenditure on education rose to 27 million Sudanese pounds in 1980. Educational expenditure was 7.6 percent of GNP in 1973 but in 1980, it had dwindled to 4.8 percent (UNESCO 1980 in Lynch & Omer 1989:261). It was observed that government did not invest the amounts necessary to improve the quality of the system. The failures of the educational reforms in Sudan were attributed to many factors among them:

- Lack of planning for an appropriate curriculum;
- Inadequacy of instructional materials for both pupils and teachers;
- Teachers were not properly oriented to the new system, thereby leading to high drop-out rates, crowded classes and high repetition rates;
- In 1983, 23 percent of the teachers were untrained;
- The adoption of a uniform national school calendar in a vast country created problems for pupils in areas where the school calendar clashed with local economic activities like farming and fishing;
- Poor leadership and management of the reform programme as inspection and supervision were lacking; and
- Frequent changes in leadership as within the fifteen-year period of the reform, there were ten Ministers of education, a high turnover rate in leadership (Lynch & Omer 1989:passim).

The implications of the Sudanese experience for Zambia are that educational policies must be kept simple and realistic by matching the objectives with practical realities on the ground. From 1991 to 1998, the Ministry of Education in Zambia has had four Ministers. This is a high turnover in leadership.

#### 6.3.4 DECENTRALISATION AND LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING AS A LESSON TO ZAMBIA

The decentralisation of examinations in Sudan and the use of local fathers' councils to construct schools were all attempts at decentralisation of authority. According to Olowu (1997:67), 'decentralisation refers to an opening of political space in a country to actors in the society other than those in power, that is the notion of pluralism...' Olowu's assertion can be viewed against the backdrop of political and economic decentralisation currently going on in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa such as Zambia. Olowu (1997:66) views decentralisation and devolution as aspects of decentralisation where the former refers to the central government assigning authority and functions to a peripheral body within the same administrative system while the latter refers to offloading of central authority and functions to lay or non-government elected local leaders.

A UNDP study (1993:69 in Olowu 1997:69) concluded that the expenditure decentralisation to local governments in the industrialised countries tended to range from 21% to 45%. Japan is a good example.

The strengthening of local government in Japan is a shining example to Zambia where there is a large gap in funding between the central government and the other tiers of government as the central government captures all the revenue and then interest protection leads to very little funding trickling down the labyrinth of the bureaucracy to the grassroots level.

Japan is said to be an over-regulated society where more than 10,000 licences and permits are granted to firms and private bodies to trade and raise revenue (Sakurai & Wright 1987:125). Though the Japanese central government raises 64 percent of tax revenue, it allocates 68% of all tax revenue to local governments. In fact, local governments collect 32% of tax revenue and they receive 40% of their income from central government. In this way, the local governments in Japan are empowered as subsidiaries to be autonomous and competitive. Koontz and Weihrich (1990:185-190) view the process of decentralisation as a spatial and system-wide dispersal of authority on the basis of technology, function and geography (cf. South Africa 1997:67-69).

According to Olowu, (1997:75) most African governments find no problem in decentralising responsibilities but in decentralising the financial resources, they develop cold feet. Olowu (1997:75) suggests that efforts should be made to legitimise and legalise the allocation process by exploring additional sources of revenue such as own revenue, grants and transfers from central revenue (cf. Ademolekan 1997:52).

On the issue of decentralising education service provision, the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, emphasised on partnership building in education (World Council on Education For All in London 1994:336). The conference suggested that the partnership should balance the distribution of power sharing between the central agencies and the periphery subsidiaries in a

power-sharing arrangement. Decentralisation of authority negates the state's role to allocate and regulate in order to achieve the *somnum bonum* (greater good) through standardisation (London 1990:337). However, in order to achieve efficiency, economy and equity, it becomes imperative for the state to share its power through delegation as that creates opportunities for community participation in implementing government policies. However, the process must not be seen as a principal-agent relationship but rather as one of equals. This can be overcome by adopting either the participatory approach or the collaborative approach (London 1994:340). In the participatory approach, the central government and the community operate as co-equals or partners on an equal footing while in the collaborative approach, the community plays an advisory or consultancy role (London 1994:340). The participatory and collaborative approaches are seen as bottom-up implementation approaches which can be developed in Africa (Freire in London 1994:340).

### **6.3.5 SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO AND LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Trinidad and Tobago furnishes a good example of community participation in education policy implementation. In 1973, due to rapid growing population and the inability of the authorities to build more schools, the double shift system was introduced (London 1994:335-345). This system is in various parts of Africa such as Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia. In Zambia, some primary schools in the urban areas run three shifts a day while in the secondary schools, those who did not qualify to the full-time classes are allowed to pay extra tuition fees to attend afternoon classes called Academic Production Units (APUs) and these are run jointly as extra-income generation ventures to supplement teachers' incomes and that of the coffers of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs).

In Trinidad and Tobago, the communities were involved in non-academic activity of providing the children who were 'off-shift with extra-curricular cultural and sport activities. Similar experiences can be found in Germany (Deutschland Magazine c. 1997:passim) and in the Philippines.

The Trinidadian concept of community participation in engaging 'off-shift' children in extra curricular cultural and sporting activities was an attempt to integrate school and community and to bridge the gap which often leads to suspicion, alienation and apathy (London 1994:340). The communities used sports and culture to equip the junior secondary students with non-school skills. It was hoped that decentralisation and community participation would not only increase the legitimacy of central government but also it would strengthen its efficiency in the delivery of educational services in partnership with other providers. Education, which is provided on the basis of merit, is seen as a socially desirable service whose production and consumption need to be subsidised through government intervention.

Spillane and Thomson (1997:185-203) point out that local capacity building is pertinent to educational reform. Local teachers have to learn new methods to

present their material in innovative ways to make learning effective and adaptable to the immediate and familiar environs. It is said that the environment has meaning only with regard to the environed and that learning must proceed from the known to the unknown. This calls for integrating the community in the learning process through means such as inviting community members to give lectures, performances and other interactive activities so as to create local synergies and to make learning both student-centred, community-relevant and holistic. Education must be overarching in bending backwards to gain from the wisdom of the past to light the path to the future. An analogy can be drawn from the Ghanaian Akan proverbial bird 'Sankofa' which bends its long neck backwards to retrieve an egg which it had left behind. Native wisdom cannot be found in textbooks, for, the national heritage of dance, drama, folklore, music, craft, oral and visual arts, among others, lie embedded in the heads and hearts of the ordinary unlettered folk who sometimes have more native wisdom than those who have attained formal education.

School and community can co-operate to make school learning action-centred, interactive, outcome-based, resource-based and productive. Students can be encouraged to carry out community projects, surveys, case studies, among others. In such a scenario, students learn to be sympathetic, sensitive and empathetic to community concerns.

Local capacity building can be achieved through the creation of networks with non-governmental groups and professional associations, among others. Local teachers have to adopt and internalise national policies by implementing them in imaginative ways (Spillane & Thomson 1997:187).

### **6.3.6 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND LOCAL CAPACITY BUILDING IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are private non-profit organisations which are either international or locally-based. They are welfare or interest groups with narrow agenda. Some provide humanitarian services as charitable organisations while others engage in multiple activities in different capacities and roles (South Africa White Paper on Science & Technology 1997:14). Ademolekan (1997:52) writes that donors world-wide now emphasise the increased role of NGOs and community-based organisations in being actively involved in the development process in Sub-Saharan Africa as these are able to checkmate central government in ensuring accountability, probity and transparency. The World Bank in particular is keen on delivering development assistance at the grassroots level through the initiation of micro project units, using the NGOs (Ademolekan 1997:52). It is now suggested that the donors should not stage-manage aid-implementation as they did in the past but rather they should allow the NGOs to identify their own programmes with active participation of the target groups (Lancaster 1999:24).

A study in South Africa by the Centre for Education Policy Development (Bloemfontein) in 1992 and reported by Kahn (1992:511-523) indicated that non-

governmental organisations were and are instrumental in enhancing local capacity building. The study found out that matriculation exemption for black students was one sixtieth that of whites, especially in mathematics and science. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both local and foreign, numbering about 2000 nation-wide, set about to help bridge the gap between black and white students and to correct the anomaly through constructive action. The NGOs annual turnover was put at 0.4 billion British pounds. Prior to 1994, the NGOs suffered from hostility and repression from the minority government as they were viewed collectively as anti-apartheid.

However, by keeping a low profile, they greatly assisted in local development of education in needed aspects such as adult literacy, early childhood development, teacher education, education research, life skills education, among others (Kahn 1996:511, of South Africa White Paper on Science and Technology 1997:14). There is some element of sense in the white minority government in pre-1994 South Africa being suspicious of NGOs. Experience in Zambia in particular, has shown that the multiplicity of NGOs on the Zambian scene makes it difficult to co-ordinate activities and some of them use their civil appearance to cover their real motives. Lancaster(199:23-24) writes that the NGOs are not autonomous as they are under the control of their patrons who may be the US Congress, foreign multilateral institutions, private multinationals, among others.

Lancaster(1999:23) writes that after the Cold War, most foreign governments which offer aid ostensibly for development purposes, do so with other motives such as peace-making and other political goals, promoting commercial interests of their nationals, promoting their culture, language and religion, fighting crime, drugs and terrorism and any other hidden or covert motives. Development experts such as Kanbur and Lancaster believe that development aid which is channelled through the NGOs is fungible in the sense that recipient countries get short-changed in getting what they have no choice in but to accept with conditionalities. Be that as it may, there are many genuine NGOs whose activities need to be non-partisan.

In post-1994 South Africa, many NGOs became starved of funds from their traditional patrons as the bulk of aid was directed directly to the new democratic government. However, after some time, the situation has normalised and they are back on stream receiving their usual stipends.

The NGOs which were operating in pre-1994 South Africa addressed issues ranging from democracy to non-sexism, among others. They put pressure on the government to address delicate issues such as equity in education provision, non-racialism in education and national development in general (Kahn 1996:513).

Workshops which were conducted by the NGOs showed that rural teachers needed incentives, new skills and above all, high levels of commitment to meet the mounting challenges in their areas (Kahn 1996:515). It was also observed that curricula were rigid and they lacked local orientation. Furthermore, it was observed that there was an acute shortage of trained teachers, especially in

mathematics and science. This is still a problem in South Africa, more especially as the Ministry of Home Affairs has imposed a ban on employment of foreign teachers. Recent developments however, indicate that in the near future, parliament will move to lift the ban on employment of qualified foreign teachers and that will go a long way in ameliorating the problem.

Moreover, the NGOs discovered that contact time between teachers and students was not adequate and thus much was missing in the areas of guidance and counselling. The NGOs therefore set themselves the task of staff development in partnership with regional governments (Kahn 1996:517). Despite their noble intentions, the NGOs were found to be fragmented and inefficient in the managing aspects of donor funds. They lacked in-built mechanisms for project evaluation and they also lacked clear programme goals (Kahn 1996:517 cf. Lancaster 1999:23-24). Their major constraints were lack of local information, scarcity of resources, wrong policy-timing and having to deal with the problem of equity in a polarised society (Kahn 1996:521).

#### **6.4 PHENOMENON OF STREET CHILDREN AND LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA**

Policies in general must be comprehensive and overarching in addressing issues and not on piecemeal or ad hoc basis but on the basis of a holistic whole. A whole is a whole and it is monistic or greater than the mere sum or aggregation of its component parts. Educational policies which are defective create implementation gaps which lead to high drop-out rates and spill-over effects such as the phenomenon of street children. For example, an educational system which is more theoretical than practical and which is examination-centred will not be germane to students who have a practical bent or leaning. Furthermore, an elitist educational system that does not make provision for economically disadvantaged families can create social time-bombs such as the phenomenon of street children. This is because the streets are the spawning grounds of potential armed robbers, prostitutes, confidence tricksters, among many others.

The question can be asked whether the incidence of street children is caused by a polarised society or whether they are the products of past and current political systems. According to Dneprov (1994:27), the crisis of society (former USSR) is mirrored in the crisis of the schools as the educational institutions are carbon copies of the life history of the nation. Whether the nation is well-fed or properly clothed, whether the nation has enduring family values, whether the nation has a disciplined and hardworking ethos, whether the nation is well integrated without visible ethnic and social cleavages and whether woofs and warps of the socio-polico-economic fabric are well knit, depends on the type of educational system which has been put in place. A sage once said that in approaching a town from afar, one can take a look at the dogs at the outskirts of the town. If the dogs look dirty, scroungy and with forlorn and languid eyes, then one's conclusion will be that the owners of the dogs are in no fine fettle. So it is with the schools. Since 1991, Zambia has seen an upsurge in drug-abuse, crime, prostitution and other social ills.



The phenomenon of street children is a spill-over of the general malaise of society, which affects the educational sector. Williams (1993:834-835) defines street children as those who have experienced child abuse and neglect. Classified among these are those who find school restrictive or those who run away from home to join their peers in the streets. Many come from disadvantaged and broken homes. Some of them are victims of poverty, civil wars and other natural causes (Williams 1993:834). In South Africa, the school crisis of 1986 threw many students into the streets. The *New Nation Newspaper* reported that there were between 3000 to 5000 school children aged between 13 and 18 years roaming the streets (Williams 1993:877). Some of them were school drop-outs, truants, expellees, economic refugees, among others (Williams 1993:836). As far back as 1951, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) had recommended that governments should provide free meals, textbooks and uniforms to school pupils to serve as a stay-option and to alleviate the dire economic straits of some parents. However, the rapid increase in population and the relative impoverishment of nations made the ILO proposals impracticable as time went by. It was a noble proposition which some African countries tried to implement, but without much success as the inexorable laws of diminishing marginal returns set in in the face of the escalating population explosion. The pro-socialist African countries of the sixties and the seventies did initiate some school programmes on the lines of the ILO recommendations but they were soon to realise that such measures tended to increase the propensity of the population to reproduce itself at an alarming rate with disastrous consequences.

In India, some students consider schooling as a waste of time as the opportunity cost of schooling is the loss of earning from working in the streets. According to research, some of the students disliked the crowded schools with low quality teachers and inadequate textbooks. A way out for such disappointed students is to take to street ways (Williams 1993:837).

Le Roux (1996:967) considers street children as those aged between 5 and 18 years who are 'children at risk' or 'stowaways'. In South Africa, negative legislation has been found to be associated with the incidence of the phenomenon of street children. Some of the negative legislation which have been pointed out include the Bantu Education Act, Pass Laws, Influx Control Laws, Group Areas Act, among others (Hickson & Gaydon 1989:85, Peacock in Le Roux 1996:968). These laws made black employees leave their children behind when going to work in white restricted areas. Thus, the loss of parental control made some school children take permanently to the streets, rejecting the control of foster parents or step-in guardians. Le Roux identified some of the street children as coming from homes where there was violence, drug and alcohol abuse, overcrowding and from communities divided by political forces, racial and ethnic cleavages, among many other causes (Bernstein & Gen in Le Roux 1996:964). Richter (in Le Roux 1996:969) terms street children as 'throwaways' or 'runaways' whom families and communities have failed. In developing countries, it is noted that street children are predominantly boys who have left home permanently to live and work on the streets (Le Roux 1996:970). Hickson and Gaydon (1989:85-94) call Johannesburg's street children 'twilight' children.

In Zambia today, the issue of street children is a *leitmotif* (topical issue) in many fora as NGOs and interested groups are calling attention to the growing phenomenon. There are many more single parents now in Zambia than ever before because of the high incidence of broken marriages, high death rate and the break down of the extended family system as a result of rapid urbanisation. The issue of street children in Zambia can also be attributed to the globalisation process. There is a high incidence of debauchery as alcohol and drug consumption have increased due to the liberalised trade which has seen the flooding of the market with goods from Zambia's many neighbours. Global networks in the black market enables hard drugs to be smuggled in and to be consumed domestically. Some of the drugs get into the hands of the street children.

Epstein (1996:289-302) questions the role of the neo-liberal state in providing for street children. He further asks whether state institutions have abandoned their roles towards street children. Such questions require thorough research as to the causes, effects and implications of such a phenomenon on the psyche of society. Society surely needs to take a penalty shot against its conscience in failing to devise systems which would obviate such occurrences. It sounds idealistic but street children are now a reality and the earlier a global strategy was mapped out to eradicate or minimise the issue, the better it would be.

Educational policies must be designed carefully so as not to alienate students from schools or create impediments in the way of parents who want to send their children to school. There is need to have social safety-nets and trade-offs between the government on the one hand and communities on the other hand. Political leaders in developing countries must emulate their counterparts in the advanced countries by putting up social support systems to mitigate the negative impact of economic hardships on parents. Cheap, affordable but qualitative education should be provided for all children. African countries which are doing well on these lines are Botswana and Tunisia (Maipose 1997:24, Versi 2000:24). These two countries allocate 20% of government expenditure to education and as such they have posted high real GDP growth. Ireland, the Celtic Tiger, is another country in Europe whose stupendous economic growth has been attributed to its wise investment in education (Gunnigle 1999:seminar). At an early stage, children must be made responsible through assigning them duties, chores and assignments at home, schools and in the community. They must be taught early to know some skills which can help them in adulthood to fend for themselves. Legislation on vagrancy, statutory working age, compulsory basic education, lawful custody of children, among others, must be enforced. The obligations of parents to their biological children, whether out of wedlock or mishap, can be taken to task.

World-wide, there are frightening statistics on the number of street children. It behoves policy-makers in education to sit up and examine the factors in the educational systems which alienate students to drop out from school or to run away from home to live in the street.

Not even the rich countries in the world such as the USA can run away from the phenomenon of street children as it is a universal issue.

In the United States, it is estimated that there are 2.5 million homeless people of whom one-third are single mothers. Children and adolescents constitute 20 percent of the number (Rescoria *et al* 1991:210 in Epstein 1996:290).

The problem of street children has created generic inter-agency disputes in various countries because of absence of linkages among them. The phenomenon cannot be dealt with by one or two agencies but only by the collective strength of all agencies. UNICEF estimates that there are 100 million street children in the world. Latin America has between 40 to 50 million of them. Brazil alone has 17 million street workers of whom 7 million live on the street. The city of Sao Paulo has 500,000 street children while in Bogota in Colombia, it has between 2500 to 5000 street children (UNICEF 1992:6, Boyden 1991:62 Richey & Vance 1993:94). In Mexico city, there are 250,000 who live on the streets. In India, there are 44 million working in the streets (UNICEF 1992:6). By the year 2015, 23 years from 1992, these figures would have doubled, assuming a conservative population growth rate of 3% per annum and assuming all other things being equal (see formula for population growth  $A_1 = A_0e^{rt}$  or  $P_1 = P_0 (1+r)^n$ ).

For example, a population of street children of 250,000 in 1992 will double to 500,000 by 2015 at an annual growth rate of 3%. In African and Third World cities, growth rate is more than 3%.

The phenomenon of street children in Zambia has come into sharp focus in recent times as a result of the combined effects of economic hardships and secondly because of the high prevalence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic which has robbed many children of their parents and guardians. Also, there is the observation that the much cherished extended family system is breaking down fast in Zambia as a result of a rapid rate of urbanisation and the diffusion of acquired western ways of living which leads to loss of social norms or controls. Many secondary school students have had to abandon school for the streets whenever they lost their guardians. There is a need for a scheme to identify orphans for financial support so as to reduce the forced drop-out rate among such unfortunate children. UNICEF in Zambia estimates that there are about 75,000 street children, mostly in the urban centres.

In Kenya, Gichuru mentioned that the street children are called 'parking boys' (Gichuru 1987:139-142). He identifies poverty as the main driving force behind the phenomenon of street children in Nairobi. Efforts are being undertaken by volunteers to create drop-in centres and soup-bars for the street children. The 'too free' and 'too old' street children are being helped by those volunteers to acquire fundamental education and life-skills through semi-formal classes. This is under the aegis of the Undugu Society of Kenya (Gichuru 1987:139). A similar scheme is being implemented in Lusaka, Zambia, whereby churches and some NGOs are helping to integrate orphans and street children in the townships. This is a

welcome positive development as it indicates that the phenomenon has been identified as a threat to social and societal well-being.

## 6.5. EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL AND GIFTED CHILDREN

Gifted children are those children who show exceptional brilliance at school and whose mental ages are far ahead of their biological ages such that they have a very high intelligence quotient. It also includes children with exceptional ability in language, music, art, and other expressive forms. These children are often called geniuses, and prodigies (cf. *New African* March 2000:34). Whizz kids have the ability to understand complex phenomenon in simple and a natural way as they show a familiarity with the ability to detect and isolate relationships on the basis of association or discrimination.

Gifted children and exceptional children are not the same phenomenon. While gifted children are those endowed with special or exceptional academic, musical, artistic, linguistic or physical abilities, exceptional students are those who suffer from some disabilities and therefore need special care and special education (Goguen 1989:20-23). The term exceptional student is, however, used in some circles in a blanket manner to cover both gifted children and impaired children. That is unfortunate. However, the term 'special education' is used in an omnibus fashion to cover the two categories of children (Goguen 1985:26). Exceptional students in the Province of Alberta, Canada are described in the 1985 policy manual as any students educationally disabled, gifted or talented. A gifted and talented student is 'one who by virtue of outstanding ability is capable of exceptional performance and requires special programmes beyond the regular school program to realise his/her contribution to self and society (Goguen 1989:23). The semantics of special education suggests that the usage of the expressions 'gifted children' and 'exceptional children is loose and the two are equated in some areas and therefore used interchangeably. For purposes of simplicity in a restricted paper like this one, it would suffice to state that both expressions can be conceived in broader terms as being closely related. The term gifted children is a subset of the general class of exceptional students and both need special education.

In Singapore, Malaysia, Britain, USA and other progressive countries, 'smart schools' are established for gifted children who are identified and spotted at an early age. An example is the one in the UK at Hertfordshire (*New African* March 2000:34). Another example is the free-wheeling whizz-kids school in the Silicon-Valley in California, USA (*Asia* 21 Feb 2000:45).

While the issue of street children is a nuisance and shame to society, gifted children are national assets. However, it must be noted that among the social rejects in the streets, could be lurking some Newtons, Einsteins, Whiteheads and Gates who are awaiting to be identified and rescued. In developing countries such as Zambia, the issue of gifted children is not given much prominence and this is a serious oversight as the ability of the country to move its frontiers of innovation lie in these children. It is therefore a serious policy lapse to overlook the issue of

gifted children. It may be thought that it is a luxury to spend on gifted children but that is wrong because it is a worthwhile investment with potential for far more greater returns (cf.Sakyi 1978:passim)

In Canada, some states have specific legislation on gifted children while others do not have. For example, the Provinces of Alberta, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have legislation and policy which provide special resources for the upkeep of gifted children (Goguen:1989:19). In Prince Edward Island province, for example, there are provisions for gifted children to have special early admission to university. Other provisions include access to well-stocked libraries and the provision of enriched school courses (Goguen 1989:19). Teachers of gifted children are called upon to give personalised individual programmes to meet the specific needs of such children.

The provisions also cover exceptional students with learning disabilities such as dyslexia. Such programmes require special grants and specific policies. There is need for co-operation between general educators and teachers of gifted and exceptional students so that there is balance, equity and excellence in teaching. (Tomlinson et al 1996:165-171). The question of problem students and school drop-outs cannot be addressed under that of exceptional children or gifted children. They need separate treatment. Zambia has commendable programmes for disabled children, though a lot more has to be done to identify gifted children (Educating Our Future MOE Zambia 1996:66-88). Empirical evidence suggests that all the progressive countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, among many others, invested in their future by providing opportunities for their gifted citizens to be educated at home and abroad (cf.Meiji Era 1860-1912 in Dale 1975:).

## **6.6 PROBLEMS OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH, SCHOOL DROP-OUTS AND PROBLEM CHILDREN**

School drop-outs constitute a wastage of scarce resources and as such efforts should be made to find out the causes and effects of high drop-out rates in the educational system. Drop-outs are those children who do not complete the final year of a segment of education due to internally-induced or externally-induced factors.

A study in the USA by Pearson and Banerji (1993:247-256) indicate that most drop-outs in the USA have academic problems as well as personal conflicts of not having their needs met in the school environment. They found out that the drop-out rate was among those in the lower classes of society. Some of the drop-outs claimed peer influence as a motivating factor. Others complained of unchallenging academic programmes, which made school a drudgery. Pearson and Banerji (1993:247-256) suggest that to reduce the drop-out rates, teacher-student relationships should be more intimate. They further suggest that the school should be student-centred by involving students more in school planning. They also suggest that peer relationship in the school should be improved through personal care from teachers.

In California, the Green Valley project has gained national acclaim in the USA. It is seen as a model school that uses innovative methods to motivate and rehabilitate school drop-outs as well as help stabilise problem children (Teeters 1990:48-51). The authorities in the school use personal care as a secret of their success. They first of all win the confidence of their students by entering into their world of confidence and empathising and sympathising with them. They use that technique to prise open them up from there. The drop-out rate is 30 per cent in California (Teeters 1990:48). Green Valley is a continuation school where high-risk students are rehabilitated after their having had to turn their backs on drugs, alcohol, weapons and smoking. The authorities in the school use the philosophy of 'alternative education' or 'second chance' education to get through to the student. The school is small, personalised and it runs the normal school curricula (Teeters 1990:48). However, teaching methods are made highly customised and imaginative for maximum effectiveness. The success of the Green Valley Project has led to the model being replicated in various parts of the USA for reformatories or borstal institutions (Teeters 1990:48).

Zambia has borstal institutions for juvenile delinquents or young criminals. However, these are run as correctional institutions and not as voluntary institutions as is the case in Green Valley. This is because the American cultural environment is quite different from the Zambian experience. The Zambian institutions lack adequate funding in meeting their needs. They also require more trained personnel who are *au fait* with how to handle problematic juveniles.

The counselling and guidance component of education is important in all schools if the problem of school drop-outs is to be minimised. Apart from helping students to adjust to the school environment, career counselling helps students to focus on their future careers and as such they are kept out of harm's way. Willment and McCardell (1984:3-5) consider youth counselling as important in assisting them find employment after school. In Canada, there is the example of the Niagara Falls Youth Employment Centre which offers a 20 hours short term intensive career planning programme for the youth (Willment and McCardell 1984:7).

Zambia lacks youth employment centres. Career counselling in the secondary schools is weak as demotivated teachers with meagre salaries are not wont to saddle themselves with extra responsibilities. In any event, many youth have fallen into bad ways without having recourse to assistance at home or in school. This problem can be addressed by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, co-ordinating efforts to get up youth counselling centres at the provincial, district and local government levels to offer assistance to out-of-school youth as well as school-going youth. More professional guidance and counselling officers need to be trained and attached to schools as detached officers. Guidance and counselling can be introduced on the school time-table as one of the compulsory subjects for those in the final years of schooling. New courses such as life skills, entrepreneurship, project work, among others, need to be introduced to make education outcomes competency-based. The process of globalisation is moving at net speed and Zambia must move along

with it by exploring new frontiers in education and reforming the outmoded education system to conform with the global landscape. The 'dinosaur' in the education system needs to be fossilised, frozen and removed into the archives of forgotten things. Educational planners need to engage in networking with the frontrunners in the field in other countries and to invite consultants to advise on the current trends on the global labour market.

In a study conducted in South Africa among out-of-school youth, it was found out that the highest percentage of 82 was among Blacks, followed by 9 percent among Coloureds, 6 percent among Asians (Everatt 1995:461). The study showed a high correlation between, poverty and out-of-school youth from under privileged classes. That study underscored the need for equitable distribution of the national cake by having equal opportunities and openness. Majority of the out-of-School youth interviewed in the study cited poverty, marriage and social circumstances as factors which prevented them from pursuing higher education (Everett 1995:461 passim).

## 6.7 WESTERN EDUCATION AND TRADITIONAL AFRICAN VALUES- LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA

Tournas (1996:27-43) and Magkoba are some of the critics of western education who believe that the wholesale adoption of it in Africa is a contributing factor to the high incidence of juvenile delinquency, high youth unemployment rate, among other related social ills. Western education is not entirely bad *per se* except that in Africa in general, the way and manner it was handed down led to the marginalisation, and in some cases, the obliteration of valuable African stabilising social controls. For example, Western education introduced Christian education in schools and it was used to discourage traditional African cultural rites such as puberty rites, festivals, among others.

In contrast, a country like Japan adapted western ways to suit their traditional cultural ways during the reformist era of the Meiji (1860-1912). Had the colonials not been high-handed in foisting western values on Africans during the colonisation period of more than 100 years, Africans would have developed along the lines of the Japanese. This is not to sound defensive or apologetic as there is still room for improvement.

The problems which were created by the formal school system can be viewed against the background of traditional African values in order to see where gaps have existed.

On the one hand, western education, built on the protestant ethics of individualism, diligence, meanness, frugality, achievement, freedom and justice, is formal classroom education which is standardised, systematised and planned within laid-down parameters (Dale 1975:). Traditional African education on the other hand, is non-formal life-long education which is given in the community setting in an informal manner through social interaction, observation of cultural norms and the celebration of events such as festivals, *rites de passage*, among

others. Tournas (1996:27-43) writes that the introduction of western education in Africa dichotomised work and education. In pre-colonial Africa, work and traditional education were integrated and intertwined so much so that there was no separation between work and education. Traditional education did not separate the people from nature but rather integrated them.

In this vein, western education in Africa has to be integrated into traditional culture to preserve certain valued cultural imperatives which need to be transmitted from generation to generation. Tournas (1996:27-43) observes that in Botswana, the pre-colonial Tswanas gave informal education to the youth on subjects such as kinship, life skills and social values. Informal education was based on oral tradition, folklore, riddles and proverbs. Boys learnt from their fathers crafts and skills while girls were schooled by their mothers in motherhood, cookery, tending the farm and observing social mores befitting the status of women. The coming of western education via the colonialists and missionaries brought about the alienation of western education from the traditional cultures, which were centred on nature. The introduction of the dualistic economy created social fragmentation and scatterisation as western educated Africans came to regard manual work as menial and rather came to regard clerical work as noble. Western education severed the bonds of kinship between families and interrupted the life-giving patterns of the Tswana, which gave them continuity. Those who gained western education did so at the expense of losing out on their rich traditional lore. Western education, built on practicality and materialism, robbed the African of the traditional human values of community sharing, atonement with nature and the enduring spirituality between man and nature. Tournas observes that some of the negative trends of western education are the alienation of school-leavers from the land and the abandonment of school leavers by the government after grade 9 (Tournas 1996:40). This was not so in traditional education. After initiation, the youth had defined roles in the society with no questions of informal education being separate from work. Work and education were conjoined in the *rites of passage*.

Western education per se, was a response to the growing demands of society in the period of the industrial revolution. However, its negative association is not to do with all of its contents but rather with the mode and manner with which it was associated with the colonial process of subjugation and suppression of anything native or indigenous. Every race, minority or majority, has something to contribute to the world as knowledge is not the exclusive preserve of one group but rather it is evenly and fairly distributed in all races. Had colonisation not taken place in the way it did, many lost knowledge on African tradition would have been available to mankind. This can be attested to by the surviving strands of knowledge in artwork, folklore and pharmacology among African cultures. The processes of industrialisation, globalisation and urbanisation may not be the be-it-all and the super ordinate goals of mankind. The processes must be based on give-and-take and mutual respect for all global stakeholders and their needs. Civilisation is not a process of predation or silencing of the weak and minorities. The weak and the strong must co-exist as that is the balance of nature. Without the weak, the strong will have no relevance or source of reference or comparison.



The duality of nature is the essence of balance and the *raison d'etre* of human existence. The world has since come out of the Darwinian and Hobbesian crude states. No matter the speed or pace of globalisation, the whole world cannot get to the point of total homogenisation. Be that as it may, each country needs to strategize to survive in a world of competition where a nation has to strike a balance between preserving its internal harmony and at the same time trying to tune its wavelength to the globalisation frequency. It is a process of being or becoming globalised but never ever being totally globalised. It is a relative process.

Educational policy implementation gap made the Botswana government introduce brigade-like schemes for school-leavers for them to acquire hands-on skills. Tournas (1996:40) writes that a rethink of pre-colonial work regiments (*Mephato*) could eliminate social ills like teenage pregnancies, alcoholism, to name but a few. In Ghana, the Akan speaking people have 'Asafo' or traditional age-groups which are similar to modern war regiments. In peacetime, they were used to carry out civilian duties like construction, recovery of dead bodies from rivers, night-patrols against robbers, among many other duties. These *Asafo* groups had their chieftains, captains and group symbols in the form of colours, flags, peculiar uniforms, among others. They had their positive and negative sides. There were many inter-group wars as a result of rivalry and in particular towns, members of the different groups could not intermarry nor live in the same house or vicinity. However, with the rise of urbanisation and creeping in of western culture via western education, these cultural groups are fading away with both their positive and negative aspects.

Tournas observes that the educational philosophy, which was introduced from the west changed the cosmological thinking of the Tswana who hitherto was integrated with nature. The new educational system from the west alienated labour from the traditional conception of God. Tournas believes that the fragmentation effect of Western education in Botswana is the genesis of youth unemployment in Botswana today. However, this assertion of Tournas needs researching into as it cannot be taken on its face value. However, intuitively and from first hand observation, it can be said that the tedium and stress of western education takes the spice out of life as it tends to make people into workaholics and slaves of inordinate desires which often make them distanced and estranged from their kith and kin. (see '*The song of Lawino*' by Okot-pi-Thek of Uganda).

As culture is dynamic, it is important to have cross-cultural interaction through the process of cultural diffusion. The best in western education can be fused with and integrated into traditional values which are sustainable and progressive (cf. South Africa Draft White Paper Our Heritage 1997:11,13). Culture should not divide people but rather it should be a common denominator for defining humanity and discovering the depths of human nature. A.N. Whitehead (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1975 vol.19:816-818) defines culture as 'activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty and humane feelings. Scraps of knowledge has nothing to do with it'. From this insight, it can be said that culture is the pivot and core of all human beings as it requires tolerance of other people and the need

to recognise beauty wherever it can be found. Such a candid approach to culture requires objectivity and an inclusive approach to cultural diffusion. It requires policy-makers in education to be open-minded to the point of becoming eclectic to borrow the best from progressive cultures to enrich their own (South Africa 1997 Draft White Paper on Arts & Culture p13)

In Nigeria for instance, there have been several attempts by African educators and reformers to introduce concepts of African-based education (Krieger 1988:293-311). In South-West Nigeria, Tai Solarin's Mayflower School in Ikenne is an example of a school founded on the philosophy of work and study. So also was Lawrence Babatunde's Gaskiya College, which was founded on the precept of using indigenous Nigerian languages and cultures in the college curriculum (Krieger 1988:297).

A study in the former Gold Coast (Ghana) by Foster in the 1930s shows that the local elite resisted the recommendation by the Phelps-Stokes Commission to Africanise schools in Africa such as the famous Achimota College. Sociologists like Claude Ake, Paul Richards and Chinwezu advocate that the best in African traditions found in farming, pharmacology, dance and song, among many others, should be incorporated in Western education (Kreiger 1988:297). Instead of a clash of cultures, there must be a marriage of cultures. Instead of western education driving away people from nature, it must draw them to it by rediscovering and preserving the enduring traditions which perpetuate the even tenor found in the rhythm of nature and man. The African *episteme* needs to be rediscovered and promoted. The profound knowledge of Africa which is embedded in traditional lore cannot be relegated to the fringes of the ocean of knowledge.

The study by Foster in the Gold Coast (Ghana) revealed that the process of promoting and delivering western education led to unintended outcomes such as social stratification in the Ghanaian society, rapid social mobility and acceleration in rural-urban migration. Acquisition of western education accelerated the drift from the land to the non-land related occupations in the towns and cities. That marked the beginning of the decline of agriculture as a leading sector since most educated Ghanaians preferred to be in the service-related industries like teaching, civil service, law, accountancy, among others. The Ghanaian trend was not peculiar as it was found all over Africa, including Zambia and South Africa.

## 6.8 ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND ITS INHIBITING EFFECT ON TRADITIONAL LANGUAGES – LESSONS FOR ZAMBIA

The process of globalisation has been equated in some quarters to the Americanisation of the world. Along with this process are negative connotations such as the growth of neo-capitalism and the anglicisation of the world. The English language is undoubtedly the *Lingua Franca* of international communications as it is required in finance, aviation, commerce, learning institutions and on the internet. Inability to speak English is therefore a great hindrance in this age of Bill Gates and Microsoft hegemony. The legendary British Union Jack flag, depicting Britain as the crossroads of the world is close to reality. The Greeks gave us knowledge, the Romans law, the Jews Christianity, Western World technology, and the British, English language. What has Africa to offer the world, but humanity itself in subtle heart-rendering songs, proverbs and fables like those of Aesop.

In Zambia, the medium of instruction in school since independence in 1964 has remained English (cf British Council 1984: 685). From grade 1 at the outset, English is used as the medium of instruction. This is contrary to the long-established educational maxim that the first few years of schooling should be devoted to teaching the child in his or her mother tongue. To remedy this deficiency, the new policy on education perceives the need to introduce Zambian local languages at the first year level (*Educating our Future*, MOE Zambia 1996:39-40). The long use of English in schools at the entry level has promoted national unity but it has had the negative impact of encouraging rote-learning, parroting and aping foreign cultures to the detriment of indigenous culture (*Educating our Future* 1996:36-40).

It is reckoned that the introduction of Zambian languages in Zambia schools will face implementation problems of cost and acute shortage of trained teachers, among others. Zambian teachers of local languages are indeed very rare. There is no college or school of Zambia languages in Zambia. In neighbouring Tanzania, the pro-socialist government of the first President, the late Dr. Nyerere, made Swahili an official language throughout Tanzania. The upshot of that decision is that most Tanzanians cannot function properly outside East Africa as most of them cannot communicate in English. There are some Tanzanians who are sent to some Zambian Colleges to learn English. This shows the effect of being extreme or nationalistic in carrying out national policies. The short-term objective of uniting the country and winning the solidarity of the people behind the ruling party has been achieved at the expense of being illiterate in the global milieu. This is a lesson to any country that wants to embark on developing a *lingua franca*. Local identities need to be preserved through local languages but that should not neglect being functional in the globalised *lingua franca*-English.

South Africa offers an example of a multi-ethnic nation which in the new dispensation, has allowed 9 official languages to be taught side-by-side in school so as to ensure flexibility and to heal the inequities of apartheid. Much as English

is already an accepted globalised language, its use must also not be seen to sideline *Afrikaans* as all ethnic groups must coexist in the rainbow coalition as equal partners with a common destiny. There is need to preserve unity in diversity (Deirore 1997:129-139 cf. South Africa Draft White paper on Arts, Culture & Heritage 1997:26) . Negative or reverse discrimination should not be allowed as a form of recrimination in the RDP process. A nation or people without a language loses its identity and it is bound for extinction as a dodo.

## **6.9 EVALUATION OF PAST EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF ZAMBIA**

The surge in massive investment in education in Africa in the sixties and seventies was kindled by Theodore Schultz's paper on 'Human Capital Investment', which he presented to the American Economic Association in 1960. With a view to achieving the take-off stage identified in W.W. Rostow's model of the stages of development, Third World countries made heavy investment in education (Lulat 1982:235-236). However, economists like Paul Streeten and Thomas Balogh had warned at the time that emphasis should be placed on qualitative rather than on quantitative objectives (Lulat 1982:235). In the 1970s, macro-level educational reforms became the norm as there was a dire need for skill-based education (Lulat 1982:236).

Implementation of the educational reforms in the seventies did not achieve full success because of resistance, apathy and lack of clear-cut policies, among other constraints. In some instances, planners lacked information at the micro-level. The economic crisis created by the oil crisis and the falling commodity prices led to most of the educational plans being watered down. Many grandiose plans of the politicians in Africa did not materialise because they failed to create the middle level structure which would transmit their concepts to the grassroots level. As it were, there was a missing link in the political chain of command as in most cases, the politicians moved in a different orbit from that of the majority of the masses. As it were, instead of building from the foundation upwards, the politicians literally were building from roof downwards. Had much attention been taken to develop agriculture and industry, these would have generated enough means to provide for education.

The 1976-78 educational reforms in Zambia did not achieve much because of implementation gaps created by the nature of bureaucracy found in the one-party state (Lulat 1982:239). It was observed that in Zambia at the time there was a dichotomy between ownership and control of the schools. Government, in line with its nationalisation policy, took control of the schools which were mostly owned by the missionaries and other private providers. The reforms of 1976-78 were meant to serve many objectives some of which were conflicting. For example, the educational reforms were meant to achieve ideological, political, economic, social and scientific objectives all at the one and the same time (Lulat 1982:239).

Lulat (1982:239) attributes these factors as being responsible for the gap between policy intentions and policy actualities (Lulat 1982:239). Lulat observed further

that the unbalanced growth nature of Zambia's monocultural economy did not help matters, as many school-leavers became unemployed. Zambia's education was described as 'education for further education' (Nagel 1992:21). Critics point out that the failure of the Zambian government to reinstate agriculture as the mainstay of the economy was to blame for the high levels of unemployment among school-leavers in particular and the entire population in general (Lulat 1989:179-195). Psacharopoulos (1989:179-195) observes that many educational policies are not implemented because they are vaguely stated and the financing implications are not always properly worked out. He further notes that the content of policies are based on unsustainable theoretical relationship between instrumentalities and outcomes (Psacharopoulos 1989:182). He notes that in the 1960s when universal primary education was touted in Zambia, the population of Zambia was growing at a rate of 2 percent per annum. By 1985, the growth rate had shot up to 3 percent. Psacharopoulos observed in 1989 that 'if the Zambian government insists on its goal of universal basic education (Grades 1-9) for all (*sic*) 1.74 million additional school places would have to be added to the current 1.3 million by the year 2000.... This is clearly a daunting task given that education will have to compete with other social services for dwindling national revenues.' (Achola in Psacharopoulos 1989:182).

The change in government in 1991 and the introduction of market-oriented policies have made the realisation of universal primary education much more difficult as there are about 600,000 school-going children in Zambia who are currently out of school. Zambia's current population of 10 million has one-third of it being in the school-going age. This confirms Psacharopoulos predictions made earlier on in 1989.

Despite the avowed state policy of education with production in the 1978 reform, the tilt has all the time been in favour of academic education which attracts the best social rewards in Zambia (Achola in Psacharopoulos 1989:184). Achola observes further that distaste for manual work is deeply rooted in Zambia (Achola in Psacharopoulos 1989:185).

This is not peculiar to Zambia alone as throughout Africa, it is the general trend. It is unfortunate that in developing countries, manual work on the farm or in the factory does not pay as much as a white-collar job in a service industry. Could this be part of the colonial legacy or neurosis? It is ironical that the ex-colonials have changed this attitude in their own countries long ago and yet in Africa in particular and the rest of the Third World in general, this neurosis still lingers on. Policy-makers in Africa have to reverse this trend if education is to be outcome-based, demand-driven and globally competitive. Job remuneration policies need revisiting. The globalisation process is towards knowledge-based sunrise industries which require innovative technopreneurs who can 'grow' or 'start up' their own ventures in the age of e-commerce. Education for self-sufficiency is the norm in the modern labour market (cf. *Asia* 21 Feb 2000:passim).

Magagula (in Psacharopoulos 1989:186) calls for a survey of all supply and demand factors on the labour market and to relate the data to school curricula and

employment prospects so that that information can be fed into the school system. This will be a kind of feed-forward control and human resources audit, based on real-time or on-line information. Craig (1986) reviewed 153 educational policies in Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA) and he concluded that only a handful of them were implemented. His results were presented in a table as follows:

<u>Degree of implementation</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>%</u>
Unclear	28	18
None or little	113	74
Mostly	7	5
Fully	5	3
Total	153	100

Source: Craig in Psacharopoulos 1989: 192

From the table, it is evident that the majority of educational policies were either unclear or if made at all, they were limp on paper as they served as window dressing. The survey reveals that only about 8 per cent of the 153 policies were realised. The reason for lack of implementation or the existence of implementation gap was identified as not being able to set performance criteria to evaluate the programmes or the fact that unclear and ambiguous policy statements were made which lacked focus, specifics and were often out of context (Psacharopoulos 1989:192).

The literature of policy-making suggests that effective policies are those which are simple, measurable, accurate, realistic and time-bound (SMART). This calls for a rational-comprehensive approach to policy-making because they affect the welfare of many people, both target and non-target groups. Psacharopoulos (1989:192) suggests that good policies must be holistic and they must lead to total social transformation as the case was in Ethiopia, where a social revolution was initiated. As there is no ideal or perfect policy, even in Ethiopia, the desired results did not perfectly match with the original intentionalities. Psacharopoulos (1989:191) sees policy effect or outcome as a function of the cross-product of the probability of implementation with the probability of effect. Let the policy impact or outcome be Y and the probability of implementation be A and that of effect be B. then :

$$Y(\text{Policy outcome}) = A(\text{Prob. of implementation}) \times B(\text{Prob. Of effect})$$

$$Y = A \times B$$

Psacharopoulos writes that policy statements must be made concrete and precise in terms of quantities to be realised. For example, a policy on improving education should be made precisely such as: that in District M in Region L, enrolments within a specific period will be expected to increase from say 20% to

40% and that extra costs to be incurred will be financed by say a 4% tax on all mealie-meal sales to be made in the Region (adapted from Psacharopoulos 1989:193).

He advocates that policies should be made on the basis of proven research which must establish cause and effect relationships between certain identified critical variables. Lane, (1984:561) writing on education reform in Swedish universities, makes the case that policies in general are functions of time and the combined effects of both exogenous and endogenous environmental variables. Lane suggests that the external environment is beyond the control of the policy-maker and that must be taken as a given constant. Lane further suggests that policy is a function of lagged time and this confirms the incremental approach as was advanced by Lindblom in his famous dictum, '*The science of muddling through*'. Lane considers the implementation of policy as a function of intention, outcomes and output. The intention aspect deals with forecasting, premising and planning while the implementation aspect constitutes the action part which involves the manifestation of the policy. The process involves time, space and matter which are linked and conjoined in an inseparable whole. The outcome of a particular policy can be measured on a time scale by taking note of the time of announcement of the policy and the time taken to notice behaviour change on the target group. Also to be evaluated will be the effect of the policy on physical quantities in terms of goods and services output, among other outcomes.(cf. Whitehead:ibid).

Lane (1984:525) writes that there must be congruency between intentions, outputs and outcomes in the implementation process or else an implementation gap will arise and that will be a sign of failure. He elaborates further by stating that if in the implementation stage there are no unintended outcomes that are dysfunctional, then the policy is a success *par excellence* (Lane 1984:526). It is to be realised that improper goal definition and goal ambiguity lead to implementation problems because goal achievement or non-achievement is relative as that perception varies from person to person and it is subjective. There is the further problem of which means of implementation is efficacious or which policy outcome is most desirable. All these imponderables boil down to the age-long fact/value dichotomy. However, quantitative outcomes can be fairly used as proxies to measure implementation success. It is when the quantitative outcomes are made manifest through observation and measurement that judgement of the quality of success can be based. Even here, judgement has to wait, as time has to elapse to allow comparisons to be made, both on the time and spatial dimensions.

Another area of concern in measuring implementation success is that there are no scientific means of isolating implementation outcomes on target groups from non-target groups and in this context, policy implementation outcomes can be considered to be diffused.

As education is a life-long process, the success or failure of educational policy implementation can be gleaned from carrying out a social audit of how well or ill a society carries itself in meeting its needs or responding creatively and

intelligibly to its needs in its environs. Here, Zambia's educational policy success can be arraigned against successful countries such as Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Canada, Belgium, France, among others.

After all, educationists say that the aim of education is to equip the child to develop his or her total personality in order to live a productive life and to be lived with. One of the cardinal principles of education is to produce responsible and balanced citizens who are imbued with the sense of honour, propriety, diligence, achievement and balance. If a society has major problems of crime, corruption, deceit, indolence, rape, greed and other undesirable anti-social tendencies, then its educational set-up has to be questioned and probed thoroughly to discover where gaps exist so that they can be closed through crafting the appropriate policies (cf. Confucius c. 500 B.C in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 4 1975:1091-1108). According to A.N. Whitehead, 'the purpose of education was not to pack knowledge into the pupils but to stimulate and guide self-development.' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 19 1975:816-818). This being so, educational policies that do not lead to people becoming self-reliant must be re-examined.

A famous French philosopher, Abelard once said that success does not consist in doing extraordinary things but in doing ordinary things extraordinarily well. In the light of this wise saying, the relevance of education is to equip people to adapt simple theoretical concepts in solving complex human problems. That is the essence of serendipity. (cf. *Asia* 21 Feb 2000:40). A close look at the trend in Zambia and the world in general suggests that educational policy implementation outcomes follow two different paths for developing and developed countries and for the haves and the have-nots.

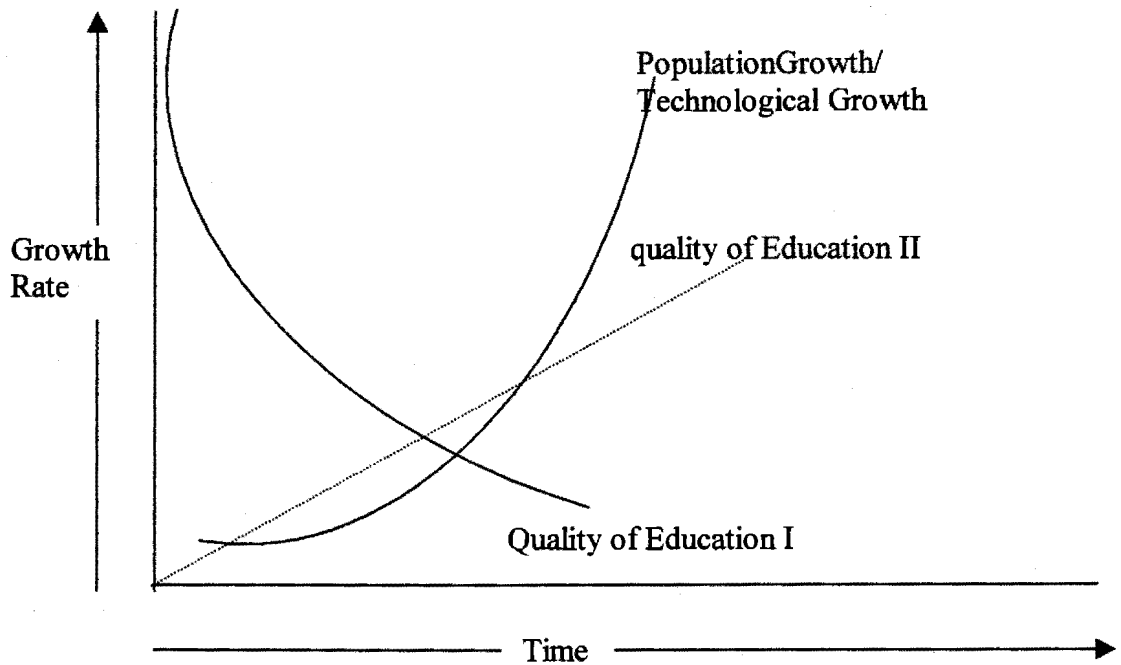
As the global population growth shoots up exponentially due to the high birth-rate among the majority poor in the world, the quality of education for the world becomes diluted and it falls sharply in the opposite direction to that of population growth. However, paradoxically, the growth of technology world-wide is also exponential, essentially in the knowledge-based industries such as telecommunications and computer technology. It can be inferred that the growth of technology is causally related to the upward movement of the population growth curve. Without problems and pressures created by rapid population growth, there would be less urgency to innovate. High population growth creates markets, competition and the momentum for survival.

The graph attached hereto illustrates these points.



Figure 6.9.1

Trends in quality of education for rich and poor countries.



( See population growth in Beardshaw 1990: 36)

However, the growth of global technology which is represented by the line in the graph, draws upwards the parallel dotted line, which represents the quality of education for the minority global elite. Obviously, there is a gap between the dotted line and the decay curve representing the quality of education for the global majority poor. To close this gap in the quality of education between the rich and the poor, policy makers world-wide need to come up with positive and constructive measures to address the issues of rapid population growth, inequitable distribution of global wealth and national cakes, addressing issues of inequitable world trade arrangements and finally rectifying the imbalance in infrastructure provision between the urban and the rural areas. This may sound utopian but then if serious and sincere efforts are made, the current unacceptable situation can be turned around in a period of about 100 years.

The educational policy implementation gap also calls for national leaders to ensure good governance and proper allocation of scarce national resources through intervention and through pursuing good precepts of sustainable development, capacity linkages and networks among various tiers of government, among others.

National leaders must not be seen to be using educational policies as primary tools to consolidate their personal political power nor as means to legitimise their leadership through performance. As trustees and custodians of the peoples' mandate, they must deliver at optimum level in an altruistic manner, as leadership is service, giving and sacrifice and not the other way round of self-aggrandisement.

At a world conference on education in Johannesburg, it was reported that there are 40 million children who are out of school in Africa and as such, the goal which was set ten years ago to achieve 100 percent universal primary education has not materialised. This has been pushed to the year 2015 (*Times of Zambia Newspaper*, Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> December 1999:4). The Conference called on developing countries to double their expenditure on education and also for the developed countries to help reduce the debt burden of the poor countries. It must be added also that the leaders of poor countries must be censured and chided for their frivolous expenditures on defence and their personal security which robs health and education of scarce national resources. The issue of education provision must become a global concern that calls for global collective responsibility.

## 6.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In chapter 6, an attempt was made to put Zambia's experience within the context of the global picture. This was done in order to have a basis for comparison and to gain insight into the argument of this paper.

Transitional economies are those which are found to be going through economic and to some extent political transformations, especially in Eastern Europe. These were the former allies and satellites of the former USSR such as Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, among others. Global changes made it imperative for them to reform their educational policies in order to keep pace with changes.

The experiences of transitions in countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and the former Soviet Union come in handy for comparing the situation in Zambia. In the former Soviet Union for example, implementation of the Draft Educational Reforms of 1984 were imposed top-down on the populace without any input from the grassroots and without regard for local needs. In contrast, educational reforms in the USA took an opposite stance whereby local people were allowed the freedom to adapt Federal policy parameters to suit their local needs.

In South Africa, the pre-1994 transitional arrangements led to a unitary education system being established to replace the former segregation system. Despite the

integration of the system, other problems cropped up by way of implementation constraints, class distinctions, among others. Zambia's own transition started in 1991 when the old one-party government gave way to the current liberal-minded government, which has since privatised the economy and introduced user-fees.

The experiences of Zimbabwe and South Africa in running schools' management boards suggest that Zambia needs to be economically viable in order to have local capacity to support the boards. The shining example of Japan where local governments are financially strengthened by central government must be emulated not only by Zambia but also by all developing countries.

In the former USSR, efforts to vocationalise education misfired as the effort was out of phase with global trends. It was observed that the reforms in the former Soviet Union were highly centralised, politicised and bureaucratised so much so that local initiative was not possible. However, the objective of the reform to create local synergies between schools and the communities was commendable.

In decentralising education in Zambia, it is important to empower the lower levels of governmental tiers so that those levels can sustain their optimum levels of performance. Zambia is relatively a vast country with a unitary system of government. It is important for Zambia to borrow a leaf from the educational reforms in the USA and Sudan where implementation strategies were fashioned to deal with local problems in imaginative ways.

In the USA for instance, the various states used their own methods to meet the federal standards which were introduced. In Sudan, communities were mobilised through fathers' councils to undertake self-help projects.

In adopting decentralisation of education, the collaborative and participatory approaches adopted in Trinidad and Tobago can be replicated in Zambia through the formation of local networks, synergies and linkages. Here, non-governmental organisations come in timely as it was in South Africa before the transition in 1994.

Policy-makers in Zambia are called upon to pay particular attention to topical issues which may not fall directly under the purview of the department of education but which do have education implications. These issues or *capita selecta* include areas like street children, gifted and exceptional children and youth unemployment, among others.

For policy-makers in education world-wide, it is important to address the issue of closing the widening gap between the haves and have-nots if the quality of education is to improve significantly for all. At the same time, the poor who have the proclivity to over-exercise their reproductive capacity need to be educated to go for quality and not quantity. There is need for strategic interventions as well as trade-offs to be made on the part of all involved.

In the final chapter which is to follow this one, a summary of previous chapters will be given as well as the findings and suggestions from the research.

# CHAPTER 7

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

From the time this dissertation was started up to the present, a lot of water has gone under the bridge and it is time to take stock of the trend of the arguments thus far and establish in no uncertain terms the findings with regard to the object of the study.

In this final chapter, an attempt is made to try to relive, in a bird's eye view, the main strands of the findings and to make suggestions with regard to the way forward for secondary school education in Zambia. In this endeavour, brevity and forthrightness will be the hallmark of success. A professor once said that simplicity is the mother of beauty. The findings will focus on personnel, policy, economy, finance and school organisation because these are considered as the hub around which policies are made within organisations and they form the cardinal generic elements of any organisation as a system or sub-system of a super-system. In some of the countries examined in this dissertation, it was observed that despite real increases in educational funding, the quality of education via outputs and outcomes declined. That was the scenario found in a developing country such as Zambia where declining funding for education correlated positively and highly with the worsening trends in examination results.

These two contrasting scenarios are of great import to the kernel of this dissertation which seeks to unravel the discontinuities between educational policy implementation, especially in a developing country. This work thus far suggests that it is pertinent to look beyond government and external funding of education and to enter into the system at the grassroots level to establish the underpinnings of policy formulation, analysis, implementation and evaluation. In fact, the case study from the USA (*supra* 3.11) offers ample evidence to the effect that the quality of education does not necessarily hinge so much on external extrinsic motivation such as adequate governmental funding for imposing school infrastructure or on a huge and highly complex centralised educational system but rather on having internal locus of control or imbibing Schumacher's aphorism, "small is beautiful." The outcome of that observation is that institutions of learning can achieve excellence in results if they work in partnership with regulatory bodies in shaping their own destinies or if they are granted much leeway to be intrapreneurial and entrepreneurial.

## **7.2. SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS**

In this section, a summary of all the chapters presented in the dissertation is presented sequentially as a recap.

### **7.2.1 GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION-A LITERATURE REVIEW**

In Chapter 2 a comparative evaluation of the development of secondary school education from the global perspective was undertaken as part of the literature review. Countries that were evaluated came from both developed and developing countries in order to see the contrasts and generic similarities on either side of the bi-polar and dualistic world of haves and have-nots. The countries whose evolutionary trends in secondary education came under the spotlight were Belgium, France, the Scandinavian Countries, UK, USA, former USSR, former West Germany, Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda in that order.

It was clear from these global perspectives that many approaches were used to great effect by different countries at different times to achieve certain national objectives or to adapt to the internal demands as well as the external geopolitical demands. Events such as the World Wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War, the end of colonisation, among others, influenced considerably the formulation of educational policies.

Some countries, notably those following socialist and communist ideologies, followed the centralist manpower planning approach to education whilst those in the liberal market-oriented countries pursued the social need or voluntary approach which was based on maintaining certain cultural imperatives as well as fulfilling the needs of elite families to maintain their family occupational traditions. The third approach which was based on pragmatism was the cost-benefit approach which critics saw as being mechanical and inefficient in taking care of all possible externalities. It was also clear from the global perspectives that most countries tended to borrow a leaf from one another as far as educational policies were concerned. For example, there was a trend in Europe at the end of the Second World War to establish comprehensive secondary schools which could provide broad-based education to meet the needs of industry.

#### **7.2.1.1 BELGIUM**

Educational reforms in Belgium have a long history. However, sweeping reforms were made in the period 1968-71 through constitutional reforms. Belgian authorities at the time saw the need to craft a policy that would be suitable for a multilingual, multi-ethnic and a predominantly Catholic country with many minority Protestant groups. This polyglot country found it necessary to evolve a policy that would satisfy the needs and demands of the diverse groups and at the

same time prepare school leavers for an integrating Europe. The French, Flemish, Catholic and Protestant communities had to abandon their disparate educational goals for the sake of a greater goal- that of national unity and an evolving European community.

Educational reforms in Belgium were dictated by internal and external pressures. For example, externally, the UN Declaration of Human Rights Charter of 1948 made education a right and declared in Article 26(3) that parents had freedom to choose the type of education for their wards. Policy-makers in Belgium were influenced by organisations such as OECD, among others. Education was made compulsory and free up to age 16. More focus was placed on vocational training as well as on maintaining some cultural imperatives to preserve the identities of the cultural groups. A loose federalist structure was adopted with an admixture of centralisation and decentralisation.

Way back into history the Age of Reason and Enlightenment had served as a catalyst for change and for seeking greater upward social mobility as well as paradoxically, maintaining social stability. The democratisation and liberalisation of education in Belgium was based on the ideals of achieving culturally acceptable and economically feasible education.

The constraints to the educational reforms in Belgium were found to include resistance by conservative elements, lack of proper orientation of teachers, policy implementation conflicts, among others (*supra* 2.1.2). The state decree of 1963 introduced ability and comprehensive secondary schools as a form of policy intervention.

### 7.2.1.2 FRANCE

In a country with a much diversified national character such as France, it took more than 150 years after the 1789 Revolution for secondary education to be democratised through direct central government interventions (*supra* 2.2.1). France, like the rest of Europe, was a class-conscious society where the elite elected to themselves the choicest type of education that would guarantee their offspring to continue ruling. The marginal and inferior type of education was consigned to the *sansculottes* (poor masses). Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Napoleon, the French dictator, used policy decrees such as the *Code Napoleon* to intervene and reform education. In 1948, another French General, de Gaulle, opened the portals of secondary education to all and sundry in an attempt to mass-produce technical graduates. The attempt made secondary education accessible to all for the first time but then it led to mushrooming of mediocre private schools ran by charlatans and profiteers (*supra* 2.2.1).

The mixed ability schools created chaos in schools as vandalism and hooliganism escalated. Schools had untrained teachers and ministers in the government ran the schools by ministerial circulars (*supra* 2.2.2). The school authorities complained

of increase in truancy. There was also resistance from the ruling elite against the democratisation process as they wanted a return to the *status quo ante* (previous situation).

### 7.2.1.3 SCANDINAVIA

Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and Norway were the first in Europe to adopt the concept of the welfare state which professed to look after the individual from cradle to grave. Comprehensive secondary schools were first adopted by these Scandinavian countries even before Germany and Switzerland did in the mid-twenties. They saw education as a way of life and a vehicle for achieving social equity (*supra* 2.3.1). Funding of education was made a corporate and partnership enterprise between the central government and the civil society. Thus, churches, trade unions, business groups, among others, helped to finance the cost of education. They offered the first example of cost-sharing. They also exhibited to the world that it is not the wealth of a people that determines the means to qualitative education but rather it is the will and value system of a people that matters.

### 7.2.1.4 UK

Notable reforms in education in UK were the 1938 Spen's Report and the 1944 Butler Education Act. The latter made education free, compulsory and available to every British citizen up to the age of 16 (*supra* 2.4.1). In 1977, the former Prime Minister, Callaghan's Ruskin College Speech raised many issues concerning the quality of education in Britain. It addressed issues of choice for parents, school meals and transport, school curricula, among others. It led to wide-ranging educational reforms such as the decentralisation of the schools and the change of control from the Local Educational Authorities (LEAs) to the Grant Maintained (GM) school boards which were directed by local communities. It was part of the Thatcher divestiture and deregulation supply-side management of the mid-eighties (*supra* 2.4.1)

### 7.2.1.5 USA

Unlike the unitary political structures of France or the UK, the USA has a pluralistic and federal structure that affects its style of government and therefore its central policy-making mechanisms. The education system in the USA is found to be a novelty with much flexibility based on their drop-in-drop-out (DODI) credit accumulation system. Their system is made user-friendly to reduce the school drop-out rate. Students could always continue their education any time any where with their accumulated credits. Local capacity-building to meet local needs is much emphasised. Federal financial support is given to disadvantaged states and to marginal groups. That apart, there are Federal educational policy guidelines that set the standards for the various states and ensure quality delivery of educational services.



Racism or the colour bar in education, especially against blacks, led to intervention by the USA Supreme Court which ruled that educational opportunities should be provided equally to all people irrespective of race, sex, colour or any other form of discrimination. That marked a watershed in education policy in the USA and that informed decision had repercussions around the globe for other countries (*supra* 2.5.2). It was a clear example of the exercise of the concept of *trias politica* and also that of an authoritative policy intervention, as it were, by a *deus ex machina* (a god out of the blue or a saviour of a situation).

In 1958, the former USSR stole a technological march on the USA when they took the lead in the launching of the first space shuttle, the *Sputnik*. That made the USA policy-makers sit up and re-examine what had gone wrong in the USA, leading to their supposed backwardness in mathematics and science at the height of the geopolitical Cold War. The upshot of that realisation was a policy rethink and massive re-engineering of secondary education in the USA thereafter.

#### **7.2.1.6 Former USSR**

Whereas the USA federal system allowed for flexibility and bottom up policy-making, the system in the former USSR revealed a contrast of an archetype of a mechanical and machine federal system that was based on top-down policy-making. In 1930, the Supreme Soviet (Legislature of the former USSR) legislated to make education free, compulsory and non-discriminatory (*supra* 2.7.1). That policy decision was informed by the communist ideology of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need. However, under the Khrushchev reforms, state interest was placed above the interest of the individual. Choice was limited as students were required to do community service for 2 days out of 6 school days. The over-regulation and over-centralisation of educational policy-making in the former USSR raised some storm as critics questioned the rationale behind making policies which could not be adequately financed or which lacked popular support. Furthermore, the critics observed that the vocationalisation of education in the former USSR was going to create a technological gap between the country and her rivals, notably the USA. They pointed out the lack of qualified teachers and training material as the shortcomings of the reform. Be that as it may, the monolithic political structure led to the sidelining of such critiques and the upshot was that many years after the implementation of the policy and reforms, it was found out that the disintegrated former USSR had become technologically uncompetitive in relative terms. Moreover, the harsh economic global environment created implementation discontinuities as funding from the central government was constrained by growing internal and external deficits.

### 7.2.1.7 FORMER WEST GERMANY

In the former West Germany, education was made a state responsibility. That had a long-standing antecedent as the records of the city of Hamburg showed such a commitment. The separate states or Landers in the federation pursued their own policies but with co-ordination and guidance from the central federal government (*supra* 2.7.2). The quality and efficiency in German schools was a reflection of German traditional values for precision, organisation and efficiency. Germany, according to observers, was an administered state with the wheels of the machinery being run by trained public officials. Like the Japanese, Germans had great respect for established law, order and authority. Indeed Germany was a regulated state but it was unlike the communist states where choice was severely curtailed, and to some great extent, non-existent.

The Basic Law of 1949 was the constitutional basis for educational policy-making in Germany as it demarcated the areas of responsibility of the central and state governments as well as the basic rights of the German people. The responsibilities of teachers, for example, were copiously spelt out in manuals of best practice. Despite the heavy regulation from the centre, the system was made participatory to the extent that teachers had input in crafting the curricula and reviewing school examinations. Parents, legislators and experts were allowed input on the educational boards to influence educational policy-making. There were adequate checks and balances in the system to prevent tyranny and abuse by public officials, especially teachers in Germany who are considered permanent public officials.

Germany adopted the concept of comprehensive schools in the late 1920s and like others, they placed more emphasis on practical/vocational training. They created guidance and observation stages at the junior secondary school level to help young students show their aptitudes and obtain career counselling. Germany's education was not inured from the impact of regime shifts and global trends. When the Nazis took power from the Weimar Republic in 1933 up to 1945, they indoctrinated teachers and students alike. In 1945, the Allied Forces defeated the Nazis and restored a liberal democratic government.

### 7.2.1.8 TRENDS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Events in Ghana showed that when reforms in education are introduced, resistance normally comes from the elite who want the *status quo* to be maintained. The manpower approach, adopted in Ghanaian secondary school planning in the post-independence years, led to over-education and over-production in the job market. The result was frustration, increase in rural-urban migration and a high level of brain-drain of qualified staff to overseas countries to look for greener pastures.

In the case of Nigeria, the many tiers of government in the federal structure created headaches in terms of having uniform standards as well as having adequate controls via school inspections. To facilitate speedy delivery of educational services, special boards were created to handle various facets of education and as well attend to the needs at the grassroots level. The Federal Government was charged primarily with overall human resources needs, giving of grants and ensuring that quality control measures were adhered to.

South Africa, like the USA some time back, faced problems in implementing educational policies because of the former national policy of separatist development. The then apartheid policy affected secondary school education, especially for blacks, as disproportionate amount of budgetary allocation went into the education of the minority whites. In order to maintain internal and external stability in a traumatised and polarised society, a heavy chunk of budgetary allocation was devoted to the defence forces and the security services, to the detriment of education in general. It would be naïve to say that only black students or would-be students suffered the ill-effects of heavy defence expenditure. The opportunity cost involved was that South Africa as a whole lost its economic strategic advantage as scarce resources were consumed in the defence and security industries instead of being invested in education, research and technology. Had it not been the circumstances of the time and had it been that those astronomical amounts had been invested in alternative peacetime ventures, South Africa would now have become an African Tiger or Cub, just like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore or Hong Kong.

The backlog of demand in the secondary school sector in South Africa, as has been shown, can only be met at the grassroots through capacity-building efforts in joint-partnership with NGOs, local governments, interest groups and civil society. Particularly important is the role which business houses have to play in creating value for themselves by assisting government to provide a cost-effective and efficient education. The high levels of unemployment and the low levels of literacy are a threat to the welfare of business in terms of shrinking markets.

Uganda's educational institutions were initially run by missionaries and targeted at the elite among white settlers and relatives of the local chiefs. The ex-colonial government took interest in providing more educational institutions, following the American-sponsored Phelps-Stokes Commission which toured many African countries, including South Africa, from 1922 to 1925 (*supra* 2.7.3).

The Cambridge Conference of 1952 and the UN-sponsored Addis Ababa Conference of African Educational Ministers in 1961, set the agenda and platform for the take-off in secondary and tertiary education in Africa. Those conferences provided the newly-independent countries, such as Zambia, with ideas and motivation for establishing institutions and providing benchmarks for measuring success.

### 7.3. ORIGINS AND MEANINGS OF THE TERMS PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, POLICY AND POLICY-MAKING

Chapter 3 examines the origins of policy and policy analysis institutions. Various definitions of policy are examined in different contexts such as within organisations and with regard to managerial process of achieving goals by having standardised, directional and purposeful behaviour which are targeted to achieve set goals. Policy is seen as being formulated by command groups at the apex of hierarchies to achieve strategic interventions in the affairs of individuals and departments within the organisation. In the case of the state, policies are seen as instruments or vehicles for achieving the public interest or protecting and promoting it at minimum political cost.

The origins of public administration were examined in countries such as France, Britain, Germany, USA, South Africa and Israel. These countries were selected as they have well-established policy institutions with rich traditions. Moreover, the efficiency of their public administrations commend themselves for reflection and emulation by other aspiring countries such as Zambia. The high per capita incomes and general high standards of living of people in these countries are indices of efficient public administrations.

In chapter 3, policy-making was shown to be a partnership between the authorities and public officials on the one hand and the target groups on the other hand. The success of the policy implementation process was shown to be dependent partly on the level of participation by the target group and partly on the content and context of the policy. To avoid policy resistance, it was shown that policies should be designed to be equitable, constitutional, acceptable and cost-effective. In that light, various policy approaches were examined. They include the elite-mass, incremental, group, institutional and mixed-scanning models. An examination of those models informs policy-makers to adopt a policy-mix that suits particular target groups. For example, the rational comprehensive model can be juxtaposed with the practical model of Henry Simon which is based on '**satisficing**' or '**bounded rationality**'

Models can be looked upon as abstractions of reality and simplified versions of reality to promote understanding. The various policy models examined in chapter 3 can be categorised into process, content, descriptive and prescriptive models.

The historical origins of public administration in France showed that the existence of an elite corps of public officials ensured accountability, probity and professionalism. However, the tendency for such corps to become laws unto themselves creates a threat to the ruling authorities and their mandate to deliver public services via their manifestos. To check the growth of the power of the Grand Corps in France, there are institutions to serve as counterpoise. These are

the Ombudsman (Le Mediateur), Cour des Comptes (Court of Auditors), among others. The growth of the power of the executive arm of government in France required instituting other extra-parliamentary gatekeeping and oversight agencies to check the excesses of public officials. In the case of Zambia, there is the need to strengthen similar institutions such as the Human Rights Commission, Drug Enforcement Commission, Anti-Corruption Commission and the Public Complaints Commission. There is also the need to provide enabling political environment to assist the public to exercise their rights of voice exit and to stop the capture of state resources by the executive or ruling elite.

The issue of executive arms of government keeping 'Kitchen Cabinets' and behind-the-scenes consultants is discussed. For example, the French have their ministerial cabinets, the Scandinavians have their evening saunas and the British Prime Minister has the Tuesday briefings with the monarch. All these scenarios inform policy-makers to be inclusive in their policy-making efforts as well as seeking expert advice or convergence of opinions with authorities behind the throne. Critics point to the existence of these consultants as undemocratic. In some cases, the reliance on outside advisors creates problems for the ruling executive as public officials take advantage to put spanners in the works when it comes to implementation of policies which they do not subscribe to. It is at such a stage that policy implementation discontinuities can be encountered.

South Africa and Israel were shown in chapter 3 to offer examples of countries that had to make policies in periods of internal and external political uncertainties. In those scenarios, policies were usually covert and they were made in situations of uncertainties, political instability and imperfect knowledge. The existing conditions then did not allow much room to have adequate or transparent public participation in decision making.

Be that as it may, lessons for Zambia were shown to be that those in political authority should consider adopting holistic policies instead of *ad hoc* or piecemeal policy solutions to issues such as education provision. This is because policy decisions in education have wider implications and long-term impact.

In South Africa, for instance, the then ruling minority government set up in 1979 the concept of *corporatism* to achieve some form of public participation in the national policy-making process. More specifically, inputs were sought from captains of industry and labour union opinion leaders. It became evident then that the private sector had to be involved more actively in the national governance process. A new chapter was opened that formed the basis of a new social compact.

On the lines of the policy think-tanks in Germany which dated as far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the government of South Africa started setting up national think-tanks to advise government on issues such as across-the-board education for all nationalities and the integration of disadvantaged groups into the mainstream of

politics and economics. Commissions such as the Riekert and Weihaan Commissions were set up. The New Right Anglo-Think Tank was set up and was led by people like Clem Sunter, among others.

In this age of information and knowledge, it was shown in chapter 3 that increase in public participation levels at the national level can enhance the legitimacy of the government and create political space for the public to have their needs addressed. To achieve that, the various means of telecommunication should be made accessible. These include common media such as the radio, television, newspapers and other fora.

Public managers are called upon to master information management techniques so that they can make good policies to gain national competitive advantages and to enhance grassroots capacity building.

Realising that in the current globalised era there is more to gain from sharing information rather than controlling it, policy-makers at the national level are called upon to increase press freedom within constitutional limits so as to accelerate the development process. This applies to Zambia where the press constantly complain of repression by government agents.

The authoritative policy-making model espoused in this chapter posits that where the power-distance between the ruled and the rulers is great, the rulers tend to be more totalitarian and they tend to have the tendency to manipulate the majority poor and illiterate. It is further suggested in the model that where literacy level is low, there is also high level authoritative policy-making. In that vein, there arises a discontinuity in the policy-making process as the public cannot make much meaningful contribution to public debate on issues (*supra* 3.7.6). It is envisaged that in a developing country such as Zambia, a high authoritative policy-making index is a symptom of dictatorship and monopoly of power by the ruling elite.

In that scenario, little political space is created and local government at the grassroots level is stifled of funds. There is no middle level structure to connect the top to the bottom or the core to the periphery. As it were, a discontinuity in governance and in policy is created. Needless to say that this hiatus in the governing structure is like a house which is being built from roof downwards with no solid foundation. Where a middle class is missing in the social structure, it becomes difficult for national policies to be implemented and it becomes very easy for the ruling elite to manipulate the majority poor, hence the prevalence of much political and systemic corruption.

Two case studies on educational policies were selected from Britain and the USA.

In Britain, the Grant Maintained School system was introduced in the educational reforms of the late 80s as part of the overall deregulation strategy. The central government decided to divest itself of central control and to create semi-

autonomous schools' boards which would be run by local communities instead of by the local educational authorities.

The privatisation move met with much resistance from leftist politicians or socialists who felt that the move was meant to disempower the poor and to widen the income gap. On the contrary, the proponents of the GM argued that it was to enhance quality of education and to make end-users more sensitised and responsible. Be that as that might be, the GM scheme in Britain was initiated with mixed feelings. People felt that it was a move that meant that the government was renegeing on the social contract. Public officials in the public administration in Britain were not expected to be pedestrian nor to act as political eunuchs. They were called upon to take sides with the ruling government. That was atypical of British public administration.

In the USA, the case study of the running of the schools provided abundant evidence to the extent that quality schools were found to be those that were small, autonomous and had quality leaders.

Chapter 3 concludes with policy-making models which are based on the Zambian policy environment. For example, the Zambian policy-making environment is depicted to be influenced partially by values and norms from the ruling political party culture as well as those values of the Zambian public administration on the one hand. On the other hand are influences from realities on the ground which include market forces, external donors, the capacity of the national purse, among other realistic variables.

A second model depicting the Zambian scene is the policy circle which shows that the policy circle begins with working papers presented from the Ministry of Education Headquarters (the line ministry for education) and then it is tabled before the cabinet for debate and adoption before it is sent to the legislature for endorsement and then a White Paper is issued. It is followed by the relevant Act of parliament. From that level, the policy directives filter through the governmental levels from the central, provincial and then to the district level. The directives go further down to both public and private schools where there is the interface between the government and the public.

A third model on Zambia shows the policy linkages between the education line ministry with the other ministries. The education line ministry becomes a focal point for receiving inputs from other line ministries and outside consultants.

The last and fourth model on Zambia depicts the policy hierarchy as a layered structure from the command group to the lowest stratum at the school level where classroom teachers and school heads hold sway.

Policy-making in Zambia is seen as a process or model that posits a top-down approach compared with bottom-up participatory and collaborative approaches

adopted elsewhere such as the advanced countries where policy analysis is carried out through pre-policy surveys. From the models depicted on Zambia in chapter 3, it is clear that policy actors and policy target groups need to agree on common directives so as to reduce policy resistance and to reach agreements at the evaluation stage, whether policies have achieved their intended objectives or not.

#### 7.4 SPATIAL AND TIME-BASED MODELS OF GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

In the past, models in education were made on three main premises namely, the social demand approach, the manpower planning approach and the cost-benefit approach. It was shown that the traditional social demand approach was elitist and unprogressive as it sought to maintain the social classes and the *status quo*. Education was taken as an end in itself and not as a means to an end. That being the case, not much thought was given by policy-makers to educational planning. The planners offered what the elite demanded as well as what the poor people could afford. Education, as service provision, became dichotomised in a dualistic environment. The social demand approach paid scant attention to cost and it, more often than not, overestimated the demand.

A milestone in global education was the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26(3) which stated that basic education is a basic human right and that parents should have the right to choose the type of education for their wards. In Africa, and elsewhere, that declaration precipitated the onset of embarking on massive education programmes that were targeted at providing requisite manpower which was needed in critical sectors in the newly-independent countries. The centrist manpower planning model of the socialist countries was adopted by many African countries *en masse* without much policy analysis of its long term implications. Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, fell into the manpower planning trap and at independence in 1964, embarked on a massive educational plan. The floodgates of education were opened as about 60 per cent of the Zambian budget at that time went into capital and recurrent expenditure on education. The result was a massification of education and the concomitant reduction in the quality of education.

A few years after the manpower planning approach had been in operation, many developing countries found themselves suddenly with the rise of unemployed secondary school leavers who drifted into the urban areas in search of employment. Those whose parents could afford it sponsored their wards to higher institutions abroad.

The cost-benefit approach, the third approach, failed to deliver the goods because of its inherent shortcomings of not being able to quantify certain unintended spill-over effects or externalities such as the long-term benefits of education to the individual and society. Moreover, there was no means of knowing all the variables needed to calculate costs and benefits.



A look at Hector Correa's educational performance index (*supra* chapter 4) put forward in the 60s was seen to be deficient in not having the potential to quantify or predict the benefits to be gained from pursuing a particular educational policy option. That being so, an alternative theoretical model was proposed in chapter 4 to examine some of the contemporary variables that influence educational policy variables in terms of input and output. It was proposed that a time series regression model could be run to establish the significance of correlation coefficients relating school leaving examination results (dependent variable) and independent variables such as per capita education expenditure, the calibre of staff in schools, the type of political ideology of the ruling government, the level of technological aids available in schools, rate of population growth, among others. The model which was proposed in chapter 4 was hypothetical as it could not be tested in the field due to constraints imposed on a dissertation of limited scope.

That notwithstanding, research work by Chubb (*supra* chapter 3) on educational institutions in the USA in the 1980s was revealing on the variables that differentiated excellent secondary schools from poor ones.

The policy triangle models employed in the chapter were an attempt to contrast the ideal with the realistic situations. A trilogy was shown to exist among the teacher, the public administration and the community on the one hand and on the other hand the trilogy of the influences of the economy, the socio-technological front and the international community. Pertinent to Zambia's case, the student is found to be at the centroid of the triangle of forces. Advanced countries such as Canada, Sweden, Japan, Singapore, among others, are shown to be gravitating towards the ideal equilateral triangle, while developing countries such as Zambia are analysed to be having scalene or skewed-sided triangles. It was shown to be so because of lack of appropriate levels of technology, low motivation of teachers and the parlous state of the economy.

An organogram depicting a policy cycle is shown (Figure 4.6). It shows how the Zambian educational policy cycle is linked in a holistic manner to both internal and external stakeholders, especially in a globalised world. A backdrop of concentric circles is shown, starting with the economy from the centre towards other influences such as the political values, social norms, technological innovations and globalisation influences in that order of hierarchical importance.

The educational policy cycle organogram is a consolidated model that reflects the age of knowledge and the reality of globalisation as, willy-nilly, a factor to contend with in crafting viable and valid national policies. The model informs policy-makers to consider system-wide policy-making so that they will not be left behind in a globalisation trap because of the stupendous speed of the globalisation process. It informs national policy-makers to integrate their national policies with the larger global picture. The policy cycle model recommends itself as a universal model which, apart from Zambia, can fit into any country with some adaptations.

The policy rectangle/semi-circle model was employed in the chapter to depict the fact/value dichotomy as well as the conflict of interest between party ideology and the long-term public interest. Whereas no ideology can fully ever satisfy the demands of the public, at least, at a point in time, there is a convergence between the ruling party's ideology and the public interest along the *publilocus*. It is suggested therefore that political leaders should be guided by the public officials to assiduously search and locate that locus of points that lie on middle ground and that forms the long-term policy locus. Similar to that will be the search for policy slides that will lead to accretion or policy incrementalism (*supra* 4.8 & 4.9).

Policy can also be merged from the tiers of governmental levels or hierarchies by having the woofs and warps tied in neatly in a hybrid policy that satisfies demands at the national, provincial and district levels (see. Figure 4.10).

Time models of policy in chapter 4 reflect the dislocation of Zambia's education which over the years, has had to borrow from many western practices without paying much attention to local traditional values found in folklore, traditional songs and dance, pharmacology, farming practices, among others (see. Figures 4.11 & 4.12). It is posited that a marriage or blend of western values and traditional African values can help to push forward the frontiers of education in Zambia.

The time-models are explained in their time dimensions as evolutionary, starting from the pre-colonial model, through the colonial, post-colonial, neo-classical and to the post-modern knowledge-based era.

The argument is made that an ideal-theocratic model for education needs to be evolved to reflect a new paradigm that can be universally adopted. Such a model will have Zambians writing their own textbooks and interpreting themselves to others as well as having the freedom to adopt freely any model or ideas that suit their needs. There will be no biases or complexes or deliberate obfuscation of facts pertaining to the Zambian world of knowledge. In that event, a commonwealth of education without borders will emerge. Zambians will create economic, social and political values for themselves without forever looking outwards for foreign recipes which often turn out to be iatrogenic.

## **7.5 DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA**

The crux of the dissertation was chapter 5 where statistical data was marshalled to confront the objective of this paper. The data analysis revealed that despite great strides in quantitative terms, the quality of education in Zambia had gone down considerably when compared with the past and with other African countries. For example, the massification of education after the post-independence era led to crowded classrooms, shortages of trained and qualified teachers and the overly dependence on central government largesse as well as donor handouts to support

education. The policy-makers made policies which had noble intentions but whose delivery did not have enough support from the provision of the necessary wherewithal. The policy-makers and educational planners placed high premium on donor assistance so much so that when the donors perceived the political leaders to be vulnerable to their aid, they started pulling the strings and imposing conditionalities for accessing their loans. Zambia's geopolitical position did not help matters as she was caught in the throes of liberation wars on all her borders. Being a landlocked country, Zambia suffered doubly. Worse still, like any other developing country, the downward spiral of copper prices on the world market and the escalation in oil prices and the global recession of the mid seventies and eighties caught Zambia on the wrong foot. From 1989, the then pro-socialist government of Zambia began introducing user-fees in the universities and withdrawing from her earlier eleemosynary economics of free provision of essential services like health, education and a heavily-subsidised transport sector. It dawned on the policy-makers that citizens had to contribute their widow's mite to the act of nation building, hence a retreat from cost-shouldering. Much damage had already been done to the Zambian psyche which, up till today, is implacably tuned to the mentality of donor-dependency syndrome. Despite the massive aid from the post-colonial era, not much was done by the political leaders to create sustainable development structures or to develop local capacity-building structures. Development, as it were, had taken a top-down, monotonic trend which is difficult to reverse. Since 1991, the new government has taken a different approach based on the New Right neo-classical market-centred supply-side economic management. This approach had had a telling effect on Zambians, making a very small percentage very rich and a vast majority worse off than before. This could not be unconnected to the negative impact of the globalisation process. Measures need to be put in place to mobilise local capacity at the grassroots for endogenous development, rather than an externally-induced development.

In future, donor aid has to be husbanded much better to avoid misdirection and leakages. That is the challenge facing the Zambian. There is the need to create a sense of altruism and patriotism, instead of feeding selfish ego and wasting scarce resources on sloganeering and unproductive political party rhetoric. Hungry people cannot eat empty political promises. Politics is no more the opium of the masses as it was stated some time ago by the then Chinese leader, Mao Tse Tsung. Modern politics is now about issues of bread and butter and, above all, visible development in qualitative and quantitative terms. Development, in the sense of a high quality of life, is now the desire of the people. There is no system which is perfect but then, Zambia can learn a lot from countries such as Botswana and Tunisia. Development will recede like a mirage in the desert if political leadership is lacking in commitment and matching rhetoric with actualities on the ground.

The educational policies which were implemented in Zambia lacked focus as they did not tackle the fundamental issues such as development of agriculture, reform

of the slow-moving and grinding over-centralised civil service, among others. The statistics also revealed that the drop-out rate in the schools was very high and that that was a wastage of scarce resources. Urban-type theoretical education was leading to high levels of youth unemployment among school leavers and increase in the rural-urban migration. The towns along the line of rail in Zambia are exploding at the seams with overpopulation.

The statistics reveal that despite good intentions of government to reform education, policy inputs have not been matched with the level of intentionalities as the planning unit is weak with little funding and lacking adequate personnel, equipment and transport. School inspectors are not enough to go round the schools. In some cases, some schools had not been inspected continuously for several years. While countries such as Taiwan, Botswana, Tunisia, Singapore, among others, devote about 20% of their budgets to education, the situation in Zambia is nothing to write home about as the education budget takes between 8 to 11 percent of the total government budget or between 1 to 4 percent of GNP. Much worse, very little is provided for in the various budgets for new fixed capital infrastructure in the schools. School buildings and equipment which were donated in the sixties and seventies by donors such as the World Bank and NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development) have fallen into disrepair in most cases.

#### 7.5.1 HISTORICAL TRENDS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

During the colonial period, the first secondary school established in Zambia was the Munali Secondary School in Lusaka in 1939. The impetus for education of blacks was the impact of the tour of the Phelps-Stokes Commission of the 1920s and the rise of proto-nationalism in the inter-war years. It was also the yearning of the few black elite to secure the best type of higher education for their wards locally. Hitherto, they had had to send their wards out to be educated far away from home in institutions with foreign cultures.

At independence in 1964, Zambia's secondary education received a shot in the arm when an accelerated secondary school educational plan was put in place by the first black African government in order to supply critically needed personnel. At the time of independence, it was estimated that Zambia had about 100 university graduates and about a 1000 secondary school leavers. However, the rush for numbers rather than quality sowed the genesis for Zambia's donor-dependency in sourcing funds for education provision. At the time of independence, there was also the need to import expatriate graduate teachers as the onset of the building of many secondary schools required personnel in the teaching field, especially graduate teachers of mathematics, sciences and technical subjects. The ruling pro-socialist UNIP party used education as a vehicle for its ideology of *humanism* or man-centred form of development. That approach came under heavy criticism from the churches and the intellectuals who argued that *humanism* was a denial of God as the centre of all activities. The kerfuffle

resulted in the UNIP Government watering down its proposed reforms in education.

A new Education Act 1966 Cap 134 was enacted to unify educational provision and to end the then colonial system which discriminated on the basis of class and race. Education was made free, compulsory and government-controlled. The declaration of Zambia as a one-party state in 1972 removed the element of competition in the provision of education. It also muzzled school administrators who were bogged down by various bureaucratic controls that made it difficult to maintain school discipline.

The donor-dependency syndrome in the sixties and seventies created many policy implementation discontinuities, especially as the global oil crisis worsened in the mid-seventies and the various liberation wars in Zambia's neighbouring countries took their toll. With Zambia's copper export earnings dwindling as a result of falling prices, Zambia became desperate to receive aid from anywhere. In the process, a plethora of aid donors arrived on the scene and each preferred her own policies and demands. With uncoordinated donor aid from bilateral and multi-lateral sources, it became difficult for the Zambian public officials to put their act together. Thus, the varying sources of donor aid and the varying demands of the donors, coupled with their style of aid administration, created educational policy implementation discontinuities in Zambia from 1964 to date (1998).

With a vast land area (752,000sq km<sup>2</sup>) and with very poor transport and telecommunication facilities, the good policies made in Lusaka could not trickle down to permeate the provinces, let alone the districts and hamlets. (Zambia has some of the most remote and harsh rural areas in Africa). It became apparent that to remove policy discontinuities, the high level of centralisation of government had to be addressed. Already the education policy document, **Educating Our Future** (1996), which was issued by the Zambian Ministry of Education is addressing most of the issues raised in this paper. It is hoped that the same discontinuities that torpedoed past reforms will not surface to undo it.

## **7.6. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL *CAPITA SELECTA* WITH REFERENCE TO ZAMBIA**

In chapter 6, *capita selecta* from the global perspective was examined with a view to comparing the global educational policy scenarios with those in Zambia. In that light, selected topics which were dealt with included the issues of gifted children, educational reforms, decentralisation of education, the role of NGOs in local capacity-building, traditional African education vis-à-vis western formal education, among many other pertinent issues. The attempt was aimed at looking at educational policy from a macro rather than a micro view in order to zero in on the Zambian scene.

In chapter 6, the hypothesis of this dissertation was subjected to a global scrutiny by examining some of the areas of social living which are connected one way or the other with the educational policy implementation discontinuities. It was an attempt to look at the topical issues behind the scenes. Starting from Zambia, it was observed that the UNIP Government in the sixties and seventies created many secondary schools in Zambia which churned out many school leavers. Instead of investing hard-earned foreign exchange in capacity-building in the agricultural and industrial sectors, the government engaged in grandiose projects in the political arena such as holding conferences or supporting the liberation movement so much so that many school leavers were left in the cold and they found themselves drifting to the cities. That was a visible discontinuity in the educational policy implementation. The educational policies which were put in place were either too ambiguous or they lacked focus as they were meant to achieve multiple goals.

In parts of the world such as Britain, Canada, the USA and Hong Kong, there are clear policies on gifted children to identify precocious children and put them in so-called 'smart schools' where their talents can be fully nurtured. There is no such policy in Zambia. There is therefore a need in Zambia to address this policy discontinuity by having specific policies put in place to assist gifted children and other exceptional children with mental, social and physical disabilities.

The issue of street children is a worrisome phenomenon world-wide. The issue is examined in countries such as India, Colombia, Brazil, South Africa, USA, among others and it is found to be related to causes such as effects of negative government policies, effects of wars, broken homes, poverty and peer influence. It is recognised that the phenomenon of street children requires an inter-agency approach and that policy-makers in the education sector, especially in Zambia, must take steps to reduce the incidence of street children caused by factors such as lack of counselling in schools, high drop-out rate and the need to set up a social safety net to assist vulnerable groups.

In South Africa, for example, NGOs have long been involved in capacity-building at the grassroots in order to address imbalances in education that caused many black communities to be educationally disadvantaged. These NGOs were found at first to be on collision-course with the former minority government because in some cases they were found to be politically meddlesome in their activities. However, the situation has improved since the inception of majority government in April 1994. The South African Centre for Education Policy Development in Bloemfontein is a shining example to Zambia to emulate if policy implementation discontinuities are to be avoided.

The issue of grassroots capacity-building can also be addressed by examining how a country such as Trinidad and Tobago decentralised education by government forming partnerships with local communities to assist in imparting skills. The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990,

emphasised the need for establishing partnerships and sharing of power between central governments and their constituent parts in order to avoid a situation of a top-down policy approach and to adopt an inclusive and collaborative policy approach which is comprehensive, acceptable and that goes to strengthen rather than weaken the legitimacy of central government. Central governments must realise that for their policies to be effectively and efficiently implemented, those policies need to be people-centred.

In Zambia, capacity-building at the grassroots is lacking because the local governments which are in place are stifled of funds and they lack capacity to deliver. Their workers are underpaid and it is on record that, in some instances, they have not been paid for months on end. There is therefore the need in Zambia in particular and developing countries in general to examine critically how inter-governmental relationships can be restructured. Japan is cited as having one of the best local governments in the world whereby a greater share of central government revenue is disbursed to local governments. The reverse is the truth in Zambia. Most of the revenue captured at the central government level is frittered away and dissipated in activities which do not add value to people's needs at the grassroots. One may ask if central government is a contraption for social robbery or denial. Another example of functional local government is South Africa where constitutional arrangements have enabled the lower tiers of government to be self-sustainable. However, the post-apartheid attempts to restructure education in South Africa did not find problems with revenue sharing between central government and its component parts but rather with the visible disparities in the educational infrastructure provided in the urban and rural areas. Many rural areas of South Africa are mostly for Blacks. The one-sided manner in which the previous government distributed the national cake is being addressed through the RDP effort. A similar challenge faces Zambia. Zambia can also borrow a leaf from the Sudan where education reforms in the eighties were not so successful because the revolutionary approach of the programme failed to reckon with the age-old traditions of the people which could not be changed overnight.

Finally, in the Sudan, the government put up a grand educational plan that could not be implemented because funds were inadequate. The failures of the educational reforms in Sudan included frequent changes of ministers in the education portfolio, lack of adequate inspection of schools, ill-prepared teachers, poor management of the reform programme and adopting a blanket school calendar for a sprawling country whose geographical needs were diverse and therefore could not be synchronised nor standardised. These findings in Sudan prove the kernel of this dissertation that policy intentionalities often do not provide a close fit between actualities and performance goals because of lack of policy analysis.

## 7.7. CONCLUSIONS

With regard to the research questions posed in chapter 1 of this dissertation, various specific conclusions can be made and they include *inter alia* :

- Falling standards in the quality of education in Zambia have been identified as policies focused on quantitative rather than qualitative outcomes.
- That there is need to urgently address socio-politico-economic problems in the nation if the educational policy implementation discontinuities are to be minimised or eliminated.
- That policy formulation should be made inclusive, participatory and encompassing to avoid policy implementation resistance and to achieve synergies between the top, the middle and the grassroots levels.
- That archaic legislation which hinders the wheels of progress be revisited and reviewed in line with trends such as the aspects of regional integration, globalisation and the need to adapt to the demands of the knowledge-based technologies.
- That Zambia needs to set up policy analysis institutions and think-tanks to conduct thorough research before policies are made.
- That comparative research of educational trends in other countries need to be carried out to be able to learn from the mistakes of others.
- That the earlier proposition put forward by Thomas Dye that educational policies are influenced mainly by urbanisation, education and income is no more tenable as other more prominent variables have entered the policy equation, namely the effects of globalisation, the speed of the information revolution, the need to fit into regional integration, among others.
- That to some extent, external factors have played a major role in creating discontinuities in Zambia's educational policy implementation in that donor countries have, for example, given conditionalities for accessing their aid. Some of these conditionalities involve Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which have created more vulnerable groups. The lesson is clear that policies should not be too donor-dependent.
- That to achieve the multiple goals of having market-driven, gender sensitive, action-centred, cost-sharing and morally sound education, more work has to be done to provide avenues for second-chance or parallel education to school-dropouts, street children, gifted children, exceptional students with disabilities, among others. These would minimise the discontinuities of educational policies which are created in the social sector. Distance-education should be used to reach many via information technology.



- The conclusion is also made that educational policies should be made more transparent, more specific and based on long-term rather than piecemeal or *ad hoc* solutions. That to achieve maximum policy impact, there is need to decentralise education, create viable local capacities to render cost-effective and tailor-made services. In that vein, policies should not be made in a blanket fashion but rather they should be made to attain system-wide synergies and at the same time cover all the generic administrative areas such as educational personnel, finance, policy, planning, organisation, among others. For example, a policy that is aimed at achieving 20% increase in secondary school enrolments and pass rates in examinations must also address issues affecting the welfare of teachers such as housing, remuneration, teacher education and training, school infrastructure and teaching aids, among others.

The conclusion is made that for educational policies in Zambia to be effective, the policies must be owned by Zambians themselves who will need to write their own books and interpret themselves to the outside world instead of relying on foreign-grown policies or models that will require incorporating progressive western type of education .

It is also concluded that positive results achieved from implementing good educational policies help to move a country forward. Successful educational polices in countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong and Japan have been responsible for their rapid economic growth.

Evidence adduced so far suggests that the increasing rates of crime, moral decay, social decomposition, among others, are a reflection of discontinuities in educational policies in Zambia as education, *per se*, is not helping people to have round education that takes care of the hands, hearts and heads of students. Zambia education has been described as education for further education in the sense that the school curricula is so much academic-oriented that the products of secondary schools lack basic skills in art and design, music, crafts, and above all, in etiquette and upright conduct. Character training is neglected except for a few private missionary schools where it is emphasised.

The conclusion is also made that these days, parents provide little support to their wards, especially in these present times of poverty, HIV/AIDS pandemic and social malaise. Without parental support, the schools and public authorities can do little to achieve maximum results in their policy objectives.

These conclusions arrived at here strongly and convincingly prove that discontinuities exist in educational policy implementation in Zambia.

## 7.8 FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The approach adopted in this dissertation recommends itself to making general observations which are applicable to all countries and then from that premise, to extend it to Zambia's peculiar scenario.

On a country-to-country basis, each country should seriously think of availing itself the use of modern information technology to extend formal education to those in remote areas. In that regard, remote areas will need to be connected on the national electricity supply grid or they could use alternative sources of energy such as solar-powered batteries or the use of biogas and bagasse as is done in India. The television, radio and internet can be used for home-based education. Each country has to appreciate its own peculiar resources by encouraging local academics to produce their own textbooks to match with their own internal needs. India, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana are some developing countries where the book industry is relatively developed and more and more books are increasingly being written by local academics. Zambia needs to seriously encourage its teachers to write appropriate books for the Zambian schools. Africa must redefine herself from the African perspective by producing her own Shakespeares, Einsteins, among others.

The schools are said to be a mirror of society and a carbon copy of the well-being of a nation. This being so, it is said, however, that the secondary schools in Zambia are not up to expectation as the successive governments have failed to deliver on their promises. Judging from the parlous state of the schools and the quality of their products, it can be concluded that overall educational policies have had serious implementation discontinuities.

These discontinuities can be seen in the form of high drop-out rates, shortage of qualified teachers, over-dependence on donor aid and central government grants, among others. Development aid in particular has been found to be fungible. To make a new beginning towards improving the deteriorating conditions in the secondary schools, the Government of Zambia should consider embarking on a serious reform of the line ministries, institutions and structures in a system-wide organisational development effort. Already, there is a Public Sector Reform Programme (PSRP) going on but its momentum deserves much to be desired as nothing seems to be changing in the grinding and Greek-temple-like form of public administration in Zambia.

The over-bureaucratised and over-politicised line ministry of education needs to be overhauled to make it more functional, effective and efficient. More professionals need to be employed in the public administration to introduce sound management principles into the public sphere and to avoid the decay which often accompanies a system that attempts to operate on the 'spoils' or the 'rotation' system which was first introduced in the USA in the nineteenth century by one of the Presidents, Andrew Jackson. Zambia needs to consider Woodrow Wilson's

advice given in 1887 to Americans to be circumspect in imbibing foreign ideas wholesale without adaptation to local needs. The Zambian Government's attempt to decentralise the public administration is a bold and noble effort but then it should consider doing it in a professional way by employing change-agents and following successful models of reform. As things are, reforms tend to be adhocic, piecemeal and rhetorical or cosmetic. The old ways are always present, despite loud calls from the rooftops clamouring for change. Zambia should consider breaking away from anachronistic and grinding bureaucracy which is synonymous with its public administration. Reforms must not turn out to be a rehash of old ways. They must be total, holistic, and skin-deep. Serendipity is the knack for breaking out of one's cocoon or circle to chart uncharted oceans and frontiers. Therein lies new knowledge, innovation and increasing prosperity.

The Government of Zambia has to form inter-agency synergies to address education-related issues in the social sector. The Government needs to realise that all the public services aim at providing collective goods in the form of promotional, posterity, protective, preservation, prosperity and pure public goods. Education is the only service that qualifies to be classified in any of the six public spheres. For example, education promotes the quality of life and it leaves legacies for posterity. It also protects the individual from exploitation and also the heritage of the nation from obliteration. It creates wealth for the individual by increasing efficiency and finally it services the pure public sectors by providing human resources for the indirect services such as the civil service, defence forces, social workers, *inter se* (among others). Good educational policies should not be considered to be *contra bonos mores* (against the public expectation of good norms). The public interest in education is larger than the personalised and individual rights derived from education.

The Government, which is a custodian of the public interest, is duty-bound to act with *uberremae fidei* (utmost good faith) in fulfilling its role per the gentlemanly agreement of *meum dictum pactum* (my word is my bond or honour). To that end are governments mandated by the *social contract* and regulated by the principle of the *trias politica* (separation of powers). Education of the highest quality is a *conditio sine qua non* (absolute necessity) in this age of globalisation.

The suggestions for government actions in the arena of educational policy-making in Zambia can be summarised as follows:

- Teachers and school managers need to be professionalised and adequately motivated with incentives to encourage them to put up their best in assisting to implement national educational policies. Their current status of low salaries and lacking accommodation, especially in rural areas, is not good enough as it leads to high staff turnover.

- School managers and administrators should be considered for further training to equip them with entrepreneurial skills to make them more proactive and functional.
- National campaigns should be mounted to assist teachers to change and adopt positive behaviour change as there is a high cost of personnel attrition through HIV/AIDS related deaths .
- Efforts should be put in place to attract back to Zambia most of the seasoned professional teachers who have left for greener pastures in neighbouring countries. The Zambia government cannot forever depend on the services of guest or expatriate teachers. Sustainable development requires improving and building local capacities.
- More school inspectors should be trained to ensure quality control in the secondary schools. Furthermore, career opportunities should be created for teachers so that they can be promoted to become inspectors and thus be motivated.
- The imbalance between rural and urban areas in the spheres of staffing, accessibility to instructional material, among others, should be attended to. Most rural schools are located in harsh areas and therefore they do not attract qualified teachers.
- There is the urgent need to train more teachers in fields such as music, local languages, designing, arts and crafts, sciences and mathematics.
- The government of Zambia should consider creating educational loan schemes, scholarships and support systems to help the vulnerable children in Zambia , especially orphans and those whose sponsors have died because of the HIV-AIDS pandemic .Private companies and civic institutions can complement government effort by helping to set up education trusts and endowments.
- There is need to create political space for grassroots participation in policy making by using the collaborative, consultative and partnership policy-making approaches which have worked elsewhere outside Zambia.
- Community participation in the daily activities of secondary schools should be encouraged so that the communities can assist in arresting the spate of vandalism of school property and also for the communities to forge links with schools to help meet their needs, especially in areas such as instilling discipline, learning about traditional values and skills, among others.

- There is need for government to devise better curricula that can integrate education with the needs of the immediate community. Employers of labour should advise on market-driven education.
- Theory-based education which is teacher-centred and based on rote-learning should be discouraged by introducing interactive and action-based learning.
- The Government of Zambia should consider seriously to address the issue of integrating Zambian education with the rest of the COMESA region and the globalised world by initiating policies that will help school leavers to take up international assignments. In that light, computer education in schools is a must as well as the learning of foreign languages of Zambia's neighbours such as French, Portuguese, and Swahili.
- Local communities should be encouraged to initiate self-help projects to set up community vocational and resource centres to create avenues for the youth to acquire skills.
- In the attempt to privatise and decentralise schools, the government should not abandon its responsibilities to the schools as constitutionally it collects a lion's share of the nation's revenue and must give grants to the schools.
- The book industry should be encouraged in Zambia to make reading material more accessible to students. The Government should create an enabling environment to attract private foreign investment in education in Zambia.
- To engender competition and maintain high standards, the Examinations Council of Zambia (ECZ) should consider forming alliances with neighbouring countries to have a common examinations board on the lines of those in West and East Africa (WAEC and EAEC respectively).
- Moral decay in education should be attended to by revisiting the 1966 Education Act Cap 134 to amend those portions that reduce the moral authority of school authorities (*supra* 5.5)

On suggestions for future research concerning education policy implementation discontinuities, the areas that can be examined include the following:-

- The type of mechanisms that should be put in place in governance so that in future regime shifts will not adversely lead to marked departures in educational policy implementation.
- The type of safeguards that should be put in place so that national policies can easily be transmitted to the grassroots and they can be implemented without much resistance or having many discontinuities.

- The long-term effects of globalisation on a weak economy and its capacity to meet the educational challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- The effects of political corruption on the efficacy of governmental institutions in implementing policies in education.
- The overall effects on domestic educational policies by the policies initiated by neighbouring countries and regional economic groupings.
- The impact on domestic educational policies by international fora such as the World Education for All in Jomtien (Thailand), 1990, the World Education Forum in Dakar, April, 2000 and the Commonwealth Education Ministers Conference due in Nova Scotia (Canada) in November, 2000.
- The relevance of the current Zambia secondary school curricula to the immediate and future needs of the country as well as the whole Southern Africa region.

This study has transparently proved beyond any shadow of doubt that in a weak donor-dependent Third World economy such as Zambia, educational policy implementation tends to have serious discontinuities partly because of divergence between political will of leaders on the one hand and on the other hand partly because of operational constraints at the grassroots where public officials are expected to practicalise policies of the political authorities.

The discontinuities between political intentionalities and pragmatic actualities are exacerbated further by unpredictable global forces such as global oil crisis, effects of stock market crashes, pressure from donors to reform and achieve good governance records, among others.

In this study, evidence has been brought to prove that the discontinuities between educational policy and its implementation have been worsened by both the actions of external and internal role-players. Donors have often dictated their own preferred policies regardless of national needs while the recipient countries have followed top-down, non-participatory methods of development which often have not delivered the goods. Donor aid has been found to be fungible as most of it has been misdirected or has been leaked into unintended targets. On the ground in Zambia, there is a missing middle to link the central government and the grassroots as most local governments have been rendered powerless and cash-strapped. Matters have not been helped by the weak copper-based monocultural economy in a land-locked country.

Zambia has been cited in international multilateral donor circles as a classic example of a country where, as policies got worse, more donor aid was thrown at the worsening situation.

Again, it was made crystal clear in this study that one of the major reasons for the existence of the discontinuities was because prescriptive rather than descriptive and analytical policy analysis was adopted, leading to emphasis on achieving ideological targets instead of pursuing the long-term permanent public interest. Thus, one witnesses under one political dispensation, a massification of education and its dilution and under another dispensation the demassification of education and its emasculation, leading to decline in both quantity and quality. The dwindling budget allocations to education and the nose-diving of school examination results have been strongly correlated positively and are ample proof of the multiple discontinuities prevalent in the Zambian educational system. Evidence also abounds in this study to support the claim that regime shifts have led to paradigmatic leaps in policy directions, thereby creating sharp dichotomies between what was, what is and what will be. The inchoate and disparate approach to policy-making in Zambia in particular, has been found to be a far departure from the trend in the developed world where educational policies in particular are made in a holistic manner and they normally do not change much their skins with changing political regimes.

A grievous discontinuity found in the Zambia milieu is that of not giving the educational policies an indigenous Zambian cultural or traditional bent as scant attention is paid in the series of reforms to issues of moral standards in schools, traditional cultures and the use of education as a vehicle for national development. Education has not been strategically positioned to make it more specific and customised to gain national competitive advantage. Over the years, it has been teacher-based education, rote-learning, book-based learning with no imparting of life or practical skills, among others. In short, the administration of secondary school education in Zambia has been myopic in its outcomes. What with the youthful unemployment rate, increased number of street children, break down of moral values, *inter alia*. Performance indicators such as pupil-expenditure ratios, teacher-pupil ratios, among others show Zambia to be towards the tail end of the global league table. Journalists, NGOs, political leaders, parents and many interested parties do concur that the standards and quality of education in Zambia have fallen far below those prevailing a decade or two ago. Critics believe that the education sector has been treated as a Cinderella in governmental spheres. Were Zambians to be shareholders of a company called Zambian Educational Company PLC, it would be surmised that they would have been utterly disappointed with returns on their shares and they would have called for heads to roll.

## LIST OF SOURCES

- Abernethy, D.B. 1969. *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ACCA 2000 Managerial Finance paper 8. London: **BPP**. 8<sup>th</sup> Edition (pp 274-276) www.bpp.com
- ACCA 1998. *Organisational Framework. Paper 4*. Middlesex: AT. Foulks Lynch Ltd
- Ademolekun, L. 1997. Recent trends in promoting accountability in public service in Sub-Sahara Africa. *Politeia*. Vol.16 No. 3 pp. 47-63.
- Aggrey, J.E.K. c 1883. The Phelps-Stokes Commission (1922-1925) in M<sup>c</sup> Cartney, W.M 1949. *Dr Aggrey*. London: SCM Press Ltd. (Torch Biographies).
- Alexander, D.J. 1983 *Problems of Education Reform in Zambia International Journal of Educational Development 3*, 1983: 203-222
- Amosu. A. 2000 People Power. *BBC Focus on Africa*(OCT -DEC) p. 46
- Annum G.K. 1999. Interview on 18<sup>th</sup> August, Lusaka (Secondary School Teacher at Accra Academy Secondary School, Accra-Ghana).
- Appleby, P.H. 1949. *Policy and Administration*. Alabama University Press.
- Appleby, R. 1994. *Modern Business Administration*. London: Pitmans.
- Armah, A.K. 1968. *The Beautiful ones are not yet born*. London: Heineman.



- *Asia 21*. 2000 (February). The next frontier. pp4 -5. PHP Publications. www.Asia21.com.sg
- Auriacombe, C.J. 1996. *Die rol van die franse Ministeriele Cabinet: n'Vertolking*. Ongepubliseerde D. Litt et Phil. Proefskrif. Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid Afrika.
- Ayee, J.R.A. 1997. From indirect rule to popular participation: reflections on decentralisation in Ghana. *Politeia* Vol. 16 No. 3 pp 81-96.
- Bachrach, P & Baratz, M. 1962 (December). The two faces of power. *American Political Science Review* No. 56.
- Badenhorst, J. A., Cronje, G.J.J., du Toit, GS. Gerber, P.D Kruger, L.P. Marais, A. de K. Strydom, J.W. van der Walt, A & Reenan, M.J. 1997. *Introduction to Business Management (4<sup>th</sup> Edition)*. Johannesburg: International Thomson Publishing (SA) pty. Ltd.
- Baffour, A. The Taiwan experience. *New African Magazine*. Jan. 2000.
- *Bank of Zambia*, 1998. Macroeconomic indicators
- Bannock, G., Baxter, R.E., Davis, E. 1998. *Dictionary of Economics - The Economist*. London: The Economist. www.economist.com
- Barber, M.P. 1972. *Public Administration*. London: Macdonald & Evans.
- Basu, R. 1994. *Public Administration - concepts and theories*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

- Beardshaw, J. 1989. *Economics - a student's guide*. London: Pitman
- Begg, D., Dornbusch, R & Fisher, S. 1991. *Economics* London: McGraw Hill.
- Berman, E.H. 1971. American Influence on African Education: The role of the Phelps-Stokes Funds Education Commissions. *Comparative Education Review* XV June 1971: 132-145
- Bernhardt, Y & Brynard, D. J. 1992. *Policy-making, planning and financing*. Pretoria: Unisa.
- Blunt, P & Popoola, O. 1985. *Personnel Management in Africa*. London: Longman.
- Bibby, L. 2000 . Cyber Revolution. *BBC Focus on Africa* ( Oct -Dec) pp. 44-45  
[www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/focus](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/focus)
- Boahen, A. 1966. *Topics in West African History*. London: Longmans Greene & Co. Ltd.
- British Council, 1984. *International Guide to Qualification in Education* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (1991) London: Mansell Publishing Ltd.
- Brynard, D. J. 1996. Public participation in local government and administration: bridging the gap. *Politeia* Vol. 15 No. 2 pp 39-50.
- Brynard, P. 1995. Privatisation in South Africa. *Politeia* Vol. 14 No. 2 pp 27-39.
- Bullock, A & Trombley, S 1999. *The Norton Dictionary of Modern Thought* New York: WW Norton & Co.

- Carmody, B. 1999. *Education in Zambia - Catholic Perspectives* Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers
  
- Carnoy, M. 1974. *Education as Cultural Imperialism* New York: David McKay
  
- Carson, B. & Murphey, C. 1992. *Think big- unleashing your potential for excellence*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House
  
- Catenese, A.J. 1984. *The politics of planning and development* chapter 5.
  
- *Central Statistics Office* (CSO). Publications. Lusaka.
  
- Chubb, J. 1994. Speech on the Educational reforms in the USA in Colander, S. *Microeconomics* pp 325-328. Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc.
  
- Clapper, V. 1996. Reflections on postmodernism and governance. *Politeia* Vol. 15 No. 1 pp. 35-47.
  
- Clarke, R. 1978. Policy and ideology in Educational Reform in Zambia: 1974-78. *Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Lancaster*. University of Zambia, Lusaka: Special Collections
  
- Cole, G.A 1990. *Management - Theory and Practice* . London: ELBS with D. P. Publications.
  
- Collier, P & Dollar, D. 1999. Target aid to performance not promises. *Development Outreach* Vol. 1 No. 2 (Fall ) pp. 18-21. World Bank Institute
  
- Coombe, T. 1968. The origins of secondary education in Zambia - Anatomy of Decision 1937-1939. *Africa Social Research*, 5 June.

- Correa, H. 1966. Educational planning; its quantitative aspects; its integration with economic planning in *Musaazi. 1982. Ibid.* Paris: International Institute of Educational planning.
- Dag Hammarskjold Foundation. 1998. *The Dag Hammarskjold lecture 1998 - Human rights challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> century* by Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.
- Dale, E. 1978. *Management: Theory and Practice.* New York: M<sup>c</sup>Graw Hill pp. 398-407.
- *Daily Mail Newspaper* - various issues 1999 and 2000. Lusaka: Zambia Daily Mail Newspaper Ltd.
- Deirore, M. 1997. Towards a new multilingual language policy in education in South Africa: different approaches to meet different needs. *Education review* Vol. 49 pp. 129-139.
- De Kock, P. 1997. Globalisation: Investigating the concept. *Politeia* Vol. 16 No. 2 pp 5-15.
- Deutsch, K. W. 1974. *Politics and government - how people decide their fate.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- *Deutschland Magazine* 1995. The dual system - a successful model for vocational training. D20017F No. 2 June E6 p. 43.
- *Deutschland Magazine.* 1995. Immediate and worldwide access to information: a new technological revolution is giving a fresh boost to world trade - a look at the future development of the global economy D20017F No. 2 June E6 pp. 17 - 19.

- Dion, L. 1973. The politics of consultation. *Government and Opposition*. Vol. 8 pp. 333 - 353.
  
- Dixit, K. 1998(2). Global media and empire. *Development Dialogue* pp. 39-48.  
[www.dhf.uu.se](http://www.dhf.uu.se)
  
- Djangmah, J.S. 1997. Managing the high social demand for University education. *Business Chronicle* Vol. 2 No. 53 p. 10 Tuesday June 3 - Monday June 16 Accra: Business Chronicle.
  
- Dneprov, E.G. 1994. The reform of education in Russia and state policy in the educational system - background, goals, principles and stages of implementation. *Journal of Education Finance* Vol. 19 pp. 36-45.
  
- Dogan, M. 1975. *The Mandarins of Western Europe. The political role of top civil servants*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
  
- Dollar, D & Collier, P. 1999 (Fall). Target aid to performance not promises. *Development Outreach* Vol. 1 No. 2 pp. 18-21.
  
- Draisma, T. 1987. *The Struggle against Underdevelopment in Zambia since Independence: What role for Education*. Amsterdam: The Free Press
  
- Dye, T.S. 1975. *Understanding public policy*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall Inc.
  
- Dyson, K.H.F. 1976 (May). Institutional government: a new perspective in organisation theory. *The Journal of Management studies* pp. 131-151.

- Easton, D. 1955. *A System analysis of political life*. New York: John Wiley.
- (The). 1999. Helping the Third World. June 26<sup>th</sup> - July 2<sup>nd</sup> pp. 27-341
  
- *Economist* (The) 1999 Business and the Internet. 26<sup>th</sup> June - 2<sup>nd</sup> July pp. 5-44
  
- *Economist* (The) 2000. The new economy survey-untangling e-economics  
September pp. 5-44
  
- *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Micropaedia). 1975. Prometheus. Vol. VIII.  
Chicago: University of Chicago.
  
- *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1975. Public Administration. Vol. 15. Chicago:  
University of Chicago.
  
- *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1975. Vol. 19.
  
- Epstein, I. 1996. Educating street children: some cross - cultural perspectives.  
*Comparative Education* Vol. 32 No. 3 pp 289-302.
  
- Etzioni, A. 1967. Mixed scanning: a 'third' approach to decision-making - in  
Faludi, A. 1988. *A reader in planning theory*. Oxford: Pergamon. pp. 217-229.
  
- Evans, D.W. 1990 (eds). *People, communication and organisations*. London:  
Pitman Publishing/Financial Times
  
- Everatt, D. 1995. School rejects or ejects? Contextualising out-of-school youth in  
the new South Africa. *Prospects* Vol. 25 pp. 452-468.
  
- Fage, J.D. 1962. *An introduction to the history of West Africa*. London:  
Cambridge University Press.

- Faludi, A. 1988. *A reader in planning theory*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
  
- Fenster, J.M. 2000. *In the World of Great Business Leaders*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
  
- Fitz, J. Power, S., Halpin, D. 1994 (March). Implementation research and education policy practice and prospects. *British Journal of Educational Studies*. Vol. 45 pp. 53-69.
  
- Flint, J.E. 1965. The Growth of European influence in West Africa in the nineteenth century. In *Thousand years of West African History* edited by Ajayi, A & Espie, I. pp. 359-404. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press & Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.
  
- Friedman, M 1963. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
  
- Friedman, M 1970. The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits. *New York Times Magazine*. Sept 13, 1970 pp.30,126-127
  
- Fuhrman, S.H., Clune, W.H. & Elmore, R.F. 1988 (Winter). Research on lessons on the implementation of policy. *Teachers' College Record* Vol. 90 No. 2 pp. 237-257.
  
- Gichuru, F.X. 1989. Basic education for street children in Nairobi. *Prospects* Vol.17 No. 87 pp. 139-142.
  
- Gloeck, D. 1996 (March). An audit perspective on public accountability. *SAIPA*. Vol. 31 No. 1 pp. 7-22.

- Goguen, I. 1989. The education of gifted children in Canadian law and ministerial policy. *Canadian Journal of Education* Vol. 14 pp. 18-30.
- Gordon, S.D.& Dawson, G.G. 1987. *Introductory Economics*. Lexington: D.C. Heath & Co.
- Grant, N. 1985. Higher education in the United States. Some possible lessons for the United Kingdom. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. 1985. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Gunnigle, P. 1999 (October). From Post-Colonisation to economic success: the story of Ireland's economic miracle and lessons for other late developing economies. *Paper presented to the Institute of Human Resource Management National Convention, Intercontinental Hotel, Lusaka.*
- Gunn, J.A.W. 1969. *Politics and the public interest in the seventeenth century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Hall, G.E 1992. The local educational change process and policy implementation. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* Vol.29 pp. 877-924.
- Hall, R.H. & Quinn, R.E. 1983. *Organisational Theory and Public Policy*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Halls, W.D. 1985. A comparative political and sociological analysis of educational opportunity in Western Europe, 1960-1980. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Hambleton, R. 1985. *Rethinking policy planning* University of Bristol: School for Advanced Urban Studies (SAUS).



- Hanekom, S.X & Sharkansky, I. 1993. Policy-making and implementation in conditions of extreme uncertainty: the cases of South Africa and Israel. *SAIPA* Vol. 28 (2) pp. 94-119.
  
- Heady, F. 1991. *Public Administration: a comparative perspective*. New York: Dekker.
  
- Henry, N. 1980. *Public administration and public affairs*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ. Prentice Hall Inc.
  
- Heidenheimer, A.J. Johnston, M & LeVine, V.T. 1990. *Political corruption - a handbook*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
  
- Hickson, J. & Gaydon, V. 1989. Counselling in South Africa: the challenge of apartheid 'Twilight children.' The street children of Johannesburg. *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*. Vol.19 pp.85-94.
  
- Higginson, J.H. 1985. An English education for England. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croon Helm.
  
- Hofstede, G.1983. The cultural relativity of organisational practices and theories. *Journal of International Business Studies* Vol.14 No. 2 pp. 75-90.
  
- Hofstede, G. 1980. *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
  
- Hofstede G. 1983. Motivation, Leadership and Organisation. Do American theories apply abroad? *Organisational Dynamics* No. 9 pp. 42-63.
  
- Hogwood, B. W. & Gunn, L.A. 1984. *Policy analysis for the real world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Holmes, B. 1985. The problem-solving approach and national character. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Independent International Commission on North-South Issues (Willy Brandt). 1980. *A programme for survival*. Washington D.C: Pan Books (1983).
- Independent International Commission on North-South Issues (Willy Brandt). 1983. *Common Crisis. Co-operation for World Recovery*. Washington D.C (Pan Books 1983).
- Jolly, R. 1969. *Planning education for African development: economic and manpower perspectives*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House for Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala.
- Kahn, M.J. 1996. Some research issues and findings concerning funding policy for science and mathematics education in South Africa. *International Journal of Science Education*. Vol. 18 pp.511-523.
- Kallaway, P. 1989 (August). Privatisation as an aspect of the educational politics of the new right: critical signposts for understanding shifts in educational policy in South Africa during the eighties? *British Journal of Educational studies* Vol. 37 No. 3 pp. 253-278.
- Kanbur, R, Sandler, T., & Morrison, K.M. 1999. A radical approach to development assistance. *Development Outreach*. Vol. No. 1 NO. 2 (Fall) pp 15-17. World Bank Institute <http://www.worldbank.org/devoutreach>.
- Kaunda, K. 1974. *Humanism and a guide to its implementation*. Lusaka: Zambia Information Service.

- Kavanagh, D.1987. *Thatcherism and British Politics*. London: Oxford University Press.
  
- Kelly, M.1991.*Education in a declining economy-the case of Zambia 1975-1985*.  
  
Economic Development Institute of the World Bank EDI Development case studies No 8, Washington D.C.
  
- King, R.H.& McKechnie, N.K. 1939. *Classical mythology in song and story Part II Epic Heroes*. Montreal: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Ltd.
  
- Koontz, H. & Weihrich, H. 1990. *Essentials of management*. New York: McGraw Hill Publishing Co.
  
- Koutsonyiannis, A. 1987 (eds) *Modern Microeconomics*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.
  
- Krieger, M. 1998. African policy linking education and development: standard criticisms and a new departure. *International Review of Education* Vol.34 No. 3 pp 293-311
  
- Lancaster, C. 1999(Fall). Aid effectiveness. The problem of Africa. *Development Outreach* Vol. 1 No. 2 pp 22-24.
  
- Lane, J.E. 1983. Higher Education-Policy-making and implementation. *Higher Education*. Vol. 12 pp518-565 (Stockholm)
  
- Lemon, A.1995. Education in post-apartheid South Africa: some lessons from Zimbabwe. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 31 N0.1 pp 101-114.

- Le Roux, J 1996. The world-wide phenomenon of street children: conceptual analysis. *Adolescence*. Vol. 31 pp 965-971
  
- Lewis, I.J. 1962. *Phelps-Spokes Reports on Education in Africa*. London:Oxford University Press
  
- Liebenberg, I.1994. Final victory for capitalism? Some imponderables on Fukuyama's thesis. The End of History? *Politeia* Vol. 13 No. 2 pp 73-80.
  
- Lindblom, C.E.1959. The science of 'muddling through': In Faludi, A. 1988. *A reader in planning theory*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
  
- London, N.A. 1997. Educational planning and its implementation in Trinidad and Tobago. *Comparative Education Review* Vol. 41 pp 314-330.
  
- London, N.A. 1994. Community engagement in implementation of education policy in Trinidad and Tobago. *Interchange* Vol. 25 pp 335-348
  
- Long, N.E. 1949. Power and administration. *Public Administration Review* Vol. 9 pp 257-264
  
- Lulat, Y.G.M. 1982. Political constraints on educational reforms for development: Lessons from an African experience. *Comparative Education Review* Vol. 26 pp 235-253
  
- Lungu, G.F. 1985 Elites, incrementalism and educational policy-making post-independence Zambia. *Comparative Education* Vol. 21 No. 3. pp. 287-295

- Lynch, P. D. & Omer, S. 1989. The implementation of the new educational policy in the Sudan, 1970-85: promise and reality. *Educational Review*. Vol.41 No. 3 pp 257-261.
- Maipose, G.S. 1997. State capacity and development in Africa. *Politeia*. Vol .16 No. 3 pp 11-35.
- Makgoba, W.M. 1996. South Africa Universities in transformation. Africanise or perish. *Politeia* Vol. 15 No. 2 pp 114-118.
- Makulu, H.F. 1971. *Education, development and nation-building in independent Africa*. London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Marinoff, L. 1999. Plato not Prozac - *Applying Philosophy to everyday problems* New York: Harper Collins Inc.
- Markland, S. 1985. The Western European idea in education. In Watson, R & Wilson 1985. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- McAuliffe, R.R. 1992. Inculturation and Western Education: a challenge to the Church in Micronesia. *Unpublished S.T.M. thesis, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley*.
- McCartney, W.M. 1949. *Dr. Aggrey*. London: SCM Press Ltd (Torch Biographies).
- McGinn, N.F. 1996. Education, Democratisation and Globalisation: a challenge for comparative education. *Comparative Education Review* 40, 4 1996: 341-357

- McLaren, P. 1986. *Schooling as a Ritual Performance*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Metcalfe, J.E & Astle, C. 1995. *Correct English*. Surrey: Clarion.
- Mohr, P. & Fourie, L(Associates). 1998 (eds). *Economics for the South African*. Pretoria: Johan van Schaik Publishers.
- Musaazi, J.C.S. 1982. *The theory and practice of educational administration studies in Nigerian Education Series*. London: Macmillan
- Mwaipaya, P.A. 1980. *The importance of quality leadership in national development with special reference to Africa*. New York: Vintage Press
- Mwanakatwe, J.M. 1974. *The growth of education in Zambia since independence* London: Oxford University Press.
- Mwansa, D.M. 1993. *A study of community perspectives on participation, motivation changes and needs in Zambia's literacy program*. Unpublished Ph. D-thesis in the Department of Graduate Education, University of Toronto.
- Nagle, S. 1992. *Introduction to macroeconomics* Dublin: Higher Education for Development Co-operation (HEDCO).
- National Accounting Technician programme (NATECH), Zambia Institute of Chartered Accountants (ZICA). 1998. *Economics Paper 1.3*. Middlesex: AT Foulks Lynch Ltd.
- *New African Magazine*. 2000 (March). London: IC Publications  
www.africasia .com.

- Oluwo, D. 1997. Decentralisation for democratic governance in Africa in the 1990s and beyond: issues and proposed strategies. *Politeia* Vol. 16 No. 3 pp. 64-80.
- Owen, J. 1985. Choice and reform in Belgium education. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Pauw, J.C 1998. *The public administration of education and culture services*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Pearson, I.C. & Banerji, M. 1993. Effects of a ninth-grade dropout prevention program, on students academic achievement, school attendance and dropout rate. *The Journal of Experimental Education* Vol. 61 No. 3 pp 247-256.
- Peters T.J. & Waterman R.H. 1982. In search of excellence. *In ACCA 1998 paper 4 p 399*.
- Phombeah, G. 2000 Screen Tests. *BBC Focus On Africa* p.46
- Porter, A. C. 1994. National standards and school improvement in the 1990s: issue and promise. *American Journal of Education* Vol. 102 pp 421-449.
- Porter, M. 1990. Competitive advantage of nations. *Harvard Business Review* March. Boston: Harvard Business school, Harvard University.
- Porter, R.B. 1980. *Presidential decision-making; the economic policy board* London:Cambridge University Press.
- Post, K.W.J. 1965. Nationalists movements in Western Africa-Commonwealth countries. In *Thousand years of West Africa history* edited by Ajayi, A & Espie, I. pp 450-460. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press & Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.

- Pretorius, L. 1982. Interaction between interest organisations and government in South Africa. *Politeia* Vol 1. No. 1 pp 2-30.
- Psacharopoulos, G. 1989. Why educational reforms fail: A comparative analysis. *International Review of Education*. Vol. 35 no. 2 pp 179-195.
- Quermonne, J. I. & Rouban, L. 1986. French public administration and policy evaluation: the quest for accountability. *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 46 No. 5pp 397-406.
- Reid, M.A. & Barrington, H. 1995(eds). *Training interventions. Managing employee development*. London: Institute of Personnel and Development.
- Riggs, F.W. 1973. *Prismatic society revisited*. Morristown, N.J: General Learning Press
- Riggs, F.W. *The ecology of Public Administration*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- Roberts, A. 1976. *A History of Zambia*. London: Heineman Education Books
- Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle L'Overture Publications Ltd.
- Ronan, N. 1999 (November). *Seminar*, Kitwe, Copperbelt University, Zambia.
- Rotberg, R.I. 1985. Namibia and the crisis of constructive engagement. In Bender, J.G., Coleman, J.S. & Sklar, R.L. *African crisis areas in US foreign policy*. Berkeley: University of California.



- Sakyi, K.A. 1978. *Human capital as a factor for economic growth and development: Time series and cross-sectional data for Ghana 1960 to 1975*. Unpublished B. A. Long Essay, Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon - Accra.
- Sakyi, K.A. 1998 (February). So the Asian Tigers are lambs after all. *New African Magazine*. No. 360 p 4. [www.africasia.com](http://www.africasia.com)
- Sangar, C. 1965. Zambia. *Africa, a Handbook. Edited by Colin Legum* London: Anthony Blond Ltd.
- Santos, C.R. 1969. Public administration as politics. *Canadian Public Administration*. Vol. 12 No. 1 pp 213-223.
- Saxby, J. 1980. The Politics of Education in Zambia. *Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Toronto*. University of Zambia, Lusaka: Special Collection
- Schumacher, E.F. (b.1911-d. 1977) *Small is beautiful* (infra Evans, D.W. 1990 p 99).
- Schwella, E. & Ballard, H. 1996 (March). South Africa local government: a systems perspective. *SAIPA* Vol. 31 No. 1 pp 38-56
- Simon, H & March, J. G. 1958. *Organisations*. New York: John Wiley.
- Smart, 1985. Education in Germany. In Watson, K & Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education* pp. 90-120. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Smith, E.M. 1966. *African Ideas of God*. London: Edinburgh House Press.

- Soderbaum, F. 1997. Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and regional integration arrangements (RIAs) synergy or divergence? *Politeia* Vol. 17 No. 2 pp 73 - 87.
  
- Sono, T. 1996. Do African universities need an African ethic? Of course not: a response to the Makgoba thesis. *Politeia* Vol. 15 No.2 pp 119-124. Pretoria: Unisa.
  
- Sophocles (c. 430 B.C) Oedipus Rex. 1983. *The Heath Introduction to Drama*. Toronto: D.C. Heath & Co.
  
- Spillane, J. P. & Thomson, C.L.1997. Reconstructing conceptions capacity: the local education agency capacity for ambitious instructional reforms. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. Summer Vol.19 No.2 pp185-203.
  
- Subramaniam, V.C.1980. Fact and value in decision-making. *University of Western Australia* (Source uncertain).
  
- Sunter, C. 1991. *The new century:- quest for the high road*. Cape Town: Tafelberg
  
- Sunter, C. 1996. *The high road: where are we now?* Cape Town: Tafelberg
  
- Teeters, P.B.1990. Effective continuation schools: a cure for the dropout rate *Thrust* January. pp48-51.
  
- Theunissen. C.A. 2000. Managing Intelligence in an age of knowledge. <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/8.3/managing%20intelligence.html>

- Theunissen, C.A.1996. An age of knowledge. Contextualising politics and governance in the twenty-first century. *Politeia* Vol.15 No.2 pp4-22.
- Thompson, A.R. 1981. *Education and Development in Africa*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- *Times of Zambia Newspaper*, Tuesday, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1999.
- Tindall, P.E.N 1968. *History of Central Africa*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Tomlinson, C.A., Coleman, M.R., Allan, S., Udall, A. & Landrum, M. 1996. Interface between gifted education and general education: toward communication, co-operation and collaboration. *Gifted Child Quarterly* Vol.40 No.3 (summer) pp165-171.
- Tournas, S.A. 1996. From sacred initiation to bureaucratic apostasy; Junior Secondary School-leavers and the secularisation of education in Southern Africa. *Comparative Education* Vol.32 No1 pp27-43.
- UNESCO 1988.
- UNESCO 1998. *Policy paper for change and development in higher education*. Fonteray, France.
- UNICEF. 1994 (December). *Below the poverty line in education - a situation analysis of girl child education in Zambia*. Edited by Kelly, M. J. Monograph No.2.
- University of Zambia (UNZA) 1996 (January). The provision of education for all towards the implementation of Zambia educational reforms under demographic

and economic constraints. 1986-2000 Interim Report. *Education Reforms Implementation Project* Lusaka: School of Education, UNZA.

- Versi, A.2000 (March). Tunisia. *New African Magazine*. London: IC Publications
- Warnock, M.1988. *A common policy for education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waterman, R.H.& Peters, T.J. 1982. *In search of excellence*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Watson, K.1985. The impact of external changes on educational development in the 1980s. In Watson, K& Wilson, R. *Contemporary issues in comparative education*. Kent: Croom Helm.
- Wessels, J.S.1997(1). *Introduction to Public Administration. The Nature content and scope of public Administration* Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Wilde, O. c. 1890. *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* 1994. Glasgow: Harper Collins Publishers p 721-733.
- Williams, C.1993. Who are 'street children? A hierarchy of street use and appropriate responses. *Child Abuse and Neglect* Vol 17 pp 831-841.
- Willment, J.& McCardell N.E.1984. Socio-psychological and demographic characteristics of unemployed adolescents. Implication for counselling. *The School Guidance Worker* Vol.40 pp 50-53.

- Wollmann, H.1989. Policy analysis in West Germany's Federal Government: a case of unfinished governmental and administrative modernisation? *Governance* Vol.2 No3 pp233-266.
- Woolcott, L.A.& Unwin, W.R. 1983. *Mastering Business Communication*. London: Macmillan-Macmillan Master Series.
- World Bank. 1993. *The East Asian Miracle Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Washington D.C.
- Wright, D.S.& Sakurai, Y.1987. Administrative reform in Japan: Politics, policy and public administration in a deliberative society. *Public Administrative Review* Vol 47 No.2 pp121-133.
- Zambia. 1996. *Educating our future: National Policy on Education*. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Zambia: *Education Statistics Bulletin 1994*. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Zambia: *Education Statistics Bulletin 1995*. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Zambia: *The development of education 1994-1996-a national report of Zambia*. Lusaka: Government Printer.
- Zambia in Brief. 1981. Lusaka: Government Printers for Zambian Information Services pp1-2

# APPENDICES

## TERMINOLOGY

- **Academic Production Units (APU)**- These were set up in all secondary schools in Zambia under the 1978 Educational Reforms in order to generate income internally to meet some of the cost of running schools.
- **Action -plan for Improvement of English Mathematics and Science (AIEMS)** was set up in Zambia with British Aid to improve quality of education in secondary schools.
- **Alternate education** is a type of education designed for those who have missed the chance of having formal education. It is provided through informal channels such as evening school and distance education.
- **Basic Education Sub-Sector Improvement Programme (BESSIP)** was launched in 1999 by the Zambian Ministry of Education with the support of the World Bank to achieve universal basic education by the year 2015. It is a multifaceted programme to improve all aspects of basic education.
- **Boarding schools** are those with dormitory facilities for housing students who come from afar.
- **Cabinet** is the highest policy-making body of a country with collective responsibility. It is chaired by the head of government and composed of cabinet ministers who normally come from the majority ruling political party.
- **Co-education** is a school system which allows males and females to sit under the same roof to learn.
- **Comprehensive secondary schools** are those which offer a wide variety of subjects covering vocational, commercial, technical and academic subjects.

- **Community schools** are those owned and run by communities.
- **Continuing education** allows school drop-outs a chance to resume schooling in these specially located schools which offer a second chance.
- **Distance education** schools offer tuition through the post or through the electronic media such as radio, Internet, television, among others. There is no physical contact between students and their teachers.
- **Cost-shifting** is a concept used in private schools which admits of the fact that for qualitative education, parents should pay for the full cost of the education of their wards. Cost-shifting is found in elite schools.
- **Cost-shouldering** was practised in socialist or command economies whereby the government shouldered the full cost of education under the policy of fee-free education.
- **Curriculum Development Centre (CDC)** is an outfit under the Zambia Ministry of Education that is charged with developing and advising on school curricula.
- **Central Statistics Office (CSO)** is a department under the Zambia Ministry of Finance that is charged with collecting, collating and compiling national statistics.
- **Day-release schools** are schools without boarding facilities.
- **Debt-servicing fatigue syndrome** - Developing countries are sweltering under the heavy burden of devoting a large chunk of their national revenue to servicing external debts. They have grown weary of this.



- ***Decentralisation*** is a system of management whereby authority is decongested or deconcentrated from the top to the bottom or from the centre to the periphery so that lower levels in the management hierarchy can be autonomous in taking certain decisions e.g. local governments and schools' management boards have decentralised authority.
- ***Delphi Oracle***- an obscure or ambiguous prophecy
- ***Developing countries*** are also called variously as Emergent, Third World or less developed countries. These are the poor countries with low per capita income and which exhibit all the traits of underdevelopment.
- ***Developed countries*** - these are technologically advanced and they have high per capita income and high standards of living.
- ***Distance education*** is education which is accessed through the post or the electronic media. Information Technology has removed the distance out of distance education and made it more interactive. (see how this is done in the outbacks of Australia and remote areas in Canada).
- ***Donor-fatigue syndrome*** refers to the rich donor countries which are weary of giving aid to the poor recipient countries as much of the aid is either diverted from their target groups or they do not yield the expected returns.
- ***Dropout rate*** refers to the proportion of students who do not complete a segment of education, which they embark upon. This could be due to personal, academic, financial or social problems.
- ***Drop-in-drop out (DIDO)*** is a flexible American educational system based on the grade points system.

- ***Drug-abuse*** refers to the illicit or unauthorised use of hard drugs which often leads to addiction and health/social problems
- ***Empowerment*** is a process of enabling minority or marginalised or disadvantaged groups to enjoy equal opportunities with other privileged groups
- ***Examination Council of Zambia (ECZ)*** is a semi-autonomous body under the Zambia Ministry of Education that is responsible for conducting final examinations for schools and some tertiary institutions in Zambia.
- ***Eleemosynary economics*** refers to a situation whereby central government shoulders the cost of providing public service.
- ***Formal education*** is standardised Western type of education that follows a prescribed syllabus within pre-determined structures
- ***Gifted child education*** is special education that is tailored to meet the needs of exceptionally bright students whose levels of intelligence cannot be accommodated within the normal school system.
- ***Girl-child education*** is education designed to remove the impediments that often hinder the progress of girls on the educational ladder.
- ***Glasnost*** was a policy of openness that was initiated in the former Soviet Union prior to its dismemberment in 1990.
- ***Home-based education*** is education given in the home environment ostensibly to avoid 'contamination' of peer influence in schools 'infested' with hooliganism, drug-abuse, vandalism, gangsterism and other social ills. This type of education is given by itinerant teachers and it is under the supervision of parents.

- ***Hercules (Heracles)***, greatest Greek hero son of Zeus (Jupiter) with a mortal mother as contrasted with the celestial wife of Zeus, Hera Monetera(Juno). For twelve years, to expiate his crimes, he undertook to accomplish twelve near-impossible tasks under the commission of his cousin, King Eurystheus and the malevolent influence of his foster mother, Hera Monetera. His exploits were legion, legendary and breathtaking.
  
- ***IBRD*** -International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
  
- ***Humanism*** is a variant of African socialism, which the first President of Zambia, Dr Kaunda, professed. It was based on a man -centred or anthropocentric ideology.
  
- ***Ideolocus*** is a concept, which suggests that decisions are heavily influenced by ideology rather than by pragmatism or the public interest.
  
- ***Ideology*** is a belief or dogma based on economic or political systems.
  
- ***IMF***- International Monetary Fund
  
- ***Informal education*** is traditional education, which is a life-long education acquired through social interaction in the process of socialisation by the family, community and the society at large.
  
- ***Insaka***- a native Bemba word in Zambia meaning dialogue.
  
- ***Interactive learning*** is a system of learning based on self-discovery and not based on rote-learning. It is based on data response or question-answer technique as well as activity-based learning.

- **Janus**-Greek guardian god of doors and beginnings with two faces, one facing the past and the other the future.
- **Juvenile delinquency** is a tendency among teenagers to be wayward by playing truancy and indulging in anti-social activities.
- **Kitchen Cabinet**- unofficial set of advisors who act behind the scenes in offering advice to a leader and who wield great influence over policy-making. These could be relatives, friends, spouses or church leaders. They are unofficial and private consultants
- **Latchkey child** is a child in a single family who remains at home after school till the single parent returns from work.
- **Left-of-centre** politics is a political ideology which places state interest above individual interest and calls for state ownership of key economic assets as well as maximum state intervention. It is based on socialism and communism.
- **Liberal democracy** is a belief based on freedom or freethinking with no fixed dogmas. It is an open society.
- **Ministry of Education (MOE)** is a line ministry or department of the central government of Zambia. It is headed by a cabinet minister (political head) and a permanent secretary (administrative head).
- **Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)** is the ruling political party in Zambia, which came to power in 1991 when plural or multiparty democracy was ushered in.
- **Multicultural education** is a system of education that caters for the needs of students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

- **Multi-skilling** is a process of equipping students with a variety of skills so that they can be self-dependent after their education.
- **Multidisciplinary approach** to learning is an integrative approach to learning whereby disciplines are interrelated and not put in watertight discrete compartments.
- **New Right Movement** is a resurgent economic movement of the 70s and 80s which was centred on the old and neo-liberal ideals of free market, deregulation, privatisation, individualism and efficiency.
- **NGO**-non-governmental organisation.
- **Oedipus Rex**-legendary King of Thebes who killed his father and married his mother and who the Delphi Oracle recommended to die to assuage the rage of the gods that was directed against his subjects.
- **Outreach education** is education for those in inaccessible areas.
- **Odyssey**- a journey full of trials and temptations like the one undertaken by the Greek hero, Ulysses (Odysseus)
- **Open learning** is a system of distance-based learning combined with sandwich lectures in an Open University for those without formal educational qualification.
- **PAGE** - Programme of Action for Girl-child Education which was initiated in Zambia in the eighties with donor support to accelerate the girl-child education in Zambia.

- ***Parallel education*** is education provided by the private sector alongside the one provided by the government through public institutions.
- ***Pareto optimality*** refers to a change that makes some people worse off but others better off such that overall, the gains outweigh the losses. It is any change that makes at least one individual better off and no one worse off. It is an improvement in social welfare.
- ***Participatory democracy*** is a system whereby everybody has a say in decision-making in a community.
- ***Peer influence*** is social influence exerted by those in the same age or social group.
- ***Perestroika*** was a movement of reform or restructuring in the former Soviet Union which started in the late eighties.
- ***Personnel turnover*** is the rate at which workers in an institution come and go. There is a high personnel turnover if workers leave every now and then due to lack of job satisfaction.
- ***Planning*** is an intellectual activity that involves the process of setting goals and objectives and laying down the routes or paths for bridging the gap between where we are and where we want to be in the future. It is a methodical process of being proactive or looking ahead and envisaging what the future will be. Fayol calls it *prevoyance* or forecasting.
- ***Pluralism*** is a political system, which allows for multipartism or the existence of free associations and many political parties.

- **Policy** is a guideline written or implied by official actions, which guides action in particular circumstances. It is standard behaviour, which is expected to be adopted at a particular circumstance. It is also standard behaviour, which is expected to be adopted at a particular time to a particular event.
- **Policy-making** is a process of formulating, implementing, evaluating and reengineering policies. It is a processional whole, which begins with formulating policy options, and then coming up with a statement of a preferred policy which requires implementation, controls and evaluation. Policies guide the execution of plans. Out of policies emanate plans. Policy-making is an on-going process.
- **Policy slippage** is whereby a policy is not implemented as originally envisaged.
- **Policy stillbirth** is a situation where a policy, which is made, remains limp on paper without it being implemented.
- **Policy termination** is a situation whereby a policy is withdrawn and it is replaced.
- **Policy ambiguity** refers to a situation where a policy is either not clear or it is too general as to lend itself to various interpretations.
- **Policy resistance** refers to antagonism to a particular policy by those who feel their interest is threatened.
- **Policy output** refers to the result of a policy on both target and non-target groups as well as the intended and unintended results.
- **Policy outcomes** refer to the effects of policy whether positive or negative. These outcomes are assessed through evaluation through quantitative and qualitative measurements. The latter tends to be subjective, normative and value-laden.

- ***Policy analysis*** is a whole gamut of understanding policy and its ramifications. It is an exercise to determine the viability, value, economy, efficiency, effectiveness, consistency and other parameters of the policy process.
- ***Policy evaluation*** is the policy of assessing the worth of policy in terms of its effects and outcomes. It is also an exercise aimed at examining the whole gamut for the policy process from inception to implementation stage. Evaluation is done through feedback control mechanism as well as feed forward controls at the input and output points.
- ***Policy implementation*** is the action aspect of policy-making whereby the stated guidelines, which are made by policy-makers, are put to the test by being acted upon. It is the process of enforcing the guidelines or behaving in consonance with the spirit and letter of the policy guidelines.
- ***Policy cycle*** refers to the policy process, which is on-going and never ending. It commences with initiation and proceeds with formulation, development of alternatives, comparisons and analysis, evaluation and selection, announcement and adoption, implementation and evaluation, reformulation, among others.
- ***Policy arena*** refers to the corridors of power where policy is made at the apex of the organisational pyramid. It is a place for policy agenda.
- ***Private schools*** are those that are owned and controlled by private individuals or institutions such as religious organisations, companies, trusts, charitable organisations, among others.
- ***Public administration*** refers to the practice of providing public goods and services through public institutions such as government line ministries, departments, boards, agencies and commissions, among others. Providers and



workers within these institutions are called public officials, public servants, and civil servants, among others.

- **Public Administration** refers to a discipline or the theory of public administration. It is about the principles underlying the praxis of the public administration. It is thinking about the praxis of public administration.
- **Public interest** is a nebulous term which is difficult to define. Generally, it is the general collective concerns of the public as expressed by their views reflected in opinion polls, election results, referenda, demonstrations, newspaper articles, among others. This interest can be articulated, integrated and harmonised by political party manifestos.
- **Publilocus** refers to a situation whereby decisions are centred on the public interest or the *probono publicio*.
- **Remedial classes** are organised for school dropouts to enable them make the grade.
- **Representative democracy** is modern democracy whereby elected or nominated representatives form the legislature/cabinet to make decisions on behalf of the electorate.
- **Right-of-centre politics** is the belief in free market principles, individual rights and freedoms and limited state intervention. It is based on capitalism.
- **Rote-learning** is 'by-heart' learning or parroting or memorisation of facts without any attempt to analyse or understand the underlying concepts.
- **Second cycle institutions** are intermediate schools or secondary schools, which are mid-way between primary schools and tertiary institutions.

- **Secondary school** is the second stage of education usually made up of teenagers and which prepares students for higher education in tertiary and quaternary institutions. Secondary schools have their biases, as some are vocational, academic, technical and commercial oriented.
- **Sex ratio** is the number of males to females in any given community or population.
- **SHAPE**- Self-Help Action Plan for Education is a donor-funded programme within the Zambia Ministry of Education aimed at local communities to mobilise their resources for putting up school infrastructure.
- **Shift system** is a system whereby in schools where infrastructural facilities are inadequate, students are made to run double or treble school sessions in a day to be able to give school places to all eligible candidates.
- **Special education** is education designed to assist exceptional students who are either mentally abnormal or physically impaired or socially maladjusted.
- **Streaming** is the process of running parallel classes through the grouping of students according to their aptitudes for particular subjects and vocations.
- **Street children** are children between the ages of 5-18 years who live permanently on the streets as a result of political, social and economic displacement.
- **Teenage pregnancies** refer to teenage schoolgirls who have to drop out of school as a result of being pregnant.
- **Traditional education** refers to informal education at home and in the community, which prepares neophytes or initiates to play their roles in the

community. This consists of folklore, dance, song, crafts, life skills, traditional wisdom and history of the tribe. It is a life-long education in the *rites de passage*.

- **Universal basic education** or universal primary education (UPE) was a declaration made by the United Nations in the late forties to make basic primary education a right rather than a privilege to all humankind (see Articles 26 (3) of Declaration of Universal Human Rights in 1948.)
- **User-fees**-is the practice of charging fees to those benefiting from the provision of public services such as education.
- **Ubuntu**- a native term for dialogue in South Africa.
- **UNESCO**- United Nations Educational Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.
- **UNICEF**- United Nations International Children Emergency Fund.
- **UNIP**- United National Independence Party (UNIP) was the first political party in Zambia to lead the country to independence in 1964 and it remained in power for 27 years till 1991.
- **UNZA**- University of Zambia was set up in 1966 as the first university in Zambia.
- **Vandalism**- The wanton destruction of public property out of malice, mischief or for selfish gain. This is often carried out by students in public institutions of learning whereby they strip the institutions of their fittings and furnishings through either pillage or theft.
- **Western education** is the same as formal education (see formal education).
- **Xenophobia** is the fear of foreigners by the indigenous people.

## DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

---

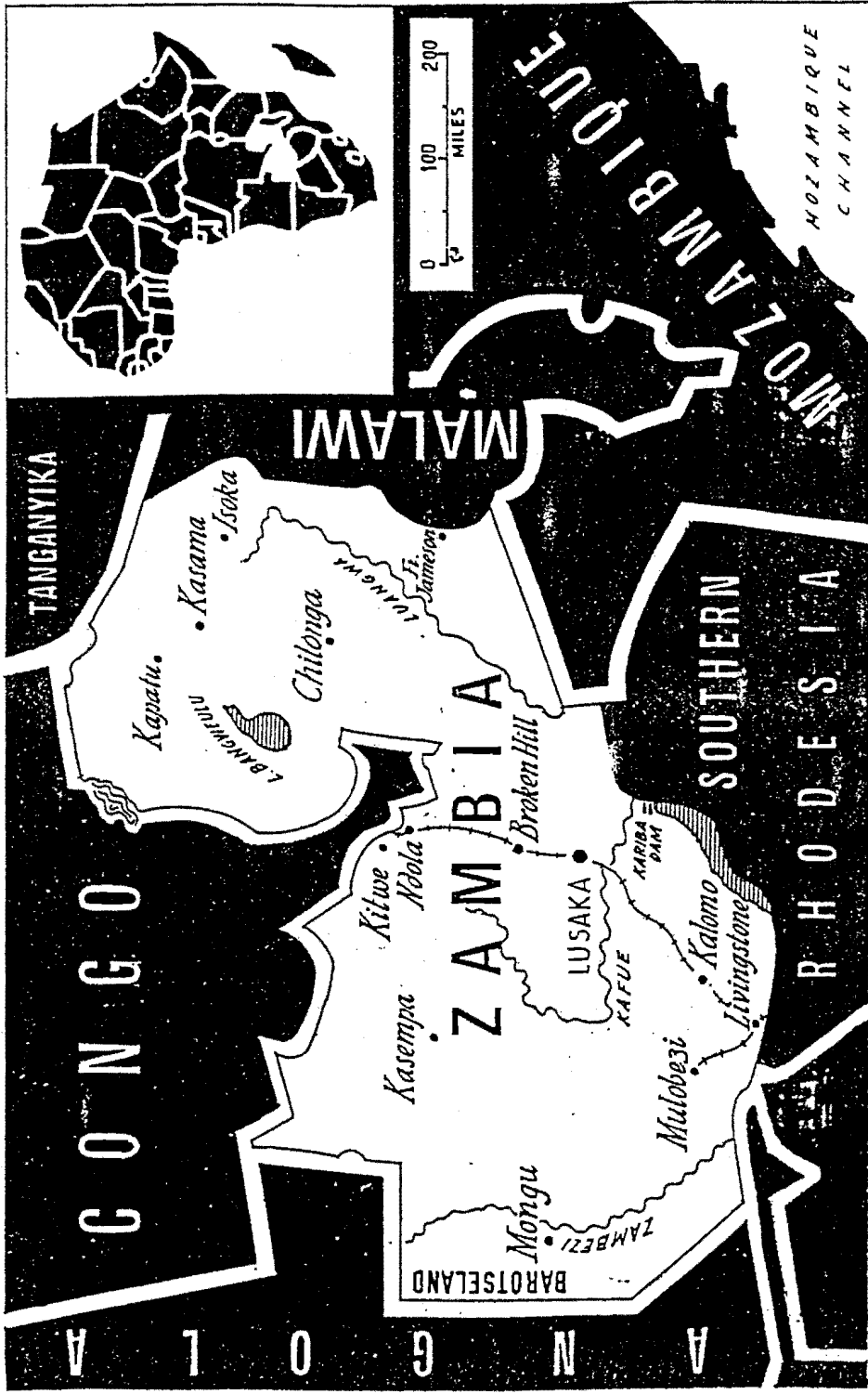
1.1	Projected Total Population 1995	446,775	4,614,018	9,082,586
1.2	Crude Birth Rate (Per 1 000 Population)	<u>1980</u> 50.0	<u>1985</u> 49.7	<u>1990</u> 49.5
1.3	Crude Death Rate (Per 1 000 Population)	<u>1985-1990</u> 13.2		
1.4	Growth Rate (%)	3.2% Per Annum		
1.5	Sex Ratio (Males Per 100 Females)	96.8		
1.6	Total Fertility Rate (Average Number of Children born to a Woman)	7.2	7.0	6.5
1.7	Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1 000 live Births)	90.0 (202)		
1.8	Child Population, under 15 (0-14) (%)	40.9		
1.9	Population Density (Persons Per Square Km)	10.4		
1.10	Urban Population (%)	42.0		
1.11	Rural Population (%)	58.0		
1.12	Annual Growth Rate Urban Population (%)	3.7		
1.13	Annual Growth Rate Rural Population (%)	2.8		

## ACCESS AND QUALITY INDICATORS

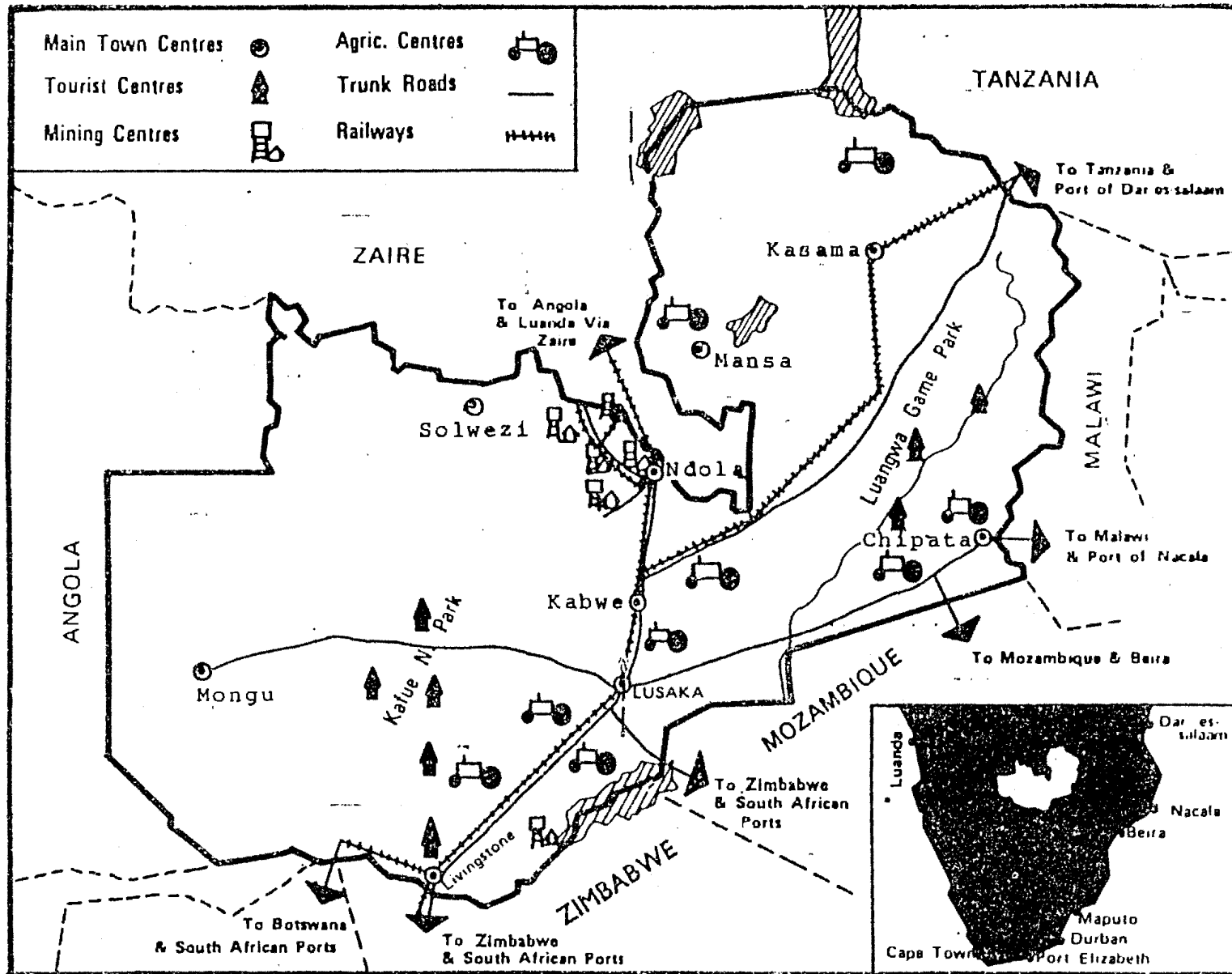
**Table 1.0: Access and Quality Indicators**

Indicator	1995 Rates		
	Male	Female	Overall
<b><u>Primary</u></b>			
Gross Admission Rates	108.0	104.4	107.0
Net Admission Rates	44	45.6	44.4
Apparent Intake Rate	108	104.4	107
Gross Enrolment Rates	103.4	93	98.2
Net Enrolment Rates	86	80	83
Repetition Rates	2.7	2.4	2.6
Grade 4 - Grade 5 Progression Rate	98.5	93.8	96.2
Grade 7 - 8 Progression Rates	-	-	-
Pupil/Teacher Ratio	-	-	39.1
Average Class Size	-	-	44.7
<b><u>Secondary</u></b>			
Grade 7 - Grade 8 Progression Rates	34.1	33.3	32.4
Gross Enrolment Rates	21.8	14.8	18.3
Net Enrolment Rates	16.1	12.3	14.2
Repetition Rates	5	4.9	5.6
Grade 9 - Grade 19 Progression Rates	19	16.9	18.1
Pupil/Teacher Ratio	-	-	24.8
Average Class Size	-	-	48.4
Adult Literacy Rates	76.4	56.5	66.1

MAP I POSITION OF ZAMBIA



# MAP 2 ECONOMIC MAP OF ZAMBIA



## SECONDARY LEVEL TABLES

**Table 2: Secondary Summary Table (1995)**

Region	Number of Secondary Schools	No of Classes	No. of Teachers		No. of Pupils		No. of Repeaters	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Copperbelt	93	629	1148	598	21434	15825	611	504
Central	41	210	473	165	7609	5756	346	236
Lusaka	55	435	598	396	10084	8714	210	206
Southern	148	799	993	183	18204	12637	1329	831
Luapula	38	198	445	50	7585	4238	254	132
Northern	79	167	367	74	8084	7380	618	482
Eastern	87	343	692	177	16284	9694	993	618
North Western	60	126	405	80	7704	6562	499	359
Western	65	196	626	117	5779	4636	361	296
Zambia	666	3098	5747	1840	102767	75442	5221	3664

**Table 3: Secondary School Enrolment By Grade, Sex and Region (1995)**

Region	8	9	10	11	12	All Total
<b>Zambia</b>						
Boys	31466	36131	10965	12833	12786	104148
Girls	23651	26814	7085	9779	7598	74927
Total	55109	62936	18040	22601	20372	178075
<b>Copperbelt</b>						
Boys	6352	7122	2410	2695	2855	21434
Girls	4947	5678	1733	1667	1800	15825
Total	11299	12800	4143	4362	4655	37259
<b>Central</b>						
Boys	2446	2506	761	940	956	7609
Girls	1941	2078	601	588	548	5756
Total	4387	4584	1362	1528	1504	13365
<b>Eastern</b>						
Boys	4491	5451	2122	2215	2005	16284
Girls	3122	3586	1054	1045	887	9694
Total	7613	9037	3176	3260	2892	25978

**Table 4: Distribution of Basic And Secondary Schools By Region**

Region	Basic	Secondary			Total	
		GRZ	G. Aided	PVT	Number	%
Copperbelt	25	34	4	17	80	12.0
Central	14	15	3	9	41	6.20
Lusaka	27	13	6	17	63	9.60
Southern	109	13	17	9	148	22.50
Northern	65	10	4	0	79	11.80
N/Western	44	14	1	1	60	9.00
Luapula	23	12	3	0	38	5.60
Eastern	59	21	2	1	83	13.0
Western	45	15	4	1	65	9.80
Zambia	411	147	44	55	657	100.0

*Note: Percentage figures do not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.*



**Table 5: Enrolment in Secondary Schools by Age and Region (1995)**

Region	Under 14		14 - 18		Over 18		Total	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Copperbelt	1415	25.8	30899	22.1	6244	17.8	38558	21.4
Central	415	7.6	10656	7.6	2286	6.5	13357	7.4
Lusaka	1102	20.1	15292	10.9	2404	6.9	18798	10.4
Southern	616	11.2	24088	17.2	6103	17.4	30807	17
Northern	407	7.4	12353	8.8	2703	7.7	15463	8.6
North Western	419	7.6	10182	7.3	2976	8.5	13577	7.5
Luapula	212	3.9	8619	6.2	2992	8.5	11823	6.5
Eastern	581	10.6	18042	12.9	7343	21	25966	14.4
Western	315	5.8	9905	7	1995	5.7	12215	6.8
Zambia	5478	100	140036	100	35046	100	180564	100

Table 5 shows that at least, one out of every five pupils enrolled at secondary in 1995 were outside the official age group (14 - 18 years).

**Table 6: Secondary School Average Class Size By Grade and Region (1995)**

Region	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Total
Copperbelt	41.5	46.9	40.6	45.4	48.0	44.3
Central	43.4	45.4	42.6	49.3	49.3	47.0
Lusaka	42.1	47.4	30.3	32.5	38.9	38.8
Southern	37.1	38.5	35.2	42.1	42.6	38.5
Northern	40.8	44.2	45.5	56.6	47.1	44.3
N/Western	38.2	40.0	39.7	46.0	35.7	46.9
Luapula	36.9	42.7	35.7	53.7	59.6	43.1
Eastern	39.8	46.5	41.2	49.3	49.8	44.3
Western	28.7	50.1	42.6	47.0	45.8	40.0
Zambia	40.3	45.6	44.2	51.7	51.4	48.4

**Table 7: Secondary School Class Average by Region and Grade (1994)**

Region	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Total
Total Zambia	42.7	47.2	42.1	48.4	46.3	45.2
Copperbelt	45	48.8	42	46.7	47.9	46.4
Central	48.6	50.4	48.9	55.9	48.3	50
Lusaka	46	51.5	40.3	44.4	44.4	46.3
Southern	39.2	44.5	39.9	46.8	44.5	42.4
Luapula	38.4	43.1	36.2	47.2	46.8	41.6
Northern	46.2	47.2	54.6	50.8	47.3	48
Eastern	41.5	45.7	39.1	53.3	48.3	44.5
N/Western	39.6	46.3	43.7	47.8	43.7	43.5
Western	39.7	49.7	38.7	47.2	43.6	44.1

**Table 8: Secondary School Repetition Rates by Sex and Region (1994)**

Region	Total	Male	Female
Copperbelt	2.8	1.6	1.2
Central	2	1.2	0.8
Lusaka	2.6	0.9	0.7
Southern	6	3.6	2.4
Luapula	5.2	3.2	2
Northern	5.5	3.4	2.1
Eastern	7	4.4	2.6
N/Western	5.3	3.6	1.7
Western	6.7	3.7	3
Zambia	4.5	2.7	1.8

**Table 9: Distribution of School Age Population by Sex and Year.**

Age Group	Year				
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
7-13	1490501	1510222	1527080	1537149	1539073
14-18	969314	984349	993660	1002256	1013255
School Age as % of Total Population	33.3	32.9	29.6	28.8	30.9

**Table 10: School Age Population Pyramid (1994)**

AGE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
7	109709	111756	221465
8	108747	111043	219791
9	108742	111192	219934
10	109685	112253	221939
11	109930	112373	222302
12	108669	110671	219340
13	106446	107856	214302
<b>Total 7 - 13</b>	<b>761928</b>	<b>777144</b>	<b>1539073</b>
14	104548	105383	209930
15	102632	102797	205429
16	100761	100861	201622
17	99070	100045	199115
18	97352	99806	197158
<b>Total 14 - 18</b>	<b>504363</b>	<b>508892</b>	<b>1013254</b>
<b>Grade Total 7 - 18</b>	<b>1266291</b>	<b>1286036</b>	<b>2552327</b>

**Table 11: Gender Access Indicators**

Indicator	1994 Female Rates	Males	Total
Primary Admission Rate	106.8	111.4	109.1
Gross Primary Enrolment Ratio	93.0	103	98.0
Reception Rate Primary	1.6	1.8	1.7
Progression to Grade 8	33.3	34.1	33.7
Percentage of Females in Primary School	48.0	56.0	52.0
Primary Completion Rate	71.4	87	79.2
Gross Secondary Enrolment Ratio	15.0*	6.2	10.6*
Reception Rates Secondary	1.70	1.8	1.75
Female Teachers as % of Total Teaching Staff			
- Primary	44.0	56.0	100.0
- Secondary	23.0	77.0	100.0
Adult Literacy Rate (1990)	71.0	57	64
Percentage of Females in Secondary	38.0*	62	100

\* Refers to only Government and Aided Schools.

**Table 12: Secondary School Proportion of Girls to Total Enrolment by Grade (1994)**

Region	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Total
* Copperbelt	43.0	40.7	40.3	36.9	36.3	40.3
* Central	42.7	41.7	35.9	37.1	32.5	39.7
* Lusaka	42.3	38.6	37.7	36.0	32.7	38.6
* Southern	42.2	41.1	32.3	33.1	30.7	38.5
Luapula	37.5	37.3	28.6	28.1	31.0	34.7
Northern	40.1	38.9	34.3	38.5	38.3	38.6
Eastern	39.2	37.9	33.6	30.6	29.2	36.1
North-Western	38.2	35.2	32.5	31.0	31.3	35.1
Western	39.6	41.7	35.5	38.0	33.1	38.9
Zambia	41.1	39.7	35.5	34.8	33.2	38.3

\* Provinces lying along the line of rail (Urbanised Provinces)

**Table 13: Female Secondary Enrolment by Mode of Accommodation (1995)**

Region	Boarding Enrolment	
	Female	Male
Copperbelt	954	2381
Central	836	2006
Lusaka	441	2505
Southern	3118	9120
Luapula	2236	5283
Northern	3452	6482
Eastern	2660	7027
North Western	674	2260
Western	1332	3727
Zambia	15703	40791

**Table14: Sex Ratios among School age Population (7 - 18 years)**

Year	Male	Female	Total	School Age Population Sex Ratio	Population Overall Sex Ratio
1990	1205135	1239811	21444946	97.2	95.9
1991	1233154	1261317	2494571	98.0	96.1
1992	1248107	1272633	2520740	98.0	96.5
1995	1152044	1280598	2432642	90.0	96.7
1994	1051098	1173783	22224881	90.0	96.4

Source: C.S.O., 1990 Census Data

**Table15: Teachers Secondary Education By Sex and Region (1995)**

Region	Teachers					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Copperbelt	1148	19.98	598	32.5	1746	23.01
Central	473	8.23	165	8.97	638	8.41
Lusaka	598	10.41	396	21.52	994	13.10
Southern	993	17.28	183	9.95	1176	15.50
Northern	367	6.39	74	4.02	441	5.81
N/Western	405	7.05	80	4.35	485	6.39
Luapula	445	7.74	50	2.72	495	6.52
Eastern	692	12.04	177	9.62	869	11.45
Western	626	10.89	117	6.36	743	9.79
Zambia	5747	100	1840	100	7587	100

**Table 16: Number of School Inspectors, Selected Years**

<i>Location</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1983</i>	<i>1987</i>
<i>At central headquarters</i>			
Chief inspector	1	1	1
Deputy chief inspector	1	1	1
Senior inspector	5	5	4
Inspector	21	27	15
Total			
<i>At regional offices</i>			
Inspector of schools	32	21	21
Senior regional inspector	0	9	9
Senior primary school inspector	30	21	21
Primary school inspector	80	80	75
Total	142	131	126
<i>Grand Total</i>	170	165	147
At Ministry of Higher Education	--	--	13

-- = not applicable

Source: GRZ (1976, 1983, 1987), Establishment Register.

Table 17: Output of Qualified Secondary Teachers (1969 - 86)

Year	Annual output		University			Colleges		Cumulative output
	BA Ed	BSc Ed	Total	BA Ed	BSc Ed	Total	Annual output	
1969	11	0	11	11	0	11	99	99
1970	10	0	10	21	0	21	33	132
1971	45	8	53	66	8	74	71	203
1972	31	14	45	97	22	119	102	305
1973	0	0	0	97	22	119	153	458
1974	67	22	89	164	44	208	223	681
1975	103	37	140	267	81	348	264	945
1976	101	30	131	368	111	479	351	1,296
1977	112	22	134	480	133	613	347	1,643
1978	111	47	158	591	180	771	428	2,071
1979	117	31	148	708	211	919	422	2,493
1980	161	46	207	869	257	1,126	490	2,983
1981	131	40	171	1,000	297	1,297	488	3,471
1982	135	49	184	1,135	346	1,481	383	3,837
1983	120	32	152	1,255	378	1,633	366	4,203
1984	103	27	130	1,358	405	1,763	341	4,544
1985	90	51	141	1,448	456	1,904	452	4,996
1986	128	28	156	1,576	484	2,060	508	5,504

Sources: University of Zambia (various years) Annual Reports and records, Statistical Yearbook 1971; Ministry of Higher Education (1983), Educational Statistics.

**Table 18: Distribution of Boarding Schools (Secondary) and Total Enrolment by Province and Sex (1995)**

Province	No. of Boarding Schools	Total Enrolment	
		Boys	Girls
Copperbelt	9	1646	1150
Central	6	2016	2098
Lusaka	6	2655	571
Southern	20	7517	3701
Luapula	16	3247	2364
Northern	13	5357	4341
Eastern	15	5163	2882
North Western	8	1685	1210
Western	9	2402	1345

**Table 19: Pupils Per Teacher In Secondary Education By Region**

Region	Pupil	Teachers	Pupil/Teacher Ratio
* Copperbelt	37259	1746	21.3
* Central	13365	638	20.95
* Lusaka	16864	994	16.96
* Southern	30841	1176	26.2
Northern	15464	441	35.06
Northern Western	14266	485	29.41
Luapula	11823	495	23.88
Eastern	25978	869	29.89
Western	12215	743	16.44
Zambia	178075	7587	23.5

*\* Urbanised regions*

Table 20: Junior School Leaving Examination Results (1975 - 84)

<i>(a) Internal (School) Candidates</i>				
<i>Year</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>No. of candidates</i>	<i>No. obtaining full certificate</i>	<i>Percentage full certificate</i>
1975	Boys	10,425	7,199	69.1
	Girls	5,393	2,450	46.0
	Both sexes	15,818	9,679	61.2
1976	Boys	12,350	8,454	68.5
	Girls	6,183	2,558	41.4
	Both sexes	18,533	11,012	59.4
1977	Boys	13,897	9,939	71.5
	Girls	7,198	3,201	44.5
	Both sexes	21,095	13,140	62.3
1978	Boys	14,976	9,879	66.0
	Girls	7,744	3,195	41.3
	Both sexes	22,750	13,074	57.5
1979	No records available			
1980	Both sexes	25,580	16,069	62.8
1981	Both sexes	24,479	14,669	59.9
1982	Both sexes	26,799	16,055	59.9
1983	Both sexes	28,449	16,583	58.3
1984	Both sexes	31,267	19,857	63.5
<i>(b) External Candidates</i>				
<i>Year</i>		<i>No. of Candidates</i>	<i>No. obtaining full certificate</i>	<i>Percentage obtaining full certificate</i>
1975		6,918	616	8.9
1976		10,691	463	4.3
1977		13,306	1,051	7.9
1978		11,655	645	5.5
1979		14,085	1,140	8.1
1980	No records available			
1981		18,021	1,643	9.1
1982	No records available			
1983		17,248	1,627	9.4
1984		18,993	2,820	14.8

Sources: Education ministries (1975 - 78), Educational Statistics; Computer Centre, University of Zambia.



**Table 21: School Certificate Performance (1975 - 85)**

Year	No. who sat examination	Obtained full		Obtained one or more O-levels, but	
		(no.)	(percentage)	(no.)	(percentage)
1975	6,984	3,956	56.6	2,008	28.8
1976	7,359	4,589	62.4	2,715	36.9
1977	8,071	5,119	63.4	2,901	35.9
1978	8,840	5,482	62.0	3,259	36.9
1979	10,233	6,236	60.9	3,891	38.0
1980	10,449	6,460	61.8	3,875	37.1
1981	11,134	6,835	61.4	4,120	37.0
1982	11,136	6,504	58.4	4,499	40.4
1983	11,315	7,128	63.0	4,053	35.8
1984	11,944	7,846	65.7	3,982	33.3
1985	12,176	8,211	67.4	3,826	31.4
1975-85	109,641	68,366	62.4	39,129	35.7

Sources: Education ministries (1975-78), Educational Statistics; Computer Centre, University of Zambia.

**Table 22: Grade Nine Dropout Rate by Region (1987 - 1994)**

Year	Number of Candidates	Number Selected	Drop-out Rate
1987	67504	13517	79.98
1988	79965	13613	82.95
1989	84044	14940	82.22
1990	82281	16144	80.38
1991	82500	16708	79.75
1992	103412	16812	83.77
1993	124908	16660	83.47
1994	99994	18113	81.89

Source: Examinations Council of Zambia

**Table 23: Grade Seven To Grade Eight Progression Rates (1970 - 1995)**

Year of Examination	Number of Candidates	Number Selected	Progression Rates %
1970	67222	15793	23.49
1971	73859	15747	21.32
1972	80506	17570	21.82
1973	88784	19762	22.25
1974	97685	20868	21.36
1975	120631	21000	17.4
1976	119000	21961	18.45
1977	120545	21628	17.9
1978	127738	21762	17.1
1979	132912	22077	16.6
1980	143699	22021	15.34
1981	146827	22660	15.43
1982	151801	25938	17
1983	162126	26890	16.53
1984	176680	38094	21.6
1985	178311	39058	21.9
1986	176902	42527	24.03
1987	174102	43218	24.82
1988	179949	48563	26.99
1989	180826	49010	27.1
1990	182318	56539	31.01
1991	166746	58188	34.89
1992	168182	57044	33.93
1993	193705	54345	28.05
1994	179148	58947	32.44

Source: Examinations Council of Council

Note: Figures not disaggregated by gender

**Table 24: 1995 Grade 7 Grade 8 Drop Out Rates By Sex and Region**

REGION	NO. SAT FOR GRADE 7			NO. SELECTED TO GRADE 8			PROGRESS RATE			DROP OUT RATE		
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Copperbelt	24651	22336	46987	7173	4713	11886	29.1	21.1	25.3	70.9	78.9	74.7
Central	11882	8798	20680	2780	1900	4680	23.4	21.6	22.6	76.6	78.4	77.4
Lusaka	14124	12267	26391	2740	2650	5390	19.4	21.6	20.4	80.6	78.4	79.6
Southern	14058	1186	25244	4892	4407	9299	34.8	39.4	36.8	65.2	60.6	63.2
Luapula	6331	3361	9692	2621	1717	4338	41.4	51.1	44.8	58.6	48.9	55.2
Northern	12026	6683	18709	4341	2793	7134	36.1	41.8	38.1	63.9	58.2	61.7
Eastern	8606	4897	13503	4759	2855	7614	55.3	58.3	56.4	44.7	41.7	43.6
N/Western	4950	2968	7918	2841	1534	4375	57.4	51.7	55.3	42.6	48.3	44.7
Western	5459	4565	10024	2653	1913	4566	48.6	41.9	42.3	51.4	58.1	57.7
Zambia	102087	72536	179148	34812	24154	58966	34.1	33.3	32.4	65.9	66.7	67.6

**Table 25: Secondary Enrolment by Mode of Accommodation, Sex and Region (1994)**

Region	Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Total	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Copperbelt												
Day	7363	5568	8411	5698	2793	1852	3349	1957	3246	1876	25162	16915
Boarding	367	262	380	343	213	180	304	177	384	195	1648	1157
Central												
Day	2266	1779	2340	1695	719	457	775	516	723	361	6823	4808
Boarding	770	486	860	594	503	228	630	314	581	267	3344	1889
Lusaka												
Central	2721	2258	2715	1959	900	788	1079	834	1018	682	8433	6521
Boarding	573	152	699	189	455	31	483	44	476	43	2686	459
Southern												
Day	4992	3922	6131	4358	752	406	724	427	664	394	13263	9507
Boarding	1399	747	1523	993	1538	689	1940	890	2175	863	8575	4182
Luapula												
Day	1565	836	1814	1004	343	91	348	95	213	91	4283	2117
Boarding	785	575	912	622	483	240	773	343	690	315	3643	2095
Northern												
Day	3051	1877	3266	1893	658	202	372	159	322	105	7669	4236
Boarding	989	827	1092	878	958	640	1096	761	875	637	5010	3743
Eastern												
Day	3908	2611	4290	2626	485	264	500	265	352	175	9535	5941
Boarding	631	512	1131	682	1072	523	1572	647	1460	573	6166	2937
N/Western												
Day	1917	1272	2037	1153	351	152	329	131	219	83	4853	2791
Boarding	631	303	723	348	474	246	595	284	562	273	2985	1454
Western												
Day	1942	1334	2296	1713	402	248	308	317	271	230	5219	3842
Boarding	555	300	658	403	546	274	833	383	867	333	3459	1693
Zambia												
Day	29725	21461	33300	22099	7403	4460	7784	4701	7028	3997	85240	56714
Boarding	6700	4163	7978	5052	6242	3051	8226	3843	8070	3499	37516	19609

**Table 26: Grade Nine to Grade Ten Progression Rates by Year (1987 - 1994)**

Year	No. Stat	Full Certificate	Statement	Number Selected	Progression Rate
1987	67504	28318	25838	13517	20.02
1988	79965	33549	28293	13613	17.05
1989	84044	30309	29820	14940	17.78
1999	82281	33879	36594	16144	19.62
1991	82500	36412	34876	16708	20.25
1992	103412	48250	41720	16812	16.23
1993	124908	45786	41858	16660	16.53
1994	99994	46617	36667	18113	18.11

Source: Examinations Council of Zambia

**Table 27: Pupil - Teacher Ratios (1980 - 1994)**

Year	Secondary
1980	21.0
1985	21.0
1990	23.0
1994	27.9

**Table 28: Number of Primary and Secondary School Teachers (1980 - 1994)**

Year	Secondary	
	Number	Percentage of Female Teachers
1980	4900	
1985	6700	23
1990	8500	-
1994	10822*	17*

**Table 29: Secondary Enrolment by Mode of Accommodation, Sex and Region 1994**

Grade	Sex	Ages										
		Under 12	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Over 19	All Ages
Grades 8	Boys	-	192	1,450	5,668	8,841	9,308	6,149	3,395	1,279	410	36,720
	Girls	-	387	2,244	5,970	7,610	5,630	2,584	810	178	155	25,621
	Total	-	579	3,694	11,638	16,451	14,938	8,733	4,205	1,457	565	62,346
Grades 9	Boys	-	14	218	1,527	5,803	9,398	10,221	8,113	4,062	1,917	41,278
	Girls	-	25	436	2,154	6,162	8,007	6,285	3,017	856	205	27,151
	Total	-	36	654	3,681	11,965	17,405	16,506	11,130	4,918	2,122	68,429
Grade 10	Boys	-	-	2	35	748	2,189	3,916	3,384	2,215	1,156	13,645
	Girls	-	-	2	161	805	1,877	2,419	1,475	616	156	7,511
	Total	-	-	4	196	1,553	4,066	6,335	4,859	2,831	1,312	21,156
Grade 11	Boys	-	-	1	24	94	773	2,631	4,574	4,158	3,756	16,011
	Girls	-	-	-	22	256	956	2,018	2,881	1,714	690	8,537
	Total	-	-	1	46	350	1,729	4,649	7,455	5,872	4,446	24,548
Grade 12	Boys	-	-	-	11	67	157	973	2,825	4,288	6,777	15,098
	Girls	-	-	-	4	113	164	893	2,185	2,468	1,750	7,577
	Total	-	-	-	15	180	321	1,866	5,010	6,756	8,527	22,675
Grade 8-12	Boys	-	206	1,671	7,265	15,553	21,825	23,890	22,291	16,002	14,016	122,757
	Girls	-	412	2,682	8,311	14,946	16,634	14,199	10,368	5,832	2,956	76,392
	Total	-	618	4,353	15,576	30,499	38,459	38,089	32,659	21,834	16,972	199,154

**Table 30: Technical Assistance for Education (1976 - 84)**

<i>Donor</i>	<i>In US\$ '000s</i>			<i>As percentage of donor's total technical assistance to Zambia</i>		
	<i>1976-78</i>	<i>1979-81</i>	<i>1982-84</i>	<i>1976-78</i>	<i>1979-81</i>	<i>1982-84</i>
Finland	1,530	2,654	2,144	22	15	14
Federal Republic of Germany	141	0	n.a	4	0	n.a
Netherlands	1,493	0	46	18	0	1
Norway	5,489	1,182	14,784	59	6	31
Sweden	4,083	4,092	10,281	15	9	18
United Kingdom	5,167	27,698	15,179	37	44	64
United States	1,000	0	0	100	0	0
Other bilateral donors	4,129	12,557	4,999	23	27	8
<i>Total</i>	23,482	48,194	47,403	26	19	21
UNDP	96	94	0	1	1	0
Other U.N organisations	25	1,138	567	-	7	5
Other multilateral donors	502	1,305	2,125	5	6	26
<i>Total</i>	623	2,692		2	5	9
Total technical assistance	24,105	50,731	50,095			

n.a = not available

... = less than 1 percent

Source: UNDP (1986, table A.10).

**Table 31: Technical Assistance to Education in Zambia by Function and Subsector, Selected Years (percent)**

<i>Function</i>	1977	1979	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
Staffing	41.9	75.6	73.8	65.9	11.4	28.5	59.5
Staffing & Equipment	18.3	14.1	22.9	22.1	17.6	14.9	23.5
Equipment	0	0.7	0.6	7.6	11.7	14.2	2.5
Training	0.3	6.0	2.4	2.6	3.1	4.8	4.8
Research	0	0	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0
Construction and Building	38.7	2.8	0.1	1.4	56.0	37.5	9.7
Other	0.8	0.7	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Subsector</i>	1977	1979	1980	1982	1983	1984	1985
University	27.1	14.2	22.1	22.0	67.9	56.7	23.5
Technical education	31.1	10.7	12.7	22.8	3.1	2.7	8.7
Teacher training	9.1	5.2	3.9	19.9	4.8	5.2	9.9
Secondary schools	7.5	48.6	45.8	19.3	2.3	8.4	30.9
Primary schools	0	0	8.3	0	11.0	18.4	0.3
Special education	0.1	0.4	0.4	3.7	2.6	2.6	1.9
Project Unit	20.3	2.8	0	0	4.2	0	9.3
Headquarters	4.8	18.1	6.8	12.3	4.1	6.0	15.5

*Notes:* In the top panel, the source material did not always split staffing and equipment into separate items, hence the three rows covering these items. Data were not available for 1978 and 1981. The Project Unit in the second panel is the Zambia Educational Projects Implementation Unit discussed later in the chapter.

*Source:* UNDP Annual Report on Development Cooperation with Zambia (annual issues, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1982-85)

**Table 32: Government Expenditure on Education (1991 - 1995)**

Year	Recurrent		Capital		Total	
	(K'000)	% of Total Education Expenditure	(K'000)	% of Total Education Expenditure	(K'000)	% of Total Education Expenditure
1991	5,403,363	89.76	616,357	10.24	6,019,720	100
1992	11,154,214	93.08	825.5	6.89	11,979,714	100
1993	27,375,056	94.67	1,539,821	5.33	28,914,877	100
1994	38,127,694	86.01	6,199,409	13.99	44,327,103	100
1995	56,514,217	92.60	4,521,099	7.41	61,035,316	100

*Source:* Ministry of Education: Planning Unit - Financial Planning Section.



**Table 33: Current Costs Per Student (1980 - 1985) (Kwacha)**

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Primary School	52.34	58.71	73.05	77.52	88.99	88.64
Secondary School	285.43	293.95	381.47	443.68	406.44	420.77
Teacher Training School	839.15	965.44	1,301.07	1,262.54	1,533.74	1,347.17
Technical Education	1,641.06	1,913.85	2,293.58	2,242.08	2,651.73	2,995.55
UNZA	4,913.87	5,024.24	5,283.24	9,884.39	7,389.09	9,850.16

*Source: Ministry of Education: Planning Unit - Financial Planning Section.*

**Table 35: Government Recurrent and Capital Expenditure by Function 1991 - 1995 for General Education including University (ZKW'000)**

Function	1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital
Administration	881,973	342,850	2,041,996	501,273	4,234,546	706,039	6,016,991	3,601,315	8,349,114	2,086,940
General Education	517,172	265,124	1,556,565	487,271	3,220,339	699,286	3,956,126	3,502,022	5,640,685	1,862,694
Higher Education	100,598	63,826	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincial HQ	0	13,900	485,430	14,002	0	0	0	0	0	0
PEO's HQ	264,203	0	0	0	1,014,207	6,753	2,060,865	99,293	2,708,429	224,246
Primary School	2,317,211	0	4,010,404	0	10,677,669	381,592	15,116,169	1,614,663	23,427,861	1,292,128
Secondary School	832,864	0	1,794,545	0	2,854,978	154,229	5,081,754	334,321	7,765,097	388,817
Teacher Training	1,088,923	15,622	473,210	19,187	1,161,207	127,777	1,969,722	366,315	2,620,597	359,879
Headquarters	72,508	15,622	119,379	19,187	192,809	89,760	339,915	128,426	0	0
Pro. College	183,551	0	353,831	0	902,751	122,890	1,629,807	237,889	2,620,597	359,879
Sundry Services	994,071	252,811	2,637,932	304,745	8,113,557	171,184	8,899,198	233,775	13,110,077	235,096
University	771,918	167,811	1,512,250	304,745	6,828,713	171,184	6,839,154	219,623	10,730,533	163,663
Other Services	222,153	85,000	1,125,682	0	1,284,844	0	2,060,044	14,147	2,376,544	71,433
Continuing Education	35,584	2,037	66,843	295	131,341	0	401,511	24,009	502,533	49,733
Curriculum Development	12,581	2,267	21,181	0	36,241	0	401,511	24,009	502,533	49,733
Broadcasting and Spec.	73,020	770	108,103	0	117,856	0	463,881	11,832	534,325	63,395
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,403,363</b>	<b>616,357</b>	<b>11,154,214</b>	<b>825,500</b>	<b>27,375,056</b>	<b>1,539,821</b>	<b>38,127,694</b>	<b>6,199,409</b>	<b>56,514,217</b>	<b>4,521,099</b>

Source: 1) Ministry of Finance, Financial Reports for the Year 1991 - 1993  
2) Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure 1994 - 1995

Note: Technical and Vocational Training figures not included.

**Table 36: 1994 Teacher Training College Enrolment by Sex.**

College	Male	Female	Total
Chalimbana	134	55	189
Charles Lwanga	215	164	379
Chipata TTC	22	196	415
Copperbelt	166	100	266
D/Livingstone	171	134	305
Kasama TTC	183	178	361
Kitwe	329	319	648
Lusaka C.T.H	45	24	69
Malcom Moffay	165	157	322
Mansa	172	143	315
Mufulira	174	164	338
Mongu	154	153	307
Nkrumah	294	101	395
Solwezi	156	133	289
<b>Totals</b>	<b>2580</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>4598</b>

**Table 37: First Year University Enrolment (1992 - 1993)**

University of Zambia			
School	Male	Female	Total
Humanities and Social Science	183	82	262
Natural Science	323	47	370
Education	127	58	185
Law	5	1	6
Medicine	0	3	6
Engineering	3	0	3
Agricultural Science	54	1	55
Mines	1	0	1
CTR for Continuing Education	17	6	23
Veterinary	0	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>713</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>911</b>
Copperbelt University			
School	Male	Female	Total
Business	97	25	122
Environmental Science	0	0	0
Architecture	5	0	5
Building	6	0	6
Land Economy	9	2	11
Urban and Regional	4	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>148</b>

Summary			
University	Male	Female	Total
UNZA	713	198	911
Copperbelt	121	27	148

Figure 4.

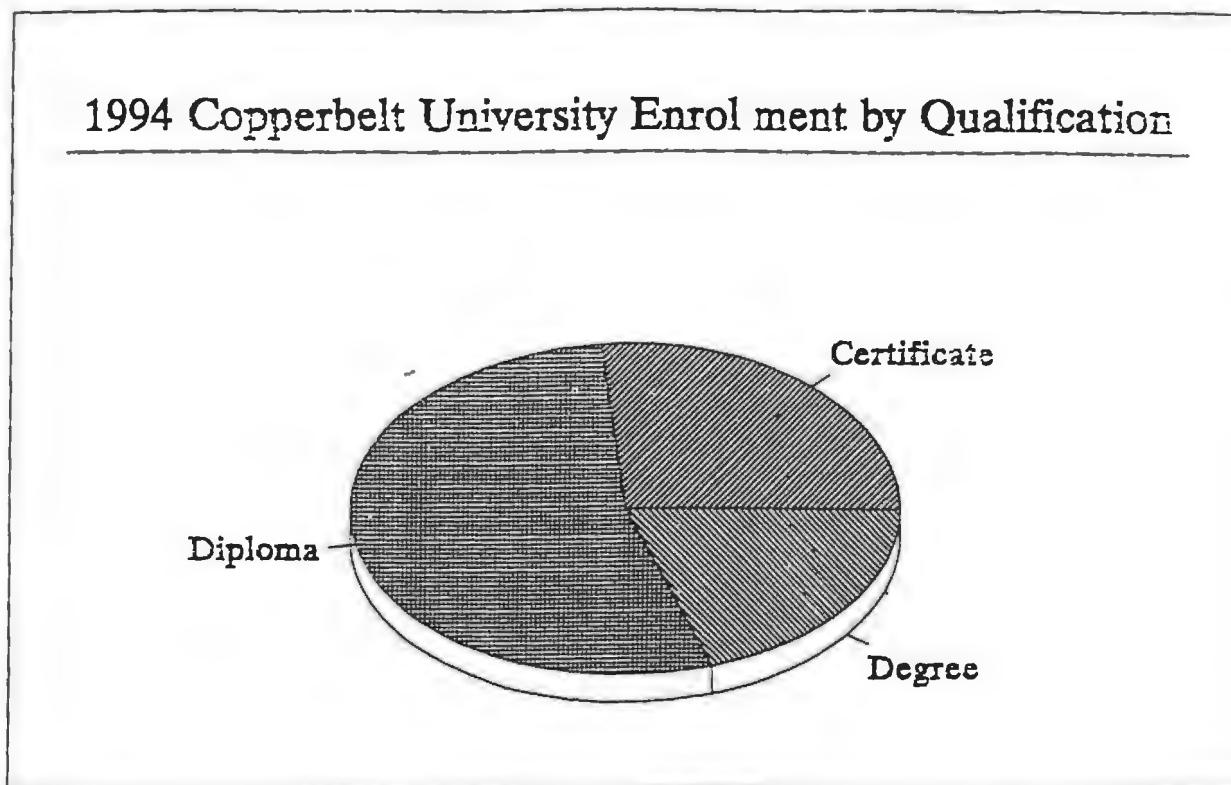


Figure 5

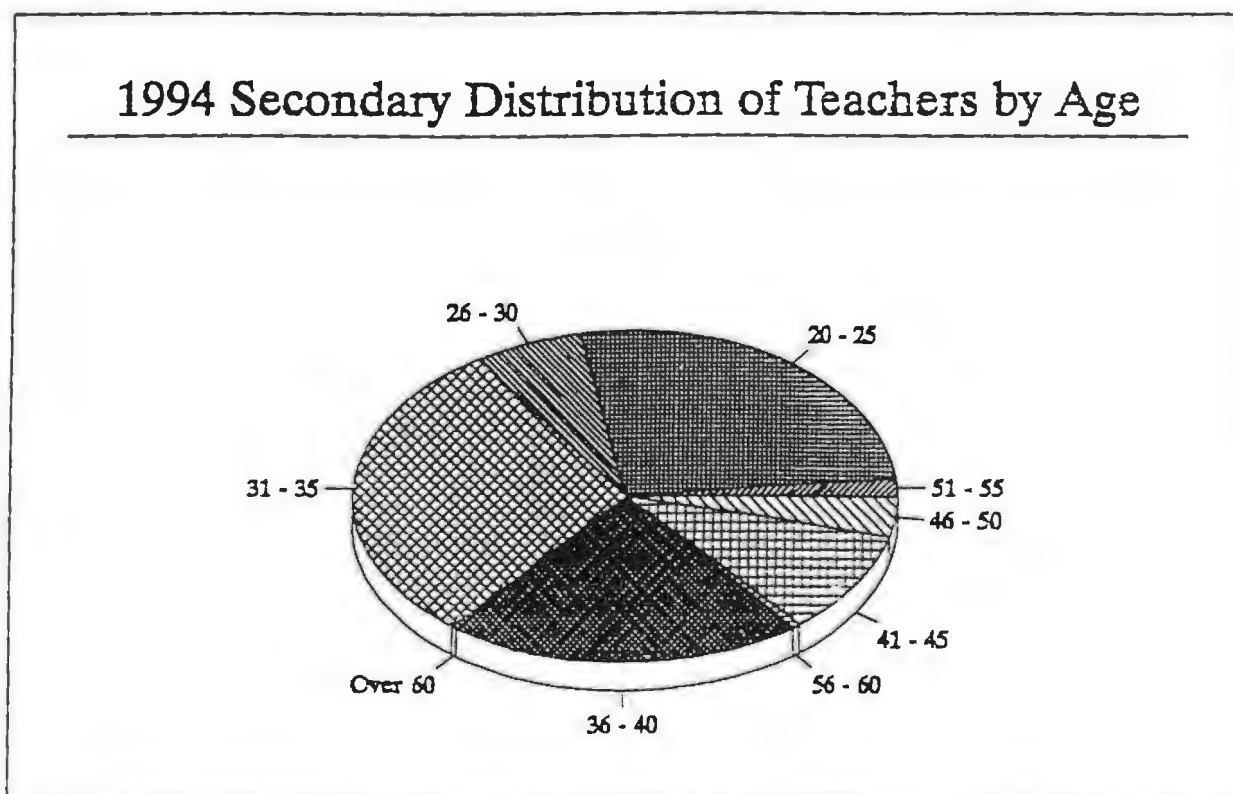


Figure 2

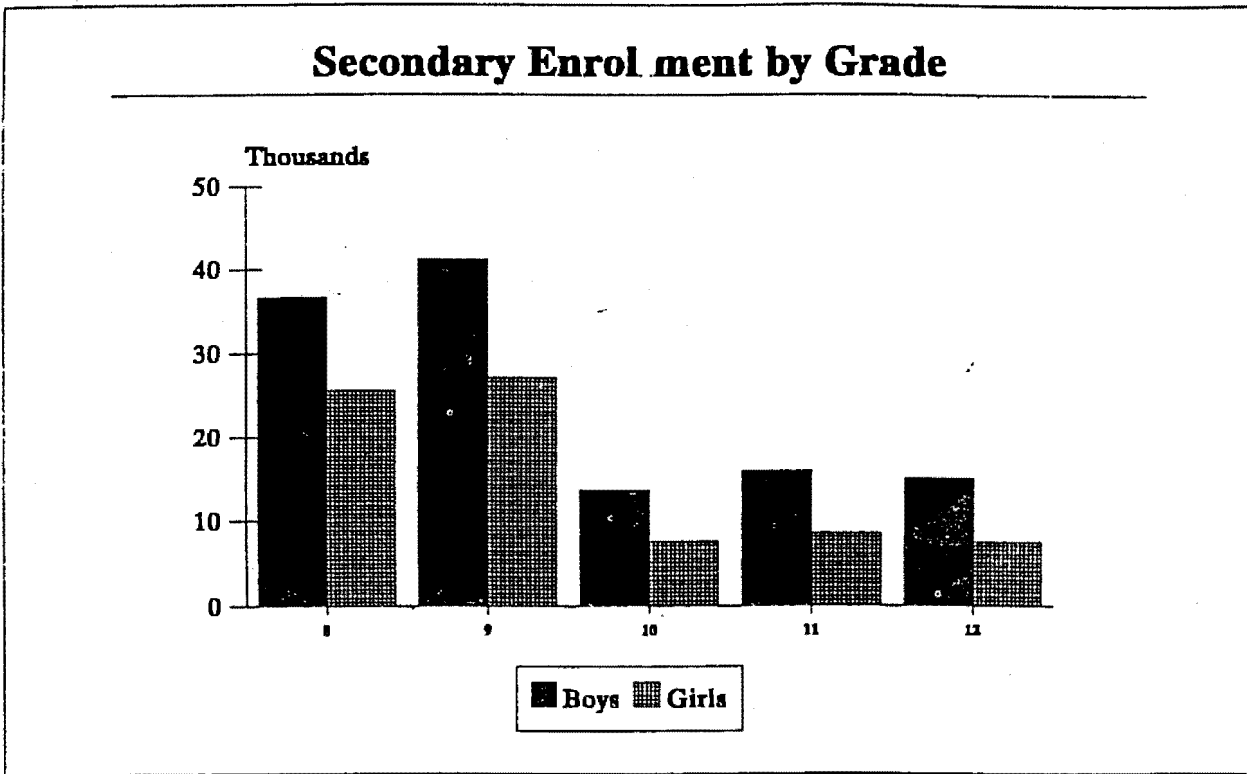


Figure 3.4

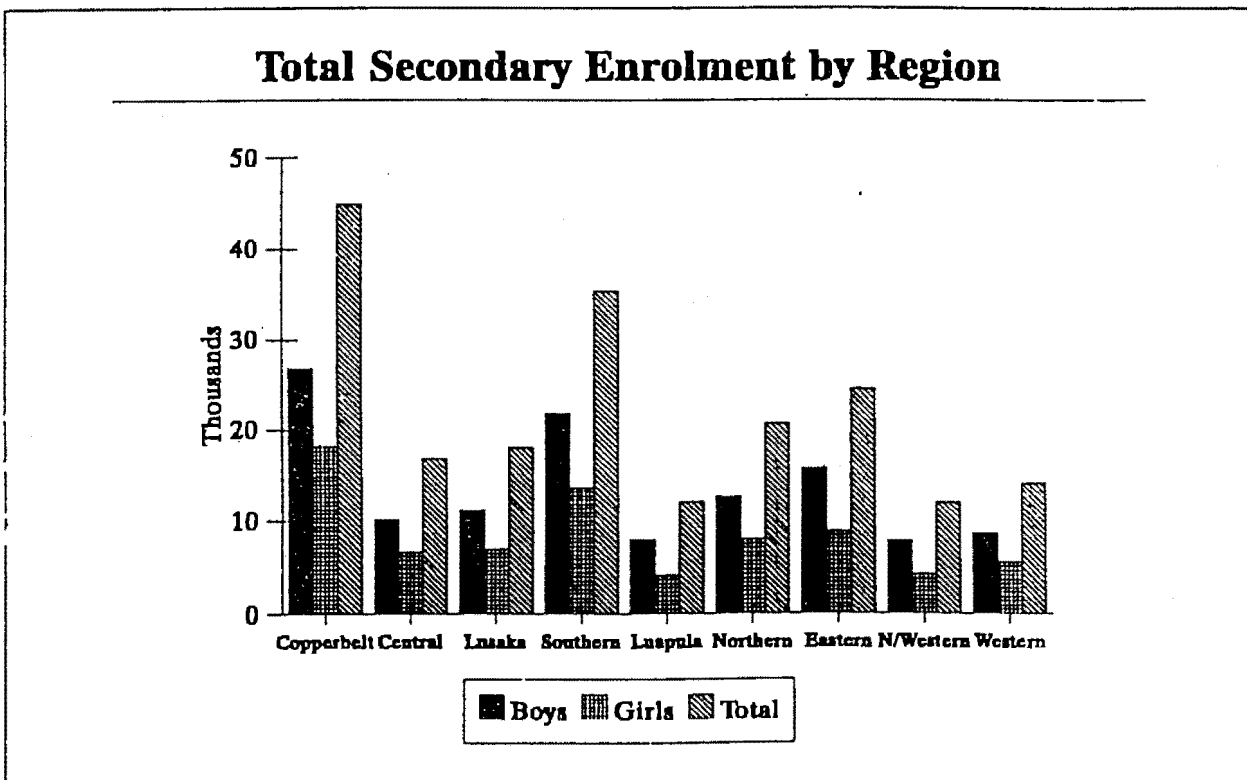
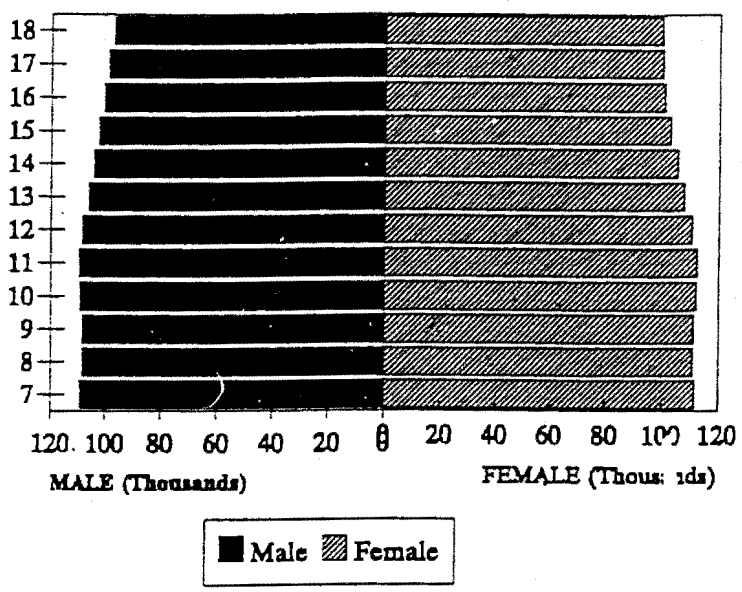


Figure 1

### 1994 School Age Population Pyramid

AGE GROUP



Source: Table 1.3