The Study of Education and Development in Africa: Toward Alternative Paradigms

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

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

2. Many African nationalists and intellectuals have challenged this perspective. Among them are Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere, Franz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, Chinua Achebe and others.
is particularly notable in the more recent works of Ngugi wa Thiong'o where he takes the position that:

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

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

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


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


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

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

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

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

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

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


The paper starts by discussing the dominant theoretical frameworks in the social science and education in particular, and then discusses Marxian and Neo-Marxist approaches, which utilise conflict paradigm. A few studies utilising conflict paradigm in the study and practice of education change in Tanzania and Kenya are then briefly discussed.
2. Social Science Paradigms:

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

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

These two paradigms, although exhibiting variations and emphases, have had a remarkable influence, not only in


the development of social sciences, but also in studies of education and the society. In the fifties and sixties, most of the studies in education in the African and most of the underdeveloped countries were carried out from a structural-functionalist perspective with its various modifications. Studies carried from this perspective have mainly focused on education as an instrument of social mobility, inculcating values necessary for system maintenance and of influencing change in society. Equality of educational opportunity in the society which has figured strongly is therefore seen as a means of opening channels of mobility to underprivileged individuals in the society and reducing overall inequality. The emphasis here is on school as an instrument of equalising opportunities through its inputs and effects.

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


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

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

3. Modernization Theory and Studies on Education:

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

17. We should, however, note that structural-functionalism is not new to underdeveloped countries. In the heyday of colonialism, functional anthropology, which emanates from the equilibrium paradigm, was the dominant and fashionable method of studying the colonized people. See Gouldner, op.cit., pp. 125-134.
Despite the numerous variations in the definition of modernisation, the essence of the concept and, indeed, the underlying assumption of all the existing variations, is a developmental model which envisages the transformation of underdeveloped countries into the images of Western industrialised societies in values, norms, institutions and political orientation. Daniel Lerner, one of the leading proponents of this school of thought, has defined modernisation in more explicit terms of Westernisation, where he says modernisation is "the process of social change whereby the less-developed societies acquire characteristics common to the developed societies". He also gives the rationale for why this term has to be used when he argues that "we need a new name for the old process of imperialism because the characteristics associated with more-developed and less-developed societies and the modes of communication between them have become in our day very different from what used to be."\(^1\)

The concept of modernisation is deeply rooted in the structural-functionalism of American social science, which has developed in the concrete historical, political and ideological context of the United States becoming the dominant Western power and using its dominant role in attempts at containment of communism and in maintaining its hegemony in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These power imperatives must be understood if we are to grasp the concrete context of the rise and flowering of theories of modernisation in the fifties and sixties.

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

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

Investment in the development of human resources was seen as critical to overcoming underdevelopment. As Karabel and Halsey pointed out:

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

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

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

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


struggles of the people of Vietnam and Cuba, in conjunction
with the positive images that the Chinese model of development
evoked in the seventies, posed a challenge to the Westernization
model which post-colonial states were following. 26 Thirdly, the
current economic crisis which is manifested by massive foreign
debts, runaway inflation, and stagnation, and the ever rising
unemployment of the educated, casts serious doubts to modernization
model of development. Finally, the upsurge of religious movements
like that of Iran has unleashed social forces which are opposed
to Westernization, and which in the past tended to be glossed over
by enthusiastic modernizers. 27

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

26 Aidan Porter-Carter, "Neo-Marxist Approaches to Development and

27. Mohammed Ayoob, "The Revolutionary Thrust of Islamic Political
Ibrahim A. Angrist, "Islam and Development" (pp 523-523) "Eating
Bread, Famine in Iran, Turmoil, Transformation or Irrelevance"
(pp 555 - 562) Salama Gurbishi, "Islam and Development: The
Zia Regime in Pakistan" (pp 563 - 576) in *World Development*,
Vol. 8, Nos. 7 & 8 July/August 1980.

28. Peter C.W. Gutkind and Peter Waterman (ed.) *African Social
Studies: A Critical Reader* Heineman, 1981. (see the article in
"periodicals by Joan Copons").
Without attempting to offer a comprehensive survey of the studies of education carried out under the modernisation and human capital theories perspective in Africa, we shall mention some of the well-known and, indeed, representative studies dealing with the development of human resources, educational change and socio-economic and political development from the perspective of modernisation theory.

Studies on education from this perspective have been dominated by Western social scientists particularly those from North American universities. In the sixties and to some extent in the seventies these scholars produced some of the best studies and which had a remarkable influence on scholarship in this field. Some of the outstanding works in this field are James S. Coleman, *Education and Political Development* (1965), Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (1965), Remi Clignet and Philip Foster, *The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast* (1966), David B. Abernathy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case* (1969), and Richard Jolly, *Planning Education for African Development: Economic and Manpower Perspective* (1969). In addition there are numerous articles on education which follow this theoretical approach.

In the late sixties two changes were observable in the works in this field. First, the Africans started to make contributions in this field, which is a reflection of the developments which were taking place in the education sector, and in particular at the university level. The following works, James Sheffield, *Education, Employment, and Rural Development* (1966), Idvnon N. Resnick (ed) *Tanzania: Revolution by Education* (1967), James Sheffield and V.P. Diejomou, *Non-formal Education in African Development* (1972), and David Court and Doreen Oshi (ed) *Education, Society and Development* (1974), represent this transition where dominance of expatriate scholars start to give way to contributions of African social scientists. The second development that can be discerned during this period is the rethinking and reformulation of the role of
education in the society which led to emphasis on rural development, second chance training institutions, and adult education. In essence this is the period when need and search for new alternatives in African education started to emerge, as a consequence of unemployment among school leavers. Education for Self-Reliance and Adult Education in Tanzania, Village Polytechnic Movement in Kenya and Botswana Brigades are some of the well-known experiments in this direction.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

34. Although it would be interesting to follow up some of the lines which have been done within the framework of Weberian conflict sociology, we have not done so because of time constraints. An example of this approach see John Anderson, The Struggle for School Longman, 1970; Michael G. Schatlasberg, "Conflict and Culture: African Education: Authority Patterns in Cameroon", Lyce, Native Education Review, Vol. 23, No.1, Feb., 1979; and Morgan, op.cit p. 365-377.
This position is expressed in the familiar passage in the preface to *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1959). The relationship between the superstructure and the base in the process of societal transformation as stated in this and other Marx's writings has generated considerable debates and controversies; the key issue being whether the superstructure is 'determined' by the sub-structure. This mechanical interpretation of what is essentially a dynamic process interaction of between forces of production and cultural institutions, consciousness, and practice, has tended to make this theory sterile and deterministic. In this way the superstructure is robbed of its anatomy to influence, even in a limited way, the economic structure of the society. The reality is however, more complex than this and cannot be reduced to this deterministic formulation.

Without going into this whole historical debate of the interaction and relationship between forces and structures and superstructural institutions, ideologies and consciousness, it is nevertheless necessary to point out some recent contributions which have become more prominent in sociology of education in the West. 15

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

The main focus of the underdevelopment theory has been on two levels. First, the external relationship which exists between the Western industrialised nations and the less industrialised Third World countries. The unequal relationship which exists between these countries has been characterised as that of domination and

39. Ibid. p. 113.
exploitation of the satellite countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by the metropolitan capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, and Japan. The second area of concern of underdevelopment theory has been the internal conditions which prevail within the Third World Countries. Although most of the writers who have written in this area agree that the external relationship between the metropolitan countries and the satellite countries has fundamentally conditioned the internal structure of these countries and thereby affected the whole process of internal development, there have been major disagreements and controversies on how to characterise the existing modes of production, and secondly, how to explain the dynamics which account for the internal structure which exists in each national economy.

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

Since the late sixties, a great deal of work has been done and controversies have emerged regarding the meaning of underdevelopment and the dynamics of this process. However, despite the many differences that surround this concept, under-

40. This is evident of writers such as Andre Frank, B. Lachen, Walter Rodney, Colin Leys, Geoffrey Key, Aidan Foster-Carter, Jairus Banaji and Immanuel Wallerstein.
development has come to mean the historical process in which the social, economic and political conditions of the Third World are directly or indirectly controlled and stunted by the dominant position of international capital from the industrial countries. From this perspective, the underdeveloped countries are not in an original, or undeveloped, state, but their development has been historically conditioned (first under direct colonialism and later through indirect forms of political and economic domination) by extraction of their resources and surplus value, initially by merchant capital, and subsequently by industrial and finance capital. The outcome of this process is that the economies of these countries are now subordinated to the developed economies of Europe and North America and Japan.\(^\text{41}\) Hence, the path of an autonomous capitalist development has been blocked and distorted by the predominant and unequal relations that have emerged from this world-wide phenomenon; by the fact that international division of labour allocates these countries the role of producers of raw materials and/or semi-manufactured materials and a market for industrial goods. Although the situation in the Third World countries is complex, differentiated and the level, extent and nature of each country's involvement in the capitalist world economy differs, in essence the development process is conditioned and shaped in such a manner as to be an appendage of developed economies. These conditions of underdevelopment do not disappear with the achievement of political independence, since an indigenous capitalist class emerges after political independence to manage and aid the continuation of this process by acting as the intermediaries of metropolitan bourgeoisie interests. Underdevelopment, therefore,

embraces the totality of political, economic, and social relations that are established at the international level and which in turn penetrate and incorporate in diverse and complicated ways the societies of the Third World countries.

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

The fact is that these problems have of late received the attention they deserve as a result of the debates and controversies which have surrounded the concept of underdevelopment. Today,

44. For an article which attempts to summarize some of the major theoretical issues in this debate, see Foster-Carter's "The Modes of Production Controversy," New Left Review, No. 107 (January February, 1978), pp. 47-77.
we can therefore argue that despite the fruitful debates that have emerged in the last ten years, there is not a single formulation of dependency theory. The field is characterised by revisions of earlier positions (Frank 1977) and attempts to come up with theoretical formulations which explain the peculiar aspects of the development of capitalism in the Third World countries. Ian Roxborough has spelled out the major areas of debate regarding the peculiar internal conditions which distinguish dependent countries from advanced capitalist countries, where he says:

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

Underlying these two conceptualizations of the nature of internal social formations in the Third World countries is the problematic issue of explaining the dynamics behind the development of Europe and ... North America and why these forces did not have the same impact in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which were incorporated in the world economic system. Hamza Alavi and Jairus Banaji have sought the explanations of this phenomenon within the context of what has


46. Roxborough, op. cit., p. 129; and Gutkind and Waterman (ed) African Social Studies: .. for a number of useful contributions in this respect.
been termed a colonial mode of production which stipulates that the social formation in the colonial and post-colonial societies represent a distinct and different mode of production from the capitalist mode of production which emerged in Europe and later spread to North America. This argument does not deny the relationship between the colonial mode of production and the capitalist mode of production as it was developed in Europe. Indeed, the latter mode of production has emerged and taken its distinct characteristics as a result and consequence of the expansion of Western capitalism. Banaji argues this point where he says that the "integration of a given area into a world market dominated by capitalist local installation of the capitalist mode of production - can only be established in terms of a theory of colonialism" and "must be understood in terms of a specific mode of production, neither feudal nor capitalist though 'resembling' both at different levels."

On the other hand, development-theorists like Kay (1975) and Amin (1976), to mention only two, have argued that the predominant mode of production in the Third World countries is capitalist which has developed differently from that of Europe. Kay has emphasized the role of merchant capital and later industrial capital and how it affected the development of productive forces which were essential for capitalist development. Amin's argument revolves around the concept of unequal international specialization and exchange between the central economies and the peripheral economies. The unequal development which exists in the international capitalist economy is dictated by the


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

49. Kay, Development and Underdevelopment, op.cit.
"Autocentric" economies of Europe and North America as the extra- 
verted Third World economies. This process hinders the emergence 
of inward-oriented markets with the potential of capitalist 
development in the Third World countries. Hence, capitalism in 
these countries takes a clearly distinct form from that of auto-
centric economies. Amin has termed this peripheral capitalism. 

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

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

50. Amin, Unequal Development, op. cit. For a critical view on 

david Amin—see Jonathan Schiffer, "The Changing Post-War 
Pattern: The Accumulated Wisdom of David Amin," World 

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

52. Ibid., pp. 75-67.
dominant in these social formations, we are also saying that the nature of capitalist penetration in these societies and the resultant mechanisms and relations of production thereof are conditioned by the articulation of the capitalist modes of production and the pre-capitalist modes of production. This process of articulation sets into motion complex economic and social relations which are mediated through the state and evident in the organisation of state apparatuses, including the educational system.

5. Education and the Underdevelopment:

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

53. A clear example of this approach is Colin Leys' _Underdevelopment in Kenya_ (1975), which leaves out education in the discussion of the underdevelopment process in Kenya. This is not unique, as most of the literature on underdevelopment is characterized by this neglect.
social formation and how it affects the development of education. In general, therefore, his analysis of the development of education is not linked to the internal development of a capitalist mode of production and how this mode of production articulates with other modes of production to produce different patterns of education within the underdeveloped countries. The internal structure of education in India and West Africa, as analysed by Carnoy, is not well linked to the internal linkages which developed as a result of the establishment of the capitalist mode of production. Analysis that links education and development in the politico-economic structure, we believe, is essential if it is to go beyond mere assertions of the interconnections. However, Carnoy's observation that the development of Western education was involved in bringing a few of the colonised people out of the traditional hierarchical structure, while at the same time incorporating them into a capitalist hierarchy, is important but needs to be demonstrated in each specific context of colonial and postcolonial social formation. Proposals for any alternative development or education should emerge from this concrete analysis and not generalities.

The concept of incorporation can be utilized and developed to show how in concrete and specific instances the educational apparatuses mediate and facilitate the articulation of different modes of production in a social formation. Marjorie Mbilinyi in her analysis of education reform in Tanzania has attempted to show the inter-connections and linkages between the production process.


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

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

Rodney has argued that the "colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment." His contention revolves around three key elements of colonial education. First, and most important, is the economic function of education in the colonial division of labour. The second aspect was the way education encouraged and implanted capitalist individualism, thereby destroying collective ethos which existed in the pre-capitalist communal societies of Africa. This individualism is contrasted with that which developed in Europe, leading to entrepreneurship and


adventurism, which was ultimately realised in conquest of the rest of the world. "In Africa," he argues, "both the formal school system and the informal value system of colonialism destroyed social solidarity and promoted the worst form of alienated individualism without social responsibility" thus delaying the political process of regaining independence. The third element of colonial education was that it was an instrument of cultural imperialism. This was done through the language of instruction, the curriculum content and generally the values and behaviours rewarded and encouraged. In some of the colonies, Christian missionaries played a leading role, through the schools and outside the school system, in the systematic destruction of local culture and inculcating the metropolitan culture. It is important, however, to note that these factors were not independent of one another, but were rather intertwined and interacted in producing the superstructure of underdevelopment.

6. An Analysis of Tanzania Education Experience:

Walter Rodney's approach to education and underdevelopment is followed by Hirji in his analysis of education in Tanzania. There are a number of ways in which Hirji's analysis complement and go beyond Rodney's. First, his analysis deals with the concrete situation of Tanzania and provides a detailed historical analysis which connects colonial education policies with those of the post-colonial period. Secondly, his analysis deals with some of the contradictions of the development of education in the post-

59. Rodney Ibid., p. 254-255
colonial period, such as the unemployment of school leavers. His attempt to locate this problem within the context of underdevelopment is one of the strong points of this essay. Thirdly, his analysis has incorporated class structure and the nature of the colonial and post-colonial state in the formulation of the linkages between school education and underdevelopment. To do so, Hirji has utilized Althusser's theoretical scheme which distinguishes the character of the state, state power and the apparatuses of repression and ideological control. Using the concept of state ideological apparatuses, Hirji characterizes the educational system as one of the ideological apparatuses and proceeds to analyze it as such. This, combined with insights gained from Shivji's class analysis of Tanzania's society, provides the basis on which education in the context of underdevelopment is discussed. The analysis, however, concentrates too much on ideological aspects to the exclusion of other issues, such as class and regional disparities in education. This is dictated by the need to contribute to the debate on Tanzania's education and confront the ideologically tendencies in the conception of education policies. To need however to point out that Hirji takes Althusser's formulation wholesale without subjecting it to any criticism on the grounds that it over-emphasizes the role of ideology in reproduction and leaves out any active role of people in the reproduction of their social conditions of existence in a given social formation.

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


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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

7. Challenges to the Dominant Hegemony in Kenyan Education:

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

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


70. Raymond Williams, p.113.
The Granscian concepts of hegemony in analysis of the society is therefore pertinent in this situation.

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

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


72. See Petals of Blood, for these two characters see pp. 52-53, 116-117, 198-200, 226, 236 and 246-247.

73. See Devil on the Cross, for Gaturia’s on education, see pp. 35, 56-58, 122-134, 204-205, 208-209 and 224; and Waringa pp. 184-199.
is difficult, though interesting, to assess the impact of the writings offered in national languages of various ethnic groups.

The educational and cultural value of these works is still to be realised, and so is the resurgence of African oral literature which has been incorporated in the secondary schools literature curriculum. Equally important is the emergence of theatre at grassroots level and in the schools. The experience of Masithu Educational and Cultural Centre, the University Travelling Theatre and the Secondary Schools Theatre activities are educational experiences which are inspired by a different world view based more on conflict rather than 'order' paradigm.

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

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

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

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

A book which tells the story of this programme is in preparation.
We are of the view that a systematic and detailed analytical work of educational experiences of these two countries in terms of the emerging alternative paradigms would go along way to inform and provide an important interpretative model for education and development in Africa.

8. Conclusion

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

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