

EDUCATION FOR A PEOPLE-CENTRED 'ANOTHER' DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the dependency problem in a Zambian context in view of proposing 'another' development as a framework for future development. Dependence theory, sees underdevelopment not as a 'state' but as an active, historical process which began with Western industrialization and was extended to include and dominate most Third World countries during the colonial period.

Conventional, growth-centred development is, inevitably, self defeating because it creates and perpetuates dependency. This thesis tries to demonstrate that because 'another' development is people-centred it is also liberating, sustainable and sound.

The proposed role of education in 'another' development is, therefore, that of creating an atmosphere in which participatory and empowering activities can be carried out.



DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Since my first degree (B.A. with Ed) I taught at a Secondary School for girls in Zambia for three years. I acquired a Master's Degree in Education from the University of Manchester in 1987.

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Dedicated to the Lord of my life
to whom people are of so much importance
that He gave His life for them

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

This work proposes to study and redefine education and development so that they become consonant with recent thinking on Third World development, culminating in a proposal for education for a people-centred 'another' development in Zambia. Development as modernization or economic development emerged in the 1950s after World War II. It was modelled on the regeneration of devastated Germany through the massive dollar (\$) input by the Marshall Plan. The success of Germany's regeneration led to a belief that aid and expertise could bring about the same results in developing countries. This view of development led to a dependency syndrome in most of the developing countries on industrialised countries not only in economic terms but educational and cultural as well. It is this dependency which emerges as the underlying cause and perpetuator of underdevelopment, because it reduces people to mere objects who are not in dialectical relationship with the world around them.

The new view of development termed as 'another' development is people-centred and is not primarily preoccupied with profit-making ventures but is concerned with people and their ability to control their lives. In

order to achieve this 'another' development dependency must be overcome. One way of achieving this is by providing an atmosphere in which education is practised as an empowering process. The empowering process is different from the old view of education which played the role of selecting and fitting competent students to the working world. In such a context education is reduced to being in Freire's terms, a mere "banking" exercise which prepares students for a well mapped route that does not call for any critical thinking, or any inventive capabilities.

In this study learners are not perceived as passive nor are they treated as blank slates on which information is deposited, rather they are active participants in the auto-generation of knowledge. This acquisition of knowledge leads to empowerment, which further leads all the participants into organising themselves for action to improve the conditions of their lives. This new role of education as an empowering process should replace the educational practice in which education brings about a desired 'development' for only a few. Education for empowerment should encourage development for all wherever they live.

Education as knowledge and organizational empowerment will be defined in both conceptual and practical terms. The study intends to show how and to what extent education as

an empowering process is a necessary part and parcel of people-centred perspectives on development. This implies that the accepted relationship between education and development will be questioned, especially what type of education contributes to what type of development. In the course of this analysis special attention will be paid to rural people as these are the majority in the country to be studied and are the ones that suffer most from the consequences of the present development and education policies and practices.

Hypothesis

This study is operating from the hypothesis that particular educational approaches are conducive to the empowerment of people and can therefore, contribute to 'another' development. But nota should be taken that people cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves. And so the second hypothesis following from this is that only 'self-reliant' development activities by empowered people can bring about 'another' development.

Methodology

This study will mainly be done through examination of written materials on development, education and 'education and development' with special reference to Zambia. Available material on Zambia's efforts to achieve 'development' and Zambia's present economic situation will

be analysed to help contextualise the study of development and the role of education in development. Actual observation of out of school youth projects in Zambia which are educational and developmental in nature and approach is included. This observation will include an account of the visit to eleven 'rural' out of school youth projects in Zambia. The visit included several interviews with the participants and organizers of the projects. The impressions and data collected from the visit comprise the bulk of Chapter Six. The personal experience in the education system in Zambia as a student, then as a teacher has been of great help in evaluating the 'education' activities in Zambia but in no way made it subjective.

Structure of the Work

The thesis is divided into the following five chapters:

(i) Review of the causes of underdevelopment; strategies to overcome underdevelopment and the meaning of development form the Second Chapter. This Chapter culminates in the redefinition of development as 'another' development which is people-centred and not primarily profit-centred like the previous ones.

(ii) The Third Chapter will review education in its historical context. Part of the review will also dwell on the connection of education to development leading to the

consideration of education's new role as an empowering process in the redefined 'another' development.

(iii) Chapters Four and Five will provide the Zambian context in which education for 'another' development can be achieved. The two chapters will analyse Zambia's efforts to achieve development in terms of industrialization, providing a background to the possible achievement of development as 'another' development.

(iv) Chapter Six will analyse the out of school youth projects. The aim of this section is to test these projects against the 'problem-posing' approach and see whether the projects are contributing towards a people-centred development which is the essence of 'another' development. We will assess whether the projects are still moulded and shaped to first and foremost achieve profit or whether they are in fact oriented towards people-centred 'another' development.

(v) Some concluding recommendations will be presented in Chapter Six for the consideration of all those who opt to work with the poor, with the intention that the problem posing approach will be applied and further tested in varied contexts.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEWING THE CAUSES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

In this section education and development will be reviewed, because they are, according to the author, key issues in understanding the state of Zambia's underdevelopment and any proposed solutions to overcome it. The thesis evolves around the development of Zambia and what can be done to achieve development defined as 'another' development. However, before the relationship between education and development is established we will review the literature that deals with education and with development separately. The review will be limited and selective as the final intention is first, to establish the relationship between education and development in a historical setting and secondly, to analyse the contribution that education makes to development in Zambia. What has prompted this review is the long-standing belief that 'Education, in this case formal education, enhances development, engineers development and brings about development.' (1) The question to ask, however, is what kind of development?

The author, therefore, wishes to question these beliefs and analyse the persistent lack of development in Zambia.

The development itself and why it is sought in Zambia will also be analysed.

2.1 The Causes of Underdevelopment

Both statistics and observable human conditions indicate that the 'GNP_trickle down' model of development has failed. Traditional approaches to development have been criticised and many theorists and practitioners are involved in redefining the concept of development. This Chapter will review the causes of underdevelopment and the meaning of development. Then, in conclusion, the proposed development referred to as 'another development' will be introduced. This 'another development' will form the basis on which redefined education for empowerment can operate.

2.1.1 Traditional View of the Causes of Underdevelopment

The traditional view will not be thoroughly researched as the aim is to move on to recent perspectives on development in the Third World. However, the application of the traditional theories of underdevelopment to the Zambian situation is given in Chapter Three. Any consideration of the traditional view which may be left out here is incorporated in the analysis of the Zambian situation. A brief summary, however, of what the main points of this view are is included here.

Under the traditional view are five theories which T. Szentes (2) has analysed because they are usually put forward as the explanation of underdevelopment in the Third World countries:

(i) definition of underdevelopment by statistical index numbers. The most usual index applied is the national income per capita (or the per capita gross national product). This GNP measures the annual total value of goods produced and services provided in a country. The total GNP divided by the total population, is what gives the per capita income or average amount of money in which each citizen earns per year. Most developing countries have a very low GNP and are therefore underdeveloped according to these criteria. According to Szentes it is "... on the basis of the *quantitative indices manifesting the development levels of their productive forces*" (Szentes, 1979, p17) that economically underdeveloped countries are categorized. This state of underdevelopment, however, is seen as a simple "lag" in the development of productive forces.

(ii) definition of underdevelopment by means of a summary of certain "typical features or factors hindering or limiting development". In explaining this Szentes uses

Liebenstein's (3) list of characteristics of underdeveloped countries which are used in Chapter Three to analyse Zambia's state of underdevelopment. These growth-inhibiting, limiting or retarding factors cause a lagging behind in the development of productive forces.

(iii) underdevelopment is seen as an interdependent system of the relationships between the obstacles or deficiencies identified under number (ii) forming a vicious circle. This vicious circle is recognised but no explanation is given for the development of advanced countries: how did they manage to find a way out of the vicious circle?

(iv) underdevelopment is given a sociological interpretation in which society is seen as more or less homogenous, stagnant and traditional. Another sociological interpretation emphasizes the dualism or pluralistic nature of society and these are seen as explanations for the underdevelopment.

(v) underdevelopment is explained by theories of the stages of economic growth of which W. W. Rostow's (4) is the best known and most popular. According to Szentes, however,

"there is no substantial difference between the various theories as far as their basic concept is concerned" (Szentes, 1979 pp86-87)

and so the author's choice of Rostow is based, as mentioned, on his popularity more than anything else. Rostow's explanation for underdevelopment is referred to as historical: he endeavours to present the stage and development of all possible societies of the past and present as a certain stage or part of a single, uniform development process. Rostow's approach and outlook are essentially the same as those of the vicious circle theories: economic underdevelopment is simply a lag, a lower but natural and inevitable stage of growth. The only difference in outlook is that these theories lay emphasis on the lack of the preconditions for attaining the higher stage (take-off or maturity) rather than that of lagging behind. What Szentes gives as a 'whole' analysis of underdevelopment Todaro(5) has broken into two parts. He subdivides causes for underdevelopment into three major schools of thought: (a) the linear stages of growth, (b) the neoclassical structural change models and (c) the international dependence paradigms. The first two fit well into the traditional explanation of underdevelopment which Szentes gives above. The first, views development

"as a series of successive stages through which all countries must pass. It was primarily an economic theory of development in which the right quantity and mixture of saving, investment, and foreign aid were all that was necessary to enable Third World nations to proceed along an economic growth path that historically had been followed by the more developed countries" (Todaro, 1981 p62).

The second view

"...uses modern economic theory and statistical analysis in an attempt to portray the internal process of structural change that "typical" developing country must undergo if it is to succeed in generating and sustaining a process of rapid economic growth" (ibid).

The third view will be dealt with under the dependency theory later. The way Todaro views underdevelopment is summarised by Goulet and Hudson (5):

"...while some nations are unfortunately "backward" they can evolve in the direction of the "developed" nations, if they adopt acceptable behavior and "modern" goals. They too can "develop" if their efforts are supplemented by some generous aid and transfers of technology along with more favourable modifications in the ongoing international system. This conceptual system is embraced by the dominant nations and international bureaucracies in general, ... It is non-threatening and presents no serious problems of guilt or historical responsibility" (Goulet and Hudson, 1971 p9).

Thus, Goulet and Hudson analysing the Pearson Report (7) criticise it for seeing underdevelopment above all 'as a problem to be solved', and not 'as a scandalous indignity to be abolished'.

The traditional view can be summarised by the following quotation from Goulet and Hudson:

"[for] developed capitalist societies, and for those institutions which do not fundamentally challenge those societies, underdevelopment is basically a lack and a lag. It is a lack of those technological, economic, administrative, and cultural conditions which assure certain kinds of performance. Concurrently it is a lag or backwardness, as compared to societies presently out front, in achieving that same performance" (Op cit p20).

2.1.2 Dependency Theorists

The above view of underdevelopment as a lag due to a lack

of capital and suitable structures is refuted by authors who give a historical explanation in terms of an unequal relationship between the "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries. History, according to these authors, shows that 'developed' countries were never at the stage that underdeveloped countries are at now. As Frank (8) shows:

"...even a modest acquaintance with history shows that underdevelopment is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been underdeveloped" (Frank, 1973 p95).

They never had foreign countries to exploit their resources:

"...historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the structure and development of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole. A related and also largely erroneous view is that the development of these underdeveloped countries and, within them of their most underdeveloped domestic areas, must and will be generated or stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc., to them from the international and national capitalist metropolises. Historical perspective based on the underdeveloped countries' past experience suggests that on the contrary in the underdeveloped countries economic development can now occur only independently of most of these relations of diffusion" (ibid).

Therefore, to suggest that underdeveloped countries will reach the age of high consumption through industrialization is to lead these countries to further underdevelopment as argued by the following authors: (1) Frank (9), for example, believes that available theory

fails to reflect the past of the underdeveloped part of the world entirely:

"...our ignorance of the underdeveloped countries' history leads us to assume that their past and indeed their present resembles earlier stages of the history of the now developed countries. This ignorance and this assumption lead us into serious misconceptions about contemporary underdevelopment and development" (Frank, A. G. 1973 p94).

He concludes his sketch of evidence which supports the historical approach to underdevelopment thus:

"We must conclude, in short, that underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself" (Ibid, p94).

(ii) Szentes further criticises the underdevelopment classifications made on the basis of economic-statistical indices because they

"cannot disclose the principal economic and social characteristics of the underdeveloped countries (as they fuse essential qualitative differences with quantitative samenesses, or separate qualitative samenesses on the basis of quantitative differences)" (Szentes, 1976 p131)

According to Szentes the theories explaining backwardness by various internal obstacles and impediments to development are not historical and leave unresolved the question as to why similar factors were not at work in the case of the now developed countries, and how factors of such a different nature and origin came together in the case of the now backward countries. Explanations concerning the earlier, lower "natural" stage of economic

growth disregard essential differences between (a) the present state of the underdeveloped countries and the earlier state of the now developed ones, (b) the basically different external, and (c) the diverging and disequalizing effects of the same world economic process.

The socio-economic state of developing countries is a product of a specific development, which is derived from

the development of a capitalist world economy:

"...it follows from the very *substance* of the capitalist system that this, essentially positive, historical fact has become the source of the sharpest conflicts and most striking inequalities, subjugation and exploitation" (Szentas, 1976 p136).

This capitalist world economy and its international division of labour embodied in the colonial system, therefore, gives unprecedented explanation to the socio-economic state of developing countries, according to Szentas. He sees colonialism as "...primarily and basically an *economic phenomenon*, an economic cause and effect" (ibid). According to him:

"It was the time of primitive accumulation in which the emerging capital transformed society with merciless speed, according to its own interests, and enslaved foreign peoples with the same cruel greediness with which it created its own social basis; ... This pursuit of profit, as production was still carried on a feudal

basis, took the form of commercial profit-making... But to get rich in commerce, to get hold of more money, of gold, it is possible only if one party always wins while the others constantly lose. But the possibilities of a lasting and repeated uneven exchange are very limited within the society of a given country, so the activity of merchant was directed from the beginning to the *outside*, the foreign countries" (ibid p137).

Szentes has come to the above conclusions after analysing the concept of underdevelopment as an original stage or as a natural stage of transition. In Britain a rapid industrial development took place while agriculture lagged behind and mineral raw material was inadequate. This rapid industrial growth demanded more foodstuffs for the increased number of the employed who were formerly self-supplying rural people and more mineral and agricultural raw materials for industrial use; it also required an expanded market for manufactured goods. The colonies provided an answer for all these demands of industrialisation; they became the suppliers of mineral and agricultural materials, markets for their industrial products and territories for their capital drain and investment activities and, thereby, a regular source of income.

(iii) Griffin(10), like Szentes, argues that the underdevelopment of the developing countries is a product of historical processes. He begins his article by refuting economic history and theories that assume they

are firmly based upon historical knowledge, when they are not. These theories which claim to be historical "...begin by assuming that the underdeveloped countries are in a low-level equilibrium trap" (Griffin, 1973 p 68). Yet they fail to show how the developed countries escaped the "low-level equilibrium trap". Rostow's stages of growth do not show how a nation gets from one stage to another. According to these theories,

"what is clear, however, is that the present "traditional society" stage is the initial stage, and that development occurs essentially as a result of internal efforts which are largely unaffected by the workings of the wider international economy" (Griffin, 1973 p69)

These theories fail to explain how the underdeveloped countries came to what they are. It is, therefore, only history which can explain their state and it is history which reveals that

"...the expansion of Europe, commencing in the fifteenth century, had a profound impact on the societies and economies of the rest of the world. In other words, the history of the underdeveloped countries in the last five centuries is, in large part, the history of the consequences of European expansion" (Griffin, 1973, p69)

Griffin tentatively concludes that the automatic functioning of the international economy which Europe dominated first created underdevelopment and then hindered efforts to escape from it.

Elsewhere Griffin says:

"Underdevelopment... is a product of history. It is not the primeval condition of man, nor is it merely a way of describing the economic status of a "traditional" society. Underdevelopment is part of a process; indeed, it is part of the same process which produced development. Thus an interpretation of underdevelopment

must begin with a study of the past. It is only from an examination of the forces of history- i.e. of the historical uses of power, both political and economic- that one may obtain an insight into the origin of underdevelopment" (Griffin, 1973 p22).

The opportunities for development are therefore conditioned by the functioning of the world economy in which the underdeveloped countries find themselves (Griffin, 1973).

The three authors above are refuting the earlier explanations for underdevelopment as a lack and a lag. They are also proposing new ways of viewing the possibility of underdeveloped countries gaining development, for the earlier theories of developing these countries were based on the misconceived and erroneous views. The explanations of the above authors are based on historical and logical analysis and, therefore, will provide a better basis for defining development and for strategic ways of overcoming underdevelopment.

The growing awareness that dominant dependent world relationships lie at the root of underdevelopment has resulted in the emergence of a new economic school of "dependency theorists". The dependency theorists take the role that underdeveloped countries play in the international division of labour, embodied in colonialism, further than just these colonies being suppliers of the requirements of capitalism as mentioned above. They

refuse to accept

"...the theory of development which seeks to explain the situation of the underdeveloped countries as a product of their slowness or failure to adopt the patterns of efficiency characteristic of developed countries (or to "modernize" or "develop" themselves)" (Dos Santos, 1973, p109).

They see a dependency of underdeveloped countries on developed ones.

In trying to explain the structure of dependence T. Dos Santos (11) says:

"By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development" (Dos Santos, 1973 p109).

This concept of dependence according to Dos Santos permits us to see the internal situation of these countries as part of the world economy. These countries are underdeveloped, therefore, not because they are slow or fail to adopt the patterns of efficiency characteristic of developed countries, but because they are part of the process of the world expansion of capitalism, a part that is necessary to and integrally linked with it. This world expansion of capitalism is what forms the basic operations of the world economy. In turn, this world economy produces relations which are "unequal and combined: unequal because development of parts of the system occurs

at the expense of the other parts"; and combined

"...because it is the combination of these inequalities and the transfer of resources from the most backward and dependent sectors to the most advanced and dominant ones which explains the inequality, deepens it, and transforms it into a necessary and structural element of the world economy" (Ibid p110).

These inequalities are identified by Dos Santos as originating from:

(a) Trade relations which are based on monopolistic control of the market which leads to the transfer of surplus generated in the dependent countries to the dominant countries;

(b) Financial relations that are based on loans and the export of capital which permit the dominant powers to receive interest and profits, thus increasing their domestic surplus and strengthening their control over the economies of the dependent countries. For the dependent countries, the relations above result in an export of profits and interest which carries off part of the surplus generated domestically and leads to a loss of control over their productive resources.

"In order to permit these disadvantageous relations, the dependent countries must generate large surpluses, not in such a way as to create higher levels of technology but rather super exploited manpower. The result is to limit the development of their internal physical health of their people" (Dos Santos, 1973 p110).

This, therefore, is called combined development because it

is the combination of these inequalities and the transfer of resources from the most backward and dependent sectors to the most advanced and dominant ones which explains the inequality, deepens it, and transforms it into a necessary and structural element of the world economy.

Das Santos provides us with an overview of the issues contained in the theory of dependence. He also gives us the meaning of dependency and shows us that the result of the concept of dependency leads us to view the internal structure of underdevelopment as a part of the capitalist world economy.

Frank also suggests that the global extension and unity of the capitalist system, its monopoly structure and uneven development throughout history, and the resulting persistence of commercial rather than industrial capitalism in the underdeveloped world (including its most industrially advanced countries) is the basis of underdeveloped countries' dependency on the developed countries. For most of these

"...regions' participation in the development of the world capitalist system gave them, already in their golden age, the typical structure of underdevelopment of a capitalist export economy. When the market for their sugar or the wealth of their mines disappeared and the metropolis abandoned them to their own devices, the already existing economic, political, and social structure of these regions prohibited autonomous generation of economic development and left them no alternative but to turn in upon themselves and to

degenerate into the ultra-underdevelopment we find there today" (Frank, 1973 p103).

Like Frank above, Szentes traces the origin of dependency to colonialism and sees the forms of present day dependency as originating in the colonial era. In coming to this view Szentes has carried out an extensive critical analysis of various theories that recognise the external factors of underdevelopment(12). Among these he has identified the following:

(i) The Marxist Approach

Marxism, in its classical form, traces the present state of underdeveloped countries back to colonialism, to the international economic system of imperialism and to its changes. It conceives colonialism and imperialism itself as a stage in the development of a specific socio-economic system, i.e. capitalism, following naturally and objectively from its inherent laws and nature. Hence it attaches a decisive role to the external and international factors in the formation of the present state and structure of underdeveloped countries.

(ii) The trend of those theoreticians who, as Myrdal, Prebisch, A.Lewis, Singer, etc. (13), regard the external forces as more or less decisive, yet either they do not analyse these forces and their effects in the organic system of their relationships, or they take the system

itself or the individual factors for granted. Thus the emphasis on the external factors does not go hand in hand with the analysis of their historical and social origin. The criticisms of colonialism and of the capitalist international division of labour and international trade is not accompanied by the criticisms of their origin, i.e. the capitalist system. As a result of this approach, the specific features of a certain system appear as general.

(iii) The trend which points out some unfavourable external factors, among the causes and signs of underdevelopment, but without identifying the fault with these factors. These refer the negative role and effect of the external factors back to internal determining ones. Within this trend are H. Myint, G. M. Meir, R. Baldwin, J. Viner, R. Nurkse, etc. (14). After identifying the above Szentes dedicates a large section to criticising especially the second and the third theories. He sees the essential difference between the various theories lying mainly in what sort of concrete relationships these theories have between the external factors and underdevelopment. This is very vital to him because he sees that the peculiar structural features of underdeveloped countries bear witness to the fact that their present state has been determined by a historical development in which external forces have played a prominent part. Some of the above theoreticians regard

the external factors as relative and transitory, or put down their adverse effects to internal deficiencies. Szentes, on the other hand, realises that for the economic policy of development to be successful it has to brace itself against the counteracting forces of the international economy.

To Szentes

"...it is the outward orientation rather than the internal brakes and obstacles that has basically determined their development and has diverted it from its original and natural course. Therefore it is not the external negative effects which should be deduced from the internal relations, but quite the contrary it is justified both logically and historically, even if the effects work mutually in both ways" (Szentes, 1976 p127).

2.1.3 The Various Forms of Dependence

It is against this background of the external factors of the system of underdevelopment that Szentes sets the following economic dependence and income drain:

2.1.3.1 "Direct" Economic Dependence

Szentes traces the origin of dependency to colonialism and sees the forms of present day dependency as commencing during the colonial era. He views the colonial system not only as a political power but as an economic one too. With this power, the direction of the economic development of the underdeveloped countries could be controlled and influenced directly by the foreign powers. This control included their social and institutional systems, their cultural development, and even the question of language.

In several cases even the boundaries of the country were determined artificially by them. This situation enabled them to determine the economic structure, and they laid down the framework in which the development of the economy of the country and the internal economic processes could function. In consequence they determined even the size of the "national" economy. This economy was export oriented from the outset and was also capital intensive, because of the highly expensive machines procured from overseas.

The dependency of the colonial era was direct because the key positions of the economy and most important economic branches, were in the hands of, or controlled by, foreign capital. There was also direct exploitation of the population of the underdeveloped countries (15) and the systematic appropriation and expatriation of the surplus produced by the local labour force (16).

This dependence has survived in most underdeveloped countries because it was inherited from the colonial era. For example, at the time of independence nearly every economic sector of most African countries were under the control of foreign companies or European settlers:

"Mining and the existing branches of the processing industry were controlled by foreign monopolies; the economic plantations were owned by the European settlers or controlled by foreign purchasing firms; the wholesale trade was completely in the hands of foreign commercial monopolies, while the retail trade was under the control and direction of the latter" (Szentes, 1976 p167).

Few changes have occurred in recent years due to nationalization, formation of state sectors and the restriction of foreign capital. However, a new form of dependence has been created by the Multinational Corporations: this will be dealt with in detail later.

2.1.3.2 Trade Dependence

Szentes divides trade dependence into two: the "relational dependence" which is the dependence on a few advanced capitalist countries with which most of the trade is transacted, and "the overall dependence" of the entire economy on the cyclical changes of the capitalist world market. Relational dependence is, according to Szentes, a consequence of direct economic dependence and so is partly a heritage of the colonial past and partly the result of neo-colonialism. Relational dependence for most underdeveloped countries means producing what is needed by the metropolitan country controlling the foreign capital. It also means that the underdeveloped countries will trade largely or exclusively with the metropolitan country of that capital and will be a ready market for goods that the firms of that country want to sell. This relational dependence is maintained by the metropolitan country through making investments and introducing the production of commodities for which the necessary machines and equipment can only be purchased or replaced from firms in the metropolitan country.

Szentes cautions that the relational dependence involves many dangers and disadvantages. Among these he cites that the stronger metropolitan country determines or influences the conditions of exchange according to her own interests and can use this form of dependence in order to exert political pressure on the dependent country or influence the economic policy of the latter. In cases of recessions and crises of the partner country, the dependent country becomes sensitive and defenceless. Moreover, the metropolitan country can shift the burden of crisis on to the dependent country.

The overall dependence of the economies of developing countries on the cyclical changes in the world market may be traced to two factors:

- (i) the excessively important role of foreign trade within national economies; and
- (ii) the distorted structure of foreign trade.

For most developing countries substantial national incomes are realised through foreign trade because the most developed economic sectors are at the same time export sectors. This dependence on foreign trade leads to complete dependence on imported capital goods since they have no heavy goods manufacturing industries of their own. Also, most of the underdeveloped countries have one main export, and when there is a fall in the demand for that

particular product, there is little possibility of offsetting the loss in export earnings.

The other disadvantage is that most underdeveloped countries produce the same unprocessed primary goods or raw materials, which tend to have highly unfavourable terms of trade. Foreign trade in this instance may, contrary to the market-expanding effect attributed to it, limit the expansion of the domestic market by means of its specific structure. For example: the expansion of the export sector deprives production for the domestic of the necessary resources; the competition of imports keeps domestic production under pressure; and even the distribution and spending of the incomes and the consumption propensities are such that they induce growth in import-consumption and compel the country to increase export production.

Szentes sees overall dependence on the capitalist world market as having its roots deep in the very structure of the economy. This dependence, according to him, is much more difficult to abolish than the relational dependence because overall dependence on the world market increases export orientation and import sensitivity. This increase means the development of these countries is determined to a very great extent by the foreign trade relations, the absorbing capacity of the market of the metropolitan

countries as well as by the cyclical changes in the world economy.

2.1.3.3 Financial Dependence

Although financial dependence is strongest when the banking system is under foreign control, a milder and generally more lasting form of financial dependence is observed by Szentes in most of the underdeveloped countries which are tied to the advanced capitalist countries particularly in matters of foreign exchange. Szentes sees this foreign exchange dependence as a consequence of relational trade dependence and connected with the distorted structure of foreign trade and, by extension, the whole economy. The more a country sells most of its exports to or imports most of its goods from the traditional metropolitan market, the higher the level of dependence will be in matters of foreign exchange.

Szentes sees in the loans and grants received from capitalist countries a form of financial dependence, as well as a principal means of neo-colonialist penetration. Yet the underdeveloped countries need these loans and grants because of

"...the inadequacy of their internal accumulation, the unfavourable terms of trade, and, last but not least, the profit repatriation of foreign monopolies, the undeveloped countries usually need substantial foreign

financial resources for financing their development programmes, compensating for their budget deficits or offsetting their adverse balance of payments" (Szentcs, 1976 p181).

These loans and grants may not in themselves, be bad, but they place the underdeveloped country at the mercy of the country providing aid as the financial base of its economic development programme is on foreign sources. Aid enables the creditor countries to interfere in the fiscal policy, the elaboration of the development plan and the foreign trade policy of that country, thus ensuring that whatever goes on in the underdeveloped country is adjusted to their interests.

Additionally, due to the conditions attached to these loans, which carry with them dangers and negative consequences, on which Szentcs elaborates extensively, most developing countries are finding themselves more and more indebted to the developed capitalist countries. Consequently, this leads to a high level of dependency by the underdeveloped countries on developed capitalist countries.

2.1.3.4 "Technical Dependence"

Szentcs identifies the following categories of technical dependence:

(a) dependence on "intellectual" imports in the form of

technology, standardization systems, patents and licences, or the results of researches in science and technology.

(b) dependence on import of experts, advisers, teachers, or the sending abroad of students on foreign scholarships. Whilst underdeveloped countries need technical assistance, the capitalist countries give this assistance only in so far as it is beneficial to them both "technologically" and "intellectually". For example, the capitalist countries will give "technical" assistance when the realization of input, such as licences, blueprints, standards and technological specifications, the smooth operation of plants installed by them, and the working and repair of machinery and equipment will be dependent on deliveries from metropolitan firms.

They further ensure that new plants in the underdeveloped countries include part of the processing cycle while the component parts, standard equipment, motors and machines are supplied from metropolitan countries. The management of production and the technological leadership is concentrated in the hands of specialists sent from the metropolitan country or transferred into the hands of local cadre trained in metropolitan countries. With so much power in the hands of expatriates, the development of industries in the underdeveloped countries, plus the

direction and trend of economic policy as well as public education, are controlled and determined by them.

2.1.3.4 Cultural Dependence

Furtado(17) emphasises the importance in underdeveloped countries of the upper income groups' adoption of the consumption patterns of their counterparts in the developed countries. This, he argues, shapes the structure of both the import and domestic manufacturing sectors of the underdeveloped countries. The luxury consumption demands of this group are catered for instead of the subsistence needs of the vast majority.

This emulation of consumption patterns had led to an emulation of cultural values of the capitalist countries as well, and, as Harrison (18) records,

"...not just in consumer fashion: the mimicry extends to architecture, industrial technology, approaches to health care, education and housing"(Harrison, 1979 p48).

The destruction of cultural heritage that started during the colonial domination is perpetuated by the local elite. During the colonial period, and to some extent up to now, for Europeans,

"Whatever the cause, never a doubt entered their minds that native cultures could be in any way, materially, morally or spiritually, superior to their own, and that the supposedly benighted inhabitants of the darker continents needed enlightening" (ibid).

This is almost exactly the same view presented by Fanon (19):

"Colonialism, which has not bothered to put too fine a point on its efforts, has never ceased to maintain that

the Negro is a savage; and for the colonist, the Negro was neither an Angolan nor a Nigerian, for he simply spoke of 'the Negro'. For colonialism, this vast continent was the haunt of savages, a country riddled with superstitions and fanaticism, destined for contempt, weighed down by the curse of God, a country of cannibals- in short, the Negro's country" (Fanon, 1969 p170).

The local elite, like their counterparts in the capitalist countries, began to view development in a predominantly materialistic way. Thus 'development' lost its cultural dimension, and emphasis was placed on what people have rather than on who they are. Fromm has extensively discussed this subject in his book "To have or to be". It is what Harrison calls an obsession:

"the Third World's obsession with the western way of life has perverted development and is rapidly destroying good and bad in traditional cultures, flinging the baby out with the bath-water. It is the most totally pervasive example of what historians call cultural diffusion in the history of mankind" (Harrison, P., 1979 p48).

Underdevelopment is not merely an absence of wealth, possessions and growth but it is also another name for cultural dependence/disintegration. Cultural alienation and disintegration are the ultimate 'dispossession', and it is no wonder that Fanon refers to the people of underdeveloped countries (especially of Africa and Asia) as 'the wretched of the earth': they have neither economic nor cultural wealth.

2.1.3.5 Income Losses

Apart from the economic dependence, Szentes notes

systematic income drain and income loss as other external factors in the underdevelopment process. He refers to this systematic income drain from the developing countries as exploitation which manifests itself in two ways: (a) in a direct form, i.e. as a result of the capital export on direct investment accounts, or of the export of loan capital, (b) in an indirect form, i.e. through foreign trade and financial monetary relations.

Szentes explains how the export of capital to underdeveloped countries results in the appropriation of part of the national income produced in these countries largely through the repatriation of profit and interest. He shows how important reinvestment is in strengthening the position of foreign capital and profit making, and how this importance is much greater than is usually assumed. Capital export has gained an increased importance in monopoly capitalism owing to the cheapness of land, raw materials and labour in the underdeveloped countries. This capital export has further deepened the dependence of underdeveloped countries by ensuring their relational dependence for capital on capitalist developed countries. In return for this capital exported to them, the underdeveloped countries have become ready markets for the metropolitan goods.

There are many issues that Szentes discusses under this topic, but are not dealt with here as the main purpose of this section is to identify the forms of dependency of underdeveloped countries on metropolitan ones. One of the issues worth mentioning, in passing, is how a whole mechanism of indirect forms of surplus transfer through foreign trade or financial-monetary relations has been built up in the capitalist world economy. This mechanism allows for losses as a consequence of the structural disproportion which has evolved between the development level and capacity of the national economy of underdeveloped countries on the one hand, and their participation in the international economic relations, on the other. All this is facilitated by the mechanism of the international division of labour and the internal distortions resulting from it.

2.1.3. § Disintegration of the Mode of Production and Distortions of the Economic Structures

According to Szentes, many theories concentrate on internal factors and characteristics of underdevelopment. Thus they fail to provide a satisfactory, logical, consistent and historically verifiable explanation of underdevelopment.

As shown in the above sections, a larger number of various internal factors are derived from the effect of the

external and international forces. The internal forms of dependency are basically indirect spin-offs of external dependency which have now gained their own momentum. Above all, such factors are due to the lack of economic and social integration as well as the dualistic distorted socio-economic structures.

Szentes attributes the disintegration of the mode of production to the fact that it was not the internal evolution of their own economy which led the underdeveloped countries to become organic parts of the world economy. On the contrary, it is their linking to the world economy that has set the wheels of certain sectors of their economy in motion. The elements of a modern form of production and a modern society were imposed on a traditional economy and society from the outside as an alien and isolated element, generally within the framework of colonialism, by sheer force. These modern 'enclaves' were from the beginning export orientated and have subsequently remained so as their establishment and functioning were attached to alien interests and engaged mainly in producing for export.

The internally non-integrated character manifests itself in:

- (i) dualism of the modern and traditional socio-economic sectors;

(ii) the coexistence of export and subsistence economy;

(iii) the distorted sectoral structure and the inadequacy of the relations between different branches of the economy.

These characteristics do not help industrialization because the economy consists of two diametrically opposed sectors. These two sectors have branches of the economy which do not develop simultaneously and, therefore, cannot be connected with and complement each other. Thus, in a strikingly disproportionate way, economic branches, usually similar, began to grow as isolated bodies. They are so isolated from the development of other economic branches, that most of them fail to stimulate and, in some instances, hamper development.

These alien or isolated bodies develop mostly in the fields of raw material extraction and agricultural export-production according to the interests and calculated intervention of capitalist countries. They adjust themselves to, and serve directly, the economy of the advanced capitalist countries while they remain isolated from other sectors of the domestic economy. The growth of export production does not increase the accumulative and investment sources of the other sectors. They yield considerable foreign exchange leading to increases in manufactured imports which, in turn, held back the

development of the local industry even further. The separation of the developing export sectors from the rest of the economy was the end result of such activities. At the same time the survival and preservation of the remains of the subsistence economy continues. This results in a symbiosis of production for the world market and growth of the subsistence economy which could not have come into existence if capitalist development in these countries had not been started from the outside. This intentional intervention of capitalist countries has led to a spontaneous movement of economic forces which have worked in the direction of distorting the economic structure of the underdeveloped countries and some sort of cumulative process has developed.

As mentioned already, the production of raw materials and agricultural goods were the preferred branches of the economy. This is because they need low fixed-capital investments, unskilled manual labour and the ability to adjust to the external market. What was originally a starting point became simultaneously a result and a new starting point. Thus the former colonial and semi-colonial countries inherited an economy with this sort of distorted structure.

"It is characteristic that while their mineral products constitute more than a quarter of the mining production of the capitalist world, they make up only 9 per cent of the production of the processing industries, 6 per cent of that of the heavy industries and only 4 per cent of the metal-processing industries of the capitalist world.

While the grave nutrition problem of these countries threatens millions with death by starvation, their monocultural economy yields the bulk of world output in a few products. Latin America alone supplies nearly 80 per cent of the world production of coffee, 70 per cent of the bananas and about 50 per cent (together with Cuba) of cane sugar, while Tropical Africa ensures two thirds of the world product of cocoa, 16 per cent of its coffee and one quarter of its ground nuts. The list could be extended by mentioning the tea, rice, etc. production of the Asian countries" (Szentes, 1976 p234)

The situation of grave nutritional problems threatening millions with death by starvation, which Szentes refers to in the above quotation, is seen as "...the product of pursuing development at the expense of food" by E.E. Osoaghe (20).

Osoaghe also sees the disintegration of the African economy as a result of its role in the world economy as dependant peripheries of the capitalist metropolis. He sees the various institutions of underdeveloped countries as conduit pipes of exploitation in such a way that, although African states have become politically independent, they are only nominally so because their economies are controlled by the capitalist centres.

The economic structure of the underdeveloped countries is characterized on the whole by the dominant role of agriculture and the underdevelopment of industry. This distorted structure of the economy is also reflected in the commodity pattern of foreign trade. While on the

export side there are only one or a few agricultural or mineral raw materials, the imports are many and include agricultural produce and foodstuffs in addition to the manufactured products. This renders the economy of the underdeveloped countries sensitive to world market movements and cyclical changes since their import needs far exceed their actual purchasing capacity. Their exports, owing to the rigid pattern, do not even make it possible for them to resort, in the case of an unfavourable world market position, to substitutes.

The deterioration of their foreign trade position is, therefore, one of the most acute problems they have to face. The upward trend of their trade deficit also makes it imperative for them to reshape their production pattern and modify their role in the international division of labour. The consequences of internal disintegration have a great impact on:

(1) Market Relations

A common and well-known problem of the underdeveloped countries is the narrowness of the home market. This is not only due to the generally low income level and to the unfavourable distribution of incomes but also to the heterogeneous and distorted structure of the economy. The outwardly orientated modern sector and the traditional sector both set limits to the development of internal commodity relations.

(ii) Accumulation

Another well known problem of the developing countries is the lack of capital and the insufficiency of accumulation. This is due to the low levels of the national income which generally result from the following:

(a) the poor utilization of the potential labour force of society;

(b) the inadequate organization and division of social labour;

(c) and, consequently, its low productivity.

In addition to the low national income, there is its unfavourable distribution and the outflow and loss of a considerable part of the national income through international economic relations as well. Hence, the lack of capital is directly related to the heterogeneous dual structure and to the lack of internal integration.

(iii) Population Growth and Labour Supply

"Population pressure" manifests itself in the fact that the results of the growth of production and income become futile due to the more rapid increase in population. Consequently, there is a permanent tension in the field of foodstuff supply and employment. There is, however, an odd situation of an excess supply of cheap and unskilled labour on one hand, and an acute lack of skilled labour on the other.

These and many other such factors lead to the distortion and disintegration of not only the economic structure but

also the class structure of society, leading one to doubt if there is a way out of such a situation. Can underdevelopment be overcome? Is the question that this section will address.

2.2 Strategies to Overcome Underdevelopment

The state of underdevelopment which has been reviewed here has two aspects: the external as the determinant of the origin and nature of underdevelopment, and the internal as the consequent result of the external forces.

"However, owing to the complex character and relative independence of this product, the external and internal factors mutually presuppose and determine each other" (Szentes, 1976 p287).

Hence, the prospects for the overcoming underdevelopment have to deal with both the external and internal factors.

International solutions to underdevelopment appear to be the function of several factors and, hence, difficult to achieve. This conclusion is reached by Szentes after he has reviewed the possibilities of an international solution to underdevelopment. Some of the several factors that he points out are:

(1) The fact that these countries experience underdevelopment not only as a socio-economic state in which and by which they are blocked, but also as a gap between richness and poverty. The solution would have to involve redistribution of incomes accompanied by transformation of bases of the system of exploitation and

oppression.

(ii) As a result of the above proposal there would need to be an international organization independent of national interests that would control and govern the distribution of incomes as well as the allocation of the factors of production.

(iii) In the face of difficulties presented by the two proposals above the only solution would be a revolutionary overthrow of the international capitalist society. This overthrow would be impossible unless the working class in the advanced capitalist societies participated. The organization of such a revolution, which would involve all underdeveloped countries and spread over the entire capitalist world, is difficult to visualize.

Szentes sees the way to overcome underdevelopment internationally on a world scale as "...a road fit for traffic only if the coexistence of certain conditions [are] secured" (p291). Like Szentes, P. Baran(21) realizes that, given the will, determination and courage to declare a war, underdevelopment can be conquered. Yet he recognizes that this war involves the most ruthless resistance on the part of domestic and foreign exploiters. In various ways he tries to show how hard the struggle against underdevelopment is:

"...it is abundantly clear that the struggle is protracted, hard, and cruel. It is quite understandable that to many the ascent appears sometimes to be prohibitively steep and the uphill movement hopelessly

difficult" (Baran, 1962pXXX).

With such difficulties involved in achieving an international solution, it is worth diverting the investigation to the prospects of achieving a continental and/or a national solution to underdevelopment.

2.2.1 Agricultural Development as a Strategy to Overcoming Underdevelopment

As a continent Africa saw the solution to underdevelopment through further industrialisation, only this time it was to start from agricultural commercialization. Apart from being a strategy to overcome underdevelopment, agricultural commercialization was also designed to address the plight of the rural poor. The 'attack' on rural poverty, it was hoped would eventually bring about overall development by doing away with symptoms of underdevelopment which were most prevalent in rural areas.

This confidence in agricultural development was due to the "Green Revolution" (G.R.) which began in the early 1960s with the discovery of high yield variety seeds, better fertilizers and more effective insecticides and intensified mechanisation(22). This new "technology-intensive" approach was widely accepted in developing countries as the most effective tool for alleviating rural poverty/ underdevelopment.

However, evaluation of this approach revealed that people in rural areas were living in conditions of absolute poverty in spite of the worldwide economic growth (23). Hunger and starvation had become a more common phenomenon when food production beat historical records. Reasons for such discrepancies could be found in the emphasis that the G. R. placed on "High Growth" which tended to ignore the small farmer in favour of the middle and large scale farmers. Tenants became victims of escalating land rents as the demand for agricultural land increased. Landless agricultural labourers either lost employment or their wages decreased as a result of mechanisation. Technological changes had culminated in gross deprivation of the bulk of rural people(24). Dumont blames the rural poor's living conditions on the capitalist system:

"Millions of children die in such places every year, thanks to our economic system, which has killed more people than Hitler, Stalin, the Shah of Iran and Pinochet put together. Others live in abject poverty, or indeed in Hell... We are the prime cause of this appalling poverty. By 'we' I mean the industrialized countries, those who again are removed from the fighting and show no concern for the sufferings of those at the front. We are living in unbelievable luxury, beyond our means, beyond the limited wealth of our small planet. We are using up its non-renewable energy and ore resources far too quickly; we are destroying the world's forests to plant crops that sap the soil's fertility, or to make paper which we promptly proceed to waste" (Dumont, 1983pX).

The fact that such huge numbers of people are living in poor conditions in the midst of 'economic growth' confirms the view of the root causes of underdevelopment as put forward by the Historic and Dependency theorists above.

It also confirms the findings recorded above and reiterated by R. Dumont that industrialized countries

"...are first and foremost exploiters of the poor, because of an economic system based on dominance that has been cunningly devised by and for the rich nations" (ibid, p XI).

However, some of the rich refuse to accept the blame, and see the case of the poor as their own fault by refusing to contribute to economic growth. Agricultural-led rural development was seen as a way of enabling all people to contribute to economic growth. This rural development, which is aimed at raising rural productivity and bringing the rural poor to share in the benefits of economic growth failed, because the root causes were not addressed. Although rural development has not been successful we will review its implementation, to help assess its failure in overcoming rural poverty/underdevelopment.

Rural development was seen as (a) essential to improving living standards of the subsistence rural sector, (b) a holding operation until industrialization could advance sufficiently to absorb the rural exodus, and as (c) the only logical way of stimulating overall development(25). This device must be recognized from the outset as reducing the poverty lag with the advanced capitalist and socialist economies(26). A wrong way of starting the elimination process of underdevelopment because as already proved earlier underdevelopment is not a lagging behind the

advanced societies. However rural development went ahead hoping to tackle some of the worrying issues of the rural sector. One of this was the rural exodus, especially of the able-bodied people who could contribute to rural development. Rural exodus has become a socio-economic and political problem. It adds to the growing number of unemployed in the cities as the enclave nature of industrial development is unable to absorb all the migrants (Lele, 1975). The majority of these migrants are the young; hence, the rise of national youth movements to cater for them, which will dealt with shortly.

From the outset, therefore, agricultural development was to increase incomes which would help narrow income differences and contribute to rural development which would make rural people choose to stay in rural areas. Rural areas would be developed and rural people would stay thus waving off abject poverty in these areas and also preventing rural migration. The main way of ensuring rural development was to commercialize agriculture:

"...to encourage peasants primarily engaged in subsistence farming to become market oriented, i.e. to produce surpluses over and above their own demands where staple food crops are concerned and/or to devote land and labour to new crops for sale: in brief...to stimulate the process of agricultural commercialization" (Hinderink & Sterkenburg, 1987 p13).

2.2.1.1 Major Types of Economy

This agricultural commercialization involves a deliberate action on the part of agricultural producers, of their own free will or by means of coercion. Hence Hinderink and Sterkenburg, in their analysis of agricultural commercialization, contend that this cannot be properly understood without taking into account the political and economic context which determines the nature of capital formation, the organization of production and, ultimately, the types of crops to be grown. Hinderink and Sterkenburg put forward five types of economy patterned after Szentes' categories of types of economy according to the major problems that face development policy in developing countries. In this classification Szentes has taken into account the dominant sector of the economy as inherited from the colonial period, and its main features and relationships to other sectors (Szentes, 1978).

The first type consists of those economies in which foreign capital has gained positions of a rather limited scope in the spheres of foreign trade and finance and less so in the sphere of production. Present-day development policy is, therefore, faced with the problem of reorganizing subsistence farming towards market-oriented production (Hinderink & Sterkenburg, 1987)

The second type represents economies where, under the impact of foreign commercial and financial capital, commercial peasant agriculture evolved as the dominant sector of production. Economies of this type are among the most sensitive to world market price fluctuations. In addition, they are very dependent on export earnings gained from trade with the industrial world. Hence, the major task of economic policy is the diversification of agricultural production.

In the third type of economy settler farms and corporate estates producing for overseas markets constitute the dominant sector. A more diversified economy developed with strong industrial, trade, and financial positions of, what Szentes calls, the settlers' bourgeoisie and its African counterpart, using political power to create and consolidate their own economic base. Economic policy in these countries, characterized by substantial capital formation and a sizable domestic market, is heavily influenced by these vested interests which increase socio-economic inequalities and hence, the consequent political tensions among the underprivileged mass of the population.

The fourth type of economy is characterized by the role of mining and its control by foreign capital. Countries representative of this type, in particular, show large discrepancies between a highly developed modern sector and

an underdeveloped agricultural sector. From an economic point of view, the possibilities for industrialization and agricultural reorganization are considered quite favourable. The major problems for development lie both in the vested interests of foreign monopoly capital and its propensity to interfere and in the character of the state bureaucracy and elite.

The fifth type is associated with those countries where capitalist transformation made little progress at the time of independence. Unlike the first type the countries under this type of economy have to cope with mass migration of male workers while a significant part of their national income is made up of wages remitted from abroad. This makes their economies highly vulnerable due to fluctuations in the number of migrants outside the control of these countries, particularly as economic growth is largely dependent on the investment of foreign capital. The impact of these factors is felt in every domain of the economic and political life and greatly limits the scope and orientation of development policy.

Hinderink and Sterkenburg conclude, like Szentesi(1976), that despite their apparent diversity, all economies suffer to a greater or lesser extent from the effects of colonial capitalism, such as the dualism of capitalist and pre-capitalist socio-economic sectors, the co-existence of

export and subsistence economies, the predominant agricultural character of the economy, the insignificant position of manufacturing industry, and the weakness of intersectoral links. Therefore, the basic characteristics common to all Sub-Saharan countries can be summarized as: a disarticulated structure of production resulting from the weak linkages between economic sectors and the enclave pattern of modern economic activities; a narrow export resource base; and a strong dependency reflected in trade patterns based on primary commodity exports and in the dominance of foreign - multinational- capital and technology.

2.2.1.2 Ideology and Development Policy

Sub-Saharan Africa, because of its inherited colonial economy, holds a vulnerable position in the world economy. It is from this position that most of the countries have attempted to achieve development which is perceived as the decrease of the poverty lag with advanced capitalist and socialist economies. The state has played an instrumental role in this development process and there has been a massive impact of state intervention. However, the content and orientation of this intervention varies widely. Ideological preferences are found to influence development policy or, more specifically, the nature of the objectives pursued and the hierarchy of priorities accorded to them. Hinderink and Starckenburg have put

forward three major ideological perspectives which may influence policy orientations. These are: African capitalism, populist socialism, and Afro-marxism. The two authors further present the salient dimensions of these perspectives and the policy orientations that follow from them (see p65-66). The authors, however, contend that the basic characteristics of national economies and the constraint of external forces refute any approach to development as being simply a matter of choosing the 'right' ideological framework and development policy:

"Divergent ideologies may stress different policy priorities but their actual results do not show a clear pattern. Despite professed statements to the contrary, development policy often boils down to stimulating economic growth within the context of the existing order. Actually, in many policy statements, development is interpreted in terms of discrete goals and perceived as the gradual solution of narrow technical problems. Policy performance should not primarily be explained in terms of ideological preference. Much more important in this respect are the competence of the administration, the quality of the leadership and the nature of the post-colonial state, especially its 'role as vector of class formation' and resulting 'conflict interest between the state and the rural population, indigenous commercial groups, and others not part of the nascent politico-bureaucratic bourgeoisie'" (Hinderink & Sterkenburg, p66).

Irrrespective of ideology, according to the above authors, power has become very centralized in all countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, to the effect that most of them now have de facto one-party systems with limited and inconsequential mass participation, elections being reduced to formal confirmation of the status quo. The role of state bureaucracies has become all-pervasive,

concomitant with the ever-increasing control of the state over the economy. The above mentioned authors explain this phenomenon by two factors:

"First, by the structure of the state and its assumed developmental role, leading to entrepreneurial behaviour by the state. This is reflected in the nationalization of foreign firms and in the creation of parastatals, intended to decrease the dependence on foreign capital, to curb capital exports, and to enable activities which are deemed necessary for development and which are not attractive to private investors. A second factor is the bureaucracy's vested interest in the state apparatus as an instrument of power... Political power has been used to enlarge the bureaucracy's economic base... The bureaucracy's use of these state enterprises was often geared to private appropriation rather than to public accumulation. In this way development ideologies degenerate into political humbug and principally serve to legitimize the existing leadership (Hinderink & Sterkenburg, p67).

In the field of rural development bureaucracies have often become an oppressive force. Their overall interest is to control peasant production in order to achieve a high level of exportable produce and to obtain the material means for the maintenance of government apparatus.

"The political economy of post-colonial Africa, particularly its characteristics of bureaucratic dominance and increasing centralization, are considered major factors frustrating the generation of strategies aimed at internal and mass-oriented development. As to rural development, 'the prospect is one of a bureaucracy-dominated pattern of relative rural stagnation, in which the question of strategic choice is illusory'" (opcit p69)

2.2.1.2.1 Agricultural Policy

In most Sub-Saharan African countries, government interference is very high in all sectors of the economy.

This interference characterises development policy at all levels, agriculture and all other sectors suffer from this. There is also the wide gap between what is actually done. The budgetary commitments and concrete efforts are the only way of telling what is taken seriously by the government rather than the development plans. Apart from the above features of general development policy the agricultural sector is further hit by the unfavourable trade and exchange rate policies which have an inherent bias against agriculture.

"The overvalued exchange rate as a result of higher inflation at home than abroad is of particular importance. It usually led to import restrictions which forced farmers to purchase high cost local implements, raised the cost of consumer goods and, in particular had a downward effect on prices farmers received for their export crops. Moreover, in combination with low duties on food imports the overvalued exchange rate stimulated the import of food such as wheat and rice to the detriment of domestic grains and root crops" (Hinderink & Sterkenburg, pp68-69).

The two authors, however, stress that the features of development policy have to be seen again the background of deteriorating conditions facing the Third World countries during the 1970s, which include a sharp decline of the terms of trade of non-oil exporters, an increase of debts and debt servicing, rising prices of imports, in particular of oil and fertilizers, and a decrease of foreign aid below set targets together with reduced imports by industrialized countries in association with world stagflation (ibid p69). These unfavourable external

conditions were aggravated by short-comings in domestic policy. A list below summarizes what Hinderink & Sterkenburg have put forward as general characteristics of policies directed towards agriculture:

- (i) Agricultural policies are one-sidedly directed towards production increase only. These are not embedded in a wider approach towards rural development which also includes ample attention to the improvement of living conditions of agricultural producers.

- (ii) There is a clear emphasis on the cultivation of export crops sometimes to the detriment of food crops for the domestic market. This is due to the fact that crops for export bring in foreign exchange to finance the development process and for government revenue obtained through export taxes.

- (iii) In the field of food production the government always chooses to serve to a high degree the interests of groups especially of urban people rather than agricultural producers themselves. Very often measures taken to support the protection and development of domestic industry tend to increase the prices of the goods agricultural producers seek to buy, while

political considerations to keep down the urban cost of living lead to low domestic food price levels and to the importation of relatively cheap food grains to the detriment of domestic food producers.

(iv) A low priority exists for agricultural research directed towards domestic agro-climatic and socio-economic circumstances. The specific environmental conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa complicate the borrowing of foreign technology. The local research activities are chiefly directed towards export crops and the application of the research findings on large-scale production units. They leave out the small farmers who operate in different situations thus making their research applicable only to raising output through area expansion.

(v) Investments in agriculture take a relatively low proportion of total government expenditure since priority is given to the expansion of manufacturing industries. However, when investment in agriculture occurs it is biased towards sophisticated technology and large-scale production units.

(vi) Agricultural development is interpreted in terms of projects by most governments as a way of attaining external intervention in the form of finance, expertise and technology. Most of these projects turn out to be costly because of their size, sophisticated technology and heavy administrative and managerial overheads. Something which poor governments should avoid.

(vii) A distinct external influence exists in the formulation and implementation of agricultural policy in the form of external advisors, donor agencies or specific donor-dominated authorities.

(viii) Insufficient attention is paid to the price mechanics as a means of stimulating and steering smallholder production.

(ix) Land policy plays an important part in agricultural policy in general, and usually has two aspects which receive ample attention, namely, the individualization of property rights and the transfer of land alienated during the colonial period to the local population. The latter aspect is particularly important in the "Africa of the labour reserve."

(x) The quality of agro-support services such as extension services, input supply, credit facilities and marketing assistance are at best mediocre and often function as a disincentive to output increases.

(xi) The lack of continuity in policy is striking. Attention regularly shifted from one aspect of a wider policy to another which was then implemented through campaigns and operations.

2.2.1.2.2 Government Intervention and Types of Production Organization

Hinderink and Starckenburg have identified four ways in which agricultural commercialization can occur in order to achieve rural productivity within the framework set up by the government policies:

(1) Increasing commercialization as a spontaneous process.

This occurs when governments adopt a laissez-faire attitude towards private enterprise whether it be production for domestic or overseas markets in the field of both food and industrial crops. The spontaneous production appears from the prominent role of private initiative. The producer, when free to react to favourable external stimuli, usually sets up types of production organization such as:

(a) Agro-Industrial Complexes

This is a type of agriculture dominated by industry and related to urban populations. It is based on foreign capital but has a high degree of domestic market orientation especially in the field of food. It is part of a vertically-structured production system comprised of input supply, production, processing and distribution. It is also a subordinate link in the overall organizational framework of the multinational corporations operating in the field of food production. It is a profitable investment but unfortunately a way of continuing the penetration of the capitalist mode of production. In view of the risks of nationalization of the large-scale production units, agro-business prefers joint ventures to full ownership. It controls these joint ventures by means of management contracts which assure them of the decisions about the type of technology and the type of inputs used in the production process and allows them to have the processing carried out largely by subsidiaries in the industrial world.

(b) Private Estates

These are usually owned by wealthy Africans and worked by poorly paid labour. These wealthy Africans are usually influential urbanites. They may be traders who invest income obtained from outside the agricultural sector in growing lucrative cash crops. They are often politicians,

high ranking administrators or military men, who use their influence and power to buy and to exploit extensive farms with the help of government funds and through manipulating government services. Their farms are run by salaried managers who are sometimes expatriates while they continue with their interest in trade and politics.

(c) Commercial Peasant Farms

In all parts of Sub-Saharan Africa spontaneous commercialization has also occurred on farms of peasant cultivators. This commercialization applies to those cash crops which do not require complex processing. It also occurs where existing facilities become available to peasant producers. The commercialization is both in food production and other crops as the examples given by Hinderink and Sterkenburg show. For the commercial peasant farmer the principal objective still remains to secure food for himself and his family, thus commercialization cannot be seen as a decrease in subsistence agriculture.

(ii) Increasing Commercialization Through an Improvement Approach

With regard to economic and social policy the commercialization of the subsistence sector is generally seen as an obvious way to promote overall development. Governments are readily inclined to intervene when policy

makers become convinced that 'the crux of the problem is smallholder communities in which improved productivity requires the reorientation of resources from subsistence of production for the market'. Yet this government intervention is a vague concept. It may boil down to specific programmes focussing on certain crops; it may also imply concerted efforts to stimulate the promotion of selected crops through special agencies; or it may even amount to ambitious programmes aiming at integrated development. Common to all intervention policies is the objective of raising production on existing farms. Generally, this involves agricultural extension, input supply, credit and marketing support. Usually one form or another of co-operative activity is stimulated.

(iii) Increasing Commercialization Through a
Transformation Approach

Most Sub-Saharan African countries governments have adopted development policies that pursue a radical transformation of agricultural production, with a varying degree of government control. This usually implies the creation of new production units, a radical change of technology, the organization of production in new ways which result in altered social production relations. Two types of production organization may be distinguished: large-scale schemes and collective production units.

(a) Large-scale Schemes

These schemes are generally established in peripheral

parts of the national territory. These are areas with a low degree of commercialization and a sparse population. The majority of these schemes may, therefore, be characterized as settlement projects at the same time. However, few of them succeed as policy at all: for example, the need to resettle refugees, or to settle unemployed school-leavers. Those that manifest a transformation approach are those where national development objectives have been the major causative factor for settlement schemes. These are established as a means of achieving a better utilization of human and physical resources or as a short-cut to the development of a modern agriculture. However, these also have problems arising from relations between staff and settlers and from inflexibility and departmentalism. The most successful schemes seem to be the more simple ones: the ones which do not require heavy government investment. They are better adapted to the scarce administrative and managerial capacities and offer opportunities for settlers' initiatives to develop their own production techniques and forms of co-operation.

(b) Collective Production Units

The collective production units on the village level were a new way to transform agriculture and the rural scene at large, in the period after independence. The clearest example of this is the Ujamae Vijijini, the development policy of Tanzania. This policy aimed at bringing

dispersed peasant farmers together in villages for collective production. These villages were to benefit from government guidance but would never suffer from bureaucratic coercion. Three different forms of Ujamaa Vijijini occurred: communal village plots worked collectively alongside individually operated private farms; collective operations both on village plots and individual holdings; and full collectivization.

The results of all three forms have been so poor as to lead to imports of food grains. Hinderink and Starckenburg list a number of authors who have tried to analyse the reasons for such poor results(27). The basic weaknesses of the much heralded Ujamaa seem to be the assumed harmony of interests among the rural population and between farmers and the bureaucracy and the over-emphasis on villagization, giving rise to villages that were too big for the efficient organization of collective activities. The most successful villages proved to be the smaller ones and those villages where collectivization started as a self-initiated process without much government interference. The transformation approach as applied in Tanzania has been reduced to villagization without adhering to collective farming.

Hinderink and Starckenburg perceive the failure of the Ujamaa experiment (and its successive collective

production unite with central planning in the new independent countries of Sub-Saharan Africa) to be partly due to the poor planning of the governments and partly to the incorporation of these countries into the world economy. They see that their incorporation in the world economy has basically brought about the present disparities, in terms of both socio-economic and regional inequalities. These disparities, more so than their political effects, have to be taken into account in any planned approach towards transforming the rural scene and creating higher levels of productivity in an integrated rural development process.

(iv) Increasing Commercialization Through State
Production

In addition to the various policies to improve or to transform agriculture, a number of African governments have also experimented with state farms in order to increase the production of crops for either the domestic or overseas markets.

These farms are large-scale, capital intensive and complex organizations using paid labour. The state is both the supplier and owner of the capital invested. Some of these state farms are created with other objectives in mind apart from the efficient production of crops for sale. Hinderink and Starckenburg give examples in Ghana of the opening up of agricultural areas and the introduction of

new crops for the expanding urban centres. Some state farms, though, focus mainly on the production of industrial crops.

On the whole, the state farms in Sub-Saharan Africa have seldom been an economic success. This applies mainly to those which produce food crops for the domestic market, since they cannot compete successfully with commercial and peasant farmers growing food crops with considerably less overhead costs. This explains why most governments are obliged to provide increasing subsidies for their state-run agricultural enterprises, thus enabling these white elephants to operate despite heavy losses. Yet even state farms growing industrial crops suffer from a lack of economic viability due to over-centralization of decision making, inadequate management, and the subordination of economic considerations to political ones. The hard facts of economics have compelled governments in Sub-Saharan Africa to seek advice and assistance from foreign companies in the operation of state farms in order to achieve financial solvency.

The results of agricultural commercialization have been further entrenchment in the process of underdevelopment. Nothing at all has been done that would be recognized as a movement away from underdevelopment. Most of the activities under rural development in the form of

agricultural commercialization has led to more dependence on the metropolitan countries for trade and finance. The rural development as agricultural commercialization still sees development as economic growth and attempts ways of catching up with the West through its production of crops that will bring it further into the world economy. This incorporation into the world economy is seen as an effective way of ensuring that the subsistence farmers and other rural poor can share in the economic growth and its benefits.

The result, however, as already said, is more dependence and more signs of underdevelopment perpetuated by involving multinationals and foreign capital. This is worsened by poor policies within the developing countries themselves. Far from overcoming underdevelopment on a continental level, individual countries are left with finding solutions to this problem of underdevelopment and dependence.

2.2.2 Youth Movements as a Second Strategy to Overcome Underdevelopment

The second strategy adopted by several Sub-Saharan African countries for indirectly conquering underdevelopment, and some of its pertinent signs of unemployment and poverty, was the mobilisation of youths into national production units. While agricultural development focused on the rural

poor, youth movements focused on out of school youth(OSY). These movements aimed at designing projects that would enable the youths to participate in development especially rural development. The youth movements were to focus on involving the youths in self-employment activities especially agricultural orientated ones so that they could settle and earn their living in the rural areas. The emphasis was on settling the youths in rural areas because of the vast numbers who were migrating to urban areas in search of a better life there. For example, the Zambian government stated in the First National Development Plan (FNDP)(1966-70):

"...place greater emphasis on the rural areas than ever before as these are parts of our country which have, for too long, been neglected'. Zambia Youth Service is seen as one of the instruments of initiating this process of rural development"(Wood, A.W. (1974) p249) .

Before a further analysis is given of the youth movements a definition of these youths is in place here. The Commonwealth and the United Nations(28) define the youths as those between the ages of 14 and 25. Most countries have their own definition of youths, for example in Zambia one is considered a 'young' person up to the age of 35, but most countries adopt the 14-25 age range for planning purposes. The youths for whom the youth movements were set up, were those whose education has been prematurely curtailed or who have not been to school at all or are unemployed.

These youths are out of school because they have failed an examination which allows them to proceed to the next stage in their education, or are too poor to afford the school uniforms, school fees and all other expenses involved in being educated in the formal system(29). Some have never been to school because they are either too far from the nearest school or there just is not a school in their area (30). For others still, going to school is a luxury they cannot afford as they are needed to help either in the field or at home(31).

Although, over the long-term, proportions of school enrollment and completion have improved substantially, the high rate of population growth combined with the economic recession has meant that more children and youth cannot obtain even primary education. This has led to an increase in children and youths out of school. In general, however, more rural children and youths are likely to be out of school than their urban counterparts. This is because most of the African countries are dual societies with urban areas having better social services, schools included, than the rural areas.

The aim therefore of all the rural children is to get enough education that will enable them to move over to the urban areas for what they perceive to be a better life. They are encouraged by parents who have spent large sums

of money which could have been spent on other much needed requirements. The rural youth have definitely got the message that school never fails to send across: 'After primary school is secondary school then college or university and after that wealth and a comfortable life' (32).

The result is rural migration; it is however, not only those who have qualifications who migrate, it is all those who are able to. They leave behind in the villages, women, children and the old who cannot contribute much to the development of rural areas. The fact, however, of the majority who migrate is that their education has been curtailed. This constitutes a major problem as education in school is the most important mechanism for achieving success in the modern labour market (33). They therefore, add to the number of idle youths already in the cities, and most likely join the delinquents and add to the number of criminals. They constitute an individual tragedy and a social problem, because they experience higher unemployment rates and lower earnings than other workers. They often become a social burden as well, requiring public and family assistance and often engage in crime.

Some of the problems associated with the OSY are: unemployment, which leads many to crime and vandalism; drug and alcohol abuse; political alienation; teenage

pregnancy and childbirth. There are of course specific problems above, as Sherraden points out (34). Yet OSY problems do not occur in isolation but rather their problems are woven into the fabric of the nation's economic and social life. Thus if we are to reach some overall understanding of the youth problem, we have to view it not as a distinct separate issue but as a part of the socio-economic set up in the country. The general explanation, therefore, that encompasses a range of the more specific issues is the change in the labour market and especially the youth labour market which is a result of the role that African countries play in the international labour market. The underlying issues to underdevelopment are therefore very helpful in understanding the present OSY problem.

The review of the role of education in indigenous society (which is presented in detail in the next chapter) shows how virtually everyone was incorporated into what Sherraden calls a 'predominantly household labor market' in a universal effort to work and stay alive. The vast majority of this work was in family-centred agriculture as well as non-agriculture productions into which the youth were apprenticed to provide household-centred employment and a place in the community. It has earlier been pointed out how this sort of production would have developed if the colonialists had not interrupted it with their greedy

capitalist invasion. This invasion incorporated the African economy into the unequal international capitalist system. Economic structures designed to supply imperial capitalism with cheap labour and cheap raw materials, with the imposition of tax, forced the people out of the traditional setting into an economy that was to create and enhance problems of underdevelopment.

With the extension of industrialisation to Africa, work and family life became separated. School, especially in urban areas, replaced the labour market as the primary social and economic institution with the responsibility for moving young people from childhood through the teenage years to adulthood and employment. The school seen as the key to development by the West was taken up by the newly independent countries and underwent vast expansions(35). These expansions have not been adequate for all but even those who have benefited are very few as the labour market has not expanded at (equally) the same rate, rather it has lagged far behind, sometimes to the point of stagnation. The result is unemployment for many; the uneducated especially, but educated as well.

The state of underdevelopment, caused and perpetuated not as a 'lack and a lag' but as a result of internal and external forces that stem from the unequal international capitalist system, therefore is the underlying reason for

the various problems that youths and all common people in developing countries are facing. The school has therefore turned out to be a sieving and selecting mechanism that confers privileges and status on those few who are the beneficiaries in the prevailing socio-economic system. It, however, turns out thousands every year who have been made to believe that they are worthless because they are 'failures' (36).

The OSY problem can be seen as a result of a development perceived as economic growth, and a form of education that works as a mechanism to legitimize this economic growth for the enjoyment of a few privileged ones. The two therefore, 'development' and 'education' are the 'parents' of OSY. The developing countries pursued the development model set by the Western countries which benefits a few people at the expense of the majority (i.e. industrialised countries on one side and less industrialised or developing countries on the other; and the few rich and poor majority within the same country). It is a development model which produces 'developments for the few and underdevelopment for many in the same process. It is an uneven development, with one party always winning while the other loses' (37). The World Bank which has played a major role in 'helping' developing countries achieve 'development' has realised that development that sees solutions to poverty or underdevelopment as economic

growth increases hardship for those who do not share in it(38).

The school was seen as a crucial factor in the development process in that it was to quicken the pace of economic growth by producing the trained manpower and develop attitudes of modernization necessary for this economic growth. However, this school also decides on who is to share in this economic growth by acting as a selection device. This is done through the use of examinations, which legitimizes the system that pushes some out and lets others into the sharing in the economic benefits. The structure of school is built in such a way that it matches society's way of distributing its wealth; you get the few very rich at the top of society who control the economy and the big poor majority at the bottom who have nothing at all not even the authority to control the destinies of their lives. School has a similar pyramid structure which has the few very educated at the top and the big majority with little or no schooling at the bottom(39). Many people in the developing countries accept their place in society because they have been taught to do so by the school and do not therefore, share in the benefits of economic growth which is mostly achieved at their expense. It is no surprise then that there are so many OSY in most of these countries. The structural framework is such that it

allows only a few beneficiaries to the economic growth in population and recession in the economy.

The school has been criticised for the above and several other misdoings; for enslaving people to values and aspirations of the middle class which they cannot join; for creating elites who oppress the masses; and for what concerns us now alienating the young, especially the rural young(40). The school has alienated the young from their culture and environment and turned them into misfits of society. This has raised the question of the relevance of education(41). The OSY have according to Illich (1971) been reduced to accepting suffering and low wages and all forms of deprivation because they did not attain credentials from school. A big number of these youths have as mentioned earlier migrated to urban areas causing discomfort to political leaders who have been forced to take their plight into serious consideration.

2.2.2.1 History and Policies of Youth Movements

The agreement among International Organizations as well as many governments is that:

"Young people must participate fully in national development efforts if such efforts are to be successful ...if development is to have meaning for the mass of people, including the young people, who are supposed to benefit from it, they must not be considered merely as objects of development but active participants as well" (U.N., 1975 p iii).

Apart from the above U.N.'s injunction most African

governments were faced with

"politically active, demobilising nationalist youth in the immediate post-independence period, and dissatisfied school-leavers at a later stage. Both groups have sought, and sometimes forcibly demanded, employment" (J. de V. Graff, 1982 p6),

and had no choice but to contend with the problem of these youths.

J. de V. Graff cites examples of the Ghanaian youth riot in which party members and ministers were physically attacked. In Zambia, shortly after independence, UNIP Youth Brigade members organized provocative undertakings such as political card checks, mini-skirt bans, road patrols, requests for powers of arrest and campaigns against "hooliganism". In other countries, youths exercised pressure through their parents and MPs (42). The resistance from the youth resulted from the failure to meet youth employment or training for employment, which some of the youths who had participated in the struggle for independence, felt they had a right to. A more persistent stimulus behind the creation of the youth movements was the school-leavers and drop-outs (earlier referred to as out of school youth) problem (43).

To curb the problems related to the OSY many movements were created such as "national youth movements", "youth brigades", "young pioneers" or "national youth

services"(44). These are typically large-scale organizations falling outside the formal educational structure. They are initiated, organised and financed by the central government. They are often tightly organised, militaristic, bureaucratised organisations aimed at instilling certain skills, attitudes and knowledge(45). They tend to have an agricultural orientation as most of them are set against the background of rural development of their countries.

Rural development was seen as a priority in many of the African countries as the numbers of rural poor increased. Also the alternative that seemed politically and economically viable for the numerous unemployed youth was a return to the land, to agriculture. The numerous unemployed youths could not be left without anything to do as unemployment is a most pressing problem which can be a threat to stability and progress. The rural youth movements are therefore seen as change agents, whose tasks were to aid in raising the income and status of the rural areas and to change attitudes of the population towards rural development (46). They were, therefore, seen as "vehicles for social transformation"(James, L 1973). The youth movements like the state farms discussed above were to play a leading role in developing rural areas.

According to de V.Graff, these youth movements were patterned after the Israeli youth organizations, the Nahal

founded with the aim of establishing a Jewish state. The Nehal was an adjunct to the Israeli underground army as early as 1948. They had a second purpose, of establishing rural agricultural settlements in sensitive areas and of defending Israel from the British and Palestinian forces then, and an array of Arab states today. The African youth movements, however, lack the powerful factors listed below which are the basis of the ideology and motivation of the Israeli youth organizations:

- (a) a historical tradition and continuing experience of persecution reaching staggering proportions,
- (b) a common religion historically linked to the Palestinian territory,
- (c) the utopian image of a new society without persecution or the blemishes of Western capitalist society,
- (d) participation in physical conflict for the establishment and continuing defence of this territorial unit,
- (e) the experience of success in substantially realizing and maintaining the ideal (47).

Though African countries have experienced racial discrimination, colonial exploitation and nationalist struggle, the duration and intensity of their experience does not equal that of Israel's past or present history. The forms of dependence dealt with earlier, especially

cultural dependence, paint a picture of an African continent that had lost even its identity and had not much to fight for or work towards, like their Israeli counterparts. They (Israelis) have a strong cultural and religious motivation that pushes them on to create or maintain a state which has such a significance for them that they are ready to develop it, fight for it and even die for it. The African countries, however, as a consequence of their colonial past, often include widely heterogeneous populations—ethnically diverse, sharing little in the way of common history, culture, or political allegiance (Bock and Papagiannis, 1983)

The only similarities that there were between Israel and African countries were the nation-building and developmental tasks that had to be performed, especially the development of rural areas. The Israelis are known to have transformed their desert into plantations. These laid the basis for emulation of the Nahal groups. L. James lists twenty-one African countries which had set up National Youth Service Programmes by 1970(48)

2.2.2.2 National Youth Service Programmes

These are described as(49):

"large-scale organisations, fully financed by governments, concerned to instill the idea of national economic and social development into the minds of young people whose formal education in school has ceased (or indeed in some cases may not have begun), and to divert the energies of these young people into the work of

national development by providing low-level technical and vocational training and by assuming responsibility for carrying out specific development projects..." (Wood, 1969)

These programmes involved a variety of activities. They include special training schemes, special employment programmes, national civic service, alternative service to military service, national youth organizations engaged in rural development and student programmes for service and community development.

The first to emulate the Israeli Nahal movement was the Ghanaian Government which engaged the assistance of an Israeli training mission as early as 1959 after earlier attempts that started in 1957 failed. With the Israeli people in charge there was discipline inculcated in the programmes and improved technical training and public service projects were undertaken. The Ghanaian Workers Brigade undertook construction of buildings and bridges through contracts, and state farms and farmers co-operatives received assistance, particularly in clearing the bush and creating new agricultural lands.

The Israelis' training formula was adopted by many African countries, based on the Israelis' history of success and now the Ghanaian's success. The Israeli training for the Nahal:

"commences with a short basic military training period. While discipline is high, members begin to experiment with, and adapt to, group life. They participate in the

selection of their leaders and of those individuals who will return to civilian life to act as youth organisers and instructors. Basic military training is followed by a year's work attached to an existing kibbutz which, by paying for Nahal services, contribute substantially to defraying costs. During this period individuals are temporarily detached for intensive specialisation courses in military and agricultural techniques. Their last months are spent as a full-blown kibbutz community after which they choose to remain or to return to civilian life. Approximately one-third of the original Nahal recruits choose to stay longer than three years (J. de Graff p13).

The training emphasised the need to bring young people together in training camps. They were given a basic training of a soldier, emphasising drill, physical fitness, obedience to discipline, willingness to work hard. A general form of education was provided, emphasising the three Rs and civic education. A particular skills training in agriculture, building, carpentry and motor mechanics was also included in the training.

James, L. gives a number of common characteristics to the majority of African National Youth Service Programmes:

(i) The separation of youths from the constraints of their traditional environment into training camps in order to acquire new attitudes to work, to agriculture, and to the nation.

(ii) The administrative organization of the schemes is with close government control through one government department or directly through the office of the President

or the Prime Minister. This ensures the integration of the work and training of the NYSP with government development policies and to demonstrate the personal interest and leadership of the Head of the State in the Service.

(iii) The military style of organization ensures discipline, uniformity and relative ease of administration of large numbers of young people coming from a variety of backgrounds and possessing a wide range of ability. The degree of the military function varies, while the Zambia Youth Service undertakes weapon-training, and is officially a defence support force, the Kenya National Youth Service and Malawi Young Pioneers may be required to assist the normal security forces in times of national disturbance.

(iv) There is training for employment and service to the nation, although this varies from one scheme to another. For example, the Kenya National Youth Service is viewed as a multi-purpose scheme and divides its efforts almost equally between the two; military and skills training. The Malawi Young Pioneers concentrates upon training for agricultural development and the productive on-the-job training is a prominent feature of the Malawi Young Pioneers programme.

(v) In most of these programmes, recruitment was voluntary. Some cases of coercion were recorded in some countries where urban youths were picked up from the streets and taken to some of the centres.

(vi) The NYSPs are also limited in size and are very costly. The Kenya National Youth Service achieved a peak of an enrollment of nearly 5,000 youths in 1966-67, in Malawi in 1969 the Malawi Young Pioneers numbered some 2,200, the Zambia Youth Service approximately 1,500 and Tanzania some 2,000 in 1966. These are small numbers compared to the total group in need of such opportunities but the cost of capital purchase of equipment, buildings and materials, feeding and clothing trainees, and paying the salaries of instructors imposes a limit on the number of youths that can be taken.

Some Youth Service Programmes have taken a very different approach to the involvement and training of youths in national economic development. The National Ugandan Youth Organization (NUYO), for example, uses a part-time approach which operates through local youth groups based on Youth Centres throughout the country, rather than a residential camp structure. NUYO depends on Youth Assistants centred on local Community Development establishments to educate young people using community development methods. The programme is thus less dependant

on expensive buildings, the provision of meals, clothing, etc., but is completely dependent on the quality of the widely scattered cadre of Youth Assistants. According to James, L., Senegal and Ivory Coast abandoned their original "heavy" approach in favour of a lighter, more flexible structure such as the Senegal "work-camp schools".

Many countries may have maintained the original National Youth Service Programmes (as the example of Zambia will show later in this thesis), but with a very low intake. Most countries have established Skills Training centres attached to Community Development projects or run on their own by either government departments or other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Many programmes have flourished in many developing countries, all in the effort of trying to alleviate youth unemployment, stop rural migration of the youth and curb crime among the youth. The rise of these new ways of catering for the OSY can be seen as a result of the failure of earlier efforts by NYSPs to do so. Most of these NYSPs were not very effective in helping the OSY because of the following reasons among many others:

(1) Most of the NYSPs' planning was not part of the total national programme of economic and human resource development. The urgency of the problem had led to schemes being set up hastily, without being firmly linked to national development planning. This led to

difficulties of placing the youth, especially after training, into appropriate settlements. The youths found themselves lacking in what to do after the training and a number of them were very frustrated. Those who were placed in 'some settlement' found their settlements lacking in such basic equipment, which made it impossible to function. Others had hope of securing employment with their newly acquired skills but unfortunately failed to do so as not enough attention was given to increasing the number of jobs.

(ii) Because the needs were so enormous, most countries established large-scale schemes which they later failed to maintain. There was wide-spread lack of a clear concept or plan for the development of most of these schemes, which led to either total collapse or reduction in intake. The intended aim of these NYSPs to contribute to the development of rural areas was not achieved.

The failure of NYSPs and agricultural commercialization to contribute to rural development has left individual countries with the problem of finding a solution to underdevelopment. The conquering of underdevelopment in a single underdeveloped country would involve: elimination of economic dependence and exploitation; transformation of the distorted and heterogeneous social structure. The struggle to overcome underdevelopment is complex

adventure. Its lasting results depend on every single factor of underdevelopment being eliminated because these individual factors are dialectically related to each other. The way in which this can be done, however, is criticised by advocates for 'another development'. They argue that confrontation of cause is curative and necessary if development is to occur but it is not development. They recommend a redefinition of development which will eventually lead to 'another development' for the following reasons:

(1) efforts to overcome underdevelopment have failed because

"... the basic conception of development as a process through which society moves from a given (underdeveloped) socio-economic condition to another, more desirable (developed) socio-economic condition as a consequence of education in the appropriate attitudes and skills, technical assistance, and basic infrastructure, remains essentially intact" (A & L Bendavid, 1974, p9).

(ii) the 'development' presented to underdevelopment countries based on the Western model is undergoing acute examination:

"Basic aspects of life in the industrialized countries are being questioned, and some are coming under serious attack: the desirability of continued economic expansion, with its inevitably attendant environmental deterioration; the heightened complexity and anxiety in the conduct of personal affairs; the growing welfare disparities; the increasing concentration of power in the hands of managers of economic empires; and the increasing specialization upon which economic growth feeds, but which leads to an alienation from the natural environment, and perhaps ultimately from the self (ibid).

P. Wignaraja (50) reiterates what is said above in

similar words:

"Affluence has not resulted in the improvement of the quality of life for the people in rich countries: on the contrary, it has alienated them from society, polluted the environment, wasted resources, and generated fear and uncertainty regarding basic values. Their inability to manage their economic systems and to cope with the frustrations of their youth are the clearest manifestations that even in developed countries, some fundamental changes are required" (P. Wignaraja, 1976 p2).

(iii) the fact too, that human misery does not seem to have declined much, even in underdeveloped countries "on the move", by the usual criteria begs for redefinition of 'development'. This point by A & L Bendavid is concurred with by P. Wignaraja who says:

"In developing countries, not only are the large masses who are poor getting poorer, but they are becoming restive, because they lack access to elementary necessities of life, such as food, clothing, medical facilities, and safe drinking water" (ibid).

2.3 Meaning of Development

The redefinition of 'development' in 'human terms', is essential for A & L Bendavid because they realise that development as it is viewed today cannot be achieved by any underdeveloped country:

"There will never, can never, come a time when every person on earth will have a command over the resources equal to that of the average American or even West European today... It means that underdeveloped countries cannot possibly seek ultimately to reproduce either the "socio" or the "economy" part of socio-economies already in that range" (Op cit p10).

The suggestion, therefore, is for underdeveloped countries

to look elsewhere for their definition of development instead of following the "Western model". They should challenge fundamental assumptions and ask question such as:

"Is development to be thought of only in terms of economic growth? What about "nation-building"? The alleviation of human misery? The distribution of global power? Do the "developed" countries really have the developmental know-how to provide technical assistance suited to the problems of the "underdeveloped" countries? Are they really interested in bringing about a world of truly independent developed countries?" (A & L Bendavid, 1974 p9).

For D. Seers(51), "development" must meet necessary conditions for a universally acceptable aim: the realization of the potential of human personality. To achieve this goal, Seers sees income, enough to feed wo/man, as being very essential. This income should also be enough to cover his/her basic needs of clothing, footwear, and shelter. However, the personality cannot develop without a job. This job can be study, working on a family farm or keeping the house. It is playing one of these accepted roles which leads to self-respect. Moreover,

"equality should be considered an objective in its own right, ...the fulfilment of human potential requires...adequate educational level, freedom of speech, citizenship of a nation that is truly independent, both economically and politically, in the sense that the views of other governments do not largely predetermine his own government's decision, etc." (Seers, 1969 pp2-3).

Like Seers, the Report of the United Nations University Expert Group on Human and Social Development(52) states that:

"The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential. This implies meeting such needs as continuing employment, secure and adequate livelihoods, more and better schooling, better medical services, cheap transport and a higher general level of income. It also includes meeting non-material needs like the desire for self-determination, self-reliance, political freedom and security, participation in making the decisions that affect workers and citizens, national and cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work" (IDR, 1976 p5).

According to Seers then, the questions to ask about a country's development are:

"What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?" (Seers, Opcit p3).

These questions should, however, be answered by individual nations, according to their culture, because development

"is a process of change that must be sustained by the government and the people within each country, a process that should work to the benefit of all" (Owens & Shaw, 1972 p XIII).

For this reason, A & L Bendavid criticise D. Seers for asserting

"...on behalf of the underdeveloped peoples what the correct set of values should be, rather than concluding that the matter should be left for them to decide" (Opcit p9).

In looking for these answers, however, it must be realized that many authors agree that people should be the focus of development. This is because

"...people are the world's greatest asset. Bringing out their creativity and their potential is the means as well as the end of development... Hence, conditions for social and economic progress are simply those which release the energies and creativity of the people and transform surplus labour into the means of production" (IDR 1976, p4).

The Dag Hammarskjöld Report (53), viewed development as the development of every man and woman "...--the whole of man and woman-- and not just the growth of things, which are merely means" (ibid). Or again:

"Development fundamentally refers to human beings, to every man and every woman, ... It is a human experience synonymous with the fulfilment of individual mental, emotional and physical potentialities... Development is lived by people where they are, where they live, learn, work, play--and die" (D.D. 1981:1 p73).

P. Wignaraja in her summary of the main objectives of an alternative approach includes:

(i) the fact that

"people must be involved and feel at home with whatever process is initiated. It must progressively satisfy their needs and they must participate in decisions that affect them" (Opcit p2).

This is similar to what E. Owens & R. Shaw (53) say:

"Development reconsidered sets forth a new strategy of development-- a strategy in which participation by all the people is both the means and the end to development itself" (Owens, E & Shaw, R. 1972 pxvii).

(ii) "Self-reliance and the development of the

collective personality of men and women naturally follow as a corollary of this new strategy, which is characterised by the innovative genius of the people in shaping their development. It is an expression of their faith in their own abilities. This implies the development of a country through its own effort; dependency relationships, whether they are of a national or international character, must be eliminated. Self-reliance is not to be confused with a narrow concept of self-sufficiency or autarky; elements of necessary interdependence can be expected to flow from the process as it unfolds". (p2 opcit)

The above objectives are very similar to what the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation put forward in their proposal for

'Another Development':

"In a nutshell, this could be described as (i) need-oriented (but by no means limited to the so-called 'basic needs'); (ii) self-reliant; (iii) endogenous; (iv) in harmony with nature and ecologically sustainable; and (v) going hand in hand with people empowered to make a structural transformations. In other words, Another Development means people organizing themselves so as to develop who they are and what they have, by themselves and for themselves" (D. D. 1987: 1 p172).

Two African leaders: Kaunda(54) and Nyerere(55) both recognise that development is about people. Hence, Nyerere talks of 'development' as

"development of people...[and] people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves, ...an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being" (Nyerere, J. 1974 p27).

Kaunda sees that the "object of all activity is to satisfy man's basic needs"(Kaunda, 1971 p1v). Hence, his philosophy of humanism which places wo/man at the centre of all development activities and projects. In placing wo/man at the centre both leaders are looking for an approach to development which will take the values and the culture of their people into consideration. Although they may both be criticised for ideologies that have or are proving to be unworkable, they should be recommended for recognising that the culture of the people is essential in a people-centred approach to development.

The direction then, that development has to take is represented in the views above, which are essentially people-centred in approach and content. The way in which these can be implemented are many. We will, however,

confine our review to the role that education can play in this 'another development'.

2.4 Summary

The aim of this Chapter is to show that underdevelopment is not a lag due to lack of capital and suitable structures. Nor is development a matter of time before the undeveloped countries catch up with the West as the theory according to the traditional view states. Underdevelopment, for those who represent the historical view emanates from an unequal relationship between the 'developed' and 'undeveloped' countries. This unequal relationship began with the development of capitalism and was enhanced by colonialism for most developing countries. Underdevelopment is therefore, a situation in which the economy of underdeveloped countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of technically advanced ones. The dominant or technically advanced countries expand themselves and are self-sustaining at the expense of undeveloped countries.

The way to development for underdeveloped countries is not through structural changes and modernization of people through 'schools'. This approach to development has in fact failed to achieve the predicted economic growth as the economic growth as it is perceived and pursued by developing countries is no longer economically viable.

Development can only be achieved through a people centred approach. This people-centred approach is possible only by participation of the people in this redefined development as 'another development'.

Structural changes and new means to achieve economic growth; such as agricultural commercialization and mobilisation of youth for rural development, have failed because the root causes of underdevelopment have not been dealt with. The solution to underdevelopment goes further than dealing with the causes of underdevelopment. It is a process of participation which should bring about self-liberation for those participating in the processes of development. This self-liberation should lead to a freedom from dependence on the developed countries and on other people, organizations and institutions. It should be a freedom from a dependency that has pervaded the lives of the undeveloped people turning them into passive objects that are constantly looking to the government for help. They have been led to believe that they cannot do anything for themselves.

Development then will only be achieved when people are able to control the destinies of their own lives and not blindly follow some 'development' processes prescribed for them. When people are able to have power over the directions of their lives and are able to have dialogue

with others and participate in all that affects their lives, will development be in the process of being achieved.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Education and Development

The previous chapter ended with a proposal to review the role that education can play in working towards 'another development'. This proposal is based on the fact that education and development have been associated with each other for at least four decades now. According to Illich(1):

"Education and development are two sacred cows that since 1949 have been harnessed as the draft animals of 'so called progress' (Illich, 1984 p6).

This progress or development for many developed and developing countries(2)

"is synonymous with industrialisation, urbanisation, high GNP growth rates, economic expansion and growth. Images of development - and of developing countries- are thus connected with the eradication of poverty, equalor, urban slums, population growth, high rates of infant mortality, economic disadvantage, large numbers of people in rural poverty, poor health, education and welfare facilities, high rates of unemployment, corruption, maladministration, political power in the hands of a few, heavy dependency on a few crops or basic commodities, etc." (Watson, K., 1984 p28)

Therefore, for P. G. Stensland(3)

"The major value systems that have underlain economic and social development in the last couple of centuries have been associated with production. Thus education to a large measure has been valued as a contributor to production" (Stensland, P. G., 1978 p253).

The role, however, of education as contributor to

production has to change because the 'development' that we propose is no longer production centred but people centred. It is a development (4)

"as much concerned with human, social and cultural aspects as it is with economic ones. Thus development implies change; change in the social, economic and institutional structures of a country so that the standard of living of all its people can be raised; so that sufficient wealth can be generated to provide surplus not only for economic investment in industry and agriculture but also in the infrastructure of a transport network, hospitals, schools and social services; and so that the quality of life of people can be improved. Development also implies changing the attitudes of people so that they are prepared and eager to help themselves and their neighbours and so that they can understand and improve their environment. This definition applies equally to the rich and the poor nations of the world alike... Either way, education, in its broadest sense, is a vital ingredient in helping to cope with, and to bring about, such change" (Watson, K. 1984 in Garret, R. M., p35).

It should be noted here that although the definition of development in the above quotation is appropriate emphasis in 'another development' is placed on people's participation.

Education will not be seen in terms of "investment in man" for "human capital". It has to be seen in the light of 'another development' and will therefore, take on a new role not of training producers but of empowering people and training them for transformation.

Because according to P. G. Stensland "education and development are related change processes" (p263) and "Development is the action strand interwoven with education" (p258) we can now move on to review education

in general and see how it has been connected with development. It is essential to review 'education' and the role it has played in development before we can put it to 'a new use' of helping achieve 'another development'.

3.2 The Essence of Education

Education has always existed in every society since it is part and parcel of life, for education is basically to do with living, as W.A.ReinSmith (5) writes; and the sum of education or end result affects ways of life(social), means of production (economic) and people's hopes, fears, cares and joys(spiritual). Or in the words of Snelson(6), education is

"...a condition of human survival. It is the means whereby one generation transmits the wisdom, knowledge and experience which prepares the next generation for life's duties and pleasures"(Snelson, 1979 p1).

The "...general concept of education covers almost any process of learning, rearing or growing up"(R.W.Kenneth 1975 p11).

"For by education we must understand nurture (the tending and feeding of the child), discipline (Zucht), and teaching, together, with culture. According to this, man is in succession infant (requiring nursing), child (requiring discipline), and scholar (requiring teaching)"(S. M. Cohn, 19 , p179).

As the International Encyclopedia of Education puts it:

"Education has been seen at different times and in different ways as the process by which a society transmits its accumulated knowledge and its basic values.... (Encyclopedia, p2266).

It is

"the sum total of one's learning experiences during a life-time. Education is a lifelong process. When only a few hours old, the infant begins exploring his environment. The infant learns that a cry will bring the attention of another person to satisfy his needs. As a person grows the process of education accelerates. The child learns how to examine things with the hands, how to manipulate objects and people. These are not taught; rather they are learned through inquiring about one's environment" (Ellis, Cogen and Howey 1981 p159).

Although these general definitions apply to any society, a review of education as practised by different societies reveals an emphasis on various aspects of education at different stages: For example E. Faure et al (7) speaking of what they term 'primitive society' say:

"...education was complex and continual, and was practised informally. It aimed at forming the character, aptitudes, skills and moral qualities of an individual who educated himself through a kind of symbiotic process, rather than being educated" (Faure et al, 1972 p4).

To be educated in this society, according to Pafunwa(8), and Mwanakatwa(9), educatees 'acquired the use of mother tongue, good manners, respect for elders, hygiene, knowledge of the environment, useful skills and could be considered a worthy member of the society by his/her knowledge of its past, customs, laws and tribal institutions'.

The methods used in educating the young, according to the two aforementioned authors, can be summarised as: instruction in the history and traditions of the clan and tribe, heroic deeds of the ancestors were done through

folklore - which is the recitation of folktales by elders while the young memorized them and were asked to renarrate them at a later stage. This was usually done in an informal and enjoyable way, normally in the evenings around the fire.

They also learnt through song, dance, wise sayings and some games. The customs and beliefs were acquired through the myths, and participation in the rites and ceremonies. Repeated stories ensured continuity of the language. The practical skills were acquired by actual doing; for example through a hunting expedition the young men learnt names and uses of herbs, flowers, shrubs, fruits and trees. They learnt by observation, imitation and repetition. This type of education can be said to be serving the needs of society effectively for one acquired all that is needed for a useful life in this society'.

All these activities were conducted by elders, ensuring the development of a sense of loyalty and pride in the membership of the clan. This way of educating the young was very similar to the way education was conducted in almost all societies, Europe included, i.e. before the industrial revolution. Father passed on skill to son, and mother taught the daughter how to be a good housewife. The aim of this type of education was/is achieved when the educatees has acquired the abilities and skills to live

sensibly and usefully in society.

The Chinese, according to Oryshkewych(10):

"...greatly respected their parents or ancestors, making it first a duty to carry on the work of life in exactly the same way as their forefathers had done" (Oryshkewych, 1982 p1).

One can assume that in a community such as this one, the education would not be very different from the one above, which draws examples from the African traditional education. T. W. G. Miller(11) admits that

"...education is not new to Asia. On the contrary its educational traditions are centuries old. They were, however, mainly oriented to preservation rather than progress and they were, moreover, disturbed and in some cases totally disrupted in the countries which succumbed to Western powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Miller, 1968 p3).

Little wonder that it is so difficult to find material on traditional educational practices:

"In general, the majority of the Western intruders had ill-conceived disdain for the inhabitants and their cultural achievements. This attitude was absorbed by many natives who came to look upon their own cultural heritage as inferior and avidly embraced, as far as they were able, the mode of life of their colonial overlords" (ibid).

Although the examples cited show some differences in the way education is practised, one can still see the general trends through all of them. It is a process of learning for the young about their social (including spiritual) and economic position in a society. Education, therefore, may mean different things to different people at various times but humankind has always accumulated a store of practical

experiences from one generation to the next, and passed it on in an informal way in order to ensure their survival and development. Much of the present day educational activities are based on yesteryears' experience and experiment, and as the human race goes on, all its activities build on what has been achieved in previous years. Education, therefore, as a method of human survival and development, is a natural characteristic of human society (Faure et al, 1972).

The next stage in educational growth could be seen to have gained emphasis by Plato (12) for the Western Europeans, but, in fact, existed in other cultures: namely that of educating the ruling class which is a form of elitist education. Education in this context moves away from the general concept given above and deals with the 'formation' of a group of people who are to be in charge of others:

"China set up educational arrangements long centuries ago. Before Abraham — China had established a "system" of education which continued into the twentieth Christian century. And apparently those educational arrangements were very well adapted to the Chinese way of life. The purpose of the Chinese educational arrangements appears to have been preparation for official service in the government. This preparation was made by passing examinations. So it may be said that the purpose of Chinese education differed very little from that of normal education in some countries today" (Oryshkawch, 1982, p4).

In Greece, according to Curtis(13),

"...two classes of people have been discovered within the state — the ordinary citizens who are concerned with supplying the needs of a civilized life, and a military

class from whom the actual rulers or guardians will be selected" (S. J. Curtis, 1953 p8).

For Plato education was mainly for those who were to be guardians:

"he tended to view that manual labour, trade, and even *professionalism* rendered the individual unequipped to take his part in war or politics... The division into classes rests upon merit and ability, not upon the accident of birth" (ibid p7).

For Plato education:

"involves the redirection of the whole personality; in modern terms, education is equivalent to conversion, the turning of the eyes of the soul towards the light which hitherto has been unperceived. The content of the early training given to the guardians is based upon Plato's conception of the nature of the soul. Since it is a living, developing entity, at one stage of its growth it will be more susceptible to certain agencies and media than at others. In the early stage it is reached through the imagination and the emotions and therefore the aim of education during this period will be to stimulate the love of the beautiful in all its varied appearances. At a later stage, when the reasoning powers have developed, education will have its object the love and acquisition of truth, and at the highest stage, the purpose of the educator will be to bring the soul to a knowledge of the Good. The instruments by which the early training is to be effected are music and gymnastic. The term has a much wider significance than the English word "music". Its connotation includes what we should now call a training in literature, music, and the arts" (ibid p8, pp9-10).

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English defines education as:

"systematic training and instruction (esp. of the young, in school, college, etc)... knowledge and abilities, development of character and mental powers, resulting from such training" (A. S. Hornby 1974).

The systematic training and instruction could still apply to the traditional way of education, for there were

periods when initiates were given systematic training and instruction in seclusion. This could go on for a period of about six months. It is, however, the inclusion in the definition above, of the following: '(esp. of the young, in school, college, etc)' which indicates the new era in the educational history. This era was not new for the Chinese as it could be traced to as early as 3000 B.C. (14), for the Egyptians and people of Mesopotamia (15), if it is true to believe that;

"the adoption of a school structure in education appears essentially to be linked with the systematization and steady increase in the use of written language. Learning to read naturally entailed a master with young people gathered round him, in a 'classroom', in a school" (Faure et al, 1972 p6).

In the Western culture, however, which has had great influence over the African education systems, school became very popular during the medieval period. The onset of the industrial revolution made school popular and later compulsory. The economic progress of the industrial revolution created a need for personnel, capable of reading, writing and counting. The growth of industries led to growing complexity of administration which in turn led to formation of professional posts. The preparation of the youth for life was now done in schools as parents could not give apprenticeship to the new jobs brought about by the industrial revolution. Even traditional occupations such as farming were done by machines which

they had never used before. This left parents inadequate in bringing up their children effectively to enable them to live in this changed world.

This period brought about the realization that the destiny of humankind and the progress and development of civilization rested not in the hands of the gods but in the hands of people. With this belief came the view that through rationality and knowledge, human civilization could develop and make constant progress :

"No longer must life on earth be wretched, subject to disease, war and other catastrophes, because with the improvement of rational thought, man's control over the environment would increase, and the quality of life improve" (Fagerlind & Seha, 1963 p31).

Improvement of the mind with its potential powers of rational thought and ability to discover knowledge about nature and its laws, came to be regarded as the key to human progress. Cognitive development and the pursuit of knowledge became essential for the survival and the advancement of society. Education in the modern sense as a formal deliberate process by which the cultural and normative heritage of a society is transmitted from generation to generation, and through which that heritage is improved through science discovery, had its roots in the Middle Ages also known as the age of enlightenment.

3.3 Education and Economic Growth

It was when economic growth became the major pursuit of many Western countries that education as formal schooling became indispensable. This view that education was indispensable to economic growth was passed on to developing countries. According to Thomson(16), education was presented as:

"...the panacea for all ills in developing countries Education was to unlock the door to modernization, would supply the necessary trained human resources to develop the economy(Thomson, 1983 p10).

Or as Watson(17):

"-from the mid 1950s onwards educational investment was seen as a source and inspirer of economic growth and as a significant, if not crucial, factor in the development process. Not only was education a basic human need, but it would quicken the pace of economic development by producing trained manpower through Human Resource Development..."(Watson, 1988 p139).

So much confidence was placed in education because of many theories which will be discussed later, for now the empirical evidence of Japan and industrialised countries will be given which led to the widespread conviction of the role of formal school in economic development. Japan was not technically advanced, but had, however, a percentage of 40 of of its male population already literate by 1850. According to Fagerlind and Saha:

"Post-World War II development in Japan is generally regarded as the classic example of education being deliberately utilised as a contributing factor to rapid industrialization and economic and social development" (Fagerlind and Saha, 1985 p139).

When Japan decided to industrialise in the late 19th century, they had the Western countries' model to follow. They had a high level of skilled manpower that required modernization from the beginning because of the high level of literacy in the country. Schooling in Japan was from the outset, regarded as essential for economic growth. Within a shorter period than that taken by the Western countries Japan was 'developed'. The rebuilding of Europe after World War II accentuated the belief in education as a change agent. It is believed that the Marshall Plan and aid from the U.S.A. was effective in putting the destroyed countries to their previous stage and even further advanced because they had an 'educated' population(18). This further led to education being seen as an essential engine for both the "take-off" into industrialization by less developed countries, as well as for the transition of the already developed countries to post-industrial stage.

3.3.1 Human Capital Theory

The investment into education for human resources became popular, in particular T.W.Schultz's work became very influential. Schultz(19) contended that the increased national output could be put down to investment in human capital:

"It has been widely observed that increases in national output have been large compared with the increases of land, man-hours, and physical reproducible capital. Investment in human capital is probably the major explanation for this difference" (Schultz, 1961 p1).

He defined as investment in human capital as what is often seen as consumption:

"Direct expenditures on education, health, and internal migration to take advantage of better job opportunities are clear examples. Earnings foregone by mature students attending school and by workers acquiring on-the job training are equally clear examples.. The use of leisure time to improve skills and knowledge is widespread..." (ibid.).

In these and similar ways Schultz saw that the quality of human effort could be greatly improved and its productivity enhanced. According to him therefore such investment in human capital accounts for most of the impressive rise in the real earnings per worker. Or as he puts it in other words:

"Many paradoxes and puzzles about our dynamic, growing economy can be resolved once human investment is taken into account" (ibid p3).

One of the forms of investment that Schultz treats at length is investment in education:

"Investment in education has risen at a rapid rate and by itself may well account for a substantial part of the otherwise unexplained rise in earnings" (ibid p10).

He refers to education as human capital because education becomes a part of the person receiving it. In his article on Capital Formation by Education(20), Schultz establishes a link between education and economic growth. He sees that

"...some kinds of education may improve the capabilities of a people as they work and manage their affairs and that these improvements may increase the national income" (Schultz, 1960 p572).

He goes on to show that the rate of return to investment in education is higher than that of investment in physical capital(21).

G. S. Becker's (22) book, "Human Capital", is very close to Schultz's views on human capital. Like Schultz, Becker admits that a substantial growth in income in the U. S. remains after the growth in physical capital and labour has been accounted for. He attributes this growth in income to the activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing the resources in people and calls this investment in human capital. The many forms of such investment include schooling among other things. Schooling is supposed to improve skills, knowledge or health, and thereby raise money or psychic incomes. From the amounts invested in education, especially in developing countries, one can conclude that the rate of return is high. As Becker shows:

"Probably the most impressive piece of evidence is that more highly educated and skilled persons almost always tend to earn more than others. This is true of developed countries as different as the United States and the Soviet Union, of underdeveloped countries as different as India and Cuba, and of the United States one hundred years ago as well as today" (Becker, 1967 p9).
Becker further contends that

"... few if any countries have achieved a sustained period of economic development without having invested substantial amounts in their labor force, and most studies that have attempted quantitative assessments of contributions to growth have assigned an important role to investment in human capital" (ibid).

It is assertions like the ones above and, according to Psacharopoulos(23), the extensive documentation made by scholars from a variety of disciplines on the positive role of formal education on many facets of 'development' that have led to educational expansion. Psacharopoulos attributes the

"...most important empirical highlights of the link between education and economic growth...[to] the work of Schultz(1961), Denison(1957) and others" (Psacharopoulos, 1988 p1).

He cites evidence from 29 countries which indicate that a substantial proportion of the rate of growth of the economy can attributed to increases in the educational level of the labour force.

Table 3.1: The Contribution of Education to Economic Growth (%)

| Region | Economic growth rate explained by education |
|---------------|---|
| Africa | 17 |
| Asia | 11 |
| Latin America | 5 |
| Advanced' | 9 |

Source: Psacharopoulos (1983, Table 2)
' refers to Europe and North America

Table 1 shows that the contribution of education to economic growth is greater, on average, the lower the country's stage of development. Table 3.2 below shows that investment in the lower levels of education within a given country yields the highest economic payoff.

Table 3.2: The Social Returns to Investment in
Education(%)

| Region/ Country type | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|-------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Africa | 26 | 17 | 13 |
| Asia | 27 | 15 | 13 |
| Latin America | 26 | 18 | 16 |
| Advanced | —* | 11 | 9 |

Source: Psacharopoulos (1985, Table 1)

* Not available because of lack of a control group of illiterates.

The confidence placed in education and its role in the 'development' process is iterated by K. Watson(24) in his paper: "40 Years of Education". He sees the 1964 Education Commission Report for India(25) summing up the general expectations of education's role in development, especially in developing countries:

"The destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. This, we believe, is no mere rhetoric... it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people(India, 1964).

He further cites authors who by their works helped this confidence in education for economic development to grow: Harbison & Myers, 1964(26); McClelland 1966(27), deemed that education would quicken the pace of economic development by producing trained manpower through Human Resource Development.

Inkeles & Holsinger, 1974(28); Inkeles and Smith, 1974(29) believed that education would help develop attitudes of modernization necessary for this economic growth. It was therefore, strongly believed that 'educated' people would produce more and would adjust to demands for new skills(30).

It was also believed that better education would lead to a decline in population growth as educated women would marry later and would want fewer children(31). It was also felt that there would be greater equality of opportunity, greater equality of income and fairer power distribution(32). In political terms education was seen as a weapon of acculturation to bring about a sense of national identity. It was believed that education would inculcate new attitudes and values towards nation building(33). Therefore newly independent countries trying to foster national unity, education was viewed as a bedrock upon which democracy could be built. Education was believed to contribute to political development by

creating an informed and participant citizenry and to social development by equipping people for new roles associated with an expanding range of occupation(34). Expansion of educational provision, especially at secondary and tertiary levels, was seen as a means of rapidly producing indigenous administrators who could replace expatriate staff in the civil service(35), in teaching posts and in key administrative posts. School was also seen as a form of social control exerted on the youth to shape them into submissive, obedient youths and later submissive and obedient workers(36).

The people demanded for this education because they realized that it was a gateway to employment in the modern sector. The employment in the modern sector helps them earn their livelihood and makes their lives a little more easy and more comfortable(37). Therefore people will fight to get some of this education regardless of the costs because education makes one have a choice in life; the illiterate depend on the literate and are economically exploited by them(ibid). E. B. Castle(38) also realises why people want this formal education so badly; it is because it divides them into:

"...those whose education gives them freedom of choice in the deployment of their skills and those who cannot choose because they have no skills to offer"(Castle, 1976 p 9).

People, according to Adams(39), have realised that there is no other available channel of socio-economic mobility as only school plays the role of fitting a person for the role s/he is expected to play in society and economy; education, therefore, is the key factor determining occupation placement and opportunities for social mobility.

3.3.2 Expansion of Formal Schooling

K. Watson, in his paper "Forty Years of Education" documents most of the following data on educational expansion. Pressures for expansion were enormous: internal political pressures, rising expectations and aspirations on the part of both parents and young in many countries, the growing impact of mass communications and demands for social justice. The research survey and international conferences also lent weight to the clamour for expansion. The UNESCO Regional Plans- Karachi, 1960, Addis Ababa 1961, Santiago, 1962 and Tripoli, 1965- were to have a profound impact on educational developments in the three major continents of the Third World and helped to provide the blueprint for expansion into the 1980s.

There was of course the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which declared education to be a basic human right. This put pressure on many developing countries as they wanted to prove credibility to the world by providing

free education for all their citizens. The 1961 Washington Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education(40), not only recognised that education was an important prerequisite for nation building but that it was also a key necessity for economic growth(41).

Research surveys such as those conducted by Inkeles in six countries in the late 1960s, which found "education to be the most powerful factor in making men(women?) 'modern'"(42)even when compared with the mass media or manufacturing industry, or those of Harbison and Myers, 1964 whose study of 75 countries at different stages of development(43) argued that Human Resource Development was crucial for economic development and modernization, provided ample evidence to support existing policies. Other writers like Schultz (1961), Denison (1962) and Bowman (1980) showed that not only was there a direct correlation between GNP and per capita income and educational provision across countries, but that levels of education, occupation and income, were also closely interrelated. Psacharopoulos(1973, 1980, 1983, 1985b) has also shown that rates of return to investment in education are commonly high, especially at primary level, and argues that investment in education makes a vital contribution to economic development (see Tables 1 & 2).

Achievements in terms of increased enrolments at different levels of the system have proved quite remarkable by any standards. In the two decades 1960-1980, the world's total enrolments practically doubled, from 327 million to 641 million, greater than the whole of previous history (UNESCO, 1983). The greatest increase took place LDCs, as Table 3.3 shows.

Table 3.3: Growth of Enrolments by Levels and Regions,
1960-1980

| Number Enrolled (000s) | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| Region | Level of Education | Number Enrolled (000s) | | | % Increase 1960-1980* |
| | | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | |
| Developed Countries | Primary | 124,077 | 137,711 | 125,454 | 1 |
| | Secondary | 46,429 | 70,519 | 80,575 | 72 |
| | Higher | 9,599 | 21,105 | 29,719 | 214 |
| | Total | 146,395 | 229,335 | 235,747 | 31 |
| Developing Countries | Primary | 121,982 | 204,343 | 291,968 | 142 |
| | Secondary | 21,788 | 51,034 | 96,611 | 358 |
| | Higher | 2,625 | 7,037 | 18,763 | 523 |
| | Total | 146,395 | 263,483 | 405,342 | 181 |

Percentage Increase by Level and Region 1960-1980*

| | Primary | Secondary | Higher |
|----------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| Developed Countries | 1 | 72 | 214 |
| Developing Countries | 142 | 358 | 523 |
| Africa | 218 | 636 | 709 |
| Latin America | 134 | 493 | 831 |
| South Asia | 128 | 298 | 411 |

*Figures do not include P. R. of China, N Korea or Namibia
Source: UNESCO (1983) *Trends and Projections of*

Enrolments, 1960 - 2000 (Paris, UNESCO).

3.4 Criticisms of 'Schooling'

In spite of the above recorded success there are still enormous regional variations between Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Also there are still considerable variations between countries in the same region and within countries between urban and rural enrolments (Frederiksen, 1981). There has been growing concern for: those still not enrolled (Coombs, 1985); efficiency of the system; dropout and wastage (UNESCO, 1971a); graduate unemployment (Blaug, 1970; Turnham and Jaeger 1971; Psacharopoulos, 1973); the relevance of what is learnt (Hawes, 1979; World Bank, 1980); the brain drain to the rich countries (Hayter, 1971; Mende, 1973P; the excessive concentration on diplomas and certificates (Dore, 1976; Oxenham, 1984a), leading to a greater emphasis on productivity and economic significance in most schools, hence education becoming more of a matter of improving one's material well-being (Lowe, Grant, Williams Eds. 1971); and for the managerial and administrative capacity of LDCs to cope with their education systems (World Bank, 1980; Watson, 1985; Hurat, 1986).

Above all there is growing anxiety about the escalating costs of educational provision (Coombs, 1985). Many have also argued that, far from bringing about political and social change and greater equality, education systems have reinforced existing social and political patterns and have

maintained the status quo whereby urban elites have continued to dominate and exploit the rural, the urban poor and minority groups (e.g. Illich, 1971; Freire, 1972; Carnoy & Levin, 1976). Some of the problems and difficulties highlighted above are reiterated by the authors below:

3.4.1 Adam Curle

He can loosely be termed as an enemy of formal education. This, however, was not obvious at the beginning. He wrote his first book, "Education Strategy for Developing Countries", in 1966. In this book he believed that formal education had a liberating force and that it should be spread all over regardless of the expenses. He saw how the rural areas were isolated and left out of this education system thus leading to a lack of liberty which he strongly believed education would bring about. Adams (1971), like Curle, saw the exclusion of rural areas as an evident outcome where economic objectives are paramount, so making apparent a good deal of inequality in access to education. The resources are concentrated in regions and groups most likely to profit from them, leaving out the politically and socially underprivileged and thus defeating the objective of education for development according to Adams.

Curle then wrote a second book, in 1973, entitled "Education for Liberation", in which he regarded formal education as enslaving men and women to values and aspirations of the middle class, a class they could not join. He saw formal education as creating elites who oppress the masses without achieving economic development. He condemned schools strongly and viewed schools as having supplied the technology and values for pollution, exploitation, violence, racism, poverty of aged, alienation of the young, military industrial complex, middle class ethos of competition (Curle, 1973 p 114).

He saw formal school qualifying people to live in this type of system furthering it. In the Third World, elites (products of schools) join the Multinational Companies (MNCs) which exploit their fellow citizens. This exploitation is sometimes referred to as 'soft violence' for it is a state in which the political party preaches socialism but practises blatant economic individualism. The rich companies sway the party's decisions so no reforms can be made unless the MNCs' consent to them.

Curle wanted schools which would have no competition, no examinations and no grades, and he wanted schools which would be divorced from employment. This later function of school as an instrument for getting jobs was leading to the acquisition of qualifications and credentials for the

employment sector at the cost of neglecting proper education taking place in schools. Or as Stensland puts it:

"A capital investment justification of education obviously often is at variance with the idea of education as serving "the highest development of the intellectual and moral aptitudes of the individual, rather than the training of producers" (Stensland, 1978 p254).

The acquisition of credentials from school for the employment sector is like a disease, that Dora(44) calls diploma disease. He refers to education as a ritual suffused with boredom and basically anti-education. Curle believes that the doing away with the above mentioned characteristics of school would make professions lose the excessive statistics given to them which is detrimental to the people who go to them. Curle bases his ideas on the belief that wo/man is sublime and can achieve 'self-realisation' and expanded consciousness without having to go to school; he in fact believes that school destroys this ability.

3.4.2 Ivan Illich

The second radical author is Ivan Illich(along the same line of thought is Reimer, author of 'School is Dead') with his famous book 'Deschooling Society'(1971). In this book Illich proposed that formal schooling should be abolished and learning webs should be composed of

exchanged skills, peer-matching systems and reference services to help achieve the learning objectives.

Illich sees formal schooling as a purchasable commodity used that is used as a form of social control: the more one can buy the more privileges one gets, and the less one buys the more one should be resigned to suffering, low wages and all forms of deprivation. He hates the monopoly that schools have over the power to define education, to appropriate most of the educational resources available and to brand learning outside school as illegitimate. He disagrees with the institutional way of learning and believes that education should be controlled by the learner. As long as education is institutionalised the learner is subordinated to ruling people's values: thus, he advocates complete freedom of the individual. His critics say that his appeal is charismatic, not logical and is not open to being systematic: it is all pie in the sky. However, his book has led to a questioning of the 'taken-for-granted' formal education system and its role in society.

3.4.3 Paulo Freire

Freire, like Illich, believes that education is a dependent variable and, therefore, whoever owns the means of the economic system will construct the education system which will maintain the order that will preserve their

status quo. The views he expresses in his writings (45) are summarised as following:

He sees society in a master-servant relationship and education, which according to him is never neutral, as maintaining this relationship. The formal school maintains myths which keep the master-servant relationship in existence, where the servant is kept in the position of unreflecting being, or as he calls it, a detemporalised state, without a sense of past and future. In this state people are mere objects and not subjects, and because they are not conscientised they remain in this oppressive state without even knowing that they are being oppressed. Paulo Freire's process of praxis which helps the oppressed to identify and solve their problems will be discussed in detail later.

The above authors belong to the 'Third Route' or the 'Radicals' because they were concerned with the 'radix' or root problem of the school. The most radical of them, Illich, saw the solution as uprooting school, although there would inevitably be other bureaucratic systems erected in its place and equally devastating in the end result, unless socio-economic restructuring went hand in hand with school reform. Reform of school was to be the obvious result of such criticisms, but reform never took place because there were conservatives who believed in piece-meal innovation, mainly for the sake of their vested

interests in the education system as it was. The conservatives saw reform in terms of improving the slipping standards and were more concerned about preserving their status quo than about seeing the education system truly reformed. Yet the criticisms of authors like the ones above did not go unheeded, for the obvious failures of formal education were too apparent.

3.4.4 Dependence in Education

Dependence as a term has been dealt with in Chapter Two, here some factors which have been referred to already, and some additional ones are raised, namely that,

"dependence is mediated through inequality, economically educationally and through a long history of colonialism and of subservience to small powerful elites who still largely dominate the world stage" (Porter, J. in K. Watson, 1984 p15).

The points raised above by the critics of formal education find resonance in what those who are advocating for the existence of dependence in education propound. The 'dependence in education theorists' see dependence as not only affecting the economic sector but social, political and educational as well. Most dependency theorists draw their inspiration from an economic theory of a capitalist world system in which peripheral countries, dominated and exploited by metropolitan countries, become dependent upon metropolises. An important component of this theory is that the centre exercises its power through an indigenous elite

at the periphery. Though subordinate to the centre the elite is 'superordinate' to its own periphery, but is dependent upon the metropolitan centre for its power(46).

Translated to education the intellectual and cultural elite derives its position from its familiarity with the metropolitan educational system and languages(47). The familiarity with metropolitan educational system began during the colonial era for most developing countries and has since been carried on. This colonial legacy affects present educational systems today due to the national boundaries which were formed then. These boundaries cut across ethnic groups and has led to the whole question of ethnic and linguistic diversity which has a direct bearing upon educational provision. In order to avoid one racial or ethnic group or tribe dominating the political processes and enforcing its language and beliefs on others through the education system many former colonies resorted to using the colonialists language as national language and as a medium of instruction (48).

The choice of either French or English(to mention the two common ones) led to an influx of expatriate teachers and teaching materials from the ex-colonial governments at independence to help establish education systems in newly independent African countries. The establishing of education systems included higher education(49). Higher

education in developing countries is so closely bound up with the international networks of higher education making it exceedingly difficult to break away from Western emphasis in especially medical field. As a result of the language media higher education systems of Third world countries look to their counterparts in the industrial world for leadership and even inspiration(50). Watson, K. (51) gives examples of how publishing houses through their control of textbooks, have had, and continue to have a very strong influence on the syllabuses and curricula at all levels of the education systems throughout the Third World. Although the curricula and syllabuses have been modified and localised in many countries, the language of instruction implies that many textbooks in use originate from the former colonial power or from one of the industrial nations publishing houses.

Curriculum reform has not been linked with examination reform in many educational reforms. In many former British colonies Cambridge overseas or London University examinations are still taken. Where local examination boards have replaced Cambridge or London, foreign personnel are frequently involved in setting or examining papers and links with the European syllabus remain. Even technical assistance training offered overseas for curriculum developers, educational administrators, planners or inspectors or teachers, is fraught with

difficulties and neo-colonial overtones(52).

The above review of the state of educational dependency in most Third World countries show how the intellectual and cultural elite derive its position from its familiarity with the metropolitan educational system and languages. The 'commodity' in which they deal and which provides their power is knowledge. This knowledge is coupled with the fact that these same intellectuals have leading positions in the economic sector making their power more effective. Lungu(53) has shown how the elite influence educational policy making in Zambia and how reform will be carried out only if the elite consent to these reforms, ensuring that their vested interests are preserved.

There are criticisms raised against dependency theory being applied to education(54) as theory borrowing has dangers. Firstly, a theory can become ossified after transfer from one field of study to another. Secondly, the conceptual parameters of the donor and recipient disciplines may differ in important ways. Educational institutions and processes may be sufficiently different from economic activities to invalidate the transfer of concepts from one area to the other. Thirdly, and consequently, key research issues are ignored because the theory cannot easily accommodate them and the theory has not been developed sufficiently since transfer to allow new questions to be generated.

There is also the fear that internal constraints may be overlooked when international ones are so much emphasised. In fact K. Watson (55) claims that in the 60s and 70s, many educational planners, international as well as national, overlooked M. Sadler's dictum about what happens outside the classroom being more important than what happens inside and that this is crucial to the analysis of any country's education system. Recognition, according to Watson, came rather late when the World Bank in its 1980 ESPP it was observed that

"at the macro level decisions about education policy require an understanding of the relations among population dynamics, education, the economy and society.." (56)

Watson, believes that

"It is an understanding of some of these internal dynamics that has so frequently been overlooked by the exponents of dependency theory" (Watson, K., 1984 p39).

Watson points out population growth as chief issue which has nothing to do with external influences but which has everything to do with the internal characteristics of many Third World countries. He claims that excessive population growth is both a symptom and a cause of poverty. It is a symptom and a perpetuator of poverty and a drain on the educational budget, particularly if universal primary education remains a development goal, since more and more places have to be found for ever increasing numbers of young pupils. Such population

growth is perhaps the major feature of educational underdevelopment, wastage and dropout.

It is difficult to take Watson's point of population growth as having nothing to do with external influences as it is claimed that population growth in most developing countries is due to Western health care which has led to reduced infant mortality and raised life expectancy. The developments in various aspects of life were not coordinated with the economic development in most developing countries during the colonial era. While health care and education were mainly in the hands of missionaries, there was no planning for these on a national level contributing to the discrepancy that exists now between growth and progress in health and the poor economic situation. The poor economic situation could have been built on and planned to cater for a growing population but the interest of the colonial powers was not in developing colonies but in profit-making ventures which led to the siphoning off of surplus to the metropolitan countries.

The other points which Watson(57) raises in relation to the social status of women in many societies, especially in some of the Muslim societies of North Africa, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran and particularly in the rural areas of many Third World countries as slowing down

'development' are quite acceptable from the Western point of view of development. The emphasis on Western point of view is important here because J. Potter raises a point that

"while interdependence is dubbed as a source of mutual enrichment, receptivity, initiative and creativity, it also leads to frustrations and is accompanied by deterioration in the lot of some people, reduction in their scope for manoeuvre, increased unpredictability and greater vulnerability" (Potter, J in K. Watson, 1984 pp15-16).

There is also the realization that

"These exchanges are accompanied by a growing tendency towards standardisation of tastes and behaviour and homogenisation of certain patterns of life, thought and action" (ibid).

Most of this homogenisation and standardisation is mostly by Western culture;

"The dominance of a particular cultural form tends to remould whatever conforms with it and to destroy everything that resists it. It encourages certain talents and modes of feeling and areas of activity while it ignores others. Whole sectors of creativity are repressed; societies mutilated in their individuality and their distinctive structure" (ibid p16).

The future task of educators

"When considering educational systems and practices, is to find ways of sustaining cultural identity, encouraging endogenous development which mobilises the energy, the knowledge and the understanding of a given society, whilst the same time recognizing that identity and individuality have to be developed within the broader framework, namely that individual countries all share one world, one environment and reflect certain basic human needs" (Potter, J. in Watson 1984 p17).

Transfer in education will not stop but the Third World could do something about the knowledge which is transferred to their countries (55). Firstly, they could

ensure that the knowledge transferred to their countries is made the basis for self-generating additional knowledge. In this way knowledge received could be used to bring about innovation in their own countries instead of depending on industrial nations. New ways of disseminating information, other than through the written word, could be used. For example the use of radio-cassettes could be very effective where illiteracy is high.

The economic dependence, however, which is the basis of educational dependence makes efforts to be innovative almost impossible. There is a critical shortage of text books in schools leading to most Third World countries using obsolete materials. The economic situation also makes research in any field so hazardous and next to impossible, making innovative activities next to nil and resulting in many Third World countries being content with receiving whatever they can from the West. These frustrating conditions force those who would be researchers to migrate to industrial nations.

Secondly, the knowledge acquired from industrial nations will only help Third World countries to decolonise themselves if the acquired knowledge is mobilised to reduce the economic and cultural dependency on the industrial nation(59). The second chapter has analysed the state of cultural and economic dependency of the Third

World countries. It is difficult to visualise that this will be terminated soon. For a country that depends on another for innovation and for economic growth cannot hope to achieve cultural dependence, as the dominant country always proves to be better and so its culture is emulated by the national of the Third World countries. The fact that most products and commodities are provided for and advertised by the West in most developing countries, continue to place most of these countries under this cultural dependence. The struggle of most Third World countries to uphold their cultural heritage will not succeed unless it is accompanied by economic independence.

The hope of cultural independence would be that the majority of rural people are not thoroughly brain-washed into thinking that the industrial nations' culture is better than theirs. This hope cannot solely be depended on as there are no restrictive boundaries between urban and rural areas, and so people can come and go to and from the rural areas. Also with the spread of the mass media, many rural people are brought into contact with the industrial nations' cultural values. Most of the poor, especially of the rural areas, cannot afford the advertised products and because they cannot afford the products it follows that they cannot become what these products advertise. This could either lead to inferiority complex or to a search for a different way of 'being'.

Unfortunately, the educated and affluent local elite do not promote their culture, but they rather associate themselves with the industrial nations' culture.

The proposals of achieving 'another development' through participatory approach could help the people of the Third World countries to value themselves and their culture when they realise the potential they have, to become what Freire calls 'objects' and not remain subjects. Through dialogue and participation people could be led to realise that the culture they emulate will continue to oppress them and the ones they emulate will never accept them as equals. This might divert their mind from emulating the foreign culture blindly but they might learn what is good and useful and build on it. The affluence of the rich countries itself, has not resulted in the improvement of life, on the contrary it has alienated them from society, polluted the environment, wasted resources, and generated fear and uncertainty regarding basic values (Wignaraja, P. 1976).

For the

"narrow nationalist thinking in education is no longer adequate, anymore than trenches would be useful in a nuclear war. In the developed world, future survival is as dependent upon access to cultural understanding and a preparedness to change as access to water and a willingness to try new agricultural methods is vital in the Third World" (Potter, J. in Watson, K. 1984 pp19).

Thirdly, in order for 'development' to be achieved all

available and potential knowledge should be mobilised to improve the living standards of the people in the Third World, to enrich their lives and fulfil their creative potentialities(60). As already mentioned this research emphasises that people should acquire this knowledge and should be involved in all processes of 'development' if they are to value this 'development' and be able to sustain it. Only the people themselves know what they really want and need and anything imposed from without in a top-down approach will only collapse. The Literature review has shown that anything imposed on the people by either the government or any organization rarely succeeds.

The continuous research in education to find out ways and means of making education relevant and of using the information available for self-generating additional knowledge makes the criticism raised by Maclean(61) unfounded. There is, for example, an increasing emphasis on knowledge for empowerment which is teachable people to take control of the destinies of their lives. This knowledge for empowerment has emerged out of research in education and development. It is seen as, knowledge for transformation and the missing ingredient in the achievement of development redefined as 'another development'. There is therefore, continuous research in key issues in education, while research continues in 'development' and 'economic development' which are of

great interest to educationists. There is therefore, no ossification of theory. There is the realisation today that economists, educationists and academics and researchers have to work together in order to come up with all-round approach to 'development' and all economic issues. These criticisms raised against formal education and the transfer of knowledge that led to dependency led to a new search for alternatives to the education systems in most developing countries as described below.

3.5 New Direction in the 70s

Theorists in educational development warned that the education system was creating more problems than it was solving. Most prominent among these were Ruscoe(1963), Balogh(1964), Anderson (1965), Foster (1965a), Coombs (1968) and Caldwell(1969). There was realization that formal education did not increase jobs for school leaver, mostly of the youth. The earlier anticipated equality was not achieved, rather the gap between rich and poor widened, the wealth did not trickle down to rural areas instead the more educated people living in urban areas ensured that their children got their share of the 'pie'. The education given in school was not related to the rural environment but rather it alienated the rural children from the rural areas, thus taking away from the rural areas potential developers. This alienation of rural

children is caused by what some authors consider a form of dependence in education (see above, p143).

The end of the 60s and beginning of the 70s, therefore, witnessed a mood of distrust, of stock-taking and serious reprisals of education's place in development by academics (62). Because of these critics there was a concern for new directions. Emphasis switched from quantitative expansion as the motor of change towards quality and relevance in the curriculum and, equity and justice. There was greater emphasis on the least able groups in society: the rural and urban poor, women and minority groups. Among the forces helping in this process were international and national agencies whose views were expressed by Coombs & Ahmed (1974) "Attacking Rural Poverty", the Faure Report (UNESCO, 1972), the World Bank's 1974 ESPP and the Overseas Development Administration's "More Aid to the Poorest" (HMSO, 1975). The criticisms against formal education brought to light the neglect that the rural areas especially suffered.

In answer to the development and improvement of education in rural areas, Non-Formal Education (NFE) was presented as the ideal. The dominant role of formal education has been conservative in nature, therefore, NFE was seen as a less tradition-bound and more effective contributor to social change especially rural development. It would

cater for the development of rural areas which were seen as "the key to the whole process of development" (Weitz, 1971) and education would be a key ingredient in rural transformation. Many writers, therefore, wrote extensively about this new type of non-formal education, for rural areas (notably Coombs et al), though the realities have often been quite different from the rhetoric (Dove, 1980; Watson, 1982b), as will be shown below.

3.5.1 Non-Formal Education

NFE is defined by Niehoff (63) as the method of assessing the needs and interests of adults and out of school youth in developing countries by communicating with them and motivating them to participate in helping them acquire necessary skills to adopt behavioural patterns and related activities which will increase their productivity and living standards. It is therefore 'any organised educational activity outside the established formal system that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity' (Coombs, P. H., 1973).

NFE was to meet short-term learning needs of individuals and communities, and emphasise the learning of specific knowledge and skills, and inculcate specific attitudes which would result in immediate functional behavioural

changes. It was to produce learning which could be immediately valued in the context of the individual's or community's life situation. Rewards were to be tangible and could include improvements in material well-being, productivity, self-awareness, ability to control the environment: however, no credentials were to be given.

If NFE is seen as defined by Niehoff and Coombs above, then in that sense NFE could be said to have always existed: for there have always been complementary, supplementary and replacement types of education. The complementary and supplementary were part of the formal education system and had objectives which concentrated on information and skills. The complementary education took on a non-classroom element and included activities, like sports and drama, which later were grouped into clubs: such activities were done outside school hours but usually within the school grounds.

The supplementary education was mainly for school leavers or drop outs and consisted normally of skill training or apprenticeship in home economics for girls and farming for boys. The replacement education was usually adult literacy or education for nomads or basic education for out of school youth. These were normally ad hoc courses and when recipients found employment they received a low salary. Most of these programmes were, however, taken

over by Community Development and were run under their patronage in the early 60s. Under Community Development these activities became bureaucratized and did not look after the needs of the people but became goal(objective) oriented where people no longer participated in decision-making but did what they were ordered to do. The programmes had different names; Community Development, Agriculture, Nutrition, Health and for the youth there was National Service and Scouts to mention a few prominent ones.

Although these various types of educational activities existed prior to the 70s, they only came to be referred to as NFE after the late 60s. It was shortly after Coombs had written his first book, warning of a crisis in education, that discussions and deliberations on how to handle the crisis led to the formation of NFE. There was, as discussed earlier under "Criticisms of Schooling" (see p137), evident signs that the education system was not achieving its set and expected goals. The emphasis that Niehoff brings out in his definition of NFE is the need to bring about change in attitude and to ensure that the educational activities are identified and desired by the learners. The following authors and bodies played a leading role in defining and analysing NFE: Coombs, 1972, 1973; Kindervatter, 1979; Sheffield and Diejomah 1972; Michigan State University (Programmes of Studies in



NFE and Discussion Papers and Supplementary Papers on Programmes); Massachusetts Centre for International Education. Research by the above led to five categories of NFE:

- (i) Industrial and Vocational.
- (ii) Agricultural and Community Development.
- (iii) Out of School Rural Youth.
- (iv) Rural Adults.
- (v) Multipurpose.

Ahmed and Coombs (1975) further provided 17 case studies to identify six main learning needs:

- (i) Positive attitudes towards cooperation.
- (ii) Literacy and Numeracy.
- (iii) Scientific understanding.
- (iv) Functional knowledge for raising a family and operating a household.
- (v) Knowledge and skills to earn a living.
- (vi) Knowledge and skills for civic participation.

These learning needs were directed mainly at two groups: the out- of-school youth and the out-of-school adults.

Paulston & LeRoy (1975) isolated three strands in NFE:

- (i) Human resource development writers in this mould advocated economic and educational developments on all fronts, in urban and rural areas, among children and adults, in order to maximise the economic benefits of

educational investment.

(ii) Rural development Writers under this section argued for more resources to earmarked to rural areas of LDCs because of the need to improve equity, agricultural production and to maximise human and social development in those areas.

(iii) Lifelong education

This is concerned less with age specific education provision as with the pursuance of learning for its own sake throughout life (Legrand, 1970).

The results of different strands of thinking about NFE have led to many different schemes throughout the Third World. They range from on-job-training, skill training in institutions run by Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Rural Development, to personal development/enrichment programmes.

The specialists of NFE wanted all the activities and programmes to be learner-centred; to feature a 'cafeteria curriculum' and alternative opportunities; to foster horizontal relationships; to rely on local resources; and the results to be immediately useful to the learner. It was also to emphasise a low level of structure as opposed to the high structure in formal education. It was to be the opposite of formal education which had earlier been accepted as a meritorious way of placing people in society but now had overtones of injustice. The rise of NFE made people aware of social justice which led to it being

popular. NFE was recognised by workers in health and agriculture who found its ideas useful in their field. The economists and planners saw in NFE a cheaper way of educating the population as opposed to Universal Primary Education (UPE). The NFE practitioners were, therefore, given encouragement to seek the aid of international bodies. Although NFE was becoming popular most of what the NFE authors were writing did not please governments, especially in developing countries.

The following authors were in the forefront in bringing out similar points to those raised by the radical writers, referred to earlier, or those stemming from their criticism: Foster (1966); Sheffield & Diejomah (1972); Foster and Sheffield (1973); Grandstaff (1973), (1974a), (1974b); Brembeck & Thompson (1973); Coombs (1968), (1973); Coombs and Ahmed (1974); Coombs et al (1973), (1976) and others, saw FE or schools as creating unemployment, causing desocialisation and contributing greatly to a high rate of youth drifting to urban areas. They criticised school for acquiring monopolistic control over the means of social mobility, for having become the tool of the establishment of society and for keeping the poor majority out of society's share of wealth. According to the above authors, the formal education system does nothing for drop-outs whom it creates, but worse still, it

is becoming very expensive: most governments are spending 20-30 per cent of the national budget on formal education.

The attempt to ruralise formal syllabi in order to make education more suitable to rural life was seen as futile by these authors as change of content would not help people who wanted certificates. They saw in people who went into the formal education system as interested in acquiring credentials for the modern sector employment and not interested in acquiring knowledge useful and applicable to the environment and to people's life. This realisation led to blaming developed countries for presuming that their education system was good for everyone: 'how could one system suit the boy at ease with the mechanical West and boy herding goats in the Third World' (64). In most developing countries, formal education has given local elite a tool to use in maintaining for themselves privileges against the majority: being too expensive to bring to everyone it could only be used by the elite. Formal education was, therefore, accused of causing detrimental effects on people: affecting the personal growth of those excluded from it, namely, the poor, the isolated rural dwellers, the illiterate, drop-outs and the unemployed and unrepresented (65).

3.5.2 NFE and Rural Development

Emphasis on NFE was being placed on people, especially the youth, who were not catered for by the formal education system. One group, the rural people, received special attention as NFE realised that an expanded concept of education and development was required, and not just the economic growth and trickle down theory: these had failed, and so education and development was needed which included all aspects of a person's life. Hence, integrated rural development, which would be a multifaceted development was advanced. Wilson(1973) saw a direct link between education and rural development and regarded the basic problem of rural development as a human one: how to change values and attitudes. The type of education for rural development that had, until now, been supplied to rural people, was one of the preoccupations. He saw that rural areas could play an important role in the future and that it could be a place where young people could find an occupation and a livelihood. Like Wilson, Herbison(66) saw that:

"Human resources...constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations...[therefore] a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people, and utilise them...will be unable to develop anything else (Herbison, 1973 p3).

The above view is different from what the perception of RD had been: mainly agricultural production, as Chapter One above has shown. Governments set up irrigation schemes,

settlement schemes, state farms and cooperatives in an effort to make agriculture the alternative source of revenue. All these schemes are under government control and they tend to be capital, technology and energy intensive. This government control may not be direct as in the case of cooperatives. Farmers are organised in such a way that they are under obligation to hand over part of their production to the government. These cooperatives, especially in Africa, rarely succeed as they operate on the political and economic expediency of the government and not on the economic or educational needs of the members(67).

The approach to rural development by NFE had to be different from what it was before, as prior efforts to develop rural areas had failed. In the 1970s the urban and rural gap was widening: while towns grew bigger with better amenities, rural areas were neglected and rural productivity and income remained low. NFE, in its assessment of rural development realised that rural development had been interpreted as mainly agricultural development. NFE insisted that rural development had ignored the most vital element in the whole process: the human being. The human being, with his/her income, house, food and health, was left out. This exclusion of the person led to an increase in cash crop production at the expense of the poor farmers. These rural products were

bought cheaply to satisfy urban people while rural people continued to live in absolute poverty (68). In answer to this situation, NFE saw increased production, equitable distribution of income and employment for all as essential.

In order to ensure success in improving living standards of rural people NFE set out to foster activities that would be led/controlled and organized by the people themselves. People would be encouraged to participate by expressing their objectives, choices and decisions, for only the learners will express these because they are related to their learning needs. Fordham, P(1975) and Hall, B & Kidd, J. (1975), insist that all non-formal educators should know what the learners' values are in order to motivate them; for the learner will only want to achieve what s/he values.

Having laid down what NFE hoped to achieve they set out to accomplish this through an integrated approach to RD which had to be a:

"...multifaceted rural development effort aimed at meeting the "basic needs" of the rural poor, ...at increasing rural employment and the productivity of small farmers and other rural workers; and at the full participation of all rural people in the development process, and equitable distribution of its benefits" (Coombs, 1980 p1).

3.6 The Fall of Non-Formal Education

The objectives set out above were not achieved and NFE lost its popularity in less than 20 years. In fact, NFE programmes were not designed and implemented on any large scale, nor did they become part of the policy agenda of all developing nations(69). Further, there have been no fundamental changes in the structures, methodology, administration and objectives of the educational systems of countries(70) thus making the influence and effect of NFE very questionable. Various authors have put forward different reason for this failure of NFE to achieve its set objectives. Most of the arguments below will be from Ahmed,1983; Bhole, (1983) and Bock and Papagiannis(1983). These authors(all from the early 80s) give the following reasons for the failure of NFE:

(1) Ahmed(71) points out that the advocates of NFE underscored the interactive relationship between education and development. NFE, as a part of the total national network of organized learning, has been wrongly viewed both as a causal factor and an element of the consequences of the development process. NFE cannot be a causal factor, nor an element of the consequences of the development process as Bock and Papagiannis(72) show. Bock & Papagiannis reckon that this is attributing too much influence to NFE and show that severe problems of distribution and participation resulting from power conflicts in other social sub-systems could not be solved

through the manipulation of educational variables alone as the above advocates of NFE suggests.

(2) According to Ahmed the conditions and qualification for the potential of NFE to be realised were ignored. These conditions were: (a) national commitment to the promotion of mass welfare, one element of which is expansion of, and equity in, educational opportunities (b) Decentralization of planning and management in both education and development spheres and meaningful popular participation. (c) A dynamic context for socio-economic change arising from national development policies, priorities and programmes. Bock and Papagiannis reiterate that these conditions were ignored and instead most central governments co-opted and institutionalised NFE. They turned these projects into 'cooling out' systems and made them effective vehicles of transmitting the state's modernizing policy and incorporated those previously marginal groups into allegiance to the nation. The NFE projects act as cooling out systems by lowering the occupational aspirations of its graduates, since it does not carry the social power to bestow a legitimate claim to white-collar and professional jobs in the primary sector of the labour market. Because of their lowered occupational aspirations they are not likely to participate in political turbulence as are secondary

school graduates who have had their high expectations frustrated.

The institutionalisation of NFE has led to bureaucratization which in turn renders the realization of NFE social goals highly unlikely. The goals of self-reliance, decentralization and self-management are not embodied in either the ideology or the method of modernization. Bureaucratization of NFE tends to depoliticize it and masks the centrality of power in the maintenance of the existing social order. Furthermore, once institutionalised, NFE lends itself to ideological manipulation by dominant political and economic groups for the pseudo reforms that are deliberately intended to reduce legitimate demands for more fundamental reforms that might threaten the still fragile emerging social and economic order. The major obstacles to the achievement of NFE's broad social goals are not primarily, or even largely, internal factors, such as programme planning or curriculum: rather, the major obstacles are those resulting from NFE's external relations with other social sub-systems (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983).

(3) Ahmed, like Bock and Papagiannis above, sees that the subservient place of institutions like education in the total structure of society makes it impossible for any reform resulting in significant socio-economic changes.

Such educational systems reproduce the class division of society and serve as the instrument for perpetrating the class structure. Reforms, therefore, such as NFE serve only to strengthen the status quo by softening the conflicts and contradictions of the existing social structure. Although this point has been raised earlier on, the emphasis that Bock and Papagiannis give it is worth noting in the following quotation:

"by not providing either the accepted and socially valued certification or the non-cognitive attributes necessary for "promobility", [NFE] locks workers into the segment of the occupational structure... to the extent that [NFE] is successful in producing more competent, more satisfied farmers, fisher, it is likely to defuse effectively legitimate social discontent and inhibit the development of concerted demand for sweeping social and economic restructuring of their society. Quite the contrary of providing an alternative channel for upward socioeconomic mobility, [NFE] is viewed as serving to rigidify existing channels" (Bock & Papagiannis, 1983 p5ff).

(4) The inertia of educational systems, the resistance of the professional education establishment reinforced by the existing political power configuration and public administration structures, present almost insurmountable obstacles to educational change.

To the above list Bhoja (1983) adds the fact that most justifications of NFE have been negative ones, founded on the failures of formal education. This made the conservatives brand NFE as a second-rate alternative to the real thing, which to them, is formal education. The fact that NFE is considered second-rate is confirmed by

the fact that while FE gets its allocation as a matter of course, NFE has to be justified anew for every planning period and during every budget cycle. This fact leads to what Bohla considers another contribution to the failure of NFE: the fact that NFE programmes have been starved of money and have been implemented with an obvious lack of conviction.

The radicals, according to Bohla, characterised NFE as a cynical attempt to neutralize pressures for educational services from the newly enfranchised masses and a plot to create a permanent educational underclass to work in the farms and factories of the governing elite. Also, according to Bohla, there was a lack of conceptual clarity and experience:

"[NFE] is much more difficult to design and deliver than formal education. NFE is not some generalised preparation for future life; it has to be responsive to specific and immediate needs of selected groups of learners. Its challenge lies in designing education for here and now; education that is at the same time learner-centred, problem-centred and community-centred" (Bohla, 1983 p46).

From the point of experience, a NF educator is not just an instructor: he or she is also a curriculum developer, extension worker, animator and change agent. The new educational planner has to learn to develop a concept of education that includes formal education, non-formal education and informal education. Such overwhelming

responsibility expected of the instructor and planner makes NFE difficult to implement. In spite of this ineffectiveness on the part of NFE either as a substitute or supplement for formal schooling, Ahmed and Bohla both believe that NFE will continue into the twenty first century. Bohla believes that NFE will see a slow but steady expansion in developing countries since the developmental tasks it must tackle are truly colossal:

"Over the years, a part of non-formal education will become formalized as alternative formal education (AFE), while another part will continue to serve the special and emergent needs of a learning society in search of cultural enrichment and peace" (Bohla, 1983 p53).

Ahmed sees NFE continuing in the field not traditionally served by the formal school such as: education and care of the young child, skill training and post-primary continuing education for young people, literacy and post-literacy education for all age-groups, education related to the roles of women and young mothers, all types of adult education, extension services related to development projects and so on. These will remain the strength of non-formal education. The two authors, of course, realize that necessary changes have to be dealt with in order for NFE to continue.

Ahmed sees that an examination of the role of NFE in relation to some of the critical issues in educational development is essential if NFE is to make an impact on

society, especially on the developing countries. These issues are considered because they are major concerns in terms of formulating national educational development policies and have a bearing on the links between FE and NFE. They are: (a) universalization of primary education, (b) post-primary educational opportunities, (c) care and education of the young child, (d) relevance and practicality of school experiences, (e) efficient use of scarce resources and (f) strengthening the links between education and development(73).

Bohla groups his discussion issues, which he thinks are essential if NFE is to continue, as follows: (a) definitional and identity-issues: those relating to NFE and how it is different from formal and informal education; (b) policy issues: those relating to the role of NFE in the new distribution of educational goods and the new distribution of power, status and economic goods that it might bring in its wake; (c) institutional issues: those relating to the delivery of NFE and the co-ordination and institutionalisation of the mechanisms of its delivery; and (d) curricular issues: those relating to the facts and values embedded in the curriculum of NFE and the control of such curricula between learners and the providers of NFE.

3.7 The Concept of Participation

Bock and Papagiannis do not refute the fact that NFE will go on, but are rather worried about its effectiveness. They, however, see the provision of opportunities for substantial client group participation, serving as a potentially portent tonic for ills of state co-optation and industrialisation. They place their hope in the essence of NFE's ethos which is the grassroots initiation and continuing participation by those for whom the programmes are intended rather than in the continuation of NFE itself. It is this participation which leads to empowerment which has become the concern of the 80s. It is seen to some extent as the missing 'ingredient' in the development process.

Popular participation has been conceptualised in relation to some form of political democracy and equally broadly in terms of involvement in the processes of social growth that the term 'development' suggests. To some, participation was taken as the people's involvement in development projects by contributing free labour, and in this respect terms such as "mobilisation" and "coercion" have been used to characterise the nature of participation. To others, it also included a contribution of material resources. Participation has also been used as a manipulative rhetoric by politicians seeking to woo and capture people's approval of their leadership and

representation in higher bureaucratic consultative positions. To government bureaucrats, participation has often been perceived as synonymous to people's contribution of free labour and money for the implementation of "blueprint" government development plans and policies; and, therefore, the surest way of supplementing scarce government resources(74). Yet, all this is not participation. Participation is a process in which people are involved at all levels of the project. They are to participate in all decision-making processes and in the evaluation of the project as well.

3.7.1 People Participation

People participation has to do with activities that encourage grassroots participation in programmes that will bring about 'development' for them. Apart from just activities that will bring development, there is a movement towards an empowerment of the people. The ideal is to use a participatory approach to all activities so that participants will be empowered to direct the destinies of their lives instead of letting the government or other organizations do that for them. Kronenburg(75) strongly believes that the extent of development impact generated by any project is largely determined by the strategy applied. In other words, the development impact and strategy are positively correlated. The participatory approach is therefore what is to be used in order to bring

about development, seen as 'another development'. This 'another development' places emphasis on people:

"Development fundamentally refers to human beings, to every man and every woman, to the whole man and the whole woman. It is a human experience synonymous with the fulfilment of individual mental, emotional and physical potentialities. Development is lived by people where they are, where they live, learn, work, play - and die" (D.D. 1981:1 p73).

This emphasis on people is due to the failure of previous models:

"The major failing of conventional development models, both socialist and capitalist, is that they become so production-centred that the needs of the production system have assumed precedence over the needs of the people" (Korten & Carver, 1980 p 201).

Any education or development activity that places people at the centre creates the best environment and atmosphere for achieving 'real development'. Yet 'another development' goes beyond that, as it questions the basic structures that determines the powers that be which do not operate for the good of all, especially the rural poor. 'Another development' believes in people empowering themselves through participation so that they can control the destinies of their lives. Participation is equated with achieving power; that is power in terms of access to, and control of, the resources necessary to protect livelihood.

The responsibility placed on any education activity now is to educate for empowerment or for transformation. It is

to encourage people to participate in activities that will empower them. The promotion of popular participation implies the redistribution of power in society, for it is power which enables groups to determine which needs and whose needs will be met through the redistribution of resources. Power is, therefore central to participation and to 'another development' and before we proceed we need to look at this concept of power.

3.7.2 Power

Alinsky (76), sees power as the means or tools through which change can be effected. It is power through organization, which Nerfin sees as the power of people to take control of their affairs. It is a deliberate effort by social groups or individuals to control their own destinies and improve their living conditions. This organization is formed by those whom Nerfin calls citizens, those whose situation in society makes them anxious to improve their lives and that of others. The citizens are those who belong to the third system:

"Contrasting with governmental power and economic power - the power of the Prince and the Merchant - there is an immediate and autonomous power, sometimes evident, sometimes latent: people's power. Some people develop an awareness of this, associate and act with others and thus become citizens. Citizens and their associations, when they do not seek either governmental or economic power, constitute the third system. Helping to bring what is latent into the open, the third system is one expression of the autonomous power of the people" (D.D. 1987:1 p172).

The only meaningful strategy, (in the circumstance of mal-

development geared to private profit and power and not to the satisfaction of human needs for example) would be for those who suffer from the existing order, and have always been frustrated, to organize themselves and to force change(77). Yet, this does not just pertain to the above situation but any situation that requires change: for social history suggests that individual motivation is more important, collective motivation more ardent, and the combination of both stronger(78). It is, according to Nerfin (1975), the immediate and autonomous power, sometimes evident, sometimes latent: people's power, which forces those who are aware of it to associate and act with others and thus become citizens who comprise the third system. This third system helps to bring what is latent into the open and it is one expression of the autonomous power of the people. It is the opening up of opportunities 'from below'. It is forming, what Alinsky calls, a power unit which will alter prevailing arrangements or power patterns. The people become agents of social action and the power differentials between those who control and need resources is reduced through participation. Nothing, according to Alinsky, will alter without this power, and he is of the opinion that even making good will effective is based on mobilised power unit. Hence, unlike the well known cliché of 'power corrupts' which, according to him, is wrongly quoted for it must be 'power tends to corrupt', he brings forth a new

concept and vision of power. He sees power as the very essence of life, the dynamo of life.

"It is the power of the heart pumping blood and sustaining life in the physical body and the power of active citizen participation pulsing upwards providing a unified strength for a common purpose of organization" (Alinsky, 1957 p 6).

It is interesting to note that both Nerfin and Alinsky give examples of trade unions when talking of power and its effectiveness. Yet, active trade unions which achieve changes have never been favoured by most governments, especially governments in Africa. This is due to the fact that these trade unions challenge the power system or patterns that prevail. They can negotiate because they have the power to compel negotiation and hence bring about change.

3.7.3 Empowerment

The word empowerment as defined in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary means: give power or authority to act. Yet Sher (79) sees that empowerment

"...refers to the willingness and ability of rural people to take charge of the development process. Real power is never given away, but rather taken. No one can empower rural people to control the development of their own communities. True empowerment can neither be legislated, nor conferred through official circles, where little credence is given to anything beyond what the government can distribute and control. While it can be encouraged and nurtured, empowerment cannot be given" (Sher, 1988 p38).

Chambers(80) remarks that

"there is a peculiar obviousness, almost tautology, about the links between powerlessness and poverty" (Chambers, R. 1983 p131).

Hence, according to him, one may say that in order for poverty to be overcome we should deal with powerlessness as well. People must be empowered if they are to conquer their poverty. But how does one get power? Or how does one achieve authority to act? Paulo Freire and Saul Alinsky are very similar in the way they view the procedure of empowerment. They both see it as stemming from reflection on the reality of the lives of people. Freire talks of praxis: a process of reflection on reality which leads the person to action (or participation). Yet according to him a person can only achieve praxis if:

(1) s/he is in a dialectical relationship with the world (concrete reality). This dialectical relationship is brought about by dialogue. Dialogue is the encounter between people mediated by the world. The educator poses questions. These questions spring from the existential situation, a situation lived by the people themselves. This allows them to enter into their own prior perceptions of their reality, which Freire calls a decoding or an act of knowing. This further leads to reflection which forces people to analyse critically the reality of their life. For example 'a wo/man may feel hungry without any deeper understanding why s/he is hungry other than that s/he has

not eaten'. But a person who has developed a dialectical relationship with this reality will want to know why s/he has not eaten and will do something about finding something to eat. This is the already mentioned experience of knowledge or knowledge empowerment which leads to involvement. In other words, knowledge is materialised into action: reflection leads to praxis (for it is actions, not words, that transform). In talking about community organization, Alinsky seems not too far from what Freire proposes above. He sees the role of the organizer (educator in Freire, facilitator and catalyst in NGO) as an abrasive agent who has the duty

"...to rub raw the resentment of the people of the community; to fan the latent hostilities of many of the people to a point of over expression; to search out controversial issues, ...for unless an issue is controversial it means that people are not sufficiently concerned about it to feel deeply and to act; to stir up dissatisfaction and discontent; to provide a channel into which they can angrily pour their frustrations of the past; to create a mechanism which can drain off underlying guilt for having accepted the previous situation so long a time" (Alinsky, 1957 p 3).

This, to Freire, would be an example of an oppressed community that needs to liberate itself. The organizer of the trade union in Alinsky is seen to help others, according to Freire, to gain more being, to add to the oppression the realization of that oppression and the possibility of intervention into reality. In the process of liberation they move from real consciousness, and in doing so become conscientised.

(ii) s/he is subject and not object, for subject can transform the world while object is conditioned by the world. Freire sees that a person's vocation is to achieve more being, that is, by becoming more of a subject and less of an object. This can be achieved by more praxis. It is worth noting here the book by E. Fromm entitled 'To Have or To Be?' in which the 'being' is analysed and is seen to be more important than 'to have'. The 'being' is seen as the basis for change. Alinsky talks of this 'being' in terms of 'the dignity of the individual' which he sees as the guiding star in the process of achieving citizen participation:

"If you respect the dignity of the individual with whom you are working then their desires, ... their values, ... their ways of working and fighting, ... their choice of leadership, their programs, not yours is what is important and to be accepted" (Alinsky, 1957 p8).

In summary then, empowerment happens, normally, in two phases: first, comes knowledge empowerment. Kronenburg, thereby agreeing with Freire, says that knowledge empowerment is the fruit of dialogue between people who, however poor and oppressed, have come to the realization that they are not as ignorant as they are made out to be by those who benefit from keeping them ignorant. Knowledge is and can be created anywhere and any time among people, whether poor, old, female and/or oppressed who have come to the realization (often through an outside catalyst or facilitator or change agent) that all human beings have the innate ability to create knowledge through

dialogue:

"with the newly acquired power of knowledge, which has not been given or taken away from somewhere, but has been auto-generated, the participants can influence the course of events to liberate themselves from oppressive situations and determine their own destiny" (Kronenburg, 1986, p256).

From knowledge empowerment normally flows organisational empowerment, the second phase. The organising of income-generating activities, for example, is a natural and almost inevitable consequence of the act of gaining and creating knowledge. People who through their own efforts, come to the realisation that they do not need (neither can expect) anyone's help to come to the 'power of knowledge' will normally not sit down and wait for outsiders to come and do things for them which are essential to gain economic status in society: the pre-condition to lift them out of their condition of inferiority and oppression and thus improve their overall position in society.

There is development, therefore, when people and their communities- whatever the space and time-span of their effort- act as subject and are not acted upon as objects; assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self confidence; when they set out and carry out projects: To develop is to be, or to become not to have (D. D. 81: p73). Before we assess how the Youth Projects in Zambia are contributing to development in the light of 'Another Development' we

will look at the present 'development' situation in Zambia.

3.4 Summary

The previous chapter ended with a proposal to review the role that education can play in working towards 'another development'. Education and development have always been interrelated as P.G. Stensland says:

"In all development there is an educational core. A central aspect of development is purposeful learning. Whether overtly or not, development always is interwoven with education. Thus, education cannot be planned or put into practice as something separate. It must always be part of a wider totality" (Hall, B.L. & Kidd, J.R., 1977 p253).

Education and development have been associated with each other for over four decades now as these two are seen as processes of change. Education, like development, have both to do with living. Each society no matter how advanced or primitive, have tried to educate their young, to prepare them for future life. This is what the various ways of educating the young in various societies, in this chapter has shown.

The marxian theory sees education as important but it is seen as a reflection of the social structures. Those in charge, those who own the economic powers will give the education that suits their interests. Education then, is a dependent variable, it is only a superstructure on the economic base on which everything else is built. This was

and continues to be illustrated by school becoming the only way of educating people when economic growth became the major pursuit of Western countries. The parents and elders of society were not sufficiently equipped with the knowledge and skills needed in industries. The task of educating was to be done by professionals. The ability of Western countries to rebuild themselves was accredited to a high level of 'educated' population, and so was the rapid advance in technology by the Japanese.

Education then was seen as a worthwhile investment. Researchers and writers of the human capital theory showed that there was a direct correlation between GNP and per capita income. The realisation too that education was an important prerequisite for nation building and also a key necessity for economic growth led to a wide expansion of formal education especially in developing countries.

The 1970s brought scepticism to many who saw their expectations of development not being fulfilled. Among the critics of education were the dependency theorists who saw the failure of development, and education in contributing to development as a result of the role the developing countries played in the international capitalist world market. One of the outcomes of these criticisms was the non-formal education. NFE, however, did not last long, it became institutionalised in many of

the developing countries and became the agent for incorporating marginalised groups under government control. For many of the people involved in the NFE it acted as a 'cooling out' system by lowering their aspirations and making them accept second rate education and employment. Although some authors see NFE surviving into the twenty-first century the mood and attention of the late 80s and early 90s have switched to provision of opportunities for substantial client participation. It is through participation and dialogue that empowerment is to be achieved and empowerment is vital if people are to take control of the destinies of their lives.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EFFORTS AT DEVELOPMENT IN A DEPENDENT ZAMBIA

Underdevelopment as shown above is an undesirable state from which most Third World countries, Zambia included, are trying to move away. D.Goulat and Hudson (1) refer to this underdevelopment as an intolerable condition. Precisely why Zambia and other Third World countries are underdeveloped has been dealt with in the Literature Review. However, this section will deal with a particular country - Zambia and its efforts at overcoming underdevelopment.

4.1 Development as Economic Growth in Zambia

The theories that Zambia followed in pursuit of development can be loosely termed as a mixture of the linear stages of economic growth and the neoclassical structural change models (2). This is because Zambia seemed to aim at achieving an increase in its GNP, per capita income(3) and also a structural change in its mode of production; as will be illustrated below:

The linear stages of growth in accordance with W.W.Rostow(4) comprised of five stages through which all countries must proceed in order to reach development. These are; (1) the traditional society; (ii) the pre-conditions for take-off

into self-sustaining growth; (iii) the take-off into self-sustaining growth; (iv) the drive to maturity and (v) the age of high consumption... (5). This view of development as Todaro(6) notes

"...was primarily [one] in which the right quantity and mixture of saving, investment, and foreign aid were all that was necessary to enable Third World nations to proceed along an economic growth path that historically had been followed by the more developed countries" (Todaro, 1985 p62).

This theory, referred to as traditional, implied that the underdeveloped countries were just lagging behind and with the necessary help, as mentioned above, would catch up with the West. In this theory, was implied the fact that the Western countries were once at the traditional or pre-conditions stage and have moved forward since then. The underdevelopment stage was according to this theory just a phase that the Third World countries would pass through, it was just a matter of time and all would be well. This theory has been refuted by both the Historical and Dependency theorists as shown earlier.

According to the Traditional theory then Zambia was economically viable. It had a high level of copper production sufficient to earn foreign exchange and generate tax revenues. As the table below shows Zambia had the capital but no technical and administrative skills, neither had the agricultural potentials been 'scratched'. The task then for Zambia to be able to achieve self-sustaining growth

lay in putting this capital plus aid from outside into self-generating investments on the one hand and to be able to educate many Zambians to meet the technical and administrative jobs on the other hand.

Table 4-1

| | Revenue as % GNP | | Exports as % of GNP | |
|------------|------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| TANGANYIKA | 12.2 | 1953-4 | 45.3 | 1967 |
| UGANDA | 12.1 | " | 40.0 | " |
| KENYA | 24.5 | " | 22.6 | " |
| NIGERIA | 8.4 | " | 16.8 | 1960 |
| GHANA | 22.2 | " | 30.7 | 1962 |
| ZAMBIA | 40.0 | 1967 | 63.1 | 1967 |
| INDIA | 8.3 | 1953 | 5.1 | 1960-1 |

Source: Elliot, C. (ed) 1971 CONSTRAINTS ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ZAMBIA P4

This approach meant that Zambia had to diversify its economy which was dominated by a single export product (copper), and was also basically a subsistence agricultural economy. She had to curtail her skilled manpower shortage, be independent from the South in her trade routes and reduce her over 60% of imports of consumer goods. A basic strategy of development that was to tackle the above mentioned and which was based on the Seers Report (7) was established. This aimed at achieving the rapid establishment of import-substitutive manufacturing industries and the transformation

of African agriculture by the application of modern techniques (mixture of linear stages of economic growth and the neoclassical structural change models?).

"By these means urban employment was to be increased, the dependency of the economy on the copper industry reduced, regional disparities in income and level of living moderated, and per capita income and consumption raised" (Elliot, C., 1971 p11).

"Firstly, fiscal reforms would produce a substantial increase in government revenue and expenditure which would form the main source of new demand in the economy. Secondly, huge expenditures were recommended on education and transport(8)...Thirdly the use of foreign exchange reserves was seen as a necessary measure to increase the level of supply until the envisaged investments became productive. Fourthly, substantial investments were to be made in the rural economy..."(Ibid)

4.1.1 Development Plans

The above four tactics were used as the base for all the Development Plans that followed. Namely the Transitional Development Plan (TDP 1965-1966), the First National Development Plan(FNDP 1966-1970), the Second National Development Plan(TNDP 1979-1983). This is because all the development plans insisted on the following points with some additional objectives specific to each development plan;

1. Import-substitution which aimed at achieving self-support in consumer goods which are in general demand thereby reducing imports and saving foreign exchange.
2. Labour-intensive industries in the hope of reducing unemployment, and develop skills in people.
3. Initiate industries that will lead to establishment of related industries and utilise local raw materials as

well as process local produce.

4. Set up industries outside the main centres so as to spread industrialization to all parts of Zambia(9).

Zambia's development plans can be roughly said to have embarked on the road to industrialization and/or modernization in view of achieving economic and social development. This is because the creation of industries seemed to be the basis of Zambia's economic growth.

This equation of industrialisation or economic growth to development was quite prevalent at the time when Zambia gained its independence. Industrialization was seen by many newly independent countries as a means of breaking the chains of dependence on the basically agricultural, export-oriented economy inherited from the colonial period. It was also seen as a process of matching political independence with economic independence. It was argued from an economic point of view that industrialization would contribute to increased levels of productivity and national incomes. Through industrialization economies would be diversified leading to the reduction of excessive dependence on primary exports. As these exports were allegedly subject to a long-run secular deterioration and substantial short run fluctuations. Industrialization was supposed to ensure the transfer to, and anchorage and assimilation of modern technology within LDCs.

Industrialization was also seen as a tool to transform the rural population from a subsistence to a commercial economy. It would also help create job opportunities for the many unemployed and under-employed and so raise the output per head and also living standards (10). It was also believed that industrialization would

"...induce necessary and desirable changes in social and cultural attitudes and institutions through the modernizing impact of imported organizational methods and technologies" (Coleman & Nixon, 1978, p180)

Apart from being a principal vehicle to "catch up" with the developed market economies, industrialization was also seen as a unifying factor. This was a very attractive factor in that most African states were culturally diverse, historically disunited and also militarily weak and vulnerable. Industrialization was seen as capable of bridging these gaps by bringing people to work together in the industries. With this presentation of industrialization as a panacea for all ills in an underdeveloped society, is it little wonder that Zambia took up industrialization as the route to development?

From the brief expose above, it could be said that Zambia's route to development was one of a mixture of the two theories and models of development. Such an approach to 'development', was sure to fail as the points raised in the Literature Review show. Yet these theories and models were perceived as the only ones available for Zambia at the time

of independence, and the mood and understanding of the period offered assurance of success, although the later theories, show that earlier theories misunderstood the state of underdeveloped countries. The basing of development on theories that misunderstood the situation of underdeveloped countries was sure to prove unsuccessful. These theories emphasised aid from abroad and structural changes as means to overcome underdevelopment. The earlier Chapters show that underdevelopment is not just absence of wealth, possessions and growth, it is also absence of power which makes the individual unable to make any decisions that can direct the destiny of his/her life/. Underdevelopment destroys the person turning him/her into an object. The process to achieve development that overlooks the centrality of the human person and emphasises economic development through structural and monetary aid is sure to perpetuate the prevailing status-quo, which is in the exclusive interest of the ruling elite. For development is about people and only people can bring about the economic growth that is so needed in developing countries. Development must begin with people and this means that people must be liberated. They must liberate themselves from the underdevelopment which has made them dependent on others and deprived them of power, but liberation like development cannot be given it can only be achieved by the individual her/himself through dialogus and other methods mentioned earlier on.

A quick look at the consequences for Zambia of the structural approach to development will prove the points raised in the Literature Review, especially the fact that unless the root cause of underdevelopment is rightly analysed the solutions offered will not effectively conquer underdevelopment.

4.1.2 Zambia's Economic Success

The period between 1965 and 1975 can be termed as a period of economic success for Zambia. Zambia had inherited an economy with an effectively unlimited supply of capital in the monetary sense. This money came from the acquisition of mineral royalties on the eve of independence, and from the ending of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, during which revenue from the copper mines was used to develop areas in Southern Rhodesia, S. Africa and other parts of the Federation where the whites lived, and of course large amounts of money was used for economic development in the metropolis (or Britain and other western countries such as the U. S. A.).

The price of copper also moved upward, giving Zambia's export earnings surplus on the balance of payments of current account in 1969 which led to a substantial rise in the foreign exchange reserves(11). Under these conditions the economy grew rapidly as the tables below show. There was the additional factor of the Unilateral Declaration of

Independence (UDI) by the then white government of Southern Rhodesia. The UDI meant that Zambia could not import goods from either South Africa or Southern Rhodesia or the U.K. This set-back added to the success of the import-substitution policy, for Zambia had to set up the simpler manufacturing industries, mainly in the consumer goods group. It is worth mentioning that prior to independence and to the UDI, Zambia imported all its consumer goods including foodstuffs, mainly from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The fact too that during this period African employees received an increase in their salary led to a higher demand for locally manufactured goods. The 1968 economic reforms (12) led to direct investment in the manufacturing industry. The tables below show the:

- (i) diversification from copper
- (ii) growth and structural change of individual sectors in the manufacturing industry
- (iii) rise in the number of salaried workers.

TABLE 4.2

CONTRIBUTION OF THE MINING INDUSTRY TO GDP, REVENUE,
EXPORTS AND EMPLOYMENT IN ZAMBIA, 1964

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Total GDP at Factor Cost (K. million) | 464.9 |
| Contribution: (a) K. million | 220.8 |
| (b) Per cent of Total | 47.5 |
| Total Government Revenue (K. million) | 108.0 |
| Contribution: (a) K. million | 57.0 |
| (b) Per cent of Total | 52.8 |
| Total Domestic Exports (K. million) | 326.9 |
| Contribution: (a) K. million | 315.1 |
| (b) Per cent of Total | 96.4 |
| Total Paid Employment (thousands) | 268.7 |
| Contribution: (a) Thousands | 50.8 |
| (b) Per cent of Total | 18.9 |

- SOURCES:
1. ILO (1981), Basic Needs in an Economy Under Pressure. Findings and Recommendations of an ILO/JASPA Basic Needs Mission to Zambia, Addis Ababa, Table A 16.6, p. 201.
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TABLE 43

GROSS FIXED CAPITAL FORMATION IN MANUFACTURING IN ZAMBIA BY SECTOR

| Sector | 1965 | | 1970 | | 1975 | | 1980 | |
|---|------|------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|------------|
| | Km | % of total |
| Food, beverages & tobacco | 2.2 | 19.6 | 0.1 | 20.1 | 17.5 | 28.8 | 21.8 | 26.6 |
| Textiles & clothing | 1.1 | 9.9 | 3.8 | 9.4 | 7.6 | 12.5 | 8.5 | 10.9 |
| Wood & wood products | 0.8 | 7.1 | 0.9 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 5.1 | 1.9 | 2.1 |
| Paper, printing & publishing | 0.5 | 4.5 | 1.2 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 3.5 | 4.7 |
| Rubber & chemicals | 2.7 | 24.1 | 21.0 | 52.1 | 20.1 | 33.1 | 35.3 | 43.1 |
| Non metallic mineral products | 1.1 | 9.8 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 3.9 | 6.4 | 1.4 | 1.7 |
| Basic metals & fabricated metals | 2.1 | 18.8 | 1.9 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 8.1 | 4.9 | 6.0 |
| Machinery, transport equipment & others | 0.7 | 6.3 | 2.7 | 6.7 | 2.7 | 4.4 | 3.8 | 4.6 |
| Total Manufacturing | 11.2 | 100.0 | 40.3 | 100.0 | 60.8 | 100.0 | 81.9 | 100.0 |

SOURCES: Central Statistical Office, Censuses of Industrial Production 1965/66, 1970, 1975 and 1980 (unpublished and provisional, Government Printer, Lusaka).

TABLE 4.4

| PERCENTAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF GDP IN ZAMBIA BY SECTOR AT CURRENT PRODUCERS' VALUES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|-------|-------|--|--|
| Sector | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 ¹ | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | | |
| Agriculture, forestry & fishing | 2.8 | 10.4 | 6.8 | -0.5 | 6.7 | 24.5 | 80.3 | 11.8 | 4.3 | 11.0 | 3.5 | 32.4 | 17.6 | 11.3 | 4.8 | 15.7 | 27.5 | -11.8 | | |
| Mining & quarrying | -5.4 | 14.9 | 49.9 | 8.4 | 57.9 | -29.1 | -37.0 | 17.9 | 58.8 | 19.6 | -65.0 | 58.8 | -31.8 | 22.7 | 63.8 | 3.2 | -51.0 | -15.0 | | |
| Manufacture | 41.8 | 50.5 | 43.0 | 22.9 | 7.7 | 11.9 | 17.5 | 21.2 | 7.7 | 22.1 | 4.9 | 10.1 | 13.9 | 22.3 | 3.8 | 19.8 | 15.6 | 6.8 | | |
| Construction | 47.0 | 37.1 | 5.4 | 9.5 | 8.3 | 21.9 | 19.3 | 1.6 | 2.9 | 23.7 | 19.1 | -23.0 | -6.9 | -2.9 | -9.9 | 32.6 | -4.8 | 16.7 | | |
| Trade | 55.7 | 9.8 | 32.2 | 20.3 | -25.8 | 29.1 | 5.8 | 13.8 | 9.1 | 20.6 | 21.0 | 16.3 | 18.4 | 14.5 | 21.1 | 19.0 | 1.0 | 15.7 | | |
| Transport & communications | 57.3 | - | 54.3 | -3.2 | -8.9 | 17.9 | 19.8 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 17.6 | 16.0 | 13.9 | 13.4 | 5.7 | 14.0 | 18.6 | 1.6 | 7.1 | | |
| Other sectors | 32.9 | 16.8 | 43.0 | 14.1 | 22.5 | 18.7 | 16.6 | 15.1 | 4.6 | 18.0 | 15.3 | 9.8 | 10.9 | 9.2 | 13.9 | 17.8 | 13.3 | 16.0 | | |
| TOTAL | 18.0 | 17.5 | 30.3 | 11.0 | 25.3 | -4.4 | -0.4 | 14.2 | 18.2 | 18.8 | -16.3 | 18.2 | 4.2 | 12.9 | 16.7 | 15.9 | 2.1 | 6.0 | | |

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office, Monthly Digest of Statistics 1967-83, Government Printer, Lusaka.

4.1.3 Period of Stagnation and Deterioration (1976- To Date)

The above presentation paints a picture of an economy that was progressing until the price of copper fell on the world market in 1974, a year after the oil prices sky-rocketed. This shows the little or no control that Zambia has over the sources of its perceived economic development. Zambia is not at the centre of the economic movement where all decisions and policies are made. It is dependent on the decisions made by the technically advanced countries who often make decisions to their advantage. The impact of the economic recession which came on with the rise in oil prices and fall in the copper price had a strong adverse effect on the industry in Zambia (13). The mining, manufacturing and agricultural industries had developed with a crucial dependence on both foreign inputs and expatriate skills, so the rise in the oil prices had a disastrous effect on Zambia's economy. With a government budget deficit and foreign exchange constraint most industries were driven to halt. Some workers were declared redundant as the tables below show.

TABLE 4.8

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT IN ZAMBIA BY SECTOR AT CURRENT PRODUCERS' VALUES

| Sector | 1964 | | 1970 | | 1975 | | 1982* | | Average Annual Growth Rates (%) | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | 1965 to 1975 | 1975 to 1982 | 1965 to 1982 |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 53.3 | 11.5 | 85.4 | 7.2 | 206.4 | 13.0 | 488.0 | 15.1 | 14.7 | 12.6 | 14.8 |
| Mining & quarrying | 220.8 | 47.5 | 438.6 | 36.8 | 215.2 | 13.4 | 191.5 | 5.9 | 8.2 | 1.8 | 7.9 |
| Manufacturing | 28.2 | 6.1 | 127.4 | 10.7 | 250.3 | 15.8 | 588.9 | 18.3 | 22.8 | 12.2 | 19.1 |
| Construction | 20.0 | 4.3 | 82.3 | 6.9 | 151.2 | 9.5 | 140.0 | 4.3 | 22.3 | 2.7 | 13.8 |
| Trade | 45.8 | 9.9 | 119.3 | 10.1 | 132.8 | 8.4 | 353.0 | 11.0 | 12.5 | 10.6 | 13.6 |
| Transport and Communications | 20.6 | 4.4 | 52.0 | 4.4 | 88.5 | 5.6 | 210.0 | 6.5 | 15.9 | 13.8 | 15.0 |
| Other services | 76.7 | 16.5 | 282.3 | 23.8 | 539.0 | 34.0 | 1250.0 | 38.8 | 19.8 | 11.7 | 17.2 |
| Total | 464.9 | 100.0 | 1185.3 | 100.0 | 1583.4 | 100.0 | 3221.4 | 100.0 | 12.7 | 7.5 | 12.0 |

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office, Monthly Digest of Statistics, 1987/83, Government Printer, Lusaka.

*Provisional

TABLE 4

GDP OF MANUFACTURING IN ZAMBIA BY SECTOR AT CURRENT PRODUCERS' VALUES

| Sector | 1965 | | 1970 | | 1975 | | 1982* | | Average Annual Growth Rates (%) | | |
|------------------------------|------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | Km | % of total | 1966 to 1975 | 1975 to 1982 | 1966 to 1982 |
| Food, beverages & tobacco | 12.4 | 31.0 | 69.1 | 54.2 | 107.8 | 43.1 | 242.4 | 41.2 | 26.5 | 12.2 | 21.1 |
| Textiles & clothing | 3.8 | 9.5 | 10.7 | 8.4 | 26.6 | 10.6 | 71.8 | 13.2 | 24.3 | 17.0 | 21.7 |
| Wood & wood products | 2.3 | 5.8 | 5.0 | 3.9 | 8.0 | 3.2 | 23.9 | 4.1 | 20.1 | 15.8 | 20.4 |
| Paper, printing & publishing | 2.0 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 13.8 | 5.5 | 21.2 | 3.9 | 23.1 | 11.9 | 17.3 |
| Rubber & chemicals | 3.5 | 8.8 | 9.5 | 7.5 | 43.6 | 17.4 | 108.0 | 18.3 | 32.2 | 14.5 | 25.0 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 6.1 | 15.3 | 10.6 | 8.3 | 8.7 | 3.5 | 22.2 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 15.3 | 10.7 |
| Basic metals | 5.7 | 14.3 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 4.2 | 1.7 | 11.5 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 15.4 | 8.5 |
| Metal products | 4.1 | 10.3 | 15.2 | 11.9 | 36.4 | 14.5 | 76.2 | 12.9 | 21.9 | 9.0 | 18.0 |
| Other manufacturing | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 3.7 | 0.6 | 39.2 | 18.0 | 30.5 |
| Total | 40.0 | 100.0 | 127.4 | 100.0 | 250.3 | 100.0 | 588.9 | 100.0 | 21.0 | 12.2 | 17.8 |

*Provisional.

SOURCE: As for Table 4.4

TABLE 4.4

PAID EMPLOYMENT IN ZAMBIA BY SECTOR

| Sector | 1964 | | 1970 | | 1975 | | 1983* | | Average Annual Growth Rates (%) | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|---------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | 1000 | % of total | to 1975 | to 1983 | to 1983 |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 35.2 | 13.1 | 34.6 | 10.1 | 36.1 | 9.2 | 35.2 | 9.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.3 |
| Mining & quarrying | 50.8 | 18.9 | 57.6 | 16.8 | 64.8 | 16.5 | 57.7 | 15.9 | 2.2 | -0.9 | 0.5 |
| Manufacturing | 20.9 | 7.8 | 38.2 | 11.1 | 44.3 | 11.3 | 48.8 | 13.4 | 7.4 | 1.3 | 4.9 |
| Construction | 31.1 | 11.6 | 68.7 | 20.0 | 71.8 | 18.2 | 32.1 | 8.8 | 9.6 | -7.4 | 2.1 |
| Trade | 20.9 | 7.8 | 32.6 | 9.5 | 33.0 | 8.4 | 30.3 | 8.3 | 4.7 | -0.1 | 3.0 |
| Transport and Communications | 11.4 | 4.2 | 22.3 | 6.5 | 22.1 | 5.6 | 23.9 | 6.6 | 7.7 | 1.0 | 4.9 |
| Other services | 98.4 | 36.6 | 89.0 | 25.9 | 121.4 | 30.9 | 135.8 | 37.3 | 2.4 | 2.1 | 2.0 |
| Total | 268.7 | 100.0 | 343.0 | 100.0 | 393.5 | 100.0 | 363.8 | 100.0 | 3.6 | -1.0 | 1.5 |

*Provisional.

SOURCE: 1 As for Table 4.1

2 Office of the President, National Commission for Development Planning, Economic Reports 1982 and 1983, Government Printer, Lusaka

The other negative forces which affected the industry were a slow growth of supply of raw materials from agriculture which meant that a lot of raw material had still to be imported to keep industries running. The dislocation caused by the re-routing exercise after UDI did not help the deteriorating industrial state in Zambia. New routes had to be constructed and alternative routes to the South sought. The many sudden and expensive constructions that were done due to the UDI were unplanned for and therefore, dug deep into the Zambian economy which already had been badly affected by the world economic recession. The period from the mid-seventies can rightly be viewed as a very trying one for the Zambian economy.

The persistent lack of indigenous enterprise did not help the situation either. The Zambian people had been drawn into this world economy as mere wage earners and not as entrepreneurs(14). They, therefore looked for employment all the time and never for a moment started anything in the line of commerce or industry that might provide employment for others. The ability to begin anything enterprising is not only very risky but also requires a lot of money, the latter which was very difficult to come by, ten years after independence. Most of the money and finances of the country were still controlled by foreign firms, which made it difficult for the Zambians to engage in any enterprising

activities. They also lacked the expertise and experience, for prior to independence no Zambian was in any responsible position in any section of the economy, nor were there many who were highly educated. The colonialists purposely kept the Zambians in the dark about all the economic and administrative activities of their country nor were they allowed to attain higher education. It was therefore, too early to expect Zambians to skilfully and adequately engage in any enterprises in commerce and industry. The fact too that Zambia's biggest number of employees then, as now, were and are in the civil service (which unfortunately is not money generating) impoverished the economy even further. All these employees had to be paid by an economy which was doing so poorly.

A combination of all the above factors led Zambia into deeper debts. The money that was used to run the country was borrowed and with the further stagnation in industry this money could not be paid back as there was no way of acquiring the foreign exchange required for the servicing of the debts when the economy was doing so poorly. The copper price mostly fell, then rose and made it more difficult for Zambia as this was its main source of foreign exchange. The diversification in industry did not succeed and copper remained the sole source of foreign exchange. The economy, in spite of the rhetoric by the government was still centred on the copper industry and in the towns. The economy was

biased towards the towns as the reasons of lack of market, transport and other difficulties inherent in setting up industrial projects in rural areas were seen as valid excuses for not diversifying the economy to rural areas. The concentration on the copper industry meant that the economy continued to be out-ward in its orientation for both input and sale of products (15). Industrialization was not directed at the local need nor at the local raw materials that is why when Zambia had no foreign exchange its industry suffered greatly. The stagnation in industry that started in the mid-seventies worsened in the eighties and Zambia was placed with low income countries and the situation has continued to worsen even at the start of the 90s.

Efforts to recover have been partial and often short-lived. With the break off from the IMF on the 1st of May 1987(16) the situation worsened as aid from other funding bodies related to IMF stopped. The IMF backed recovery programmes (1983-87) emphasised austerity removal of subsidies especially on food. This led to riots in December 1986, the worst unrest that the country experienced since independence. Following the disastrous experiment with the IMF, President Kaunda announced the Interim National Development Plan (INDP) aimed at recovering the country's economy. The INDP was to run up to December 1988 as the Fourth National Development Plan was to commence in January 1989. Its aims, according to "Africa Confidential"(17),

were not very different from previous plans. And there has been two riots since the introduction of the INDP and the Fourth National Development Plan. The striking theme of the INDP was "Growth from our own resources". The state of Zambia's economy needed more than just a striking theme as the situation of underdevelopment in the country could best be described in the words of Adedaji:

"...low per capita income, a very high proportion of the population engaged in [subsistence] agriculture, low levels of productivity, a circumscribed and fractured industrial base, a high dependence on a vulnerably narrow spectrum of the primary export commodities, a transport network geared largely to the export sector, a sharp bifurcation between the traditional and the modern sectors, a high degree of illiteracy, low levels of life expectancy, and a predominance of expatriate business enterprise in banking, commerce, finance, industry and management" (Adedaji, A. 1982 p 283).

Because of the state of underdevelopment Zambia cannot maintain self-sufficiency in food, social services and industry. The signs of underdevelopment of poverty, unemployment and inequality, to name a few, are quite prevalent. The question we are faced with is why African countries, in this case Zambia, are still underdeveloped after almost two to three decades of political independence: Why is the economic situation worsening instead of improving?

4.2 Growth Without Development

To show why Zambia is still underdeveloped would require the dedication of a whole thesis on the constraints on economic development in Zambia. However, several books and articles

have been written on this subject (18). Zambia like other developing countries expended a lot of energy in trying to achieve a high GNP and per capita income. Zambia has worked hard in trying to shift from the extractive sector to manufacturing and service industries. The result has been a bit of 'growth' but no 'development'.

The Chapter on Literature Review shows that any approach to development that does not put people at the centre will not succeed. Development has to do with people and people cannot be developed but in an atmosphere that encourages dialogue and participation people will be able to work together and achieve control over the destinies of their lives and bring about development. The Literature Review also shows that unless the root causes of underdevelopment are understood rightly and dealt with in the light of this understanding efforts to develop will fail as the approaches used will not be addressing the root causes of underdevelopment. Hence, the understanding of underdevelopment in the light of of the traditional view will not and did not bring about development for Zambia as will be shown below.

The persistent state of underdevelopment is often characterised and explained by certain growth indices. Some of these have been referred to by Adedeji above. Szentes(19) has picked, as the most common ones, from

Leibenstein's classification the following: (i) demographic position, (ii) unfavourable natural endowments (and low productivity which Szentes classifies separately) and (iii) capital shortage. According to Szentes, these are just signs/indicators of underdevelopment and not causes. For a long time though, these have been used not only to characterise underdevelopment but also to explain it. Szentes and other writers in the Historical and Dependence schools of thought have strongly refuted the explanation of underdevelopment using indices, as the Literature Review shows in Chapter Two. These indices are reviewed here in order to throw light on the situation in Zambia and other developing countries and to show whether these indices can really be used to explain underdevelopment.

4.2.1 Demographic Position

Rapid growth and unfavourable age distribution brings about a high proportion of dependants in the total population. This is a great bar to economic development. Those to be fed and looked after, in proportion to those able to feed and look after themselves, are more than the economy can manage. This population explosion with a high number of young dependants decreases the economic indices of per capita income, consumption and production. Rapid population growth requires increased efforts to attain a higher level and means serious burdens in the sphere of food supply, public education, health and social services and also aggravates

the employment. All these result in signs and characteristics of underdevelopment but do not cause underdevelopment. One could say that if underdevelopment were not present prior to population growth, countries like Zambia would experience a brief set back in the above mentioned sectors of the economy and social services.

The geographic position of Zambia is one that is capable of feeding twenty to thirty times the number of its present population. Zambia has also a potential to export its agricultural surplus with which to fund services which rely on the the copper industry. The problem, however, is that when Zambia did realise this in the seventies, Zambia tried to switch over, in one giant step from industrial development to the industrialization of agriculture. This strategy is as fraught with capital-intensive and dependency-perpetuating dangers as was/is the mono-product copper industry. Zambia has 290,000 square miles (750,000 square kilometres); the size of France, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary combined and has only a population of seven million people/ The truth is, whether overpopulated or not, all underdeveloped countries face problems of increasing income per head and raising per capita real income. The truth to be found out then about underdevelopment does not entirely depend on demographic position. If it did, then the question to ask is how do countries like Britain for example which are smaller in size but have a bigger

population manage to feed themselves and even have surplus for sale. How does a country like Britain arrive at the 'developed' stage? How did the developed countries manage to get the age of high consumption? These are questions that the Traditional view of underdevelopment did not address.

The authors in the Historic and Dependence schools of thought show otherwise. They believe that it is because Zambia was made into a migrant labour reserve economy that those in a position to maintain and develop agricultural production did not do so. They were siphoned off to the mines where they earned a pittance. This forced them to return at regular intervals to the village where women, children and the old were left to fend for themselves and to supplement the meagre 'income' of their men by providing them with food. This underdevelopment by design was compounded with the fact the best agricultural land had been confiscated by the white settlers. These had established laws and regulations that effectively barred the 'natives' from developing commercially any significant crops in large/commercial quantities. The demographic situation of developing countries without any historic reference is no reason for underdevelopment it is a sign of underdevelopment.

4. 2. 2 Unfavourable Natural Endowments

The shortage or underutilisation of natural resources leading to low levels of productivity is another characteristic of the economy of underdeveloped countries. Care must be taken, however, not to confuse the above with simply lack of natural resources, for most of the developing countries are endowed with natural resources that could have brought about development. Most of these countries are rich in mineral resources and good agricultural land. For example, Zambia was once the fourth in line of the world's copper producers. Zambia has also great hydraulic power but it is one of those countries that suffer from water shortages.

The fact, therefore, is not just lack of natural resources but the way in which these economic resources have been subjected to the international world market. The copper for example which is produced in Zambia has its price decided upon in London and other international world market centres. The decisions made in price and in all other economic transactions are made to the advantage of the technically advanced countries. The Chapter reviewing the causes of underdevelopment shows how the economies of developing countries are so dependent on the 'developed' countries that their development is conditioned by these 'developed' countries. The economies of most of the developing countries were designed and structured by the colonial

governments who ensured that the economy was outward or export oriented and most of these countries' economies are still the same today. They have failed to make a break with the capitalist structured economy and are therefore, dependent on these metropolis for their development which as the Literatura Review shows will never be achieved if pursued along these lines.

The reasons given for the state of underdevelopment, according to Szentes(20) are signs of and indicators not causes of underdevelopment. For example the backwardness of the working population is another reason given for low levels of productivity and hence the cause for underdevelopment. Yet poor physical and intellectual quality and unfavourable composition of labour and shortage of skills are indicators not causes of underdevelopment. Another factor picked out as a cause for underdevelopment is the backwardness of transport and/or the high cost of its development. There is a serious problem of transport in Zambia today. People sometimes have to spend long hours queuing for transport to work. The factory (DUNLOP) in Ndola responsible for the production of tyres has been closing down frequently for the last five years at least, due to lack of foreign exchange, causing a critical shortage of or total inavailability of tyres. Yet most of the writers in the Dependency school of thought point out that transport is concomitant symptom of underdevelopment and not

a determining factor. For, expansion of transport and a standard system of transport are themselves dependent on economic development.

The tropical climate is also often cited as reason for underdevelopment, because it is difficult to work under this climate. There is also, according to the proponents against the tropical climate, a lack of system of work involving regularly repeated and constant efforts resulting in low productivity. A reason like this for underdevelopment makes one wonder why the entire African population is not wiped out by now. This assertion goes contrary to the present continuing interest by developed countries to invest in developing countries. Paul Harrison(21) has tried to show how African countries tried to achieve a balance in their environment through the farming methods they used, in an effort to prove that Africans were not as ignorant as they were assumed to be especially by those who brought 'civilization' to Africa.

4.2.3 Capital Shortage or Insufficient Capital Formation

Capital shortage, according to Szentes is usually considered to be one of the most characteristic criterion for underdevelopment. This is because it provides a suitable explanation for the low level of productivity, the acute problem of unemployment and the underutilisation of the natural resource potential. In short it explains all the

other signs of underdevelopment in these developing countries. The demand of the underdeveloped countries for international financial assistance, their growing budget and the balance-of-payments deficits and the frequent phenomenon of the usurious local credit rates further corroborate the assumption that the basic cause of underdevelopment must be lack of capital.

Underdevelopment, however, as shown earlier is not an interdependent system of the relationships between individual deficiencies or obstacles creating a vicious circle that is equivalent to saying the poor are poor because they are poor. Underdevelopment in Zambia, Africa and other developing countries has been determined by a historical development in which external forces have played a prominent part. It cannot therefore, be conquered by mere aid from abroad of capital and technology, and/or management skills transferred from developed to underdeveloped countries.

4.3 The Neoclassical Structural Change Models

When this deficiency in the explanation of underdevelopment was realised a search for a better explanation and solution for underdevelopment was sought. The neoclassical structural change models or the 'structuralists' offered an answer. They criticised the explanation and solutions to underdevelopment given by the linear stages of economic

growth as insufficient. They for example view saving and investment as a necessary condition to development but not sufficient. This view criticises what was the basic and sole condition of linear stages of growth for development. This criticism brings to light the inappropriateness and irrelevance of many of the western economic theories because of certain implicit assumptions. Those who proposed the linear stages of economic growth for developing countries assumed that the actual conditions in developing countries was the same as in their own countries. Zambia, however, like many other developing countries, lacked the necessary structural, institutional and attitudinal conditions to convert new capital effectively into higher levels of output. Or as Myint(22) puts it:

"...[t]he economic theories are not relevant to Africa because of differences in social and institutional settings and stages of development between the advanced and underdeveloped countries"(Myint, 1971 p33)

They overlooked the feudal and mercantile systems which were the source of these qualities. Zambia and most of the developing countries did not go through the feudal system, neither did they go through the mercantile system which set the base to the capitalist mode of production. But those who recommended the linear stages of growth assumed the presence of these qualities in the developing countries. Hence the resultant short-lived growth without development. It is therefore, not stages of growth that is essential, but

the forces involved in this underdevelopment and the origins of this underdevelopment that are at stake.

The structuralists do not, however, address these issues but try to tackle the lack of necessary qualities essential to development. They propose a slow and deliberate move of shifting these people's way of life and attitudes and not just infusion of money and technology. The structuralist recognised that the people of developing countries had a different concept of wealth and its value. In other words they had a totally different value system and a different conception of wealth, of money and how to spend it. During the colonial era, however no deliberate move to 'educate' the people so that their way of life and attitudes could change concomitant with the industrialization that was being introduced in their countries. The colonialists made no effort to educate the indigenuous people because their aim was to accrue capital and not to bring about transformation of society.

After independence, however, large sums of money were spent on expanding education because it was assumed to be one field which contribute greatly to modernization of people(23). The result of this expansion of education and the role that education can play in modernizing people and societies have been analysed in Chapter Three. The failure of education to bring about modernization has led to the

realization that although education can bring about certain changes it is impossible for education alone to effect change unless other sub-systems of society also undergo change. The education system is a dependent variable, it is but one of the many systems that have to alter if development is to be achieved. The relevance of what is taught, to development has also been questioned leading to the conclusion that for many, education is just a quest after credentials which procure future employment (24). Whether education does equip young people for modernization of their countries is also questionable. It is also questionable whether educated people perform better than uneducated or less educated ones(25).

Although education was highly recommended if development was to be achieved, the realization that contemporary Third World countries are different from historic Europe was an issue more important to be reckoned with by those advocating for structural change models. The reality of contemporary Third World countries is that they do not have a Fourth World to exploit in order to accumulate wealth that will enable them to achieve economic development the way most of the developed countries did. This is a major point that is overlooked by those who propose structural changes model as a development strategy for the Third World countries. The structural change models is based on the Lewis model. This Lewis model assumed that an underdeveloped economy is

characterised by what he calls "labour surplus", in the rural areas, and a high-productive modern urban industrial sector, into which labour from rural sector is transferred. This labour transfer and the growth of output and employment are to bring about economic development by drawing all people into the industrial sector. In the words of Todaro, the Lewis model did not take into account

"...the labor-saving bias of most modern technological transfer, the existence of substantial capital flight, the widespread nonexistence of rural surplus labor, (for most of them were land proprietors), and the tendency for modern sector wages to rise rapidly even where substantial open unemployment exists..." (Todaro, 1985 pp66-67).

The result of the structuralists' approach to development has been a side by side existence of the rural sector, with all its signs of underdevelopment, and the urban sector which is barely achieving its objectives. Or what Frank, refers to as a creation of

"chain metropolises and satellites which runs from the world metropolis down to the hacienda or rural merchant who are satellites of the local commercial metropolitan center but who in turn have peasants as their satellites" (Frank, A.G. 1969 pp16-17; see also Szentes 1979 p230).

The major contributions that the advocates for "patterns of development" have made to analysing underdevelopment are reasonable but they do not get to the root cause of the problem and therefore, offer solutions that are effective. Apart from recognizing that accumulation of capital is essential, they insist that a set of interrelated changes in the economic structure of a country are required in order to

transform a traditional structure to a modern economic system. They point out a country's resource to a modern economic system. They point out a country's resource endowment and size, its government's policies and objectives, the availability of external capital and technology and the international trade environment as some of the major factors influencing the development process. These factors, especially the international factor which lie outside the control of the individual developing nation affect the pace and pattern of development of most developing nations. The structuralists still naively hope and believe that the correct mix of economic policies will generate beneficial patterns of self-sustaining growth. However, this correct mixture of economic policies cannot feasibly contribute to self-sustaining growth, when it has been pointed out by the same structuralists that the developing nations do not have full control over the direction of development in their countries.

4.4 The International Dependence Model

The above criticisms of earlier models of development laid a stepping stone to various explanations of growth without development prevalent in most developing countries. Yet a better explanation according to the author is the one given by the dependence model. This brings out "the historical evolution of a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country - poor country relationships" as held

by the neo-colonial dependence model. There is also the "false paradigm" model which

"attributes Third World underdevelopment to faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed international "expert" advisers from developed country assistance agencies and multinational donor organizations" (Toderò, 1985 p78).

Apart from being uninformed these multinational corporations maybe more interested in profit-making or doing business than in seeing Third World countries develop. Both the dependence and the false paradigm models can easily be incorporated into the international dependence approach to development of underdeveloped countries. The international dependence approach has been extensively discussed in the Literature Review.

The international dependence approach gives unprecedented explanation to the underdevelopment in Zambia and to Zambian economic history. This approach augments the reasons for underdevelopment given above by the linear stages of growth and the structuralists. And rather than ignore or disregard the points raised by the two earlier models, the author considers them complementary although incomplete, to an approach that goes further into discovering the root causes of underdevelopment. As the Literature Review revealed, the two earlier models give more of the signs of underdevelopment than the causes. The signs are necessary insofar as they help reveal the presence of underdevelopment

but do not help in alleviating underdevelopment as they do not provide adequate and pertinent root-causes of underdevelopment. In some cases the emphasis on indices of underdevelopment prevents the real picture and state of underdevelopment from emerging as figures do not always reveal the problems that go with underdevelopment for example the problem of distribution of wealth. The figures might show a high percentage of GNP but the fact that some people do not share in this GNP equally cannot be shown through the figures of the GNP.

In the following section we will look at the brief economic development of Zambia and its present state of underdevelopment in the light of the Dependence Theory.

4.4.1 Capitalist Mode of Production

The basis of the neocolonial dependence theory now referred to as the dependence theory is the evolution of unequal international capitalist system. Zambia was drawn into this unequal trade relationship and her dependence on the metropolitan countries commenced and with this dependence some of her problems of underdevelopment were accentuated whereas others commenced with this capitalist intervention.

Zambia could be termed as a typically traditional society before the colonial era. People lived under independent chiefs and kings. The farmers, fishermen, cattle-owners and hunters produced surplus over their family needs in order to

trade for hoes, spears, salt, bark-cloth and other goods.

"Despite rather low standards of production and trade, the pre-colonial African tribes and village communities living in the region were rarely confronted by problems of famine, unemployment and poverty" (W. Bier, 1979 p126).

The roots of unemployment and poverty and other signs of underdevelopment in present-day Zambia must be seen in the context of economic structures and strategies designed to supply imperial capitalism with cheap labour and cheap raw material. The supplying of Western countries with cheap labour therefore, brought Zambia into contact with the capitalist system. This was done on a major scale through slave trade which is a well known issue and will not be discussed here. It is also a well known fact that

"man had always exploited his natural environment in order to make a living...[then] arose the exploitation of man by man, in that a few people grew rich and lived well through the labour of others...[and finally] a nation exploited the natural resources and the labour of another nation and its people" (Rodney, 1972 p31).

Thus capitalism became the rule of the day when in an effort to make profit, have surplus value and become rich, the exploitation of man by man started and has continued through the ages. People in the Third World through such a process were reduced to mere labour commodities which could be bought and sold. In order to validate this exploitation of fellow human beings people in the Third World countries were made to believe that they were inferior to the white man. The example of South Africa's apartheid system shows to what extent this exploitation can go. Most African countries

especially those in the western part of Africa supplied the Western countries with cheap labour through the slave trade. The slave trade was kept going until power driven machines were invented which proved to be cheaper and more suitable (26).

The slave trade had in the meantime done irreparable damage to Africa and to its economic development. The many young men and women, and the strong adults who were taken away were those who would have been inventive and innovative (such required ingredients in technological development). The ones who remained were for a long time more concerned about their freedom than about production. The 'technological stagnation' caused by the slave trade affected the whole of the African continent for technology is diffusive in nature. Zambia's technological arrest resulted more from the loss of her young men (especially) and women through the colonial migratory labour to the Kantanga mines in present-day Zaire, to South Africa to work on the farms and the gold mines and to Zimbabwe's (then Southern Rhodesia) mines and farms. This labour migration is considered as merely another form of slavery (27).

The technological arrest or stagnation was enhanced by the sale of European products to Africans, whose products were neglected in preference for the Western products. The local products were eventually abandoned by the local producers

who could not compete against the Western products. This led to the lack of indigenous technology prevailing today. According to Rodney the problem of lack of indigenous technology today, is therefore, due to loss of opportunity and not mere backwardness of the African people. Rodney believes that when a person is forced to leave primary school education after only two years it is no reflection on him that he is academically poor but that he had no chance to prove himself. Hence the African experience in the early centuries of the trade was loss of development opportunity (28).

Shortly before and after the end of the slave trade, explorers, traders, missionaries, chartered companies such as the B.S.A. Co., administrators and soldiers had pored into Africa. All these may have come to Africa for various reasons but they helped set up the colonial rule. The colonial set up was capitalist in nature for capitalist countries needed new markets and new sources of raw materials such as copper, tin, gold, oil, rubber, cotton, phosphates, sugar and tropical foodstuffs. Because of these, they conquered the African countries and reduced them to colonies. The colonies were not just markets for excess goods and sources of raw materials but were also outlets for capital investment at high rates of profit (29).

Zambia, therefore, entered the market system as a provider of cheap labour and raw material and hence began the

exploitation of Zambia by the West, especially by Britain. This exploitation is still going on today in similar and other subtle ways. What slave trade destroyed in those who were taken, colonial rule did through direct domination as the section on Cultural Dependence in the Literature Review shows. Africans became second class citizens in their own countries and were reduced to mere objects who were inferior to their colonial masters. The Africans became something to be used in achieving the capitalists' greed and inhuman objectives. They were reduced to such an inferiority state that the only way out of such a state was to become like the white man. They therefore, began imitating the white man in what they wore, ate and did in order to make themselves acceptable to the white man. They went so far as to measure their worth by the white man's standards. This still prevails today in Zambia and most other former colonies. This is because colonial rule meant the submission of the Zambian people to another race who had so they believed the right faith, history and speech. This submission was always effective as the colonial masters owned the means of production and hence power over the lives of the local people.

In Zambia the situation was made worse by the sheer weight of numbers of white people in the country. For Zambia had the largest number of Europeans in superior positions compared to some of her neighbours such as Malawi, Uganda

and Tanzania. This weight of numbers of whites in the country had more effect on producing "Zambian Britons" than all officially promoted efforts of Paris to produce black Frenchmen in their empire. The Zambians, then and now, to some extent, emulate the white man in the hope of being respected and in the hope of acquiring some of the white man's power too(30). The issue of power is central to the state of underdevelopment as has been shown in Chapter Two.

W. Biermann(31) notes that the capitalist mode of production is based on the total reorientation of society towards commodity production. Labour becomes a commodity to be sold or bought, and the production of commodities is primarily for the benefit of a numerically small class of bourgeois, in this case the white settlers. These are the ones who control the means of production and the market, through their monopoly on capital which became the determining factor of economic life. The whole set up of Zambian life in terms of social and economic terms was affected. Zambian life was no longer the same after the white capitalists had settled in the country. Everything was commercialised including land which had earlier on been passed from one generation of the family to the next.

The capitalists needed a growing market as already mentioned above and they created one by effectively killing off the demand for the products of village craftsmen, which would

have been the basis of technological development (32). It is therefore, not surprising that Zambia, like so many other former colonies, lacks technological know-how. The capitalists succeeded not only in creating a market for their products but also managed to draw a people that was primarily subsistence in its production into the wage-earning system that made them dependant on others even for food.

Different methods were used in drawing the African into the capitalist mode of production. The most effective one according to H.J. Simons (33) was the hut tax. This forced men out of villages for the towns in search of employment which was the only way to obtain the money needed to pay the tax. Thus the Zambian people entered the money economy by selling their labour for money. The fact that labour became a commodity had several negative consequences for the Zambian and African people in general. One of the obvious was that less time or none at all was spent on growing food crops. The result was that a people that had earlier been able to feed itself was unable to do so. They spent most of their time working for the white man who paid them a salary that did not meet their daily requirements. They had to use the time left after work to grow food or had to become irregular wage-labourers who had to divide their time between the village and the town. This was usually difficult for most men to do and so the result was migration

to the towns of the whole family where they became dependent on purchased food for daily consumption. The interests of the white employers was not in catering for the Zambian community's needs but in making profit as quickly and as easily as possible. They cared less about the state of their employees as they knew that the hut tax would continue to force more and more young men into towns to seek wage employment.

Once the white settlers had established themselves over the Zambian people they began to systematically transfer wealth created by African labour to their countries of origin. Wealth created by African labour and from African resources was never put to productive use in the country but was grabbed by the capitalist countries of Europe through unequal trade relationships or by mere theft, through colonial domination and capitalist investment. They further placed restrictions on Africans' capacity to make maximum use of their economic potential- which is what development is all about- creating a structural dependence on European capitalist countries. These deliberate designs will be elaborated on below in the light of Zambia's experience with its major copper industry. For as W. Biermann notes in his article(34):

"The great economic and financial asset of present day Zambia, has also been the persistent engine of underdevelopment" (Biermann, 1979 p128).

4.4.1.1 The Copper Industry: The Engine of Underdevelopment

"The state of underdevelopment in Third World countries is basically derived from their external relations, their role in the capitalist world economy. It is also primarily the consequence of the colonial system of the international division of labour and also due to the changes and disturbance this division of labour has undergone" (Szentes, 1979 p150) (35).

The role of Zambia in this world economy is clearly shown through the copper industry. Zambia was ruled by various colonising institutes before attaining independence. The most important of these for purposes of analysing the capitalist investment is the B.S.A.C. (British South African Company) and its mining associates(36). These were primarily concerned with exploiting the country's mineral and commercial wealth. Biermann (37) asserts this view by giving reasons of British conquest as the basis of the expansion of the sphere of influence of British capital and simultaneously preventing rival capitalists' interests from penetrating Southern and Northern Rhodesia. They also wanted to broaden their field of accumulation in order to overcome the economic crisis in the S.A. mining industry at that time. Lacking large-scale funds necessary for starting mining operations, the British mining companies had to be supported by British finance subsidised by government. Hence the foundation of the Roan Selection Trust (RST), the representative of the U.S. and the Anglo-American Corporation (AAC), the vehicle of British imperial ambitions. These brought the copper-belt under their capitalist control. The domination of the copper-belt by

these two companies created a structure of metropolis and satellite, or centre and periphery, or colony and colonial power between Zambia and the Western world, in particular Britain. The words of A. G. Frank on Chile could equally be applied to Zambia when he says:

"...world capitalism imposed its exploitative structure and development on Chile's domestic economy and fully integrated this economy into the world capitalist system by converting it into a colonial satellite of the world capitalist metropolis..." (Frank, A. G. 1975 p XII).

In this structure was inherent a "development of capitalism which generated, maintain and still deepen underdevelopment". The implications of such a structure were (i) loss and misappropriation of economic surplus by the many who are the producers and appropriation by the few, (ii) uneven development of international as well as national and regional polarization into metropolitan centre and peripheral satellites. These two implications are part of the three contradictions that Frank finds inherent in the capitalist mode of production. The third is the contradiction of continuity in change. We will now look at these contradictions and see how true they are of Zambia's experience in its capitalist production especially in terms of the copper industry.

4.4.2. The Contradiction of Expropriation/Appropriation of Economic Surplus

This expropriation/appropriation of economic surplus is the origin of the so many problems of capital that Zambia is

suffering today. For what is capital other than what Furtado(38) calls "work carried out in the past, the product of which was not consumed". This, however, was not the case in Zambia for the product of the work was either consumed through luxurious consumption or transferred to metropolis where it was used in the economic development of the metropolis while underdeveloping the satellites. The work that produced this capital in Zambia was the extractive industry of copper carried out by Zambians. The copper was later exported to Britain and other industrial countries for use in industry. Some of the goods produced were sold to Zambians at much inflated prices. The workers were paid a salary that was enough for their poll tax but which could not meet their other requirements. They lived in constant need and went while the capitalists enjoyed the fruits of their labour, confirming what Marx said of capitalist mode of production: "The capitalist mode of production and accumulation have for their fundamental condition the expropriation of the labourer"(39).

The fact that the copper mines were owned by foreign companies made the transfer of capital very easy for the capitalists. The fact too that the mineral rights were owned by these companies meant that they dictated by whom and on what terms and conditions any mineral prospects or mining was to be carried out. The revenue from copper was used as best suited the companies, which was mainly the development of the metropolis and the areas of Southern

Rhodesia and South Africa where most of the whites lived. The aim of these companies and the colonial government was primarily the unlimited extractive of resources and profit maximization. They had no intention of transforming and developing the country as the quotation below shows:

"There were studies of the government development projects, and studies of labor mobilization and land tenure, but there were no national accounts for the colonies, no estimates of colonial welfare, and the studies of firms were limited to expatriate firms" (The African Studies Review Vol. 30 No 2 June 1987 p51).

One cannot help but speculate how developed Zambia would be had all the capital been re-invested in the country. The speculation is not unfounded for the chartered company had, according to Bostock and Harvey(40), over the years received an estimated £70 million net in royalties and had steadily built up large reserves. Szentes(41) puts the figure between 70-80 million pounds. Had the money been re-invested in the country there would at least have just been the problem of structural changes and not the basic capital problem in the struggle for development. Although as Chapter Two shows, development in terms of what Zambia was/is trying to achieve is not feasible and may therefore, not have been achieved.

The colonial government in conjunction with the mining companies managed to create an enclave, a well-established export sector which stood unconnected and isolated in the middle of an otherwise archaic economy, an island of

modernity and affluence in a sea of tradition and deprivation. Or what Simonis, H & U.E. (42) call 'a clear oil slick on the water of non-development'. The copper industry may have been unconnected to the rest of the economy of the country but it was well linked to the international trade. The copper industry therefore, was the only labour exploitative economic activity in the country and the international trade was the basis of this economic life. Apart from expropriating the surplus economic value the copper industry had a monopolistic structure which prevented other traditional activities from operating effectively. Traditional economy operated only in subordination to the extractive industry. The "salaries" paid to copper industry workers had to be supplemented by the production of subsistence agriculture. This had been purposely reduced to a state of lethargy as just enough to survive was grown.

The local farmers were prevented from producing "commercial" crops on a profitable scale as this was reserved for the white settler farmers. Because of the labour required by the mines the subsistence economy in Zambia was broken by the imposition of the poll and hut tax on peasants. Since the peasants were not allowed to produce surplus for sale, as the white farmers in Southern Rhodesia with their advanced technology produced all the required food for the white settlers and mine workers, they were forced to seek

employment for wages. Others were driven away from their fertile area near railway lines which were given to the white farmers. As a result most peasant farmers set out to work in the mines for a maximum of one and half years and would then return to the villages(43). The villages acted as labour reserves and the mines were assured of a continuous supply of cheap labour. This assured continuous supply of cheap labour prevented the whites from introducing modern technology which would have been expensive. So long as they met the required need for copper extraction they could do without modern technology where possible.

The monopolistic structure of copper prevented the production of 'potential investable economic surplus' from other sectors such as agriculture. Apart from the prevention of production of investable economic surplus through the draining of labour from other economic activities the capitalists sold the products of their home industries to the satellites curtailing local production. The Zambians preferred the cheaply mass-produced aluminium pots for example to the clay pots, cotton cloth to bark cloth and so the local industry could not flourish or develop. The situation in Zambia was a pathetic one as Beran says:

"Their exploitation was multiplied; yet its fruits were not to increase their productive wealth; these went abroad or served to support the parasitic bourgeoisie at home. They lived in abysmal misery, yet they had no prospect of a better tomorrow. They existed under capitalism, yet there was no accumulation of capital.

They lost their time-honoured means of livelihood, their arts and crafts, yet there was no modern industry to provide new ones in their place" (Rwayemamu, JMAS Vol. 7 No 2 1969 Quoting Baran 1957 p144).

4. 4. 3 The Contradiction of Metropoli-Satellite Polarization

In his discussion of the three contradictions of capitalism A.G. Frank found this polarization into metropolitan centre and peripheral satellites the most important. In it he recognized

"the paradox of trade and a contradiction of riches...he saw the metropolitan thriving on what ruins others and the satellites being ruined by what makes others thrive" (Frank, 1978 p8)

Or as Baran put it

"the rule of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in the advanced countries and economic and social backwardness in the underdeveloped countries are intimately related(they represent merely different aspects of what is in reality a global problem(A. G. Frank 1978 p quoting Baran, 1957).

A. G. Frank sees the continuation of development by capitalist methods implying a deepening of underdevelopment for others

as

"development of some countries takes place at the cost of suffering and disaster for the peoples of other countries ... the colonisation of continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia made possible the rapid development of capitalism in the West. But to the enslaved peoples, it brought ruin, poverty and monstrous political oppression (A. G. Frank, 1978 p8).

Unfortunately this difference mentioned above does not only exist between the metropolitan centre of world capitalism and the satellite but it exists within the satellites themselves between the different regions of the one and same country. Rapid development of the towns and (copper)

industrial enclaves in Zambia for example had led to a lagging and decline in the rural areas. The infrastructure that was built around the copper-belt in terms of transportation, industries for servicing the copper mines and subsidiary industries provided employment for the urban population and allowed them some enjoyment of the privileges of these infrastructures as opposed to their rural counterparts. The few 'privileged' people who managed to get into political, civil service and other bureaucratic jobs have created an 'emergent bourgeois' class who have taken the place of most expatriates and are now exploiting the rural and poor people. As S. George(44) notes;

"given a certain social structure and sufficient opportunity, people— not black ones or yellow ones or brown or white— will demonstrate greed and selfishness and will resort to oppressing those beneath them if it proves necessary in order to hold on to what they have acquired" (George, S. (1976) p58).

This social structure and sufficient opportunity that S. George mentions is also recognised by J. F. Rweyemamu(45) and A. G. Frank as a contributing factor to underdevelopment who says:

"This domestic structure, with an export enclave intimately interlinked with the network of world capitalism, which allied the most powerful interest groups of the periphery with those of imperialism" (Rweyemamu, 1969 p212).

"The contradictory metropolitan center-peripheral satellite relationship like the process of surplus expropriation/appropriation, runs through the entire world capitalist system in chain-like fashion from its uppermost metropolitan world center, through each of the various national, regional, local and enterprise centers" (Frank, A. G. 1975 p10)

This is not a completely natural process but as S. George points out, it is nurtured(46). An obvious consequence of the satellite economy's external relations is the loss of some of its economic surplus to the metropolis, rendering the satellite more dependent. This dependency according to Rweyemamu is:

"...further cemented by the market institutions (export-import houses, banking, insurance facilities, commercial and government purchasing facilities, shipping, and so on) which evolve from this dependency" (Rweyemamu, 1969 p213).

And so with A. G. Frank we realize that

"It is not just the drain of economic surplus that is involved, but the impregnation of the satellite's domestic economy with the same capitalist structure and its fundamental contradictions, when a satellite has been incorporated into the world capitalist system.. the exploitative metropolis-satellite structure quickly comes to organize and dominate the domestic economic, political and social life of that people" (Frank, A. G. 1975 p10).

To conclude this section the point that Frank raises is appropriate here, namely that economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin. They are relational and quantitative, in that each is structurally different from, yet caused by its relation with the other. Yet development and underdevelopment are the same in that they are the product of a single, but dialectically contradictory, economic structure and process of capitalism. One and the same historical process of the expansion and development of capitalism has simultaneously generated and continues to generate both economic development and structural underdevelopment. This

contradiction helps rebut some of the signs or characteristics put down as causes of underdevelopment.

4.4.4 The Contradiction of Continuity in Change

This contradiction is important: A.G. Frank sees it as a determinant factor in order to analyse and effectively combat underdevelopment of the greater part of the world today. It is the contradiction of continuity in change which is expressed in the continuity and ubiquity of the structural essentials of economic development and underdevelopment throughout expansion and development of the capitalist system at all times and places. This capitalist system throughout its expansion and development on a world scale as a whole has maintained the essential structure generated the same fundamental contradiction.

In order, according to Frank, to be able to fight or to eliminate underdevelopment, one of the essential factors is to understand the realities of capitalism and underdevelopment. Having looked at the real causes of underdevelopment we will now consider the efforts Zambia is making in trying to eliminate underdevelopment.

4.5 Efforts Towards Development or Deepened Underdevelopment?

Zambia's efforts to achieve elimination of underdevelopment and its signs of poverty, low per capita income,

unemployment, inequality and dependence has led to deepening of underdevelopment than to its elimination. The deepening of this underdevelopment is shown in the list below of Zambia's efforts and activities to eliminate underdevelopment proves which stem from an improper analysis of the problem.

4.5.1 Import Substitution Policy

Zambia's early development plans and even the latest Interim National Development Plan(1967-1989) puts import substitution an number one objective in its economic plan(47). Zambia aims at releasing resources for development by curtailing imports. This import substitution, however, requires manufacturing industries which will produce locally all the goods which are presently being imported. This without realization is making Zambia more dependent on the capitalist West as the numerous assembly plants and industries require foreign technology, finance and expertise. Osaghe(48) gives the examples of Brazil and Nigeria(referred to as the Brazil of Africa) as the two countries who have suffered the consequences of implementing the import-substitution policy. They have become more dependant on the West than before. Yet as Osaghe point out these are the ones who are ironically cited as success cases of the Western approach to development.

Caldwell, M., Furtado and Szentes(49) expand on this issue and show the role that the multinationals and other foreign bodies play in the setting up of these industries, ensuring what Szentes calls "direct dependency".

"[This import substitution] ensures direct exploitation of the underdeveloped countries, the systematic appropriation and expatriation of the surplus produced by the local labour force as well as part of the surplus realised by the small commodity producers and a certain proportion of the income of the whole population" (Szentes, T. 1979 p166).

In spite of the rhetoric of the government to use local material and labour intensive techniques, the industries because they are owned and controlled by foreign powers continue to use capital intensive techniques. And whereas in the old industrial countries a certain percentage of labour intensive production stools are still used to some extent, the high technology is being exported to the Third World countries. Most of this high technology is robot-run and locally irreparable and unamaintainable, thus deepening the dependence of the Third World countries for both the expert skill and the maintenance. The fact that these industries require expert skills brings in an ever increasing number of expatriates. These dominate the key positions in the industries with the assistance of Zambians who are likely to have been trained abroad and are brain-washed into thinking like their employers. These do not just dominate industrial life but the whole of the life of the Third World countries, because they need to advertise their products in order to sell them. In so doing they

advertise their life-style of high consumption as the best and prolong the colonisation of the Third World people by imbibing Western ideas.

The import-substitution policy is also very outward in its orientation. It involves the production of what is presently popular in Western countries or what is presently being imported from there. This import substitution leads to imitation of the Western people in everything. Zambia and other Third World countries become the dumping ground of the no longer required products or the extra products of the industries of the West. This prevents on the part of Zambia the invention of appropriate technology and a total reliance on the West for machinery, repairs and spare parts and so the dependency is deepened through import-substitution.

The fact too that the industries in Zambia concentrate on the production of what is popular in the West shows that they are only catering for the small elite minority who can afford these goods. The poor majority in Zambia are still fighting for survival and are in constant need of the basics of life and are not after fashion or style. In short import-substitution will not bring about the development of Zambia, because it is still based on the ideology of development which is externally oriented and is trying to catch up with the West. There is also

"the fact that a high dependence on external factor inputs reduces a country's capacity to establish sovereignty over

national resources and control over domestic development policies" (Adedeji, A., 1982 p282).

And this is what is happening in Zambia with the country planning development projects and depending on foreign aid for funding these programmes.

Zambia must move away from import-substitution policy and use a more self-reliant approach (based on the Lagos Plan) (50). Zambia must ask itself one of the questions phrased by Adedeji:

"What type of investment?, ... Could it be made at home? Or does it have to be imported?" (Ibid).

Therefore,

"although economic growth can be achieved to a certain extent through the employment of foreign factor inputs, serious costs accompany such an approach" (Ibid).

4.5.2 Export or Foreign Trade

The role of Zambia in this capitalist trade was and still is the provision of copper to the industries abroad. Zambia after independence insisted on diversification but it was more in words than in deed. Instead of diversification Zambia's copper industry grew. The reason given was that the industry brought foreign exchange which would be used to develop other sectors (51). Although the copper industry has been making a loss for years (since 1973 to be precise) the cruel dilemma is that 'some foreign exchange is better than none at all'. What to do with all the many employees of the copper industry is another reason for going on with this

industry. Zambia therefore, tried to achieve development through the nationalization of the copper industry in an effort to have some control over the source of its economic life. Faber and Potter(52) in their occasional paper give a detailed description of the seven steps that Zambia took from the time of independence to ensure that Zambia had some control over the copper industry which is the mainstay of the Zambian economy. In hindsight, one would wish that it would have been better if the Anglo-American rather than the Zambians would pay up for a loss-making white elephant. Also in the years preceding nationalisation the companies had tapped the richest and most economically profitable copper veins. The Zambians have to do with the remnants of this asset that is not renewable.

The recognition of the importance of Zambia's copper led to a rapid modernization in the production of the copper. This led to capital-intensive technology and expertise brought in from the West giving way to production by the big corporations who never left the mining industry anyway. Had there been diversification the foreign hold on the copper industry would have been loosened.

"But the modernization of raw material production is relative for such modernization in no way urges the economies of the Third World forward towards independent and balanced economic development. On the contrary it freezes them into an unbalanced and dependent pattern, characterised by primary sector predominance, and by secondary and tertiary sectors specifically fashioned to facilitate imperialist exploitation of their resources and labour" (Caldwell, M., 1977 p 57).

What the expansion of mining industry meant was that capital investment was concentrated on the Copper-belt and other urban centres following on colonial path of development, leading to neglect of remoter parts of the country. In fact according to Woldring:

"this pattern of extremely uneven development established under colonial administration has been accentuated" (Woldring, K., 1984 p11).

The effect of this has been migration to the towns raising the numbers of unemployed and leading to low productivity in the rural areas with a proportionate number of men away in towns to those in rural areas. And because the copper industry has been nationalised the foreign capitalists' activities have been raised from private to the national level, turning Zambia into a State Capitalist (53). With the failure of copper to effectively provide for the social and economic services the Zambian government set itself up as an "agrarian capitalist". The operation of Food production with two farms in each district was to be done by the State.

The state farms have not been successful and neither have the co-operatives, as the general review of African State farms in the Literature Review shows(p). State capitalism has led to a "national structure in which power is centralised in the hands of the president and those of his political intimates," who run the distribution system to their private advantages(54). The benefits of the copper industries now go to the few at the top who expropriate the surplus value produced by the labouring majority. To keep

the mines going is notably in the interests of the national elite for the foreign exchange earned by exporting copper is needed for business enterprises and to maintain the living standards of the privileged minority mostly influenced by Western consumption patterns. The significant difference between the emergent Zambian bourgeois and those of the European early counterparts is that those early bourgeois were inventive and enterprising. Fanon puts it better when he says:

"In the Colonial Countries, the spirit of indulgence is dominant at the core of bourgeoisie; and this is because the national bourgeoisie identifies itself with the Western bourgeoisie along its path of negation and decadence without ever having emulated it in its first stages of exploration and invention, stages which are an acquisition of that Western bourgeoisie of the Colonial countries identifies itself with the decadence of the bourgeoisie of the West" (Fanon, F., 1963 pp124-125).

This privileged minority holds a dominating role in Zambia's political economy and their interests carry considerable weight in government policy making. All this is done at the expense of the small peasants in the rural areas confirming what A. G. Frank says about the metropolitan/satellite polarisation within the same country and the impregnation of the capitalist's exploitative structure and values on the domestic economy, political and social life of the poor.

The consolidation of the copper industry in Zambia furthered its integration into the world market with its uncertainties of fluctuating prices. Zambia's position in the world market is an uncertain one. It goes on producing the copper

at a loss since 1973 in the hope that the following years may be more rewarding. Some years have been really bad as the table above shows (see p290). The downward slant for the copper industry began with the increase in oil prices which led to a reduction in the imports by the Western countries. This forced the developed countries into finding substitutes at home in order to offset the extra money spent on importing oil. Hence the substitution of aluminium for copper, and to a lesser extent for steel and other materials, making the demand for copper less on the world market.

Zambia has suffered the consequences of depending on one export commodity and the solution has been an effort at "reactivation of enterprises producing basic goods and services or goods for export," and so cash crops are constantly being expanded, because they bring in the foreign currency needed for satisfying the demands for luxury goods and prestige of those in power (55). Zambia still believes strongly in the, now strongly criticised, foreign trade as an engine of growth, for this reactivation of goods for export seems to be growing. Most of these, however, seem to centre around the production of traditional agricultural raw material. Zambia has set up tea and coffee plantations, and is trying to fortify its tobacco production. This will not help Zambia's development much, if at all. For as Rweyemamu has analysed the international trade is based on the

international division of labour which tends to accentuate the misallocation of resources and the inequality of income. To gain from the international trade Zambia will have to keep pace with the changing demand patterns and technology, since what is comparative advantage on the world market today may cease to be so tomorrow. Capitalist prices are influenced by a number of non-competitive forces such as monopolistic profits, bargaining power, and so on which Zambia does not possess. Also the demand for the traditional exports of the periphery is today typically 'inelastic' (56).

Zambia has no freedom of movement in this international world market and so has no option but to join the production for export of the increasing quantities of the same range of products to a much smaller group of advanced countries. The large number of producing countries and the large amount of the same products place limits on the countries that produce them; for example the limit on the price. The result is developing countries competing against each other worsening their already pitiable condition.

The major shifts in life-style and consumption patterns which have already been mentioned all indicate that the reactivation of producing goods for export will not succeed with Zambia's diversification into traditional primary products. The other restrictions that Zambia encounters

are, according to Rweyemamu, the reduction in demand for primary products and an increased demand instead for manufactured goods. There has also been a shift in taste to more expensive qualities and varieties which can only be produced within the developed countries themselves as they have the advanced technology to do so, leading to a greater percentage of the trade being conducted between the developed countries themselves. The developed countries prefer manufactured goods to processed and semi-processed agricultural products.

They have in fact placed quantitative restrictions of the import of cereals, dairy produce, textiles, toys etc. by providing subsidies or minimum price guarantees on the production of substitutes for these goods. They have subjected tropical commodities such as coffee, tea, tobacco, tropical fruits and cane sugar to heavy taxation. With all these restrictions Zambia cannot hope to win in its struggle for economic development through the export or foreign trade. It is a pity that Third World countries continue to devote their resources to produce for export rather than for their own domestic needs. They are still following the colonial economic order. In the meantime they depend on the outsiders to supply their requirements including such basic needs as food. The emphasis on growing for export or cash crop has led to a slump in food production, contributing greatly to today's shortage of food in Africa in general.

Zambia cannot hope for economic development in spite of the manufacturing industries that she has set up. Apart from the above criticisms against foreign input, technology, expert skill and reliance on the performance of the copper on the world market for their functioning, the industries were set up in urban areas. The set up of manufacturing industries in urban areas, for reasons of proximity to developed infrastructure and ready market for their products, lead to neglecting the fate of the poor rural majority as often is the case in most economic project. Import substitution and foreign trade or export as shown are all for the benefit of the urban population. The importance of the copper and therefore, the mine-workers necessitates the keeping of the mine-workers (who are in the majority) and other urban people happy by providing incentives, to avoid trouble and keep the mines going at the expense of the rural people.

4.5.3 Aid or Financial Dependence

Aid in the form of technical assistance, personnel and loans build up to 50 to 75 per cent of external resources into the national plan of most African countries (57). Most Third World Countries depend on this aid for most of their development programmes and for compensating for their budget deficits. This according to Szentes (58) is due to the fact that the Third World countries have inadequate internal accumulation, unfavourable trend of the terms of trade and

the repatriation of foreign monopolies. This aid came about in an effort to help poor countries offset the balance of payments accumulated after the economic recession. Although earlier on there had been aid and loans given to (African countries) Zambia to help with the development schemes. The time before economic recession Zambia had some reasonable amount of money after the balance of payments. The cause of the debt problem in Zambia can be pinned down to the unequal trade relationship that exist in the world market and the increased share of world trade represented by advanced countries' with each other leading to the aid and debt problems of Africa and the rest of the Third World. Yet even without the rise in oil prices and the consequent economic recession developed countries would still have found a way of making Third World countries dependent on them and would have found a way of exploiting them in subtle manners as they still do through education, military, cultural and political avenues(59).

The other cause of this debt can be seen in the transfer of technology. In trying to overcome their dependency as primary producers African countries have sought industrialisation as the answer. They have, however, adopted the development strategies recommended by Western experts which essentially emphasize transfer of technology. Lacking the financial capacity to pay for technology transfer, African states have had to depend on foreign

financial assistance in aids and loans which have further exacerbated their dependence(60). Also dependence on foreign grants and foreign specialist personnel became intense at independence. It was sought with lavish incentives, in order to make the white personnel stay on and attract others who may not have wanted to work in a newly independent country, and the dependence on these development resources widened.

As the volume of external public debt increased the burden of servicing external public debt took an increasing share of earnings from the exports of goods and services. The answer was increased aid in forms of grants and loans. Zambia presently owes the IMF 300 million dollars but has claimed that she will only pay 10% of her income exports to service this debt and only after she has money left over after spending it on oil, fertilisers, copper sector and national airline(61). Yet as Adedeji believes the cancellation of all external debts owed by Africa would be followed by the resumption of the debt accumulation process for according to him there is a lack of understanding of the mechanism of debt accumulation(62).

The detrimental effects of loans and grants are quite obviously seen in Zambia. A country according to Szentes(61) that bases its financing of its economic development programme primarily on foreign sources and

maintains equilibrium of state budget will be left to the mercy of the countries offering this aid. This is because when supporting the budget of a developing country the creditor country will claim a right to interfere in the fiscal policy, the elaboration of the development plan and the foreign trade policy of that country. The countries granting aid also ensure supervision of the utilization of these grants. Most of these grants are in fact given for specific projects conducive to the interests of the ones giving the grants, while loans are given for the supply of commodities making for example the diversification of copper industry in Zambia or implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action or anything contrary to their interests impossible. How can economic policy contrary to capitalist interests develop when they are the ones who fund these schemes? How can Zambia hope to achieve the use of local material and labour intensive techniques when the industries are funded by the capitalists. The situation that Zambia and other Third World countries are in is best described by R. Dumont:

"Those who agree to wear the golden chains of aid are soon locked into a vicious circle of increasing dependence" (Dumont, R. & Mokk(1985 p20)

This preceding section gives a dismal picture of the realities in Zambia. Is there hope of developing? What can be done? Is there an alternative route to development? Is it too late to start? The next chapter will therefore, deal

with what development is and how Zambia can achieve that development under rural development.

4.6 Summary

Efforts to develop in Zambia were directed at achieving economic growth. To achieve this, a mixture of linear stages of economic growth and neoclassical structural change models were adopted. The GNP and per capita income were to be raised as the rise in these would signify that development was being achieved.

Zambia with a high level of copper production sufficient enough to earn foreign exchange and generate tax revenues embarked on industrialization. This industrialization was aimed at establishing import-substitutive manufacturing industries and transforming the Zambian agriculture by application of modern techniques.

The industrialization in Zambia did not bring about a rise in GNP and per capita income, neither was the standard of living improved. The reason for this lack of development is best explained by the dependency theorists. The dependency theorists bring out the historical evolution of a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country-poor country relationships. Their explanation criticises earlier explanations given for the state of underdevelopment. In fact Szentes calls the earlier

explanations for underdevelopment as mere signs, symptoms and characteristics of underdevelopment but not root causes of underdevelopment.

Zambia's position in the international capitalist system makes attainment of 'development' difficult to visualise. Zambia had lost most of its capital which could have contributed to its economic growth to the West in particular to Britain and the United States through the West's expropriation of the surplus produced by the copper industry. She had also suffered technology stagnation through the loss of her young men (especially) and women through the colonial migratory labour to the mines in the then Congo, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. This technological arrest was enhanced by the sale of European products to Africans, whose products were neglected. This made Zambia a 'market' for the West's excess goods, source of raw material and outlet for capital investment at high rates of profit.

The state of affairs in Zambia during the colonial era and the presence of a huge number of whites led to an inferiority complex in most Zambians. This led to many problems among which is the self-colonisation still perpetuated today. This self-colonisation has contributed to the lack of development in that people who lack self-esteem and self-worth cannot make decisions and efforts that

could sustain development. The greatest harm that underdevelopment has done is the destruction of the peoples' self worth. This is because development has to do with people as the Literature Review shows. These people in Zambia have fallen so low as to be unable to feed themselves. They were a subsistence people who were at least able to feed themselves. It does not pay to look back to the past but we must forge forward and see what can be done to achieve 'development' for Zambia which will not make Zambia subservient to others.

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 15. Muzandu, B. S. (1985) Ph. D. Thesis University of Manchester see especially section on Import Substitution
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 1. To direct the scarce foreign exchange into high

priority sectors by restructuring production and consumption patterns.

2. Control inflation and stabilise the exchange rate of eight Kwacha to one US dollar at interest rates of 15-21 per cent.

3. Diversify exports by promoting non-traditional exports like gemstones, manufactured goods and agricultural products to increase export earnings and [reduce dependence on copper].

4. Reduce unemployment by creating village-based industry and by using, where possible, labour intensive methods.

5. Reduce government expenditure by scrapping non-essential administrative posts in the civil service.

6. introduce fees for health and education

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CHAPTER FIVE

STATE CAPITALISM IN ZAMBIA

The previous Chapter concluded with the recognition that Zambia sought after economic growth in its efforts to develop. The policies and strategies were set out to achieve this economic development, but as it has been shown Zambia failed to achieve sustained economic growth. The reason for this failure was due to the fact that Zambia was using a capitalist mode of production, which made it a periphery to the international capitalist system. This subjugation to the international capitalist system which began during the colonial era led to external factors causing and determining the present state of underdevelopment.

When 'economic development' through industrialization failed, Zambia was forced to find an alternative. The rise of the Green Revolution (1) led to agribusiness as another way of achieving economic growth. Through the 'green revolution' capitalist agriculture was to be diffused to all and this capitalist agriculture was to constitute rural development. 'Rural development' can rightly be said to have been the last resort for Zambia. It was only seriously considered by the government after the copper industry was not proving to be economically successful. The subsistence economy had existed

side by side with the formal modern sector but was considered as informal, unimportant and not essential to the economy of the country. Yet as recent findings(2) have shown this informal sector is the backbone of most African and Third World countries without which most of these countries' economies would collapse. The informal sector provides food especially and other services that make the running of the country's formal sector possible. How to get to the poor and rural people was not going to be easy in a country that was controlled by the monopolistic structures of the copper industry which had prevented traditional economies from participating directly in the economy of the country. It was in search of a way of organising the rural people that socialism presented itself as the answer to this quest.

5.1 Socialism in Zambia as Humanism

At the time socialism was deemed better than what the Zambians had experienced under capitalism. Also there are two basic systems of economic and social organization, that seem to have been proved and tried by history, this chapter ventures to show the Zambian government thought that Socialism was a better system if Zambia was to achieve economic development for reasons raised in the previous Chapters. Besides, Zambia would need a fourth world if its capitalist mode was to succeed in achieving economic development. There was also the fear that Zambia would lose her national freedom if the capitalist mode continued to be

used, as all major economic decisions would be made by outsiders. The belief that capitalism brings with it class (workers who are underpaid and owners of the economic system who are busy making profit) and exploitation of masses spurred Zambia onto the direction of adopting socialism(3).

For Zambia to overcome underdevelopment, there was need to sever its dependence on capitalist countries and take on socialism. The problems in severing dependency relationships are discussed by Szentes(4) but a country like Zambia, whose economy was structured in a way that would have meant radical reforms had the dependency been severed, hesitated. Zambia did not therefore, take any drastic steps towards the conquering of dependency, instead Zambia adopted alternative ways; a move that indicated a misunderstanding of the root cause of the problem. These alternative ways were to ensure that the big majority of the rural people for whom dependency meant being socially and economically the most deprived social group were attended to. According to Nyerere the state of this group of people must improve for freedom was fought by them or in their name(5).

"Thus a more useful view of development is the one that sees it as largely concerned with the poorest 40-50 (if not 70 and above) in society with the hope of meeting their basic minimum needs"(A. A. Jalloh, 1984 p19 in The African Review Vol II No. 2 1984).

Yet these basic needs can only be met by the people themselves, the more reason why knowledge for empowerment should be the target so that people can direct the destinies

of their own lives. As the Shona proverb says:

"Vano musha wavo ndivo vanoziwa nhamo dzavo" (It is the people living in the village who know their own problems) (AFER Vol. 29 No 4 Aug 1987 p219)

The people are the ones who can best define their own needs and struggle to achieve them and not be passive recipients of provisions from the government. The basic needs will be achieved therefore, as a consequence of self-development; self-promotion for active self-reliance. Hence 'development' should centre around people; the education of people, an Nyerere says;

"...development means development of people [and] people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, [or provide for his other basic needs], an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being" (Nyerere, J. (1973) "Freedom and Development" p60).

Nyerere, hence, sees economic development (roads, buildings, the increases of crop output, and other things of this nature,) not as development but as tools of development. Unless the people take the initiative of their own development no economic growth on a sustained national scale is possible. For self-development and self-promotion are based on and bring about economic development; hence, the importance of ensuring self-development and self-promotion if people are to use these tools of development to their advantage and enhancement. Only 'empowered people' will maintain these tools of development. Does this not seem to be a major reason why economic development failed? It follows then that for development to succeed priority should

be given to those activities and policies which will ensure and enhance self-promotion and self-development. Thus development which is defined as "growth meaning the increase in the quantity of goods and services produced within a country"(6) measured in the gross domestic product and gross domestic product per capita, does not sufficiently emphasise the humanistic element and is bound to fail. This humanistic element should be the bedrock of a concerns for development, for in the final analysis, development has as its goal people(7). In order to evaluate this development the question to ask is: what has been happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality(see #99 (4)). This humanistic element has been recognised in Zambia's philosophy of humanism which places people at the centre of all the activities of society.

Socialism as an ideology represents to most Third World countries what they would like their society to be, to threaten that Third World socialism has been criticised for representing no more than a vague desire for greater social justice, and often lacks practical significance(8). This criticism could be true of Zambian humanism, yet socialism has emphasised the humanistic value; the meeting of peoples' needs and not the making of profit which most Third world countries find attractive. This emphasis on humanistic values is opposed to what most of these countries have experienced under capitalism. Yet socialism must not just be an ideology but must guide the planning and the policies of a

country. For socialism inspires desirable changes in economic, cultural and political fields without carrying on particular features of capitalist development, according to Berki (9). Its role is to eradicate poverty and cultural backwardness and introduce modernization in the shape of industrial production, a sense of modern nationhood as well as individuality, and an acceptable standard of living for the whole mass of the people(ibid).

In Zambia Kaunda elaborated with Colin Morris (a prominent minister of the United Church of Zambia in the 60s) a version of socialism which came to be called Zambian Humanism. This has evolved over a period of time during which Zambia was searching for a national identity. Like other African nations, Zambia has looked to her history and culture which had preserved much vigour despite long periods of colonial neglect and suppression. Humanism can therefore, be said to preserve selected values from the past, embody convictions which grew up during the nationalist struggle, and to adapt these principles to the problems of the present in order to give direction for the future. But it is this return to historical roots that has influenced the rise of national varieties of socialism in Africa, according to Meebelo(10). In his book Meebelo has tried to show the differences and similarities between Zambian humanism and Western socialism. He argues that humanism has different origins from socialism, contains a religious attachment, which socialism does not,

rejects the idea that class struggle is inevitable, accepts a mixed economy with much of the means of production remaining under private ownership, and lastly is wary of the virtues of a welfare state where allegedly government is a kind of public charity.

The one struggle common to most African leaders (and some writers) is to prove that socialism is indigenous to Africa and has been practised by the African traditional society for centuries. They want to prove that socialism has not been imported from outside nor has it been imposed on them, unlike the other economic systems and other political ideologies they have practised. They therefore, look at the characteristics of socialism and compare them with traditional society; many characteristics are similar, although the indigenous society did not refer to what was going on in their society as socialism. This is another reason why most African leaders find a different name for what may be termed socialism in Western terms (for example Nyerere's Ujamaa, Kwame's Black Consciousness) to denote the kind of society they are trying to build along socialist lines(11). Some of the characteristics found in African traditional societies which are also present or similar to those found in socialism are: egalitarianism; respect for human dignity; democracy; human-centredness and co-operation. Yet these values have still to be embodied in political and social institutions of Zambia and other African countries

before these countries can be referred to as socialist countries.

Berki recognises two ways of going about achieving egalitarianism; either by persuasion, appealing to people's feelings of compassion and brotherhood or by revolution and fight for the achievement of egalitarianism. Zambia seems to have opted for persuasion but it is twenty-five years now since independence and the plight of the poor of rural areas is getting worse.

Berki has no difficulties in accepting what is held as African Socialism, for to him socialism has four tendencies instead of just one definition of socialism which is exclusive. He criticizes

"attempts to reduce socialism to one single 'true' body of doctrines or values. And we we have argued that it is erroneous to dismiss the identity of socialism on account of the diverse and conflicting views for which the name provides verbal cover. This amounts to asserting not only that all usages are legitimate, but that all those professing themselves to be socialists are in fact participating in the same discussion. And this, in turn, means that the identity of socialism lies in the irreducible plurality of values and institutions which constitute its area of reference, and in the very problematic character of any attempt to reconcile these into an harmonious totality. And instead of drawing neat pencil-lines, we have to get hold of a brush. Instead of being preoccupied with its circumference, we should try to grasp socialism as a bundle of complex problems, paradoxes, intellectual and political controversies. Socialism is not 'about' equality any more than it is 'about' justice or happiness. Its identity is not revealed in the Marxian texts alone, nor in the Sermon on the Mount, nor in party manifestoes, nor in underground pamphlets and campus graffiti. Socialism is not a single thing, but a range, an area, an open texture, a self-contradiction" (Berki, R.N. (1975) p34)

Berki therefore, puts down four tendencies towards socialism: Egalitarianism- equality which must logically lead to communal way of life, and communal ownership of goods becomes a total value. Society must be rid of division of rich and poor and democracy must be practised in order to eradicate society of evil. If necessary a revolutionary struggle or armed fight must be employed in the attainment of socialism.

-Moralism seems to be a christian principle of socialism which sees socialism as social justice, peace, co-operation and brotherhood(sisterhood too?). This is also against exploitation of people especially those who have to sweat and toil in order to earn their livelihood. Capitalism is seen as fundamentally an unjust system; it inflicts misery and suffering on the very people who produce society's wealth. It sets man against man, extolling selfishness and mutual enmity in the guise of free competition. Moralism replaces enmity with mutual help, service and a deep feeling of responsibility for the welfare of others in society. Democracy is employed in achieving socialism and persuasion is preferred to revolution.

-Rationalism emphasizes individual happiness, reason, knowledge, efficiency in production, the rational purposeful organization of human society in the interest of progress.

-Libertarianism seeks to liberate wo/man from rationality as well as convention in search of the 'real' person, of the natural person. Demands freedom; total absence of restraints both external and internal.

These four tendencies express different socialist attitudes but are all basically against capitalism. Egalitarianism and libertarianism are the two committed to revolution; they stand for total opposition to capitalist society and for radical changes in human consciousness and social relationships. Moralism and rationalism, on the other hand, are moderate, mixed, impure, intermediate, 'soft' tendencies.

One can compare this Zambian Humanism with Marx's scientific socialism in the sense that both are seeking a deeper understanding of socialism within their contexts and finding ways of implementing socialism in their environment. The difference is of course that scientific socialism has been in existence longer, has been put into practice and has stood the trial of time. Or better still Zambia still seems to have only the socialist vision which refers to ideals and values, whereas scientific socialism has empirical features of social and political institutions which embody the vision(12).

Zambia can be seen, according to Berki, to be following more the moralism and rationalism which express their opposition

only in part because she takes the productive techniques and some aspects of the economic organization of capitalist society for granted, incorporating also the materialism and individualism characterizing this society. This according to Molteno(13) is due to the fact that Zambia's inspiration for socialism and humanism rose out of the socialist movement that was available to them, which was social democracy. This version accepted a modified capitalist economy as the basis of society but sought to eliminate the worst of exploitation and protect the masses through welfare state. Zambia was not familiar with scientific socialism which rejected reformation of capitalism and instead wanted it eliminated by transferring ownership of the means of production into the hands of the state.

When Zambia got acquainted with scientific socialism Zambia could not break away from capitalism because the copper industry was so closely tied to the Western capitalists in terms of ownership, skilled manpower, machinery and markets. Also the Western colonialists had spread the notion that scientific socialism always destroys religious observance; and this must have prevented a real acquaintance with scientific socialism as the president who was the originator of socialism (humanism) in Zambia was a committed christian. This stand, therefore, that Zambia has taken is opposed to any radical breaks of any kind. Yet a look at the countries that have tried to implement 'some version of socialism'

seems to show that it is impossible to achieve socialism without being radical, at least so believes Babu(14). Frank, A. G. and Baran, P. who as shown earlier contest that even if capitalism is reformed it cannot be a permanently satisfactory road to development. Babu therefore, is for struggle and does not believe in ideologies such as Humanism. He believes that as long as there are exploiter and exploited classes there can be no brotherhood of man, no humanity or humanism. He concludes that humanism bypasses the class struggle and by so doing misunderstands the motive force of history and its development. He sees ideologies like humanism as a compromise with exploitation, or state capitalism which according to him is exploitation of masses in joint enterprises and partnership with the multinational corporations which have led to chronic underdevelopment.

It is difficult from the outset to see Zambia taking a revolutionary approach to the elimination of capitalism due to the christian influence of the originator of Zambian humanism. Kaunda grew up in a christian home, his father was a christian minister and christianity has had a great influence in his personal and political life. In his political life he always seemed to pick on ideologies and systems that seemed closest to christian principles(15). For example during the fight for independence, he emphasized the non-violent means which he copied from Ghandi. He copied the non-violent means because this was in resonance with the

christian non-violence principle. It is therefore, not surprising that Kaunda opted for Humanism as the way of life, or philosophy of life, for Zambia. Humanism recognises God as the creator and adherence to this brings about respect for people created in the image of God. Hence humanism which places people at the centre of all the activities of the nation, because people holds the central position in the universe with all their unfathomable power to gain mastery over their environment.

5.1.1 Humanism and Rural Development in Zambia

The review on development ended with the redefinition of 'development' in 'human terms'. A recognition that development should focus on people as they are the world's greatest asset. As shown in Chapter Three 'another' development is empowered people, with control over the decisions, resources and structures that affect their lives. In 'another' development, people-centredness is not a means but an end in itself. Development is people where they are, who they are and whatever they have, as long as they are in control. This would seem that with humanism Zambia was heading towards the achievement of 'another development', but it was not to be. Instead, Zambia, forged forward into agribusiness, the long overdue alternative to the copper economy which had been neglected by the colonial government. The neglect was compounded by lack of interest in the ordinary people of Zambia and also lack of commitment to

their well-being(see section 4.4.4 above). For the copper industry was 'good' business and there was no need to diversify the economy. The Zambian government, however, was forced to honour the promises made to the rural people before independence and so had to do something quickly for the majority of the rural people to whom they had promised so many changes once independence was won. The rural people in Zambia had suffered the worst form of neglect during the colonial rule and the new government was to embark on rural development that would ensure that the rural people would participate in the cash economy of the country fully.

According to P.Ollawa(16) the normative objectives which served as guidelines for the formulation of the national and rural development policies incorporated into the framework of the FNDP and SNDP as well as the party's national policies for the next decade may be specified as follows:

- (1) improvement of the rural standard of living and the creation of a self-reliant and progressive rural society;
- (2) redressing the imbalance between the urban and rural sectors through more equitable allocation of investment funds;
- (3) the elimination of inequalities between geographical areas;
- (4) the development of the rural areas as a whole, including massive expansion of agricultural production, small-

scale enterprises and the transformation of the rural population into productive agents;

- (5) self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs and other essential agricultural products;
- (6) creation of new employment and mobility opportunities in the rural areas and the improvement of the social and economic infrastructure in the rural areas necessary for rural productivity in order to stem large-scale drift of rural labour to the urban centres.

Zambia needed to break her dependence on outsiders for its food requirements, for she needed to reach self-sufficiency in food to start with, for to the extent that development is people-centred, food is the foundation for development because only a person that is adequately fed can engage in development or enjoy the benefits which is expected to bring(17). The importance of rural development however, meant cash crops and not people nor their much needed food crops. The rhetoric of people-centred rural development was only for the mobilisation of people into agricultural production. The agribusiness was to draw people into the cash economy and would therefore, ensure some revenue for the government after the sale of cash crops. Rural development was therefore, from the very beginning, not people-centred as it was the government, and not the people, in control. It was the government that initiated the projects and dictated to the people what was to be done. The people had to produce

what the government wanted and decisions on price was to be made by the government. The people then, were to be mere tools used to acquire foreign exchange.

The agricultural sector was also perceived as very important because it was to provide in a large measure, raw materials for the local industry that up to now had been in very low production or non-existent. (Yet this was done at the expense of food production and was to bring about the shortages in food that the country now experiences.) To be able to generate a steadily rising surplus of production in excess of subsistence needs, needed drastic changes. Since land is relatively fixed in supply (although Zambia does not suffer from lack of land, yet people have lived in certain areas for ages and will not easily move to new areas just to have new and bigger farming land) this requires raising agricultural productivity(18). Because of the realisations enforced by the normative objectives listed above, agriculture came to play a major role in the implementation of rural development, in fact rural development came to mean agricultural production. The efforts in encouraging people-centred approach were reduced to deploying agricultural extension officers and the formation of farming and other co-operatives in rural areas. These moves were more designed to using people as tools in achieving increased production needed for the economy and not so much as achieving development needed by the people. Rural

development was still guided by the belief that drawing rural people into cash economy would mean 'development' for the rural people. Producer co-operatives were to be introduced as vehicle for bringing hundreds of thousands of peasant house holds into the cash economy by producing marketable surpluses. Zambia realised that this was not going to be an easy task as

"colonialism left a legacy of unbalanced and vulnerable economies in which the impoverishment of the rural areas made rational planning for growth and self-sufficiency difficult if not impossible" (S.A. Quick, 1977 in JMAS 15, 3, 1977).

The difficulty in implementing a people-centred rural development was due to the fact that the Zambian government had invested a lot of money into the socio-economic infrastructure at independence in response to the popular demand of development which now needed funding. Funding was required for the civil service that had multiplied rapidly and the source for revenue was the copper, hence the decision to expand the copper mines was always paramount to the neglect of the rural sector just as in the colonial days. Zambia, therefore, could not invest in rural development unless it was to bring some revenue which was needed to keep the socio-economic infrastructure running. In spite of the importance of a people centred rural development as dictated by Humanism Zambia chose to go into agribusiness. Humanism which is concerned about improving the quality of the life of the Zambian people was misunderstood and was reduced to mean

provision of basic needs through welfare state:

"Basically this means providing adequate food, adequate clothing and adequate shelter for all our people in Zambia and not just a few of them" (PNDP).

It lacked the much needed ingredient of self-reliance needed in improving the quality of the life of the people for and by themselves.

5.2 Organization of Rural Development

According to S. A. Quick, Zambia had three strategies of rural modernization before her; individual capitalism, macro-socialism and micro-socialism. Individual capitalism involves the continuation of colonial practice of encouraging the more enterprising farmers to expand their output and scale of production. This increase in production would depend on the profit-maximising calculations of individual farmers. The role of the government would be provision of infrastructure, marketing facilities, and in some cases freehold rights in land.

Macro-socialism promotes state ownership of the means of production and eliminates private property and is therefore, considered socialist. In practical terms this strategy envisages a network of state farms or state managed settlement schemes, where agricultural production is organised according to a national plan and all decisions are taken at national level by the central state elite or their representatives.

Micro-socialism is the closest to a people-centred approach and to humanism because it aims at bringing producers together and to give them effective control over the process of production through a democratic system of group decision-making. This strategy therefore, looks at what the relationships between producers are in the rural sector. Producer-managed farming co-operatives are the main institutions favoured by this strategy. State is expected to have some role in co-ordinating economic activity, but effective decision-making power is decentralised in a large number of small-scale production units. The role that the state plays in this strategy is essential if this is to succeed.

5.2.1 Formation of Co-operatives

For Zambia and especially for the president micro-socialism option seemed the ideal vehicle of transforming rural Zambia because it could teach norms and practices of democracy, improve the capacity of villagers to manage their own affairs, produce economic development without inequality; ensuring the implementation of humanism as a way of life for the Zambians. This option also was assumed to be easier and quicker as it would be based on traditional co-operatives' practices of a mutual aid society on which humanism as a way of life is based. Hence the formation of co-operatives after an address by the president to the people at Chifubu in

Ndola in mid-January 1965. In this address the president took micro-socialism to the people.

The producer co-operatives which people had been encouraged to form after the Chifubu declaration were to be introduced as a vehicle for bringing humanistic development of the people. The formation of these co-operatives were to simplistic and spelt failure from the start. All that was needed was for a group of at least ten people to reclaim a minimum of 64 hectares of land. The government would authorize them to form an agricultural co-operative and resources would be provided. In most cases as shown by Bates the co-operatives cleared the land and when they got paid they only cultivated one-seventh of the land they had cleared and been paid for. The result was very low yields and not enough money to pay back the loans from the government.

Bates(19), for example relates how co-operatives were formed in one of the villages in Zambia, namely Kasumpa Village. Three of the leading politicians from Kasumpa attended the famous Chifubu rally. On return they soon organized themselves into a co-operative and were registered. According to Bates and Bwalya the case of co-operatives in Kasumpa village was not very different from other co-operatives in the country. The President had assumed that the leaders would be led by humanistic values and that Humanism would be the guiding force behind the co-operatives.

This assumption was based on another assumption that the village is led by traditional cooperative practices of a mutual aid society. Because of this assumption no further help or guidance was given to the leaders. Apart from the Chifubu speech, no extra help was given to those who were to be leaders of the co-operatives. They were therefore, not helped in understanding what the co-operatives involved and so what the President hoped co-operatives would achieve was only clear to him and not to the people who were going to be involved in the implementation and on whom the success of these co-operatives depended.

According to Bates, the chairman, the secretary and the treasure got K80 per month while on the job and an extra K35 for being members of the co-operative. In contrast the mason earned K35 per month and the rank and file earned around K15 per month. So instead of the co-operatives bringing prosperity to a whole village as assumed only a few individuals were benefiting.

The leaders of the co-operatives viewed the co-operatives as profitable ventures. To illustrate this view, Bates shows how two of the officers prospered and built themselves grocery stores. While the officers prospered the rank and file did not, they considered the co-operatives a waste of time for them. They saw in the financing of co-operatives a failure on the part of the government to solve their problems of starvation which the villagers faced. They also felt that

they had been exploited by the nationalist movement as the party leaders who had founded the co-operative prospered while the members did not.

5.2.1.1 Why the Co-operatives Failed

5.2.1.1.1 The Party and Government Leadership

One of the major contributing factors to the failure of the co-operatives was the President's assumption that Zambia was based on a mutual aid society. This led to an oversight on the president's assumption that humanism would come naturally to the Zambians. He seemed to overlook the fact that socialism or humanism would be difficult for most Zambians after having been under capitalist colonial rule. The colonial rule had left an impact on the 'educated' Zambians and also the 'uneducated' who too had been drawn into the money economy which entailed competition and its mechanism was such that there were to be two parties with one losing all the time while the other continuously winning. There is therefore, a tendency among most Zambians to a bourgeois style of life which means poverty and deprivation for others. As cautioned by Dumont (20) what was needed was a systematic analysis of the Zambian values which should have then been implemented in the co-operative movement. In his own words Dumont exhorts the Zambians as follows:

"have confidence in yourselves and in particular don't be afraid of your African values and traditions. Get the best out of them, they are the social fabric of your society without which "progress" means nothing" (in Woldring, K. ed. 1984 p104).

However, the Zambians were more drawn to emulating the colonialists than to valuing their own tradition and culture as the 'Cultural Dependence' as explained in Chapter Two. As it turned out the president had no support from the party, due to the fact that there is preference for capitalist ideological values among large segments of the Zambian political elite. They are more interested in profit-making ventures than in the plight of the ordinary Zambian. The local elite do not view or accept rural development or humanism's implementation of it as the nation's most serious task(21). There is wide spread lack of dedication among party leaders to the philosophy of humanism. They do not make the effort to adopt humanism as their philosophy of life with all that it implies in terms of personal integrity, disciplined life-style, untrodden paths and unprobed problems(22). Aware of this lack of support from the party the president had been forced to go to the people directly and in an address to the masses he had proposed micro-socialism in what was later referred to as the Chifubu Declaration.

Some authors, for example Molteno, point out that the President would have been expected to take a step towards correcting the attitude of the party members instead of just going to the people. According to Molteno (23) party leadership involves the equally difficult tasks of purging the leadership of those self-seeking elements who use the

party as a stepping stone to wealth while paying only lip service to the ideology. The lack of support for micro-socialism by the party leaders spelt failure from the start, for the President could not be the sole supporter of such an immense venture. He should have sought support by all means from his colleagues or replaced them with those who would support him in this crucial venture of bringing about development in zambia and above all of ensuring the implementation of Humanism as a way of life. Because the President chose to by-pass the party proves to some authors that he preferred to be a 'populist' leader instead of a revolutionary one, who would go to any extent to see that humanism is implemented at any cost, even at the cost of losing some of his party members. It must be realised that he was however, in an awkward situation as he had been in power for only a few months. He could not easily replace those who had struggled with him for the independence so easily and at the start of his reign as president. It is also characteristic of the President to negotiate, to excuse and to give as much time and as much room as possible for change.

Note must be taken, however, of what type of people he had to rule with. They from the outset showed that their interest was not in the welfare of the people for whom and by whom independence had been fought. They had different aspirations, interests and ideologies from those of the

President's. It was under these same party leaders who did not want to adopt humanism as their mainstay of life with all that it implies in terms of personal integrity, disciplined life-style, that the co-operatives were placed(24). The co-operatives and agriculture in general fell under this elitist government (that failed to live to the full the implications of the ideology in their personal and public lives) with its policies which put urban areas and their modes of production first and gave little attention to rural areas. If attention was accorded to the agricultural section, it was to the emergent commercial farmers only. The peasant/subsistence farmers were neglected by a government that saw its way out of the hunger and shortage of food situation in concentrating on the commercial and emergent farmers as already pointed out. Yet by neglecting peasant farmers Zambia abandoned the basis for long-term self-sustaining agricultural production and solution to the shortage of food.

5.2.1.1.2 Commercial Farmers

The placing of emphasis on the commercial and emergent farmers was a temporal solution because these placed emphasis on cash crops and not on food crops, and on profit and not on what is needed. The human element in development is ignored and importance is placed on what is most profitable. The commercial farmers tend to grow what can easily sell and what can give maximum profit. The result is food production is

neglected at the expense of cash crops and other luxurious crops such as wheat which fetch a lot of money.

The poor farmers who continue to grow food crops are not appreciated but worse still are exploited for their products are bought at cheap prices so that urban people can get their food at subsidised prices. Yet these same commercial farmers in whom so much trust is placed are very few in numbers. Of a total of about 600 large-scale commercial farmers only 25 per cent are Zambians. The white farmers did not engage in new and long-term agricultural projects for a while. They felt insecure when Zambia adopted an official ideology with socialist implication which in its widest sense, is directed towards the goals of equality and income redistribution. In contrast the large-scale farmers operate on purely profit-maximising principles and this caused inevitable tension between their development orientations and those of the state. Their aim is profit-making and they, therefore, can lower production of a particular commodity in which prices are low and move to those with higher prices as they wish. In this case some agricultural commodities are neglected while prices of others soar. Most commercial farmers have no commitment to the party's goals, they are guided by different principles, not the principles of the nation they operate in. They are in that sense very similar to multi-national companies.

5.2.1.1.3 Bureaucratic Supervision

The co-operatives were placed under the supervision of the government. This made co-operatives as bureaucratic as other government agencies, characterised by red tape which slows down the achievement of any aim(25). The bureaucratic agency who were to run these co-operatives were not prepared, inexperienced, lacked knowledge in running co-operatives and there was none with expertise in this field. This led to many problems and conflicts which could have easily been avoided or minimised. An example of such problems was the lack of survey of any sort concerning the amount of money required to clear an acre of land. The bureaucratic agency had no knowledge or experience whatsoever and the result was that too much money was given based on the white man's expenses of clearing the land using machinery. Three times as much money is required to clear the land by machinery as compared to doing it manually. This in turn led to exploitative and unproductive behaviour by co-operative members. They used the money to pay workers who they had employed instead of they themselves doing the job(26).

The problem of lack of knowledge was coupled with the top down implementation of the programme. The farmers were not involved in the deliberations at all. They were mere receivers of what the government had decided on and they were to implement these policies which they had no idea about;

either in content or in ideology; they were mere objects at the receiving end. In short farmers were not consulted or involved in any of the aims and objectives of the government concerning their own areas. Rural development became 'something done to the poor' (27).

5.2.1.1.4 Emergent Farmers

There were some knowledgeable emergent farmers or party leaders who were quite prepared to take advantage of the money that was being offered. As Bwalya observes

"the cooperatives became the battle grounds for fighting between the better-off farmers for preeminence and selfish access to resources at the cooperatives' disposal" (Bwalya, M. C. in Woldring, K. (1984)p26)

Some of the poor farmers were not even aware of what was going on and were misused in the whole project by those who could grab the money from the government.

"This fighting did not only crush the peasants underfoot but it led to the dislocation and destruction of cooperatives themselves" (ibid p74).

The aim of achieving increased capacity for production was an illusion that never became a reality for the co-operative members. The aim of most of these co-operative members was not to increase production nor to help create a humanistic community in which everybody worked communally to achieve a higher level of living but most saw the co-operatives as the only way of acquiring the much needed and scarce money. The fact too that those who upheld traditional values were not

singled out made the implementation of co-operative on the basis that the rural people still held on to the valued traditional characteristics which humanism was trying to implement, a shaky foundation. Most co-operatives were either headed by constituency-level party leaders or some emergent farmers who had selfish motives(28).

5.2.1.1.5 Inexperienced Extension Officers

There was no 'education' or preparation for the farmers except that provided by extension officers. Most of these extension officers were young and inexperienced. They also adopted a top-down form of communication which placed the rural people under them in an inferior way. They posed as the know-all in order to secure their own weak positions in a field and job in which they were inexperienced. The extension officers were therefore, not prepared to learn from the rural people as these were to them, ignorant, backward and had nothing to offer(29). The extension officers' job was not effective and did not last long as they failed to work with rural people. They had difficulties in taking on rural people's values as most of them had been bred and educated in the urban areas. The 'education' they had transmitted values that were different from those of the rural people. As the Literature review shows, a people-centred approach must take the values of the people seriously if changes are to be effective.

The extension officers found it easier to deal with the commercial farmers who were already into commercial farming which was what they were trained to tackle. The poor peasants were however, growing food crops and had to change from food crops to cash crops which at that time was mainly maize, as the agribusiness usually ignored local crops and advocated for usually one cash crop that was grown and exported. They stopped growing cassava and millet and these are today looked upon as 'backward' crops because they were not popularised during the green revolution and yet they are drought resistant and millet is more nutritious than maize. The commercial farming replaced food growing which has led to the shortage of food in the country today. Most peasants were and are still unable to grow these cash crops in large quantities and yet they spend most if not all of their time on these cash crops. When these cash crops are marketed they are not able to meet the subsistence requirements of the peasants because they are grown in small quantities.

Most of these peasant farmers have been drawn into the cash economy and cannot now do without the growing of cash crops. This leaves the women as the sole growers of food crops. The peasant farmers however, make very little profit and it has become clear that this agribusiness is suitable for commercial farmers and not for subsistence ones.

The efforts to draw the peasant farmers into cash crop growing involved the building of depots and storage houses in

rural homes; providing mechanical power, credit, training in farming and constructive skills and the creation of marketing facilities in an effort to promote productive enterprise among village dwellers. There was, however, failure to transform effectively the traditional agricultural practices by the extension officers, as this involved more than just teaching of new methods. It meant a complete change and approach to their whole life style as agriculture is the basis of their life. They had to be convinced of the new methods and those introducing them had to ensure that they won the confidence of peasants otherwise as shown above the modernization of rural areas was bound to fail.

Mention must be made of the fact that this whole idea of modernization as earlier on pointed out was something that was being done to the people in which the people had no say at all. The provisions then for rural modernization were wasted as the people were not prepared to make use of these tools. Hence the conclusion reached in Chapter Three, that people are to be central to development if rural change or any change is to succeed.

5.2.1.1.6 Deepened Economic Crisis

Nine years after the formation of co-operatives country's economic problems that began from the early 70s worsened. This economic recession contributed to the collapse of co-operatives. Budget deficit meant that government

expenditures had to be cut. There was no more money to hand out or substitute public spending for other sectors of production, neither could social welfare programmes be expanded nor could wage demand by public sector employees be listened to. Economic productivity controlled the handout of funds and co-operatives were not economically productive and so were left out. Most co-operative members had treated the money from the government as payment and reward for the gained independence and not as loans to be paid back and so apart from being unproductive they still owed the government money.

The co-operatives were run side by side with State farms and individual commercial and emergent farmers. This led to a constant switching of funds from one to the other. If the government really wanted co-operatives to succeed then these others should have been discouraged. However, as it was, co-operatives were constantly compared with how the other two were performing although the motives, aims and ideologies governing these three modes were very different. During the economic crisis therefore, the scarce resources had to be given to the other two forms of agricultural production in the hope of accruing some profit for the state. The government thus channelled what resources were available to stimulation of production of cash crops by commercial and emergent farmers. It was reasoned out that the government could not afford to invest the scarce resources in food

production which most of the peasant farmers were involved in. Although this was not a very economical solution as the revenue from the cash crops and some other exported commodities, was used to import food.

If the co-operatives were the only means of rural 'development' there would have been hope of concentrating all the efforts and scarce resources on them. There evidently was need to discourage the other two alternative modes of production if co-operatives were to succeed. This shows that in spite of the government declaring a people-centred approach to development they were still operating along profit-making lines, people-centred rhetoric was mere propaganda. The rural development was not aimed at achieving people-centred development but it was to use people as tools to obtaining the much required foreign exchange through agribusiness. Without money, there was nothing that could be achieved by the co-operatives for the commencement and continuation of co-operatives was dependent on money from the government, so this lack of financial support defeated the purpose of co-operatives.

5.2.1.1.7 Zambia's Dualistic Economy

The fact too that Zambia was a dualistic economy contributed to the collapse of the rural development efforts as more resources and efforts were concentrated in the urban areas where the copper and other minerals are. As Ollawa points

out that in spite of Zambia's declaring in its National Development Plans (NDPs) its desire to develop rural areas only about 15.43 per cent of the total public investment outlay of K563.67 million in the FNDP went to the rural sector in comparison with 21.47 per cent allocated to mining and industry. The SNDP was even worse in that it allocated only 7.79 per cent (K152.5 million out of a total investment outlay of K1,956 million) for the development of the rural sector as opposed to K655 million (i.e. 34.48%) for mining and industry. The reason for this allocation being that

"massive capital investment, as foreseen, will generate increased incomes and markets for food supplies and consumer goods. It is here that industrial development will play an important part in preventing a rapid expansion of import of consumer as opposed to capital goods or raw materials" (FNDP p33).

Yet with the import-substitution policy, money was invested in factories that produced luxurious items for the limited high-income elite and a few profitable mass produced goods like beer and cigarettes while no factories in rural areas were built and very few of those which could use local raw material were considered.

Rural development could not succeed because top priority in investment allocation was accorded to those foreign investors and affluent elite (including political and administrative ruling class) and the urban centres were favoured at the expense of the rural areas. The modern sector was and is excessively dependent on imported inputs and also as a result

of the relatively low productivity of rural labour coupled with the high costs of locally-produced agricultural commodities vis-a-vis imports, the expected integration or linkages between agricultural production and modern industrial development failed to materialise(30). Nyarera had pointed out that rural supplies will always have a low priority because the rural areas have no profit(31). The result of such practices is a situation where Zambia was trying to introduce a people-centred production in the rural areas while maintaining the profit-making approach in the urban sector. The consequences of such a move was that the attraction of the high urban wage structure, especially in the mines and parastatal organizations, induced large-scale migration of enterprising individuals to the urban centres, thus depriving the rural sector of potential commercial farmers. Despite the 'highest priority' assigned to rural development in the policy documents neither the allocation of public funds nor the implementation of development strategies have been energetically directed towards improving the living standards of the rural masses.

5.2.1.1.8 Depoliticization in Zambia

The political atmosphere in Zambia did not help the co-operatives at all. There was widespread depoliticization which according to Ake

"entails reducing the effective participation of the masses and of non-hegemonic factions of the ruling class, and preventing some interests and points of view from finding political expression. The point of

reducing the effective political participation of the masses is to render them impotent, to prevent the political system from being overloaded with demands which are not conducive to its survival and to render the masses less available for socialization into radical political or oppositional behaviour by non-hegemonic factions of the ruling class. By preventing certain interests and opinions from finding political expression, the ruling class expects to obtain a level of political unity out of proportion to existing contradictions in the material base, and to reduce the possibility of harnessing the antiparties towards the political and economic system into a strong revolutionary force" (Ake, C. (1978) p78).

With independence came the end of politicization of the masses. This could be attributed to the fact that the elite were afraid of a politically aware citizenry, that could claim its rights and demand for its due. Therefore, the aim was to keep the ordinary person ignorant even of his/her rights. The 'ignorant' mob is easier to handle than an 'educated/knowledgeable' one. The lack of politicisation meant that the peasantry could not be easily mobilised, hence the problems in communication and implementation that followed the inauguration of the co-operatives. No one seemed to be prepared to 'sit down' with the common people and explain to them what the implications of these projects were(32). The result was misunderstanding of the implication of most of the objectives of the rural development innovations. An example is given of president Kuunda's public pledge of 'an egg and a pint of milk a day for every Zambian by 1970' on independence day. This was intended to boost the working morale of the masses, but if the desired goals were to be realized closer examination of the

understanding and interpretation by the ordinary people of such promises is necessary. One finds that such political proclamations are taken quite literally and interpreted to mean anticipated benefits which the government ought to bequeath on the people as a reward for supporting the independence struggle.

The fact too of lack of communication led to co-operatives being looked at as government projects and not the people's as these were initiated by the party and its government. The government initiating these projects, coupled with poor communication and political promises led to the peasants' benefit-orientation and dependence-expectation attitudes(33). They looked at development of their own local areas as the government's task. The colonial impact discussed in the earlier Chapters has left the people believing that they are incapable of dealing with their own economic and social problems. They underestimate their capabilities and lack a sense of personal initiative in dealing with their problems. They wait for the government to come and solve these problems because they believe the government has a lot of money and should handle all their problems. This assumption that the government has a lot of money should not be scorned at for J.R.Pletcher(34) shows how public funds are used by political leaders during campaigns in rural areas, leading the rural people to believe that there is a lot of money in the nation and therefore, the government should solve their economic

problems especially in terms of high cost of living and shortage of basic commodities.

Power was centralised and with the elite in control, meant that the co-operatives would not receive much attention; for the elite would be more interested in urban modes of production. The elite with their values penetrated all party and government efforts at effecting participation in decision-making in order to promote rural development.

5.2.1.1.9 Exclusion of Women from Co-operatives

It is a well known fact that most of the agricultural work in developing countries is done by women. In Africa women do more than half of the agricultural work; in some cases they were found to do around 70 per cent and in one case nearly 80 per cent of the total (35). There is therefore, a growing consensus that African women play a very important role in the production and marketing of food crops. In sub-Saharan for example, 46 per cent of the agricultural labour force is female, because women do not decide whether to work or have children, they work because they have children. The entire responsibility of bringing up children and ensuring the survival of the family, the clan and hence the nation is on their shoulders, an income-earning activity is thus an expected part of their life. Yet these are the very ones who have no or little access to extension services, credit and markets. Is it surprising then that most of these rural

projects that are orientated at male clientele as opposed to female fail?

In Zambia, women who do such of the agricultural work are often not included in extension services. The extension workers, to use R. Chambers' words, have a bias

"towards what concerns men rather than women, adults rather than children, the clean rather than the dirty, and, pervasively, the rich rather than the poor" (Chamber, R. 1983 p77)

The extension service workers disregard the women's heavy schedule and so in their programmes do not make special allowance or time table for them. The programmes of extension service workers is made in such a way that the women have to drop one of their equally or more important jobs in order to participate in the extension service programmes and in most cases they do not take part in these extension service programmes. And so for administrative convenience of the extension officers women are left out as no effort is made to set their programmes to times most suitable for the womenfolk. Often too, the women grow crops for subsistence such as millet, sorghum, cowpeas, chickpeas, cassava, sweet potatoes, and yams and yet do not even appear in agricultural production statistics as with cassava in Zambia. In Zambia cassava is grown by half the rural population and is for many of them the basic staple, and for most the fall-back food of last resort(36). Yet these crops are not included in most extension programmes nor are such

activities as household chores, the production of food for local consumption, the bringing up of children considered as productive activities.

In the GNP, activities of women such as tilling the soil to produce enough food to sustain their families, gather firewood, walk long distances to fetch water, cook meals for their families, care for and educate their children are not considered economical and are therefore, not included, only the export cash crops are classified as agricultural economic employment areas. This is because orthodox economics defines work in terms of it being commoditized, that is if it produces goods and services for exchange in the market. Participation in the labour force is thus measured in terms of labour's links with the market activity(37). Therefore, most women are not counted in the work force of the nation and underestimation is acute in the remote rural areas where the market has not penetrated many spheres of economic activities. Yet these same women who are the major producers of subsistence crops are expected to cope with the increasing demand of subsistence food brought about by population growth and technological progress, while on the other hand, they are denied the technical and social opportunities to do so. This undermining of women's economic position is due to the conventional measurements of the labour force which grossly underestimates women's participation in economic activities and so are underdeveloped in most projects.

The ideological bias too, that men are the primary foundation for agricultural modernization contributes to women being left out of projects. Women's work is treated as secondary to men's, resulting in failure to involve women in development schemes. This has not only led to women's increased economic dependence on men but to projects suffering as level of production falls below targeted levels. The following examples are given to show how projects suffer when women are not involved in development schemes: In the case of a project in Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) the programme of production by the resettlement authority imposed intense agricultural work for 10 months of the year(38). The women's workload as unpaid labourers was greatly increased with less time available for their other income generating activities. Additionally, women were also deprived of fields on which to cultivate condiments which were an important nutritional source of the family diet. Planners had mistakenly assumed that the holding would be jointly cultivated by 'nuclear' families as family farms(39). Consequently, women suffered a sharp drop in income and a rise in their unpaid labour inputs (their hours of work doubled in absolute terms) and experienced considerable hardship in maintaining themselves and their children.

Day's study of irrigated rice development projects in Gambia(40) illustrates the detrimental impact of projects on women. These projects failed to recognise that there existed

a sexual division of labour and income where men and women were either responsible for separate field operation or they cultivated different crops. The projects operated on the assumption that the household is homogenous unit in which resources, income and tasks are shared equally by all family member. The result, however, was increased economic dependence of women on men and shortfalls and low levels of rice production. This is because as Jiggins(1986) shows that inefficient production attributable to the neglect of gender relations of production occur not only where women are engaged in autonomous production or as unpaid family workers, but also where innovation is associated with change in employment markets, and the intrahousehold distribution of labour, income and expenditures among family members.

In the Cauca valley, Columbia, the introduction of modern varieties and improved livestock biased in favour of large-scale farms enterprises resulted in an increase in the labour burden of women and a loss of their status as semi-independent producer and marketers. The introduction of High Yielding Varieties (HYV's) have also impaired women as governments particularly biased in favour of HYV's helped to depress prices and production levels of traditional subsistence crops such as pulses, a vital supplement in poor people's diets(41). Concentration on HYV crops also eliminated many of the economic activities carried out by women including animal husbandry, straw-plaiting and weaving.

and the gathering of spices for exchange in the market(42). Hence the introduction of technologies to achieve higher gains in marketed output and productivity, and it is assumed, to increase per capita incomes has resulted in the displacement of women from previously income-earning activities, has eroded their economic status and increased their dependence on man.

Although the predominance and expertise of women in agriculture is recognised, very little is being done to put these findings to an advantageous use for women. The authors(43) of the article "Providing Africa's Women Farmers Access: One Solution to the Food Crisis" wish to hypothesise and actually show that any project aimed at alleviating the poverty and underdevelopment of rural areas will not succeed unless women are included. As another author observes:

"The avowed priorities of every nation in Africa... consist of enlarging the nation's economic base, improving the peoples' lives by meeting their basic needs... Unfortunately the many efforts at nation-building in Africa are carried out at the expense of a good half of its population and in self-defeating neglect of the most creative and productive segment of the citizenry of those countries: their women"(Nasimiyu-Wasike, 1987 p2)

The same author goes on to say that

"traditional women are recognised as matrices of family unity and social solidarity, and yet they are ignored by development planners who wish to reach the core of the (African) people, the family, from which the transformation of the community should begin and spread" (ibid p3).

Yet as already mentioned and according to Jiggins(1984a)

regardless of all the knowledge generated by the recent research demonstrating women's role in agriculture, little has been discovered seems to have been translated into the operational guidelines used in the mainstream of development thinking and action.

One solution that was viewed essential in solving women's problems was direct assistance to women. These, however, tend to be limited to home economics activities, failing to include production objectives. These projects emerged especially after the 1975 International Year of women. These tried to incorporate stock husbandry, horticulture and handicraft production. These were not popular as they proved detrimental because they burdened women's already heavy workload and involved learning new skills rather than improving on existing occupation. Also according to Jiggins(1984b) this way of solving women's problems is ineffective because it leaves out a close examination of the relations between family structure and specific economic and institutional arrangements which would involve a time and resource consuming process as a shift in ideological perspective.

5.3 Decentralization and Rural Development

Power was centralised and with the elite in control, meant that the co-operatives would not receive much attention; for the elite would be more interested in urban modes of

production. The elite with their values penetrated all party and government efforts at effecting participation in decision-making in order to promote rural development.

Both Ollawa and Bwalya(44) recognise the decentralised structure approach of local administrative reform measures in the period between 1966-1971 as the party/government's way to creating mass participation in decision-making at the village level. Yet the result of this exercise was rather a delegation of administrative functions to the lower levels of the government administrative hierarchy and not the placement of decision-making power and responsibility in elected people at the locality(45).

The 1969 Administrative Reforms strengthened local level government by giving the District Secretary more powers while at the same time Governors and Cabinet Ministers were introduced at district and provincial levels, respectively. The expectation was that these would expedite decision making and consequent project implementation, to use Bwalya's words(46). Or according to Ollawa, these politicians at local level were to increase the party's capability to mobilize and motivate the rural masses for authentic participation in the political process and rural production. The President himself had placed great emphasis on the decentralization because as quoted by Ollawa he pointed out that the intention was to maximize active mass support

'through hard work, through organization, through co-operation' and through active involvement of the rural masses in various self-help projects. All this was to be achieved because this reorganization was to enable greater involvement of the local people (hence participatory democracy) and better and relevant decisions could be made since these would be made with direct understanding of the situational problems.

Unfortunately the administrative reforms did not bring about the required participation of the rural masses. To begin with only junior and inexperienced Cabinet Ministers and later Members of the Central Committee (MCCs) of the party had been posted to provincial levels. This meant that major policy decisions and project priorities were still made at the national level with only little or no local-level contributions or consultation. Planning of the rural projects, preparation of the development budget and implementation for rural areas do not reside with the local people but still remain at the centre. The allocation of the number of schools, hospitals, industrial plants, etc. to each province or district was decided on at the national level and announced to the people normally just prior to elections. The fact that the decisions are made at the centre leads to Provincial Minister and District Governors having no effective co-ordinating control over the administrative and technical staff or the budget for development in their areas.

of responsibility(47). This situation is made more difficult by the fact that the provinces and Districts lack administrative and technical staff of high calibre; making the supervision or co-ordinating of the sub-units of the districts impossible(48).

The deconcentrative efforts of decentralization brought about administrative penetration of national elite or bourgeoisie into the rural areas. These associated themselves with the local elite with whose help they maintained law and order and provided limited social services. Bwalya(49)for example has shown how Village Productivity Committee(VPC) had a bias towards the already-established elites in the village; the size of VPC executive was limited to approximately 8 members out of maybe 500 people in a village; this meant that only the politically, economically and socially powerful could get onto the executive committee. The executive committee members were usually those who were relatively more educated or economically well-off enough to fit in with the Ward Development Committee(WDC) or top leadership when they visited the area or when there were meetings to be held. The peasants, therefore, because they are poor and uneducated involuntarily isolated themselves from taking leadership positions. The VPC set up then exclude the poor from power, information and resources which in turn has limited their ability to increase production while increasing their inequality. The powerlessness of the

peasant was becoming more apparent and no participation at all was being affected by the VPC. The WDC was no different from the VPC, in fact it was at the ward level that the play of power and exclusion of peasants began to be active. The WDC could be used as a personal business meeting or as a plotting strategy for shoring out potential resources as the WDC scrutinised applications for short-term and seasonal loans, for trading licences, and other activities before appropriate authorities took action. The exclusive membership of the WDCs by the local elite benefits them at the expense of the local peasants and other local people.

Ollawa(50) also recognises the fact that the decentralised structures have proved (a) to contain elements of contradictions to the philosophical guidelines oriented towards the production of self-reliant citizens and (b) to encourage the sustenance of elite value orientations which subvert some of the basic ideological components underlying the principle of Humanism and self-reliance at the grassroots level. As evidence from the operations of the various development committees have shown, their activities and attitude undermine the efforts to implement Humanism and self-reliance:

- (1) Highly placed individuals and dominant social groups very often find it more rewarding to by-pass the local level development committee-system in pursuance of their own interests.

- (2) Development projects and schemes are sometimes set up without assigning operational responsibility to the districts in which they are located.
- (3) Provincial heads of departments touring development projects often fail to meet local villagers in order to discuss their major problems. They have been known to listen to the rural masses and discuss their problems without offering solutions or making concrete suggestions, and without bringing the problems to the attention of the appropriate VPC or WDC, merely 'promising to look into the matter' or to refer it to their Ministerial colleague responsible for that particular issue.
- (4) Some politicians or highly-placed party/government officials attempt to capitalise on their role in bringing particular development projects to a given area, thereby insinuating to the rural peoples that the development of their respective areas depends not so much on the activities or influence of the local development committees as on whom you know.
- (5) For the most part, those who benefit from development programmes or from the technical and extension service of the government, including loan and credit facilities are not the masses but a small rural elite such as the relatively more prosperous commercial farmers, poultry keepers, who do not form more than 10 per cent of the rural population. It is estimated that they do not only

absorb the majority of the distributive outputs of the district, but also 'most District Governors and indeed Regional Officers and officers of the Public Services all have similar experience of finding that about 80 per cent of their efforts go to serving the needs of about 10 per cent of the people' (51).

Bwalya(52) talks of lack of information sharing, power sharing and benefit/resource sharing as a major hindrance to peasant participation in decision-making. As long as the peasants do not possess the basic information, there can be no rational analysis, formulation, implementation and evaluation of any policy or programme of action. Effective involvement of more peasants in decision-making depends on their understanding of the issues at stake and the socioeconomic implications of the available choices.

Genuine and effective participation depends on adequate supply and dissemination of information to all participants and not just structural change. As long as participants have no power to adopt, reject or modify as they wish, projects for their own advancement then there can be no talk of participation. Peasants must be given power over, and control of the instruments of decision-making. Participation will also be maximised by widespread distribution of available resources and the benefits that accrue from them.

What has been happening in Zambia then is not defined in terms of shared influence which the masses can wield in determining policy-formulation on rural developmental change, but rather by the extent to which regime members can manipulate the masses in support of party/government policies and development objectives. Consequently, all activities of provincial party leaders and local administrative officers are assigned a definite role in the process of rural development, i.e. to maximise unified or symbolic support for the Party. A major problem of this notion of participation is that in the practical context of the rural areas, it has actively helped to discourage the promotion of the ideological values that the decentralized structures were meant to foster, namely, self-reliance and active involvement of the masses in the process of rural development.

In order for genuine participation to be achieved a vigorous programme of educating peasants so as to afford them the necessary knowledge on matters over which their participation is required. Or better still a process of empowerment of the poor is required as the following chapter on 'education' will illustrate. The rural poor must be empowered in order to overthrow entrenched elite with their values(53). Ake, like Babu believes that obstacles to development such as class structure, and the vested interests tied up with these obstacles are such that they cannot be removed by anything short of a revolutionary upheaval. He cites the experience

of China, the Soviet Union and much of Eastern Europe to emphasis his point. According to him then

"Any approach which makes the achievement of development in Africa compatible with the maintenance of the present exploitative relations of production and with the links to imperialism can only hinder Africa" (Ake, 1978 p69)

It is however, empowered people, in ownership and control of their destinies, who will bring about a 'developed country' that is in ownership and control and not dependent on the World Bank, IMF or any other outside agency.

5.4 Individual Capitalism

After the co-operatives failed, Zambia abandoned all efforts at rural development directed at helping the poor people. The rural modernization reverted to what S.A.Quick calls individual capitalism, which encourages enterprising farmers to expand their output and scale of production. Zambia has adopted a technocratic view to rural development which is to maximise agricultural output, to ensure efficient use of scarce resources (54).

The rural poor have no structural role to fulfil in this macro-economic context and are therefore, left out. Yet the commercial farmers are numerically small and do not normally produce food crops, hence the success of producing enough food for the whole population is not feasible even in this technocratic context. The majority of farmers with the

capacity to choose have moved out of maize production into more profitable alternatives such as wheat, soya-beans and cotton. The poor peasants who produced a significant amount of the maize consumed nationally have been neglected. This neglect of the small peasantry by the state has had considerable significance for domestic marketed maize production. Zambia has had to import maize in order to feed the nation; this importing of maize is more expensive than it would be if; more effort was put into improving marketing facilities of locally produced maize. K. Good (55) gives the estimated price of every bag of maize at 1985 prices as K28.32 per bag while the imported cost in foreign currency would amount to K48 a bag (the price of a 25kg bag of roller meal has gone from K98 to K196 now and the breakfast meal is now K538 for 50kg, June 1990). The rural peasantry as discussed earlier have lost interest in producing more than they need.

In order to attract interest of commercial farmers, the State gave subsidies to encourage these capitalist farmers. The State proclaimed floor-prices for all crops except maize. This uniform prices policy puts the rural poor at a greater disadvantage as these ignore the comparative advantage enjoyed by those producers who grow a variety of cash crops. In fact most commercial farmers tend not to grow cash crops for sale when the risk/reward ratio and likely returns per hour of exceedingly hard work are considered not worthwhile.

Unless the farmer can ensure much higher yields without increasing greatly his labour input he may look for alternatives(56).

Fertilizer subsidies are also only beneficial to commercial farmers who use them extensively and who are assured of timely delivery. Subsidised farm implements such as tractors also only benefit commercial and emergent farmers who can afford to buy these implements. The rural peasantry lack sufficient income even to meet their minimum private consumption needs. Even the increase in producer prices will not help the rural farmers unless the roads are improved, the collection of crops done on time and payment for their crops done promptly to ensure that they replant early for the next season.

Apart from leaving out the poor from its services as will be shown below, the government also exploits the rural poor. The money earned by taxing agricultural producers(who are mostly poor peasants) by buying cash crops at cheaper prices and sell them at international prices and accumulating the difference of a trading surplus is mostly used to develop urban areas. For example, hydroelectric schemes which provide electricity to urban areas while the rural remain unlighted; the building of industrial park or the construction of intra-urban transport system while basic needs of the rural people who actually produce this capital are ignored. Industry keeps benefiting because low prices

for raw materials are employed to hire and retain industrial investments at the expense of the rural people(57). While resources levied from the rural sector have been employed to create capital which is then loaned to new industrial projects, no worth-mentioning projects at a national level are going on to benefit the rural poor. The very co-operative movement that would have been government's efforts at benefiting the rural poor has been abandoned.

Zambia has ignored systematic ways of helping the rural poor increase their standard of living by increasing their income. For example(58), in 1980 some 70% of the population of the remote and poor Kabompo District were believed to be bee-keepers and the dispersed population had little to sell but its honey. However, the Forest Department paid them only 0.41 Kwacha per kg., a mere 12 per cent of its selling price of 3.50 Kwacha on the Copperbelt. When pressed to raise the money paid to honey-gatherers, an official replied that this could not be done unless there was evidence that production costs had risen.

It is in ways such as these that the urban people and the elite keep poor rural people poor. Since the value of the farmers income can only be attested by the prices they must pay for the consumer items especially for goods manufactured in the city, a considerable effort must be made by the government to ensure that the poor people get reasonable

income from what they produce. As the example above shows most rural people get less than what they should from their products making life unbearable for them as most of the daily requisites are purchased from the cities where prices are far higher than what most of the farmers' income can buy. Herein we find what Szentes(59) would see as signs of internal factors and mechanism of the system of underdevelopment.

The rhetoric in public speeches continued to be one of a socialist and humanistic nature the practice in Zambia was a capitalist rural development policy at work. The role of the government today is one of offering infrastructure and services. There have been no further attempts to build co-operative or communal production units, although marketing service co-operatives are still encouraged. In the Zambian system then, of presidentialism and state capitalism the purchasing, transportation and storage of crops as with many agricultural functions are in the hands of the state. In order to carry out these functions a series of parastatal organizations were introduced to supplement the efforts of the conventional government departments. These parastatals were either created, expanded or reconstituted from colonial or early days of independence. Organizations such as Rural Development Corporation(RDC), National Agricultural Marketing Board(NAMEBOARD), Tobacco Board of Zambia(TBZ), Cold Storage Board of Zambia (CSBZ), Dairy Produce Board (DPB), and the Agricultural Finance Company(AFC) were all reconstituted to

render credit, marketing and production extension services to rural/peasant producers.

5.4.1 Credit

It has been mentioned earlier on that government concentrated its efforts on commercial and emergent farmers and so neglected the peasants for whom these services should have been intended. The credit provision by parastatal organizations such as AFC and COZ (credit organization of Zambia) are biased towards the rich farmers who are most likely to pay back loans. The commercial conditions upon which the commercial banks and other parastatal organisations base granting of loans leave out peasants.

For example the AFC adopted more stringent policies aimed at making substantial profits from its activities. The AFC's emphasis on certain levels of security and the requirement that former COZ debtors pay off their previous debts before being granted loans have kept away all potential peasant farmers. This has led to lack of interest, a kind of powerlessness, toward reviving defunct co-operative farms, since even if only a few of the former members wished to work on a co-operative farm they would be required to repay the total debt owed by previous members. The AFC also uses a package system that specifies certain levels of various purchased inputs according to the crop and the area planted with that crop. This package system argues, Klepper (60) is

not suitable for peasant farmers. The smallest areas for which the AFC will make loans are frequently larger than the total area cultivated by a typical peasant household. The AFC package makes no allowance for the poorer soils which many peasants cultivate and does not provide for hiring labour until relatively large areas are under cultivation. No loans are made for cassava, finger millet and sorghum which are major crops for peasants. According to Klepper fewer than 5% receive loans from AFC.

The TBZ seem to be the only ones according to Swelye(61) who have attempted to assist peasants by organising them into family production units. They are then provided with credit, training, technical and marketing services. This service is however, limited to only a small group and these activities have to be expanded in order to cover more peasants throughout the country.

5.4.2 Marketing Facilities

Poor quality of government marketing services discourage peasant production of surplus for sale. Uncollected maize by the beginning of the rainy season is no uncommon issue in the Zambian newspapers. The depots are too far apart in some areas making it difficult to deliver products on time. Late delivery of paid for seeds, fertilizers and insecticides is equally common; supplies may be inadequate; the wrong materials may be stocked (due to lack of qualified and

adequate personnel); and quantities in which they are sold are sometimes too large for the areas that many small farmers cultivate. The inadequate marketing facilities are accentuated by Zambia's geographical position and of course lack of governmental inputs. Zambia is a landlocked country and delays at ports in neighbouring countries which are outside Zambia's control do contribute a lot to delays in agricultural inputs arrival to the farmers. The size of Zambia (approximately 750,000sq kilometres) means spatial relations between market points and the locality served by the markets of rural areas are enormous. The constraints imposed on the marketing of agricultural outputs by inadequate transport facilities and poor road conditions cannot be appreciated unless one knows how impassable some of these roads are during the rainy season. The lack of spare parts also, for vehicles leave many of the vehicles in unused conditions for years.

NAMBOARD(62) which used to be the biggest agricultural marketing organisation in the country before the spread of Co-operative Marketing Unions was so unreliable. It had kept the prices and incomes of peasant low due to its having been in perpetual financial deficits. This state of perpetual financial deficits that NAMBOARD found itself in was caused by limited resources, lack of manpower and operational costs which reduced the effectiveness of the depots. The depots and storage facilities were costly to maintain, making NAMBOARD a big financial loser. The pay of the farmers came

late which meant the farmers could not plough early, bought the seed late which also took months to come and the whole process was delayed resulting in poor harvests. This manner of functioning by NAMBOARD left many peasants frustrated. The harvest was rarely collected on time and could be left at depots or collection stations for as long as 30 days without being delivered(63).

Such frustrating experiences affected not only the morale of emergent farmers but contributed to low agricultural yields, precisely because many farmers felt reluctant to invest new capital in boosting the production of agricultural commodities about whose disposal they were uncertain. Given the poor conditions of the rural roads, and the limited transport facilities at the disposal of peasant farmers, many found it extremely expensive to move their crops to the market points provided by NAMBOARD. As a result, considerable portion of the yield of agricultural commodities was left unpurchased; a situation which in turn dissuaded many small peasant farmers from increasing their agricultural production.

It was also noted that NAMBOARD preferred to deal with and assist producers near the main roads and district centres, leaving out several peasant farmers who are far from main roads and who then had to travel to the nearest district centre or town to deliver their produce if it was to be

sold(64). Purchases were not made in units of less than 90kg for most crops, for which the farmers were paid not in cash but by cheque. Any of these problems were sufficient to deter poor peasant farmers from marketing the output or marketing as much as he would if marketing services had been better. The system was set up with services geared towards commercial and emergent farmers and not towards ordinary peasant house holders. The marketing services then were mainly set up to cater for the non peasant group.

5.4.3 Extension Services

Extension services now exist in Zambia while there were practically none in the colonial period. Yet criticisms have been raised against the training and ability of these extension workers(65). These extension services are also plagued by a shortage of transportation which reduces the number of farmers that can be reached by each extension worker. The shortage of transport is coupled with the fact that most of the roads in rural areas are poorly maintained and are almost impassable during the rainy season. Apart from the reduced number of farmers that can be reached, Ollawa(66) draws our attention to the restricted amount of contact hours between extension workers and the farmers. Senior officers charged with the supervision of junior extension service workers cannot do their job because of this problem of transportation. This situation not only generates frustration, lack of enthusiasm and low morale, but

encourages both senior and junior extension service workers to spend much of their time indoors in their agricultural camps. As a result most rural projects are not effectively monitored.

These services, like all the others that are run in the country, are biased towards farmers who are already better off. Most of these extension workers are young and are trained in the cities and in other urban areas. What they teach in terms of farming methods and other technical practices apply mostly to commercial farmers and other emergent farmers. Their methods of instruction are often poorly suited to subsistence farmers who are illiterate and are mostly disregarded. These extension workers find it easier to communicate with emergent and commercial farmers as they have the same values and can use the language in which they are trained and hence feel secure. To communicate effectively with subsistence farmers the extension workers needed to get down to their level and adapt their value systems and most of these extension workers were not prepared to do this and were not taught to during their training. Their work is therefore, made easier and lighter by dealing with commercial and emergent farmers. Their aim is to achieve a rapid and widespread adoption of desirable innovations in farm practices and the subsistence farmer may be considered a hindrance to this progress and is often left

out. The extension service workers concentrate on what is "exotic rather than indigenous, mechanical rather than human, chemical rather than organic, and marketed rather than consumed" (Chamber, R. 1983 p77).

To conclude this Chapter, we can say that the services offered in the state capitalist Zambia are not meant to offset the poor people's plight. The government's efforts of providing infrastructure and services reaches only those who are along the line of rail, those who have the opportunities to avail of these services who are the commercial and emergent farmers and not the rural poor who are most in need. Yet in an emerging nation where capital is scarce the poor need all the help they can get in order for their lives to improve. However, the policies enforced by the government are those that place the poor in a powerless position. The poor have been left with no capital, no access roads, and no sufficient storage facilities for the preservation of their goods. This condition coupled with inefficiency, broken promises, and lack of communication have forced the peasants into being impervious to development and the elite have made them so. The result has been a further influx of rural people, nearly 50%, to the urban areas. The majority of whom are displaced because they are separated from their real means of subsistence, swelling the numbers of the officially unemployed in urban areas.

5.5 Summary

In summary the producer co-operatives were poorly planned and executed. There was lack of political mobilization of the peasantry, which could have been a precondition for the success of a people-centred approach to rural development. The President was left to do the implementation without the support of his party.

The co-operatives were left to compete with the commercial and emergent farmers and no need to discourage these two modes of agricultural production was perceived. The co-operatives were placed under government supervision which rendered them incompetent to act immediately and effectively because of the red tape apparent in government departments. The assumptions that the co-operatives would be easily accepted and managed as they would be based on traditional practices of a mutual aid society led to a lack of proper training for the leaders of the co-operatives. The leaders who were political leaders in villages were assumed to be people led by humanist values in their lives. It turned out that most of these leaders had selfish ambitions and grew rich at the expense of the other co-operative members who felt betrayed by the government that had promised them so much once independence was won.

The effort to rural development that began with people-centred rhetoric was in fact not people-centred at all. It is clear from the terms used, such as 'decentralization,

extension and credit', that rural development was the government's way of trying to manipulate rural people. The 'people-centred' rhetoric has continued in spite of the fact that the practice of agriculture is purely individual capitalism. People-centred development, under the co-operative movement, never really started as there were among other factors, a lack of information sharing. The information sharing could have been successfully carried out through a participatory approach had the villagers been involved in all deliberations including the inauguration of the co-operatives. Depoliticization, made the use of participatory approach impossible and the result was a few knowledgeable people turned the co-operatives into profit-making ventures.

The co-operatives have since died out and those that exist are marketing co-operatives and not farming ones that were intended to bring about rural development.

Individual capitalism is the mode of agricultural production in Zambia. It has left out the rural poor and especially the big majority of food producers, who are its women. Today's Zambia therefore, has no systematic structures that are precisely set up to help the poor by the government. If anything the very structures in the government are such that they exploit the poor and leave them dependent on this same government. The only way out of this dependency and out of an 'object' condition to being subjects is through education

as 'empowering' process, from which the rural poor will emerge with ability and power to control the destinies of their lives and to have control over the decisions, structures and resources that affect their lives.

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36. ILO 1981 p89
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40. Day, 1981
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45. *ibid*
46. Bwalya (1984)p81
47. See Ollawa p26 quoting the findings of the Simmanca
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48. *ibid*
49. Bwalya (1984) p82ff
50. Ollawa (1977) pp26-29
51. *ibid*
52. Bwalya p85ff
53. Aka, C. (1976) pp68-69
54. Ghai & Radwan(eds.) p163
55. Good, K. J. M. A. S. 24, 1, 1986 p274
56. Ghai & Radwan (eds) p179
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58. See Chambers, R. (1983) p196
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60. Klepper, R. in Turok, B. (1976) "Development in Zambia"
p142
61. Bwalya (1984) p76
62. NAMBOARD has since been replaced by Co-operative
Marketing Unions
63. See Bwalya in Woldring, (1984)
64. ibid
65. See Ollawa, P (1977) and Klepper, R. (1976)
66. Ollawa, P. (1977) p16

CHAPTER SIX
EDUCATION FOR 'ANOTHER' DEVELOPMENT

Zambia's development efforts at achieving 'humanism' and rural development through the co-operative system had a major ingredient missing: 'education'. As the Third Chapter has shown 'education' has always been a part of all 'development' activities, but the Zambian government left out any form of education in implementing the co-operatives. It has been noted earlier that 'education' has meant different things to different people at various stages and in various societies, but it has always been there. It has been further pointed out, in the same Chapter that education must be redefined and be put to different uses as demanded by the socio-economic situation in the various societies.

'Education' for 'another' development has to provide what Bock and Papagiannis call opportunities for substantial group (especially grass-root) participation, serving as potentially potent tonic to ills of state co-optation and industrialization. For it is education seen as a participatory process that is needed by most developing societies today, Zambia in particular. This participation has to lead to empowerment (education for empowerment) which is seen as the missing ingredient in the development

process. Education for 'another' development means shifting emphasis from mere provision of skills to creating an atmosphere in which 'education' can be an empowering process.

In order to analyse and assess the government's role in enabling an atmosphere and environment for education as an empowering process, the out-of-school youth projects in rural areas will be studied. These have been chosen for four reasons. Firstly, the Zambian government places great emphasis on them due to the fact that Zambia's population is comprised of mostly youths. The 1985 population was estimated at 6.7 million of which 4.4 million was made up of young people aged 0-24 years, representing 65.7 per cent of the population (see Appendix I for recent projections of youth population). Out of this 4.4 million 1.3 were young persons aged 15-24 years while those in the age groups 0-14 were estimated at 3.1 million representing 19.4 per cent and 48.3 per cent respectively, of the country's population(1).

"...youths are the up-coming generation of adults who are citizens and therefore 'the nation in waiting' and should be the concern of everyone in the country. If they are neglected or deprived of opportunity to exercise and use their latent talents to the fullest the nation as a whole suffers" (Ministry of Youth and Sport, Aug. 1986 p3).

Secondly, the OSY projects chosen are those in rural areas, which try to combine education with rural development. These projects try to link education and

training to productive work and so appear to be an improvement on the co-operatives that did not have any 'education' or 'training' elements at all. One of the objectives of the Skills Training Centres in rural areas is to prepare youths to participate in all development programmes as future leaders of their surrounding areas.

Thirdly, the estimated labour force in the country presents another reason why the rural youth projects have been chosen for analysis. For example, in 1984, out of the estimated labour of 2,090,000 only 390,000 persons were recorded as being 'employed' leaving a total of 1,700,000 unemployed and the majority of these were between the ages of 15 and 25. Although the official numbers show that these 1,700,000 are unemployed the reality is that they make up what is referred to as 'informal sector'. They belong to the workforce outside the 'formal' system and are supposed to be marginal and not important as they belong to an unstructured sector which provides informal occupation that are not worthy of recognition. Yet the very numbers of those in the informal sector questions their being termed marginal and not important. The fact too, that their work covers the very expensive and the very cheap with varied quality, of course, but the truth is they are always accessible at the time and the place where they are needed questions their being termed 'unimportant'!

Finally, the formal education system pushes out more than 100,000 pupils every year at just Grade VII level(2).

"The present education system has been likened to a train which travels on a single track bound for one destination, but which ejects most of its passengers, without stopping, at several points along the route" (Educational Reforms 1977 p1)

The problem of OSY can be understood and seen as a symptom of a development process which has been perceived primarily in terms of economic growth. As a result, education has become a mechanism by which this economic growth has been legitimised for the enjoyment of a few privileged people. The Third Chapter criticised the school system for monopolising 'education'. This, pointed out earlier, started when developing countries pursued the development model set by Western countries which benefits a few at the expense of the majority. Development which sees solutions to poverty or underdevelopment primarily in terms of economic growth results in increased hardship for those who do not share in it(3). The school system, which was seen as a crucial factor in the development process, (i.e. by quickening the pace of economic growth, producing the trained manpower and helping to develop attitudes of modernization), was also used as a selection device(4). The selection through the use of examinations which legitimises the system that pushes so many out and allows so few a share in the economic benefits. The examinations procedure makes those who fail accept the consequences of second-rate job and inferior position in

society as their own fault; the price they have to pay for failing their examinations. They therefore, have no one to blame except themselves.

The pyramidal and tiered structure of the school system matches the pyramid and tiers of society which has the few educated and rich at the top who control the economy, and then the poor majority at the bottom who have nothing at all, not even the power to control their lives. (The tables below show the number of those who are forced out of the education system after seven years of primary school education and the numbers of those employed in the formal sector).

TABLE 6. I

GRADE 7 LEAVERS IN ZAMBIA

| Year | Number sat for Grade 7 Exams | Selected to Grade 8 | Number not selected |
|------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1980 | 129 360 | 32 518 | 96 843 |
| 1981 | 146 827 | 22 680 | 124 147 |
| 1982 | 151 801 | 25 938 | 125 863 |
| 1983 | 162 126 | 26 987 | 135 139 |
| 1984 | 176 680 | 38 894 | 138 886 |

Source: Department of Youth Development, 1986; from Ministry of General Education and Culture

TABLE 6. 2

FORMAL SECTOR EMPLOYMENT 1969-1984

| Year | Total Labour Force - ('000) | Number Employed (1 000) | % of Labour |
|------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1969 | 1 221 | 328 | 27.0 |
| 1974 | 1 430 | 386 | 27.0 |
| 1975 | 1 479 | 393 | 26.6 |
| 1976 | 1 527 | 370 | 24.2 |
| 1977 | 1 586 | 370 | 23.4 |
| 1978 | 1 641 | 367 | 22.4 |
| 1979 | 1 698 | 374 | 22.1 |
| 1980 | 1 781 | 381 | 21.6 |
| 1981 | 1 724 | 374 | 20.5 |
| 1982 | 1 888 | 364 | 19.5 |
| 1983 | — | — | — |
| 1984 | 2 090 | 390 | 18.5 |

Source: Department of Youth Development, 1986; from Central Statistics Office

P. van Rensburg describes the pyramidal and tiered system even better when he says:

"A dominant feature of the capitalist socio-set economic up is its hierarchical nature. Its economic and employment structures are pyramidal and it is characterised by the division between mental and manual labour and the endless fragmentation of both into detailed specialisations. School systems of capitalist societies are geared to providing manpower to serve such set-ups, in which the jobs at the top are limited and the rest graded and ranked through the hierarchy of professionals, technicians, artisans, and skilled workers. At the base are the great majority of workers and direct producers... Hierarchically-organised societies, in which mental and manual labour are fairly rigidly divided, are usually ruled by those whose managerial and control functions involve primarily mental activity, and who operate by directing those under them, including those whose activities are primarily manual. One man's brain directs another's hand, as it were" (P. van Rensburg in Education With Production Vol 5 No.1 Dec. 1986 pp74-75).

Although, over the long-term, level of school enrolment and completion in Zambia improved substantially, the ultimate outcome is more out of school youth. The population growth of 3.5 per annum combined with the economic recession in the country has meant that more and more children and youth cannot obtain even primary education. The very structure, too, of the education system is such that it has to reject many, as already pointed out and reiterated here:

"It is designed to select and prepare those few who are assessed as being best suited to purely mental activity. Of course, selection of a few means rejection of the many. As a learning system, formal education, which is preoccupied with throwing out a majority, is clearly not designed to cater for the various talents, needs and potential of most people" (ibid p75).

The structure, therefore, of school undoubtedly contributes to increased numbers of youths and children out of school. In general, however, more rural children and youth are likely to be out of school than their urban counterparts. This is because, as already pointed out, Zambia is a dualistic society with urban areas having better and more social services (schools included) and amenities, and have generally better facilities than the rural areas.

Many people in the developing countries accept their place in society as secondary citizens because they have been made to believe that they are 'failures' by the school

system and have, therefore, no right to share in the benefits of economic growth achieved in their countries, mostly at their expense. It is no surprise, then, that there are so many out of school youths in most of the developing countries as the structural framework is such that it allows for only a few beneficiaries of the economic growth, a situation that has been exacerbated by the growth in population and recession in the economy. The school system has been criticised for several misdoings(5), but the alienation of the young, especially the rural young, is what concerns us now. The school system has alienated the young from their culture and environment and turned them into misfits of society. The out-of-school youth have, according to Illich(1971), been reduced to accepting suffering and low wages and all forms of deprivation because they did not attain credentials from school. The situation in rural areas as the previous Chapter has shown, has forced a large part of the rural population to migrate to urban areas and the majority of these are youths. These youths do not immediately, if ever, get employed in the formal sectors. They add to the number of those officially seen as idle youths already in the cities, who, most likely will join the young delinquents and add to the number of criminals. The problems experienced by these youths have been dealt with in the Literature Review under the Youth Movement section(p 79ff).

The out-of-school youth, for whom these projects are set up are those classified between the ages of 14-25 according to the Commonwealth definition. Zambia has adopted this definition for planning purposes. In addition, those above 25 are also accepted since the UNIP Youth League definition of a youth includes a young person between the ages of 16 and 35(6). However, for the purpose of Youth Skill Training Programmes the definition of youth has been greatly influenced by the predominant target group of Grades VII and IX school leavers who, for lack of school places in higher Grades, are forced to leave school at a tender age of 14 and 15 years for Grade VII and 17 or 18 years in the case of Grade IX.

The large number OSY led to concern on the part of the government, and rightly so, as they have taken to drunkenness, drug abuse, uncontrollable behaviour, arrogance towards their parents, crime and juvenile delinquency(7). This worried the government and efforts to correct the youth unemployment was imperative. The government views the youths problems with prime concern as they are the future citizens of Zambia. *imiti ikula e sanga* literally translated to mean that it is the young trees that grow into woods/forests. They are

"...the up-coming generation of adults who are citizens and therefore 'the nation in waiting' and should be the concern of everyone in the country. If they are neglected ...the nation as a whole suffers"(Ministry of Youth and Sport, Department of

Youth Development p3 1986).

The Ministry of Youth and Sport in Zambia views the OSY problem as emanating ...

"from inadequate provision of life necessities. Because the parents are unable to provide adequately for their children, the youths have to find ways and means of fending for themselves. And since there are few openings in both formal and informal sectors the youths find themselves in the streets and market squares, engage themselves in gambling and pickpocketing in addition to mishange (cigarettes) selling and black marketeering of essential commodities... These problems unfortunately have been made worse by the fact that the nation has failed to provide adequately for the youths' education, training and employment opportunities" (Ministry of Youth and Sports, Department of Youth Development, 1986, p4).

Appendix II reports further findings of the causes of youth unemployment as perceived by the participants in a workshop on "Practical Methodologies for Resolving Youth Unemployment" held in 1985. The participants included people from Government and Non-Government Organizations, Zambia National Service and Financial Institutions and a number of unemployed youths. Their findings are very important as they can influence the course that OSY projects will take in the future. The root causes of youth unemployment stated in the report of this workshop are at variance with those given in Chapter Two above. The participants in the aforementioned workshop did not address the root causes of youth unemployment adequately but rather dealt with symptoms of the problem. One of the vital questions that could have been asked, emanating from the quotation above would for example be, why parents are

unable to provide for their children's needs adequately. For unless such underlying questions are asked the root causes of the problems of youths will not be addressed and will lead to partial and ineffective solutions to the problem.

6.1. Out-of-School Youth Projects in Rural Zambia

The present rural youth projects have evolved out of a history that is worth noting:

"...[in] 1962 UNIP Manifesto declared that when elected to power in 1963 it would ensure that youths were given ample opportunities to participate in educational programmes leading to gainful employment" (Youth Development in Zambia, (1986), Ministry of Youth and Sport p2)

In 1963 a Land Army was established to train youths in various skills for self-employment. In 1964 a much larger programme was conceived in the name of Zambia Youth Service which later gave way to the present Zambia National Service. The Zambia National Service was established by an act of Parliament in 1971 along the lines of a military organisation after the Zambia Youth Service was dissolved in 1970. The service has so far undertaken the following programmes:

(1) Volunteer Training

This programme involved drop-outs at all levels of academic education, including those who had not gone to school. Objectively, this programme was meant to produce artisans who, after their skill training, would find

themselves gainful employment. The service trained a total number of 3,605 recruits(6). The bulk of these remained in the service to form the present day Builders Brigade and a maintenance squad. However, others found employment either in the public or private sectors and others were taken on as regular soldiers in the army. There were those who were frustrated by being given skills for employability but could not find employment and so had to return to either the village or the town and join the 'informal sector'. The large scale on which this was done made it financially difficult to maintain. The volunteers were provided with food, clothing and other necessities while in training. When the government ran into economic problems the programme was abandoned in favour of Rural Reconstruction. Out of all the volunteers only those in the Builders Brigade and maintenance squad remained.

(ii) Rural Reconstruction Programme

This programme was introduced in 1975. The rural reconstruction programme was one of the many ways in which the Government tried to implement its socialist principle of co-operative effort for development. The programme was introduced mainly for the many young men and women who 'roamed' the streets without 'jobs'. The programme involved both urban and rural areas and the main objective was mass food production through co-operative efforts. Large numbers of young people came forward at the

inception of the programme but, after finding life unbearable, a lot of them left the rural reconstruction centres(9).

The youths were taken to land which they had to clear and make habitable, but most of them found this too demanding and left within a short space of time. They were provided with tractors, fertilizers, seeds and other requirements. Again, the programme was on a large scale and the financial demands were once more too high to be maintained for all recruits in all centres. Also, after a while, the inexperienced youths could not maintain the tractors and other equipment provided by the government. The fact, too, that these were freely given led to the recruits' lack of concern and proper care for what they viewed as government property and equipment, rather than their own. The approach to these rural reconstruction centres was very commercial. They set out to run commercial farms or orchards with fruit plants sometimes imported from South Africa. The youths had no prior training in this and as a result the centres were again a big financial loss. Even after all this government expenditure on tractors, fertilizers, seeds and everything else required for the running of a commercial farm, the products, themselves were not impressive and consequently, this effort in mass food production was abandoned. There are still fifty-one centres (see Appendix III) but none are anywhere near the

ness production of food. The National Service has continued to provide training and settlement to volunteers but on a very minimal scale as it is not very popular with the youth in the country. The government has (had) to use force sometimes to ensure that the youth go into these centres but whenever this happens the youth manage to escape, especially back to the towns.

(iii) Compulsory Form V School Leavers Programme

This programme was introduced and conducted from 1975 to 1980. The programme was meant to encourage Form V school leavers, who could not find places in Colleges and University to go back to the land after their two years practical training in military and agricultural techniques either as individuals or as co-operators (see Appendix III for figures of those who went through this programme).

The results of this programme were rather negative and it had to be suspended. Most parents and trainees were very much against the first six months military training that was included in the programme. There was also a lack of motivation during the remaining 18 months period of agricultural production. This absence of motivation was attributed to a lack of formal lessons during the period of training for production (which started at the end of the military training) (10). Most of the school leavers were held in these centres against their wishes and so did

not use the period to acquire the agricultural techniques put before them.

The centres were supposed to be self-sufficient in food production but most of them depended on the government to provide food as well as pay the trainees an allowance to cater for their personal needs. The trainees' attire (coveralls and boots) and other needs were met by the government which made the running of these centres very expensive. Those who graduated from the centres did not go into agricultural production as expected but ended up in towns taking on whatever job they could find. The living conditions in most of these centres were not healthy and widespread typhoid contributed to their suspension in 1980.

Criticisms raised against national services led to new ways of trying to get the youths of Zambia involved in their nation's development. The criticisms raised against the co-operatives applies equally to the youth projects in Zambia in that they too are predominantly government initiatives. It has been shown in Chapters Four and Five that the government's efforts towards development are not people-centred although the rhetoric used is such. There is, therefore, a lack of provision of an atmosphere conducive to people's participation in development. The government is seen to lack a genuine dedication to a

people-centred approach in all its efforts to bring about development.

However, is there a possibility that these youth projects could be places where dialogue and participation can occur, even without the government planning for it? Is it possible that the government could be seen as a facilitator setting up situations which encourage participation? Is it possible that the government's efforts at involving the youth in their nation's development might actually lead to empowerment on the youth's part? The government in Zambia does encourage, facilitate and assist local authorities and voluntary organizations to establish community-based skills training projects. This encouragement has led to a number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) setting up youth projects in addition to the ones run by the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Could this encouragement on the government's side provide a loop-hole for the establishment of activities that may actually encourage participation in the process of development in addition to the provision of skills.

NGOs seem to prefer to be involved with movements that encourage participation because of their origins. NGOs began their involvement in development by providing welfare and relief services. This welfare position according to C. Elliot (11) puts emphasis in their fund-

raising on starving a baby imagery. The welfare approach could be defined as one that delivers services to specific groups. The welfare approach is not much concerned with the establishing relationships between local institutions and communities which will enable the latter to become empowered in order to confront the politics and processes which impoverish them.

The second approach that NGOs take is what C. Elliot, calls developmental; that is, the support of development projects which have as their ultimate goal improvement in the capacity of a community to provide for its own basic needs. This approach is very involved in funding and implementing self-help projects. However, it is criticised for following the modernization school of development theory which supports projects that increase the productive capacity of a community but often only on a short-term relief basis. There is a third approach which views development in terms of empowerment. Thus sees development as a training for transformation. Such an approach they sees poverty as the result of political processes and is, therefore, committed to enabling (or training) communities to enter these processes. NGOs are now acting as facilitators or catalysts of local development efforts.

"NGOs are not just working to 'meet the needs of the poor' but to assist them in articulating those needs. The development failures of the past have revealed that to pour money into dealing with symptoms of poverty is

not enough- it is the underlying problems of poverty which require action(World Development, 1987 p58).

The issue, therefore, of rural poverty has to be addressed. As shown in Chapter Two poverty is an offshoot of underdevelopment which is a historic phenomenon. Poverty therefore, is

"a product of a social system [that] reflects differences in access of various groups to sources of economic and political power"(Griffin and Khan, 1982 p250).

The social scientists Kurien, 1978 and Chambers, 1983 tend to attribute causes of poverty more to society's social structures than to other factors. However, the external factors discussed in Chapter Two cannot be left out in the consideration of rural poverty. Griffin brings out this point very poignantly when he says

"Europe did not "discover" the underdeveloped countries on the contrary, she created them" (1968, p38).

The destruction of the traditional economies by eliminating handicraft production, and weeding out of informal trading patterns was one of the strategies used to underdevelop Third World countries(see Chapter Two). Traditional agricultural production of food crop was largely replaced with "commodity production" for external markets and internal markets. Consequently, land became an important economic asset and meant that some powerless people became landless .

The position of the NGOs as facilitators and catalysts evolved due to the contradictions experienced by those working in the field, especially those that are concerned with the people's welfare. They would rather focus on what is more recognizably developmental in approach, than simply provide food, health care or education. The contradiction of the second approach (i.e. the developmental approach) is that it views development as essentially a modernization process whilst ignoring its political context and difficulties.

The increasing involvement of NGOs with the citizens⁽¹²⁾ is due to:

- (i) the perceived failure of official aid agencies and of national governments to effectively promote development and to raise the standard of living of the world's poor;
- (ii) the unprecedentedly large financial contributions channelled through NGOs during the African famine which focussed attention on NGO's effectiveness in dealing with emergency and relief situations and;
- (iii) donor country governments' ideological preference for "private sector" development and for the encouragement of pluralistic political systems. This trend demands that NGOs be prepared to fashion change rather than just react to it. The other potential contribution that NGOs can make towards the development process has been described by R. Chambers⁽¹³⁾ as "additionalty":

"Additionality means making things better than they would have been and allows for bad as well as good effects. Seeking high additionality entails four elements: assessing comparative advantage; seeing what one NGO does best compared with other; learning and adapting through action; and having wider impacts. An NGO can achieve wider impacts in many ways including expanding its operations; introducing or developing technologies which spread; developing and using approaches which are then adopted by other NGOs and/or by government; influencing changes in government and donor policies and actions; and gaining and disseminating understanding about development" (World Development 1987 pIX).

Because of the increasing complexity of development issues and the corpus of relevant experience accumulated by NGOs, these organizations have a new responsibility of following the path suggested by Chambers. However, they should not forget their grassroot's origins and links which is the basis of their greatest strength. In the context of scarce resources considerations of learning, replicability and sustainability (or "wider impacts") become more and more significant. Although NGOs have a better insight into what kinds of programmes are needed and desired by poor people because of their direct links with grassroots organizations, they run the danger of making assumptions about the 'needs' of poor people. In other words, the direct links of NGOs with the poor people should not replace poor people's self-expression. No matter how close one may be to poor people one can never know what it really means to be poor and powerless. The task, therefore, of all those working with the poor is to be

constantly on guard against suppressing their voice or jeopardizing their self actualization in any way.

Unlike the NOOs then, the government (GO) sees its responsibility as developing the people by doing the 'development' on behalf of the people. This statement however cannot be taken as a fact without being tested against the rural youth projects in Zambia that are run by both NGOs and GO.

6.2 Report on Selected Rural Youth Projects

The following are the youth projects that the author visited during the period between August - October 1988.

They are:

- (i) Chiyota Skills Training Centre in Chongwa in Lusaka Rural District;
- (ii) Samfya Skills Training Centre in Samfya District,
- (iii) Mpika Skills Training Centre in Mpika district,
- (iv) Chibalashi in Mansa.

The above are run by the Ministry of Youth and Sport and those run by NGOs are:

- (i) Flame Tree in Ndola Diocese run by the Catholic Church,
- (ii) Boys Brigade Project at Keniki in Ndola rural run by Boys Brigade of Zambia,
- (iii) Isanga in Ndola rural under the Church Council of Zambia

(iv) CARYM (Catholic Agricultural and Rural Youth Movement) in Mpika under the Diocese of the Catholic Church.



Fig 6.1 Map of Zambia Showing Rural Youth Projects Visited in 1988 July-October

In addition to the eight centres three settlement schemes of Samfya, Isenge and Flame Tree were visited.

6.24 Case Study A: Chiyota Skills Training Centre

Chiyota Skills Training Centre is situated near Chongwe in Lusaka Rural District (see map). It started in 1982 and had its fourth intake at the time of the visit (1986). The centre was opened after the Rural Development Studies Bureau (RDSB) of the University of Zambia carried out a research to determine which areas should be considered for the establishment of skills training centres. The centre was established as a result of that research, which (is believed to have) recorded the self-expressed needs of the people. The findings by the RDSB confirmed that the area around the centre had no single shop nor any public transport. People had to travel for about thirty kilometres to get to the nearest health centre or shopping centre. One of the objectives of the centre was to produce basic products needed by the local population. The skills that are taught there are: carpentry, brickwork, tailoring, agriculture and small scale business management (the two last ones are compulsory subjects). At the time of the visit students were receiving training in oil-processing from sunflower seeds produced at the

centre. The machine for the processing of the oil was donated by the German Volunteer Services.

The centre was staffed by a Zambian project manager. His assistant, a trained agriculturalist, was a German volunteer who, because of his presence at the centre enabled the centre to receive some help from the German Volunteer Service(GVS) in his country. The vehicle given to the centre by the GVS was driven by the German assistant and the funds donated were to be administered by him. He was a trained agriculturalist. These two in addition to five other instructors comprised the staff of the centre. The project manager and instructors were government employees while the German volunteer was paid by his government.

The training lasted for 9 months for the first intake and 20 months for the third intake(the longer period being due to interruption by instructors who had to attend short courses and seminars). The training involved lessons in the above mentioned subjects. They also had a workshop in which items produced were sold with 25 per cent going to the trainees. The training involved farm work in the rainy season, as only rainfed crops were grown. These crops were also sold and 25 per cent went to the trainees, although it is a little difficult in farming to judge the amount of work done by students as they all worked on a

common plot. Individual plots were also encouraged but the products belonged to the trainees and not to the centre. Those training as brickworkers and carpenters helped in the building worked at the centre and provided furniture needed there. Those training as tailors could join the centre's production unit which sewed uniforms for primary schools in the area. During the training the trainees were expected to acquire the ability to measure and identify the materials used and also to be able to maintain the tools and equipment used. The training at the centre was weekly boarding and trainees were allowed to go home every week-end. At the end of their course all the trainees undergo a test at the Lusaka Trades Training Institute and are awarded certificates if they qualify.

The centre had two settlement schemes attached to it, namely Chongwe and Chinyunyu Youth Development Schemes, both of which are in the Chongwe area. At the end of the course the trainees who chose to join the centres were given, on a loan basis, the equipment and tools needed to help them settle at the schemes. At the time of the visit only the Chinyunyu scheme was functioning with only five carpenters. Those who had been placed at Chongwe had sold the tools and equipment given and had gone in search for greener pastures in Lusaka.

The projects were updated for the managers and instructors through seminars, workshops and meetings organized by the Department of Youth Development in the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Ministry employees were supposed to visit the projects to assess the progress but problems of transport has made this practice almost impossible.

The training centre was run along school principles. The time-table and all the activities are decided in advance, thus those who come to train have no say in the running of the centre. They are like pupils going to school who are there to follow the school programme: they were told what to do and they did it during their training period. There existed the teacher-pupil relationship between the instructors and the trainees which led to an assumption that the trainees knew nothing while their instructors knew all. The instructors were viewed as experts and were the sources of knowledge and skills. Cases of indiscipline are dealt with by the school committee. In cases of theft by the trainee the certificate was withheld. There was no direct course dealing with leadership although the trainees were supposed to be leaders of development programmes in their areas and in the development schemes they were supposed to work on their own.

6.2.2 Case Study B: Flame Tree Farming Centre

This centre is situated 17 kilometres off the Chingola-Solwezi road on the Copperbelt (see map). It is owned and run by the Diocese of Ndola of the Catholic Church. The centre was set up after meetings in the diocese of Ndola in which various parishes brought to the notice of the authorities within the diocese the need for special attention to be paid to OSY in the diocese. The area that Flame Tree occupies was owned by an expatriate who left the country shortly after independence and the land had laid unused for over fifteen years. The government did not hesitate to give the land over to the diocese because from the outset the aim was to train OSY in basic agricultural methods and it was something the government was encouraging NGOs to do. The government gave 15 cows to the centre in 1980 to help it start training recruits in ox-ploughing. These cows were to be shared with the first group of settlers. In 1980, therefore, the centre was opened with 13 students under the supervision of a Fr. T. Byrne who had earlier been in the Pastoral Centre in Nigeria. He was assisted by a fellow Spanish religious brother. The trainees, however, were assigned to a commercial farmer for their training.

Renovations and additional structures were under way and by 1981 the first group was admitted. The course was a two-years programme and was divided into two; the first

year was crop husbandry and the second was animal husbandry. The trainees were free to leave at the end of the first year if they so wished but most of them stayed the full period. The trainees were recruited through the various parishes in the diocese where they were interviewed and selected to follow the course. The centre was open to both young men and women but emphasis is now on married couples. At the time of the visit there was only one single woman, who had to find accommodation in the village close to the centre. At the centre were two married women with their husbands and the rest were young men and married men. The emphasis on married men and women was due to the fact that they seemed to settle in the settlement provided by the diocese, while the young single man moved on to work with commercial farmers in the area or other farms and places in the city. As the aim was to settle trainees after their training period preference was given to those who came from farming families or those who promised to move on to settlement schemes after the training.

The trainees on arrival worked together to erect their houses from the material in the area. The single woman were accepted on the condition that they lived in the areas not far from the centre, which thus made it very difficult for the single woman to attend the training. The one who was there at the time of the visit had found a

family that was willing to keep her for the time of her training. The centre in practice, therefore, is just for men and married couples. The training involved basic farming methods in animal and crop husbandry and also in management skills. Most of the time was spent on the field and only about 20 per cent spent in the classes. The lessons were usually in accounts, management and other subjects related to animal and crop husbandry. The trainees were required to be able to read and write but no school qualifications were needed. At the time of the visit there were 20 trainees between 18 to 30 years of age and with as little as four years of primary education to two years of secondary education. The basic farming methods included ability to trap water from nearby streams, skills in making manure so that they did not have to depend on fertilizer and producing their own seeds from their crops. The centre had vegetables and other crops growing all year round. There was also a variety of animals on the centre from chickens to cows. It was a very prosperous and impressive farm. The centre had almost everything required in the line of food on the spot.

The trainees were encouraged to own their own plots on which they practised what they learnt on the common plots. The products were transported to Ndola for sale and the trainees took turns going into town to sell their

produce. The prices and amount expected were decided upon beforehand and so each trainee knew what to expect at the end of the day. There was also a constant stream of villagers from nearby villages who came to the centre for their vegetables, fruits and other daily dietary requirements diet especially eggs. These private plots and private breeding of animals allowed the trainees to raise enough money to cater for their own needs and even to support their families. All this was in surplus of the required amount that each trainee was supposed to have acquired at the end of the two years as personal income banked with the centre's account. The trainee's training was prolonged if the required amount was not achieved within the two years. However, none so far was detained as the trainee's accounts were monitored and they were encouraged to reach the target six months before the end of the course. The trainees were very capable of running the centre with the aid of three former students who had been employed by the centre after their training. There was also a Danish couple who managed the centre but most of the work and the running was efficiently done by the trainees themselves.

The initial donors for the centre were MISEREOR, a German catholic organization; TROCAIRE, also a catholic organization but in Ireland; and Lenten collections from the diocese. The money from these three sources went into

the initiating and maintaining of the projects, especially the acquisition of tools and material needed at the centre. Due to the increasing rise in the cost of running the centre and because the trainees do not pay fees, there are plans to turn Flame Tree into a commercial farm.

The centre had three settlement schemes with mainly families in them as most of the youths found jobs with companies and commercial farmers in the town and nearby areas. The Tabataba settlement scheme was established in 1981 and had 7 settlers with their families. Kafubu Block started in 1982 and had 16 settlers. It had 150-180 hectares divided into 20 plots for each family with roughly 10 hectares per family. The Kafulafuta settlement scheme started in 1985 and had 10 settlers. The settlers were provided with roofing materials, door frames and were given, on a loan basis, an allowance to help them purchase their first basic agricultural implements such as hoe, watering can, seeds, wheelbarrow, rake, shovel and axe. The settlement had an overseer appointed by the diocese, and a contact person between the diocese and the settlement based in the diocesan offices.

The Kafubu block settlement scheme was a disappointment after the Flame Tree visit. There was nothing growing on most of the family plots as they grew only rainfed crops. There were a few bananas and mango trees and a few cassava beds but the area was practically not cultivated. What

happened to all the skills acquired during the training? What happened to their ability to grow vegetables and other food crops all year round?

The overseer was away on a funeral and no other person was prepared to provide us with the information we needed as they had no authority to do so. The settlers had, however, managed to build themselves decent houses.

6.2.3 Case Study C: CARYM in Mpika

Among all the Youth movements in the diocese of Mbala, the one which had attracted the greatest emphasis in the last few years was CARYM (Catholic Agricultural and Rural Youth Movement). In Mbala diocese CARYM was established in 10 parishes and amounted to 70 teams with a total membership of 500.

"With help from the difficult circumstances that our country is going through, youths in their hundreds are turning to growing food as their only way to survive and make a living" (Mbala Diocese Report to ZEC Development A.G.M., 16th-20th May, 1988).

The Mpika parish visited had no structures to show. The members of CARYM were in groups of not more than thirteen men and women. These members came together for discussions mostly in the evenings once a month or whenever the need arose. They chose their own leaders who were usually three out of the thirteen. They also came together to work as a group. They took turns working on whatever the members asked the group to do: it could be

building a house or working in the field or whatever an individual could not do alone. They also had a pledge to help each other in whatever their needs were. One of the early members of CARYM had earned K65,000 at the end of selling his harvest and products from the garden and orchard, which was the equivalent of a headmaster's annual salary.

Seminars and workshops were held regularly that brought all the members of CARYM together and in addition there was a bimonthly Newsletter in Bemba called "Shimucita Panono..." (Slow but sure is the way). The Newsletter, like the seminars, covered three main areas:

- (i) faith and life
- (ii) leadership and motivation
- (iii) information on agriculture and small industries.

Their motto is "see, judge and act" on all issues that affect them and people around them.

The discussions and seminars and meetings held were based on realities and facts of life affecting the CARYM members where they lived. For example the No 1 Issue of "Shimucita Panono..." of 1988 addressed the taken for granted expression used by many people when in difficult situations: "Kufwaya kwakwa Less" (It is God's will or wish). The Newsletter asked its members to react to (i) the death of a child due to hunger: is that God's will?

(11) people are suffering from curable and preventable diseases, from poor diet due to too expensive a standard of living after they have worked hard and got so little in return: is it God's will? The members of CARYM in this Newsletter were charged with a responsibility to question and find out what had led to such terrible conditions if it was not God's will, then they were supposed to judge the situation and were to take required action to remedy the situations.

The Newsletter presented a detailed explanation of crop rotation as a way of compensating for no fertilizer which most of the members and the people around them could not afford. There was also brief news of events in the parish and diocese, especially summaries of seminars and conferences held for CARYM members or leaders. There was at the end a list of questions that the CARYM members were supposed to respond to and take or post to the Youth Promoter which helped them evaluate their activities.

The second Issue of "Shimucita Panono..." of 1988 dealt with the origins of poverty. God does not want people to be poor, according to the Newsletter, he would not have created them in his image only to allow them to suffer in this world. His power and glory would not be reflected nor praised if he created people just so that they would be poor and miserable. In this Issue, then, the attitudes

of people were first tackled as a source of their poverty. If they were lazy and were not prepared to work hard then they were causing their own unhappiness and poverty. But, above all, if they had fear or lack of self-confidence they began to accept poverty as something that had to be since they had no power to change it. They were then reminded of the importance of attending the CARYM workshops because they helped heal people's minds of the illnesses of lack of self-confidence, especially as the workshops helped them realise how much they knew and how much capacity they had to conquer poverty and improve their standard of living set by themselves.

The next item in the Newsletter was the growing of vegetables and it dealt with basics such as the preparation of beds, the planting of seeds, dealing with pests and what type of manure to use (e.g. compost: ashes from burnt banana leaves, groundnuts shells, and chicken droppings, etc.) instead of fertilizers. If they had found other methods of growing any of the crops they were asked to write in so that others could benefit; hence knowledge, auto-generated, was shared and was not the 'power' of only some.

The members of CARYM were organised in transporting their products to the nearest national co-operative union in their area. They were aware of their rights as citizens

and facilities provided by the nation were used by the CARYM members. They sought in every way to be independent and had, therefore, very little to do with the parish facilities.

6.3 Evaluation of Projects in the Light of the Problem-

Posing Approach

To assess whether the projects in Zambia are training the participants for transformation, the problem-posing approach is used. This approach is chosen because it has been found that through addressing real problems a lot of interest is generated among students(14), leading to participation in uncovering the causes of the problems and and in mobilising creative human potential to solve these problems. The problem-posing approach leads to dialogue and participation between learners and teachers and creates an atmosphere in which knowledge is auto-generated. The auto-generation of knowledge leads to empowerment and it is this empowerment which leads participants to transform the underlying conditions to problems and bring about 'development'. An effective way of ensuring that participation takes place is involving all participants by problem-posing in a dialogue. As pointed out in Chapter Three, Alinsky says that if people do not participate, it is because those issues that really matter to them are not addressed. And even more important because the ownership and control resides with 'others'

and not with them. The problem-posing approach is chosen because it leads to the growth of the individual and enables the individual to cope with present and future problems(15).

Except for the CARYM youth movement in Mpika, none of the other training centres visited addressed the problems faced by trainees in their daily lives. All the youth projects, visited except CARYM, could be referred to as 'mini trade schools' (16).

"The skills training takes place in a specially designed institution with classrooms for theory and practice. As a process, training tends to be fairly structured, standardised, divided up into uniform sequences to be passed through by all trainees in a set period of time. Interactions are instructor-centred, with authority and control vested in the instructor who sets tasks according to a definite curriculum" (Hoppers, in E. W. P. Vol. 5 No. 1 Dec. 1986).

The set up of these 'mini trade schools' and their atmosphere and practices are very much the same as those in ordinary schools. This leads to the participants being very passive and the kind of education practised here is similar to that in ordinary schools which Freire calls 'banking education'. In this type of education the monopoly of knowledge rests with the teacher. Yet most of the participants in almost all the training centres were young people from the age of 18 and above who had tried a number of 'casual jobs' and were, therefore, not completely ignorant of the contents of the programme but were not allowed to participate. The teacher knew all and

they knew nothing and were, therefore, expected to store all the knowledge offered to them uncritically. The banking concept of education, according to Freire, leads to a 'problem-solving' stance in its graduates. They are educated to isolate a problem from its natural, cultural and historical context, analyse it and design efficient solutions.

"The imposition of these solutions on reality constitutes what Freire calls a "cultural invasion". The applied knowledge is not authentic and it takes away space for the development of own knowledge which needs to evolve from the own reality... Freire considers prescription or persuasion of solutions contrary to the spirit of true dialogue. They are in his view forms of manipulation and tools of domination which prevent the emancipation of the poor and oppressed (Kronenburg, 1986 p259).

The ability to cope with future problems is what we found missing in most of the settlers who had been through OSY projects run by the Ministry or by NGOs. The two settlements, of Saafya Skills Training Centre and of Flame Tree, had no activities going on, they had nothing growing, no carpentry or brickwork was going on at the time of the visit. The third settlement scheme attached to Isange was no different from the two described above. The graduates' inability to cope with life later on in the settlements can be explained by the type of training given to them in the training centres. They were not empowered to face future problems as their training had only emphasised acquisition of skills and not the individual's

ability to be self-reliant, to initiate 'development' activities and to co-operate with others.

According to Freire, Alinsky and Nerfin, it is important that the trainees acquire not only skills but that they should also attain knowledge empowerment which is auto-generated through dialogue and thus leads to organizational empowerment. This organizational empowerment can only evolve from knowledge empowerment and both are vital if 'development' activities are to be sustainable. It has been noted earlier in Chapter Three that unless the people organize themselves and achieve a degree of ownership and control they will not alter the prevailing processes which oppress them and impoverish them. Nerfin, as mentioned in Chapter Three, gives another reason for organizational empowerment which is that individual motivation is more important, collective motivation more ardent and the combination of both is stronger. It is, therefore, important that those who are 'citizens' work together. Unless training allows for participation which, in this analysis, begins with the 'problem-posing' approach, life after training, either in settlement schemes or in self-employment, will not contribute to 'another development'. 'Another development' is concerned with people; it is people-centred in its approach for in 'another development' development happens when people and their communities act

as subjects and assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self-confidence; and when they set out and carry out their own projects. They develop because they 'are', because they 'become' and not necessarily because they 'have' (17).

The problem-posing approach where it was practised by members of CARYM led to a reflection on reality. This reflection is what Freire calls praxis for it is reflection which leads to action. The example given by the co-ordinator of CARYM in Mpika exemplifies praxis. In the village where a group of CARYM members lived, a number of children were dying frequently including those of CARYM members. At one of their meetings this was brought to the attention of the members. Some of those who had experienced loss believed it was a case of witchcraft. The other members thought out this possibility and found that other children in the area had died of similar symptoms and that the hospitals had identified the disease as arising mainly from unhealthy drinking water. The number of cases pointing to the possibility of the cause of death being unhealthy drinking water out-numbered the cases of witchcraft being the cause. The members, after further reflection, decided to look for information concerning the improvement of their drinking water; in the meantime the leader of the group, who had attended a number of seminars and workshops for CARYM leaders was chosen by the group to get this information on their

behalf, from the Youth Promoter's office at the diocesan offices. During the discussion the boiling of drinking water had emerged as one of the purifying methods that individuals could insist on in their homes before a solution to improving their drinking water from the source was found. CARYM's 'see, judge and act' methodology is a true application of Freire's concept of 'praxis'.

6.4 An Analysis of the Case Studies

The use of the problem-posing methodology intended to achieve the participation of all members leading to knowledge and organizational empowerment and these, in turn, create an atmosphere in which elements of 'another' development become possible. The use of the problem-posing approach leads to participation in all aspects of development activities. In order to validate these assertions other spheres are evaluated which have a direct linkage with 'development' and development activities in which participation is the means used to achieve their set goals. To do this effectively the following criteria are used to evaluate the case studies described above in the light of 'another' development:

- autonomy or dependence (on outside donors & expertise)
- economic growth versus self-perceived social concerns
- people-centredness
- educational content

6.4.1 Autonomy or Dependence

The Case Studies A and B (18) were all funded by either the Ministry of Youth and Sport or some overseas associations. Those projects externally funded and not locally financed by the people themselves led to a loss of some autonomy on the part of the participants. They could not decide on what the projects should be or on how they should run as those who provided the funding had already set expectations. The relationship between the project management as exponents of the donor agencies and the participants in Case Studies A and B are of

"...a similar type as the one existing between a donor and a recipient or a 'have' and a 'have not', one who commands control over plenty and one who possesses nothing, thus implying the inequality of a patron-client relationship" (Kronenburg, 1986 p199).

External funding often leads to the construction of buildings being necessary as these are usually impressive and tangible and donors often feel that their money is being put to good use. In Case Study A the bulk of the aid money went towards the purchase of equipment such as a sunflower oil processing machine, sewing machines, equipment for brickwork and carpentry, farming equipment, fertilizers and construction of classes, dormitories and workshops in the case of Case Study A. In Case Study B the money was spent on construction of a dining room and kitchen, sheds for the animals and poultry and farming equipment. In both cases, some of the money went towards

the wages of most of the instructors and management workers of the project.

A set curriculum is devised by the agents of the donors and the participants have no power to alter any of the set objectives. They, as mentioned earlier, follow the course as structured and in the sequence planned. Participation in this case is a means to an end and not an end in itself. For example, participants at Flame Tree often engaged in dialogue with their instructors on how to best achieve set objectives. The objectives were not to be altered even if the participants felt it necessary. This way of conducting activities does not liberate participants but rather makes them dependent on external finance and (external) expertise. They are made to go through the training constantly aware that only external expertise of which they are ignorant was the best for them. The presence, too, of expatriate volunteers reinforces this. In Case Study A, especially, there was a lack of use of local materials in farming such as fertilizers and some of the equipment used in the centre were imported from Germany, making the centre dependent on foreign equipment. This is very unlike Case Study C in which local materials and people's own farming methods were encouraged. For example, the people in Case Study C passed on through the Newsletter, methods of fighting

pests, instead of using imported and often unhealthy insecticides.

In spite of the participants' ability to generate some income while on training in the Case Study B, the fact that the course was free made most of the participants develop a dependency attitude on the donors like that present in many pupils who depend on the government for their future life because the government has provided them with free education. This could be one explanation for the lack of initiative in settlers when left on their own with no constant supervision, direction or funding coming in for the running of the settlement schemes. The other reason could be attributed to the fact that an institutional environment and the sharing of work and responsibilities offers some protection from harsh business realities(19). If, however, the participants are free in deciding on what to do, how to do it and with the resources available to them, then there is a greater sense of autonomy and responsibility present as in CARYM Case Study C. Needs are discerned and met as they arise by the members of CARYM and in the process new knowledge is acquired as they move towards in the accomplishment of their 'development' activities as independent people: such progress is a necessary condition for the attainment of 'another' development(20). The CARYM set up is one which, as earlier pointed out, has no structures, no setting or

project area to show to those who visit the CARYM members. Visits can be made to homes and fields of CARYM members and other community projects constructed by members in their effort to improve their living conditions. The obvious results are self-confident members who are determined to change the course of their lives.

6.4.2 Economic Growth Versus Self-perceived Social

Concerns

The review of the causes of underdevelopment (earlier in Chapter Two) showed that one basic failure in the process of achieving 'development' was the emphasis placed on profit-making ventures at the expense of people and their perceived needs. Economic growth was equated with development and was sought after as the major component of development. In an effort to bring about development the Zambian government failed to act as a facilitator but rather dictated to the people in a top-down communication what they had to do in order to develop. The contents of 'development' activities were decided on for the people by the government and the people were to follow what the government had decided as they knew best what was good for them. The co-operative movement in Zambia which was one such 'development' effort, did not succeed. In its final analysis the co-operative movement was aimed at bringing the rural people especially, into increased production of cash crops which was to contribute to the acquisition of

the much needed foreign exchange in the country. The aim, therefore, of co-operatives was not to bring about development for the people but was to produce economic growth which was to be enjoyed by the few in high political and administrative positions.

The education provided in the youth training centres should be able to lead the participants to an ability of perceiving their needs and to work towards satisfying them. But as Hoppers points out

"... in Africa wider educational goals, whether of a liberal or of a critical nature, are rarely explicitly formulated for youth training programmes. The general assumption is that the goal is merely the improvement of employability and that technical skill is the main ingredient needed to attain that goal" (Hoppers, p11 in E. W. P. 1986 Vol. 5 No. 1 1986).

Case Studies A and B above, however, emphasised the provision of skills to their participants and not knowledge and organizational empowerment. This only provision of skills in the training centres still has economic growth as the aim of development. Such skills were provided so that the participants could later contribute to the economic growth of the country by either being self-employed or working for other companies in the country. As a result of this provision of only skills the social concerns of the participants and their perceived needs were ignored. Many of the participants in all the case studies were between 18 to 30 years of age and they

had previous post-school work-experience but their wider social(21) and psychological needs were not dealt with.

The provision of only skills in a 'mini trade school' uses a 'problem-solving' approach which has been referred to above and is seen as detrimental to the participants because people are perceived unable to contextualise and solve their own problems. What is of particular importance in the training centres is the provision of skills which are seen to have economic significance and are often pursued at the expense of the real unexpressed needs of the people. These skills are decided upon by those who run the projects and not by the participants. This makes the training centres informal set ups whose validity for existence is their ability to act as bridges to the formal sector. In the formal sector economic growth, increased production and profit-making are the more important aspects of development and not the ability of meeting perceived needs of the people by the people. Many of the earlier participants in both Case Studies A and B were either employed by commercial farmers or parastatal companies, or had moved on into the so called informal sectors in the towns and cities. The number of those that settled in the own (rural) areas were very small leading to a further deprivation of rural areas of those with skills, youth who vigour and would have contributed to the 'development' of rural areas. This makes what

Hoppers says in relation to Botswana so applicable to Zambia:

"...production tends to emphasise the youth's vocational competency and their induction into the capitalist work environment of Botswana's modern sector rather than providing a total educative experience leading to an alternative, more socialist-oriented development" (Hoppers, p17 in E.W.P. vol5 No.1 1986).

It is in their task as bridges to the formal sector that Bock and Papagiannis(22) would view the skills training centres as 'cooling out systems' that have managed to lower their participants' expectations and made them accept their inferior positions in relation to the formal sector or without causing discomfort to the ruling government by expecting better pay and positions. The skills training centres are, therefore, a good system for the government for they help out-of-school youth accept their oppression with passivity because they do not fight for anything better in life. Moreover, it is to the government's advantage that it is not the 'problem-posing' approach that is used because of the challenges to the power systems that may arise if this is used. These skills training centres help dampen the high expectations that most youths have when they leave school and make them accept what is second or third best without ever hoping to achieve anything more or better. The 'cooling out' seems to be effective mainly because the youths consider themselves failures and realise that they have been thrown out of the mainstream track leading to further education

and modern sector employment and can only have second-rate types of work.

6.4.3 People-centredness

In order to be certain that 'another' development will be achieved all development efforts and activities must be people-centred. This means that people's needs and their social concerns must be self-expressed and should be considered paramount in all development efforts and activities. The expression of felt needs by the participants is as earlier pointed out generated by using the problem-posing approach in an atmosphere of dialogue. Through expressing their needs the participants become aware of the knowledge they have and this creates a sense of worth and dignity in them. They become aware of their abilities and they begin to depend on themselves to choose their course of action without inhibition. Through dialogue people become aware of their capabilities and become self-reliant. They choose their own leaders within the group and are able to overcome together domination by institutions or the state that arise from lack of knowledge and organizational empowerment (23).

In the Case Studies presented above the nearest to a people-centred approach is again CARYM. They were autonomous and self-reliant, essential elements to people-centredness. They chose their own leaders and

collectively managed to bring about change in their life situations. They pooled together human energy and talents present in their members to achieve effective and lasting change in their society where they live. The participants in OSY projects are however, brought together from different places and have to leave after their training, lacking permanence in their activities and creating a break in the co-operative spirit created with fellow participants during the training.

The CARYM group in Mpika is likely to survive even in times of crises as it has shown ability to investigate, analyse and understand the dynamics of social reality which perpetuates their poverty and dependence as a group. They as a group have made use of government facilities made available to them especially in the selling of their farm products to the National Co-operative Union in the district. They are also prepared to make use of knowledge made available to them by and through the diocesan youth promoter's office. They have regular seminars, workshops and meetings among themselves and with other CARYM members in the diocese and in the country. This provides them with a systematized critical reflection on their auto-generated knowledge and that of others, allowing for the spread of skills and knowledge from people to people.

The CARYM group is so different from the co-operative movement discussed in Chapter Five which was induced from outside and was organised by the government and not the people themselves. CARYM is also different from the other OSY projects discussed earlier as the latter have their programmes and the direction of their activities ready made for them by the institutions that run them. This directive interventionist nature of managing agencies prevent those elements of people-centredness present in CARYM from developing in most of the OSY projects like those discussed above (see the reasons for the failure of co-operatives pp 291-313). The CARYM in Mpike could be seen as a people's organization which maybe international in origin but which has become indigenous and therefore the people's organization fitting in with the new role of all NGOs discussed above. It is this self-organization of people, present in CARYM, with an element of self-determination so obvious that will offset dependency which has been identified in Chapter Two as the underlying cause and perpetuator of underdevelopment.

In CARYM it is realised that development is not just growth but it is people who are capable of becoming subjects. They assert their autonomy and are confident as they set and carry out projects.

6.4.4 Educational Content

The educational content in Case Studies A and B is decided upon by the management of the projects. In case of A the educational content is almost national in the sense that the Ministry of Youth and Sport have a listed number of skills that should be taught in the skills training centres (see Appendix IV). Although the design and course content is left to the projects staff, it is very similar to other projects as most of the trainees have examinations at the end of their course set by Lusaka trade school.

They therefore, try to set up a syllabus that includes most of what is likely to be examined. The presence of the examinations at the end of the course makes the teaching and learning that goes on in the centres similar to those in schools. The practical work is there and it is important as most of the revenue from the products are sold to give 75 per cent to the trainee and 25 per cent contributes to the running of the centre. But emphasis is placed on the theory and practice of those skills that will be tested at the end of the course. The examinations overshadow the activities that take place in the centres and the importance of these activities is viewed from the examinations' point of view.

The instructors in Case Study A were either former teachers or civil servants whose experience of teaching or of learning was in the formal education system. The instructors in Case Study A were given additional training at the Commonwealth Youth Training Centre and other seminars and workshops were held to provide further training. The training was to make of them efficient and competent teachers and not so much as to make them facilitators. The teacher-pupil relationship still exists in the training centres and the pupils go to learn from the teachers who know all.

In Case Study B the educational content was decided upon at the inception of the training centre. The centre was to provide skills in animal and crop husbandry, how this was done was left to the staff. At the time of the visit two of the instructors were graduates of the centre who had no special training but passed on what they had learnt on to the others. Although there was a classroom where theory was taught and the instructor stood in front of the class, there was however a more cordial relationship between the instructor and the learners. In fact the learners were encouraged to contribute to the input in the classes. The absence of examinations at the end of the course made a difference in the way the courses were taught and run. There was greater emphasis on practice and about 75 per cent of the time was spent on the field.

The classes served as a way of introducing the learners to the various activities that they had to share in, so it provided background information and whatever was there to be learnt concerning the running of the farm. Questions were raised concerning the activities done on the farm and if anything was difficult for the instructors to handle the Danish couple who were the managers were then called in. This rarely happened as the instructors were chosen on the basis of their performance and knowledge of the running of the farm and were very competent.

The fact too that the centre accepted even those with as little as four years of primary education made the course content and activities very practical. They learnt most of the skills as they went along although the direction and guidance given by the staff prevented any serious errors from occurring.

Case Study C as mentioned earlier had no structures at all and the members met in their homes and at a time decided on by themselves. The knowledge was mostly generated from within the group in addition to the Newsletter and reports from seminars. They dealt with real life situations in their areas and this dictated the kind of knowledge needed and provided. Knowledge was auto-generated and this gave the members power that led them to act immediately and make changes in the improvement of their lives. Their

knowledge is for action and not for later use in examinations. It is education generated and used in the immediate local situation making the activities carried out community-driven, community-led and community-owned which are the basic conditions for sustainability.

6.5 Conclusions and Recommendations

To conclude, the problem-posing approach can be said to be a particular educational approach that is conducive to empowerment of people. It is this empowerment of people which is seen as vital to overcoming the dependency that has been identified as the underlying cause and perpetuator of underdevelopment. This conclusion has been reached after an extensive Literature Review on the causes of underdevelopment, identified dependency as the problem to be dealt with in overcoming underdevelopment; and the review on the role of education in development viewed participation as an educational activity that is conducive to empowerment of people through the problem-posing approach. These views on underdevelopment and role of education call for a new way of defining development which has been found in 'another' development. A Technical term that emphasises people-centredness in a way that is different from the way, for example people-centred development was viewed in Zambia when co-operatives were introduced.

'Another' development emphasizes that people have ownership and control over all the development activities. 'Another' development is people-centred in that empowered people are the ones who design and direct the course of all their activities where they live. So that development efforts are no longer characterized by the top-down bureaucratic approach but are more horizontal and undertake mutually supportive action and thus develop shared projects. The external agents, are seen and act as facilitators in the development activities that the people carry out.

Chapters Four and Five have contributed to this conclusion as these two chapters are a situational analysis of Zambia and reveal that the government of Zambia has been carrying out development activities not in consonance with recent findings on development defined as 'another' development. The government in Zambia still portrays a view of development that still emphasises industrialization in the words of these authors:

"Too often when we think and talk of development it is bountiful harvests and busy production lines that we see in our minds' eyes. And in the past, (up to the very recent past) we fall into the trap of thinking that all we had to do to achieve development was to bring a proper combination of modern management, appropriate technology and abundant economic resources to bear on our problems and, lo behold, our countries would progress from being "less developed" to becoming developed.." (Korten, D. C & Falipe, B. A. (1980) p1x).

But as the Literature review on underdevelopment shows,

and the failure of sustained economic growth in Zambia reveal, it is not the wealth that is produced which matters but it is the quality of life that is lived by the poor in society that counts towards 'another' development. For these poor people are in the majority and any 'development' that does not consider them is not people-centred. The central problem then of development is to find out how this dynamic process of 'another' development can be set in motion. The Sixth Chapter shows that this dynamic process can be set in motion by groups of people coming together to assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self-confidence; when they set out and carry out projects. The dynamic process of 'another' development can be set in motion once people begin to realise that to develop is to be or to become and not to have.

The Case Study C exemplifies the elements necessary for 'another' development. But for these elements to become nationwide there are several considerations that have to be taken and seriously so. The following recommendations are put forward in the hope that 'another' development will become a dynamic process of all development activities in Zambia.

- To begin with, development is still perceived as modernization/industrialization, this perception of development must change and be redefined as 'another'

development. This will need strong political will in which people must come first. The people must be so important that their activities will be given support that is needed for them to attain full control over their lives. When this is achieved maybe the OSY projects will stop being bridges to the formal sectors and could be used for development activities in the areas where people live and be the means and end to development. Emphasis on the provision of skills will move to integrated development efforts that will deal with the needs and problems of the community by the community members themselves. In the meantime, however, these dynamic processes face the danger of cooptation into state, political or institutional pyramidal structures that will render their dynamic processes towards 'another' development ineffective. To survive this threat, horizontal networks should be introduced.

- The issues raised in Case Study C demand that people of different professions should work together and be involved in development activities as facilitators/ and/or resource people whose professional knowledge the participants could make use of when and if needed. For example the participants in Case Study C were able to address their problems of health, farming methods and other issues in an integrated fashion and this was possible because arrangement through the diocesan office enabled them to

acquire the professional knowledge needed for each problem. The other Case Studies, however laid emphasis on acquisition of skills and these skills were provided in isolation. They did not relate to other issues in the life of the community. In fact their isolation from community during the training made it difficult to apply their skills immediately in a contextual setting. Many of them had to wait to return home or to go to a settlement area to 'really' begin life. This implies that further research could be carried out showing how these professionals could work with people where they are instead of setting up training centres that cater only for a limited number who are in transition to elsewhere and not permanently settled in their home areas. They could for example move towards residential workshop and group meetings with facilitators coming to where people live. In a country that has always maintained that the people go to the professionals this radical move of the professionals going to the people may not be easily accepted.

- Further suggestions involving the training of project managers and staff members is imperative here if they are going to play different roles from their present ones. Their training should be as integrated as possible in its content and approach. The trainers themselves should be trained in an atmosphere conducive to dialogue so that

they may later find it easier to use the problem-posing approach and be facilitators and not instructors or teachers. Their training should therefore, prepare them for their role as facilitators. This should apply to all associations that send volunteers to work with the people in developing countries. They should ensure that the volunteers are not only equipped with skills but they should be able to work along with people as facilitators and catalyets of change. In their work with the people as facilitators they should encourage participant-leadership on the group members which will lead to responsibility of decision-making concerning all development activities resting with the group members.

-Serious thinking among those working with the poor should be carried out, to find out how indigenous organizations can be formed that link up with other groups on village level, district level, working towards national level. It is important that a way of linking these groups is formed so that people will have the opportunity to continue sharing their knowledge with others.

Horizontal networks should be encouraged, as these will prove to be mutually supportive in developing shared projects and also in resisting cooptation into state, political or institutional pyramidal structures. Cooptation into these structures should be resisted as

they render all dynamic processes towards 'another' development ineffective.

-Further investigations should be carried out on projects that are orientated towards 'another' development and their effectiveness and/or limitations in national context examined. For there are bound to be difficulties for all these projects operating in an infrastructure that is growth orientated and has different values and expectations. There is therefore, a constant struggle for all these projects to survive and their need to be mutually supportive cannot be over-emphasised.

-While efforts to achieve the above maybe difficult, the educators, whether in government or non-government projects could begin to use problem-posing and participatory approaches in their centres. Although the approaches are more effective in a non-hierarchical, non-school setting, some aspects of the approaches could be used in effecting the ability to make decisions on the participants, at least which could be a positive beginning.

There are therefore, obvious problems in the implementation of 'another' development on a national scale. The development efforts involved in the process of achieving 'another' development have to face up to a

national and international infrastructure that is still growth centred. This thesis does not pose to have answers to all the difficulties inherent in implementing 'another' development. It however, proposes that to succeed, 'another' development must penetrate all aspects, levels, activities, projects, culture, education and outlook of the entire population. 'Another' development is a radical process which needs to be embraced by all from peasant to the president of the country if it is to succeed. It, however, must begin somewhere, that is why the ordinary people, (the citizens) and the way they live their every day lives should be brought to the fore-front. They are in the majority and cannot be considered marginal. Their schemes, their survival trades and techniques require further investigation and analysis before 'another' development can rightly deserve the term and be considered appropriately, people-centred.

Research work in the future should therefore, address those issues that help create critical awareness throughout society. A move towards participatory research which generates knowledge that is relevant to, and widely accepted by the community.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. see p2 Ministry of Youth and Sport, Department of Youth Development 1986
2. Examinations are taken at Grade VII level which marks the end of primary education. Pupils, drop-out earlier due to lack of finances and other problems. In rural areas where there are not enough school places there are examinations at Grade Four level which marks the end of lower primary education and those who fail these examinations do not proceed to the next level of education.
3. World Bank Development Report 1982
4. Elaborated on in Ch.3 "Role of Education in Development" above, See esp. 132ff
5. *ibid*
6. Ministry of Youth and Sport, Department of Youth Development 1986 p1
7. *ibid.* p19
8. *ibid*
9. For further details see Ministry of Youth and Sport Annual Report, Department of Youth Development 1987
10. *ibid*
11. See C.Elliot in Supplement World Development 1987 No. 16,2
12. 'Citizens' has been defined above pp175-176 See also D.D. 1981:1 Nerfin's definition of citizens p170ff
13. See Drabek, A.G in Supplement, World Development

No. 15, 2 1987 pX-XV

14. see Kronenburg p 2C1
15. see P. G. Stensland in Hall & Kidd (1978) p258
16. Hoppers, W. Education With Production Vol. 5 No. 1
Dec. 1986 p12
17. see D. D. 1981: 1 p73
18. Those in the Appendix V
19. Hoppers, W. p15 in E. W. P. Vol. 5 No. 1 1986
20. see Kronenburg p .261ff
21. Wider social needs refer to what Hoppers opcit.
explains as having two variants: liberal, self-
development orientation and a more critical, social
development orientation.
22. See Bock & Papagiannis
23. see Kronenburg Chapter 5

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APPENDIX I

PROJECTED YOUTH POPULATION OF PROVINCES WITHIN AGE GROUP
0-14 YEARS OLD BY GENDER

(11) Female

| Province | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Central | 209 939 | 250 886 | 307 014 | 369 177 | 454 118 |
| Copperbelt | 531 863 | 653 541 | 830 856 | 1 029 398 | 1 295 380 |
| Eastern | 239 968 | 277 024 | 319 484 | 372 204 | 431 615 |
| Lusapula | 173 580 | 194 631 | 220 158 | 249 490 | 283 067 |
| Lusaka | 285 414 | 385 829 | 519 765 | 675 166 | 887 689 |
| Northern | 279 068 | 310 335 | 348 128 | 390 766 | 439 010 |
| North-Western | 116 564 | 134 274 | 155 797 | 181 127 | 212 129 |
| Southern | 278 885 | 326 171 | 384 434 | 455 426 | 542 579 |
| Western | 188 369 | 205 392 | 225 013 | 244 306 | 265 453 |
| National Totals | 2 313 659 | 2 736 103 | 3 311 489 | 3 967 060 | 4 813 918 |

Total Projected Youth Population by the Year 2000 for both Males and Females
within Age Group 0-14 : 9 692 103

PROJECTED YOUTH POPULATION OF PROVINCES WITHIN AGE GROUP
0-14 YEARS OLD BY GENDER

(1) Male

| Province | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Central | 204 411 | 248 420 | 309 313 | 385 665 | 474 351 |
| Copperbelt | 523 453 | 658 188 | 828 950 | 1 066 250 | 1 357 507 |
| Eastern | 239 968 | 277 024 | 319 484 | 372 204 | 431 615 |
| Lusapula | 159 135 | 182 387 | 209 114 | 239 754 | 274 625 |
| Lusaka | 290 439 | 388 558 | 518 552 | 699 280 | 932 285 |
| Northern | 250 870 | 285 950 | 325 650 | 369 553 | 419 347 |
| North-Western | 106 330 | 125 292 | 147 524 | 175 508 | 205 022 |
| Southern | 265 004 | 316 834 | 379 382 | 454 090 | 546 491 |
| Western | 160 602 | 179 618 | 199 420 | 219 033 | 239 470 |
| National Totals | 2 202 212 | 2 662 273 | 3 237 399 | 3 981 315 | 4 880 713 |

SOURCE: Ministry of Youth and Sport, Department of Youth Development, 1987.

APPENDIX II

According to the findings of the workshop on practical methodologies for resolving youth unemployment held at Mulungushi Hall from 25th-30th June, 1985, the following causes of youth unemployment were identified by different participating groups:

Group I (Unemployed Youth)

- Bad planning
- Corruption
- Qualification barriers
- Lack of opportunities
- Automation of industries
- Discontinuation of started projects
- Profit-making bias by employers
- Unequal distribution of training facilities
- Lack of financial resources
- Communication gap

Group II (Government)

- Inadequate resources, financial, and human-certain skills or specialisation
- Inadequate planning
- Mis-match between education/training and employment
- Orientation of society-vis-a-vis work/change
- Inappropriate distribution of resources especially to informal activities/self-employment
- Population vis-a-vis available resources, rural

migration

Group III (Non-Government Organisations)

Urbanisation i. e. rural urban migration

Economic recession

Lack of developing and manufacturing industry

Wrong attitudes/expectations

Financial mismanagement

Lack of training opportunities

Lack of commitment

Type of education and qualifications not in line
with the jobs available

Poor planning

Lack of finance

Late retirement

Group IV (Zambia National Service)

Poor educational system-wrong emphasis that does not
match reality

Lack of funding of youths-do not match reality

High expectation of youths-do not match reality

Poor setting of projects

Unattractive conditions with regard to welfare of
youths

Attitude of society towards certain jobs classified
inferior(problem of attitudes)

Group V (Financial Institutions)

Ineffective use of available resources, e. g.

(a) unco-ordinated development and funding policies;

- (b) inappropriate training;
- (c) low absorption capacity of employment in formal
and informal sector; and
- (d) high population growth

APPENDIX III

ZAMBIA NATIONAL SERVICE

(a) There are fifty-one centres in the country broken down as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| 1. Southern Province | 7 |
| 2. Lusaka Province | 2 |
| 3. Central Province | 4 |
| 4. Eastern Province | 6 |
| 5. Luapula Province | 5 |
| 6. Western Province | 6 |
| 7. Northern Province | 8 |
| 8. Copperbelt Province | 7 |
| 9. North-Western Province | 6 |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 51 |
| | <hr/> |

(b) FORM V COMPULSORY SCHOOL LEARNERS PROGRAMME

| <i>Year</i> | <i>No. of Recruits</i> |
|----------------|------------------------|
| 1974 | 4 793 |
| 1975 | 5 550 |
| 1976 | 5 094 |
| 1977 | 5 243 |
| 1978 | 6 105 |
| 1980 | 8 049 |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL 197-80 = | 43 434 |
| | <hr/> |

SOURCE: Ministry of Youth and Sport, Department of Youth Development, 1987

APPENDIX IV

MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORT

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT STATISTICAL FORM

| Name of Project & Place | Number of Youths involved in each Activity per in take | | | | | Total Number of | Number of Youths placed | | | | Remarks |
|--|--|------|------|------|------|-----------------|-------------------------|------|------|------|---|
| | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | | 1982 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | |
| Chiyeke Skills Lusaka Rural | Carpentry | 27 | | 21 | 44 | 44 | 26 | | 18 | | 86 in training 72 placed in wage/self employment 3 girls got married |
| | Brick work | 19 | | 12 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 9 | 6 | | |
| | Tailoring | 24 | | 20 | 28 | 28 | 22 | 10 | | 8 | |
| | Agriculture | all | | all | all | | | | | | |
| | TOTAL | 48 | | 54 | 86 | 86 | 73 | | 24 | | |
| Lundazi Zogwangi Kachinga Shila | Carpentry | | | 11 | 5 | 4 | 10 | | | 16 | 19 in training 43 placed in self employment placed in wage employment |
| | Brick work | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Tailoring | | | 8 | 4 | 9 | 18 | | 7 | 3 | |
| | Metal work | | | 3 | 3 | | 4 | | | 2 | |
| | Agriculture | | | all | all | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | | | 22 | 14 | 20 | 19 | | 19 | 9 | 17 | |
| Sankya Skills | Carpentry | | | | | | 16 | | | | |
| | Tailoring | | | | | | 24 | | | | |
| | Agriculture | | | | | | all | | | | |
| | TOTAL | | | | | | 40 | | | | |
| Mwalela Skills | Tailoring | | | | | | 14 | | | | |
| | Metal work | | | | | | 14 | | | | |
| | Carpentry | | | | | | 10 | | | | |
| | Agriculture | | | | | | all | | | | |
| TOTAL | | | | | | 38 | | | | | |
| Npika Skills | Carpentry | | | | | | 8 | | | | |
| | Tailoring | | | | | | 12 | | | | |
| | Plumbing & Brick work | | | | | | 5 | | | | |
| | Agriculture | | | | | | all | | | | |
| | TOTAL | | | | | | 25 | | | | |

SOURCE: MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORT, DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT, 1987

APPENDIX V

Other Skills Training Centres Visited

1. Tubombela Pano Boys' Brigade Project

(Tubombela Pano means Let us Work Together)

The project is situated on the Copperbelt, about 13 kilo metres from Ndola at Kaniki (see map on p362). The area consists of 10 hectares of land. In 1980 the Boys' Brigade decided to use this site as a training centre for young people - providing basic skills and knowledge in agriculture. The actual training began in 1983. The first group's training lasted only four months, the next group's was five months. At the time of the visit, the group in training was to train for nine months which was to be the fixed amount of months for the training period. The trainees are awarded with a certificate at the end of the training period.

The trainees are selected by elders in villages with the hope that the trainees will return to the villages and help in the development of their villages. Those in urban areas are requested to bring a letter from the church and guardians, confirming that they have the support of the

church and guardians who will help them to settle after the training.

The project falls under the supervision of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) as the President and Vice President of Boys Brigade of Zambia (BBZ) are ZCCM members. The Project itself is staffed by a project officer who is on secondment there from ZCCM, two assistants and 3 permanent farm workers. The project officer and his assistants have among their administration duties the visiting of all their past trainees twice every year where they are settled. Up to 1988 no such visits had been done as the project had problems of transport. There were altogether 62 graduates from the project by 30th September 1987, with 8 who were placed and the whereabouts of the 54 were not known. The project officer and his assistants were supposed to keep follow up files on each pupil with a quarterly report.

BBZ being a christian association the daily programmes began with prayers. They spent three quarters of the time on farming and one quarter on farming theory and religious education. The workers from the department of youth development in Ndola were brought in by the project officer for the farming lessons.

The project was funded by individuals, funding agencies, youth organizations and the church. Most of these funding agencies were overseas ones although the local church contributed some money, so did the Ministry of Youth and Sport who though got their funding for their projects from foreign agencies.

Impressions of the project:

The place was well built with classrooms and dormitories and a dining room which could house up to a hundred trainees although at the time of the visit there were only 25 trainees. The trainees were provided with maize meal but did their own cooking, inspite of the fact that they paid no fees at all. The fars was ploughed by a tractor while the trainees' work was limited to planting, weeding and harvesting, supervised by the three farmworkers. There were mostly vegetables growing at the time of the visit. The farming training given was very commercial in orientation with the use of tractors, fertilizers and high-breed seeds which the trainees would not afford after their training. The trainees were therefore not sufficiently prepared for later settlement. They have no capital generated during the training to help them start after the training.

2. Chibaleshi in Mansa

Chibaleshi is situated near Mansa, about 6 to 8 kilo

metres from Mansa (see Map on p362). The project in Chibalashi was starting for the second time after the first volunteer from Germany had gone back. The first group of trainees disbanded after he had left. There was a second volunteer from Germany and like the first, he too was an agriculturalist. He had a group of thirteen men who had come together to learn new farming methods. They worked on a common plot which was under preparation in view of the rain season that is eminent in the month of October. There was very little activity in this project and much of what was to be done was all in the pipeline.

3. Isenge Farm Training Centre

Isenge farm training centre was run by the Christian Youth Fellowship which was a branch of the United Church of Zambia(UCZ). This Christian Youth Fellowship was started by a Mr. London Mumpo, himself a retired minister in the UCZ. The project started in 1980 with funds from the Dutch Embassy, Christian Council Zambia and Ministry of Youth and Sport. By 1986 there were 35 graduates who had all received training for one and half months.

The training provided was in farming, poultry and animal husbandry. There were plans to include carpentry and tailoring. There were three lessons per week in farming theory and the rest of the time was spent on practical work on the farms. The main instructor was himself a past

trainees of Isenge, he was helped by Mr. Mwape who was project manager and instructor at the same time. The two were helped by extension officers who gave lessons in agriculture when the transport to bring them to the project was available. The training includes a morning service every morning conducted in the project's chapel.

After the training the trainees can either settle at Isenge as it has 200 hectares of land. At the time of the visit there were only six who had settled at Isenge. They are provided with substantial amount on credit and a bag of kg25 of maize meal for the first six months. They have to build their own huts using local material.

At the time of the visit, inspite of the fact that water was available the place had nothing growing. There was more attention given to poultry than other forms of agriculture.

4. Mpika Skills Training Centre

The centre is situated in the very heart of the town and is quite close to other facilities in Mpika (see map on p362). The centre whose workshops building was nearing completion at the time of the visit, September 1986, started in May 1986. Part of the completed workshop was used by the women for lessons in tailoring. The carpentry lessons had not began and those who had registered for

brickwork and plumbing lessons were involved in the building at the centre.

There were plans for a settlement scheme but there was much controversy over the chosen area as it was very far from Mpika and would make it difficult for the settlers in terms of health and educational facilities. As the centre was quite new there was little to analyse or observe.

Like most of the skills training centres, the project manager and staff were employees of the Ministry of Youth and Sport.

5. Samfya Skills Training Centre

The Skills training centre in Samfya (see Map on p362) started in September 1985 with a group of 12 women in tailoring. In October of 1986 a group of 13 men began their training in carpentry. The Ministry of Youth and Sport bought the building that was used by the trainees. There was a couple from Germany Volunteer Service (GVS) who were the project managers and instructors at the centre. The GVS provided the sewing machines used by the women and the carpentry tools were provided by funds from German Agro Action and the Ministry of Youth and Sport.

The training involved spending three quarters of the time on practical work and a quarter on theory. The lessons

in carpentry were provided by the husband and the wife taught tailoring. The course lasted a period of 18 months and had both male and female participants. The participants were between 18 - 25 years of age. There were eighty-four applicants but only twenty-five who could be taken. Expectant women were given only three weeks leave from the training and were allowed back on condition that they brought helpers with them to look after the babies.

The trainees did not pay any fees although the women were asked to pay for the items they sewed if they were to take them home.

The training included farming but the whole issue was not seriously taken as the demonstration plot had about 10 beds on which various vegetables were grown. The trainees were expected to acquire farming skills by working on this small plot!

Graduates, who had gone back to the village were visited. One lady had been given a room in the council offices which was not used. She worked there from Monday to Friday, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. At the time of the visit she was making a number of dresses for the girls and women in the area. In most cases the clients brought their own materials for sewing as there was problem in acquiring these. Out of the two sets women who had completed their

training she was the only one fully practising her skill as a source of income.

There was a group of four men who were at the time of the visit working on the ballot boxes. They were to receive no payment for the work but were to be given priority in the purchase of maize meal from the district shop as the maize meal was in great demand. There was another group of five men who were mainly producing furniture. They had problems of transporting and purchasing the timber which was very far from the village and was very expensive. Somehow the training did not prepare them for these issues.