Education and Development in Zimbabwe
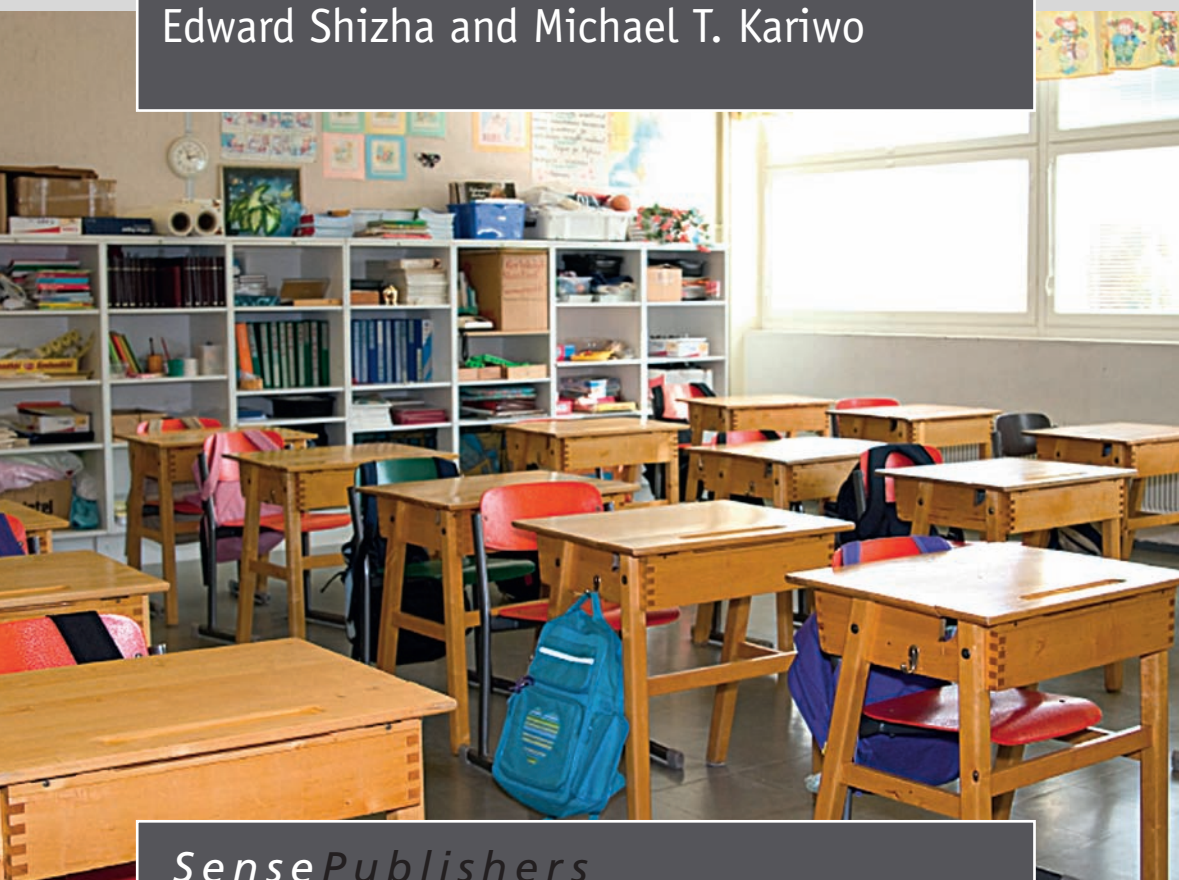
A Social, Political and Economic Analysis

Edward Shizha and Michael T. Kariwo

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Education and Development in Zimbabwe

A Social, Political and Economic Analysis

By

Edward Shizha
Wilfrid Laurier University, Brantford, Canada

and

Michael T. Kariwo
University of Alberta, Canada

Printed on acid-free paper

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to my dear and supportive family, my wife Sebia, and children Anesu Evans, Samantha Rufaro, and Sandra Ruvimbo. To my mother and late father, I say *ndinotenda* for the foundation you laid for me. Education and knowledge have been a rewarding experience.

Edward Shizha

I would like to dedicate this book to my wife and children, my mother and father. I just want to say thank you to all of you for your support. To my late mom and dad, thank you for showing me the way. Knowledge is power.

Michael Tonderai Kariwo

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This book is about the role of education in the social and economic development of Zimbabwe. It covers a wide range of themes on education and development and at the same time provides detailed analyses of the issues at stake. The concepts dealt with, such as colonisation, curriculum, citizenship education, funding and globalisation are complex. There is a contextualised approach to the discourses and the debates are underpinned by theory and practice.

Education and development are very much integrated themes for any nation's social and economic development. This book is a compilation of thirteen chapters divided into two parts which analyse the issues that have influenced the country's educational development from a social, economic and political perspective. The themes range from historical and colonial influences in education to economic, social, political and cultural factors that have influenced the development of education in Zimbabwe up to the present time. However the predominant themes are those of funding and the quality of education whether it is at the primary, secondary or tertiary levels. Zimbabwe has invested highly in education because it perceives education as critical to national and economic development. The government has, since independence, made great efforts to increase participation at all levels of education.

Zimbabwe's education has a complex history, starting off with a colonial system that divided education along racial lines. However new policies were introduced at independence in 1980 to redress the past. The most significant outcome was the unprecedented increase in student enrollments in the first two decades of independence. This expansion produced other consequences and side effects such as reduced levels of resources at educational institutions and overcrowding. There were shortages of books and other necessary educational materials. Nonetheless, the quantitative result is that Zimbabwe has the highest literacy rate in Africa. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) latest statistical digest, Zimbabwe has a 92% literacy rate.

The beginning of the 21st century saw Zimbabwe's educational fortunes declining due to the political and economic crisis that has resulted in the death of the educational sector. The effect of the crisis includes the brain drain on human resources. The book presents an analytical view of these issues and attempts to provide the way forward. Given the current political environment where there is a Government of National Unity (GNU), the main challenges have been to gain consensus on which policies would make an impact on national development. This has not been easy because of the different ideological positions of the two parties, the Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic change (MDC).

Part I of the book discusses issues relative to education and social development in Zimbabwe in a broad sense. In this part of the book, there are topics that include

the impact of colonialism, neo-liberalism in education, postcolonial curriculum, citizenship education and others.

Part II presents some perspectives from higher education. The issues of access, funding, and quality are examined with a focus on university education. The topics covered include, the development of university education, the current crisis in higher education, gender and access to higher education, assessment policy and globalisation.

The book concludes by synthesising all these issues and suggesting some ways forward.

INTRODUCTION

When Zimbabwe gained its independence from colonial rule in April 1980, the majority of the people did not have the opportunities and facilities for equal access to formal education. The education system was very restrictive for the Black population and most only finished six or seven years of primary schooling. In 1980, the new government inherited a system of education that was racially biased and unequal in both governance and quality. The colonial Rhodesian government made European education compulsory and universal, and spent as much as 20 times more per European child than the African child. Over the first 20 years of independence, Zimbabwe witnessed incredible strides in school expansion, teacher training, and resource improvement. The government followed a socialist path. The main driving principle was "Growth with Equity". This principle was adopted so that the government could redress the inherited inequities and imbalances in access to basic needs such as education, health facilities and social services. Primary schooling was made tuition free, and this resulted in gross admission rates that exceeded 100%. By the end of the first decade of independence, Zimbabwe had achieved universal primary education.

However, despite the commendable growth in education, economic and political factors have eroded the educational gains that were achieved in the first two decades of independence. Underfunding of education due to the economic adjustment programmes of the 1990s and early 2000s was exacerbated by the economic meltdown that followed the land redistribution programme initiated by ruling party in the year 2000. Arguably, land redistribution created an economic crisis that negatively affected the education sector. In addition, the highly contested presidential elections of 2008 and the political stalemate that followed created political, economic and social insecurity among educators. The decision by professionals to leave the country has created human capital shortage at all levels of the education system. The brain drain caused by the flight of teachers and lecturers has left the education system in a dilemma. Zimbabwe's education system, once the best in Africa, now faces immense challenges. Public financing of the sector continues to dwindle in real terms, school fees is soaring beyond the reach of many, depletion of educators and low morale owing to salaries for the remaining teachers, have unravelled past successes in the sector.

In this book we discuss the successes and challenges that the education system in Zimbabwe has experienced. The book describes how education is important for development and the authors trace the history of education from colonial to the postcolonial era. It examines the system and structure of education in Zimbabwe and how it has been affected by social, political and economic considerations. The book describes how the Government of Zimbabwe used socialist policies to introduce mass education in the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence, and how economic policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund played

a role in undermining the social returns attained from universal education or Education for All introduced from 1980 and applied up until 1991/1992. The authors also examine the populist political ideology of ZANU-PF which resulted in political repression and economic meltdown, which both played a significant role in destroying the once well-grounded education programmes in Zimbabwe.

ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into two parts and thirteen chapters, each examining and describing a specific issue affecting the education system in Zimbabwe. Part One is on education and development and runs from chapter one to eight. Chapter 1 introduces the role of education in development in Zimbabwe. It focuses on human development and the policy environment that influenced the development of education. The chapter also explores the role of science and technology in human capital development. Chapter 2 traces the history of colonial education, its hirarchical and elitist nature. It further describes the postcolonial education policies advanced by the new government in 1980 to equalise access to education. Chapter 3 explores the children's right to education, and how the goals for education for all were threatened by the economic meltdown and how Zimbabwe is unlikely to attain the education millennium goals by 2015 because of the political and economic meltdown that have resulted in the underfunding of social services. The political crisis that followed the 2008 harmonised elections that caused social destabilisation and the brain drain in the education sector is also discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 examines the implementation of the neoliberal ideology in Zimbabwe's postcolonial education. The authors, in this chapter describe how the policies imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund eroded the social returns of education that were a feature of the first decade of Zimbabwe's educational success story. Chapter 5 laments the fall of the teaching profession, what the authors describe as the "deprofessionalisation of the teaching profession." The authors explain how teachers have been affected by the political and economic crises that have led to the teaching profession losing its status. Teaching has lost its previously esteemed position as a dignified and respected profession.

Chapter 6 looks at the postcolonial curriculum and its colonial legacy. The chapter describes how Eurocentric knowledge and epistemologies continue to be the epicentre of formal school knowledge in Zimbabwe, while indigenous ontologies and epistemologies remain on the periphery of formal education. This issue is explored further in Chapter 7, which describes the language problem in schools and advocates linguistic independence in teaching and learning. In Zimbabwe, English has a hegemonic effect and is used as the official language in education, trade and commerce at the expense of indigenous languages. The chapter suggests how indigenous languages should be incorprated as languages of instruction in educational institutions. The last chapter in this part, Chapter 8 suggests the implementation of citizenship education in Zimbabwe. The chapter examines citizenship education and the challenges schools may face in attempting to promote and facilitate it in the Zimbabwean context.

Part Two consists of perspectives on higher education. Chapter 9 describes developments in higher education focussing on governance and funding of public and private universities. Chapter 10 explores the policy terrain in higher education and describes how economic policies have affected funding for students and the administration of higher education institutions. The chapter explains how the political framework in the country impacts the policies in higher education. Chapter 11 describes women's access to higher education. It focuses on the policies and practices that have helped widen access for women. Chapter 12 highlights the influence of globalisation on higher education in Zimbabwe. The chapter explores the relationship between higher education and global citizenship and explains why Zimbabwe and most African countries tend to focus on national citizenship based on the nation state as opposed to citizenship of the globe. Finally, Chapter 13 summarises the educational developments in Zimbabwe and provides suggestions for the way forward. The challenges Zimbabwe is facing are not insurmountable. We believe that a political solution is required to amend the economic crisis. A solution in the political will ultimately help correct the educational predicament that Zimbabwe experiences today.

PART ONE
EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

AN INTRODUCTION

Background

Zimbabwe is a fomer British colony that was known as Rhodesia from 1965 to1979. Before 1964, the name "Rhodesia" had referred to the countries consisting of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia which formed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation which existed between 1953 and 1963 was an amalgamation of modern Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. During that period, the country was called Southern Rhodesia while Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia. Between June and December 1979, the country was briefly renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, a name that was coined by the principals of an internal political settlement deal between The Rhodesian Front, which was led by Ian Douglas Smith and the African National Council, an organisation that was led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The country gained its political independence on 18 April 1980, after a protracted war waged by two main political parties, namely the Zimbabwe African Union (ZANU) led by Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU), which was led by Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo. The British settlers had ruled the country for nearly a century from 1890. However, the settlers and missionaries had arrived into the country from the early 1850s (Zvobgo, 2009). The country has a population of about 11.6 million people (Central Statistics Office, 2002) of which 95% are Blacks. The rest are Whites, Asians and Coloured (people of mixed race).

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND CLIMATE

Zimbabwe is a land-locked country in the southern part of Africa. Its neighbours are Mozambique (to the east), South Africa (to the south), Botswana (to the west) and Zambia (to the north). The country lies on a high plateau between two river basins; the Zambezi in the north and the Limpopo in the south. The subtropical climate and an abundance of rich soils have supported very successful agriculture until the land reform programme that was started after the year 2000. The country has a variety of resources which include wild life, historical and natural sites such as the Victoria Falls and the Great Zimbabwe, which have been the foundation of a thriving tourist industry. However, since the land reform programme in 2000, tourism in Zimbabwe has steadily declined. After rising during the 1990s, with 1.4

million tourists in 1999, industry figures revealed a 75% fall in visitors to Zimbabwe by December 2000.

THE ECONOMY

A report which appeared in the History World (2007, p. 1) states that as early as the 11th century, Zimbabwe was seen as having a great potential for development. It stated, "The plateau between the rivers Zambezi and Limpopo, in Southeast Africa offers rich opportunities for human settlement. Its grasslands make excellent grazing for cattle." Many centuries later, this observation was to become a reality. However, since the year 2000, developments in the country's economy have slowly been producing an unmitigated disaster as the country struggled with what some authors claim is an ideological contest (Hwami, 2010).

The Zimbabwean economy has been on the brink of collapse with formal employment estimated to be between 5% and 10%. Unemployment has been getting worse since the early 2000s. The World Bank (2003) reported that 81.8% of the secondary school leavers in Zimbabwe were unemployed in the period 1999 to 2001. Inflation reached unprecedented levels over the past few years. It was 164,900% in February 2008 (Central Statistics Office, 2008). However, a Professor of Applied Economics at the Johns Hopkins University, Steve Hanke (2008) reports that by 2008 Zimbabwe had entered the hyperinflation zone with the highest monthly inflation rate of 79,600,000,000%. At the same time, in January 2009, the Zimbabwean dollar had become valueless with economists reporting that Z$ 100,000,000,000 was equivalent to US$ 2.5. Today, the country continues to face some of the greatest challenges in development due to this economic meltdown. Many people have left the country as economic refugees. They have gone to neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa. Others have gone overseas, to the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States among the popular destinations. Zimbabwe is naturally endowed with natural resources and human capital. It has the potential to develop successfully given the natural and human resources as well as technology available in the country. Before the land redistribution programme, Zimbabwe was regarded as the bread-basket of the Southern African region, being self-sufficient and a net exporter of food. The economy experienced negative growth in the period 1998 to 2000. This was caused by a number of factors, such as prolonged droughts, hyperinflation and a critical shortage of foreign exchange.

The country tried a number of policy changes in order to turn around the economy, starting with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991a). However, the economy continued to decline. As a result the government has been finding it difficult to provide all the funding required in education and other sectors. Yet the demand for education, especially higher education has increased tremendously in the last decade. The expenditure per student in higher education is over 300% of GNP per capita, yet for primary education, it is only 19% of GNP per capita (World Bank, 2003). This phenomenon is a result of the rapid expansion of the university sector, which began

in 1999. The expansion is demand led. In Zimbabwe, the participation rates at higher education level of 4% remains low compared to the high-income countries, where the average rate is over 60%. However, the World Bank (2003) also shows that, in Zimbabwe, 24% of all higher education students are in Science and Technology. This figure compares very well with the average of 25% in the high-income countries. Zimbabwe should implement science and technology policies and programmes that will assist graduates with opportunities to apply their skills in initiating development projects that can help the country in its vision for sustainable economic and national development.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Education in Zimbabwe has been instrumental in skills development. The literacy rate in Zimbabwe is high, at 91.4% (UNESCO, 2009). For instance, the literacy levels of 15–24 year olds rose from 95 to 98% between 1992 and 1999 (UNDP, 2003). This is attributed to the emphasis put on education by government before and after independence. There has been unprecedented expansion of all education sectors since independence in 1980. However the gains in education are being undermined by other factors such as the "brain drain" and HIV/AIDS. Life expectancy is 40 years, which is low compared to countries of the "North." Other factors that have influenced the shape of education in Zimbabwe include rapid population growth. The country has a population growth equal to the world average of 1.1%., while the Sub-Saharan Africa has population growth rate of 2.2%, which is double the world average (World Bank, 2003). The growth rate for high-income countries is 0.3%, with Europe experiencing a negative growth of -1%. These statistics show that Africa has pressure from a young and growing population to consider in terms of access to education. The rapidly growing population has serious consequences on resources and this is evident in the burden that governments have in funding education. The rapid growth of population is likely to slow down due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The pandemic has had a heavy toll on the productive age range of 15–45 years. Any planning of education has to take into account the effects of HIV/AIDS, which is likely to reverse the gains in development to date. There are already signs of stress in the education sector as a result of HIV/AIDS mortality and morbidity of teachers, students and parents.

Another factor affecting human development has been the "brain drain." One of the benefits of the massive brain drain, or emigration of intellectuals from Zimbabwe, has been the remittances in foreign currency back into the country. To a large extent the near collapse of the Zimbabwean economy has been averted by financial support from families abroad. Although the brain drain means people are not using their skills for the benefit of their own country, indirectly the country is benefiting from foreign currency inflows. What is apparent is that Zimbabwe has become a human resources training ground for other countries. The quantitative gains in education made since independence, in 1980, have not been used optimally to the benefit of Zimbabwe. The brain drain has been largely a result of the economic and political climate in the country. Poor salaries and unattractive

working conditions, as well as political instability in the country have been the push factors that have made many professionals leave the country.

THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Education policy development in Zimbabwe has been very complex. There are many factors that have influenced the policy process. These include political, historical, sociological and economic aspects as well as current forces of globalisation. Chapman and Austin (2002) observe that, "there is a general tension and sometimes a direct trade-off between the political necessity to expand enrollments, the moral imperative to increase equity, the educational desire to raise quality and the overwhelming need to control costs" (p. 4). The current policy environment in Zimbabwe is very fluid because of the turbulent economic and political situation. As Pal (2006) observes, "Policy to put it simply, comes from those who have legitimate authority to impose normative guidelines for action. In a democracy, policy is made by elected officials in concert with advisors from higher levels of the administration" (p. 6).

In analysing the factors that were at play in the policy making processes in Zimbabwe, there are colonial and postcolonial influences to be taken into consideration. At the time of independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's policies were very much shaped by scientific socialism. This was a natural choice, given the fact that the war of independence was aimed at the eradicating a capitalist society whose pillars were based on race. The new government was seeking social equity and the redistribution of resources to achieve its goals. The government had great challenges to redress the past. In education, the major policies taken were to widen access. The second challenge was to fill the skills gap caused by the exodus of Whites. Many Whites left the country just before independence in 1980 and continued to emigrate well after independence. The government therefore wanted to train indigenous people to improve the local labour market.

In reviewing the Transitional National Development Plan (1983), it is noted that government policies in education focussed on both quantity and quality. The National development plan states,

> Government recognizes that education is a basic human right. It also recognizes that education is an investment in human capital, which sustains and accelerates the rate of economic growth and socio-economic development. The challenge for Zimbabwe is not only one of redressing the educational qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large demands with limited resources. (p. 27)

Zimbabwe's public expenditure on higher education is more than other developing countries, yet the participation rate remains low. It is resource constraints that have largely dictated the developments in education. Quality seems to have been relegated to lower priorities as events unfolded. Political demands of many newly developing countries in the 1960s led to the quantitative expansion of education.

This was mainly because earlier educational systems had been designed only for those intended to enter colonial administration. There was an assumption that tackling the quantitative expansion first would be followed by qualitative improvements. In its report, the Williams' Commission (1989) observes that quality should not be compromised by rapid expansion despite the need for widening access and reported that,

> Our first main concern is that the necessary expansion should not be at the expense of quality, and that the new institutions and programmes which we suggest Zimbabwe should now establish should be of a high standard, but we also regard it as crucial to ensure that in a proper enthusiasm for creating new structures and institutions, the authorities do not overlook the current needs of existing institutions or neglect to strengthen and consolidate what is already in place. (Williams' Commission Report, p. 29)

The Commission received evidence suggesting that expansion might erode the existing gains and its anxiety was that the resources would be spread too thinly to cover more institutions. In a later report, the Nziramasanga Commission (1999) reported that the government policies to have free education were not sustainable.

At independence in 1980, the government declared all primary education free. The result was a dramatic increase in enrolments at all levels including the postsecondary level. By the early 1990s, the government found itself faced with a huge budget for the provision of books, construction of buildings and for the training and salaries of teachers. It had to back-track and allow for the implementation of school levies, which is another form of tuition fees. The high costs of education were also evident at secondary and higher levels. The Nziramasanga Commission recommended the introduction of cost recovery methods. This thinking was influenced by world trends and was in tandem with World Bank policies on financing education. Over the years as the funding situation became more burdensome, the government started looking at other options such as the private sector, introducing full tuition fees and increases in the loan component. In higher education, the increase in the loan component was meant to create a revolving fund. The charging of fees was important but this was going to be difficult for parents in the current economic environment. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the economic policies shifted from scientific socialism to capitalism, when the government embarked on economic structural adjustment programmes.

The government abandoned its socialist ideology in the period 1991-1995, in favour of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) in order to access funds from the World Bank (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991b). It sidelined its own national development plan in the process. However, the decade of the 1990s witnessed a turnaround of economic fortunes, as economic decline set in and structural problems of high poverty and inequality persisted. The government tried to explain the causes of the decline using recurring droughts and floods, as well as, the non-realisation of the objectives of the economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). During the period between 1991 and 1995, real GDP growth

averaged about 1.5% per year. The period 1996–2003 was marked by accelerated deterioration in the socio-economic situation and increase in poverty. The Government replaced ESAP with a "home-grown" reform package known as the *Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST)* in April 1998. However, the lack of resources to implement this reform package undermined its effective implementation. In another attempt to address the declining economic performance, the *Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP)* was launched in August 2001 as a short-term 18-month economic recovery programme. Its objective was to restore economic vibrancy and address the underlying macroeconomic fundamentals. Unfortunately, MERP was also rendered ineffective largely due to the withdrawal of the international donor community.

In February 2003, Government launched a 12-month stabilisation programme, the *National Economic Revival Programme (NERP): Measures to Address the Current Challenges* (Government of Zimbabwe, 2003) while considering options for long term economic recovery. Though NERP was received with more optimism by donors, the private sector and other stakeholders, more than half-way through its implementation, the programme did not generate the foreign currency required to support economic recovery. The latest review of the economy of Zimbabwe shows that between 2000 and 2008 the economy suffered a further decline with GDP shrinking by an estimated 40% between 2000 and 2007. There were extremely high inflation levels that ensued and they caused negative consequences for development.

The government has emphasised wider education access at the higher level contrary to policies by the World Bank. Most African governments have been opposed to the Bank's policies on higher education (Banya & Elu, 2001). The Bank is known to have held policies that have perpetuated neglect of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa, because of the belief that primary and secondary education were more important for development. This belief was based on studies on social returns from investment in education that tended to show that such investment had better returns from primary and secondary education compared to higher education (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002). In their study of 98 countries from 1960-1967, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos estimated that the rate of return from primary schooling was 18.9% while that for higher education was just 10.8%. A weakness in their cost- benefit analysis is that the calculations of the individual benefits for higher education graduates include future income while the calculations for Basic Education do not compute that variable.

From 1985 to 1989, 17% of the Bank's worldwide education sector spending was on higher education. However, from 1995 to 1999 only 7% was allocated to this sector. Bloom, Canning and Chan. (2006) noted that higher education could lift Africa out of its problems of development. This was a shift from past studies by contributors to the World Bank, which emphasised primary and secondary education. The premise of their argument was that, African countries would benefit from technological catch-up and thereby increase their ability to maximize economic output. Investment in higher education in Africa may accelerate

technological diffusion. This development would decrease knowledge gaps and help reduce poverty in the region. Bloom et al. (2006) were cognisant of the influence of other factors such as sensible macroeconomic management. For Zimbabwe the development of middle level technocrats was seen as a key to development. There was need to have a strong base of artisans.

In summary long term policy documentation in Zimbabwe has become rare because of the unstable political environment. More often than not policy issues are arbitrarily announced by Government Ministers and the President as well as other senior government officials. This situation is further complicated by contradictions, retractions and revisions that take place very frequently.

THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Education is viewed as the engine to development, however in many African countries a special emphasis has been given to science and technology. In Zimbabwe, the aim was to stimulate the generation of scientific and technological capabilities in all sectors of the economy, and thereby unleash the power of S & T for national development. Much of Zimbabwe's research effort is directed at improvements in agriculture. The government's budget for agricultural research is administered by the Agricultural Research Council which is headquartered in Harare and operates seven research institutes, eight research and experiment stations, and the National Herbarium and Botanic Garden. In Harare, at the Blair Research Laboratory, simple, innovative technologies are being developed to improve Zimbabwe's water supply and sewage disposal. Other research organisations, all in Harare, include the Geological Survey of Zimbabwe, the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, and the Public Health Laboratory. The National University of Science and Technology, founded in 1990 in Bulawayo, has faculties of industrial technology and applied sciences. The University of Zimbabwe, founded in 1955 in Harare, has faculties of agriculture, engineering, medicine, science, and veterinary science. Degrees in agriculture and polytechnic studies are offered by seven colleges. In 1987–97, science and engineering students accounted for 24% of college and university enrollments.

The Objectives of the Science and Technology Policy of Zimbabwe

The overall objective of the science and technology (S & T) policy is to promote national scientific and technological self-reliance by ensuring,
– rapid and sustainable industrialisation through research and development (R & D) which focuses on import substitution;
– adequate food production and shelter that utilises appropriate and affordable technologies;
– a good health delivery system that uses R&D to explore both modern and traditional medicines;
– environmentally sound development programmes;

 − provision of sufficient energy resources using Science and Technology to exploit renewable and non-renewable sources of energy;
 − sustained employment creation.

The Williams Commission (1989) appointed by the State President to inquire into the establishment of a second university or campus, recommended a new university with a bias in science and technology. The recommendation was followed by the establishment of the National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo in 1991. Since then other institutions with a focus in science and technology have been established.

The idea of a second university in Zimbabwe was first mooted in June 1982 in the Report of the University of Zimbabwe, Vice Chancellor's committee of Inquiry into the high failure rates that the University experienced in the years 1980 and 1981. It was not until late 1987, that the Vice Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, Professor Walter. J. Kamba discussed with his colleagues the necessity of approaching Government about setting up a feasibility study of a second university/campus. As a result of this discussion a recommendation was made to the then Minister of Education, Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka that a Commission be set up to look into the question of a second institution of higher education in Zimbabwe.

The Commission presented its report to the President and its major conclusion was that, on the basis of manpower requirements for economic growth and of the increasing number of well qualified `A' level school leavers, University expansion was not only justified but it was also a necessity. It recommended that a "Second University should be established with a Science and Technology bias", and that the University should "be located in Bulawayo and should admit its first students in 1993". After considering the report of the Commission, the Government of Zimbabwe decided to accept all the recommendations contained therein except the one relating to the timing of the first intake of students. Instead of 1993 the government decided that the University should open its "doors" to the first intake of students in May 1991. The mission statement of NUST states,

> The primary mission of the University is to serve the people of Zimbabwe. It strives to be a first rate university nationally, regionally and in the general international fraternity of universities. NUST aims at the advancement of knowledge with a special bias towards the diffusion and extension of Science and Technology through teaching, pure research, applied research and fostering of close ties with industry.

Science and Technology Institutions

There are a number of institutions in Zimbabwe that have a focus on science and technology. These include the National University of Science and Technology in Bulawayo, Chinhoyi University of Technology, the Harare Institute of Technology and the Scientific Industrial Research and Development Centre in Harare. These are institutions whose mandate is to train the much needed scientists. For training

at the middle level, there are polytechnics such as the Harare and Bulawayo polytechnics which produce various technicians. Scientists need support in their work and technicians play a vital role. The critical area however is that of scientists where there is a shortage. Part of the problem is the brain drain.

The Scientific Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDC), which is located in Harare, was launched in 1993 and houses seven institutes, namely:
– Biotechnology Institute
– Building Technology Institute
– Energy Technology Institute
– Informatics and Electronics Institute
– The Production Engineering Institute
– National Metrology Institute (NMI).

The institutes have developed various innovations, projects and equipment. The institutes have also made in-roads into availing their services to industry and the public sector, especially the Small and Medium and Scale Enterprises (SMES).

The Impact of Science and Technology in Zimbabwe

While there are many projects being undertaken in S & T in Zimbabwe the results do not seem to alleviate the country's developmental problems. A possible explanation is the approach adopted in S & T which is basically a linear and colonial one. Development is viewed, in this approach, as catching up with the advanced countries (Rostow 1990). This model has its weaknesses in that developmental paths for countries are not the same, they are cultural and contextual. The model does not take into account the indigenous epistemologies and philosophies related to conceptualising development. S & T or Research and Development have to be contextualised. The idea of "leap frogging" in the S & T policy outlined above is entrenched in the linear model which has been ineffective in most developing countries.

Development is a concept that has been changing over the years. The classical view is that of converting predominantly primary and rural economies into industrialised ones. The more modern view of development focuses on poverty alleviation or reduction with poverty elimination as the target. The UN Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015 use this new approach. But also development is more and more viewed in a particular context. The effects of globalisation are that Zimbabwe is in a catch 22 situation. It needs to indigenise its education and economic production but at the same time it needs the support of the global economic strategies. The latter has prevailed on the country's strategies and the government while it uses rhetoric against external influences, it still hopes to attract help from economically advanced nations.

BUILDING HUMAN CAPITAL

One area of success in Zimbabwe has been in the production of highly skilled manpower following the government's policy of widening access to education

adopted in 1980. Unfortunately, the gains have been undermined by the brain drain. The national report presented to the 45th session of the conference on education in Geneva (1996) emphasised the teaching of science and technology. Sherman (1990) contends that the African university is a modern invention that does not provide practical solutions to the needs and challenges of its traditional agrarian environment. Most people expect higher education to provide solutions to the problems of development especially in these so-called "underdeveloped countries." Their expectations are not met as more investment in higher education fails to produce the desired results. The role of science is to initiate a positive interaction with technological development in the initial stages of development and during catching up processes. Presently, science is perceived as an important precondition for the economic development of less-developed countries. However, for less-developed countries, neither the linear model of technology nor an "inverted linear model" would take place and does not necessarily work, therefore, a more interactive approach is necessary for development.

Zimbabwe has immense potential human resource capital for S & T because of the high level of literacy, estimated at more than 90% (World Bank, 2009). Higher education institutions in Zimbabwe are looking at exploring innovative short and medium term mechanisms of improving various S & T knowledge and skills, especially in the IT sector. They are also in the process of identifying Zimbabwe's niche in the global S&T market given this enormous intellectual creative potential. Perhaps, we can come up with software for development that can be marketed globally. The approach in Zimbabwe on Science and Technology is adversely affected by the brain drain and a framework that relies on government financial resources at a time when inflation is at its highest.

IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Religion is not the same thing as God.
When the British imperialists came here in 1895,
All the missionaries of all the churches
Held the Bible in the left hand,
And the gun in the right hand.
The White man wanted us
To be drunk with religion
While he,
In the meantime,
Was mapping and grabbing our land
And starting factories and businesses
On our sweat (wa Thiong'o, 1982, pp. 56–57)

Every society has a history that will shape the present and future circumstances of its people and development. Most people from Africa, Asia and South America, live in the aftermath of colonialism, while others, for example the Indigenous Peoples of North America, Australia, New Zealand, Latin and Central America still live in colonial bondage. The day-to-day lives of the people of Zimbabwe, like any formerly colonised society, are defined by their past history as colonised peoples, often in ways that are subtle. However, their experiences are a result of internal and external influences. Therefore, to fully comprehend and appreciate policies and challenges that educational planners and administrators face, we need to explore the history of education and how it shapes much of the postcolonial education system in Zimbabwe. The problems that Zimbabwe faces in restructuring its education system are partly embedded in the colonial legacy. For nearly a century, when Zimbabwe was under colonial rule, the majority of indigenous people had no say in or influence on government policies and political decisions that affected the education system (Zvobgo, 1996). Since indigenous people were oppressed and not politically empowered to make fundamental decisions affecting their education, it was easier to blame racism and imperialism as the main cause of the indigenous people's problems. Racial discrimination in colonial Zimbabwe was so ubiquitous that no African was allowed to enrol in Whites-only schools. A handful of private schools owned by the Church would enrol one or two token Blacks each year, if they showed "outstanding" academic performance, had influential and wealthy parents, or if they belonged to the same religious denomination (e.g. Catholic Church) as the educational institutions (Zindi, 1996).

OVERVIEW OF THE ISSUES

Colonialism and Indigenous Education

Formal education in colonial Zimbabwe was a creation and product of a foreign "dominant" culture (Shizha, 2006a). It was formulated and structured around the nineteenth century British middle-class education system. Foreign culture, which had a hegemonic and demonising effect on indigenous education systems was turned into master narratives that were sought by every individual who desired 'a good life'. The imposed hegemonic culture disrupted "the values of pre-settler and pre-colonial notions of learning … [that] were essential in reflecting the social and cultural needs and expectations of the community" (Abdi, 2005, p. 29). The arrival of European colonialism in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Africa, led to the perforce imposition of European or colonial worldview, which was largely responsible for not only the deliberate distortion of the traditional projects of education already in place (Rodney, 1982), but also of the indigenously based and comprehensive programmes of development that were achieved and put in place over hundreds of years (Nyerere, 1968).

Without doubt, colonial education was a larger component of the colonial project to dehumanise Africans by imposing both inner and outer colonisation (Shizha, 2005a). Both inner and outer colonisation were based on the premise that Africans would assimilate into the European life styles and values that were themselves a threat to the identity and self-perceptions of the indigenous people. To a greater extent colonial education led to psycho-cultural alienation, and cultural domination (Mazrui, 1993). Based on cultural imperialisms, indigenous Zimbabweans were defined and portrayed as inferior to Europeans and were deliberately taught to despise their cultural identities and to internalise the racial stereotypes of the coloniser. Moore (1997, p. 91) argues that indigenous knowledges and identities do not reside in a fixed, static metaphoric site or space removed from practice, performance, power and process. They are socially created and dependent on the everyday or lived experiences of the people. By attempting to enculturate or assimilate indigenous people, the settlers believed they were annihilating a static and fixed predisposition (Shizha, 2006b). In fact, because indigenous knowledges and identities are resilient and reside within the 'situated [political] practices through which identities and places are contested, produced and reworked in particular localities" (Moore, 1997, p. 87) they were never obliterated and continue to exist to date. Culture may be dynamic, but only in the sense of being adaptable and a continuing record of a society's achievements and an important element in sustaining resistance to foreign domination. European hegemony was and still is about the ways in which cultures are represented and constituted, about dominant and marginalised cultural narratives, defining the 'us' and 'them' identities. As Africans, we need to invent ways of rewriting or changing those dominant narratives and deconstruct "White" superiority and the misrepresentation of indigenous people and their cultures.

Analysing the idea of assimilation is important when dealing with colonial education. Assimilation forces the colonised to conform to the cultures and

traditions of the colonisers. In the case of the people of Zimbabwe, the religious and educational state apparatuses were used to coerce indigenous people to conform to the colonial British middle class culture. The British colonial philosophy discounted African indigenous knowledge systems and cultural practices. Indigenous practices were misperceived as invalid and irrelevant to colonial economic interests. According to colonial mentality, indigenous people were expected to gain civility and enlightenment through social, religious and cultural assimilation. Viswanathan (1990) argues that cultural assimilation is the most effective form of political action that was used by colonialists. To that extent, the greatest challenges that the indigenous Zimbabweans faced due to colonisation and the "civilisation" project were the violations of their human rights, knowledges of survival, their rights to land, cultures and traditions, and the maintenance of a connection to the spiritual as well as to contemporary material realms of life (Dei, 2002a). Contrary to the view that indigenous peoples' knowledges and cultures were "barbaric" and "backward," the epistemology's quality was its usefulness to agricultural, pastoral, and other 'conventional' land uses; it was vital to environmental and biodiversity conservation, management and sustainable use of resources (Shizha, 2006b; Davies, 2004).

The settlers did not seek to understand the culture and education systems of the indigenous people. Instead, they proceeded from a sense of self-importance by refusing to acknowledge their own ethnocentrism which prefaced their misinformation and misconceptions about African cultural lives. Indigenous education and knowledge systems were deemed irrelevant and denigrated by the western colonial system, primarily through its educational and religious institutions. Although the colonial administrators felt successful in colonising African lives, they overlooked the fact that where there are encounters with non-western knowledge systems, western certainty cannot survive, and that cultural confrontation demands some degree of epistemological contingency (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). The settlers' colonial mentality did not appreciate indigenous epistemologies. These epistemologies could have provided Europeans with another enriching view of knowledge production in diverse cultural sites.

Local knowledge systems were rendered invisible or devalued by the "dominant" colonial culture and their importance never appreciated. European settlers never comprehended that the indigeneity and/or 'indigenous' is never lost, and that it was necessary to promote an interplay of different cultural knowledges for social harmony and social justice. A myth of the superiority of Western worldviews was widely promoted. Unfortunately, many complexities and nuances of myth making, and related processes entered into the social life of young indigenous Africans and were heavily integrated into Eurocentric knowledge definitions and knowledge production processes (Dei, 2002b). The Eurocentric orientation in African education attained an even greater mechanism of domination and control of the African predisposition by creating myths around western knowledge (Shizha, 2005a, 2006b). The knowledge myth was produced, reproduced and reinforced leading to Eurocentric knowledge attaining a whole repertoire of social, cultural and political superiority.

The Missionary Mission and the Colonial Education Project

After the arrival of European settlers in 1890, missionaries found it easier to spread their influence among the indigenous people (Kanyongo, 2005). Christian missionaries conducted the first formal education in Zimbabwe, and many schools still retain a strong religious affiliation. Mission schools were the source of formal education for indigenous people, while government provided education primarily to White children. With the growth of White settlement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, schools for the White population were established in all the major towns. As demand for more education among indigenous people began to increase, the colonial government stepped in to control the increasing demand and ensured that missionaries would not 'overeducate' them (Nherera, 2000). The colonial administrators, as will be discussed later in this chapter, were critical and suspicious of the type of education that the missionaries provided the Africans. However, the partnership between the Church and the colonial State provided the local people with formal education that was inundated with inequalities between racial groups (Shizha & Abdi, 2005).

While the instigation of Western education through missionary activities has been regarded favourably in some quarters, there persists considerable skepticism about the circumstances surrounding the initial aims of missionary education (McKenzie, 1993). Missionary education supported imperialism and colonialism, and its evolution was concomitant with the imposition of colonial rule. The Church identified itself with Anglo-Saxon civilisation and culture; hence it acted as the "centre for cultural hegemony" (Shizha, 2005a, p. 70). At the same time missionary schooling perpetuated the elite cultural values of the British colonial society, values that fostered racism and ethnocentrism. Elite cultural values, associated with the 'civilised' middle-class were used to justify, rationalise, and legitimise British imperialism (Rodney, 1982; Shizha, 2005a).

Missionary itinerary or movement from place to place was regarded as intrinsic to the missionary vocation (Copley, 1997). The missionary was seen as the harbinger of imperialism and the prototypical explorer, prefiguring the colonialist adventure. In their claims of being *holier than thou* attitudes, the missionaries classified and categorised indigenous Africans in Zimbabwe as inherently inferior beings, wild, barbarous, and uncivilised. For many years the provision of education in Zimbabwe was a preserve of the Church within missionary established schools which were centres for evangelisation, a place where they could convert those perceived as "pagans" to a hegemonic religion, Christianity. "The school served as the centre for Christian conversion, thus its main aim was to bring 'morality,' 'light' and 'civility' to 'barbaric' communities" (Shizha & Abdi, 2005, p. 243). By stressing an imaginary "moral" self-superiority, the missionaries and later the colonial administration managed to obscure the underlying motivation and reality of a "first" world power exploiting a technically inferior country for the former's own economic advantage. The missionaries' assignment was to convert many indigenous people through schooling so that they could use the 'converted' to translate the bible and preach to the "heathen." Arguably, conversions were not the

measure of the success of Christian education, nor even what it principally aimed at. Formal education sought, instead, "a change of thought and feeling, a modification of character and formation of principles tending in a Christian direction … to leaven the whole lump of … [indigenous philosophy], aiming not directly to save souls, but to make the work of saving them more speedy and more certain than it would be without it [education]" (Mathew, 1988, p. 56). According to Shizha and Abdi (2005), underpinning the evangelisation philosophy, which was both theoretically and culturally linked to European colonialism, was the "ethno/religio-centric principle that Africans needed to be freed from the evils that surrounded them in their communities …" (p. 243). In this regard, the purpose of advancing education to Africans was for the purpose of proselytisation, and making the African able to read the bible. In Christian discourse, the notion was that educating the young was necessary to prepare the minds [of indigenous people] for later receptiveness to the Word of God – that education was, in a phrase often used at the time, a '*praeparatio evangelica*' (Seth, 2007).

While the colonial rulers formed a minority, their privileges and survival depended on keeping tight control on the social and economic production. They maintained a domineering control on the political, economic and social order over the indigenous African population. Both the missionaries and the colonial administrators introduced an educational system for Africans that was designed to overtly and explicitly marginalise Africans and strengthen and sustain African domination (Zvobgo, 1996). Throughout colonial Zimbabwe, the education system was racially segregated and disproportionally funded. For many years the colonial government paid attention mainly on funding European education, while African education survived on grants-in-aid that were allocated to missionaries. The era was characterised by discriminatory policies that marginalised and disadvantaged the majority of the population. While education for the White children was made free and compulsory as far back as 1935, education for the Black population remained a privilege. Between 1951 and 1955, for example, the expenditure for African education was £2,209,389 (42% of the total education budget) against the vote for European education of £3,096 175 (58% of the total education budget), and the discrepancy became even more apparent when one considered that there were about 50,000 White pupils against 800,000 African pupils (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). The annual unit cost per European pupil was £126 compared to £6 per African pupil (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005).

When the colonial government partially took control of some urban schools, a two-tier system was put in place with two divisions in the Ministry of Education, one responsible for African education while the second was responsible for European education (Shizha, 2006a; Dorsey, 1989). Because African education did not receive as much funding as the European division which catered for a few students, educational opportunities for indigenous children were extremely limited and restricted (Nherera, 2000). In the 1970s, although Europeans represented less than 1% of the country's total population, the annual budget for European education was at least 10 times more than that spent on Africans who represented 99% of the school population (Zindi, 1996). Due to inadequate funding of African

education, only 43.5% of African children of school going age were in school by 1971 (Gordon, 1994). Comparatively, all children of school going age from the European communities were in school.

The introduction of colonial education was meant to serve the interests of colonial administrators who were in control of the political and socio-economic systems. African schools served the colonial system by providing a pool of cheap labour. The deliberate devaluation of African cultures led to the hierarchical control and exploitation of indigenous people in a manner that was consistent with the colonial and imperial project. Eurocentric knowledge was used as a system of control (Shizha, 2005a), controlling the social, moral, and economic lives of indigenous Africans. Writing in *How Europe underdeveloped Africa,* Walter Rodney points out that:

> The educated Africans were the most alienated on the continent. At each further stage of education, they were battered and succumbed to the White capitalist, and after being given salaries, they could then afford [if ever they did] to sustain a style of life imported from outside … That further transformed their mentality. (Rodney, 1982, p. 275)

The education system neither prepared indigenous Africans to take control of their social, cultural and economic lives, but did more than corrupt their thinking and sensibilities as Africans (Shizha, 2005a). The system filled their minds with abnormal complexes, which dehumanised and de-Africanised them leading to an alienated mindset.

Colonial education policy makers defined the education system that they deemed necessary for Africans and planned and administered it according to their political and economic agendas. In designing the school curriculum, the colonial policy makers did not make any effort to design an education system that harmonised the needs of different racial and ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. The system was so divisive that it promoted hatred and disharmony between the two racial groups. The origin of this colonial tradition of education was attributed to H.S. Keigwin, the Director of Native Development, whose policy on African education gave rise to two fundamental principles:

> In the first place, a small educational advance by large numbers of African people was to be infinitely preferred to any scheme for the advancement of the few; and in the second place, the emphasis of education should be placed on such agricultural and industrial instruction as would enable African people to develop a more satisfying and productive way of life in the tribal reserves. (Atkinson, Gilbert, Hendrikz & Orbell, 1978, p. 34)

The assumptions on the principle on African education were misleading. A "large number of African people" were not being schooled to contribute effectively to community development but to serve colonial "masters" on their farms and in their factories, hence the emphasis on agricultural and industrial skills. The indigenous people who attained minimal formal education were forced to leave their communities to go and labour for the colonial administrators, farmers, factory

owners and on mines. Not all Africans desired to train as agricultural workers. Some resented strongly industrial training of a simplified kind intended to promote traditional African craftsmanship instead of focusing on the acquisition of technical skills of a western industrialised nature (Challis, 1979). The policy was to deny the indigenous peoples' advancement into the "modern" industrial economy – the domain of the European settlers. Consequently, Africans were denied advanced skills for self-sufficiency and self-determination in the new socio-economic order.

Individuals who attended colonial schools were not exposed to practical knowledge that was appropriate for their community realities. In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) observes that the lack of congruency between colonial education and Africa's reality created people abstracted from their reality. According to Challis (1979), the colonial regime was not interested in engaging communities in socio-economic activities that would tend to compete with European economic and political interests. Too much reliance was placed upon schools alone to promote undesirable schemes that were perceived as important for the African population. The advocated and promoted education policy demeaned Africans and gave rise to a separatist racial system, which created a false consciousness among those who were exposed to it. It induced false hope for a bright future within the colonial administrative system. Some of those who attained colonial education were recruited as accomplices and collaborators in oppressing their own people by implementing oppressive government policies. Addressing this phenomenon in his speech in the *Minute on Indian* Education, Thomas Babington Macaulay, a British baron who served on the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838 and was instrumental in creating the foundations of bilingual colonial India stated:

> It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995, p. 430)

In colonial Zimbabwe those few Blacks who received colonial education were expected to imitate the values of the colonial settlers and to take part in promoting the enslavement project. As Trask (1993) aptly observes, sometimes because of the power of capital we may not easily understand our own cultural degradation because we are living in it, and "... [a]s colonised people[s], we are colonised to the extent that we are unaware of our oppression" (p. 195). The desire for capitalist values by the indigenous people who participated in the colonial administrative system induced a willingness to get the little education that was provided as long as it gave them some kind of power, the power that even enslaved them.

Having created and identified collaborators that were willing to be used in oppressive administrative missions, and in cheap agricultural and industrial labour, the colonial government established skills training centres at Domboshawa in 1921 and Tjolotjo (now Tsholotsho) in 1922 (Zvobgo, 1996). Africans were perceived as

docile and good only for European labour as ignorantly postulated by the Tate Commission of 1928 which stated:

> We see Southern Rhodesia as a small but growing community of good European stock, planted on sub-tropical uplands in the extensive territory of great potential wealth. It is settled [*"the good" European stock*], and a native population of about twenty times its own numbers, composed of a people who are for the most part docile enough and intelligent enough to afford a large supply of labour …. (Atkinson, 1982, p. 77)

This was the only rationale used by the colonial government for establishing schools for Blacks, to produce a needed large supply of labour.

The colonial government got involved in African education so that it could control the African education that had been a preserve of missionaries in colonial Zimbabwe. Through commission of enquiries, such as the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924, the government sought justification to establish an education system that seemed to promote African interests (Mungazi, 1990), whereas that system was marked by discrimination and the marginalisation of Africans. Education commissions and policies were means by which the colonial regime organised the education system around its existing political order of economic domination and social repression (Shizha, 2006a). The change in government educational policy was also a result of shortage of skilled labour caused by those Whites who joined World War II (Zvobgo, 1996). The colonial government was forced to bring a new emphasis on advancing Africans for political and economic reasons caused by labour shortage (Murray & Riddell, 1980). The underlying factor determining a refocus on African education was consistent with previous policy aims; to safeguard and enhance White economic and political interests. According to Zvobgo (1996), educating and training Africans for employment was not for the benefit of Africans per se, but to assist in the development of the economy that protected the European investments.

Following in the footsteps of Anglican Church missionaries who had established the first secondary school for Africans at St. Augustine's in Penhalonga in 1939 with some State assistance, the colonial government opened its first State controlled secondary school at Goromonzi in 1946, and its second, Fletcher, in Gweru in 1957. This followed after the State had also made significant policy shift in establishing urban primary schools for indigenous Africans. In 1945, the colonial government had assumed full responsibility for African primary education in urban areas with 42 schools built by 1957 being fewer than 101 schools under the Church control (Zvobgo, 1981). Establishing secondary schools was a carefully worked out strategy aimed at ultimately gaining control of church policies on secondary education and its curriculum. Underscoring this colonial strategy Atkinson (1994, p. 23) concludes:

> Having accepted the inescapability of an immediate move in the field secondary education, officials were worried lest they should lose the ability to control the structure of the curriculum. Such an eventuality might have

lead to the reproduction in greatly exaggerated form of curriculum problems encountered in the case of primary education during the earlier years of the century. African pupils might be engaged in courses of study which, on the one hand, were unsuited to the aim of raising the standards of African life and, on the other, were capable of bringing them into competition with Europeans in employment.

Most Europeans feared that if Africans were given an education that was similar to that given to Whites, the competition for employment would lead to the surfacing of a poor-White class. Pedagogically, they ensured that the criteria of literary excellence were a matter for White cultural elite. The deliberate attempt to create a class of semi-educated Africans is yet another example of the colonisers' attempt to create colonial citizens who were receptive to their suppression, in a process that Griffiths and Tiffin (1995, p. 425) call "domination by consent." Menial education given to Africans was also meant to maintain the class stratification that elevated the European settlers and incorporate Africans in the colonial project to exploit and underdevelop the African continent. Rodney (1982) points out that:

> Education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure …. The most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans in sharp contrast with that which was later introduced (that is, under colonialism) …. [T]he main purpose of colonial school system was to train Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole …. Colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment. (p. 263)

In the area of post-secondary education, the missionaries were the pioneers offering pre-service training for teachers (e.g., at Waddilove Mission, Howard Mission, St. Paul's Musami, Nyadire Mission). The government followed later by providing training facilities at a few educational institutions. By 1957, the colonial government had one African teacher training college, which was opened in Mutare in 1955 (Zvobgo, 1981). In comparison the missionaries had 33 colleges, 24 of which offered post-primary teacher training, while the remaining 9 were engaged in post-secondary teacher education. Technical and vocational education was racially divided, with some institutions offering training to White students only. For example, Blacks were barred from enrolling into any programme at Salisbury Technical School which was established in 1926 (now Harare Polytechnic) (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005).

The establishment of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1957 was the first-ever colonial government initiative toward providing university education. Access to university education was determined more by phenotype than the academic abilities of individuals. Very few Africans were admitted to university education. Only a negligible proportion of about 0.2% of all African students who were academically qualified for university education was rigorously

selected to enter the university system (Shizha, 2006a). On the other hand, all White students who were qualified to enter university could easily do so. The highly limited access to higher education was consistent with the colonial government's disinterest in African education and its fear of promoting competition for jobs between racial groups. Gordon (1994) reflectively argues that education policies of the colonial State were selectively designed to serve the interests of the White male-dominated socio-economic order. In addition, the State used the education agenda to perpetuate its political agenda limiting the participation of indigenous people in the economic arena by denying African students skills that would have led them to demand well-paying jobs.

The 1966 Education Plan: A Restrictive Policy

The challenges from globalisation rekindle colonial memories that reify Eurocentric cultural values and predispositions that are considered as scientific or empirical for the official curriculum in Africa (Shizha, 2008b). The Education Act of 1966 extended the discrimination policies that had existed since the White settler intruded on the lives of indigenous people. To reinforce the dehumanisation of Africans as merely a reservoir of cheap labour, in 1966 the colonial government introduced an educational policy that restricted access, transition and progression through various educational levels. The so-called new education plan was meant to screen and limit the number of indigenous students who could get access to secondary education. To achieve this strategy, Zvobgo (1996) and Shizha (2006a) report that secondary schooling was divided into two categories; the academic level (also known as the F1 system) and the industrial and agricultural level (the F2 system). As a model for vocational education the before 'F2' school system was established by the Rhodesian Front government under the controversial 'New Education Plan' of 1966. Under the new policy, colonial administrators strictly enforced a pyramidal system that reduced transition rates and promoted dropout rates among indigenous students (Shizha, 2006a).

Participation rates for the majority of the population remained low at both primary and secondary school levels. There were bottlenecks throughout the system, the most serious of which was the transition rate from primary to secondary education, which was fixed at no more than 12.5% for students who intended to complete four years of an academic education (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). Under the new policy, not more than 37.5% of primary school graduates was channelled toward a poorly planned and designed four-year vocationally oriented Junior F2 secondary education (Dorsey, 1989), while the remaining 50% was left with no provision to formal education and were expected to use the informal education sector (Zvobgo, 1996; Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). The quality of education provided to Black students who were pushed towards vocational education cooled out their educational aspiration, and restricted access to higher education.

The vocational or F2 secondary education system had a stigma placed on it right from its inception (Zvobgo, 1996; Dorsey, 1989). The aim of this colonial project

was to make school levers from the F2 system unskilled and semi-skilled workers who would occupy low-skilled jobs in the economic sector (Shizha, 2006a). The system stigmatised students who enrolled in F2 schools as less able and incapable of coping with the complexities of academic work, and the students were regarded as fit for practical subjects, because they were perceived as slow thinkers. As a result, the system was resented by parents, students and teachers since pursuing vocational subjects such as carpentry, art, and building did not result in employability in the formal economy as was the case with those who followed an academic curriculum. Regardless, some commentators argue that the F2 section produced viable products in the form of self-sustaining individuals who could fend for themselves in a variety of ways, much to the envy of their F1 counterparts. With all of them taking Building, Woodwork and Technical Drawing together with all the other "conventional" subjects taken by their F1 colleagues, a good number ended up successfully running their own construction companies. The F2 secondary school curriculum, considered to discriminate against Blacks from Whites, became unpopular with the Blacks and the schools were subsequently abolished (Mungazi, 1989).

Students who proceeded to F1 or academic schools (which were imitations of the British grammar schools) only 2.5% proceeded to Advanced Level and these students were further rigorously screened before a minute 0.2% was channelled towards university education. The 1966 Education Act introduced drastic cuts in government expenditure towards African education. According to Zvobgo (1996), the colonial government reduced education expenditure for African education from 8.6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1965 to 2% in 1967. The cuts effectively bankrupted primary education funding which had been receiving 70% of the total education vote. Comparatively, while African education suffered these cuts, funding for European education remained unaffected. High dropout rates and reduced funding for African education meant that the indigenous population remained poor, and only managed to do menial jobs for a hand-to-mouth wage. Very little money could come from the family to educate off-springs which further destined this segment of the community to perpetual poverty (Raza, 2003).

None of the educational policy changes that were introduced by the colonial government were targetted at integrating the education of Whites and Blacks. In actual fact, the policies were intended to widen discrimination and protect the economic interests and investments of a small ruling class population. While both missionaries and the colonial government seemed to encourage African education, they both offered a segregated system that was unequally funded and developed. Even during the liberal regime of Garfield Todd, the Five Year Plan that expanded educational provision and access for Blacks through private studies, no effort was made to remove racial discrimination in formal schooling and educational funding. Although by 1966 there were 16 African secondary schools, the 1966 policy had a deliberate intention of lowering the quality of African education. Zvobgo (1996) critically observes that the liberal policy was not prompted by the desire to promote African welfare, but that it was an attempt to appease urgent demands from Africans for advancement. Logically, it was a way of preventing confrontation

resulting from increased African nationalism. Policy reforms and modifications were a result of the racial and class struggle for freedom and equal treatment. Apparently, there was no attempt to eliminate or de-racialise and integrate European and African education at all levels.

The 1979 Education Act and the Three-Tier System

In 1979, the 'new' Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government (so named after the internal settlement between Ian Smith and Abel Muzorewa) instituted new education reforms. The Education Act of 1979 was devised to promote a degree of school integration and reduce polarisation between racial groups. The policy was implemented towards the end of colonial rule and was meant to appease the restive indigenous people and the African nationalists. Legally, the Act led to a partial integration of the European and African education. However, the segregative and discriminative system, which disadvantaged the indigenous population, was maintained as it resurfaced in a different form. While previously the education system had been structured in a two-tier system, African and European systems, the new policy created three types of divisions, the Government schools, community schools and private schools. To complicate matters, the government schools were further split into Groups A, B and C (Atkinson, 1982; Dorsey, 1989). Group A schools were high-fee paying private and government schools formerly attended by White students only, and the schools were far superior in terms of resources and trained teachers when compared to mission and government-sponsored African schools. These schools were located in European suburbs where Africans were not allowed to own houses. Group B schools were low-fee paying for African students and the schools were located in urban African residential areas where the infrastructure was substandard compared to that in European residential areas. The third category, Group C schools were mainly non-fee paying (but parents contributed building material and paid for school uniforms, books, and stationery) in rural areas where the majority of Africans live.

The 1979 Act restricted entry into each category of schools. Entry was strictly based on the zoning system (Dorsey, 1989). While the new policy was designed to promote integration, this was not absolutely the case as the majority of African students remained in Group B schools and access to Group A schools was strictly based on residence. Ultimately, Group A schools remained European in student and teacher population. The zoning system meant that no child could attend a school outside their residential zones. Therefore, the zoning laws reinforced discrimination and disadvantages. The other condition that was set for entry into Group A schools was academic ability and proficiency in the language of instruction at the school (Atkinson, 1982), which was obviously English. Did this imply that all the European students in these schools were bright and the African students in other schools dull? All schools in colonial Zimbabwe, as the case is now, used English as a medium of instruction. The majority of African students were disqualified from Group A schools, not because they were academically poor, but because they happened to live in the wrong place, outside the zoning area. Up

until independence, enrolment in Group A schools which had higher standards of education and better facilities than those in Group B or C schools continued to be based on one's skin colour or socioeconomic status (Zindi, 1996). The strict zoning system did not allow African pupils living in African 'townships' to enrol in schools that were in European suburbs. This meant that only those African pupils whose parents had a high socio-economic status and lived in former European suburbs could enrol in Group A schools making African students find it difficult to be in well-equipped schools with highly trained teachers (Atkinson, 1982; Zindi, 1996). Incidentally, there is no known case of any White child who attended a Group B school in the high density areas.

With regard to Group C or community schools, they were of two types. The non-fee paying schools were mostly primary schools in rural areas that were controlled by District Councils and formerly controlled by missionaries. These schools did not include those that offered boarding facilities. The other type of community school was in urban areas. These were schools that were established by the government especially in European suburbs. The government put up these schools on sale and local communities could purchase the schools and all the assets in the schools (Dorsey, 1989). Such schools would be controlled, administered and governed by Boards of Governors who would be responsible for enrolment policies, fixing fees and ensuring that the schools operated efficiently and maintained "excellent" academic standards. Ironically, the policy on urban community schools (now Trustee Schools) was meant to cede government assets to a few racists to preserve the schools for European kids and keep indigenous children out. Overall, the limited intent and effects of the 1979 Education Act led the new Zimbabwe government to evoke legal means to make school integration a fait accompli at independence in 1980.

CONCLUSION

Underlying this chapter are the discriminatory practices that were inherent in the colonial education system before Zimbabwe's independence. Many Whites in colonial Zimbabwe believed that Blacks were intellectually inferior and that they were only suitable to carry out manual, repetitive labour tasks, thus raising polarisation between racial groups. The politics of exclusion which was the philosophy behind colonial education was the basis for educational reforms after political independence. It is therefore hardly surprising that colonial inequalities in educational provision among the different racial groups in colonial Zimbabwe influenced educational policies established by the new government after 1979. The overall politics of racism and separatism that was promoted by colonial regimes in every facet of the socio-economic and political domination produced racial conflict in trying to resolve these inequalities. The magnitude of racial discrimination and racially segregated provision of social services, such as education resulted in a protracted war of liberation which culminated in Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

CHAPTER 2

The need to address these and other imbalances in the education system formed the basis for the post-independence policies. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a two-tier racially structured education system which sought to protect the interest and domination of a White-male ruling class, while African education was designed to perpetuate and reinforce the subjectivity and subjugation of indigenous Zimbabweans by a small White kleptocracy. The socio-economic inequalities in human, financial and material resource allocation between the two racial groups were indicative of deliberate racial biases of the colonial governments. As a consequence, at independence education policies in Zimbabwe were a result of a conscious effort by the Governmen, to address the gross inequalities and imbalances which existed. The Government acknowledged that education was the key to socio-economic and political transformation. It also acknowledged that education was a basic human right, which played a pivotal role in combating ignorance, disease and poverty.